

St Helena Records 1715-1716

Introduction: This is the twelfth volume in the series *St Helena Records*. The series includes the official minute books of the island's Governor and Council, which recorded their meetings, deliberations and decisions, with abstracts of correspondence, proclamations and regulations, judicial proceedings and financial business. The volumes served as the principal administrative record of government on St Helena and were often titled "Consultations". Its authority was derived from the EIC, with final decisions directed by instructions issued from London.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-12>.

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.

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

Pagination: Page numbering begins with page 1 on film No. 8 (location 8/1). Most pages are numbered in both the top right and top left corners. Two pages are marked as page 104 (at 111/104 and 112/104), and another two as page 128 (at 136/128 and 137/128). In both cases there is no change in subject matter, indicating these are simply numbering errors rather than missing content.

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 date recorded in this volume is a consultation held on 25 August 1715 and the latest is a consultation on 13 March 1715/16 (1716 in modern calendars).

All the Council meetings were held during the administration of Captain Isaac Pyke (1714-1719).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account draws together the consultations and court records of the Governor and Council of St Helena. It runs from late August 1715 to mid-March 1715/16, almost wholly under Governor Isaac Pyke. The island served the East India Company as a watering and victualling station on the homeward route from Asia. The same five men governed throughout, namely Pyke, his deputy George Haswell, and the councillors Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. The records are official minutes, so the island speaks here only through its rulers. The enslaved, the poor and women appear chiefly as complaints, assets or problems to be managed. Read against the grain, the material still shows the everyday machinery of Company rule with rare clarity. [Film No. 8-57, 108-157, 209-227]

Governance and administration

The council governed by weekly consultation, combining executive, judicial and accounting business in one body. Valid business needed a quorum, and on 8 Nov 1715 only three members attended, so all matters were put off. Pyke also used set-piece occasions to assert his authority. At the General Sessions of 12 Sep 1715 he charged the jurors from the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus, naming the idle and the pilfering as his targets. Tying the Company's sword to divine law dignified what was in practice commercial discipline. [Film No. 13-14, 94]

Record-keeping was a constant labour and a constant weakness. An archival audit of 29 Sep 1715 found the early books decaying, gnawed by rats and badly catalogued. The register of deeds had even been mislabelled as the register of wills, a real hazard where land title turned on succession. Through the autumn Tovey recovered the missing parts of the *Rochester* letter and copied them in. The Governor then planned an alphabetical index to make the council's papers auditable. [Film No. 41-43, 68, 82]

The whole system depended on paper and clerks shipped from England. The great supply order called for separate books for wills, deeds, invoices and many streams of account. The store ledgers had stalled because no blank volumes arrived until the *Cardonnell* came in. They were still unfinished fully six months later, which fed a quiet doubt about the accountant. When clerks fell short, the Governor seized on a literate passenger of the *Thistleworth* named William Fairfax. Skilled writing was treated as a resource to be intercepted from a passing ship. [Film No. 132, 148, 250]

Government at a distance ran chiefly through these books. London required exact monthly returns of the General Table and the Fort charges. The accounting year turned on Lady Day, 25 Mar,

when an annual return of household, land and cattle fell due. Trade at the stores was to halt for 14 days after that date so the books could be struck cleanly. [Film No. 174-175, 256]

Military affairs and defence

The garrison was a standing source of trouble. In August 1715 the soldier Francis Cullum was heard urging his fellows to stand as one against their officers. The bench read this as incitement to combination and degraded him, sending him through the gauntlet and then to Bencoolen. The gauntlet turned the garrison itself into the instrument of his beating. Transportation removed him from the men he had tried to unite. [Film No. 8-9]

The gunner's monthly accounts left a detailed trace of powder and ceremony. The proclamation of King George on 11 Jun 1715 called out the heavy guns and consumed 99 pounds of powder. The same accounts double as a maintenance record, charging trucks, axletrees and sponge staffs to the batteries. The reception of General Aislaby ashore later took 17 pounds, the largest single charge of its month. [Film No. 79-81, 237]

Defence rested on watchfulness against a sudden sail. Eight union flags, sized by ship's tonnage, marked the chain of points from the main Fort to Flagstaff Hill. The fort at Banks's was found decayed, its walls perhaps ruined by mortar mixed with salt water. Its true worth lay as a checkpoint, since every ship passed within hail and sent its boats ashore there. New barracks then rising would hold 60 soldiers, or 86 in an alarm. [Film No. 90, 113, 138]

Discipline turned sharp wherever a post was neglected. When haze hid the *Cardigan* one Sunday, the watchmen were called to account and the corporal charged to look sharper. Thomas Leech feigned sickness to leave Prosperous Bay, so the council stopped his pay. The island also kept two deserters, William Gwyn and William Cook, for its own defence. A station always short of hands valued any able man the sea washed up. [Film No. 159-163]

Settlement, land and agriculture

Land grants and building rules served as instruments of policy. Henry Francis won a lease of waste land in September 1715 for pulling down a house that darkened the High Street. Only then did the bench advertise a general ban on encroachments, with Francis set up as the rewarded example. The scheme amounted to an early and deliberate plan of town order. [Film No. 32-33]

The dominant concern was the slow rebuilding of the cattle herd after a famine that had killed some 2,500 head. The slaughter ban of 7 Jun 1715 forbade killing any beast without the Governor's warrant. Worrall's monthly returns tracked the recovery. The herd climbed from 136 head in June to 191 by the following spring. Even a heifer with a broken leg required a warrant before it could be killed. [Film No. 10, 28, 235-236]

Disease and glut troubled the island's other provisions. The hogs suffered from a sickness called the Pant, which killed 50 in a single month, and dissection showed their lungs corrupted. Yams formed the staple, counted as closely as cash, with the growing crop reaching 932,000 roots by autumn. A glut led the Governor to buy Thomas Swallow's surplus and resell it cheaply to the garrison in diet bills. A monthly plantation survey was then ordered to keep replanting in step with digging. [Film No. 11, 46-48, 84-85, 162]

Labour, not land, proved the binding constraint on farming. Haswell's survey reckoned the grounds needed 56 hands and the cattle 10 more, yet only 34 of 76 slaves were fit. The bench resolved to hire labour and to mass all the slaves on one plantation at a time. Bazett later graded

each plantation by yield, judging Coles Gut exhausted and the Peak sound. Martin Norman's claim of 40,000 yams was found to be barely 400 old roots. [Film No. 87-89, 234-235, 248]

Housing was in crisis alongside the land. Almost every planter had begged for timber, since no board could be had locally and nothing usable grew on the island. Some 120 houses needed repair, and 14 or 16 families had waited years to rebuild. The homeward order therefore ran to thousands of deals besides oak and fir. [Film No. 138]

Trade, shipping and the store

The Company store was the island's only real market, and its monopoly drove much debate. Pyke allowed the planters to name goods to trade in, but charged a duty on them while leaving food free. He refused to take payment from ships in goods, since barter was the usual cover for clandestine trade. Pricing was a careful art, calibrated to the burden a good placed on shipping and capped by the local crop. [Film No. 19-21, 36-38]

The landing crane was the single point of contact with the sea. Its resiting dominated several sittings, set against the danger of falling rock that had killed 3 men in earlier years. Downings Cove gave the best landing but lay 650 yards off and would cost at least £1,000 to reach. Cost decided in the end, and the Governor set the crane near the old one. [Film No. 65-67, 73-74]

The homeward indent showed how completely the island leaned on London. It ran through some 25 trades, from block-makers and braziers to the doctor's stills and the slaves' coarse knives. Almost nothing could be made on the island in quantity, so a year's supply of each trade had to be ordered. Some lines were marked plainly for resale, so the store acted as both quartermaster and merchant. [Film No. 105-107, 145]

The island also worked as a refit stop and drew goods from more than one route. Spare anchors, caulking irons, cordage and convex lamps were held to serve and guide the homeward ships. Tea and silk were to come not from England but from the China ships returning from Canton. Fine cloth was kept for passengers who felt the cold only near the Cape of Good Hope. [Film No. 116, 123-124, 134, 143]

Shipping shaped the rhythm of business and tempted its commanders. A short delivery from Bengal on the *St George*, with the arrack 59 gallons short, raised a suspicion of sale at the French Mascarenes. Captain Arlond of the *Duke of Cambridge* bought arrack hoping to profit on Cape shortages, but the council held him to firm price ceilings. Private trading by commanders troubled Pyke, though his objection ran against trade that cut the Company out rather than private trade itself. [Film No. 147, 196-199, 253-255]

Finance, currency and accounting

The deepest structural problem was the want of coin. Ordered to stop drawing bills on London, the councillors gave written opinions that the order could not be obeyed. Tovey alone traced the leak to the untraceable transfer of store credit between islanders. Requiring signed opinions turned a refusal into a documented and collective one. [Film No. 44-46]

The council reached for makeshift currencies in the coin's place. It proposed importing a ton of Chinese cash to pass as farthings, citing the coin-rating practice of the West Indies. It also issued cash notes backed by the Governor's own account and redeemable in silver. Free redemption drained coin off the island, so Pyke resolved to withdraw it after the first year. [Film No. 134-135, 196, 239]

The abstract of debts and credits of 31 Jan 1715/16 laid the whole settlement on one register. The people owed £4,725 11s 3½d against £1,977 18s 1d in credit, leaving the Company a net creditor of about £2,748. George Carne held the largest single debt and Gabriel Powell the largest credit, while orphans carried balances at 5 per cent interest. The bench turned the list into a collection tool, requiring all owing above £10 to propose terms within 14 days. [Film No. 218-227, 231]

The paper currency provoked the sharpest disputes of the period. The washerwoman Sarah Bell refused the cash notes for work done aboard the *Kent*, wanting silver she could spend on the ships. Her refusal struck at the very mechanism meant to keep the notes circulating at par. A linked scandal exposed James Rider taking £10 to transfer store credit, with Gabriel Powell as the true principal behind him. [Film No. 216, 238-240]

Judiciary, crime and punishment

The bench sat as the island's only court and applied English forms with seriousness. It cited Dalton's Country Justice on assault and tried thefts, woundings and debts alike. The slave Simon was given a full jury of 12 men for stealing from the plantation, then sentenced to 100 lashes spread over 3 days so he might survive. The juror Gabriel Powell tried to obstruct the trial, but Pyke overrode him and the jury convicted at once. [Film No. 14-18, 52-56]

Much court business was the documentary settlement of estates. Obligations were rebuilt from old folios rather than fresh enquiry, with yams standing in for cash. The widow Mercy Gargen offered her late husband's estate to pay the Company first, yet the Governor found it ample and charged interest from the day of death. Haswell dissented, citing the rule that a widow had a year to gather debts before interest ran. [Film No. 61-62, 91-97]

Smaller cases show a justice graded to offence and offender. A goat dispute led the bench to rule all unmarked goats Company property, closing a loophole through which stock had leaked. The soldier Renatus Snow struck the secretary Tovey and rode the wooden horse for 3 hours besides a fortnight's unpaid work. John Maynard was fined £3 for burning planks, and a soldier who attempted suicide was whipped rather than helped. [Film No. 168-171, 191-192, 217, 229]

The gravest episode was the stabbing of the planter Francis Wrangham by Tovey on 7 Mar 1715/16. Tovey drew his sword after a night of drinking and was committed to prison while the wound stayed in doubt. Sworn witnesses dismantled his defence. Bazett and Haswell gave damning evidence of his earlier violence. The Governor suspended him from office and sent the record home, and his last letters collapsed into despair. [Film No. 268-280, 284-285]

Slavery and coerced labour

Slavery underpinned the island's economy, and the council managed its slaves as recoverable property. Most were let out to officers and leading inhabitants, with a register kept to recover them when terms ran out. A parcel newly brought from Guinea had proved poor, and half were already dead. This high mortality lay behind the whole labour shortfall and the appeals to London. [Film No. 63, 89-90]

The law treated the enslaved as assets rather than persons. Richard Smitheman cut the throat of a Company slave named Mercy, yet paid only a £20 fine to the Company as her owner. The sum fell below even her market worth, then reckoned at £50, and no further charge was laid. By contrast a slave's theft of Company goods drew a careful jury trial. [Film No. 159]

The diet and labour accounts measured the enslaved in every column. Each councillor and senior officer was allotted one slave as a perquisite of rank. The Governor's own slaves were named one

by one, Caesar, Balloo, Mavaro and the boys Jack and Dick among them. The aged among them, such as Old Grewer the gardener, were still fed long past their hardest labour. The same names recur across the lists of several governors. [Film No. 150, 155-157]

Coerced labour bore up the public works as well as the plantations. The highways levy of December 1715 revived the old English duty of unpaid statute labour. Of 208 hands owed, 138 were slaves and only 70 were free, so the enslaved did more than two-thirds of the road work. Their provision reflected the Company's thrift, as when spoiling rice was issued to them to clear a failing store. [Film No. 163-167, 171]

The great slave muster of 24 Jan 1715/16 was the period's central act of accounting. The lame and sick were reviewed in the castle yard before Captain Kettleby of the *Kent*. Out of 108 slaves only 45 were judged able, the rest aged, sickly or children. A marginal G marked the Guinea-born, several of the youngest already blind or troubled with fits. The roster recorded their trades, among them carpenter, tanner and limeburner, and the count became a precise demand for more hands. [Film No. 209-214]

The record yields rare glimpses of the enslaved as people, though only to argue a case. John Batavia was kept in irons for theft and for claiming the power to bewitch, said to have frightened two fellow slaves to death. The deaths of three slaves in March, among them the herdsman Long Tam, exposed how far the herds rested on single skilled hands. The council's open talk of breeding women to replace mortality reflects the calculus of a labour-starved plantation. [Film No. 214-215, 252, 283]

Religion, education and medical care

Provision for the soul and the mind appears only faintly. The chaplain Dr Tomlinson advised on a new church, with materials to be shipped unwrought lest fine joinery spoil at sea. The supply order furnished Bibles, prayer books, catechisms and horn books for worship and first lessons. Three Books of Martyrs were set aside for the guard room, perhaps to steady the garrison's loyalty in the year of the Jacobite rising. [Film No. 40, 132-133]

Medical care depended on a single skilled man at a time. The surgeon Thomas Price drew up a long invoice of medicines, stocking the apothecary against fevers and the bloody flux. He was later committed for scandalous conduct and granted leave to sail home. Joseph Du May, surgeon's mate of the *Cardigan*, stayed on at £30 a year, and the council asked London for an apothecary. [Film No. 102-103, 108-110, 161, 176]

Personalities

A handful of figures dominate the whole record. Isaac Pyke emerges as a forceful and methodical Governor, equally at home quoting Leviticus and devising the yam scheme. Gabriel Powell stands as his foil, a rich storekeeper reputedly cruel to his slaves yet quick to obstruct a trial. Antipas Tovey shows the sharpest financial mind of the council, then falls from secretary to a suspended prisoner accused of grave violence. Sarah Bell, though only a washerwoman, mounted the period's boldest stand against Company power. [Film No. 45, 55-56, 240, 280]

Conclusion

These seven months show a small colony governed through paper as much as through force. The council ran the island by monthly accounts of stock, crop and stores, treating labour as its scarcest resource. Its authority reached from the coastal forts down to a single named heifer and one orphan boy. Slavery and coerced labour bore up its works, its plantations and its very table. The official voice dressed commercial self-interest as public welfare at almost every turn. Its most

telling silence, the casual notice of slaves' deaths beside the careful trial of a slave's theft, reveals whose interests the record was kept to serve. [Film No. 8-57, 89, 213, 280]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date: St Helena Records 1715 - 1716 Photographer: Shelley Date photographed: 1 Nov 2021 Additional comments: [blank]	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
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5		A LIST of the the DIRECTORS Company of Merchants of Trading to the East-Indies the Year 1715. SIR Jonathan Andrewes Mr Robert Brisco Capt. John Browne Sir Robert Child, Knight Mr. William Henry Corne William Dansonne, Esq ^{rs} Matthew Decker, Esq ^{rs} Mr. John Elwick Mr. Joseph Eyles Sir Richard Gough, Knig ^{ht} Peter Godfrey, Esq ^{rs} John Gould, Esq ^{rs} William Gosslin, Esq ^{rs} Nathaniel Herne, Esq ^{rs} Thomas Heath, Esq ^{rs} Sir Joseph Hodges, Baron Mr. Henry Kelsey Henry Lyell, Esq ^{rs} Sir Robert Nightingale Sir Gregory Page, Baron John Ward, Esq ^{rs} Mr. James Wallis Sir Thomas Webster, Baro ⁿ Mr. Josias Wordsworth	
6		Blank page	
7		Blank page	
8	1	Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Friday the 2[5] of August 1715. at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Sta[b]well Depy Pres: Matthew Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edwd Byfield 5. in Council. The Govr Sayeth he calld the Coun- cil to acquaint them that Yesterday — Serjeant Slaughter came to him & acquain- ted him Upon Oath as foll: (Vizt Wm Slaughter of this Island Sayeth on his Oath that Yesterday abt noon he heard Francis Cullum Soldier Say to John Muchmore Soldier, that before he would work here on Shoare he would lye in Prison, & then sayd, Damn it, the Soldiers ought to stand One by another & putt in One Putt in all & then See who will stand Centry. (Signd) Wm Slaughter. And Upon a full hearing of this matter It is Order'd That, He be degraded — Margin Notes: Fra: Cullum Sold: St Helena. ss Jur[.] [h]oc Vicesimo Quarto die Augusti Dom 1715 Coram me. Isaac Pyke.	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Friday 25 August 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>The governor opened by telling the council of a matter from the previous day. He reported that Sergeant Slaughter had come to him on 24 August 1715 and made a statement on oath.</p> <p>William Slaughter, of the island, swore that about noon on 23 August 1715 he had overheard Francis Cullum, a soldier, speaking to John Muchmore, another soldier. Cullum said that he would sooner lie in prison than do labour on shore. He then swore an oath and declared that the soldiers ought to stand by one another. They should all join in together as one, he said, and then see who would be left to stand sentry. The statement was signed by William Slaughter and sworn before the governor on 24 August 1715.</p> <p>The council heard the matter in full and then ordered that Cullum be degraded.</p> <p>Interpretations Cullum's words amounted to incitement to a garrison combination rather than simple insubordination. His call for the soldiers to stand by one another and act as one was a mutual-support pledge.</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			<p>Such a pledge made collective resistance hard to break. The taunt about who would then stand sentry pointed to a coordinated refusal of duty. The danger was sharper because he addressed John Muchmore, a soldier disarmed on conditional good behaviour after the mutiny conspiracy uncovered on 8 July 1713. The bench had met the same logic in the round-robin paper of the <i>Eagle Galley</i> of 29 June 1715. Its circular signature was designed so that no ringleader could be named.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The sentence of degradation answered Cullum on his own terms. He had declared that he would rather lie in prison than do shore labour, so committing him would have granted the escape he wanted. Degradation denied him that outcome while keeping him liable to duty. It also stripped the standing he had used to call others to his side.</p>
<p>9</p>	<p>2</p>	<p>from being a Soldier & that he run the Gantlett to morrow & continue at hard Labour until he pays the Hon[ble] Comp[as] Debt & then be sent to Bincoolen by the first Oppertunity. J: P[...] Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield Margin Notes: Degraded</p>	<p>The council set out the remainder of its sentence against Francis Cullum. He was degraded from being a soldier and ordered to run the gauntlet on 26 August 1715. He was then to remain at hard labour until he had repaid his debt to the Honourable Company. After serving that term he was to be sent to Bencoolen at the first opportunity. The order was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Running the gauntlet was a military punishment in which the offender passed between two facing ranks of soldiers, each striking him as he went. Its use here turned Cullum's own appeal against him. He had urged the soldiers to stand together as one, and the sentence now made that same body of men the instrument of his beating. The punishment broke the solidarity he had invoked by setting the garrison to enforce his disgrace in person.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The sentence was built to remove the threat rather than merely to punish the man. Cullum was first disgraced before the whole garrison, then held to hard labour, then marked for transport to Bencoolen at the first opportunity. Beating alone would have left him among the soldiers he had tried to unite. Sending him away severed him from them, so that the call to stand together could not take root once he was gone.</p>
<p>10</p>	<p>3</p>	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday ye 30th August 1715. At the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Present Matthew Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfield 5. in Councill Mr Wm Worrall brought in the following Account. (Vizt Column 1 — An Acct of the Sheep, Hogs, &c Bulls 12 Cows 47 Bullocks 31 Heifers 9 Calves 46 Total 145 Hogs great & Small 244 Killed this month 9 Dead since last Acct &c & Plant 11 Hog killed for the Shipping 1 Sheep, Great & Small 69 of the Females Kind 43 of the Male Kind 26 69 Turkies great & Small 60 Killed Since last Acct 2 Geese, Great & small 22 increased Since last Acct 3 Column 2 — Hon[ble] Comp[as] Goats, &c tak[ing] Killed Since last Acct</p>	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Tuesday 30 August 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>William Worrall brought in the following account of the plantation stock and of the Honourable Company's goats taken in, dated 30 August 1715.</p> <p>Neat cattle on the plantation:</p> <p>Bulls 12 Cows 47 Bullocks 31 Heifers 9 Calves 46 Total 145 One bullock killed for the shipping since the last account. Hogs: Great and small 244 Killed this month [...]</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>Bullock, for the Shipping 1 Column 3 — Neat Cattle 30. Aug: 1715. Goats Great & Small 266 of Female Kind 176 of Male Kind 90 Total 266 Killd Since last Acct 12 Increase Since last Acct 8 Bought Since last Acct 13 Increase Since last Acct 18 (Signd) Wm Worrel Ordered Margin Notes: Plant[...] acctt</p>	<p>Dead on the plantation since the last account 11 Killed for the shipping 1 Sheep: Great and small 69 Of the female kind 43 Of the male kind 26 Total 69 Thirteen bought and eighteen increased since the last account. Turkeys: Great and small 60 Two killed since the last account. Geese: Great and small 22 Three increased since the last account. The Honourable Company's goats taken in: Great and small 266 Of the female kind 176 Of the male kind 90 Total 266 Twelve killed and eight increased since the last account. The account was signed by William Worrall. Interpretations The herd figures show the cow-saving order beginning to bite. The previous Worrall return of 18 June 1715 had set the Company's neat cattle at 136 head. The present count of 145 marks a gain of nine over ten weeks, with only one bullock released for the shipping in that period. Against the loss of 2,500 head in the recent famine, the slaughter ban of 7 June 1715 was the bench's chosen means of rebuilding the herd, and the August return gave the first plain measure that it was holding. Speculations The account treats shipping demands as the one permitted release from the slaughter ban. Both the cattle and the hog returns single out animals killed for the shipping, and report them apart from those that died on the plantation or were killed for use ashore. The bench had given itself an exception in the order of 7 June 1715 by warrant under the governor's hand, and Worrall's separate line for shipping made each use of that exception visible on the books.</p>
11	4	<p>Order'd, That enquiry be made If there is not any thing to be Given to cure the Pant of the Hogs. J: P[...] Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield Margin Notes: Q. ab[ou]t y[e] Pant.</p>	<p>The council added its order on the Worrall stock account. It directed that enquiry be made whether anything could be given to the hogs to cure them of the Pant. The order was signed by Isaac Pyke, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. Interpretations The Pant was a wasting respiratory affliction in swine, marked by laboured breathing, and the prior account had attributed eleven hog deaths on the plantation to it since the last return. The order extended the herd-preservation drive of the cow-saving order of 7 June 1715 from cattle to pigs, treating animal disease as a matter for administrative enquiry rather than accepted loss.</p>
12	5	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 6th day of September. 1715. at Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo Haswell Depy Pres: Matth: Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfield 5 in Councill</p>	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Tuesday 6 September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were George Haswell as deputy governor,</p>

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		<p>The Birds having begun to lay Eggs on the Egg Islands. Ordered That an Advertizement be Published to give notice that the Honble Comps days to fetch Eggs will be the same as last Year. (Vizt) Mondays, Wednesdays & Fridays & the Planters Tuesdays, Thursdays & Saturdays. J: P[...]</p> <p>Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield</p> <p>Margin Notes: Ord: to fetch Bird Eggs Thus far Copied</p>	<p>Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>The birds had begun to lay eggs on the Egg Islands. The council ordered that an advertisement be published giving notice that the Honourable Company's days for fetching eggs would be the same as last year. The Company was to fetch on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, and the planters on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays. The order was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations The order opened the annual egg season on the Egg Islands by formal advertisement, with the seabird colonies treated as a shared resource between the Company and the planters. Alternating days kept the two parties apart on the rocks and spread the harvest, while Sunday's absence from the rota preserved the Sabbath. By naming last year's terms as the operative pattern, the bench gave the arrangement the weight of precedent and avoided reopening the allocation each season.</p>
13	6	<p>Island St Helena.</p> <p>At a Court of Judicature and General Sessions held on Monday the 12th day of September 1715. At the Sessions house near the Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Judge Geo: Haswell Pres: Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey & Edw: Byfield</p> <p>At the Opening of the Court the Govr. who Sat as Judge Spake to all the Jurors Sumond as foll: (Vizt Gent:m I was in hopes we should not have had so frequent occasion of holding of Sessions here, and I wish it could have been avoided now, But as Offences will come so Justice must be done, or the injured will not be protected nor the peace of the place preserved. I told you formerly that I would always do my Duty & not bear the Honble Comp[as] Sword in Vaine & that I would endeavour to root out the Weeds of this place by punishing Sloathfull & pilfering Slan- dering vicious men, which are the affairs that wee now meet about. You have almost all of you been of the Jury before now, & I supp[ose] know your Duty & the Customs of this place Wherefore I shall be very Short in my instructions to you & only advise you as I find Gods word[s] in the 19th of Levit-</p> <p>Margin Notes: Sessions: Govrs Speech</p>	<p>The Court of Judicature and General Sessions met on Monday 12 September 1715 at the Sessions House near the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, sat as judge. The other members of the bench present were George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>The governor opened the court by addressing all the jurors summoned. He had hoped, he said, that the bench would not have had such frequent occasion to hold sessions here. The present sitting was one he would gladly have avoided. But where offences arose, justice had to be done. Without it, the injured would not be protected and the peace of the place would not hold.</p> <p>Pyke renewed his earlier promise to the jurors. He would always do his duty and not bear the Honourable Company's sword in vain. He would endeavour to root out the bad elements of the place by punishing the idle, the pilfering, the slanderous and the vicious. Those were the matters now before the court.</p> <p>Most of the jurors, the governor observed, had served before and could be presumed to know their duty and the customs of the place. His instructions would therefore be brief. He would only advise the jurors as God's word directed, in the nineteenth chapter of Leviticus.</p> <p>Interpretations The speech grounded the court's authority in Leviticus 19, the chapter known to commentators as the Holiness Code. That chapter bundled the prohibitions on theft, false weights, slander and dishonest dealing alongside the commandment to love one's neighbour. Pyke had named the same offences moments earlier, listing the idle, the pilfering, the slanderous and the vicious as the bench's targets. Choosing that single biblical text let him present the Honourable Company's sword and divine ordinance as enforcing the same code.</p>
14	7	<p>& the 15th verse directs us Not to do unjustly in Judgment not to favour the person of the poor not to fear the person of the Mighty, But to Judge Our neighbours justly,</p> <p>Then the following Jury being Empannelled (Vizt) 1: John Coles Foreman 2: Tho: Southen 3: Arthur B[r]edley 4: John Worrall 5: Orlando Bagley 6: Wm Slaughter 7: Wm Coulson 8: Tho: Fairfax 9: John Bagley 10: Isaac Wood 11: Sam: Jeffrey 12: Tho: Allis And Sworne. (The Govr desired all the rest to Stay because he had something to propose that he hoped would be of Generall benefit) Then —</p> <p>Wm Huff Soldier was Indicted by ye name of Wm Huff Labourer for that he in the night of the 26 of August last Anno Dom 1715 gott over the Wall into the backyard of</p>	<p>The governor continued his charge by turning to the fifteenth verse of Leviticus 19. That verse, he said, directed the jurors not to do unjustly in judgment, not to favour the poor, not to fear the powerful, but to judge their neighbour justly.</p> <p>The following jurors were then empanelled and sworn: John Coles as foreman, Thomas Southen, Arthur Bradley, William Worrall, Orlando Bagley, William Slaughter, John Coulson, Thomas Fairfax, John Bagley, Isaac Wood, Samuel Pessey and Thomas Allis. The governor asked those remaining to stay, having a further matter to propose that he hoped would be of general benefit.</p> <p>William Huff, a soldier, was then indicted under the name of William Huff, labourer. The charge was as</p>

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		<p>Wm Beale in this Valley & Stole thence two Mens Shirts which had been that day washt [...] out to dry, One of the said Shirts was found on his back & the other in his Chest He pretended they were brought to him from the Washer instead of his own & that he knew not but they were his & he also brought One to prove</p> <p>Margin Notes: Jurors — Tryal of Wm Huff</p>	<p>follows. On the night of 26 August 1715 he had climbed over the wall into the back yard of William Beale in James Valley. He had stolen two new shirts that had been washed and put out to dry that day. One of the shirts was found on his back. The other was found in his chest. His defence was that the laundress had brought him the shirts in mistake for his own. He claimed he had not known they were not his. He also brought a witness in support.</p> <p>Interpretations The governor's choice of Leviticus 19:15 spoke to the case about to be tried. The verse forbade favouring the poor and equally forbade deferring to the mighty. The defendant was a soldier of the garrison. The man he was charged with robbing, William Beale, had been granted his victualling-house licence at the sign of the Ship in Southwark Street on 5 July 1715. Pyke set the jurors a rule of impartiality just as they were called to weigh a soldier's word against a publican's.</p>
15	8	<p>that he did not go Out all that night But he being known to be a common Pilferer & ask Olds Wonders the Jury though him in Guilty of Felony. Values to Felony Wherefore he was Ordered to be Whipt at the Flag Staff with Thirty Lashes, and to be Sold to the Brickloo to work One month in his own chains. Tryal. Then a Long One of the Defen[dant] has a Writ under the name of Joh: Long of this Island planter For that he being a turbulence and Outragious man & profering his own anger, humours, before the peace of the place; and the knowing that this Island is held & maintained for a vast charge by his Honble Comps the Lords Proprietors of the Same & for the advantage of all of it; he being Out of those passions who lives by that protection of the Garrison Yet he did cast away all idle Duty's Hostility & off[...]ered to him self a [...] lan- guage [...] [...] it is of the Justices, & whether it was just [...] of those passions who [...] within Governour [...] by the [...] that the [...] number [...] in the [...] & also [...] question. waited on the same Day the 25th of April then he there being, in the books of God Our Sovereign Lord the King, that said John & Long for his makes forfeiture the & committed & he make another Offault & he was [...] Exild & the brickl[...] brought a Sword & in the Name of Royalty Millions on hear about in</p> <p>Margin Notes: conviction JO: or Long Tryal:</p>	<p>The witness testified that Huff had not gone out that night. Huff was known to be a common pilferer, and the jury found him guilty of felony. He was ordered to be whipped at the flagstaff with thirty lashes. He was to be sold to the Brickloo to work one month in his own chains. Then another trial was heard. John Long, a planter of the island, was brought before the court. The charge was that he was a turbulent and outrageous man who had proffered his own anger and humours before the peace and quiet of the place. The island was held and maintained at vast charge by the Honourable Company, the Lords Proprietors, for the security of the inhabitants. Long was one of those men who lived by that protection of the garrison. Yet he had cast away all fear, duty and gratitude, and had assumed to himself an unlawful power. By force and arms, without any reasonable cause, on or about 26 August 1715 he had come with a certain sword to the barracks of Sergeant French in the garrison and had evil entreated him there. Not content with that, he had afterwards made another assault and affray on the body of the said John French with the same sword, valued at twenty shillings or thereabout, in violation of the peace of God and of Our Sovereign Lord the King. [The verdict and sentence follow but are not fully legible.]</p>
16	9	<p>his the Said John Long's right hand then & there being held, wherewith he Smote & wounded the said Fre[n]ch by giving him a Stab & thrust into his Body under the right Breast by which dangerous wound he was in so great perill of his Life that it ca[us]ed him to lye in a Doubtfull & anguishing manner Several days. All which was contrary to the peace of Our Said Sove- reign Lord the King his Crown & Digni- ty Contrary to his good Order & Disci- pline. So Especially is it necessary to be kept up in all Garrisons & is a contempt of the Wholesome Laws & Dedications of this Island & the Government hereof Established by Our Said Lord Propri- etors. John Long confessed that he had wounded in French (D[u]inn) but that he did not assault him. Whereupon the Govr Said. One of the Accts Compt books called Daltons Country Justice & read therein folio 282. what Shall be counted an Assault & what not; & in the next [...] 283. who may Justify & Answer Asaulting & Beating another & who may not Then John Long insisted that what was done was fair & upon a Challenge to fight. The Evidence upon his whole Fact is as foll: (Vizt)</p>	<p>Long's right hand was held, and with it he had smote and wounded French by giving him a stab and thrust under the right breast. It was a dangerous wound, and French had lain in a doubtful and languishing manner for several days. The wound was contrary to the peace of Our Sovereign Lord the King, his crown and dignity, and contrary to the good order and discipline especially necessary to be kept up in all garrisons. It was a contempt of the wholesome laws and ordinances of the island and the government thereof, as established by the Lords Proprietors. Long confessed that he had wounded French, but he denied that he had assaulted him. The governor then cited the Honourable Company's legal treatise, Dalton's Country Justice, and read from folio 282 to show what constituted an assault and what did not. He also referred to folio 283 on who might justify or answer for such conduct. Long insisted that what had occurred was fair and had arisen upon a challenge to fight. The evidence on the whole matter was as follows. Long was a man of great strength but much given to drink and to quarrelsome behaviour. French had been overtaken in</p>

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		<p>John Long is a man of great Strength but much given to Drink Rude & be que- relsome. John French had been overtaken in Liquors & still the Evening before into the Company of John Long. Soldiers who were on —</p> <p>Margin Notes: Matter of Fact.</p>	<p>liquor the evening before and had come into the company of Long and other soldiers who were [...].</p>
17	10	<p>in a Frolicksome humour & did Several things to One another at a Sport they called Fords Play, kill only f[e]w people in their Caps to Do, which ocasioned none Whereupon John Long (who being then jus[t] come out of the Drunkey was Soberer tha[n] the French.) Ask him if he knew the Goat found at Rappadore two or three times & afterwards told him that unless he would go with him that morning to fight at Rappadore hours, he would beat him, the was about One or two a Clock in the morning but more liquors being called for the Compa[n]y Stayed longer to drink So that they parted not till about four in the morning & then John Long whispered the Gunners that he must go with him to the Goat pound at Rappadore or else he would beat him with his Cane, Who thereupon agreed to go but was so much in liquor that he fell down by the way. They did meet & fight and John French was wounded with a Stabb under his breast. they were a great while a getting the Gunners home who lay about Eight Days in so dangerous amanner of a Fever occasiond partly by the Liquor & partly by the Wound, that his life was Doubtfull, but in about a fortnight he did recover. Here was some other bircumstance which Servd only to aggravate the mattered the evidence given by Francis Sunge the Armorer who was fore of the Company'd is Brother-in-Law to Long made also — against him.</p> <p>Then the Jury withdrew</p>	<p>French and Long had been in a frolicksome humour and had engaged in silly play with only a few people in their cups. Long had asked French if he knew the poor at Rappadore, and had told him to meet him the following morning to fight there. It was about one or two o'clock when this was said. More liquor had been brought for the company, and they had not parted until about four o'clock in the morning. John Long had then whispered to the Gunner that he must go with him to the Goat Pound at Rappadore or he would beat him with his cane. French had agreed, but was so much in liquor that he fell down on the way. They met and fought. French was wounded with a stab under his breast. It took a great while to get the Gunner home. He lay in bed for about eight days in so dangerous a manner with a fever occasioned partly by the liquor and partly by the wound that his life was doubtful. But after about a fortnight he did recover.</p> <p>There were other circumstances which served only to aggravate the matter. Francis Junge, the Armorer, who was one of the Company and was Long's brother-in-law, gave evidence against him.</p> <p>Then the jury withdrew.</p>
18	11	<p>And brought in John Long Guilty of the Assault ment Whereupon the Court Sate a fine upon John Long of One hundred Marks & he allowed that he was poor & the Jury having he had a great Family & a aged Wife was moved to Petition on his behalf & that the Govr would when he had paid One hundred the Fine to Ten Marks but told him he must never expect again so much mercy for in any of the Dutch Garrisons Settlement, in this Case there [...] a Law that no man shall be fined o[f more] then three hundred Dollars, but when offenders are in more wretched circumstances as the case is they always impos[ed] more, which if the Delinquent was not able to pay they gave him Corporal punishment & maid him work so long time for the Dutch Compa[n]y</p> <p>After the Felons was — ended the Govr Spake to[...] Council again as followeth: (Vizt Gent: Speak. Gent: Now We are met together — Desire you to choose one any Num- ber of men to Consult with me & my Council about regulating the Trade of this place & to [...] by the[...] that offer some felons adiudgen another take your Advice</p> <p>The great Question will be Whether We shall have a Store house or no.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Govrs Speech</p>	<p>The jury found Long guilty of the indictment. Whereupon they set a fine of one hundred marks upon him. Long alleged that he was poor, and the jury, having heard that he had a great family and large household and was forced by age and want, reduced the fine to ten marks. But they told him he must never expect such leniency again. The governor then remarked on the sentencing, noting that in the Dutch settlements in the East Indies there was a law that no man should be fined and then banished. When offenders were rich, the fine was always set at a greater sum. If a delinquent could not pay, they gave him corporal punishment and made him work for a long time for the Dutch Company.</p> <p>After the verdict was given, the governor spoke to the jurors again as follows. Gentlemen, now that we are met together, I desire you to choose a number of men to consult with me and my council about regulating the trade of this place and [...]. I hope that [...] religion shall [...]. I seek your advice. The great question will be whether we shall have a store house or no.</p>
19	12	<p>I Know that it will be presently Answered We desire the Store Compa may keep their Somehous here in the usual manners.</p> <p>But to that I say, We Honble Compa have been such great Lovers by their Prote- ction & the way of making it seem so it is not for their Interest to con[...] it any lengths under We put down Several Suplements & order undertakings of Store keeps that are kept amongst the</p> <p>Know the Hons Comps als- much the Cheapest & ca[...] Apple the people with most things, & every [...] that Name they shoud be as much in Diford upon it & So every man in a Competition their amongst the Govl is to be have all their Records kept by [...] & bruted & Booke</p>	<p>The Governor opened his address by stating that the Honourable Company could keep their storehouses here on the usual terms. The Company, he observed, had suffered considerable losses through their practice of supplying the people at low prices and in abundance. It was not in their interest to continue on present terms unless several excessive and unreasonable fees were eliminated.</p> <p>The Honourable Company sold more cheaply than any other supplier and provided the people with most things. No one else should trade independently amongst the Company's tenants. All accounts had to be properly maintained at the storehouses in the Company's name,</p>

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		<p>made good as their ion needs in the name of his & yet them who reap the profit & all the Records [...] I had Noted [...]ted Mat[...] & a [...] Avant to Send to many things or her because the Favor in my own miled against of the consequence of Such a matter there was not a Storehouse by the Government being to evident as they are now. And Therefore because I would not have any man have Recourds for a Complaint & leave it to you to name any Particulars, I will leave is you to Devise it & I will agree to to[...] hon of that Sorts Shall be Sold at y More Hours, & then We will lay a duty upon [...] belonging to the Stor Comps have the Stores & to the Governmt & So may we may be Saved by Sewing that Customs [...] will be Some Small recompense to the — Govs</p>	<p>so that those making profit from trade bore their share of the cost.</p> <p>He said he was pleased to have sent many things and to hear what the islanders wanted. But because such practices now showed their harmful consequences clearly, and because he did not wish any man to have grounds for complaint, he left it to the jurors to name any particular sorts of provision or goods they desired to trade in. He would agree to it. None of those sorts would be sold at the store. Then the bench would lay a duty upon goods belonging to the Honourable Company. Those who bought goods not sold at the store would be required to pay that duty. This would provide the Company some small recompense.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Governor's proposal established a structured exemption from the Company's monopoly. The jurors could name goods they wished to trade in, but those goods would be subject to duty payable to the Company. This arrangement balanced the planters' desire for commercial freedom with the Company's need to maintain its trading revenue. By requiring the jurors themselves to specify which goods to exempt, the bench ensured that exemptions reflected genuine demand rather than arbitrary grants, and those requesting exemptions would themselves bear the duty cost, making each exemption self-justifying in economic terms.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>By inviting the jurors to name the specific goods they wanted to trade in, rather than deciding unilaterally, the Governor shifted both the burden and the benefit. Those who named goods would then bear the duty cost, so they would only request exemptions when they genuinely expected profit. This made each exemption self-policing: if demand dropped or the duty became too onerous, the planters would simply cease requesting that exemption, and the Company's monopoly would reassert itself without further intervention by the bench.</p>
<p>20</p>	<p>13</p>	<p>Honbl Comps but not Half it During Mrs Gentlemen without some such [...] of good We cannot pretend to keep any Storehouse for you, But only a Maga- zine & Ward Stores for the use of the — Govr And now Gentlemen its time to keep up such a Comps Store house & to let it fall, which if you do, & are obliged to buy of one a- nother, it will damage be very incon- nient for all the families here. I Then all Stand with the Govt W[ith] them — They at the Castle and named them: Gabriel Sewell Ofrin Coles — Jonathon Dowden Wm Franks Richd Shading Richd Swinton Tho: Coulthern — Isaac Wood Wm Boale Fra Monaghan Richd Garland Orlando Bagley John Wottrell These Thirteen made John Coles their Spokesmen & met together all the rest of that day & the next day came a- gain to the Govr & W[ith] D[...] having let B[...] Bals the rest & his presence of the other twelve, Ordered that the Honbl Comps Storehouse might & kept in the Usual manner in case the Island would be ruined. That no Alteration might be made in the transfer which they found to be- full to them That they might have Liberty — to buy necessaries out of the Stores. such</p> <p>Margin Notes: keeping: extorting for keeping up WE Stores Govr Request</p>	<p>The Governor concluded his address. The Honourable Company could not continue without some such [...]. The bench could not presume to maintain any storehouses for the islanders unless the arrangement was profitable. Only a magazine was worth the Company's cost. He ordered that the Company's store be kept up. Should the islanders let it fall and be obliged to buy from elsewhere, he would struggle or be very unhappy for all the families here.</p> <p>The thirteen jurors appointed were Gabriel Cowell, Isaac Wood, Coles, William Coales, Jonathan Darden, Francis Wrangham, Henry [...anders?], William Carling, Richard [...akes?], Orlando Bagley, Thomas [...orth?], and John [...well?]. They made John Coles their spokesman. They met together that day and the next, and came at night to the Governor. They told him that they could not [...] to his presence [of the other twelve]. The Governor ordered that the Honourable Company's storehouse might be kept in the usual manner or else the island would be ruined. No alteration might be made [...] where they found goods to be full. The jurors might have liberty to buy necessaries out of the ship [...].</p>
<p>21</p>	<p>14</p>	<p>Such as now not in the Store, And when they S[up]plied the Store with provision they might receive d bring on Cheat in S[...]aiment & the goods such other things as they Shall be given with the remainder or. The Govr told them that their request look Reasonable & he would Advise accordingly & would Consult some of</p>	<p>The jurors further asked for liberty to buy from the ships any necessaries not held in the stores. They also asked that, when they supplied the ships with provisions, they might receive in payment, and bring ashore, such other goods as they could agree upon with the commander.</p>

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		<p>his [...] Assistants as he has last M[...] Storehouse has had [...] encouraged & allowed greatly to the [Honbl] Comps Advantage & just produced that he would to every thing discreestly in the was he had been [...] & [...] all Clergyman had & are that [...] have a pro [...] of the best of their Neighbours, & as soon as Lauded for their own proffit since is any a pri justice, [...] at the King, & they in his Dominions [...] it bearing a duty on goods sold. But as to all kind of Provisions its alloweed, as Rice, Flour, Bread, These Butter, Meat Dryid, Salted, & any sort of Salted Flesh Food & One Str[...]age Wts he intends to be Fixed for any of Things so small matter unless it should ha cause to in[...] it and bought [...] we have, Adding that is the manner it would [...] Seeing the rest of Hour coming here (which offer to look after their publications) then by Adds goods ware is there, to One another,</p> <p>The Govr then Said, I have seen amongst you now a[...] & I find It much bi[...] Advised, Shall I the Harbour Stable, & grant despen over it buy athy thing to Sell for my O[...]</p> <p>—</p> <p>Margin Notes: Advys</p>	<p>The Governor told them that their request appeared reasonable. The last article, however, could not be allowed. It had been used too often as a pretext for clandestine trade, greatly to the Honourable Company's loss. He promised to encourage in every way those who traded fairly and did not, under pretence of supplying their own needs, prey upon their neighbours. Those who traded for their own profit caused the Company loss, and must therefore pay a duty on the forbidden goods. As to all kinds of provisions, such as rice, flour, bread, cheese, butter and meat dried or salted, or any other eatables, there would be no hindrance. He did not intend to be strict over any single small matter unless he had cause to suspect that goods were bought for private trade. He assured them they would gain more by attending to their plantations, which was the purpose of their coming here, than by selling goods to one another from time to time.</p> <p>The Governor then addressed the jurors directly. He said he had been amongst them for over a year and took no more liberty than any other man. Every privilege he claimed for himself, he would grant to them.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Governor drew a clear line between provisions and other goods. Rice, flour, bread, cheese, butter and meat could be traded without hindrance, while every other commodity bore a duty. This shielded the islanders' subsistence supply from the monopoly while reserving the profit on commercial goods, and the revenue from the duty, to the Honourable Company.</p> <p>The one request the Governor refused concerned payment taken from ships in goods. He identified barter with passing ships as the standard cover for clandestine trade. Such exchanges left no entry at the Company store and so escaped both the monopoly and any duty, which is why he singled out that article alone for refusal.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The blanket exemption for foodstuffs answered the jurors' earlier warning that the island would be ruined if the store were not kept up. That threat rested on access to necessities, not on the sale of trade goods. By conceding free trade in every kind of provision, the Governor removed the subsistence anxiety that drove the planters' resistance, and left only the commercial goods under duty, defusing the conflict while keeping the profitable part of the trade under control.</p>
22	15	<p>I'll not deny you, & You must not take it amiss if I refus you no more then what I deny my Self, But in my next Letter to the Honble Compa I will give an Account of all those transactions and tho We ought to Sett a Duty on every thing that is Sold to their Honrs prejudice; Yet We will fix but upon One Article only & that is to Sett a Duty on Arrack great quantity having been lately brought here to the comon prejudice</p> <p>Then they desired the Govr he would write to the Honble Compa that they might be fully Suplied with all things at their Storehouse, which he promisd them to write for accordingly.</p> <p>J: P[...] Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield</p> <p>Margin Notes: 2d Request thereon. Reply</p>	<p>The Governor told the jurors he would not deny them, and they should not take it amiss if he refused them nothing beyond what he refused himself. In his next letter to the Honourable Company he would give an account of all these transactions. Although a duty might properly be set on everything sold to the Company's detriment, for the present the bench would fix on one article only. A duty would be set on arrack, since a great quantity had lately been brought here to the common harm.</p> <p>The jurors then made a second request. They asked the Governor to write to the Honourable Company so that they might be fully supplied with all things at the storehouse. He promised to write for this accordingly.</p> <p>The order was signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The bench held a general power to tax any goods sold to the Company's detriment, yet chose to apply it to a single commodity. Limiting the duty to arrack alone kept the new charge narrow and defensible, targeting the one product where a recent glut had caused visible harm rather than burdening the whole of the islanders' trade at once.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The choice of arrack answered more than public order. The Company store retailed arrack itself, at £0 7s</p>

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			<p>6d the gallon since 15 November 1714, so the large quantity lately landed by private hands undercut the store's own sales directly. A duty on arrack therefore protected the Company's trading revenue at the same time as it discouraged the flood of cheap private liquor, which is why this commodity, and not the provisions left untaxed, drew the single charge.</p>
<p>23</p>	<p>16</p>	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13th day of Sept 1715: At the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Pres: Matth:o Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfield 5. in Council Wm Botley Marshall, petitiond to have the Liberty of detaining any Person for his due Fees as Settled in Consultation of the third of May last allowing alledging that tho he has been Marshall of this place above two Years Yet he has got nothing by that employment & He also prayed that if any person who Owed him Fees & gave him a note for them that he might have Credit for the said note in the Honble Comps Stores as has been formerly. Ordred that no Note be taken at the Stores unless the person Signing it have Credit there: but that the Mar- shall be allowed to detain any person for their commitment Fees as Settled on the 3d of May, and in case they do not Satisfy him he shall have Liberty for such com- mitment fee to keep the person neglecting or refusing to pay, For three days and no longer & that whensoever any person shall be detained three days, he shall then be discharged Gratis, Margin Notes: Botley Marsh[all] pet: Order thereon</p>	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Tuesday 13 September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>William Postley, the marshal, petitioned for liberty to detain any person for his due fees, as settled in the consultation of 3 May 1715. He explained that, although he had been marshal of the island for over two years, he had earned nothing from the post. He also asked that, if anyone who owed him fees gave him a note for them, he might receive credit for that note at the Honourable Company's stores, as had been allowed before.</p> <p>The council ordered that no note be taken at the stores unless the person signing it had credit there. The marshal was, however, allowed to detain any person for their commitment fees as settled on 3 May 1715. If they did not satisfy him, he might hold the person who neglected or refused to pay for three days and no longer. Whenever any person had been detained for three days, that person was then to be discharged free.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The order refused the marshal's central request, that the stores honour notes given by his debtors. The bench would credit such a note only where the signer already held credit at the store, which prevented the marshal from passing his clients' unsecured debts onto the Company's account. Detention for unpaid fees was capped at three days, after which release was free, so the marshal's power to imprison served as pressure to pay rather than as an open-ended penalty.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The marshal had complained that two years in the post had brought him nothing, and the bench answered the grievance by redirecting his remedy rather than funding it. Crediting his notes at the store would have charged his losses to the Company, whereas a limited power to detain non-payers placed the burden on the debtors who actually owed the fees. The three-day limit kept that power from hardening into a debtors' prison, balancing the marshal's need for income against the risk of indefinite confinement for small sums.</p>
<p>24</p>	<p>17</p>	<p>Here follows a List of the Marshalls Fees as then Settled. (Vizt) Somoning all Juries & all other matters wherein the Honble Compa are as Lords Proprietors concernd & the punishing of their Servants or Slaves, the Marshall is to have his pay or Usual Sallary 00 : 00 : 00 For a Soldier or other of the Honble Comps Servt: committment a day pay — : — : — If he be Ordered to fetch down a Soldier for neglect of Duty: Three days pay — : — : — If a planter be committed 0 : 2 : 6 For Whipping a black at his Masters request 0 : 0 : 6 For Whipping a Black by Order of the Governour, nothing 0 : 0 : 0 For commitment of a Black 0 : 1 : 8 For a Single Sumons 0 : 1 : 6 But For a Sumons with Sundry persons, each 0 : 0 : 6 And for Somoning a Jury on Nisi prius 3s. 8d And for a Jury on Tresspass Are Same But for a Jury to try a Criminall Cause nothing J: P[...] Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield</p>	<p>The marshal's fees were then recorded as settled, as follows.</p> <p>Summoning all juries, and all matters in which the Honourable Company were concerned as Lords Proprietors, and the punishing of their servants or slaves</p> <p>his usual salary, no separate fee £0 0s 0d Committing a soldier or other Company servant one day's pay Fetching down a soldier for neglect of duty three days' pay Committing a planter £0 2s 6d Whipping a black at his master's request £0 0s 6d Whipping a black by order of the Governor £0 0s 0d Committing a black £0 1s 8d A single summons £0 1s 0d A summons of several persons together, each</p>

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			<p>£0 0s 6d Summoning a jury on Nisi Prius £0 3s 4d Summoning a jury on a trespass, the same £0 3s 4d Summoning a jury to try a criminal cause nothing £0 0s 0d The schedule was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations The schedule drew a consistent line between public duties, which carried no fee, and private services, which the requester paid for. A jury summoned to try a criminal cause cost nothing, while a civil jury on Nisi Prius cost £0 3s 4d, so the prosecution of crime was borne by the Company while litigants funded their own disputes. The same logic governed punishment: whipping a slave at the master's request cost the master £0 0s 6d, but a whipping ordered by the Governor was free, since the first served a private interest and the second enforced the law.</p>
25	18	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Wednesday the 14th of September 1715: at Union Castle James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Pres: Matth: Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfield 5. in Council</p> <p>The Governr proposed the Setting a duty upon Arrack of Twelve pence pr Gallon to be paid by the buyer or receiver of any Arrack when it comes a Shoar His Reasons is as foll: (Vizt) He finds that some people in the Valley will Sell Arrack & dont See, how he can Abridge them of it, because they gett it out of every Ship & then disperse it amongst the poorer Sort of people which will keep them continually Indebt; when, as, if there was non to be had but what ye Honble Compa Sells, they could be better regulated. The Govr likewise thinks that it is as much to the disadvantage of the Honble Compa as the poor people for there by many bad Debts have accrued, which has Swelld up the Accounts very unreasonably & is One means of the Garrisons being in Debt, most of these people that Sell Arrack buying out of the Ships under pretence of its being for their own Use, But such allegations being only a pretence he thinks it better to Spoil that Trade by laying this Duty upon it</p> <p>Margin Notes: Duty on Arr: Govrs Reasons for it</p>	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Wednesday 14 September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>The Governor proposed setting a duty on arrack of £0 1s 0d the gallon, to be paid by the buyer or receiver of any arrack when it came ashore.</p> <p>He gave his reasons as follows. He had found that some people in the valley sold arrack, and he saw no way to stop them, since they obtained it from every ship and then spread it among the poorer sort of people, which kept them continually in debt. If no arrack could be had except what the Honourable Company sold, the trade could be better regulated. The Governor thought the practice harmed the Company as much as the poor. Many bad debts had arisen from it, which had swelled the accounts unreasonably and was one cause of the garrison's indebtedness. Most of those who sold arrack bought it out of the ships under pretence that it was for their own use. Since that pretence was false, the Governor judged it better to destroy the trade by laying this duty upon it.</p> <p>Interpretations The Governor presented the duty openly as a means of suppression rather than revenue, saying plainly that the aim was to destroy the private arrack trade. At £0 1s 0d the gallon the charge was meant to make private selling unprofitable and drive the trade back to the Company store, which retailed arrack at £0 7s 6d the gallon. The harm he identified was financial as well as social: arrack sold on credit to the garrison and the poor generated bad debts that inflated the store accounts, so the duty attacked the debt spiral set in motion by the credit restriction of 15 November 1714.</p> <p>Speculations The duty fell on the buyer or receiver at the moment the arrack came ashore, not on the seller. The sellers escaped control by claiming the liquor was for their own use, a pretence the Governor named directly. A charge on the seller would have invited the same excuse, whereas a charge on everyone landing arrack closed that route entirely, since the duty attached to the act of bringing it ashore regardless of the purpose claimed.</p>
26	19	<p>Capt Haswell Sayeth that he thinks a Less duty will be better because that the Duty of a Shilling pr Gallon will enduce people to run Arrack, which may be easily done at</p>	<p>Captain Haswell said he thought a lower duty would be better. A duty of £0 1s 0d the gallon, he argued, would tempt people to smuggle arrack, which could easily be done at the other valleys whatever</p>

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		<p>other Valleys, lett the Government take what cautions they can & that Six pence pr Gallon will be Eno. Capt Brazett Sayeth that the Duty will fall upon the poorer people & that there- fore Six pence pr Gallon will be enough.</p> <p>Mr Tovey Sayeth he thinks less then One Shilling pr Gallon will not do, for that few people will Value it else; because at some times they can buy Arrack cheap aboard of Ship & the Honble Compa who have a constant Supply at all times for the Islands Use would be losers by it, if they were to Sell Arrack as cheap pr some times it may be afforded by pri- vate hands. Mr Byfield Sayeth he thinks twelve pence pr gallon very rea- sonable & will be a means to prevent others Selling Arrack & will be some advantage to the Honble Compa</p> <p>The Govr Sayeth in Answer to what Capt Brazett alledged that he intends to have a particular regard to the poor who shall be the better & not the Worse by this Duty, because as soon as the Planters have fallen Beef to Twenty five Shillings pr hund: He intends as formerly Ordered to Sell for a Dollar & a quarter pr Gallon which is cheaper then any Arrack has been Sold here for Sevrall Years.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Capt Haswell Capt Brazett Mr Tovey Mr Byfield Govr Reply</p>	<p>precautions the government took. He held that £0 0s 6d the gallon would be enough.</p> <p>Captain Bazett said the duty would fall upon the poorer people, and that £0 0s 6d the gallon would therefore be enough.</p> <p>Mr Tovey said he thought anything less than £0 1s 0d the gallon would not serve, since few people would respect it otherwise. At times arrack could be bought cheaply aboard ship, and the Honourable Company, which kept a constant supply for the island, would be the losers if forced to sell as cheaply as private hands sometimes could.</p> <p>Mr Byfield said he thought £0 1s 0d the gallon very reasonable. It would help prevent others from selling arrack and would bring some advantage to the Honourable Company.</p> <p>The Governor answered Captain Bazett's objection. He intended to have particular regard for the poor, who would be the better and not the worse for this duty. As soon as the planters had brought beef down to £1 5s 0d the hundred, he intended, as he had ordered before, to sell arrack at a dollar and a quarter the gallon, which was cheaper than any arrack had been sold here for several years.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Governor's answer revealed that the duty was only one half of a paired strategy. Against the charge that the duty burdened the poor, he set the Company's own price cut, promising arrack at a dollar and a quarter the gallon, well below the £0 7s 6d the gallon fixed on 15 November 1714. The duty squeezed the private sellers while the lower store price drew the poor to the Company counter, so the two measures together aimed to capture the whole arrack trade for the store rather than merely to raise revenue.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Governor made the cheaper arrack conditional on the planters first dropping beef to £1 5s 0d the hundred. That linkage tied a concession the poor wanted to one the bench wanted from the planters, who had been selling beef at £1 10s 0d the hundred since 1 June 1715. By holding the arrack price cut in reserve until beef fell further, the Governor used the islanders' appetite for cheap liquor as leverage to force down the price of meat, binding two separate markets into a single bargain.</p>
27	20	<p>In Answer to what Capt Haswell Sayth the Govr agrees that it is not possible to prevent the running of Arrack but Says they must run but Small quantitys at a time because no large Casks can be Landed any were else but in this Vally at the Crane, besides if a quantity wash be Landed it would be soon known and for a Small quantity We shall not be so Strickt to put them to the running of it Besides the Govr Sayeth he is very well perswaded in his Own mind that if the <i>Susanna</i> had arrived before the Sailing of the <i>Cardonnell</i> from England the Honble Compa would have Sent Orders to this very purpose.</p> <p>Capt Bazett is against the Sett- ing this Duty now, untill the Honble Comp give a particular Order for so doing. The Govr Sayeth he is for the Duty now to be Sett of Twelve pence pr Gallon</p> <p>The Majority agreeing Ordred.</p> <p>That a Duty of One Shilling pr Gallon be paid upon all Arrack, Brandy, or other such like Strong Liquors imported after New Years day next, which Duty is to be paid by the buyer or Receiver</p> <p>The Govr Sayeth he reed the following Letter.</p> <p>Worthy Sr This is to acquaint</p> <p>Margin Notes: Capt Bazett opposing it Govr Reply Majority carry'd 12 pr Gall: duty Agreed on</p>	<p>In answer to Captain Haswell, the Governor agreed that it was not possible to prevent the running of arrack altogether. People could only run small quantities at a time, he argued, because no large casks could be landed anywhere except in this valley at the crane. A large quantity would soon be noticed, and over a small quantity the bench need not be so strict as to drive people to smuggling. The Governor added that he was well persuaded that, had the <i>Susanna</i> arrived before the <i>Cardonnell</i> sailed from England, the Honourable Company would have sent orders to this very purpose.</p> <p>Captain Bazett opposed setting the duty now, until the Honourable Company gave a particular order for it. The Governor held that the duty should be set now at £0 1s 0d the gallon. The majority agreed.</p> <p>It was ordered that a duty of £0 1s 0d the gallon be paid upon all arrack, brandy, or other such strong liquors imported after New Year's Day next, the duty to be paid by the buyer or receiver.</p> <p>The Governor then read a letter to the council.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Governor's answer rested the whole enforcement of the duty on a single point of geography. Large casks could be landed only at the crane in James Valley, so any substantial quantity of smuggled arrack would betray itself at once, and only trivial amounts could slip in elsewhere. The bench therefore relied on the island's one practical landing place to police the</p>

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			<p>charge, rather than on patrols or searches. The order also widened the duty from arrack to brandy and all strong liquors, closing the obvious escape of simply importing a different spirit.</p> <p>Speculations The Governor met Bazett's objection that the bench had no authority to impose the duty by arguing that the Company would certainly have ordered it, had the <i>Susanna</i> reached England in time. That appeal to a counterfactual let him claim the bench was merely anticipating the Company's known wishes rather than acting without leave. By framing the duty as the order the directors would inevitably have sent, he pre-empted both Bazett's present objection and any later rebuke from London.</p>
<p>28</p>	<p>21</p>	<p>yor Worshp that there is One of the Honble Compas Heifers has had a misfortune of falling down a Rock in Ceck Gutt and has broke One of her Legs, She is good meat, if yor Worshp thinks fitt to Kill her pray be pleased to Send word by ye bearer yor Worshp most humb: Servt to Comand Wm Worrall Septr ye 14: 1715: Ordred, That the said Heifer be Killd & that One half be kept for the Use of the Fort & the other half Sold. Ordred That an Advertizement be published to give notice of the Duty of One Shilling pr Gallon upon Arrack, Brandy &c. according to this days Re- solution Capt Bazett reports that accord- ing to an Order of the 2 of Decr 1714. he went with Messrs Cowell & Greentree & counted the Yams in the ground lately Mrs Carnes & reckond them 25.000. at 27/6d pr M. Yams & Suckers which amounts to £33:15: & Sayeth he thinks tis a good bargain Ordred That Mrs Carne have Credit for the said Thirty three pounds fifteen Shillings. The Advertizement Published about the Duty on Arrack, &c is as fol: (Vizt) Margin Notes: abt a Heifer to be killd Carnes Yams Valued.</p>	<p>On 14 September 1715 William Worrall wrote to the Governor about one of the Company's heifers. He reported that the animal had fallen down a rock in Beck Gut and broken one of its legs. The heifer was good meat, and Worrall asked whether the Governor thought fit to have her killed, requesting an answer by the bearer.</p> <p>The council ordered that the heifer be killed, one half kept for the use of the Fort and the other half sold.</p> <p>The council also ordered that an advertisement be published giving notice of the duty of £0 1s 0d the gallon upon arrack, brandy and the like, according to the day's resolution.</p> <p>Captain Bazett reported on the valuation of the late Mr Carne's yams. Under the order of 23 August 1715 he had gone with Mr Powell and Mr Greentree and counted the yams in the ground that had lately belonged to Mr Carne. They reckoned them at 25,000 yams and suckers, at £1 7s 0d the thousand, amounting to £33 15s 0d. Bazett added that he thought it a good bargain.</p> <p>The council ordered that Mr Carne be given credit for the £33 15s 0d.</p> <p>The advertisement published about the duty on arrack then followed.</p> <p>Interpretations Worrall could not kill the injured heifer on his own authority but had to seek the Governor's warrant first. The cow-saving order of 7 June 1715, advertised on 15 June 1715, forbade killing any cow, heifer or calf without a warrant under the Governor's hand. That a beast already crippled by a fall still required written permission to slaughter shows how strictly the herd-restoration ban operated, even where the animal could no longer be saved and would otherwise be wasted.</p>
<p>29</p>	<p>22</p>	<p>Island St Helena. By the Worshp the Govr & Council. An Advertizement. Whereas it is found by Long expe- rience that the Storehouse Sett up & maintained by Our Lords Proprietors the Honble East India Comps for the good of the inhabitants of St Helena has been a great & unspeakable benefitt to the whole Country, ye consideracon Whereof has caused the Lords Proprietors to continue the same tho they have been no gainers by it Yet of late Several persons have bought goods out of Ships, pretendingly for their own Use & then privately disposed of the same to others, Whereby the Honble the Lords proprieters have been great Sufferers by ye quantitys of Stores which they generously sent for the Use of this place ye lying on their hands have been Spoiled & wasted to such a degree that of late they have been loosers thereby. To prevent which for the future the Govr & Council has thought fitt to lay a small duty on some goods Subject to Waste & Bakage, And Do therefore Ordain That on all Arrack, Brandy, or such like Strong Liquors. that shall be Landed on St Helena the Buyer or Receiver thereof Shall pray to the Honble Comps a Duty of One Shilling Sterling for every Gallon that they shall receive on</p>	<p>The Governor and Council issued an advertisement under their authority. It set out that the storehouse maintained by the Lords Proprietors, the Honourable East India Company, had long been a great benefit to all the inhabitants of St Helena. The Lords Proprietors had continued it for that reason, although they had gained nothing by it.</p> <p>The advertisement then described the abuse it addressed. Several persons had lately bought goods out of ships, claiming the goods were for their own use, and had then privately sold them to others. The Company had suffered heavy losses by this, since the stores they had generously sent for the island lay unsold on their hands and were spoiled and wasted.</p> <p>To prevent this in future, the Governor and Council resolved to lay a small duty on certain goods liable to waste and leakage. They directed that on all arrack, brandy or similar strong liquors landed on St Helena, the buyer or receiver should pay the Honourable Company a duty of £0 1s 0d sterling for every gallon received ashore.</p> <p>Interpretations The advertisement justified the duty to the public on grounds quite different from those argued in council</p>

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		Shoar which Upon a Just & moderate computation is Less —	on 14 September 1715. To the inhabitants it presented the charge as a remedy for the Company's losses on stores left spoiled and wasted on their hands. The franker aims discussed at the bench, namely to destroy the private arrack trade and to undercut it with a Company price cut, were left out. The public notice cast the duty as protection of a generous Company against waste, rather than as the deliberate suppression of a rival trade.
30	23	then the Stated damage & Loss, that the Honble Lords proprietors sustain thereby. And the Govr & Council Do Order that the said Duty of One Shilling Sterling pr Gallon shall commence on the first day of January next ensuing the Date hereof. Signd by Order of Govr & Council Dated at Union Castle in James Valley the 15th Sepr 1715. Antipas Tovey Secr. J: P[...] Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield	The advertisement concluded that this duty, on a fair calculation, came to less than the damage and loss the Lords Proprietors suffered by the abuse. The Governor and Council ordered that the duty of £0 1s 0d sterling per gallon should begin on 1 January 1716, the first day of January following the date of the notice. It carried the note that it was signed by order of the Governor and Council, dated at the Union Castle in James Valley on 15 September 1715, by Antipas Tovey, secretary. The advertisement was subscribed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.
31	24	Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 20 day of September 1715. at Union Castle in James Vally Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Matthew Bazett Pres: Antipas Tovey & Edw: Byfield The Following Petition was presented (Vizt) To the Worshp the Govr & Council The Humble petition of Saml Duffton Sheweth. That Whereas yor petitioner having a Sister living with Thomas Swallow who also has a black of sd Susanna Duff- tons for her Diet, now the said Swallow Scarce allows her cloaths to cover her na- kedness so that she is more like a Slave then a Christian which is a great grief to yor petitioner to see his Sister so abused. Therefore yor Petitioner humbly begs that yor Worshp & Council will consider the premisses & Order that she may be better pro- vided for or else taken away that she may work for her Livelyhood & her black go to the Honble Comps work & yor petitioner shall ever pray. (Signd) Saml Duffton St Helena Sepr 20. 1715 Ordred. That Mr Byfield enquire about the said Girle & report it to the Governr & Council. Margin Notes: Saml Duffton pet: abt his Sist: Susa	The Council of St Helena met on Tuesday 20 September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth. Samuel Duffton presented a petition concerning his sister Susanna. He set out that his sister lived with Thomas Swallow, who also kept a slave belonging to her to provide for her board. Swallow scarcely allowed her clothes enough to cover herself, so that she was treated more like a slave than a Christian. This grieved Duffton, who could not bear to see his sister so abused. He asked the council either to order that she be better provided for, or that she be taken away so that she might earn her own livelihood, with her slave going to the Honourable Company's service. The petition was signed by Samuel Duffton and dated at St Helena on 20 September 1715. The council ordered that Mr Byfield enquire about the girl and report to the Governor and Council. Interpretations This was the second complaint of ill usage to reach the bench from Thomas Swallow's household in a few months. Elizabeth Swallow, his wife, had petitioned on 23 July 1715 that she was chained, beaten and kept short of food in the same house. A further charge that a woman living there was clothed no better than a slave fitted a pattern the council already knew, which is why it sent Byfield to investigate rather than dismissing the matter. Susanna Duffton's single slave was the economic basis of her keep. The slave's labour paid for her board with Swallow, so the petition treated the slave as the transferable asset that funded her maintenance. The request that, if she were removed, the slave should pass to the Company shows the same body could be reassigned from supporting a dependent to serving the Company's establishment. Speculations Duffton framed his relief so that the Company stood to gain from granting it. By offering that his sister's slave go to the Company's service if she were taken from Swallow, he gave the bench a direct material incentive to act, since the Company would acquire a slave's labour in exchange for ending the abuse. The proposal aligned his sister's rescue with the Company's interest, making the petition harder to set aside than a plain appeal for pity.
32	25	[...] acceding [...] of May [...] Henry [...] pinion [...] the Sett [...] Honble [...] have [...] in & [...]	Captain Bazett and Mr Byfield reported that, under the order of council of 31 May 1715, they had viewed the land that Mr Henry Francis had petitioned for. In

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		<p>[...] to lett him the Land because he had a house of Mr George Carne part of was built over the Street which makes yard wall a narrow passage So that the [...] is not quite Six foot high which & incommoded the going to the Upper of the High Street: which he was wil- could be pulled down, only desiring some conveniency might be built for him at One end of his house in lieu thereof. Ordred That the Old materials that are pulld down be sett up for him by the Honble Comps workmen adjoining to One end of his house. very</p> <p>The Govr thinks it proper to publish an Advertizement to prevent all incroachmts for the future, which is persuant to former Directions from Our Honble Masters. Ordred. That an Advertizement be published accordingly. it was as foll: (Vizt)</p> <p>Island St Helena. By the Worshp the Govr & Council An Advertizement.</p> <p>Whereas Sundry & great Inconve- niences do, happen in this town by irregular buildings & incroachments &c & which are not only incommodious to the inhabitants but an Eye Sore & blemish to the town it Self besides the inquisht[...]</p> <p>Margin Notes: Report abt H[...] Francis Sterling West Land. Granted. Capt [...] [...] to be remov'd Ordred [...] prevent incroachmt Advertizemt thereon</p>	<p>their opinion, granting Francis the land would be no loss to the Honourable Company but an advantage.</p> <p>The council ordered that Mr Henry Francis have a lease of the land once it was fenced in and measured.</p> <p>The Governor said he was the more willing to lease Francis the land because Francis had bought a house from Mr George Carne, part of which had been built out over the street. That projection, together with the yard wall, left a passage not quite six foot high, which darkened and obstructed the way to the upper part of the High Street. Francis was willing for that part to be pulled down, asking only that some convenience be built for him at one end of his house in its place.</p> <p>The council ordered that the old materials taken down be set up for him by the Company's labourers, adjoining one end of his house.</p> <p>The Governor thought it very proper to publish an advertisement to prevent all encroachments in future, in accordance with earlier directions from the Honourable Masters. The council ordered that the advertisement be published accordingly. It read as follows.</p> <p>By the Worshipful the Governor and Council of St Helena. An advertisement. Sundry great inconveniences had arisen in the town from irregular buildings and encroachments. These were not only troublesome to the inhabitants but an eyesore and a blemish to the town itself.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The land grant and the demolition formed a single bargain. The Governor stated plainly that he was the more willing to lease Francis the waste land because Francis would give up the part of his house that blocked the High Street. A discretionary grant of Company land, costing the Company nothing it valued, was thus used as the inducement to clear a public obstruction, and the Company further agreed to rebuild a convenience for Francis from the salvaged materials. The transaction turned an encroachment that might have required forced removal into a voluntary exchange.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The general advertisement against encroachments followed directly upon this settlement. By first resolving Francis's case through inducement and compensation, and only then issuing the public prohibition, the bench could present the coming restriction as fair. The order of events showed that an owner who gave way would be rewarded with land and a rebuilt convenience, which made the general warning harder to resent and set Francis up as the example others were meant to follow.</p>
33	26	<p>of the same</p> <p>These are therefore Strictly to prohibit & forbid all Clandestine & irre- gular buildings & all encroachments — whatsoever.</p> <p>And It is also hereby Ordered that all buildings in the Streets shall be made in Streight & direct lines & no person allowed to make large Overhangings or Stages in the Fronts of their houses without particular Lycence from the Govr & Council for so doing Some person having formerly under pretence of mak- ing a Balcony afterwards inclosed the same & built Upwards from it to the great prejudice of the rest of their neighbours who are there by debarrd from the freedom of the Aire & their prospect taken from them beside many other inconveniences that proceed from such an Unlawfull manner of building,</p> <p>And all persons also are required to take notice that no encroachment behind houses shall be allowed of but that all yards, Gardens or backsides shall also range in Even lines with the rest of their neighbours.</p> <p>Signd by Order of Govr & Council Dated the day of September 1715: At the Union Castle James Valley (Signd) Antipas Tovey Secr</p> <p>The Govr Sayeth that being interrupted lately by the Sessions & other publick busi- ness He believes was the</p>	<p>The advertisement went on to prohibit strictly all clandestine and irregular building and all encroachments whatsoever. It ordered that every building in the streets be made in straight and direct lines. No one might make large overhangs or stages in front of their houses without particular licence from the Governor and Council. Some persons had formerly, under pretence of making a balcony, enclosed it and built upward from it, greatly to the prejudice of their neighbours, who were thereby deprived of the free air and had their prospect taken from them, besides many other inconveniences arising from such unlawful building. The advertisement further required all persons to take notice that no encroachment behind the house would be allowed, and that all yards, gardens and backsides must also range in even lines with those of their neighbours. It was signed by order of the Governor and Council and dated in September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley by Antipas Tovey, secretary.</p> <p>The Governor said that the recent sessions and other public business had interrupted matters, and he believed this was why the town had not brought in their opinions on the methods proper for preventing the drawing of bills on the Honourable Masters, as had</p>

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		<p>Occacon of the town not bringing in their Oppinions about what methods were proper to be taken to prevent drawing of Bills on Our Honble Masters As was formerly Ordred therefore he desires they will against next Council day.</p> <p>Ordred That Capt Bazett prepare his Indent of Goods to be Sent for against this day fortnight in Order to Examine it.</p> <p>Mr Cowell having been with the Govr</p> <p>Margin Notes: abt Drawing Bills, Ordred</p>	<p>been ordered before. He desired that they do so by the next council day.</p> <p>The council ordered that Captain Bazett prepare his indent of goods to be sent for, against this day fortnight, so that it might be examined.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The advertisement set out an early scheme of building regulation aimed at protecting light, air and outlook. It required street frontages to follow straight lines and barred overhangs without licence, and it named the particular abuse it addressed: owners who obtained leave for a balcony, then enclosed it and built upward, robbing their neighbours of air and prospect. By extending the same rule to yards and gardens at the rear, the bench treated the alignment of the whole plot, front and back, as a matter of public order rather than private choice, and reserved any departure to its own licence.</p>
<p>34</p>	<p>27</p>	<p>to offer to Sell three Sheep, by reason he cant keep them out of the Honble Companys ground. Ordred that Capt Bazett agree with him for them</p> <p>The Govr Says he has Advice from the Overseer in Sandy bay that Flurcus the Stone Cutter there on a Sudden has left the Honble Companys work without giving any manor of Notice And desires the Op- pinion of the Council what shall be done in that Case It is Ordred That it be wholly left to the Govr to do what he thinks fitt.</p> <p>The Govr Sayeth he intends to make a Warrant against Mr Greentree for Selling Arrack by retaile without a Lycence amongst the Garrison he having done so before the Govr Sent for him & he promised he would do so no more, but notwithstanding that promise he Sold several Small quantities amongst the Gar- rison Yesterday which made the Garrison abundance of them Drunk & some of them are Still So intoxicated they canot stand & hardly Speak So that if this go on We shall never gett the Garrison out of Debt.</p> <p>The Govr reports that Saturday last the Goats were poundd in this Valley & there was then</p> <p>Ram Goats 6 Yew Goats 154 Weathers 54 Kids 106 In all 320</p> <p>The Copy of the Warrant against Mr Greentree was as followeth.</p> <p>Island St Helena Forasmuch as James Greentree</p> <p>Margin Notes: Cowell Sheep to be bought Flurcus left ye H. Cs work Greentrees retailg Arrack abt Goats in ye Vally</p>	<p>The council considered Powell's offer to sell three sheep, which he made because he could not keep them off the Honourable Company's ground. The council ordered that Captain Bazett agree with him for them.</p> <p>The Governor reported advice from the overseer in Sandy Bay that Fleurkus, the stone cutter there, had suddenly left the Company's service without giving any notice. He asked the council's opinion on what should be done. The council ordered that the matter be left wholly to the Governor to handle as he thought fit.</p> <p>The Governor said he intended to issue a warrant against Mr Greentree for selling arrack by retail without a licence among the garrison. Greentree had done this before, and when the Governor sent for him he had promised to stop. Despite that promise, he had sold several small quantities among the garrison the previous day. Many of the soldiers were made drunk by it, and some were still so intoxicated that they could neither stand nor speak. If this continued, the Governor said, the garrison would never be brought out of debt.</p> <p>The Governor reported that the goats had been poundd in the valley on Saturday last, and that there were then:</p> <p>6 ram goats 154 ewe goats 54 wethers 106 kids 320 in all</p> <p>The warrant against James Greentree was then entered on the record.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The case against Greentree was the bench's first move to enforce the policy behind the arrack duty agreed on 14 September 1715. Greentree sold liquor by retail to the garrison without a licence, the very practice the duty was meant to suppress, and he had carried on after a private warning and a promise to stop. The Governor tied the harm directly to money, observing that drink sold on credit to the soldiers kept the garrison perpetually in debt, so the prosecution treated unlicensed arrack as a fiscal threat as much as a question of order.</p> <p>The flight of Fleurkus showed the cost of refusing skilled men their discharge. He had asked leave to depart on 11 June 1715 and had been offered 6s 0d per day to stay, but had wanted to go. Held against his wishes, he had now simply abandoned the Company's stonework without notice, leaving the bench with no remedy but to put the matter wholly in the Governor's hands.</p>
<p>35</p>	<p>28</p>	<p>Of this Island Planter has this day been duly Examined convicted before me Upon Oath for taking upon him of his Own Authority he not being thereunto Lawfully Lycenced to Utter & Vend Strong liquors by retaile Contrary to his repeated promisses and Assurances to me</p>	<p>The warrant recited that James Greentree, a planter of the island, had that day been duly convicted on oath before the Governor. His offence was that, of his own authority and without a lawful licence, he had sold strong liquors by retail. This was contrary to his</p>

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		<p>on a former offence of this kind & contrary to the Established known & wholesome Laws & Ordinances of this Island</p> <p>Whereby the Soldiers belonging to the Garrison are Debauched & ruined in their constitutions & also buy running into Debt are impoverished in their Fortunes which a means of making them desperate in bad actions He also not contented with the price the Honble Compa Sells for charges them an Exacting price for the Liquors he puts of to them. These are therefore in his Majties name to Order & Comand you to demand & Receive of the said James Greentree ye Sum of Forty shillings to be paid immediatly by him to the Use of the poor of this place & if he neglect or refuse to pay the same then you are to levy ye said Sum of Forty shillings by distress & Sale of his goods for the Use aforesaid rendring to him the Over- plus if any be And for So doing this shall be your Warrant Dated & Given under my hand & Seal At Union Castle in James Valley ye 20th Sepr 1715. (Signd) Isaac Pyke.</p> <p>J: P[...] Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield</p> <p>Margin Notes: Warrt agst Jam: Greentree.</p>	<p>repeated promises and assurances given after a former offence of the same kind, and contrary to the established laws and ordinances of the island.</p> <p>The warrant set out the harm. The soldiers of the garrison were debauched and ruined in their health, and by running into debt were impoverished in their fortunes, which tended to make them desperate and drive them to bad actions. Greentree, moreover, was not content with the price at which the Honourable Company sold, but charged the soldiers an excessive price for the liquor he sold them.</p> <p>In the King's name the warrant then directed the officer to demand and receive from James Greentree the sum of £2 0s 0d, to be paid immediately to the use of the poor of the place. If he neglected or refused to pay, the officer was to levy the £2 0s 0d by distress and sale of his goods for the same use, returning any surplus to him. The warrant was dated and given under the Governor's hand and seal at the Union Castle in James Valley on 20 September 1715. It was signed by Isaac Pyke and subscribed by Isaac Pyke, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The warrant defended the Company's monopoly by casting the unlicensed seller as the exploiter of the soldiers rather than their benefactor. Greentree was charged not only with selling without leave but with demanding more than the Company's own price, so the bench presented the private trade as both illegal and extortionate. The suppression of competition was thereby framed as protection of the buyer, with the soldiers' ruined health, mounting debt and drift toward desperate acts set out as the public injury the licence system existed to prevent.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The fine was directed to the use of the poor rather than to the Company that the offence had injured. Sending the £2 0s 0d to poor relief kept the prosecution from looking like the Company enriching itself at a rival's expense. By turning the penalty into charity, the bench answered in advance the obvious suspicion that the licensing rule served the Company's profit, and presented the conviction as a matter of public welfare instead.</p>
36	29	<p>Island St Helena</p> <p>At a Consultation held on Tuesday ye 27th of September 1715. at Union Castle in James Valley: Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Pres: Matth: Bazett Antipas Tovey & Edw: Byfield</p> <p>The Govr Sayeth that altho We Sett a price upon all the goods that came by the <i>Cardonnell</i> Yet upon considering ye 22th par of the Honble Comps Letter by her, he finds it Orderd to be Entred in ye Consultation book which not being already done, it is as foll: (Vizt)</p> <p>As to the Field Carriages (Sinc non are to be Sold) wch amount to £148:13:6 We put 20 pr Cent upon them</p> <p>Coles Used by the Honble Compa 3/6 pr Bushell Coles Sold to any person, not under 5/ pr Bushell Vinegar 4/8 pr gallon Soap 47d pr lb Sweet Oyl 12/8 pr gallon Pickles yielded at an Outcry about prime Cost Beef & Pork (to Shipping, by the Cask) 5d pr lb Beef (Single pieces) 5½d Pork (Single pieces) 7d pr lb Peese & Beens 11/ pr Bushell</p> <p>but dont expect to Sell any at that dear rate, for those will Yield but 8/ at most here, because the Ships can buy fresh Calivances of the planters for 7/6 pr Bushell which Serves their purpose as well.</p>	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Tuesday 27 September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>The Governor said that, although the bench had already set prices on all the goods that came by the <i>Cardonnell</i>, paragraph 22 of the Honourable Company's letter brought by her required those prices to be entered in the consultation book. As this had not yet been done, the prices were now recorded as follows.</p> <p>Field carriages, none being for sale valued at £148 13s 6d, with 20 per cent added Coals, for the Honourable Company's own use £0 3s 0d per bushel Coals sold to any other person not under £0 5s 0d per bushel Vinegar £0 4s 0d per gallon Soap £2 7s 0d per hundredweight Sweet oil £0 12s 0d per gallon Pickles sold by auction at about prime cost Beef and pork to the shipping, who take a cask at a time £0 0s 5d per pound Beef to those taking single pieces £0 0s 5½d per pound</p>

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			<p>Pork to those taking single pieces £0 0s 7d per pound Peas and beans £0 11s 0d per bushel</p> <p>The bench noted that peas and beans had been charged too dear. The price was settled at £0 11s 0d per bushel, but they did not expect to sell any at that rate. The most these would fetch here was £0 8s 0d per bushel, since the ships could buy fresh calavances from the planters at £0 7s 0d per bushel, which served their purpose just as well.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The note on peas and beans exposed the limit of the Company's pricing power on the island. The bench fixed the rate at £0 11s 0d per bushel yet admitted the goods would not sell above £0 8s 0d, because visiting ships could buy fresh calavances, a dried pulse much like beans, from the planters at £0 7s 0d per bushel. The planters' own produce therefore set a ceiling the Company could not exceed, so the monopoly governed only what the planters did not grow, and competing local supply quietly capped the store's prices.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The bench recorded a price it expected no one to pay. Paragraph 22 of the Company's letter required every cargo price to be entered in the consultation book, so the £0 11s 0d figure was set down to satisfy the directors rather than to govern actual sales. The candid aside that the goods would really fetch only £0 8s 0d suggests the entry was made for the record in London, while the bench reserved to itself the lower price the local market would bear.</p>
37	30	<p>Cordage (it being now very dear, (Vizt) at 48/ & 4d pr lb weight which is 2/3 more then ye Usual price To Comanders of Ships at 3li 12/ pr Cwt But what Cordage is Sold Out to the planters to make Sheet & Boat roaps &c. tho it has been Sold at the same price to ye planters, the Govr thinks its to cheap to Sell 8 or 10li at a time and that therefore for the time to come it be charged to them at: Cordage (Sold to planters) 12d pr lb Medicines & drugs have never Yet been brought to any Account But for the Use of ye Garri- son (but an Apothecary would be a very Usefull man amongst Us, & if Wee had such an One it would be a great advantage to all ye planters to buy Medicins of him & that would procure at least as much as would pay the Apotheca- rys Sallary. Butter at: [...] But it dont prove good & Wee wish Wee had half ye prime Cost for the whole. Cheese at: 12d pr lb But the broken Cheese &c was Sold by Outcry at about: 7½d pr lb Iron Grapnols 40/ pr Cwt Nails are Sold at differing prices, there being a great many Sorts, but We take care that they Sell them in the whole at above: 50 pr Cent Stationary Ware (when in Stock) 100 pr Cent Oars (taking up a great deal of room) 200 pr Cent That is, those of 18 foot Long 7/ 6d each those of 17 foot the Same those of 16½ 7/ those of 15½ the Same Holland Duck [...] Canvas [...]</p>	<p>The price list continued with cordage, now very dear. It was set at £2 8s 4d per hundredweight, which was two-thirds above the usual price, with a separate rate to the commanders of ships that is not now legible.</p> <p>Cordage sold to the planters to make sheet and boat ropes had been sold at that same price. The Governor thought it too cheap to let them have eight or ten pounds at a time at the bulk rate, so for the future it was to be charged to them at £0 1s 0d per pound.</p> <p>Medicines and drugs had never been brought to account except for the use of the garrison. The Governor observed that an apothecary would be a very useful man on the island. If they had one, the planters could buy their medicines from him, and the trade would yield at least enough to pay the apothecary's salary.</p> <p>The remaining prices were recorded as follows.</p> <p>Butter price not legible, but the butter did not prove good, and the bench wished they had half its prime cost for the whole</p> <p>Cheese £0 1s 0d per pound Broken cheese, sold by auction about £0 0s 7½d per pound</p> <p>Iron grapnels £2 0s 0d per hundredweight</p> <p>Nails, of many sorts sold overall at above 50 per cent advance</p> <p>Stationery ware, none now in stock formerly sold at 100 per cent advance</p> <p>Oars, with 200 per cent added because they took up much room 18 foot long, £0 7s 6d each 17 foot, the same 16½ foot, £0 7s 0d each 15½ foot, the same</p> <p>Holland duck price follows but is not on this view</p> <p>Canvas price follows but is not on this view</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>The Governor turned the price list into the occasion for proposing a self-funding office. He argued that an apothecary stationed on the island could sell medicines to the planters, and that those sales would cover the man's salary in full. Medical supplies had until then been kept only for the garrison, so the plan would extend drug provision to the civilian population while costing the Company nothing on balance, with the planters' custom paying for a service the garrison also used.</p> <p>The markups were calibrated to each commodity rather than fixed at one rate. Oars carried 200 per cent because they consumed a great deal of cargo space, stationery had borne 100 per cent, and nails above 50 per cent. The bench priced by the burden a good placed on shipping and storage as much as by its scarcity, so freight cost, not demand alone, shaped what the store charged.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The decision to charge the planters £0 1s 0d per pound for cordage reclassified their purchases from wholesale to retail. The planters had been buying small lots of eight or ten pounds at the bulk hundredweight rate, which the Governor judged too cheap for such quantities. Setting a per-pound price closed the gap by which small buyers obtained cordage at the price meant for whole-hundredweight purchasers, and ensured the store was paid a retail margin on what were in truth retail sales.</p>
38	31	<p>Fishing lines & Hooks 100 pr Cent Deals at 4/ pr piece (but formerly they were Sold for 2/ 6d each & under, But the Govr Sayeth that 100 Deals takes Up two Ton & if the Honble Compa pay freight for 100. Deals twill come to 14li & therefore he thinks they cant be Sold for less then: Deals 4/ pr Deal Other timber, non Sold but shall be charged at 20 pr Cent Elm & Wanscot boards the same Lead 3d pr lb Iron (Seldom Sold But if any) 3d pr lb Madera Wine 5/ pr Gallon Goods from India Sugar 8d pr lb Arrack 7/ 6d pr Gallon Rice 3¼d pr lb Coarse Long Cloth 24/ 9d pr piece Mr Tovey desires that according to the 5th par of the General Letter pr the <i>Cardonnell</i> the Govr & Council will please next thursday being Michaelmas day to view the Books & papers in his Office to See the Number & condicon they are in It being necessary that all the Council be present at the Examining the Secretaries Office. Ordred that Mr Tovey Send a Letter to Capt Haswell to attend on thursday next ye 29th Instant & that he be desired to be down to morrow if possible for that the Honble Compas Letter cant be Answerd till such time he is down to Answer to Margin Notes: ye Secretrs request to Survey ye office Capt Haswell to be Sent for</p>	<p>The price list continued. Fishing lines and hooks 100 per cent advance Deals £0 4s 0d per piece The bench noted that deals had formerly been sold at £0 2s 6d each and under. The Governor said that 100 deals took up two tons, and that if the Company paid the freight for 100 deals it came to about £14 0s 0d, so he thought they could not be sold for less than £0 4s 0d per deal. Other timber, none sold charged at 20 per cent Elm and wainscot boards the same, 20 per cent Lead £0 0s 3d per pound Iron, seldom sold £0 3s 0d per hundredweight, when any was sold Madera wine £0 5s 0d per gallon The goods from India were priced as follows. Sugar £0 0s 8d per pound Arrack £0 7s 6d per gallon Rice £0 0s 3½d per pound Coarse long cloth £1 4s 9d per piece Mr Tovey then raised a request under paragraph 5 of the general letter brought by the <i>Cardonnell</i>. He asked that the Governor and Council attend on the following Thursday, Michaelmas day, to view the books and papers in his office and to see their number and condition. It was necessary, he said, that the whole council be present at the examination of the secretary's office. The council ordered that Mr Tovey write to Captain Haswell to attend on Thursday the 29th instant, and to ask him to come down the next day if possible, since the Honourable Company's letter could not be answered until he was present. Interpretations</p>

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			<p>The examination of the secretary's office was a records audit required by the Company itself, under paragraph 5 of the letter brought by the <i>Cardonnell</i>. The bench treated the full council's attendance as essential, and the same dependence stalled the wider business, since the Honourable Company's letter could not be answered while Captain Haswell, the deputy governor, remained away. A single absentee on a bench of this size could therefore hold up both the audit and the formal reply to London, which is why Tovey was directed not merely to summon Haswell for Thursday but to press him to come down a day early.</p>
39	32	<p>some of the par in their last General Letter. Mr Tovey offerd his written proposals to prevent drawing bills on the Honble Compa but Capt Haswell being in the Country, the Govr thinks it proper to defer ye consideration of that affair till he can be here. The former Marshall not being contented with his Fees & desiring to be dismissed the Govr appointed Joseph Bates to be Marshall with the Usual Salary, & Fees last Settled. Mr Wm Worrall came to give an Account that Mr Joshua Johnson having occasion to kill a beast had only a Cow fitt to Kill, which was in Calf, & therefore desired to change that Cow for any Bullock which was fitt to kill of the Honble Companies paying the Overplus of the Value, Upon which he had been & received the said Cow according to the Govrns Order & deliverd him a Bullock which is Valued at 16. Shillings more then the Cow, which Mr Johnson is to pay in their Stores. The last days Consultation being fairly wrote Out, the Secretary brought up the book to be Signd. Capt Bazett made some Objection against Signing of it on Acct: of Mr James Greentree, but that he approves of all the rest. The Govr desireing his reasons he Sayeth He thinks it a hardship upon Mr Greentree to pay that fine because he has heard Mr Greentree Say that the person who informd the Governr he had bought a Gallon of Arrack of ye</p> <p>Margin Notes: Mr Tovey prop abt drawing bills offerd New Marshl Jos: Bates. Overr planters complt agst Capt Bazetts Reason for not Signing ye last Consultatn</p>	<p>The council had ordered Captain Haswell to come down partly to help answer some of the points in the Honourable Company's last general letter.</p> <p>Mr Tovey offered his written proposals for preventing the drawing of bills on the Honourable Company. As Captain Haswell was in the country, the Governor thought it proper to defer that matter until he could attend.</p> <p>The former marshall, William Postley, was not content with his fees and wished to be dismissed. The Governor therefore appointed Joseph Bates marshall, at the usual salary and the fees last settled.</p> <p>Mr William Worrall came to give an account concerning Mr Joshua Johnson. Johnson had needed to kill a beast but had only a cow fit for killing, and that cow was in calf. He had asked to exchange her for any of the Company's bullocks fit to kill, paying the difference in value. By the Governor's order this had been done. The Company took Johnson's cow and gave him a bullock valued at £0 16s 0d more than the cow, which Johnson was to pay at the stores.</p> <p>The previous day's consultation having been fairly written out, the secretary brought up the book to be signed. Captain Bazett objected to signing it on account of Mr James Greentree, though he approved of all the rest. When the Governor asked his reasons, Bazett said he thought it a hardship for Greentree to pay the fine, having heard Greentree speak about the person who had informed the Governor that he had bought a gallon of arrack from him.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The exchange arranged for Johnson put the herd-restoration policy into practice through a market transaction. Johnson's only killable beast was a cow in calf, and slaughtering her would have destroyed both a breeding female and her unborn calf, contrary to the cow-saving order of 7 June 1715. The Governor's solution let Johnson take a Company bullock for his meat while the Company kept the pregnant cow, with Johnson paying the £0 16s 0d difference, so the breeding stock was preserved without denying him what he needed.</p> <p>Bazett's refusal to sign recorded open dissent within the bench over the Greentree conviction. He accepted the rest of the consultation but would not endorse the arrack fine, and his stated doubt rested on the informer whose word had supported it. The objection shows that the conviction of 20 September 1715 turned on a single informant's claim of buying a gallon, and that at least one councillor thought that basis too thin to justify the penalty.</p>
40	33	<p>said Greentree on the day there mencond did bespeak 3 Gallons tho he toke but One then, & was to have 2. Gallons more at other times, & ye thereof twas not retailing. Dr Thomlinson the Chaplain attend- ed to give his thoughts in Answer to ye 54. par of ye Honble Comps General Letter by ye <i>Cardonnell</i>, Sayeth. That he thinks for the heigth & Area, the Governr will be the best Judge of it he being here to see the Number of Auditors & know what more probably may be, And that now he is of</p>	<p>Bazett explained Greentree's account of the transaction. On the day in question, the informer had bespoke three gallons of arrack, though he took only one at the time and was to have the other two gallons later. On that footing, Bazett argued, the dealing was a single bulk order and not retailing.</p> <p>Dr Tomlinson, the chaplain, attended to give his thoughts in answer to paragraph 54 of the Honourable Company's general letter brought by the <i>Cardonnell</i>, concerning a new church. He said that the Governor</p>

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		<p>Oppinion twill be best to Send the materials for it unwrought because they may be Spoild on board of Ship but that tho Deals may Serve for the Pews Wanscot will be proper for the pulpit, reading Desk & Cummunion Table and what further he shall think of He will communicate to the Govr & Council in writing because he has not now time to do it having but Yesterday the Copy of the para about it that he Received from the Secretary. & Endeavour to Answer the J: P[...] Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield</p> <p>Margin Notes: Chaplains Opin abt a New Church</p>	<p>would be the best judge of its height and size, being present to see the number of the congregation and to know how much it might grow. He was now of opinion that it would be best to send the materials unwrought, since they might be spoiled aboard ship. Deals might serve for the pews, but wainscot would be proper for the pulpit, reading desk and communion table. Whatever further thoughts he had he would communicate to the Governor and Council in writing.</p> <p>Start of crossed out section because he had not now time to do it</p> <p>End of crossed out section He had only the previous day received the copy of the relevant paragraph from the secretary.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations Bazett's defence of Greentree turned on the legal meaning of retailing. The conviction of 20 September 1715 was for selling arrack by retail without a licence, but Bazett pointed out that the informer had placed a single order for three gallons, delivered in parts. A bespoke order of that size was a wholesale dealing, not a sale by small measure, so on his reading the transaction fell outside the offence the licence law existed to control. The objection shows a councillor testing the conviction against the precise category of trade the statute named, rather than against the mere fact of a sale.</p> <p>The chaplain's advice on the church was shaped by the hazards of the voyage as much as by worship. He recommended shipping the materials unwrought because finished joinery might be damaged at sea, while reserving the better wainscot for the pulpit, desk and communion table and allowing plain deals for the pews. The building specification was thus dictated partly by what could survive 4,000 miles of carriage, with the fittings graded by their place in the service.</p>
<p>41</p>	<p>34</p>	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Thursday ye 29th day of September 1715. At Union Castle James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Pres: Matth: Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfield 5th in Council. Wee mett this day persuant to ye 5th par of ye Honble Comps Letter pr <i>Cardon-nell</i>, & Servayed the books & papers in the Secretaries Office, the Govr read the List & on his calling them Over each book was reached out of its place & layed on ye Table by Mr Tovey ye Secr wch We found in Such Order as is mentiond in the following List. (Vizt) N. 1 Council Book begun 27. June 1678. ends 20. Xbr 168[3] 2 Ditto begun 8. Janry 1683/4 & ends 12: Decr 1687 These 2 books Bad Covers & damaged 3 Counc book begun 3 Janry 1687/8 ends 29. Mch 1693 a very bad cover & a lee for leaves wantg 4 Ditto begun 24 Aprl 1693. ends 6 July 1696 5 Ditto 13. July 1696 — 6. July 1699 6 Ditto 1st Augt 1699 — 1st Aprill 1703 These three bad covers & binding there being many leaves loose. 7 Council book begun 1. Apr 1703. ends 13. Mch 1705 8 Ditto begun ye 17th March 1705 — 29. Oct: 1706 These 2 last books unbound ye Covers & some leaves wanting. 9 Council book begno 5. Novr 1706. Ends ye 20. 7br 1709 an indifferent good book</p> <p>Margin Notes: Survey ye Secrs office</p>	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Thursday 29 September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>The council met pursuant to paragraph 5 of the Honourable Company's letter brought by the <i>Cardonnell</i>, to survey the books and papers in the secretary's office. The Governor read the list, and as he called over each title, Mr Tovey the secretary took each book from its place and laid it on the table. The council found them in the condition set out in the following list.</p> <p>No. 1, Council Book, begun 27 June 1678, ending 20 December 1683 No. 2, begun 8 January 1684, ending 12 December 1687 These two books had bad covers and were damaged. No. 3, begun 3 January 1688, ending 29 March 1693 This had a very bad cover, with a leaf or leaves missing. No. 4, begun 24 April 1693, ending 6 July 1696 No. 5, begun 13 July 1696, ending 6 July 1699 No. 6, begun 1 August 1699, ending 1 April 1703 These three had bad covers and binding, with many leaves loose. No. 7, begun 1 April 1703, ending 13 March 1705 No. 8, begun 17 March 1705, ending 29 October 1706 These two last books were unbound, with the covers and some leaves missing. No. 9, begun 5 November 1706, ending 20 [...] 1709 This was a moderately good book.</p>

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			<p>Interpretations</p> <p>The survey was an archival audit ordered by the Company itself under paragraph 5 of the letter brought by the <i>Cardonnell</i>. The procedure was formal and verified: the Governor read from a list while the secretary produced each volume in turn, so that the council confirmed by sight what records survived and in what state. The findings showed much of the early archive decaying, with damaged covers, loose and missing leaves and several volumes unbound, which gave the bench a documented basis to seek rebinding or replacement and to account to London for the custody of thirty years of the island's records.</p>
42	35	<p>No 10. Council book begun ye 8th Novr 1709 & Ends ye 9 Decr 1712. a pretty good book</p> <p>11. Ditto begun ye 6 day of Janry 1712/13 & Ended with Govr Boucher ye 2 June 1714. but continued in Govr Pykes time to the 23: August 1715. (a good book)</p> <p>N. A. Book of Instructions & Orders from the Honble Compa 1</p> <p>B. Ditto — both very bad condicon 1</p> <p>C. Ditto — knawd by Rats 1</p> <p>J. book of Orders &c for Out Forts & posts 1</p> <p>Copy book of Laws &c. of the Island 1</p> <p>Ditto of abstracts of ye Honble Comps Instructions, &c in very bad condicon 1</p> <p>D. Book of Copy of Letters from England 1</p> <p>W. book of Copy of Wills, (but calld Duplicates) 1</p> <p>R. Register book of Deeds, Leeses, bargains, Sales, & contracts &c. (but calld Register of Wills.) 1</p> <p>G. Letter book from St Helena to England & India 1</p> <p>Small Sticht books, of Orders & Instructions begun Alphabetically, (but in pieces.) 4</p> <p>Ditto bound 2</p> <p>book of Abstracts of Laws & Orders of Council from 1673. to 1709 1</p> <p>P. book of Acct of Provisions from plantation House in ye Year 1710 1</p> <p>Sticht book of Abstracts of Instructions from the Honble Compa 1</p> <p>Margin Notes: Jurnal [...] 30/3/[...] [...]</p>	<p>The survey list continued.</p> <p>No. 10, Council book, begun 8 November 1709, ending 9 December 1712, a fairly good book</p> <p>No. 11, begun 6 January 1713, ended under Governor Boucher on 2 June 1714, but continued under Governor Pyke to 23 August 1715, a good book</p> <p>A, one book of Instructions and Orders from the Honourable Company</p> <p>B, one of the same</p> <p>These two were both in very bad condition.</p> <p>C, one of the same, gnawed by rats</p> <p>I, one book of Orders for the out forts and posts</p> <p>One copy book of the Laws of the island</p> <p>One book of abstracts of the Honourable Company's Instructions, in very bad condition</p> <p>D, one book of copies of letters from England</p> <p>W, one book of copies of wills, though labelled Duplicates</p> <p>R, one register book of deeds, leases, bargains, sales and contracts, though labelled the Register of Wills</p> <p>G, one letter book from St Helena to England and India</p> <p>Four small stitched books of Orders and Instructions, begun alphabetically, but in pieces</p> <p>Two of the same, bound</p> <p>One book of abstracts of the Laws and Orders of Council from 1673 to 1709</p> <p>P, one book of the account of provisions from the Plantation House in the year 1710</p> <p>One stitched book of abstracts of Instructions from the Honourable Company</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The survey found not only physical decay but disordered cataloguing. The book of copied wills was labelled Duplicates, and the register of deeds, leases, bargains, sales and contracts was labelled the Register of Wills, so two of the most important record books carried titles that misdescribed their contents. On an island where land title passed through contested successions and where the bench heard a steady run of inheritance and property disputes, a register of conveyances filed under the name of a wills book was a practical hazard. Correcting the catalogue was therefore as much the point of the audit as recording the rat damage and broken bindings.</p>
43	36	<p>Small Stitched book, Copy of Consultation from Augt 1: 1674. to ye 9th of May 1678. In Govr Fields time 1</p> <p>Old Stitch'd books of Orphans Acct: 1683/[4] 1</p> <p>a Large bundle of papers, being most of them old Copys of foul Consultations unbound & loose</p> <p>Small Sticht book of Marks of Cattle 1</p> <p>Ditto, a foul Cause book 1</p> <p>Blank book, Island bound, (now made Use of for Our first foul Consultation book.) 1</p> <p>Little Ordinary Nest of Drawers, filld wth Sundrie Papers which for want of conveniency cant be put into better Order 2</p> <p>Stitch'd foul Consultation book, begun ye 25: 7ber 1710. Ends ye 24 June 1714 1</p> <p>Printed Law book, called Keebles Justice of the Peace 1</p>	<p>The inventory continued.</p> <p>One small stitched book copying consultations from 1 August 1674 to 9 May 1678, in Governor Field's time</p> <p>One old stitched book of the Orphans Account of 1684</p> <p>A large bundle of papers, mostly old copies of rough consultations, unbound and loose</p> <p>One small stitched book of the marks of cattle</p> <p>One rough record of causes</p> <p>One blank book, island-bound, now used as the first rough consultation book</p> <p>Two small chests of drawers filled with sundry papers, which for want of space could not be put in better order</p>

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		<p>Foul Consultation book begun the 8th of July 1714 & Ends ye Last of May 1715 1 Ditto, of a quire of paper Stitchd begun the ye June 1715, ends the 23th July foll 1 Ditto, begun the 25th July 1715 1 No 12. Council book begun the 25th of August 1715: when book No 11. was finished 1 Stitch'd book of Alarms, all Since Govr Pykes time intire & there is Sett down all Alarms before his arrival as far back as at present could be Collected 1 Margin Notes: put now to be formd</p>	<p>One stitched rough consultation book, begun 25 September 1710, ending 24 June 1714 One printed law book, called Keeble's Justice of the Peace One rough consultation book, begun 8 July 1714, ending the last day of May 1715 One rough consultation book of a stitched quire of paper, begun 1 June 1715, ending 23 July 1715 One rough consultation book, begun 25 July 1715 No. 12, Council book, begun 25 August 1715, when book No. 11 was finished One stitched book of Alarms, complete since Governor Pyke's time, with all alarms before his arrival set down as far back as could now be collected Interpretations The inventory exposed the two-stage system by which the council's record was made. Rough consultation books, the drafts taken at each meeting, ran in a separate series alongside the fair-copied and numbered council books, and the survey lists both. The rough books carried the record forward in short runs, from 25 September 1710 to 24 June 1714, then to the end of May 1715, then in stitched quires through the summer of 1715, while the fair series closed book No. 11 on 23 August 1715 and opened book No. 12 on 25 August 1715. The audit therefore documented the very volume in which it was being entered, and showed how the draft record fed the formal one.</p>
44	37	<p>book, Copy of Letters from Engld & India to St Helena 1 Dto Copy of Letters from St Helena to England & India 1 The Govr having Several times recom- mended in Consultation that each mem- ber of the Council do consider what An- swer is properest to be made to ye 36. para of the Honble Comps Letter against drawing bills home, now demands the said Oppinion in writing according to former Orders. Capt Haswells written Oppinion is. (Vizt) Without good Stock of Cash be Sent to pay the Garrison Quarterly & ye planters for what ye Honble Compa have occacon for, they that have Credit in the Stores must have bills if demanded. Geo: Haswell. Capt Bazett writs his Oppinion as foll: Vizt If the drawing of bills must be avoided for the future there must be no more Debts contracted with any, for I canot See if there is a necessity to buy necessarys out of Shipping for the Honble Compas Use or for the necessity of the planters the drawing of bills can be avoided ex- cept good Store of Cash Matthew Bazett. Messr ye Capts Haswell & Bazett being asked how much they think is necessary, they Say they think 2000li Sterling is little enough Mr Tovey. Margin Notes: abt Drawing Bills. Capt Haswells opin Capt Bazetts Qur to them</p>	<p>The inventory closed with two further books: one of copies of letters from England and India to St Helena, and one of copies of letters from St Helena to England and India. The Governor recalled that he had several times asked each member of the council to consider the proper answer to paragraph 36 of the Honourable Company's letter, which was against drawing bills home. He now required their opinions in writing, as he had ordered before. Captain Haswell gave his written opinion. Unless a good stock of cash were sent to pay the garrison quarterly, and to pay the planters for what the Honourable Company needed from them, those who held credit at the stores would have to be given bills whenever they demanded them. Captain Bazett gave his opinion in writing. If the drawing of bills was to be avoided in future, no more debts must be contracted with anyone. He could not see how, given the necessity of buying supplies from the shipping for the Company's use and for the planters' needs, the drawing of bills could be avoided unless there were a good store of cash. When the two were asked how much cash they thought necessary, both Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett said that £2,000 0s 0d was little enough. This was recorded by Antipas Tovey. Interpretations Both councillors answered the Company's order by telling it the order could not be obeyed. Paragraph 36 directed the bench to stop drawing bills on London, but Haswell and Bazett gave the same reply in writing: the island had no coin, so debts to the garrison and the planters could only be settled by bills unless the Company sent cash. Their figure of £2,000 0s 0d set a price on compliance, the sum of hard money needed each cycle to run the island's economy without resorting to bills, and exposed the contradiction in a directive that forbade the only means of payment available while supplying no alternative. Speculations The Governor's insistence on written, signed opinions from each councillor turned a refusal into a documented, collective one. The answer to paragraph 36 amounted to declining a directive from London, and by having Haswell and Bazett each commit their</p>

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			<p>reasoning to writing under their own names, the Governor spread the responsibility across the bench and built a record he could return to the directors. The form of the reply was thus designed to justify non-compliance as the considered judgement of the whole council rather than the Governor's own resistance.</p>
<p>45</p>	<p>38</p>	<p>Mr Tovey gave in his Oppinion in writing as foll: (Vizt) Worthy Sr &c. My Oppinion to prevent drawing so many bills as formerly on Our Honble Masters, is: That Wee should buy no provisions (of any kind) of any person that has Credit in their Stores, unless the Seller will take payment in such goods as the Honble Comps has there to Sell.</p> <p>That no person who buys goods of any private trader, shall transfer the Credit to the Seller, if any other person has a Just claime of Debt against the said buyer, till such person or persons are first paid.</p> <p>Tis further my humble Oppinion that the many transfers that are made I cannot tell how, is the ruin of all the Honble Compas Affairs here, because I believe they have lost as much by this unaccount- able way of transferring & more then they have got by the advance of their goods Sold here, & that I think no bills ought to be drawn upon the Honble Compa for any per- son Whatsoever who desires bills to be drawn only to buy goods to Sell again here. because I think if the Honble Compa must advance the mony they ought to have the proffit of it</p> <p>But what ways soever can be thought off to prevent this Over grown evil in transfers, I take to be of no pur- pose, those who trade themselves have the</p> <p>Margin Notes: Mr Tovey Op:</p>	<p>Mr Tovey gave his opinion in writing on how to prevent drawing so many bills on the Honourable Masters as formerly.</p> <p>The bench should buy no provisions of any kind from any person who held credit at the stores, unless that seller would take payment in such goods as the Honourable Company had to sell.</p> <p>No person who bought goods from a private trader should be allowed to transfer the credit to the seller, if any other person held a just claim of debt against the buyer, until that creditor was first paid.</p> <p>Tovey further believed that the many credit transfers, made in ways he could not trace, were ruining all the Honourable Company's affairs on the island. He thought the Company had lost as much by this unaccountable way of transferring, and more, than it had gained by the markup on the goods it sold here. He held that no bills ought to be drawn on the Honourable Company for any person who wanted them only to buy goods to sell again on the island, since if the Company had to advance the money it ought to have the profit.</p> <p>Whatever methods might be devised to prevent this overgrown evil of transfers, Tovey thought them of no purpose, because those who carried on the trade themselves held the [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Tovey alone located the problem in the credit-transfer system rather than in the shortage of cash. Where Haswell and Bazett held that bills could not be avoided without coin, Tovey argued that the real leak was the untraceable passing of store credit between islanders, on which he believed the Company lost more than it earned on the markup of its goods. His three remedies all attacked the chains of transferred credit: pay sellers in store goods so value stayed within the store, bar a buyer from signing his credit over to a seller while a prior creditor went unpaid, and refuse bills to anyone who wanted them merely to buy goods for resale, so that the Company kept the profit on any money it advanced. His closing judgement, that no rule would in the end serve because the traders themselves controlled the mechanism, marked his analysis as the most searching and the most pessimistic of the three.</p>
<p>46</p>	<p>39</p>	<p>mannage of the transfer books.</p> <p>And whilst those good Rules mencond in Consultation of the 21st of Decr last lye neglected, I have no hopes that what I say will be regarded. I am Worthy Sr & Gentn Yor Obedt Servt: Antipas Tovey. 27 7ber 1715.</p> <p>Mr Byfeld gave in the foll: par. (Vizt) To prevent drawing so many bills of Exchange on Our Honble Masters is to make no transfers but on particular Occa- sions and then not without an Order of Council. Persons which have mony due to them on any Account Except Sallary to be Obliged to take Such goods as are in the Honble Compas Storehouse, I am of Oppi- nion this will be very much for advantage of Our Honble Masters. Edw: Byfeld.</p> <p>Mr Tho: Swallow planter who did not come in when the other poor planters did to make proposals for the payment of their Debts according to the Advertizements published the 24th: of August & 14th of September last & mencond in ye Consultation of the 2. of Novr The Govr reports that the said Swallow came to him to desire he would take Yams of him that he might be able the Sooner to pay his Debt to the Honble Compa but the Govr told him he could take no more Yams Upon which he profferd</p>	<p>Tovey ended his opinion with a warning. While the good rules set down in the consultation of 21 December 1714 lay neglected, he had no hope that his advice would be regarded. The opinion was signed by Antipas Tovey and dated 27 September 1715.</p> <p>Mr Byfield then gave in his written opinion. To prevent drawing so many bills of exchange on the Honourable Masters, no transfers should be made except on particular occasions, and then only by order of council. Any person owed money on any account, except salary, should be obliged to take such goods as were in the Honourable Company's storehouse. Byfield thought this would be much to the Company's advantage, and signed the opinion.</p> <p>The Governor then raised the case of Mr Thomas Swallow, a planter. Swallow had not come in with the other poor planters to make proposals for paying their debts, as the advertisements published on 24 August and 14 September 1715 had required, and as mentioned in the consultation of 2 November 1715. The Governor reported that Swallow had since come to him, asking him to take yams so that he might the sooner pay his debt to the Honourable Company. The Governor had told him he could take no more yams. Swallow then</p>

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		<p>them for half price he having more (now) fitt to dig, then he can make Use of, & had rather Sell</p> <p>Margin Notes: Mr Byfeld: abt Mr Tho: Swallow. Yams.</p>	<p>offered them at half price, having more now fit to dig than he could use, and would rather sell them...</p> <p>Interpretations The four written opinions converged on a single remedy while exposing a deeper failure. Haswell, Bazett, Tovey and Byfield all came to the view that bills could be checked only by forcing payment in store goods and choking off the transfer of credit, and Byfield would allow transfers only by order of council. Yet Tovey pointed out that this very rule had already been set down in the consultation of 21 December 1714 and lay neglected, so the bench was once more resolving what it had resolved before. The exercise revealed that the obstacle was not the absence of a rule but the failure to enforce the one already made.</p> <p>Swallow's case showed the limit of paying debts in kind. The Company had refused his yams once before, in the matter settled on 24 May 1715, on the ground that more yams had already been offered than it could take. Now, glutted again, the Governor would take none, and Swallow dropped to half price because he had more fit to dig than he could use. When every indebted planter held the same surplus crop, yams ceased to function as a means of discharging debt, and the payment-in-kind that the bench relied on to recover Company debts broke down under its own oversupply.</p>
47	40	<p>them cheaper then Ordinary then have them lye in the ground & rott, which the Govr reports now as the reason as the rea- son of the Advertizement being published ye 22th Instant. which was as followeth (Vizt) Island St Helena. By the Worshp the Govr &c. An Advertizement.</p> <p>The Govr hereby gives notice to all the Garrison, that he will Sell them very good Yams at two Shillings a hundred weight to be delivered to them in the Country ready dug, & no Dyet bill or any part of a Dyet bill shall be taken for the payment thereof & two days in every week shall be appointed, for the delivery of the said Yams, & any of those who work constantly for the Honble Compa or that are not indebted in their Stores shall have Yams at the same price on their own notes, & this is intended to be continued constantly for ye benefit of ye Garrison</p> <p>Wherefore any person who desires to have any Yams at the aforesaid price may prepar to Mr Antipas Tovey the Secretary who will give them notes were to go every week for ye said Yams. Dated this 22d of Sepr Anno Dond. 1715. At Union Castle in James Valley (Signd) Isaac Pyke.</p> <p>The Govr Sayeth he hopes all ye Garri- son will be so much the better for buying their provisions cheaper then formerly & that by this means We shall gett in Mr Tho: Swallows Debt & to prevent any confusion or disputes about the Yams deliverd he had desired Mr Tovey to write the following note to be sent by every person when they go or Send to fetch their Yams. (Vizt) You may deliver to [here insert ye persons name's] or bearer [here the Number of pounds] weight of</p> <p>Margin Notes: Advertizemt to Sell Yams.</p>	<p>Swallow would rather sell his yams below the ordinary price than let them lie in the ground and rot. The Governor gave this as the reason for an advertisement he had published on 22 September 1715, which ran as follows.</p> <p>The Governor gave notice to all the garrison that he would sell them very good yams at £0 2s 0d per hundredweight, delivered to them in the country ready dug. A diet bill, or any part of a diet bill, would be taken in payment. Two days in each week would be set apart for delivering the yams. Those constantly employed by the Honourable Company, or not indebted at the stores, might have yams at the same price on their own notes. The arrangement was intended to continue for the standing benefit of the garrison. Anyone wishing to buy yams at that price might apply to Mr Antipas Tovey the secretary, who would give them notes, with set days each week to fetch the yams. The advertisement was dated 22 September 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley and signed by Isaac Pyke.</p> <p>The Governor said he hoped the whole garrison would be the better for buying their provisions more cheaply than before, and that by this means the Company would recover Mr Thomas Swallow's debt. To prevent confusion or disputes over the yams delivered, he had asked Mr Tovey to draw up a note to be sent by every person when they went or sent to fetch their yams. The form directed that a named person, or the bearer, might be delivered a stated weight of yams...</p> <p>Interpretations The scheme resolved at one stroke a problem the bench had failed to settle for months. Swallow's yams had been refused as debt payment as recently as 24 May 1715 because the Company was glutted, yet here the same surplus was turned to use. Rather than take the yams as payment, the Company bought them and resold them to the garrison at £0 2s 0d per hundredweight, so Swallow's crop discharged his debt while feeding the soldiers cheaply and his produce was saved from rotting in the ground. The single arrangement recovered a debt, cleared a glut and provisioned the garrison.</p> <p>Speculations The choice to take payment in diet bills was shaped by the cash crisis debated the same day. The bench had just concluded that bills on London could not be stopped without coin the Company would not send, so a scheme that fed the garrison by drawing on the soldiers' existing diet allowance avoided the difficulty</p>

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			<p>entirely. No cash changed hands and no bill was drawn on the Honourable Masters, since the men paid for their yams with an allowance they already held. The yam sale was therefore framed to move provisions and settle a debt without adding to the very burden of bills the council had spent the day trying to reduce.</p>
<p>48</p>	<p>41</p>	<p>of Yams, for which on the producing of this note You shall have Credit in the Honble Comps Stores at ye rate of 2/ pr hund. weight. Yor Lov: friend (Signd) Antipas Tovey the day of To Mr</p> <p>The Govr Sayeth he hopes this will also lower the price of Yams which he thinks were very much too dear before. The Govr desires the abovementcond notes may be received from Tho: Swallow to- wards lessening his Debt & if any bad debts are contracted hereby, he desires they may be placed to his own Account.</p> <p>Ordred, that all the Honble Compas plantations be Surveyd once a month & that the Council take it by turns to Sur- vey them. The reason hereof is, to see that the Succers be duely planted as ye Yams are dugg, to prevent our buying Yams again of the planters, or as few as possible, which We hope We shall do pretty well, especially when the Number of Our blacks shall be increased, (which are now much wanted) & that the present Surveyor be Ordered to hire blacks for Weeding the Yams as hath been Usual twice a year</p> <p>J: P[...] Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p> <p>Margin Notes: H: Compas planta Survey monthly.</p>	<p>The note further provided that, on producing it, the holder would receive credit at the Honourable Company's stores at the rate of £0 2s 0d per hundredweight of yams. It was signed by Antipas Tovey, with spaces left for the date and the addressee.</p> <p>The Governor said he hoped this would also lower the price of yams, which he thought had been much too dear before.</p> <p>The Governor desired that the notes be received from Thomas Swallow towards reducing his debt. If any bad debts were contracted through the scheme, he asked that they be placed to his own account.</p> <p>The council ordered that all the Honourable Company's plantations be surveyed once a month, the councillors taking the survey in turns. The purpose was to see that the suckers were duly replanted as the yams were dug, so as to prevent, or at least reduce, the Company's having to buy yams from the planters again. The bench expected to manage this fairly well, especially once the number of the Company's slaves was increased, which was much wanted at present. The present surveyor was also to be ordered to hire slaves for weeding the yams, as had been usual twice a year.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The monthly survey order set out a long-term escape from dependence on the planters' yams. The immediate sale scheme cleared Swallow's surplus, but the standing remedy was to make the Company grow enough of its own, so the councillors were to inspect every plantation in turn each month and confirm that suckers were replanted as fast as the yams were dug. Coupled with the call for more slaves and the hire of labour to weed the crop twice a year, the order treated the recurring yam glut and the repeated refusals of planters' offers as a problem of supply to be solved by proper cultivation, not by continual purchase.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Governor's offer to carry any bad debts from the scheme on his own account answered the council's freshly stated fear of new bad debts. The bench had spent the same day arguing that uncontrolled credit and transfers were ruining the Company's affairs, so a plan that issued fresh notes to the garrison risked exactly the objection just raised. By pledging to absorb any losses himself, the Governor removed that objection and let the Swallow arrangement go forward, staking his own credit to secure both the debt recovery and the council's assent.</p>
<p>49</p>	<p>42</p>	<p>Island St Helena</p> <p>At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 4th day of October 1715. At Union Castle in James Valley.</p> <p>Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Matthew Bazett Pres: Antipas Tovey & Edwd Byfeld.</p> <p>Mr Fra. Wrangham brought a Deed of Sale of a house in this Valley from Mr Henry Francis, as also a black Wench which he prayed might be registerd.</p> <p>Ordred that the said Deed be re- gisterd, according to his request.</p> <p>Capt Bazett Reports that he has en- quired amongst the planters what is proper to give Hogs to cure them of the Pant, And Sayeth that He Understands Brine & Milk, or Chamber-lye & Milk, are both counted very good against it, he Sayes he is informd that this distemper calld the Pant is a</p>	<p>The Council of St Helena met on Tuesday 4 October 1715 at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, governor, presided. The other members present were Matthew Bazett as third in council, Antipas Tovey as fourth and Edward Byfield as fifth.</p> <p>Mr Francis Wrangham brought a deed of sale of a house in James Valley, bought from Mr Henry Francis, together with a female slave, and asked that it be registered. The council ordered that the deed be registered according to his request.</p> <p>Captain Bazett reported on his enquiry into how to cure the hogs of the Pant. He had asked among the planters what was proper to give the hogs, and found that brine and milk, or chamber-lye and milk, were both reckoned good against it. He was informed that the distemper called the Pant was a swelling of the lights,</p>

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		<p>Swebling of the Lights, which are Spotted & corrupted, as is found by some of them being opennd. The Overseer of the Honble Compas Plantations, &c. brought in the following account Vizt An Account of the Honble Compas Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Goats, &c. taken Octobr ye 3d 1715: Margin Notes: Fra Wrangham request to Regist Deed. Report abt curing ye Pant. planta Acct</p>	<p>which were spotted and corrupted, as had been found in some of the dead hogs on opening them. The overseer of the Honourable Company's plantations then brought in his account, headed an account of the Honourable Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and the like, taken on 3 October 1715. Interpretations Bazett's report shows the bench investigating a livestock disease by examination as well as by hearsay. Responding to the order of 30 August 1715 to find a remedy for the Pant, he gathered the planters' folk cures, brine and milk or chamber-lye, that is stale urine, mixed with milk, but he also reported a finding from dissection. Opening dead hogs had revealed the lungs swollen, spotted and corrupted, which identified the Pant as a disease of the lights rather than a vague distemper. The combination of necropsy and local knowledge reflects how seriously the bench treated the hogs, whose loss bore directly on the island's provisioning.</p>
50	43	<p>Cowes 48 Bulls 12 Calves 45 Heifers 4 Bullocks 30 Total 149 Killd Since Last acct: Heifer, that broke her Legg 1 Calf ye dyed of the Staggers 1 Non Increased Hogs great & Small 232 Killd ye Last month 10 Dyed of ye Pant 2 Goats, Great & Small 286 of the Female kind 182 of the Male 104 Killd Since ye last acct 12 Increased 20 Sheep, great & Small 69 of the Female kind 43 of the Male 26 non Increased Turkies Great & Small 70 Increased 12 Killd Since last acct 2 Geese, great & Small 20 Stole Since last acct 2 By Mr Joshua Johnsons black, who is to be tryed for it to morrow. (Signd) Wm Worrall</p>	<p>The overseer's account listed the Company's livestock as taken on 3 October 1715. Neat cattle: Cows, 48 Bulls, 12 Calves, 45 Heifers, 4 Bullocks, 30 Total, 139 Killed since the last account: one heifer, which had broken her leg, and one calf, which died of the staggers. Otherwise not increased. Hogs, great and small, 232 Killed last month, 10 Died of the Pant, 2 Goats, great and small, 286 of the female kind, 182 of the male, 104 Killed since the last account, 12 Increased, 20 Sheep, great and small, 69 of the female kind, 43 of the male, 26 Not increased. Turkeys, great and small, 70 Increased, 12 Killed since the last account, 2 Geese, great and small, 20 Stolen since the last account, 2, by a slave belonging to Mr Joshua Johnson, who was to be tried for it the next day. The account was signed by William Worrall. Interpretations The return shows the herd recovery faltering and every loss closely accounted for. The Company's cattle had risen from 136 on 18 June 1715 to 145 on 30 August 1715, but now stood at 139, and the account marked the herd as not increased. Against that fragile background each loss was entered with its cause, from the heifer that broke her leg to the two hogs dead of the Pant, and even the theft of two geese was recorded and set down for trial the next day. The detail reflects how strictly Company stock was guarded after the famine, when so small a loss as two birds was still pursued to a formal prosecution.</p>
51	44	<p>Samuel Jessey who Oversees the Honble Compas plantation called the Hutts, gave in the following Acct of the expence of Yams there, Weekly. (Vizt) For Benjn Miller & four Blacks 350 lb wt For the Hogs 1450 lb wt In all 1800 lb wt</p>	<p>Samuel Pessey, overseer of the Company's plantation at the Hutts, gave in a weekly account of the yams consumed there. For Benjamin Miller and four slaves 350 pounds For the hogs 1,450 pounds In all 1,800 pounds</p>

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		<p>He Sayeth further that the Yams at the Hutts are now fit to dig Orderd that they begin & dig Yams at the said Hutts Plantation Finding that Our hogs Multiply very fast & that there is likely to be a great many more Pigs in a short time Orderd that We Spend chiefly upon them at the Fort & that some be fatted Up: against the Arrival of some Shipping, to Sell them instead of Beef, which will make Our provisions Sufficient to Serve for any Number of Shipping that may be expected. J: P[...] Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p> <p>Margin Notes: Expence of Yams. Dig at ye Hutts. Hogs increase Eat at ye fort & to be Sold.</p>	<p>Pessey added that the yams at the Hutts were now ready to dig. The council ordered digging to begin at that plantation. The Company's hogs were multiplying very fast, and many more pigs were expected before long. The council directed that the garrison rely chiefly on this stock at the Fort. Some hogs were to be fattened for the arrival of shipping and sold in place of beef. The arrangement would keep provisions sufficient to supply any number of ships expected. The consultation was signed by Governor Pyke, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations The weekly account shows where the Hutts yams actually went. Only 350 pounds fed Benjamin Miller and the four slaves, while 1,450 pounds went to the hogs. Most of the crop fattened pigs rather than people, so the plantation served as much as a piggery as a provision ground for its own household. Selling fattened hogs to visiting ships in place of beef answered the cattle shortage on the island. The bench had forbidden the killing of any cow, heifer or calf until after 20 July 1716 by its order of 7 June 1715. Pork therefore became the substitute victualling meat for the Indiamen calling at the road. The Company's own yams at the Hutts were now ready to dig, which reduced its reliance on purchased provisions. Benjamin Miller had complained on 25 July 1715 that yams bought from John Long were unwholesome and had sickened the slaves, after which the bench bought no more from him. A maturing crop on the Company's own ground removed that dependence.</p> <p>Speculations The order divided the herd between two purposes at once. The garrison was to consume the hogs chiefly at the Fort, while only some were fattened for sale to incoming ships. This split managed a scarce resource against two competing demands, reserving the higher-value sale to shipping without exhausting the everyday supply at the Fort.</p>
52	45	<p>Island St Helena At a Court of Judicature and Petty Sessions held on Wednesday the 5th day of October 1715. At the Sessions house in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Judge Matthew Bazett Pres: Antipas Tovey Edwd Byfeld. The Court being Sett the foll: Persons were Sworn for Jurors (Vizt) 1: John Coles Foreman 2: Orlando Bagley 3: Wm Beale 4: John Goodwin 5: James Greentree 6: Richard Gurling 7: Gabriel Cowell 8: James Rider 9: John Robinson 10: Tho: Southen 11: Isaac Wood 12: Richard Swallow Then Simon a Slave belonging to Mr Joshua Johnson of this Island Free Planters was Indicted & prossecuted by William Worrall Overseer of the Honble Compas grand Plantation for going privately into their plantation & Stealing thence two Shirts & a brand kerchief which was found upon him & the other Shirt he confessed he had hid</p> <p>Margin Notes: Simon Mr Johnsons Black Tried</p>	<p>Island St Helena A Court of Judicature and Petty Sessions was held on Wednesday 5 October 1715 at the Sessions House in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esquire sat as judge, with Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield present. The court being set, the following persons were sworn as jurors: 1: John Cole, foreman 2: Orlando Bagley 3: William Beale 4: John Goodwin 5: James Greentree 6: Richard Gurling 7: Gabriel Powell 8: James Rider 9: John Robinson 10: Thomas Southen 11: Isaac Wood 12: Richard Swallow Simon, a slave belonging to Joshua Johnson, a free planter of the island, was then indicted. William Worrall, overseer of the Company's grand plantation, prosecuted him. The charge was that Simon had entered the plantation secretly and stolen two shirts and a [...] handkerchief. The handkerchief and one shirt were found on him. He confessed that he had hidden the other shirt.</p> <p>Interpretations A slave was here tried before the same twelve-man jury used for free defendants. Simon belonged to Joshua Johnson, but the prosecutor was William Worrall, overseer of the Company's plantation, who took the</p>

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			<p>post on 5 April 1715. The theft from the Company's ground was pursued through the ordinary criminal court rather than left to a master's private discipline.</p> <p>The panel was drawn from the island's leading planters, several of whom served on the bench's juries repeatedly. John Cole sat as foreman, the same senior planter who had been foreman at the general sessions of 7 February 1715 and again on 12 September 1715. The court relied on a small, settled group of freeholders, among them executors and churchwardens.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The case fell to the public court because the victim and the master were different parties. Simon belonged to Johnson, yet the goods were stolen from the Company's plantation, so the prosecution came from Worrall as the Company's overseer rather than from his owner. Routing the matter through indictment and jury, rather than handing the slave back to Johnson for correction, answered the problem of who held authority to punish when one planter's slave robbed the Company.</p>
53	46	<p>hid in great bottom The Prisoner ownd he Stole the Shirts & Handkerchief but that he did not Steal the Geese. Whereupon Gabriel Cowell who was One of the Jury stood Up in Vindication of the Prisoner & Said no man ought to be indicted for any thing he did not confess, adding withal that the fellow had confest the Stealing of the Shirts & Handkerchief, but did not confess the Stealing of the Geese & therefore he ought not to be tryed for it.</p> <p>The Govr told him that he heard the Witnesses for the Honble Compa Sware that the two Geese were pounded in the Even of that day, & that they were Stole the same night that the Linnen was & that therefore there was a full proof by finding the Shirts & Handkerchief upon him (for that part of the Indictment) & a very great presumption for the other, there being no other that could reasonably be Sus- pected. Whereupon, said the fellow Gabriel Cowell, did not Steal any thing out of the plantation, But the Govr told him that what ever was inclosed, all that was Stole within the Walls of that plantation, was part of it,</p> <p>Margin Notes: ownd part of ye Indictmts Gab Powells Obj: Govr Reply. Stealing out of a Planta is accounted here a great crime tho what is Stole be never so Small but nothing is Usually calld a Planta here but Such Gutts & Watery plains were Yams will grow.</p>	<p>Simon had hidden the missing shirt in Great Bottom. The prisoner admitted that he had stolen the shirts and the handkerchief, but he denied taking the geese.</p> <p>Gabriel Powell, one of the jury, stood up in the prisoner's defence. He argued that no man ought to be indicted for anything he had not confessed. Simon had owned the theft of the shirts and handkerchief but not the theft of the geese, so in Powell's view he ought not to be tried for the geese.</p> <p>The governor answered that the Company's witnesses had sworn on oath that the two geese were put in the pound on the evening of that day and stolen the same night as the linen. The shirts and handkerchief found on Simon gave full proof of that part of the indictment. For the geese there was a very strong presumption, since no one else could reasonably be suspected.</p> <p>Theft from a plantation was treated on the island as a serious crime, however small the thing taken. The only ground usually called a plantation there was the valleys and watered flats where yams would grow. Powell then said the fellow had stolen nothing out of the plantation. The governor replied that whatever was enclosed within the walls of that plantation was part of it, and anything taken from within those walls was a theft from the plantation.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The governor drew a clear line between two kinds of proof. Goods found on the prisoner gave full proof of the linen theft, while the geese rested on a very strong presumption. He grounded that presumption on the witnesses' sworn evidence that the geese were penned on the evening of 3 October 1715 and taken the same night as the linen, with no other person open to suspicion. The exchange shows the governor sitting as judge and directing a juror on the standard of proof needed to convict.</p> <p>Theft from a plantation carried weight out of proportion to the value taken. The point turned on what counted as a plantation, defined here as only the valleys and watered flats where yams would grow. The governor extended the offence to whatever lay within the plantation walls, so that goods taken from inside the enclosure were a theft from the plantation itself. The reasoning reflects an island economy in which the cultivated yam ground was the chief source of provisions and was guarded accordingly.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>By ruling that everything within the walls belonged to the plantation, the governor closed off Powell's defence. The juror had argued that Simon stole nothing out of the plantation, so the governor fixed the</p>

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			<p>boundary at the enclosure itself rather than at the planted ground alone. The wide definition answered the specific objection and kept the theft within the gravity attached to plantation crime.</p>
<p>54</p>	<p>47</p>	<p>And that this was not only a part but a principle part of it, & because those goods were Stoll from the Honble Compas chief plantation house, and Likewise & Likewise the Geese were pounded within the Walls of their Garden Then Mr Powell Sayed again that the place were they were Stole Stole from, he was Shure was not a plantation & turning to Mr Worrall ye Honble Compas chief Overseer of their Plantation He Askd him if he knew what a plantation was; & Said, I dont believe you do know.</p> <p>Upon which the Govr told him that they came to try the Prisoner of the Felony Whether he was Guilty or not Guilty, And not the Honble Compas chief Overseer (who was the Prosecutor) Whether he Understood his business & then the Govr Spoke to the Jury & Sayd Gentn I think that Mr Cowell has Started a Notion that is very odd, that no thief ought to be tryed for any thing, But what he first confeseth, For at that rate It is but for a thief when he has Stolen goods to deny the Fact, & then he is Sure to be acquitted But you have all of You except One been frequent upon Juries & must be acquain- ted with the Customs of the Country as</p> <p>Margin Notes: Powels 2d Obj: Govr Reply to Cowell to ye Jury.</p>	<p>The governor added that the theft was not merely a part but a principal part of the plantation, because the goods were stolen from the Company's chief plantation house.</p> <p>Start of crossed out section And likewise</p> <p>End of crossed out section The geese too had been put in the pound within the walls of the garden.</p> <p>Powell objected a third time, insisting that the place the goods were taken from was certainly not a plantation. He turned to William Worrall, the Company's chief overseer of the plantations, and asked whether he knew what a plantation was, adding that he did not believe Worrall knew.</p> <p>The governor answered that the court had met to try the prisoner for the felony and to decide whether he was guilty or not. The court had not met to examine whether the Company's chief overseer, who was the prosecutor, understood his business.</p> <p>The governor then turned to the jury. He said Powell had raised a very odd notion, that no thief ought to be tried for anything but what he first confessed. At that rate a thief who had stolen goods need only deny the fact and would be sure of acquittal. Every one of them except one had served often on juries and must know the customs of the country.</p> <p>Interpretations The governor used Powell's argument to instruct the jury on the law of evidence. Powell had urged that no thief should be tried except for what he confessed. The governor showed where that led, since any thief could then deny the fact and be certain of acquittal. By exposing the consequence, he defended the trial of disputed facts on proof and presumption rather than on admission alone.</p> <p>Powell tried to shift the trial onto the competence of the prosecutor, and the governor stopped him. The court had met to decide the prisoner's guilt, not to test whether William Worrall, the Company's chief overseer appointed on 5 April 1715, understood his office. The exchange shows the judge holding the proceeding to its proper issue against a juror acting as the prisoner's advocate.</p> <p>Speculations Faced with one juror pressing for acquittal, the governor appealed over his head to the rest of the panel. He left off answering Powell and addressed the jury as a body, reminding them that all but one had served often and knew the customs of the country. The move isolated the single dissenter by setting the experience of the seasoned jurors against him.</p>
<p>55</p>	<p>48</p>	<p>well as Mr Powell.</p> <p>You are Upon yor Oaths obli- ged to give the Verdict that is right & if you upon the Evidence that has been given believe the Prisoner Guilty of the Felony, You are to find him So, if not you are to acquit him</p> <p>Then the Govr Spoke to Mr Powell & Sayed What I have now Sayed to the Jury in General is a direc- tion to You also, because you are One of them, But to be more particular I must tell you, That if you believe the Prisoner is Guilty, You must then allow that he ought to be tryed, and if you do not believe him to be Guilty you have it in your power to acquit him</p> <p>Neither the Govr nor any of Us believe that Mr Powell had any designe to favour the thief notwithstanding all his Objections, He being a man above all others more Severe then Ordinary in the Case of Stealing, & that disposition bordering upon cruelty for tis currantly reported here by</p>	<p>The governor reminded the jury that they knew the island's customs as well as Powell did. He told them they were bound by their oaths to return a right verdict. If on the evidence given they believed the prisoner guilty of the felony, they were to find him so; if not, they were to acquit him.</p> <p>Powell himself then received a direct charge from the governor. The general direction to the jury applied to him too, since he was one of them. More particularly, if Powell believed the prisoner guilty, he must accept that the prisoner ought to be tried; if he did not believe him guilty, it lay in his power to acquit him.</p> <p>The record noted that neither the governor nor any councillor believed Powell meant to favour the thief, despite all his objections. Powell was, above all others, harsher than usual in cases of stealing, with a temperament bordering on cruelty. Common report on</p>

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		<p>every body that he has destroyed two Slaves by his cruel manner of punishing them One of them a Female Slave he Whipt to death & at another time when he had Whipt a boy very imoderately he caused him to be rould naked in Nettles upon which he pre- sently Died [for the Nettles here are more pain- full in their Stinging then any of those in England] But Mr Powell (being accounted Rich) is One of the Chief of those that keep the Under Store houses here & there being</p> <p>Margin Notes: to Mr powell</p>	<p>the island held that he had killed two slaves by his cruel manner of punishment. One was a female slave whom he had whipped to death. On another occasion, after whipping a boy very imoderately, he had the boy rolled naked in nettles, after which the boy died almost at once. The nettles on the island stung more painfully than any in England.</p> <p>Powell, who was accounted rich, was one of the chief of those who kept the under storehouses on the island.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The same court that tried a slave for petty theft recorded the killing of two slaves as mere gossip. Simon faced a full jury for taking shirts, a handkerchief and two geese, yet the reported death of a female slave whipped by Powell and of a boy rolled in nettles is set down only to vouch for Powell's severity. No prosecution attached to either death. The contrast exposes how little legal protection a slave's life carried against a planter, beside the careful process used to punish a slave's theft of the Company's goods.</p> <p>The governor closed his handling of Powell with a charge binding him to the logic of the trial. He told Powell that believing the prisoner guilty meant accepting that he ought to be tried, while disbelief left acquittal in the jury's power. The direction answered Powell's confession-first objection by tying the question of trial to the question of belief in guilt.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The record went out of its way to clear Powell of any design to favour the prisoner. His repeated objections from the jury box could have been read as partiality towards the accused, so the clerk set down the opposite, that Powell was harsher than most in theft cases. Documenting his reputed cruelty served to explain his persistence as something other than sympathy for the thief.</p>
56	49	<p>much Company below in the Vally. We believe he has been too busy (while Selling his Arrack) in taking a Cup too much, for he otherwise Usually carries himself with Some respect to Govern- ment. But the Jury withdrew and notwithstanding Mr Powells notions they immediaty returned and brought in Simon, Guilty. Whereupon the Govr gave Sentance against him, according to the Law of this place. Vizt That he should receive first 50 Lashes then 2 days after 30 more And Lastly, 4th day after 20 more And then be discharged from his impi- sonment. Then the Govr recomended to the Jury & Country Present, the plant- ing of fruit Trees especially those of Lime & Lemon kind; (profferd any of them, Slips or Suckers off of the Honble Compas Trees at their Garden at Plantation house,) which they all pro- mised to Sett heartily about The Govr told them the great loss themselves would Suffer if they did not do something of that nature for if the Ships could not find refreshment here, they'd be dis- couraged from coming to this place were they were likely to find every thing both Scarce & Dear, when they might be plentifully and cheaply Supplied at the Cape of good hope, for besides the Satisfacon the Honble Compa has of having</p> <p>Margin Notes: Sentance recomds planting Trees. &c.</p>	<p>Much company had gathered below in the valley at that time. The council believed Powell had been too busy selling his arrack and had taken a cup too much, since he otherwise usually carried himself with some respect towards the government.</p> <p>The jury then withdrew. Despite Powell's notions, they returned at once and found Simon guilty.</p> <p>The governor passed sentence on him according to the law of the place.</p> <p>First 50 lashes Two days after 30 lashes more On the fourth day after 20 lashes more After these he was to be discharged from his imprisonment.</p> <p>The governor then recommended to the jury and the country present that they plant fruit trees, especially of the lime and lemon kind. He offered them slips or suckers from the Company's trees in the garden at Plantation House. They all promised to set about it heartily.</p> <p>The governor warned them of the great loss they themselves would suffer if they did nothing of the kind. If the ships could not find refreshment on the island, they would be discouraged from coming, since they were likely to find everything both scarce and dear here. At the Cape of Good Hope they might be plentifully and cheaply supplied.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The governor framed fruit planting as a matter of the island's survival as a port of call. Lime and lemon trees gave ships the fresh citrus that guarded their crews against scurvy on long voyages. If St Helena could not supply cheap refreshment, vessels would prefer the Cape of Good Hope, where provisions were plentiful and cheap. The recommendation tied the planters' own prosperity to the island's value to the Company as a victualling station.</p>

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			<p>The record excused Powell's conduct in court as the effect of drink. His objections were set down to his having taken a cup too much while busy selling his arrack to the crowd in the valley, his usual respect towards government being noted. The jury meanwhile disregarded his arguments and convicted Simon at once. The bench preserved a councillor's standing on the page while overriding his influence in the room.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The hundred lashes were divided across three days rather than laid on at once. Fifty fell first, thirty two days later and twenty on the fourth day, before discharge. Spacing the punishment let the prisoner recover between floggings, so the full count could be delivered without killing him and without destroying his value to his master.</p>
57	50	<p>their Ships to find refreshment here which costs them prodigiously Dear, they having expended upon this place, (as I will make it appeare to any of you who comes to me & desires to See it) above 2600li in 3 Years time, which would do abundance more then pay all the expences of their Outward & homeward bound Ships, at any other place, besides wch there is not One, no not the poorest of their Ships that comes to this place but the Island is more then 100li the better for it & all this also goes amongst You the Planters, Who have been Settled here, by the Gene-rosity & at the expence of ye Honble Compa Who have given you Land & Cattle & Seed to Plant to encourage you to be indus- trious (& to gett mony) more for your Own then their advantage and if this dont do, I Doubt theyll Scarce think it worth their while to encourage so many unwilling people any longer.</p> <p>J: P[...] Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p>	<p>The governor set out what the Company had spent to keep the island as a place of refreshment for its ships. Refreshment here cost the Company very dearly. He offered to show the accounts to any planter who came to him and wished to see them. The Company had laid out above £26,000 0s 0d on the island in three years.</p> <p>That sum would more than cover the whole cost of refreshing the Company's outward and homeward ships at any other place. Every ship that called, even the poorest, left the island more than £100 0s 0d the better for it. All of this money also passed among the planters.</p> <p>The planters had been settled on the island by the Company's generosity and at its expense. The Company had given them land, cattle and seed to plant, to encourage their industry and to help them earn money, more for the planters' own advantage than the Company's. If this did not answer, the governor doubted the Company would think it worth encouraging so many unwilling people any longer.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by Governor Pyke, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The governor laid out the island's economy as a creation of Company money. He cited above £26,000 0s 0d spent in three years and more than £100 0s 0d left behind by every ship, all of it passing into the planters' hands. The planters held their land, cattle and seed as gifts meant to make them industrious. The speech presented the whole settlement as sustained by Company investment and by the ship traffic the planters were now asked to feed.</p> <p>A warning ran beneath the governor's encouragement. He called the planters unwilling people and tied the Company's continued support to their industry. Behind the appeal to plant fruit trees lay the prospect that the Company might withdraw from so reluctant a community. The closing turned a recommendation into a condition of the planters' standing on the island.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The appeal joined encouragement and threat in a single design. The governor set the gifts of land, cattle and seed and the money brought by every ship against his closing doubt that the Company would keep supporting unwilling people. Pairing the benefit the planters already drew with the loss they faced was meant to move a community that had so far planted little.</p>
58	51	<p>relacons or others so that the boy instead of being taught any Usefull trade is more likely to be ruind by being brought Up a Beggar, for he lived now in Hungar Nakd & Idleness, Wherefore to make the boy of Some Use both to the Publick & himself hereafter he has bound him apprentice to the Honble Compa to Serve them according to the foll: Indenture. (Vizt)</p> <p>This Indenture Witnesseth That John French Son of Wm French Deceaced by & with the advice & consent of his</p>	<p>Island St Helena</p> <p>A consultation was held on Tuesday 11 October 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, was present, with George Haswell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>The governor reported the case of John French, a poor orphan of the island who was very destitute. His relatives and everyone else neglected him. Instead of</p>

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		<p>nearest relations & Approbation of the Governour & Council the Guardians of all Orphans here, Doth put him- self an Apprentice unto the Honble Compa to be employd in such Service, trade or trades as the Governour & Council</p> <p>Margin Notes: put prentice.</p>	<p>being taught a useful trade, the boy was in danger of being ruined and raised as a beggar, for he now lived in hunger, nakedness and idleness. To make him useful both to the public and to himself in future, the governor had bound him apprentice to the Company under the following indenture.</p> <p>The indenture recorded that John French, son of the late William French, put himself apprentice to the Honourable Company. He did so with the advice and consent of his nearest relations and with the approval of the governor and council, who were the guardians of all orphans on the island.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The governor and council bound the boy as the appointed guardians of every orphan on the island. The indenture rested on two foundations at once, the consent of John French's nearest relations and the approval of the council. An indenture of this kind was a contract tying an apprentice to a master for a fixed term in return for maintenance and training. The act shows the island's government exercising a standing guardianship over orphans, a role the governor had offered to take up generally on 1 March 1715.</p> <p>Apprenticing the orphan answered a problem of poor relief. Left as he was, John French would have grown into a permanent beggar and a charge on the public. Binding him to the Company turned a destitute child into trained labour and removed him from want. The measure served the public purse and the Company's need for hands together.</p> <p>John French was one of the orphans of the soldier William French, who had died after going to Bencoolen. The council had ordered the family's effects sold on 13 October 1713, which left the children without property. His present destitution followed from that earlier loss of the estate.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Securing the relations' consent mattered because they had been the ones to neglect the boy. The indenture set their advice and agreement beside the council's approval, binding in the very kin who had failed him. Drawing them into the contract guarded the apprenticeship against any later claim by a relation seeking to undo it.</p>
59	52	<p>for the time being shall think fitt and with them or their Assignes, after the manner of an Apprentice to Serve from the Date hereof untill he come to the Age of One & twenty Years during which term, he the Said Honble Compa shall faithfully Serve Secrets keep, Lawfull comands gladly do he shall do no damage to the Said Honble Compa (or Govr & Council for the time being) or See to be done by others, butt to his power Lett or hinder, or forthwith give warn- ing to the Said Govr & Council of the same shall not waste or lend their goods, Fornication shall not comitt, or trade with Own or others goods, but in all things as a faithfull Apprentice shall behave himself to the Said Govr & Council (on behalf of the Honble Compa) During Said term, and the Said Govr & Council their Apprentice by the best means they can shall teach & instruct or cause to be taught or instructed as aforesaid, finding unto the Said Appren- tice, Meat, drink, Apparel, Washing, Lodging & all other necessarys, according to the Custom of this Island, And for the true performance hereof each parties are bound to each other by these presents. In Witness whereof they have interchangably, Putt their hands & Seals this 7th day of October 1715 & in ye Second Year of his Majesties reign (Signd) the mark of Jno French Signd, Seald & deliverd in presence of Jno Alexander, Robt Angus, Edw Holliwell.</p> <p>Margin Notes: first to ye H: C: & then to</p>	<p>The apprenticeship was to run from the date of the indenture until John French reached the age of twenty-one. He was to serve the Honourable Company first, and after them their assigns, in whatever service or trade the governor and council for the time being thought fit, in the usual manner of an apprentice.</p> <p>During the term he was to serve faithfully, keep the Company's secrets and gladly carry out lawful commands. He was to do no damage to the Company, or to the governor and council acting for it, and was not to allow others to do so. If any such harm were threatened, he was to prevent it as far as he could or warn the governor and council at once. He was not to waste or lend their goods. He was not to commit fornication, nor to trade with his own goods or anyone else's. In all things he was to conduct himself as a faithful apprentice towards the governor and council on the Company's behalf throughout the term.</p> <p>The governor and council, for their part, were to teach and instruct the apprentice by the best means they could, or have him taught. They were to provide him meat, drink, clothing, washing, lodging and all other necessities according to the custom of the island. Both parties bound themselves to each other for the true performance of these terms.</p> <p>The indenture was sealed on 7 October 1715, in the second year of King George's reign, and signed by the mark of John French. It was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Alexander, Robert Angus and Edward Holliwell.</p>

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			<p>Interpretations An apprenticeship held by a corporate body was unusual. A named tradesman normally took an apprentice and taught his own craft. Here the Company stood as master and the council administered the indenture, so the boy was bound to the institution rather than to a particular trade or person.</p> <p>The indenture barred the apprentice from private trade and from lending or wasting the Company's goods. On a trading post where private dealing and pilfering at the storehouses were constant concerns, these clauses guarded the Company against an apprentice turning his place to his own gain. The same anxiety lay behind the wider control the bench kept over trade by its servants.</p> <p>Speculations Because the master was the Company rather than a tradesman, the indenture left the trade unspecified, to be fixed later by the council. The boy was bound to serve in whatever trade the governor and council thought fit, and they reserved the right to have him taught rather than teaching him themselves. Keeping the choice open let them direct him to whatever skill the island most needed when the time came.</p>
60	53	<p>But as the Honble Compa have no Use for Apprentices, the Govr has agreed with Nicholas Shreeve to rebind the said boy to him again for the term of 4 Years & Nicho Shreeve is to find him, Clothing Provisions & all necessarys & to teach him the trade of a Stone Cutter, for which he is to have Credit in the Honble Compas Stores the Sum of Ten pounds & to reimburse the Honble Compa the said Ten pounds. the Boy is, as soon as this time is expired with the sd Shreeve (that is) four Years, he is to Serve the remainder of his time as mencond in ye aforesaid Indenture to the Honble Compa to work for them as Mason or Stone Cutter the other part of his time which will be about four Years more. And the Govr hopes this will not only be a charitable but a profitable way. We mention this at large because if the Honble Compa approve of this, We shall put out some other poor Children after the same manner. Mr Tovey delivered the Govr the following Bonds. &c. Vizt Benjn Pledger's Bond with Suretys not to Sell his Land 1 Richd Swallow's bond of ye 13: April 1715. for payment of fifty four pounds the 25th of March 1716 2 Christopher Kell & John Crosby their Agreement of the 16th May 1715 3 Isaac Leech's Bond with Surety of the 17th May 1715. for paymt of thirty two pounds 4 Margin Notes: Nichs Shreeve. Bonds delivd to ye Govr</p>	<p>The Company had no use for apprentices of its own. The governor therefore agreed with Nicholas Shreeve to rebind the boy to him for a term of four years. Shreeve was to find him clothing, provisions and all necessarys, and to teach him the trade of stone cutter. In return Shreeve was to have £10 0s 0d credit in the Company's stores, and was to reimburse the Company that same £10 0s 0d.</p> <p>When the four years with Shreeve had expired, the boy was to serve out the rest of the term set in his indenture to the Company. He was to serve them as a mason or stone cutter for the remaining part of his time, about four years more.</p> <p>The governor hoped the plan would prove not only charitable but profitable. He set it out at length because, if the Company approved, the council would place out other poor children in the same way.</p> <p>Tovey delivered the following bonds and other instruments to the governor:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1: Benjamin Pledger's bond, with sureties, not to sell his land. 2: Richard Swallow's bond of 13 April 1715, for payment of £54 0s 0d on 25 March 1716. 3: Christopher Hell and John Crosby's agreement of 16 May 1715. 4: Isaac Leech's bond, with surety, of 17 May 1715, for payment of £32 [...] <p>Interpretations The scheme made charity pay. The orphan was first to be trained as a stone cutter under Nicholas Shreeve, then to serve the Company itself as a mason or stone cutter for the rest of his term. The island had a standing need for masons for its fortifications and stone works, and Shreeve was himself a stone cutter kept in service after his request to leave was refused on 11 June 1715. Rescuing the boy from beggary also produced a tradesman the Company could use.</p> <p>The governor put the case forward as a model. He set it out at length so that, if the Company approved, the council might place out other poor children in the same way. The single indenture was meant to open a standing programme for the island's destitute orphans, subject to the directors' sanction.</p> <p>Tovey, as secretary, handed the executed bonds to the governor for keeping. They ranged from a restraint on Pledger selling his land to debt bonds from Richard Swallow and Isaac Leech and an agreement between Christopher Hell and John Crosby. Lodging them with the governor concentrated the island's securities and undertakings in his custody.</p>

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			<p>Speculations The Company's outlay was made recoverable rather than given outright. Shreeve was to draw £10 0s 0d of credit at the stores to set up and maintain the apprenticeship, and the same £10 0s 0d was to be repaid. Structuring the cost as a loan meant the charity returned its own expense, leaving the boy's later service to the Company as clear gain.</p>
<p>61</p>	<p>54</p>	<p>eight Shillings on the 25th of March 1716 Tho: Swallow's bond (wth Suretie) of ye 27. July 1715. for payment of One hundred & Eight Pound on the 27. July 1716 5 John French's Indenture of the 7. Octobr 1715. to Serve the Honble Compa till he comes to the Age of One & twenty Years 6 Mr Tovey reports that he has Examind Several Old Accts of Martin Normans Debtors according to an Order of Council of the 17th day of May last & finds Sundry persons indebted to him by Notes under their hands & their Own confession to the Value of thirty pounds Ordred. That Since Old Norman is in Such a condition that he is able to pay nothing towards his Debt to the Honble Compa that therefore he have Credit for the said Sums & they made Debtors to the Honble Compa for it. Mr Tovey likewise reports that according to an order of Council of the 12th of April last he has Examind former Consultations & reports about Wm French's Orphans Estate & finds that Mr Powell is Debtor to them for himself & Capt Hoskison (Deceacd) the following Margin Notes: Old Normans Debtors to pay ye H: Compa French's Orphs acct</p>	<p>The fourth bond, from Isaac Leech, was for payment of £32 8s 0d on 25 March 1716. 5: Thomas Swallow's bond, with sureties, of 27 July 1715, for payment of £108 0s 0d on 27 July 1716. 6: John French's indenture of 7 October 1715, to serve the Honourable Company until he reached the age of twenty-one. Tovey reported that he had examined several old accounts of Martin Norman's debtors, as the council had ordered on 17 May 1715. He found that various persons owed Norman, by notes under their hands and by their own admission, to the value of £30 0s 0d. Norman could pay nothing towards his own debt to the Company. The council therefore ordered that he be credited with those sums, and that his debtors be made debtors to the Company for the same amount. Tovey also reported that, following the council's order of 12 April 1715, he had examined the earlier consultations and reports about William French's orphans' estate. He found that Gabriel Powell owed the orphans certain sums, both on his own account and for the late Captain Hoskison. Interpretations The order worked by substitution. Norman could pay the Company nothing of his own, so the council credited him with the £30 0s 0d that sundry persons owed him and made those persons debtors to the Company instead. The Company replaced Norman as their creditor and shifted the burden onto people who could pay. Powell answered to the French orphans for two men at once, himself and the late Captain Hoskison. He had married Hoskison's widow and taken the estate, so the dead deputy governor's debts to the orphans fell on him. Tovey's audit, ordered on 12 April 1715, fixed Powell as the party from whom the children's money was to be recovered. Both findings rested on Tovey's search of the records. He reconstructed Norman's debts from notes under hand and the orphans' claims from former consultations, each under a dated order of council. The bench settled tangled obligations by documentary reconstruction rather than fresh enquiry. Speculations Norman could meet nothing, so the council declined to write the debt off and reached for his receivables instead. The £30 0s 0d owed to him offered a fund the Company could pursue where he himself offered none. Choosing assignment over forgiveness kept the debt alive by attaching it to solvent third parties.</p>
<p>62</p>	<p>55</p>	<p>Sums. Vizt For 20. Acres of Land Lett at 10[s] pr ann. (as pr Cons: book No 9. f: 134.) from the 25th March 1708. to the 24th of June following) 2:10:- For 16. Acres (in proportion to the aforesaid agreed Rent) Capt Hoskison having bought Bevans part) is, at 8d pr ann. from ye Sd 24 June 1708. to the 27th Sepr 1710. (the time Robt Leech married Mary French, being) 2 Years & ¼. is 18:-:- For 12. Acres of the said Land from ye Sd 27th Sepr 1710. to the 25th March 1715. (in the same proportion) is 6d pr ann. for 4 Years & ¾. 27:-:- Tho: Bevan is Dr</p>	<p>Powell's debt to the orphans was reckoned in several parts. The first three concerned rent on the orphans' land. 20 acres of land let at £10 0s 0d per annum from 25 March 1708 to 24 June 1708, as entered in consultation book number 9, folio 134 £2 10s 0d 16 acres at £8 0s 0d per annum from 24 June 1708 to 27 September 1710, after Captain Hoskison had bought Bevan's part and from the date Robert Leech married Mary French, being two years and a quarter £18 0s 0d 12 acres of the same land at £6 0s 0d per annum from 27 September 1710 to 25 March 1715, in the same proportion, being four years and a half £27 0s 0d</p>

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		<p>For 1 Bullock killd & Sold to Shipping by him & Hatton Sterling (the Value scant Say) By an Order of Council of the 8th June 1714. A house in this Valley is Orderd to be Sold, by Publick Outcry & the said remaining 12. Acres of Free Land nigh the high Peak Mr Cowell is Likewise to An- swer & make good 25. thousand Yams but he having (by Capt Hoskisons Acct) found the black Charles with 6.000. according to that Agreeemt in Cons: of ye 24th March 1707/8. he is to have but 19000. Yams.</p>	<p>Thomas Bevan was a debtor for one bullock, killed and sold to shipping by him and Statton, the value not stated. By an order of council of 8 June 1714, a house in the valley was to be sold by public outcry, together with the remaining 12 acres of free land near the High Peak. Powell was also to answer for 25,000 yams. He had supplied the slave Charles with 6,000 yams under the agreement entered in the consultation of 24 March 1708, as shown by Captain Hoskison's account. He was therefore charged with only 19,000 yams.</p> <p>Interpretations The reckoning traced the orphans' land through seven years and shrinking acreage. The holding ran from 20 acres in 1708 down to 12 by 1715, as parts changed hands, and rent was charged for the whole span. Powell carried the liability as successor to Captain Hoskison, so the children recovered years of accrued rent from the man who held the estate. The bench rebuilt the claim from folio 134 of consultation book number nine. Part of the debt was counted in yams rather than money. Powell owed 25,000 yams, the island's staple crop serving as a unit of account in the estate reckoning. He was credited with 6,000 already supplied to the slave Charles, leaving 19,000 to make good. The figure shows provisions standing in for cash in the settlement of obligations.</p> <p>Speculations The council apportioned the rent by pegging each change to a dated event. The shift down to 12 acres was tied to Robert Leech's marriage to Mary French on 27 September 1710, and the earlier change to Hoskison's purchase of Bevan's part. Fixing the periods by events let the bench charge precisely what was owed for each phase rather than a single rough sum.</p>
63	56	<p>Mr Tovey according to an Order of Council of the 26. of July last further reports that he has taken Account of the Honble Compas Compas blacks Lett Out to the Several persons following. (Vizt) To Dr Thomlinson, a black fellow calld Will Aged abt 18. Years had him for no certain time. Mr French a black Girle calld Sarah Aged abt 11 Years, had her for 3. Years of which above One is expired. Dr Corteous 1 Wench named Margaret Aged 16. Years had her for no certain time butt Upon his Petition he being Sickly, She is to live with him One Year longer. John Bagley, 1 Girl calld Ellen Aged 10 Years had her for no certain time. John Robinson a black boy named Harry Aged abt 10 Years had him for no certain time. Ordred That for the future Mr Worrall the Overseer when he gives in his monthly account of the Honble Compa Stock, he also give an Account of the Number of Asses Male & Female. Ordred. that Warrants be Issued out to the Church Wardens to gather the head mony & the Overseers of the High- ways to go work thereupon as Usual & that for the future Yearly the Said Margin Notes: Blacks Lett Out. Acct of ye Asses to be given in Warrts to be Issued Yearly.</p>	<p>Tovey made a further report under the council's order of 26 July 1715. He had taken account of the Company's slaves let out to various persons, as follows. Dr Tomlinson held a black youth called Will, about 18 years old, for no fixed term. Mr French held a black girl called Sarah, about 11 years old, for three years, more than one of which had expired. Dr Porteous held a woman named Margaret, 16 years old, for no fixed term. On his petition of 9 August 1715, he being sickly, she was to stay with him one year longer. John Bagley held a girl called Ellen, 10 years old, for no fixed term. John Robinson held a black boy named Harry, about 10 years old, for no fixed term. The council ordered that in future, when Worrall the overseer gave in his monthly account of the Company's stock, he should also report the number of asses, male and female. The council further ordered that warrants be issued to the churchwardens to collect the head money, and to the overseers of the highways to set the highway labour in hand as usual. For the future, the said warrants were to be issued yearly.</p> <p>Interpretations The Company let out its slaves, most of them children, to its officers and leading inhabitants. The holders included two doctors, the gunner and two planters, and the children ranged from about ten to eighteen years old. Most were held for no fixed term, leaving them recoverable at the Company's pleasure. The register answered the order of 26 July 1715, by which the bench set out to track these slaves and learn whose terms had run, so that they might be returned to the Company's own service. Bringing asses into the monthly stock return extended the Company's accounting to its draught</p>

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			<p>animals. On so steep an island these beasts carried loads between the valleys and the uplands. Recording them by sex, male and female, points to an interest in their increase alongside the cattle, hogs and goats already counted.</p> <p>Speculations Most of the slaves were let out for no fixed term, and the open arrangement suited the Company's own uncertain needs. Fortifications and plantations called for hands at unpredictable times, so leaving the terms indefinite let the bench recall a slave whenever its tasks required, without unwinding a fixed agreement. The single fixed term, Sarah's three years with Mr French, stands out against the rest for that reason.</p>
64	57	<p>Warrants be Issued out as soon as possible after the said Officers are chosen that they may take the best time of the Year to do their business in The Govr asking how the Accts in the Stores go forward. Capt Haswell & Capt Bazett both say they dont question but they will be ready by the Arrival of the next Ship. Ordred That Mr Tovey give notice to Mr Doveton & the other Exe- cutors of Robt Leech who claime a share in French's Orphans Estate, & likewise Mr Powell, that they may attend next Consultation day, to See the Account he has given in & to shew their Ob- jections (if they have any) against it. J: P[...] Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld Margin Notes: Books of acct at ye Store Excers of R: Leech to attend. & Mr powell.</p>	<p>The warrants were to be issued as soon as the officers had been chosen, so that they might use the best part of the year for their business. The governor asked how the store accounts were progressing. Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett both expected to have them ready by the arrival of the next ship. The council ordered Tovey to give notice to Doveton and the other executors of Robert Leech, who claimed a share in the French orphans' estate, and likewise to Powell. They were to attend the next consultation day, to examine the account Tovey had given in and to raise any objections they might have against it. The consultation was signed by Governor Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. Interpretations Before the orphans' estate account could be settled, the council gave the interested parties notice to inspect it. Tovey was to summon both the executors of Robert Leech, who claimed a share through Leech's marriage to Mary French, and Powell, the debtor named in the account. Each side was to attend, examine the figures and object if it could. The procedure gave claimant and debtor alike a hearing before the children's estate was fixed. The store accounts were timed to the next ship rather than to a date in the calendar. Haswell and Bazett expected to be ready by its arrival, because the accounts had to be carried home to the Company by sea. The bench had pressed the storekeepers on their books before, setting a six-month rule on 21 June 1715, and the deadline still ran with the shipping. Speculations Calling the claimant-executors and the debtor to the same sitting was meant to bring the contest to a head at once. With Leech's executors and Powell both present to object, the account could be tested from every side in a single hearing. Settling it that way would make it harder to reopen once the council had approved it.</p>
65	58	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Monday the 17th day of October 1715. At Union Castle in James Vally Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Matthew Bazett Geo: Haswell Depy Pres: Matth: Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfeld 5th in Council. The Govr Sayes he calld this Consultation purposly that no other business might interfere, the matter to be considerd on being as followeth. (Vizt) Having Ordred the Carpenters to Sett up the New Crane about ten foot beyond the Old One he thought it necessary to cleare the Hill under wch it stood from all loose Stones leas by their falling as they Usually do either when the Goats goe their tracks or after any great Rains any of them Should break the New Crane And there- fore the Govr Sayed he Sent Up ten Men with Orders to heave all the loose Stones down that were likely in a short time to fall of themselves,</p>	<p>Island St Helena A consultation was held on Monday 17 October 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, was present, with George Haswell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council. The governor said he had called this consultation on purpose, so that no other business should interfere with the matter to be considered, which was as follows. He had ordered the carpenters to set up the new crane about ten feet beyond the old one. He thought it necessary first to clear the hill above it of all loose stones. Such stones usually came down when the goats crossed the slope or after heavy rains, and any of them might break the new crane. The governor therefore sent up ten men to throw down all the loose stones that were likely to fall of</p>

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		<p>and these ten Men on Thursday last hove down such prodigious quantities of Stone that did they not lye here below to be Seen twould not be Credited, some of them also</p> <p>Margin Notes: abt ye New Crane</p>	<p>themselves before long. On the previous Thursday these men brought down such prodigious quantities of stone that, were they not lying below to be seen, it would not be believed.</p> <p>Interpretations The crane was the island's landing gear, the single point through which goods came ashore at James Valley. Its importance had grown that autumn, since the duty laid on imported arrack, brandy and strong liquors on 14 September 1715 was to be collected on landing and enforced at that one crane from 1 January 1716. Guarding the new crane from falling rock protected both the colony's trade and the choke-point through which the new duty would be gathered.</p> <p>The hazard came from the island's own goats and weather. Stones worked loose when the goats crossed the slope and when heavy rains soaked the hill, and they fell of their own accord onto the landing place below. The bench faced a standing threat to its harbour gear from the ground above it.</p> <p>Speculations Moving the new crane ten feet beyond the old and stripping the slope above were two parts of one design. The old position sat under a hill that shed stone whenever the goats passed or the rains came. Resiting the gear and bringing down the loose rock together were meant to place the crane where falling stone could no longer reach it.</p>
66	59	<p>So vastly large that had they not been very loose & ready to fall twould have been impossible for those men to move them & many of those biggest Stones came down with Such force that they by their rebounds were carried a great way into the Sea.</p> <p>And when the Overseer & these men came down they reported that the whole Side of the Hill was full of rub-bish & loose Stones, all likely to fall upon the least accident to Stir them or if the great rain should carry away the dirt that lyes amongst them, And ye many very large Stones fallen from the Top of the Hill lay amongst the Cesar Stones & Rubbish, And a Large peice of a Ledge of Rocks was fallen from ye Top of the Hill being in Bulk a great many Tons lay now & Stopt on that loose rub- bish, wch if it should happen to fall would come so neare the Castle at Munden's point as to the endanger it</p> <p>Wherefore the Govr finding it more difficult then he expected & since tis so necessary to clear the Hill because the Path from the Landing Rocks, the water Spout & the Crane Do all lye under it. the Govr desires the Hill may be Sur- veyed & that peice of the fallen Ledge par- ticularly to see if it be so dangerous as reported & to see whether there be Yett so many Stones on the Hill Side as is alledged. likewise for the Councill to</p> <p>Margin Notes: clearing ye Hill next it</p>	<p>Some of the stones were so large that, had they not been loose and ready to fall, the men could not have moved them at all. Many of the biggest came down with such force that they bounced and were carried a great way into the sea.</p> <p>When the overseer and his men came down, they reported that the whole side of the hill was full of rubble and loose stones. All of it was likely to fall at the least disturbance, or if heavy rain washed away the earth that held it together. Many large stones from the top of the hill lay among the rubble.</p> <p>A large piece of a rock ledge had broken from the top of the hill. It was many tons in bulk and now rested on the loose rubble. If it gave way, it would come so near the castle at Munden's Point as to endanger it.</p> <p>The governor found the task harder than he had expected. Clearing the hill was necessary, since the path from the landing rocks, the water spout and the crane all lay beneath it. He therefore asked that the hill be surveyed, and that fallen ledge in particular, to see whether it was as dangerous as reported and whether so many stones still lay on the hillside as was alleged.</p> <p>Interpretations The survey turned a maintenance job into a threat to the island's defence. A piece of rock ledge, many tons in bulk, had broken from the hilltop and now lay balanced on loose rubble. Were it to fall, it would come close enough to endanger the castle at Munden's Point, the seaward battery guarding the approach to the bay. The loose hillside menaced the fort as much as the crane.</p> <p>The whole landing complex lay beneath the unstable slope. The path up from the landing rocks, the water spout and the crane all sat under the hill, so a rockfall could cut off access, water and lifting gear at once. Clearing the slope was a necessity rather than a convenience, since the island's means of serving ships hung on that one exposed place.</p> <p>Speculations The governor escalated once the danger proved larger than he had reckoned. Having first sent ten men on his own authority, he now asked for a survey of the hill and the fallen ledge in particular, and for the council to take the matter up. Calling for independent verification and collective backing fitted a decision that had grown costly and now touched the fort itself.</p>

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67	60	<p>give their Oppinions whether it be necessary to clear the Hill or noto To Survey thee East Side of the Bay & See if there be any other fitt place to Sett Up thee New Crane. To consider whether it be not pro- per (in case the Hill be cleared) to take down the Old Crane first least any Rocks should Stave it all to peices, & carry it away into the Sea, Ordred that those of the Council, who walk hills best to goe wth the Overseers to Survey the broken Ledge & the Hill Sides & report their Op- pinions to morrow. And That We all do go along Shoare with the Workmen to consider of each place below, where the Crane may be fixed best & report that to morrow also. J: P[...] Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p>	<p>The governor also asked the council to give their opinions on whether it was necessary to clear the hill or not. He further proposed that the east side of the bay be surveyed, to see whether there was any other fit place to set up the new crane. He proposed too that the council consider whether, if the hill were to be cleared, the old crane should be taken down first, in case the falling rocks smashed it to pieces and carried it into the sea. The council ordered that those of its members who walked the hills best should go with the overseers to survey the broken ledge and the hillsides, and report their opinions the next day. The council further agreed that all of them would go down there with the labourers, to consider each place below where the crane might best be fixed, and to report on that the next day as well. The consultation was signed by Governor Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations The governor laid the problem before the council as a set of choices rather than a single order. They were to weigh whether the hill needed clearing at all, and whether a safer site for the new crane might be found on the east side of the bay. The bench thus set mitigation against relocation, keeping open the option of moving the landing gear away from the danger instead of fighting it. The council chose to judge the matter on the ground itself. Those members who walked the hills best were to climb with the overseers to inspect the broken ledge and the slopes, while the whole bench would go below to settle where the crane might best stand. Each party was to report the next day. The decision rested on direct inspection rather than on the overseer's account alone.</p> <p>Speculations The council also weighed taking down the old crane before any clearing began. The falling rock that threatened the new crane could as easily smash the old one and sweep it into the sea. Removing it in advance would preserve gear still in use until the new crane was ready.</p>
68	61	<p>Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 18th October 1715. at Union Castle in James Vutley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Pres: Matth: Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfeld 5th in Council. The Govr brought Up a book which which is a Collection of All the Honble Compas Constitutions & Instructions in their Letters from time to time for ye good Government of St Helena in which those Letters We have by Us is Copied out The Govr has Examind the book & written an Extract in Marginal notes thereon but finds it defitient in many places & particularly in the Copy of ye Rochesters Letter Anno Dom 1705. Probb which is not half Copied out a great many whole material par: entirely omitted, The Secret Says that they Copied at first from an Old book in the Office which book he produced & the same book being so Copied We impute the fault to the former Clerk of the Council (or to Capt Goodwin who made the Collection) that Mr Free Copied from.) And Mr Tovey Says that all the Honble Compas Letters from the first time of Governr Roberts arrival are en- tirely Copied therein & exactly done. Margin Notes: Book of ye Laws &c: not perfect.</p>	<p>Island St Helena A consultation was held on Tuesday 18 October 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, was present, with George Haswell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council. The governor brought up a book that gathered all the Company's constitutions and instructions from their letters over the years, for the good government of St Helena. Into it were copied the letters the council had by them. The governor had examined the book and written an extract in marginal notes upon it. He found it deficient in many places, and particularly in the copy of the <i>Rochester's</i> letter of 1705, which was not half copied out, with many whole material parts left out entirely. The secretary said the book had first been copied from an old book in the office, which he produced. That old book being itself defective, the fault was laid on the former clerk of the council, or on Captain Goodwin, who had made the collection that Thomas Free copied from. Tovey said that all the Company's letters since Governor Roberts first arrived were copied in fully and exactly.</p> <p>Interpretations The book was the island's governing code in one volume. It gathered all the Company's constitutions and instructions, drawn from their letters over the years, by</p>

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			<p>which the bench was to govern St Helena. The colony had no statute of its own, so its law was the accumulated directions of the Company, copied into a single reference.</p> <p>The governor's audit exposed how far the code had decayed in copying. The <i>Rochester's</i> letter of 1705 was not half transcribed, with whole material parts left out, and the error ran back through an old office book to the collection Captain Goodwin had made and Thomas Free had copied. Only the letters from Governor Roberts's arrival onward were found complete and exact. A record built by successive copying had carried its faults forward from one hand to the next.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The account traced the defect to hands long gone, and so cleared the present office. By laying the gaps on an old office book, the former clerk and Captain Goodwin's collection, and by noting that everything since Governor Roberts was exactly done, the bench shifted the blame away from Tovey as secretary. The record protected the current administration from responsibility for the corrupt book.</p>
69	62	<p>Orderd That all Old papers be Examined to See if the Remainder of the Rochesters or any other Letter can be found to be Copid therein & then the Govr will conclude the sd id extract. The Govr also reports that two different people have been with him who Say they can give an Account of about 60. Acres of Land lying in two distinct places which do belong to the Honble Compa but by some private clandestine management have been Juggled away & pretended to be Owned by some others, but tho they can discover this they are unwilling to do it without a reward, & therefore the Govr desires the Oppinion of the Coun- cil what is best to be done in it because he believes there may be some truth in it & his reason is, that redding over the former Consultations he finds that on Tuesday yr 10th of Octr 1710. their was some complaint made then of a matter of this Nature & according to that consultation it is possible that 233. Acres of yr Honbl Compas Land may be so concealed.</p> <p>Orderd That an Advertizement be published to give a Suitable reward to any person who shall discover to the Govr & Council any Lands so un- justly Alienated or possessed as Free Land which they have no right to.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Land pr[...]ssed wrongfully. [...]</p>	<p>The council ordered that all the old papers be examined, to see whether the rest of the <i>Rochester's</i> letter, or any other letter, could be found and copied into the book. The governor would then complete his extract.</p> <p>The governor also reported that two people had come to him separately. Each claimed to know of about 60 acres of Company land, lying in two distinct places, which by private and secret dealing had been fraudulently taken from the Company and were now falsely claimed by others. They could reveal it, but were unwilling to do so without a reward.</p> <p>The governor asked the council's opinion on what should be done. He believed there might be some truth in the report. His reason was that, reading over the former consultations, he found that on Tuesday 10 October 1710 a complaint of this kind had been made, and that, according to that consultation, as many as 233 acres of the Company's land might be concealed.</p> <p>The council ordered that an advertisement be published, offering a suitable reward to anyone who should reveal to the governor and council any lands unjustly alienated, or held as free land, to which the holders had no right.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Company could not find its own land from its own records, so it turned to informers. Two men knew of some 60 acres taken from the Company and held by others, but would not speak without payment. The bench answered with a reward, treating private knowledge as the means to recover property its defective books had lost track of.</p> <p>The governor tested the report against the consultation record. Reading the former consultations, he found that the same kind of complaint had been made on 10 October 1710, when as many as 233 acres were thought concealed. The old entry lent weight to the present tip and suggested the loss was both real and large.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The council chose a public advertisement over a private bargain with the two informers. Paying them alone would have recovered only what they knew, whereas a general reward invited anyone to come forward about further concealed land. Broadening the offer turned a single tip into a standing call to uncover the Company's lost ground.</p>
70	63	<p>Resolvd likewise that the books be diligently Searchd to See if any thing of this nature can be found out The Advertizement was as foll: Vizt By the Worsp: the Govr & Coun</p> <p>An Advertizement</p>	<p>The council also resolved that the books be diligently searched, to see whether anything of this kind could be found. The advertisement, issued by the governor and council of St Helena, ran as follows.</p>

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		<p>Whereas the Governr & Council have received Information that several parcels of the Honbl Compd the Lords Proprietors Land, are by an Unjust fraud & Couin concealed from them & their Estate possess by divers persons, as if their Own free Land when they have no manner of just claime or right to the same. Wherefore the Govr & Council Do by this Advertizement Publish [...]are, That who ever shall discover to them any part or parcel of the Lords Propriets Land so unlawfully Occupied & detained as aforesaid they shall have a Suitable reward & encouragement for any part or parcel of Land so discovered according to the Proffit that shall accrue to yr Lords Proprietors thereby And they Do further give notice to all the Honest & good Inhabitants of this place that nothing is hereby intended to Disturbe the peaceble or Quiet possession of any Ones enjoying their Own Lawfull claime, but Only to make discovery of about 230. Acres of the Honbl Lords Proprietors Own Land, which Appears to be so conceald And because some people may be pos- sors of Small parcels lawfully descended in a fair manner to them tho conceald by their predecessors, If within Ten Days after Publication hereof they reveal the Same to the Governour, they shall not</p> <p>Margin Notes: Island St Helena a Reward to discov: such Land</p>	<p>The governor and council had received information that several parcels of the Honourable Company's land, belonging to the Lords Proprietors, were concealed from them by unjust fraud and collusion. Various persons held these parcels as if they were their own free land, though they had no just claim or right to them.</p> <p>The governor and council therefore published and declared that whoever revealed to them any part of the Lords Proprietors' land so unlawfully occupied and detained should have a suitable reward and encouragement for each parcel discovered, in proportion to the profit that came to the Lords Proprietors from it.</p> <p>They further gave notice to all the honest and good inhabitants that nothing in the advertisement was meant to disturb the peaceable possession of anyone enjoying his own lawful claim. The sole aim was to recover about 230 acres of the Lords Proprietors' own land that appeared to be concealed.</p> <p>The advertisement made allowance for honest holders of small parcels. Some might hold land that had descended to them fairly, though their predecessors had concealed it. Such people were given ten days from publication to reveal the matter to the governor.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The reward was tied to the value recovered. An informer was to be paid in proportion to the profit that came to the Lords Proprietors from each parcel he uncovered. Scaling the payment to the gain matched the cost of the reward to the worth of the recovery and gave informers reason to report the larger concealments.</p> <p>The advertisement guarded lawful owners while pressing the concealers. It assured honest inhabitants that secure title was not in question, and aimed only at the roughly 230 acres held without right. For those who held small concealed parcels innocently, inherited from predecessors who had hidden them, it offered ten days to come forward on easier terms.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The reward and the ten-day window worked together as a pincer. A holder who delayed risked being reported by a neighbour seeking the reward, while early disclosure brought leniency instead. Setting so short a deadline pressed innocent concealers to confess before an informer could claim the bounty against them.</p>
71	64	<p>be Outed of that Land, But shall enjoy it by Lease as other Lease land is Lett. Yett if they do continue to conceal it, the said Land shall be resumed to the Use of the Honbl Lords Proprietors, & Lett to some others. Signd by Order of Govr & Council Dated at Union Castle James Valley this 24th day of October 1715. (Signd) Antipas Tovey. Secr.</p> <p>The Govr Reports that now they are building Up the Old materials they pulled down of Mr New Francis house the said Mr Francis desires there may be two Closets built at the end of yr house which he is willing to pay for, but prays that the same hands may build it Up, together with the other, Upon condition that he pay the charges - We are contented that it be done at the same time. According to Order of Yesterday Reported, That there is a broken Ledge, but if it falls will come on this Tide Mundens point Castle into a place called Downings Cove & may therefore be safely hove down That, to cleare the Hill is most necessary it being of late very dangerous to goe to the Landing Rocks or from thence because abundance of Stones & falls ma- ny people have been hurt, three Men</p> <p>Margin Notes: abt Honr Francis house build[...] Report abt of New Crane & cleaning of Hill</p>	<p>Holders who disclosed within the ten days would not be put off the land. They would keep it by lease, on the same terms as other lease land. Any who went on concealing their parcels would lose them, the land being taken back for the Lords Proprietors and let to others.</p> <p>The advertisement was signed by order of the governor and council, dated at Union Castle, James Valley, on 24 October 1715, by Antipas Tovey, secretary.</p> <p>The governor reported that the old materials pulled down from Henry Francis's new house were now being built up again. Francis asked that two closets be added at the end of the house, which he would pay for. He prayed that the same men might build the closets along with the rest, provided he met the charges. The council agreed that it should be done at the same time.</p> <p>According to the order of the previous day, the survey party reported on the broken ledge. If it fell, it would come down on the near side of Munden's Point Castle, into a place called Downings Cove. It could therefore be safely thrown down without danger to the fort.</p> <p>They reported further that clearing the hill was most necessary. Of late it had become very dangerous to go to and from the landing rocks, because a great many stones fell there, and many people had been hurt.</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>The advertisement turned concealment into a choice between lease and loss. Those who came forward would not be put off the land but would hold it by lease, like any other lease land, and so become the Company's rent-paying tenants. Those who kept concealing would forfeit the land entirely, to be taken back for the Lords Proprietors and let to others. Wrongly-held free land was thus converted into Company revenue or recovered outright.</p> <p>The report grounded the need to clear the hill in injury, not merely in risk. Going to and from the landing rocks had lately become very dangerous, because a great many stones fell there, and many people had been hurt. The works answered a hazard that had already drawn blood at the island's landing place.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The survey resolved the earlier fear for the fort. On 17 October the broken ledge had seemed to threaten the castle at Munden's Point, but the inspection found it would fall on the near side, into Downings Cove. Once the fall-line was known to run away from the fort, the ledge could be brought down deliberately and safely rather than left as a standing danger.</p>
72	65	<p>formerly Killd, but of late One Stone fell upon the Draw bridge & Stavid a part of it, another Stone Staved a piece of the Old bridge at the Sea Gate, about three months Since a parcel of Stones of about Six or Eight Tons fell together by the Lime Kiln, but did no hurt another parcel Since fell down Upon the Timber So that We think its very conve- nient to heave down all the loose Stones before the Crane is Sett up. As to the best place to Sett up the Crane, We all agree that Downings Cove is the best place for a Crane, because goods may be Landed there at any time but the way to it is bad, being full of Large Rocks fallen from the Hills so it is a great distance Vizt 650 Yards from the Castle & 270. Yards further then the Old Crane & to make a good way to it & Sett up the Crane will cost at least 1000. So that We cannot think of that place as proper being so far off & so chargable. The next best place is the Usual Landing Rocks, proposed by Capt Haswell & by the Carpenters, viz 547 Yards from the Castle & 138 Yards beyond the Old Crane, but on each Side of the Landing Rocks there is a small cove into which the Sea runs with great force, wch Covs must both be filled up, with large Stones & made like a Wharfe, & that will pre- vent any boates from being hauled in the Landing Rocks themselves are Steep to & cleare of Sunken Rocks So that a boat may deliver goods there sometimes</p>	<p>Three men had been killed at the landing in earlier years. More recently a stone had fallen on the drawbridge and staved part of it, and another had broken a piece of the old bridge at the sea gate. About three months earlier a parcel of stones, some six or eight tons together, had fallen by the lime kiln, though it did no harm, and another parcel had since come down on the timber. The survey therefore judged it sensible to throw down all the loose stones before the crane was set up.</p> <p>On the best site for the crane, the party agreed that Downings Cove was the best place, since goods could be landed there at any time. The way to it, however, was bad, being full of large rocks fallen from the hills. It lay a great distance off, 650 yards from the castle and 270 yards further than the old crane. Making a good road to it and setting up the crane would cost at least £1,000 0s 0d. They therefore rejected Downings Cove as too far off and too costly.</p> <p>The next best site was the usual landing rocks, proposed by Captain Haswell and the carpenters. This lay 517 yards from the castle and 138 yards beyond the old crane. On each side of the landing rocks, though, was a small cove into which the sea ran with great force. Both covs would have to be filled with large stones and made into a wharf, and that would prevent any boats from being hauled in. The landing rocks themselves were steep-to and clear of sunken rocks, so a boat might deliver goods there at times.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The survey compared two crane sites by landing quality, distance and cost. Downings Cove was judged the best for landing, since goods could come ashore there in any weather, but it lay 650 yards from the castle and 270 beyond the old crane, and the road and crane together would cost at least £1,000 0s 0d. The landing rocks, proposed by Captain Haswell and the carpenters, lay nearer at 517 yards, but the two covs flanking them would have to be filled with stone and made into a wharf.</p> <p>The party justified clearing the slope by the harm already done. Three men had been killed there in earlier years, a stone had staved part of the drawbridge and another a piece of the bridge at the sea gate, and a fall of six or eight tons had come down by the lime kiln. The record of deaths and damage made the case for bringing down the loose stones before the crane was set up.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Cost decided against the better site. Downings Cove was the survey's first choice for a landing, yet its</p>

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			<p>distance and the £1,000 0s 0d needed to reach and build there ruled it out. The party fell back on the nearer landing rocks not because they were the better harbour but because the colony could afford them.</p>
73	66	<p>when She cannot at the Crane, & tho it will cost a great deal of money Yet Capt Haswell & Capt Bazett are of Oppinion it may be Saved in time by Demorage of Ships. Capt Haswell Says he Esti- mates the Charge to be 500li or 600li The other place is about 10. foot off were the Crane now stands yr Objec- tion against that place is yr danger of Two Sunken Rocks that lye against it that have destroyed abundance of Boats & when there is a Surfe a boat cannot lye there to be unladen especially at Low water, and the reason for Setting Up the New Crane there is that it may Stand ten foot further from the two Sunken Rocks then the Old Crane does, which is something better for the boats, another reason is that the charge of Setting Up the New Crane there will not be a Quarter so much as any were else & the Charge and trouble of bringing Up the goods will be less. We had Mr Saxon with Us and Some others who think near to the Old Crane the best place, because nearest & more in view of the Castle & they also say that tho goods may be Landed at the Landing Rocks at Some times when they cant be Landed at the Crane, Yet at other times they may land better at the Crane And they Instance the time present for an Example because whilst We were all there the high Sea came all over the Landing Rocks & no Goods then could be Landed, but at the Crane they might be Landed without wetting, So that unless there were two</p>	<p>A boat could land goods at the rocks at times when it could not at the crane. The works there would cost a great deal, but Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett held that the outlay would be recovered over time through savings on ships' demurrage. Haswell put the charge at £500 0s 0d or £600 0s 0d.</p> <p>A third place lay about ten feet from where the crane now stood. The objection to it was the danger of two sunken rocks lying against it, which had destroyed a great many boats. In a surf, and especially at low water, a boat could not lie there to be unloaded. The argument for setting the new crane there was that it would stand ten feet further from the two sunken rocks than the old crane did, which was somewhat safer for the boats. A further reason was that setting it up there would cost less than a quarter of what any other site would, and the goods would be easier and cheaper to bring up.</p> <p>Mr Saxon and some others present thought the place near the old crane the best, as nearest to the castle and most in its view. They allowed that goods could sometimes be landed at the landing rocks when they could not at the crane, but argued that at other times they landed better at the crane. They cited the present occasion: while the party were all there, a high sea came right over the landing rocks and no goods could be landed, yet at the crane they might have been landed without wetting.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Haswell and Bazett judged the costly landing-rocks works worth the price because of demurrage. Demurrage was the charge a ship's owners levied when a vessel was held beyond its agreed loading time, so faster unloading at a good landing would spare the Company those penalties. They treated the outlay, which Haswell put at £500 0s 0d or £600 0s 0d, as an investment that would pay for itself by keeping ships from being delayed.</p> <p>The surveyors divided over reliability against cost. Saxon and others preferred the cheaper site near the old crane, as nearest the castle and most in its view, and pressed an example from that very day. While the party stood there, a high sea washed clean over the landing rocks so that nothing could be put ashore, yet at the crane goods could have come up dry. The dispute turned on whether a better but dearer landing was worth more than a cheap one reliable in rough weather.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The proposal to set the new crane ten feet beyond the old one met the sunken-rock danger without giving up the cheap site. Two sunken rocks by the old crane had destroyed many boats, yet the place was the least costly and the easiest for bringing up goods. Shifting the crane just ten feet further off bought a margin of safety for the boats while keeping the advantages of the position.</p>
74	67	<p>Cranes, One at each place, they think it best at the nearest place. Upon the whole Since it does appear the Surfe may cause as many hindrances & delays in unloading of a Ship, if Wee build the New Crane at the Landing Rocks as if it be Sett up [...] at the Old One Therefore the Gov. is of Oppinion that the nearest place is best especially considering the great Charge of One And the Small Charges of the other, Mr Tovey & Mr Byfield are of the same Oppinion but especially because those two Coves [...] at the Landing Rocks will be likely to cost more then the foregoing Esti- mation. Wherefore Resolved that it be left to the Govr to Sett up the New Crane near the Old One in Such manner as he shall think fitt. And to take down the Old Crane before the Hills are cleared. The</p>	<p>Unless there were two cranes, one at each landing, this group thought the nearest place best. On the whole, the surf seemed likely to cause as many delays in unloading a ship at the landing rocks as near the old crane.</p> <p>The governor therefore held that the nearest place was best, especially given the great cost of the one site and the small cost of the other. Tovey and Byfield agreed, the more so because the two coves at the landing rocks would probably cost more than the estimate already given.</p> <p>The council resolved that it be left to the governor to set up the new crane near the old one, in such</p>

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		<p>Petition of Gabriel Cowell was presented as foll (Vizt) To yr Worshp Isaac Pyke Govr &c & Council. The most humble Petition of Gabriel Cowell, Free holder. most humbly That Whereas Capt John Roberts late Govr of yr Island & the then Council did at the time of their Seizing the entire Estate of Capt Geo: Hoskison Since Depy Govr (Decd) make Seizure of what Lands, Tene- ments &c he then had in possession, espec- ally & more porticularly that Estate be- longing to the said Orphans of Mr French decd</p> <p>Margin Notes: Island St Helena. Gab: Cowells pet: Sheweth. abt French Orphs aut and Did soon after, dig Up & Convert to yr Honble Compa propr Use abt 4 or 5 [...] thousand Yams, yt was Standing & growing Upon some land belonging to yr Orphans</p>	<p>manner as he thought fit. The old crane was to be taken down before the hills were cleared.</p> <p>The petition of Gabriel Powell was then presented. It was addressed to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council, and came from Powell, a freeholder. It set out that when Captain John Roberts, the former governor, and the council of that time had seized the entire estate of Captain George Hoskison, since deputy governor and now deceased, they had taken all the lands and tenements then in his possession. Among these was the estate belonging to the orphans of the late William French. Soon afterwards they had dug up and converted to the Company's use about 400,000 yams that were standing and growing on land belonging to the orphans.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The bench settled the crane question against its own deputy governor. Haswell and Bazett had favoured the landing rocks, but the surf was found to delay unloading there as much as near the old crane, and the governor, with Tovey and Byfield, chose the cheapest site by the old one. They doubted, too, that filling the two coves could be done for the sum estimated. The execution was then left to the governor to manage as he thought fit, and the old crane was to come down before the hills were cleared.</p> <p>Powell's petition answered the charge that he owed the French orphans. He set out that Roberts's government had seized Captain Hoskison's whole estate, including the orphans' land that Hoskison held, and had soon after dug up about 400,000 yams growing on it for the Company's use. The point recast the orphans' estate as something the Company had already drawn from, not a fund Powell alone had run down.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The summons of 11 October 1715 had called Powell to object to the account that made him the orphans' debtor, yet he did not quarrel with the figures. He answered instead by charging that the Company's own former government had seized the orphans' estate and taken its yams. Shifting the ground from his own debt to the prior seizure put the whole reckoning in question rather than any single sum within it.</p>
75	68	<p>Now forasmuch as the said Deceasd Geo: Hoskison did contract & Oblige himself his heirs &c. to make good twenty five thous Yams to the Orphans aforesaid when his time was expired & the same with forty thous more increased by the said Hoskison being Seized, Your Petitioner who has married his Widow, most humbly moves & prays Satis- faction may be made for the Yams so made Use of as aforesaid and a deduction out of the Rent for the time the Honble Company (or the Govr & then Council) had the said French Estate in their Posesion humbly Submitting to the Justice & Prudence of yor Worshp & Council. And (as in duty bound) shall ever pray. &c. Answerd. That It is the Oppinion of the Govr & Council that this Petition ought to be rejected yr designe hereof being to asperse & reflect on yr former Governmt. We say falsley because this & last Council day We made Up some Acct between Mr Cowell & the Orphans therein mencond, Mr Cowell & his Wife Asserting before Us, to lessen their Debt to yr Orphans that there was no more then 25. thousand Yams on the ground & them so Small & bad that they were of very little Value & the ground so unfit for Yam ground that he thought it not worth his while to plant it with Yam, We also find here the Copy of a Letter from Govr Roberts to yr then Govr & Council yr 25. of Sept 1711. Capt Geo: Hoskison present who is pretended did Suffer that injury now complaind on</p> <p>Margin Notes: Answerd.</p>	<p>Powell's petition continued. The late George Hoskison had bound himself and his heirs to make good 25,000 yams to the orphans when his time expired, with a further 40,000 increased by Hoskison after his seizure. Powell, who had married Hoskison's widow, humbly asked that satisfaction be made for the yams the Company had used, and a deduction be allowed from the rent for the period the Company, or the governor and council of that time, had held the French estate in their possession. He submitted the matter to the justice and prudence of the governor and council.</p> <p>The council answered the petition. In the opinion of the governor and council, it ought to be rejected, since its design was to cast aspersions on and reflect upon the former government. The council said this was false, because on the last council day an account had been made up between Powell and the orphans, set out in the earlier consultation. Powell and his wife, asserting before the council to lessen their debt to the orphans, had claimed that there were no more than 25,000 yams on the ground, and those so small and bad that they were of very little value, the ground itself being so unfit for yams that he had thought it not worth his while to plant it with yam.</p> <p>The council also found a copy of a letter from Governor Roberts to the then governor and council, dated 25 September 1711, with Captain George Hoskison present, who was alleged to have suffered the injury now complained of.</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>Powell built his claim on Hoskison's own undertaking. The late Hoskison had bound himself and his heirs to deliver 25,000 yams to the orphans, raised by a further 40,000 after the seizure, and Powell stood in his place as the husband of his widow. On that footing Powell asked not only payment for the yams the Company had taken but a rebate of rent for the years the Company held the orphans' estate.</p> <p>The council met the petition by turning Powell's earlier words against him. He and his wife had once argued, to shrink their own debt, that the ground bore at most 25,000 poor yams, scarcely worth planting. That admission undercut the present complaint that the Company had taken a valuable crop, and the bench treated the petition as an attack on the former government rather than an honest claim.</p>
76	69	<p>wherein Govr Roberts Sayes, as foll (Vizt) "I am further to acquaint you that I have along time waited with Patience, & being informed that Geo Hoskison was to Sue me for damage about the Seizing his Land, &c "But finding so much time gone & nothing done in relation to these affairs Therefore I desire that for any faults committed during my Government they may be heard as soon as possible thatso where any Injustice or wrong has been done they may have Satisfaction while I am here, the Sooner these matters are decided the better. And Govr Roberts concludes his Letter thus (Saying.) - "For my part Gentn I am very desirous if You think it convenient yt an Order be published by beat of Drum for any person that can prove I have wronged them to yr Value of agroat and I will make them around Satisfaction "The same I will do to any person that can prove I have got agroat by em. And it does not appeare to Us that the said Hoskison was able to prove any injustice or wrong against the said Govr Roberts for We find by the Consulta- tion books of those times that Hoskison was present & consenting to Capt Roberts going for England & never did make any Suit against him. And We are further of Oppinion that if the said Hoskison did Suffer any detriment by his Land being in the Honble Compa posesion they made him</p>	<p>The letter from Governor Roberts ran as follows. Roberts wrote that he was further to acquaint them that he had long waited with patience, having been informed that George Hoskison meant to sue him for damage over the seizing of his land. Finding so much time gone and nothing done about these matters, he desired that any faults committed during his government be heard as soon as possible, so that where any injustice or wrong had been done, the parties might have satisfaction while he was still there. The sooner such matters were decided, the better.</p> <p>Roberts closed his letter to this effect. For his own part, he was very willing, if they thought it proper, that an order be published by beat of drum, inviting any person who could prove he had wronged them to the value of a groat to come forward, and he would make them satisfaction. He would do the same for any person who could prove he had taken a groat from them.</p> <p>It did not appear to the council that Hoskison had been able to prove any injustice or wrong against Governor Roberts. They found from the consultation books of that time that Hoskison had been present and consenting to Captain Roberts going for England, and had never brought any suit against him.</p> <p>The council were further of the opinion that, if Hoskison had suffered any loss through his land being in the Company's possession, they had made him [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Roberts's letter was the council's strongest answer to Powell. By his own open invitation, published by beat of drum, Roberts had offered satisfaction to anyone who could prove a wrong to the value of a groat, and Hoskison had brought no suit. The council used that standing offer, and Hoskison's silence at the time, to show the grievance had been waived when it could first have been raised.</p> <p>The bench leaned on the record to close the matter. The consultation books showed Hoskison present and consenting to Roberts's departure for England, which the council read as proof that he had accepted no wrong was done. The written entries of the day governed the claim, against Powell's later attempt to revive it.</p>
77	70	<p>a great amends by Appointing him Depy Govr here, tho he made them but a bad returne for it in his management of their Affairs for it cost them much more than Double, Yea, then treble of all the cost that he pretended he had sus- tained, & had he lived longer it would have been Worse. We are Sorry there is occasion to say what may look like reflection on Capt Hoskison but Since Mr Cowell who is his Successor has brought it on the Stage by Asserting falss things in his petition as it is Our duties to deliver Our Oppinions impartially so We hope when Mr Cowell Sees his predecessors Character is so well known that he will for the future carey himself so - as to deserve a better. Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p>	<p>The council had made Hoskison great amends by appointing him deputy governor, though he had made them a poor return for it in his management of their affairs. His management had cost the Company much more than double, indeed treble, all the loss he claimed to have suffered, and had he lived longer it would have been worse.</p> <p>The council were sorry there was cause to say what might look like a reflection on Captain Hoskison. Since Powell, his successor, had brought the matter into the open by asserting false things in his petition, it was their duty to deliver their opinions impartially. They hoped that, when Powell saw how well his predecessor's</p>

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			<p>character was known, he would in future conduct himself so as to deserve a better one.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by Governor Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The council answered Powell's claim by attacking the value of Hoskison's own service. They held that Hoskison's mismanagement as deputy governor had cost the Company more than three times the loss he claimed from the seizure, so any grievance was far outweighed by the harm he had done. Powell's inherited claim was thus set against an inherited debt of conduct.</p> <p>The closing rebuke turned the petition back on Powell himself. By recording that Powell had brought the matter into the open with false assertions, and warning him to behave better in future, the bench treated the petition as an offence against the former government rather than a legitimate claim. The reproof, entered on the record, served as a caution to a councillor who had pressed too far.</p>
78	71	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday yr 27th of October 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley Prist Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey & Edw: Byfeld The Gunnr having brought in the last months Acct We have Examind it & find it right. Orderd That for the future he bring in his Acct Monthly according to the Honble Compas Directions in their last Letter, & be Entered in the Consultation book. Orderd Also that all his other Acct from yr 25th of March last be also Entered in the Consultacon book in Order, with the last months Acct now brought in, wch are as foll: (Vizt) An Acct of Gunrs Stores Expended at St Helena In the Month April. 1715. For Burying Capt Washborne No 16 16li Capt Haswell 1 To the Guard 16 Powers deliverd Robt Bell 2 16 - 33li Musquet balls to yr Guard 15 Cartridge paper 2 Quire Do to Lucas Mason 1 Match Match 28 Total 28. 3.15.. 2 16 - 33 Margin Notes: Gunnors Acct for April 1715. (Signd) Jno French.</p>	<p>Island St Helena</p> <p>A consultation was held on Tuesday 25 October 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, was present, with Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>The gunner had brought in the last month's account. The council examined it and found it right. The council ordered that in future he bring in his account monthly, according to the Company's directions in their last letter, and that it be entered in the consultation book. The council also ordered that all his other accounts from 25 March last be entered in the consultation book in order, together with the last month's account now brought in, which was as follows.</p> <p>An account of gunner's stores expended at St Helena in the month of April 1715.</p> <p>For burying Captain Mashborne 16 pounds of fine powder 16 pounds Captain Haswell 1 pound To the guard 16 pounds Crows delivered to Robert Bell 2 muskets 2 Musket balls to the guard 15 Cartridge paper 2 quires The like to Lucas Mason 1 quire Match 28 pounds Signed by John French.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The account fixed the gunner's books to a documented routine. The council ordered monthly accounts entered in the consultation book under the Company's last directions, and called in every account back to 25 March 1715 to be entered in order. The standing record of powder and stores was being brought into a regular, auditable form rather than left in the gunner's separate keeping.</p> <p>The single largest issue of powder was for a funeral. Sixteen pounds of fine powder went to bury Captain Mashborne, the third councillor who had died on 31 March 1715, against one pound for the deputy governor and small quantities to the guard. The volley fired over a senior officer's grave consumed more powder than the garrison's ordinary use, marking the weight given to a councillor's burial.</p>
79	72	<p>Gunnors Stores Expended Vizt May 1715 An Alarm 30 4 To the Guard 10 To Lucas Mason 1 To Banks: & Mundens point wth Small Arms 2 Match 21 1 Spunge Staff for yr Gunner 1 quire Cartridge paper for yr Guard 2 ditto do Lucas Mason 1</p>	<p>Gunner's stores expended at St Helena in the month of June 1715. The account records, against each event, the guns fired by type (minions, demi-culverins and falcons), the powder in pounds, and the stores issued (musket shot, musket balls, trucks, cartridge paper, sheep skins, tar brush and match).</p> <p>7 June, an alarm falcons 4 powder 4 pounds Arrived the <i>Cardonnell</i> from England falcons 5 powder 5 pounds</p>

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		<p>a Buccaneer broke off Long Mare 1 (Signd) Jno French. 1. 3. 21. 4. 17 Guns Stores Expended, Vizt June 1715 An Alarm 7 4 4 Arived the Sardonelle from Engld 5 5 At Banks: & Mundens point 10 4 An Alarm 4 4 Arred the Eagle Galley 4 4 Proclaiming King George 11 7 7 Small Arms &c 4 11 10 99 An Alarm 18 20 Arived the Hannover 4 4 Saild the Sardonnell 29 9 9 To the Guard 11 11 To Lucas Mason 12 Musquet broke at Mundens 3 Musquet balls 1 Do to Lucas Mason 1 To Richd [Walton] [Ashes] 1 [...] Do Trucks 4 Cartridge paper 14 Sheep Skins 3 Tarr brush 1 Match 21 Total 21. 3 4 4 2 6. 1 1 4 11 54 182 Margin Notes: May. June. (Signd) Jno French.</p>	<p>10 June, at Banks's and Munden's Point powder 4 pounds An alarm falcons 4 powder 4 pounds Arrived the <i>Eagle Galley</i> falcons 7 powder 7 pounds 11 June, proclaiming King George minions 4 demi-culverins 11 falcons 10 powder 99 pounds Small arms at the proclamation 20 [...] 18 June, an alarm falcons 4 powder 4 pounds Arrived the <i>Hanover</i> falcons 4 powder 4 pounds 29 June, sailed the <i>Cardonnell</i> falcons 9 powder 9 pounds To the guard powder 12 [...] To Lucas Mason powder 3 [...] Musket broke at Munden's 1 Musket balls 1 The like to Lucas Mason 1 To Richard Swallow, [...] 2 The like 4 trucks Cartridge paper 4 [...] Sheep skins 3 Tar brush 1 Match 21 pounds Month totals match 21 sheep skins 3 cartridge paper 4 trucks 4 [...] 2 [...] 6 musket shot 1 musket balls 1 [...] 4 [...] 11 falcons 54 powder 182 pounds Signed by John French. Interpretations The powder columns are organised by gun type, and the three named are sizes of muzzle-loading cannon classed by the weight of shot they threw. A falcon was a small, light piece firing a ball of about two to three pounds, used for signalling and salutes as much as for defence. A minion was a step larger, throwing a ball of around four pounds. A demi-culverin was a medium gun firing some nine or ten pounds of shot, one of the heavier pieces on the island's batteries. Each type took its own set charge, so the gunner accounted for powder against the guns fired rather than as a single quantity. The store items belong to the same artillery routine: trucks are the small solid wooden wheels on which a gun carriage runs, so the four trucks were replacement carriage wheels; match is slow-match, a cord steeped in saltpetre that smouldered steadily and was touched to the vent to fire a gun; cartridge paper is the stiff paper in which measured powder charges were made up; and the tar brush served to tar the ironwork and gear against the salt air. The sponge staff and tompion noted in the previous month's account belong here too, the sponge staff being the pole with a sponge head used to swab out the bore after firing and quench any embers before reloading, and the tompion the wooden plug that stopped the muzzle to keep out wet and damp. The proclamation of King George on 11 June 1715 drew the only heavy charge of the month. It alone called out the larger guns, four minions and eleven demi-culverins beside ten falcons, and consumed ninety-nine pounds of powder with a further twenty in small arms, against the standing four pounds spent on an ordinary alarm. The contrast measures the political weight of the occasion: a new king was saluted with the island's full ordnance, where the daily business of defence and the greeting of ships were marked by the falcons alone.</p>
80	73	<p>Guns Stores Expended (Vizt) July 1715. Saild the Hannover & Eagle 7 16 16li To the Guard 12 Do Musquett balls 1 Do to Lucas Mason 1 Musket broke in yr Armourers Shopp 1 Ditto of Benjn Cleverley 1 Cartridge paper expend 1 Do to Lucas Mason 1 Do to Hen: Harmon 1 Tomkins 6 Rammer heads 6</p>	<p>Gunner's stores expended at St Helena in the month of July 1715. 7 July, sailed the <i>Hanover</i> and <i>Eagle</i> falcons 16 powder 16 pounds To the guard powder 12 pounds The like, musket balls 1 The like to Lucas Mason 1 Musket broken in the armourer's shop 1 The like by Benjamin Cleverley 1 Cartridge paper expended [...] The like to Lucas Mason 1 The like to Henry Harmon 1</p>

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		<p>Tarr brushes 3 Trucks ? do to Jno Aldrich 16 Axeltrees 2 Trucks do Ro Swallow [...] Beds 4 Aprons of Lead 2 Match expended 21 (Signd) Jno French. 21 2 4 8 18 3 6 6 [4] 2 2 16 28 Gunnrs Stores Expended (Vizt) August 1715. An Alarm 1st 4 4 Arrived the Averilla 2 11 11 Saild the Averilla 9 9 9 An Alarm 12 4 4 Arrived Friendship Sloop from yr Cape 13 3 3 Saild Do 30 3 3 To Banks: & Mundens point 4 Guard 9 Capt Haswell 2 Match expended 14 Rammer heads 1 Spunge head 1 Copper Ladles 3 Spunge Staffs 3 Sheep Skins 2 Trucks 8 Axeltrees 4 Cartridge paper 2 Do Lucas Mason 1 Total 3 4 8 2 3 3 1 1 14 34 49 Margin Notes: July. August.</p>	<p>Tompions 6 Rammer heads 6 Tar brushes 3 Trucks, to John Aldrick 16 Trucks, to Richard Swallow 2 Axeltrees, to John Aldrick 8 Beds 4 Aprons of lead 2 Match expended 21 pounds Month totals match 21 aprons of lead 2 beds 4 axeltrees 8 trucks 18 tar brushes 3 rammer heads 6 tompions 6 cartridge paper 4 musket balls 2 musket shot broken 2 falcons 16 powder 28 pounds Signed by John French. Gunner's stores expended at St Helena in the month of August 1715. 1 August, an alarm falcon 4 powder 4 pounds The same day, arrived the <i>Avarilla</i> falcon 11 powder 11 pounds 9 August, sailed the <i>Avarilla</i> falcon 9 powder 9 pounds 12 August, an alarm falcon 4 powder 4 pounds 13 August, arrived the <i>Friendship</i> sloop from the Cape falcon 3 powder 3 pounds 30 August, sailed the same falcon 3 powder 3 pounds To Banks's and Munden's Point powder 4 pounds To the guard powder 9 pounds To Captain Haswell powder 2 pounds Match expended [...] Rammer head 1 Sponge head 1 Copper ladles 3 Sponge staffs 3 Sheep skins 2 Trucks 8 Axeltrees 4 Cartridge paper 3 The like to Lucas Mason 1 Month totals cartridge paper 3 axeltrees 4 trucks 8 sheep skins 2 sponge staffs 3 copper ladles 3 sponge head 1 rammer head 1 match 14 falcon 34 powder 49 pounds Signed by John French. Interpretations Several of the store items are the tools and fittings of a gun and its carriage. A rammer head is the wooden head on the rammer staff that drove the powder, wad and shot down the bore, and a sponge head is the lambskin-covered head on the sponge staff used to swab the bore clean after firing. A copper ladle is a long-handled scoop for loading loose powder into a gun, made of copper so that it would not strike a spark. An apron of lead is a sheet of lead laid over the touch- hole to keep rain and damp out of the priming. A bed is the wooden block on the carriage on which the breech of the gun rested for elevation, and an axletree is the axle on which the trucks, the carriage wheels, turned. The sheep skins served as covers and padding for sponges and for the powder. These two months record a steady re-equipping of the battery rather than mere firing. July alone consumed eighteen trucks, eight axeltrees, four beds, six rammer heads and two leaden aprons, with sponge heads, sponge staffs and copper ladles following in August. The gunner was rebuilding worn gun carriages and renewing their loading gear across the season, so the account doubles as a maintenance record of the island's ordnance, not just a tally of powder spent on salutes and alarms.</p>
81	74	<p>Gunnrs Stores Expended Vizt September 1715. Fired at the Grampus 1 3 21 Shot. Nine pounders 3 To the Guard 9</p>	<p>Gunner's stores expended at St Helena in the month of September 1715. 1 September, fired at a grampus demi-culverins 3 nine-pounder shot 3 powder [...]</p>

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		<p>Cartridge paper 4 Do to Lucas Mason 2 Match 21 Mushett ball dd Lucas Mason 1 Trucks ? do Ro do 8 Axeltrees Swallow 2 Spunge Staffe 1 Rammer heads 2 Spunge heads 2 Sheep Skins 1 (Signd) Jno French. 1 2 2 1 28 1 21 4½ 3 3 21 Serjt Southen made a Complt that Wm Huffe Labourer Stands indebted to him the Sum of 4:7 wch he refuses to pay, tho often demanded, & Swore he would not pay it till he was forct to it. The said Huff was calld & askt the reason why he did not pay Serjt Southen the Debt; he Owns it, & Says he gave him bills for part of it from under his hand and thought it might have been Enterd to his Credit in the Stores but Says however he will pay him as Soon as possible. Orderd that the said Wm Huff work at the Honble Compas work till he has Earned old four pounds Seven Shillings & then Serjt Southen to have the Credit placed to his Accountd to wm Huff & yr Serjt consented. Margin Notes: Sept. Serjt Southen agst Wm Huff. for 4:7/ Huff to work till paid.</p>	<p>To the guard powder 9 pounds Cartridge paper [...] The like to Lucas Mason [...] Match 21 pounds Musket ball, the like to Lucas Mason 1 Trucks, to Richard Swallow 8 Axeltrees, to Richard Swallow 2 Sponge staffs 1 Rammer heads 2 Sponge heads 2 Sheep skins 1 Month totals sheep skins 1 sponge heads 2 rammer heads 2 sponge staffs 1 axeltrees 2 trucks 8 musket balls 1 match 21 cartridge paper 4½ nine-pounder shot 3 demi-culverins 3 powder 21 pounds Signed by John French. Sergeant Southen complained that William Huff, a labourer, owed him £4 7s 0d. Huff refused to pay it, though often asked, and had sworn he would not pay until he was forced to it. Huff was called and asked why he had not paid the debt. He admitted it, and said he had given the sergeant bills under his hand for part of it, which he had thought might be entered to his credit in the stores. He said, however, that he would pay as soon as he could. The council ordered that Huff labour for the Company until he had earned the £4 7s 0d, and that Sergeant Southen then have that credit placed to his account. Both Huff and the sergeant consented. Interpretations The September account opens with live fire at a grampus. A grampus is a large dolphin or small whale once common in these waters, and the gunner spent three rounds of nine-pound shot on it from the demi- culverins, the medium guns described above. This was iron shot, not the powder-only salutes and alarms of the other months, so the battery was firing real ammunition at a single creature in the bay rather than marking an event. The council settled a private debt through Company labour. Huff had no money and had sworn not to pay Southen until forced, so the council ordered him to labour for the Company until he had earned the £4 7s 0d, which would then be credited to Southen's account. The Company stood between the two men, turning the debtor's labour into a bookkeeping transfer that discharged the debt without coin passing between them. Speculations Huff's answer and the form of the order both point to a garrison that ran on account credit rather than cash. He spoke of bills given under his hand and of sums he expected to see entered to his credit in the stores, and the council discharged the debt not in coin but by placing a matching credit on Southen's account. Coin was probably scarce on the island, so debts between men were carried and cleared on the Company's books, with the stores ledger serving as the everyday medium of payment.</p>
82	75	<p>The Govr reports that Mr Tovey that Mr Tovey having found amongst the Old papers the remainder of the Rochesters Genl Letter in Decr 1705 & Decr 1706. they are now Copied Out in the Letter book a- mongst the rest of the Letters, & the Govr has added Marginal Notes to them as he has done to the others. The Govr Says he intends now to make an Alphabetical Table or Index to the whole which as Soon as he has done he will give an Account of it. Francis Tunge made complaint that his Wives father Thos Gargen deceased had formerly Killd two head of Cattle that was given her by Strangers & Says Mr Haswell knows it to be So, & desires he may be paid for them. Wm Mr Haswell Says that her Sister now said Tunges Wife had two head of Cattle given her, One by her self & the other by Robert Leech her Uncle which her</p>	<p>The Governor reported that Mr Tovey had found the remaining part of the <i>Rochester</i> general letter among the old papers. The two portions were dated December 1705 and December 1706. Both were now copied into the letter book with the other letters. The Governor added marginal notes to them as he had to the rest, and the letter book stood finished apart from its index. The Governor said he now intended to make an alphabetical table or index to the whole. He promised to report on it as soon as it was complete. Francis Funge brought a complaint to the council. He said that his wife's father, Thomas Gargen deceased, had killed two head of cattle that strangers had given to her. Funge stated that Mrs Haswell could confirm this and asked to be paid for the two beasts.</p>

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		<p>father Gargen Killd & Eat them in yr house & Says that one of these (being a Cow) was Killd in his former Wives time (their mother) but the other was Killd in the last Wives time (who is the Widow now present) which was about three years past, Sayed further that the Bul did come by Some mischance occa- siond by a fall, but her father might have Sold it for another Cow & not have Used it in the house. Mrs Gargen the Widow Says</p> <p>Margin Notes: Govr reports of finishing yr book of Laws, except Index. &c. Fra: Tunge agst Wm Gargen Mr Haswell aut hereon.</p>	<p>Mrs Haswell gave her account of the matter. She said that her sister, now Funge's wife, had been given two head of cattle, one from Mrs Haswell herself and the other from Robert Leech, the sister's uncle. Their father Gargen killed both and ate them in his household. One of them, [...], was killed during the time of his former wife, the mother of the two sisters. The other was killed during the time of his last wife, the widow now present, about three years ago. Mrs Haswell added that the [...] had come to harm through some mischance after a fall. She said her father could have sold it and bought another cow rather than eating it at home.</p> <p>Mrs Gargen, the widow now present, then began her own reply.</p> <p>Interpretations The Governor's report concerned the building of a usable archive of the council's correspondence rather than any single letter. Copying the stray remnants of the <i>Rochester</i> general letter into the letter book, adding marginal notes throughout and planning an alphabetical index turned a loose bundle of papers into a record that could be searched by topic. This effort sat within the wider repair and relabelling of the council books ordered on 29 September 1715, when many of the office volumes were found decayed and mislabelled.</p> <p>Funge's claim rested on a point of property. The two beasts had been gifts to his wife and so were her own, yet her father had killed and consumed them, which gave rise to a debt now pursued by her husband on her behalf. Mrs Haswell's careful separation of the two killings fixed where any liability fell. The beast killed in the former wife's time touched only the father's own estate, while the beast killed in the last wife's time, about three years ago, could be charged against the present widow as the household then standing.</p> <p>Speculations Mrs Haswell's remark that the fallen beast could have been sold and another cow bought appears aimed at heading off an expected defence. By insisting the animal still held value despite its mischance, she sought to keep the full claim alive against any argument that a beast injured by a fall was already worthless and so cost the household nothing.</p>
83	76	<p>She knows no more of the matter then that One of those two head of Cattle came to a mischance & that it went by the name of Sarahs Heifer which was (when killd as aforesaid,) Spent in the family. The Govr askd yr Widow the reason why twas Spent in the family & not Sold. - She Says, because She realy believes they could not have lived without it, they having no other provisions of that kind fitt to Eate, & that She her self never lived so hard in all her life, as with her Husband Gargen. The Govr further Askt her whe- ther her present circumstances are equal with those when she marryed to Mr Gargen. She replys no, for Her cleare Estate was when she marryed him about 300li & now she's worth little or nothing & is forct to work hard for or must Starve. Orderd That three pounds Eight Shillings & nine pence (being the Value of the Beast last killd be charged as a Debt on the Estate of Thos Gargen & paid to yr Tunge After the other Debts are paid The Govr Sayeth he is willing to Order the payment of this beast because it should not be brought in</p> <p>Margin Notes: Mr Gargens reply. Q: of yr Govr. Mr Gargens Answd. Q. d. d. Answd. £ 3:8:9 to be pd Fr Tunge out of Gargens Estate. Govr oppinion on Such Cases.</p>	<p>The widow Gargen said she knew no more of the matter than that one of the two beasts had come to harm. She explained that this animal was known as Sarah's heifer. Once killed, it had been eaten within the family.</p> <p>The Governor asked the widow why the heifer had been consumed at home rather than sold. She answered that she truly believed the household could not have managed without it. They had no other meat of that kind fit to eat. She added that she had never lived so hard in all her life as she had with her husband Gargen.</p> <p>The Governor then asked whether her present circumstances matched those she had enjoyed when she married Gargen. She replied that they did not. Her clear estate had been about £300 0s 0d when she married him, and she was now worth little or nothing and forced to labour hard or starve.</p> <p>The council ordered that £3 8s 9d, the value of the beast last killed, be charged as a debt on the estate of Thomas Gargen. The sum was to be paid to Mr Funge once the other debts of the estate had been settled.</p> <p>The Governor said he was willing to order payment for this beast.</p> <p>Interpretations The order shows the council sitting as a court over a deceased's estate. It fixed a precise money value for an animal eaten some years earlier and entered that value as a debt against the goods of Thomas Gargen. By directing that Funge be paid only after the other debts were cleared, the council ranked the claim in order of</p>

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			<p>priority rather than allowing it to compete equally with prior creditors.</p> <p>The widow's account of her decline points to the recent cattle famine on the island. Her fall from a clear estate of about £300 0s 0d at marriage to little or nothing matches the heavy livestock losses of those years, benchmarked at 2,500 head of cattle in the Governor's reckoning of 30 January 1715. Her plea that the household had no other meat fit to eat reflects the same scarcity.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The heifer's name, Sarah's heifer, probably explains how a single beast eaten years before could still be identified and valued at a fixed sum. A named animal stood apart from ordinary stock and could be traced and assessed long after its death, which made the precise charge of £3 8s 9d possible where an unnamed beast might have defied valuation.</p>
84	77	<p>as a President for Fathers in Law to kill their Childrens Cattle, But says he thinks it to be very Great hard- ship upon the poor Widow who has lost so much by her last marriage with Mr Gargen. The Widow Says that her own Chil- dren had but few Cattle & One of them having got a fall her Husband Gargen killd it & made Use of the whole for the Use & maintainance of his family, wch she desires may be taken into consideration & Prays Such Satisfaction may be made her Children as the Govr & Council shall think fitt. Orderd That Mr Gargens Estate be made Debtor to Richd Alexander Orphans the Sum of three pounds Eight Shillings & Nine pence (the prize of the beast of Mr Gargens daughters before mentiond.) Capt Bazett reports as foll (Vizt) That on yr 12th April last he gave an Account of two hundred & Six thousand Yams that were then new planted (but the Whole Stock of provisions Calld Yams) at that time growing on the Honble Compas Land amounted</p> <p>Margin Notes:</p> <p>Wdo Gargens dd in for her childn Mrs Gargens Children £ 3:8:9 to be pd out Gargens Estate to Richd Alexrs Orphans.</p> <p>Capt Bazett further reportr of yr 12th April last.</p>	<p>The Governor gave his reason for ordering payment. He did not wish it to stand as a precedent allowing fathers-in-law to kill their stepchildren's cattle. Even so, he thought the order a great hardship on the poor widow, who had lost so much through her last marriage to Mr Gargen.</p> <p>The widow then spoke for her own children. She said they had owned only a few cattle, and that one of these beasts had taken a fall. Her husband Gargen had killed it and used the whole for the keep of his family. She asked that this be taken into account and prayed that her children receive such satisfaction as the Governor and council thought fit.</p> <p>The council ordered that Gargen's estate be made debtor to the orphans of Richard Alexander in the sum of £3 8s 9d. This matched the price already set for the beast of Gargen's daughter mentioned earlier.</p> <p>Captain Bazett made a further report, recalling the account he had given on 12 April 1715. He stated that 206,000 yams had then been newly planted.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The cattle order reveals the family standing behind the dispute. The widow Gargen was the former wife of Richard Alexander deceased, and the children she spoke for were the Alexander orphans, Rijn, Abigail and Mary. The council was therefore balancing two sets of stepchildren against one estate. Funge's wife, a daughter of Gargen, recovered £3 8s 9d for her beast, and the Alexander orphans, the widow's children by her first marriage, recovered the same sum for theirs.</p> <p>The Governor's stated rationale set out a deterrent principle. By ordering payment he sought to discourage any stepfather from killing and consuming cattle that belonged to his wife's children. The point treated the children's animals as their own separate property, which a father-in-law had no right to absorb into the household table without making it good.</p> <p>Bazett's report shows the close accounting the council kept of its yam stock. Yams were the staple provision of the garrison and the planters, and the figure for newly planted roots measured the colony's future food supply rather than any cash asset. Tracking these numbers had taken on fresh urgency during the recent cattle famine, and the same concern lay behind the monthly survey of all the Company's plantations ordered on 29 September 1715.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The council fixed the orphans' beast at exactly £3 8s 9d, the figure already set for the daughter's animal, without recording any separate valuation. This points to a deliberate choice to treat the two claims as identical rather than to assess each beast on its own. Matching the awards probably aimed to settle both sets of children at once and to leave no opening for a fresh quarrel over which beast had been worth more.</p>

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85	78	to Nine hundred Thirty two thousand thousand, and the rest of their Live Stock is according to the Overseers monthly Account. Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield	<p>The whole stock of yams then growing on the Honourable Company's land came to 932,000. The rest of the Company's livestock stood as recorded in the overseer's monthly account.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by the Governor, Matthew Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The total of 932,000 yams measured the depth of the Company's own provision reserve. Against this figure the planters' offers of food looked small, and the council had no pressing need to buy in supply on the planters' terms. The same reserve lay behind its ability to set aside the offer of 150,000 yams and other provisions made by Gabriel Powell and Richard Gurling on 11 March 1715, since the Company's growing crop alone far outran what the planters proposed to sell.</p>
86	79	<p>Island St Helena (Novr 1715.) At a Consultation held on Tuesday primo November 1715 at Union Castle James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell. Depty Pres Math: Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edwd Byfeld 5th in Council The Overseer at the Plantation house brought in the following Acct Vizt An Acct of the Honble Compas Live Stock, (Vizt) Great Cattle, Sheep, Goates, Hogs & taken yr 1st Novr 1715.</p> <p>Cows 53 Bulls 12 Calves 48 Heifers 2 Bullocks 30 In all, killd non 145 Bought 2 Cows 1 Heifer 2 Calves 5 Calved Since last Acct 3 Increase Since last report 8 head Hogs great & Small 242 Increased 15 Killd last mont 5 Goates great & Small 291 Female 184 20 Increase Male kind - Sows Castrate 107 Killd last month 13 Sheep great & Small 69 Female 36 Male kind 33 Non Increased Since last Acct Geese, great & Small 20 Non Increased. Asses, great & Small of the Male Kind 12 of the Female 7 the Colt 4 Turkeys great & Small 90 Increase Since last report 20 (Signd) Wm Worrall</p> <p>Margin Notes: Oversrs monthly acct of Cattle &c.</p>	<p>The Governor and council met on Tuesday 1 November 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Those present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy Governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>The overseer at the plantation house brought in an account of the Honourable Company's livestock, covering great cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and other stock, taken on 1 November 1715.</p> <p>Great cattle on hand: Cows 53 Bulls 12 Calves 48 Heifers 2 Bullocks 30 Total 145, none killed Added since the last account: Cows bought 2 Heifer bought 1 Calves bought 2 Calved 3 Total increase 8 head Hogs, great and small: On hand 242 Increased 15 Killed last month 5 Goats, great and small: On hand 291 (184 female, 107 male) Increased since the last account 20 Killed last month 13 Sheep, great and small: On hand 69 (36 female, 33 male) Increase none since the last account Geese, great and small: On hand 20 Increase none Asses, great and small: On hand 12 (7 male, 4 female, 1 colt) Turkeys, great and small: On hand 90 Increased since the last report 20 The account was signed by William Worrall.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The monthly livestock account was the chief instrument for enforcing the cow-saving order. The entry recording no cattle killed gave direct proof that the prohibition of 7 June 1715, in force until after 20 July 1716, was being observed. The great cattle herd had risen to 145 head from the 136 reported on 18 June 1715, so the record also tracked the recovery of the stock that the recent famine had cut down. William Worrall, appointed overseer on 5 April 1715, was answerable each month for every head gained, bought or slaughtered.</p> <p>The breakdown of stock by sex served breeding management rather than mere counting. Recording 184 female goats against 107 male, and the sheep and asses</p>

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			<p>in the same way, let the council judge the reproductive base of each flock. After the heavy losses of the drought, the number of breeding females mattered more than the headline totals for forecasting future increase.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The slaughter figures differed sharply by species, with no cattle killed against five hogs and thirteen goats taken in the month. This pattern shows that the conservation order bore on cattle alone and left hogs and goats free for the table. By protecting the slow-breeding cattle while drawing the month's meat from the faster-multiplying stock, the regime rebuilt the herd without leaving the garrison short of fresh provisions.</p>
87	80	<p>November 1715. The Gunnr brought in his Monthly Acct of Expenses (Vizt) An Acct of Gunners Stores Expended in yr month of October 1715.</p> <p>Powder to yr Guard [...]</p> <p>Muskett balls do do 4</p> <p>Axeltrees do Richd Swallow 3</p> <p>Iron Crows, do Ed. Brereton to heave down yr Rocks in cleare yr Hill 5</p> <p>Musket broke by Edw Smith 1</p> <p>Cartridge paper to yr Guard 2</p> <p>do do to Mr Tovey 1</p> <p>do do to Hen: Rawlins 1</p> <p>Rammer heads 1</p> <p>Sheep Skins 1</p> <p>Match to yr Guard 24</p> <p>(Signd) John French 24 1 1 4 1 4 5 3 4</p> <p>Capt Haswell according to a former Order reports. - That he has been and viewd all yr Honble Compas plantations & finds them as followeth Vizt. Griffins Ground at Perkins plantat newly dug & replanted, all yr rest of Perkins plantation is in a good condition except part of the Fences, & will find it Self with Suckers to plant when redug. Capt Haswell Sayes he thinks there is not blacks enod to look after that ground, five working hands at lest besides those to fetch Wood & dress Victuals are necessary for that purpose, So that 8. hands in the whole are but proper for that place. That Coles Gutt is full of Weeds and matted Grass & half yr Yams there planted</p> <p>Margin Notes:</p> <p>Gunnr Acct of last months expenses.</p> <p>Capt Haswells report about the H: C: plantatns Perkins.</p> <p>Jno blacks req 8.</p> <p>Coles Gut.</p>	<p>The gunner brought in his monthly account of expenses. The account set out the Honourable Company's gunner's stores spent during October 1715, as follows.</p> <p>Powder, to the guard 4</p> <p>Musket balls, to the guard 3</p> <p>Axeltrees, to Richard Swallow 5</p> <p>Iron crows, to Edward Brereton, for heaving down the rocks in clearing the hill 4</p> <p>Musket, broken by Edward Smith 1</p> <p>Cartridge paper, to the guard 2</p> <p>Cartridge paper, to Mr Tovey 1</p> <p>Cartridge paper, to Henry Rawlins 1</p> <p>Rammer heads 1</p> <p>Sheep skins 1</p> <p>Match, to the guard 24</p> <p>The account was signed by the gunner, John French.</p> <p>Captain Haswell then reported on the plantations, as an earlier order had required. He had visited all the Honourable Company's plantations and gave his findings on each in turn.</p> <p>Griffin's Ground at Perkins plantation had been newly dug and replanted. The rest of Perkins plantation stood in good condition apart from part of the fences. It would supply its own suckers for replanting once it was re-dug.</p> <p>Haswell judged that there were not enough slaves to tend that ground. At least five field hands were needed, besides those who fetched wood and dressed food, so that 8 hands in all were proper for the place.</p> <p>Haswell found Coles Gut choked with weeds and matted grass.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The gunner's account was the first monthly return under the order of 25 October 1715, which directed John French to bring in his stores accounts month by month. The account shows the gunner's stores serving as a general issue-point rather than a purely military reserve. Axeltrees went to Richard Swallow and iron crows to Edward Brereton for heaving down rock in the hill-clearing, the same task that lay behind the relocation of the landing crane settled on 18 October 1715, when the old crane was to come down before the hills were cleared.</p> <p>Haswell's report shows the council costing each plantation in units of slave labour. He separated the five field hands needed to dig and plant from the support hands who fetched wood and dressed food, and fixed the proper establishment at 8 in all. This breakdown reveals how labour, not land, was treated as the scarce resource in keeping the plantations in crop.</p> <p>Haswell's note that Perkins would supply its own suckers points to the way yams were grown. A dug plot left the small shoots that became the next planting, so a replanted ground regenerated its own stock without fresh seed. The same principle lay behind the monthly survey ordered on 29 September 1715, which required suckers to be replanted as the yams were dug.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>Haswell made his report under the standing order for councillors to survey the plantations in turn, yet he went beyond checking the crop to fix the exact staffing each plot required. By naming 8 hands as proper for Perkins, he turned the survey into a tool for redistributing the slave labour force across the plantations. The detail suggests the council meant to match labour to ground deliberately rather than leave each place to manage with whatever hands it held.</p>
<p>88</p>	<p>81</p>	<p>Novr 1715. are killd & Stunted by yr aforesd Weeds, & in weeding they pluck Up almost all yr Soil and Suckers together, there being but a thin Coat of Earth especially upon yr Upper part of yr Gutt so that, that ground requires more hands than better ground of yr same quantity. Rookers Gutt good for little. Hardings Gutt, is very good & will do more then plant it self. Tuesdales Gutt the same; both these Gutts are in good Order. Capt Haswell thinks all these Gutts requires fifteen hands, which ought to be employd to manage them. That Luffkins plantation is in tolerable good Order, but he is of Oppinion Luffkins Gutt wont Supply yt plantatn with Suckers, And that 12 working hands is the lest that can be employed there to keep that plantation in Order. That the Hutts plantation is full of Weeds & Wire grass & tho there is a Gutt wherein theres about thirty thousand Yams planted Yett when that plantation is Dug over it will not Supply it with above half Suckers eno Capt Haswell Sayeth that ground is very bleak But believes yt it would be mightily improved by planting Trees round by the Fences to windward. That being the chief and best Yam plantation the Honble Compa have & producing the greatest quantity there being now above 300 thousand planted he is of Oppinion there cant be less then 15 or 16.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Rookers - Hardings & Tuesdales. Jno blacks reqd 15 Luffkins. reqd 12. Blacks. Hutts. chief Yam plant reqd 16. Blacks besides -</p>	<p>Haswell reported that the weeds at Coles Gut had killed and stunted half the yams planted there. Weeding would tear up almost all the soil and the suckers along with the weeds, since only a thin layer of earth covered the ground, worst of all on the upper part of the gut. That plot therefore needed more hands than better ground of the same size.</p> <p>Rookers Gut was good for little. Hardings Gut was very good and would more than supply its own planting. Tuesdales Gut was the same, and both these last stood in good order. Haswell thought all these gutts together needed fifteen hands to manage them.</p> <p>Luffkins plantation was in tolerably good order. Haswell judged that Luffkins Gut would not supply the plantation with suckers, and that 12 field hands were the fewest that could keep the plantation in order.</p> <p>The Hutts plantation was full of weeds and wire grass. One gut held about 30,000 yams, yet once the plantation was dug over it would not yield above half the suckers needed. Haswell found the ground very bleak but believed it would be much improved by planting trees along the fences to windward. As the chief and best yam plantation the Company held, producing the greatest quantity and now carrying above 300,000 yams, it required in his opinion no fewer than 15 or 16 hands.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Haswell's survey set a slave-labour establishment for each plantation in turn. Fifteen hands were fixed for the cluster of gutts, twelve for Luffkins and fifteen or sixteen for the Hutts, on top of the eight already named for Perkins. The exercise treated labour, not land, as the binding constraint on keeping the colony in crop, and it followed the monthly plantation survey ordered on 29 September 1715. Set against the slaves actually on hand, the running tally built a documented case for the shortage Haswell kept returning to.</p> <p>Haswell weighed each plot by whether it could renew its own planting stock. Hardings Gut would more than supply its own suckers, while Luffkins Gut and the Hutts would fall short once dug over. This judgement governed how the planting could be sustained, since a plantation that could not raise enough suckers had to draw them from a plot that produced a surplus.</p> <p>The Hutts stood out as the colony's single most important provision asset, holding above 300,000 of the yams that fed the garrison. Its weakness was exposure rather than soil, and Haswell's note that the ground was very bleak fixed the reason it underperformed for so large a planting.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Haswell's call to plant trees along the fences to windward answered the specific fault he had found at the Hutts. The ground was bleak and open, so a belt of trees on the windward side would shelter the chief yam plantation from the wind that held back its yield. The remedy was aimed squarely at exposure, the one defect he named in otherwise the best ground the Company held.</p>
<p>89</p>	<p>82</p>	<p>Novr 1715. good working hands beside Women & Old people to boil Victuals & look after hogs that being also the chief place for breeding them, because of the convenience of a good Out lett. The Peak is in pritty good</p>	<p>The Hutts also called for women and old people, over and above its field hands, to boil food and tend the hogs. The plantation served as the chief place for</p>

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		<p>Order there are some Weeds as in all plantations there is, at this time of Year & that it will employ five hands to keep it in good Or- der. So that in the Whole it will require 56. Able hands, together with the Women & Children to look after Hogs, Poultry &c besides 10. good hands to look after the Cattle, which are the lest that can be employed to keep their Honble plantation in any good Order. The Honble Compa has but Seventy Six Blacks in all of which but 34. are able or fitt for Labour, That considering those employed at the Fort, those employed in the Garden at Plantation house, We have not half eno & must be Obliged to hire hands, till We have more of their Own. Wherefore tis thought very proper & concluded that a due representation be made to Our Honble Masters in Our next Genecal Letter of this our want of hands And the Govr is desired to mention it accordingly & to shew the great necessity We are in as well at the Fort as in</p> <p>Margin Notes: Women & Old people to look after Hogs &c. the Peak. requires 5. Blacks. In All. 56. besides W: & Childn 10. to look after Cattle. Compa has but 76 Blacks &c - but 34 fitt to work. not eno for plantatns Govr desired to write for more.</p>	<p>breeding hogs, helped by the convenience of a good outlet for them.</p> <p>The Peak stood in pretty good order. It carried some weeds, as every plantation did at that time of year, and would take five hands to keep in order.</p> <p>Haswell reckoned that the whole would require 56 able hands, together with the women and children to look after the hogs, poultry and the like. A further 10 good hands were needed for the cattle. These were the fewest that could keep the Company's plantations in any good order.</p> <p>The Honourable Company held only 76 slaves in all, of whom just 34 were able or fit for labour. After counting those kept at the Fort and those in the garden at Plantation House, the plantations were left with less than half the hands they needed. The Company would have to hire labour until it had more of its own.</p> <p>The council therefore concluded that a proper representation of this shortage should be made to the Honourable Masters in its next general letter. The Governor was asked to set the matter out and to show the great necessity they faced.</p> <p>Interpretations The report ended in a formal labour audit. Haswell's plot-by-plot figures added up to 56 able hands for the plantations and 10 more for the cattle, set against a total of only 76 slaves, of whom just 34 were fit for labour. Once the hands tied up at the Fort and the Plantation House garden were deducted, the deficit was plain. This was the purpose of costing each plantation in turn, since a precise numerical shortfall gave the council firm ground for asking the directors for more slaves in its next general letter.</p> <p>The resolution to hire labour exposed the Company's dependence on the local market. Lacking slaves of its own, it had to take on hired hands, almost certainly from the planters, to keep its grounds in crop. This stopgap was framed as temporary, to last only until the Company received more slaves of its own from London.</p> <p>Speculations The council faced a choice and recorded its decision. It could have concentrated its scarce slaves on the best ground and let weaker plots fall out of crop, or it could keep every plantation in full order by hiring to make up the difference. By resolving to hire hands rather than scale back the establishment, it chose to hold the whole planting intact through the famine recovery, treating no part of the provision base as expendable while food remained short.</p>
90	83	<p>November 1715. Country for more working hands, that little Supply We had from Guinea being very difficient & now half of them dead. Orderd that Mr Worrall the St Compas Overseer do for the future add to his monthly Acct what quantity of Dunghill fowls they have And Also that there be mention made what Yams are Dug & what Suckers are planted in their works, every Month. The Govr reports that he has been to See the Fort at Banks. Whether the Wall was made at first with Morter mixt with Salt water or no he cannot tell but the Walls being only made with Stones & Earth it is fallen away so that it must be repaired at lest but the Govr Sayes he fears it must be New built. The Fort is not large it containing but 4 Guns, tho tis natu- rally so well fortified that We think it Sufficient with ten Men to keep off five hundred or more from Landing, and that being the First Fort any Ships makes & lying so in the Tract that all Ships must come within hearing of the Gentry who Usually calls to them, & also the place Ap- pointed for ships to Send their boats ashoare to. the Govr it being necessary it should be putt into tolerable Order & have a thorough repair</p> <p>Margin Notes: ½ less Blacks Sent dead. Overseer to bring in an Acct of Dunghill fowls. &</p>	<p>The shortage of hands pressed on the country as much as on the Fort. The small supply of slaves brought from Guinea had proved very deficient, and half of them were now dead.</p> <p>The council ordered Worrall, the Company's overseer, to add to his monthly account in future the number of dunghill fowls on hand. It further ordered that each month's return state how many yams had been dug and how many suckers planted on the plantations.</p> <p>The Governor reported on his visit to the fort at Banks's. He could not tell whether the wall had first been built with mortar mixed with salt water, but the walls of stone and earth had crumbled away. They needed repair at the least, and he feared the fort might have to be built anew.</p> <p>The fort was small, mounting only 4 guns. Its position made it strong by nature, so that ten men could hold off 500 or more from landing. It was the first fort any ship came up to, lying in the track so that every vessel had to pass within hail of the shore, where the garrison usually called out to them. Ships also sent their boats ashore there by appointment. The Governor thought it very necessary that the fort be put into tolerable order and given a thorough repair.</p>

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		Yams Dug & Suckers planted. concernd Banks's fort.	<p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Governor's inspection confirmed the survey of 19 July 1715, which had found the fort at Banks's in a ruinous state, its mortar eaten away by salt water and its foundation never well laid. His report turned that earlier finding into a fresh case for action. The strategic worth of the place lay in its position rather than its firepower, since ten men in well-sited ground could deny a landing to 500, while only 4 guns stood mounted there.</p> <p>The heavy loss among the Guinea slaves explained the labour shortfall set out earlier. A supply already described as deficient had since lost half its number to death, which left the plantations short of hands and forced the Company toward hiring. The high mortality of newly imported slaves was the demographic fact behind the whole appeal to the directors.</p> <p>The new orders extended the monthly paper check across the Company's assets. The overseer was now to count dunghill fowls and to record yams dug and suckers planted month by month, adding to the livestock census already rendered. The aim was a complete monthly record of stock and crop, leaving no category outside the council's running account.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Governor pressed for repair chiefly on the ground that the fort governed contact with the island rather than that it could win a fight. He stressed that it was the first fort every ship came up to, that vessels had to pass within hail, and that it was the appointed landing for their boats. A ruinous fort at that point would weaken the island's hold over who approached and where they came ashore, so the case for repair rested on its role as a checkpoint far more than on its four guns.</p>
21	84	<p>Novr 1715. Mercy Gargen presented the following petition (Vizt) Island St Helena. To the Worshp: Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c & Council. The most humble petition of Mercy Gargen Wido most humbly - Sheweth. That your poor petitr is a Wido in great distress, & can have no help but what proceeds from yor goodness being left in a Melancholly & deplorable condition by my Husband Thos Gargen deceased to whom yor petitionr was marryed about five Years Since & was possesst tken of Goods, Slaves & Cattle to yr Value of above three hundred pounds and was not in debt, but the said Gargen your petitionr late husband being an Extravagant man did before his Death entyrelly consume not only his own but yor petitionors fortune in a profuse manner to carry on his Jollity amongst his Companions & maintain his Children after his Own Idle way of Living, so that he contracted great Debt but especially to the Compa & yor petitionr is threatned to be Sued for his said Debt, & even those very Children of her said Husbands who have lived by the hard Labour of yor petitionr & helped to consume her fortune, both Sue her & offer to be Witnesses for others against her, tho it is well known, your Petitionr hath always been an</p> <p>Margin Notes: Wid: Gargens Petition</p>	<p>Mercy Gargen, widow, presented a petition to Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>She set out that she was a widow in great distress, able to look for help only from the council's goodness. Her husband Thomas Gargen deceased had left her in a wretched condition. She had married him about five years earlier, and at that time she owned goods, slaves and cattle worth above £300 0s 0d and carried no debt.</p> <p>Gargen had been an extravagant man. Before his death he had consumed both his own fortune and hers, spending freely to keep up his merrymaking among his companions and to maintain his children in his own idle manner of living. He had run up great debts, above all to the Company.</p> <p>The petition stated that she was now threatened with a suit for her husband's debt. Even her husband's own children, who had lived off her hard labour and helped to waste her fortune, were both suing her and offering to give evidence for others against her.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The petition lays bare a widow's exposure to her dead husband's debts. Mercy Gargen had brought goods, slaves and cattle worth above £300 0s 0d into the marriage and owed nothing, yet her husband absorbed her property into his own and spent it. On his death the creditors, chiefly the Company, turned on her for debts she had not made. A wife's estate merged with her husband's during marriage, leaving her with no shield once he had wasted it and died.</p> <p>The petition shows the other side of the cattle dispute already before the council. Mercy Gargen was the former wife of Richard Alexander deceased and mother of the Alexander orphans, and the children now suing her were Gargen's, among them the daughter married to Funge. The recent order charging Gargen's estate with £3 8s 9d for Funge's wife and a like sum for the Alexander orphans formed part of the very pressure she now complained of, with the household split between the two sets of children and the outside creditors.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>The petition was framed to cut the widow free of her husband's debts by casting her as a blameless victim. It stressed the £300 0s 0d she had brought in debt-free, his squandering of it on jollity with his companions, and the ingratitude of children who had lived off her labour and now turned on her. By drawing this sharp line between his profligacy and her own conduct, the petition sought the council's protection against a suit for debts it argued were his alone.</p>
<p>22</p>	<p>85</p>	<p>November 1715. an Industrious & pains taking Woman & of a good Character. Wherefore to prevent the Utter ruin of yor petitionr & her four children, three by the former husband & One by said Gargen Humbly prays yr Worshp & Council to take all the Estate & Effects of her Husbands into your hands for payment of the Honble Compas Debt, & that she may have any Small part Assignd to her, that she may call her Own for the maintenance of her Self & said four Children. Your Petitioner not being Able to endure the cruelty & unkind Usage of her said Husbands ungratefull Children who now they have devoured her Substance will not be contented without destroying her carcass too. And because yr petitionr has just reason to believe none of her said Husbands Creditors would have been troublesome to her if they had not been Sett on by his Daughters &c. Do's therefore desire the said Creditors may be all Summond to take their part & Proportion of the Estate when the Honble Compa is paid, that your distressed petitionr may be at Liberty to work & Labour quietly for her Self & Children without any further unreasonable Mollestation And yor petitionr (as in duty bound) Shall ever pray. &c. (Signd) Mercy Gargen Capt Haswell is of Opinion that there is eno to pay the Honble Compa &</p> <p>Margin Notes: to the second &c. 1st Novr 1715. Capt Haswells Opinon</p>	<p>The petition affirmed that she had always been known as an industrious and painstaking woman of good character.</p> <p>She prayed the Governor and council to take her husband's whole estate and effects into their hands to pay the Company's debt, and so prevent the utter ruin of herself and her four children, three by her former husband and one by Gargen. She asked that some small part be set aside as her own, for the keep of herself and the children.</p> <p>She could no longer endure the cruelty and unkind treatment of her husband's ungrateful children. Having devoured her substance, they would not be content, she said, without destroying her too.</p> <p>She believed that none of her husband's creditors would have troubled her had his daughters not set them on. She therefore asked that all the creditors be summoned to take their share of the estate once the Company was paid, so that she might labour quietly for herself and her children without further unreasonable molestation.</p> <p>The petition was dated 1 November 1715 and signed by Mercy Gargen.</p> <p>Captain Haswell was of opinion that there was enough to pay the Honourable Company.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The petition set out a precise scheme for clearing the estate. The widow offered to give up the whole of her husband's property to the council, to be applied first to the Company's debt as the preferred claim, with the rest shared among the other creditors in proportion. In return she asked only for a small maintenance portion reserved for herself and the four children. This amounted to a request for an administered settlement of an insolvent estate under conciliar control, with the Company's priority as creditor taken for granted.</p> <p>The breakdown of the four children fixes the family standing behind the wider quarrel. Three were the orphans of her former husband Richard Alexander deceased, and one was Gargen's. The daughters she accused of stirring up the creditors were on Gargen's side, the same line whose claim had drawn the recent award of £3 8s 9d to Funge's wife, so the petition framed the whole creditor pressure as an attack pressed by one branch of the household against her and her own children.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The request to summon all the creditors to share the estate by proportion was probably aimed at turning a run of separate suits against her person into one collective settlement against the estate. By drawing every claim into a single distribution after the Company was paid, she sought to cap her liability at what the estate could meet and to keep both herself and the reserved maintenance portion out of reach of any one creditor pursuing her alone.</p>
<p>23</p>	<p>86</p>	<p>November 1715. and what other Debts Mr Gargen Owes and he Says that the Apraisement that is given in is not right. Orderd That the consideracon of the said Petition & complaint be re- ferd to the Govr Capt Bazett & Mr By- feld, & that they make their report thereon. Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p> <p>Margin Notes: referd to yr Govr &c</p>	<p>Haswell added that the estate would cover the Company's debt and whatever else Gargen owed. He said, however, that the appraisal laid before the council was not correct.</p> <p>The council referred the consideration of the petition and complaint to the Governor, Captain Bazett and Mr Byfield, and directed them to report on it.</p>

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			<p>The consultation was signed by the Governor, George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Haswell's challenge to the appraisal went to the heart of the widow's scheme. The valuation of the estate decided whether it could meet the Company's debt and the other claims, and how much, if anything, was left for the residue and the maintenance she had asked for. By saying the appraisal was wrong, Haswell reopened the one figure on which the whole proposed distribution turned.</p> <p>The matter was sent to a committee that included Captain Bazett, the storekeeper who held the Company's debt against the estate. The Company's interest as the preferred creditor was therefore present within the very body asked to weigh the widow's plea and report on how the estate should be dealt with.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Haswell's remark that the appraisal was not right probably meant the estate had been valued too low. He had just said there was enough to pay the Company and the other debts, which fitted a belief that the inventory understated what Gargen had left. A higher true value would tell against the widow's picture of near-ruin, since a fuller estate could satisfy more of the creditors before any question of her own hardship arose.</p>
24	87	<p>Isle St Helena Novemr 1715 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 8th day of November 1715. at Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Pres Antipas Tovey & Edw: Byfeld There being no other in Council Tis Orderd that all business be putt off till next Tuesday. The Governr Sayeth he has quite finished the Indent of all things wanting for the Use of this Island according to the best & most Generall Advices he has had from time to time, from most of the people of the Island which has made it large but he believes it contains nothing but what may be of Use & Proffitt. Mr Alexander brought in Some Papers about business but that likewise must be referd till next Council day. Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p> <p>Margin Notes:</p> <p>Reason of putt off Councill. Govr report of the Indent. business offerd but deferred. This farr Sent home Copys by yr St George & Duplicates pr yr Cardigan</p>	<p>The Governor and council met on Tuesday 8 November 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Those present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; Antipas Tovey; and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Too few councillors had come for business to go forward. The council ordered all matters put off until the next Tuesday.</p> <p>The Governor reported that he had now quite finished the index of everything needed for the use of the island. He had drawn it from the best and most general advice given to him over time by most of the islanders. The list had grown large, but he believed it held nothing except what might be of use and profit.</p> <p>Mr Alexander brought in some papers of business. These too were referred to the next council day.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by the Governor, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>A note recorded that the record had been sent home to this point, with copies carried by the <i>St George</i> and duplicates by the <i>Cardigan</i>.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The despatch was sent in duplicate by separate ships as a guard against loss at sea. Copies went by the <i>St George</i> and a second set of duplicates by the <i>Cardigan</i>, so that the failure or capture of one vessel would not cut the directors off from the island's record. The same device had closed the earlier packet endorsed as sent home by the <i>Aurengzebe</i> on 25 January 1715.</p> <p>The Governor's index amounted to a full requisition of the island's needs rather than a mere catalogue. He had built it from the advice of most of the inhabitants, gathered over time, which had made it long. By limiting it to what might be of use and profit, he framed it as a practical list to set before the Company in the homeward despatch.</p> <p>With only three of the five councillors present, the bench lacked the number to transact business and deferred everything to the next Tuesday. This shows that valid council business required a fuller quorum than the three who attended.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Governor probably built the needs-index from broad consultation to give it weight before the directors. By presenting it as the settled advice of most of the islanders rather than his own opinion, he could show the Company that the requests reflected the whole community. A requisition backed by general agreement</p>

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			was harder to set aside than one resting on a single officer's judgement.
95	88	<p>Island St Helena November 1715. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 17th day of Novr 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Pres Matthew Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfeld 5th in Council On Friday the 11th instant arrived here the St George, Capt Anthd Ryan Comr from Bengal but last from the Cape of Good hope. The Govr reports that on yr first Instant yr Wido Gargen presented a petition desireing yr Honble Compa would take her late Husbands Estate into their hands that her husbands Debt to them may be & she have some Subsistance left for the maintaining her self & bringing Up her children The Govr Sayes he sent two persons to view the Estate & take an Inventory of the same that he might See whether there was Sufficient to pay the Honble Compa. They did go & take an Acct of all the goods & Cattle &c but this Second Inventory came a great deal Short of the first as to the Value but</p> <p>Margin Notes: St Geo: Arr: concerning Wido Gargen referd till paid</p>	<p>The Governor and council met on Tuesday 15 November 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Those present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy Governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>The <i>St George</i> arrived on Friday 11 November, under Captain Anthony Ryan. She had come from Bengal, last touching at the Cape of Good Hope.</p> <p>The Governor reported on the petition the widow Gargen had presented on 1 November 1715. She had asked the Honourable Company to take her late husband's estate into its hands, so that his debt to the Company might be paid and some subsistence left to her for keeping herself and raising her children.</p> <p>The Governor said he had sent two men to view the estate and take an inventory, so that he could judge whether it was enough to pay the Company. They went and drew up an account of all the goods, cattle and other property. This second inventory fell a great deal short of the first in value.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The two inventories exposed the very flaw Haswell had named on 1 November 1715, when he said the appraisal laid before the council was not right. Acting on that doubt, the Governor had the estate valued afresh by two men of his own choosing rather than trusting the figures already submitted. The fresh count came in far below the first, which threw the central question into doubt, since a smaller estate might not both clear the Company's debt and leave the widow the subsistence she had asked for.</p> <p>The episode shows the council testing the value of an estate before committing to administer it. The widow's scheme turned on the estate being large enough to pay the Company first and still support her, so an independent inventory was the necessary check before the council could accept the surrender on those terms.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The wide gap between the two valuations points to an estate whose worth was being pulled in different directions by interested parties. The widow, the Company and the stepchildren each had reason to see the figure set high or low, so a valuation supplied from one side could not be relied on. By sending two men of his own to count the goods and cattle, the Governor sought a figure free of those interests, and the shortfall against the first inventory showed why such a check was needed.</p>
96	89	<p>Novr 1715. Govr Sayes they alledge the reason of this difference in the valuation is because of the badness of the Fences, wch are so much Out of repair that they cant keep out the Cattle from damaging even the very plantations themselves then the Govr Sayes he sent for the Wido to talk with her, & askt her what she proposed by her petition especially that part of it wherein She desires some Small part of the Estate that She may call her Own She Sayed she desired to have the house in the condicon it now is & the Land belonging thereto & the Hogs, Cattle &c & that yr Honble Compa would pay themselves Out of the Yams in the Plantations & all her other Creditors The Govr finding her proposals so very unreasonable & that by this last Inventory notwithstanding it amounted in the whole to less then the other, is more then Sufficient to pay the Honble Compa & all the other Creditors he thinks it not proper to meddle any further in it, but Since the Honble Compa cant be immediately paid because she has refused any of the Goods Blacks &c to be putt to a Publick out cry, according to the Custom of this place that She ought to pay Interest for her husbands Debts from</p>	<p>The Governor explained the cause of the gap between the two valuations. The valuers blamed the bad state of the fences. These were so far out of repair that they could not keep the cattle from damaging even the plantations themselves, which had cut the estate's worth.</p> <p>The Governor then sent for the widow to talk with her. He asked what she meant by her petition, and in particular by the part where she sought some small portion of the estate to call her own.</p> <p>She replied that she wished to keep the house as it now stood, the land belonging to it, and the hogs, cattle and other stock. She proposed that the Honourable Company and all her other creditors pay themselves out of the yams in the plantations.</p> <p>The Governor found her proposals very unreasonable. He noted that the last inventory, though lower in total than the first, still came to more than enough to pay the Company and all the creditors. He thought it improper to meddle further in the matter. Since the Company could not be paid at once, because she had refused to let any of the goods, slaves and other</p>

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		<p>the Day of his Death. Capt Haswell Says the Woman being</p> <p>Margin Notes: pay Int. till paid yr Debt.</p>	<p>property go to public auction in the usual way, he held that she ought to pay interest on her husband's debts from the day of his death.</p> <p>Interpretations The Governor's ruling rested on the customary way of clearing a debtor's estate at the island. Goods, slaves and cattle were normally sold at public auction to raise the money owed, and the widow's refusal to let any of them go to sale was what held up payment. Because her refusal delayed the Company and the other creditors, the Governor charged her interest on her husband's debts running from the date of his death, so that the delay fell on her rather than on those she owed.</p> <p>The exchange laid bare a clash over which assets should answer the debt. The widow wanted to keep the house, the land and the livestock and to let the creditors take only the yams in the ground. The Governor, holding that the whole estate even on the lower valuation was more than enough to pay everyone, refused to ringfence any part of it and declined to intervene on her terms.</p> <p>Speculations The widow's plan to keep the house, land and stock while paying the creditors only from the yams was probably a bid to save the income-producing heart of the estate. The yams were a single season's crop, but the land, house and breeding animals were the lasting means of supporting her family. By steering the whole debt onto the crop alone, she sought to clear her husband's obligations without losing the assets that would feed and house her children in the years after.</p>
97	90	<p>Novr 1715. being poor he thinks it a hardship for her to pay Interest till a twelve month after her husbands Death which is the time allowed Widows to gett in their Husbands Debts It being referd to Mr Byfeld to gett the Cloaths made for the Honble Compas blacks he is askt what progress he has made in it. He Sayeth there was Sixty Jackets & Breeches Order to be made, which were finished on Saturday last & are ready to be deliverd. Orderd that Eight of the Honble Compas principle blacks be allowed Coats, according to the Ancient custom of this place & that it be referd to Mr Byfeld to gett them ready We are in great Want of Shirts for the Blacks the Blew Cloth We have in the Store being not fitt for it being so rotten as to be unfitt for any Service Orderd that 20. pieces of the said Blew Stuff be sent home to the Honble Compa by this ship in yr road, that they may See how badly they are Served We have now of this Stuff abt 100 pieces & yr putting Such goods off is not only a discredit to the Honble Compas Store- house but it is an incouragement for other private Store houses to putt of their goods</p> <p>Margin Notes: Blacks Cloths. 8. to have Coats. want of Shirts. Bd Cloth. 20. pcs Sent home. Bad Goods incourage private Trade</p>	<p>Captain Haswell took a different view. Since the woman was poor, he thought it a hardship for her to pay interest before twelve months had passed from her husband's death. That year was the time the law allowed a widow to gather in the debts owed to her husband's estate.</p> <p>The making of clothes for the Company's slaves had been referred to Mr Byfield, and the council asked him what progress he had made. He reported that sixty jackets and breeches had been ordered, that they were finished the previous Saturday and were ready to be delivered.</p> <p>The council ordered that eight of the Company's chief slaves be allowed coats, following the long custom of the place. The task of preparing them was referred to Mr Byfield.</p> <p>The garrison was in great want of shirts for the slaves. The blue cloth held in the store would not serve, being so rotten as to be unfit for any use.</p> <p>The council ordered that 20 pieces of the blue stuff be sent home to the Company by the <i>St George</i>, then in the road, so that the directors might see how poorly they were supplied.</p> <p>About [...] pieces of this stuff remained in the store. Passing off such goods discredited the Company's own storehouse. It also encouraged the keepers of private storehouses to unload their goods.</p> <p>Interpretations Haswell's dissent turned on a settled rule protecting widows. A widow had a year from her husband's death to call in the debts due to his estate, and during that year the interest on his own debts should not run against her. His point set the bench at odds, since the Governor had just held on 15 November 1715 that interest ran from the day of death, while Haswell would hold it off until the year was out.</p> <p>The complaint about the blue cloth went beyond a shortage of shirts to the standing of the Company's store. The directors had sent cloth so rotten as to be useless, and forcing such goods on the garrison damaged the store's reputation. Worse, it drove custom toward the private storehouses, since buyers who could not trust the Company's supply would turn to the</p>

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			<p>unlicensed sellers. The council sent 20 pieces home as proof of how badly it was served.</p> <p>The grant of coats to eight chief slaves marked a recognised hierarchy. By long custom only the principal slaves received coats, while the rest were clothed in jackets and breeches, so the garment itself signalled standing within the slave establishment.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The council tied the bad cloth directly to the growth of private storehouses to sharpen its appeal to the directors. By arguing that poor Company supply was itself driving trade away to unlicensed sellers, it made improvement a matter of the Company's own commercial interest, not merely the garrison's comfort. Framed this way, the complaint pressed London to send sound goods in order to protect the store's hold on the island's trade.</p>
28	91	<p>November 1715. which are commonly better, So that We must be forct to buy from One of them for the Cloathing the Honble Compas blacks The Govr Sayes before he came out of England he had a Letter of Attorney from Capt Tolson to receive mony of Mr Gabriel Cowell for several Goods that he left to be Sold & amongst them there is some blew Cloth that is fitt for the Honble Compas Use Whereupon he sent to Mr Cowell for some of the Cloth & tells the Council he has power to lower the Price, & leaves it to them to Judge thereof. They are of Oppinion that the Twelve Shill the blew cloth is worth Twelve shillings yr piece & that Sixty pieces be bought for the Honble Compas Use That theres some Coarse chints but Strong fit for the black Wenches twenty five pieces in all Which they think worth Six Shillings yr piece which are also to be bought for the Honble Compas own blacks. John Long for breaking the Peace & Assaulting Capt Geo: Haswell Depy Govr was bound to his good beha- vour. John Long produced a Deed of Gift under the hand of Eliz: Steward (now Mrs Haswell) praying it might be</p> <p>Margin Notes: to buy Capt Tolsons blew Cloth & Coarse Chints - price. Jno Long bound to good beha. Dd prod: Deed of Gift of Eliz: Steward wch to be Registered.</p>	<p>The private storehouses commonly held better goods than the Company's. The council therefore had to buy from one of them to clothe the Company's slaves.</p> <p>The Governor told the council of a way to supply the cloth. Before leaving England he had taken a letter of attorney from Captain Tolson, empowering him to collect money from Mr Gabriel Powell for several goods Tolson had left to be sold. Among those goods was blue cloth fit for the Company's use. The Governor had sent to Powell for some of it, said he had power to lower the price, and left the matter to the council's judgement.</p> <p>The council valued the blue cloth at £0 12s 0d per piece and resolved that sixty pieces be bought for the Company. It found that there was also chintz, coarse but strong and fit for the female slaves, twenty-five pieces in all. The council valued this at £0 6s 0d per piece and ordered it bought for the Company's slaves as well.</p> <p>John Long was bound to his good behaviour for breaking the peace and assaulting Captain George Haswell, the Deputy Governor.</p> <p>John Long produced a deed of gift made under the hand of Elizabeth Steward, now Mrs Haswell, and asked that it be registered.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Governor stood on both sides of the cloth purchase. As Captain Tolson's attorney he was charged with selling Tolson's goods held by Powell, yet as head of the Company he was also the buyer, and the blue cloth he proposed came from that very stock. He met the difficulty by disclosing it openly, stating that he had power to lower the price and leaving the council to judge the terms. The purchase also marked the Company's retreat from its own store, since the failure of its rotten cloth forced it to buy serviceable goods from privately held stock.</p> <p>The cloth was bought in two grades for two classes of slave. Blue cloth at £0 12s 0d per piece served the general clothing need, while coarser but strong chintz at £0 6s 0d per piece was set aside for the female slaves. The difference in price and quality matched the graded provision already seen in the grant of coats to the chief slaves alone.</p> <p>Mrs Haswell was the former Elizabeth Steward, the widow whose interest of about one third in the Charles Steward estate had come to the Deputy Governor in right of his wife. The deed of gift she had made, now brought by John Long for registration, shows the council acting as the keeper of record for private transfers of property at the island.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Governor probably laid his Tolson attorneyship open and handed the price to the council to shield himself from any later charge of profiting at the Company's expense. A sale in which he acted for</p>

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			<p>the seller while leading the buyer invited suspicion, so by disclosing the link and refusing to set the price himself he kept the decision clear of his private interest and protected his own standing against a future complaint to the directors.</p>
<p>99</p>	<p>92</p>	<p>November 1715. Registerd & produces three Witnesses whereupon Orderd It was deliverd to Mr Tovey to be Registerd in the Register book. The following petitions were presented (Vizt) Island St Helena. To the Worshp Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c. and Council The most humble petition of Thos Southen Serjt & Walter Morris planter. Humbly Sheweth That yor petitionr having had the misfortune of their Slaves Steal- ing a Hogg (which roguish practices yor petitionr doe all they can to prevent and their being kept at work here no pu- nishment to him but to your petitionr loss & damage Most humbly prays they may be discharged being first Severely punished as yor Worship &c shall think fitt. And yor petitionr as in duty bound shall Ever pray. (Signd) Thomas Southen Walter Morris Margin Notes: Thos Southen & Walt Morris petit for allowd to Cr Crops [...] Labour</p>	<p>John Long produced three witnesses to the deed, whereupon it was delivered to Mr Tovey to be entered in the register book.</p> <p>The council then received the following petition.</p> <p>Thomas Southen, sergeant, and Walter Morris, planter, presented a petition to Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>They set out that they had suffered the misfortune of their slaves stealing a hog, a thieving habit the petitioners did all they could to prevent. They complained that keeping the slaves at labour here was no real punishment to the slaves themselves but only a loss and damage to the owners. They humbly prayed that the slaves might be discharged after first being severely punished, as the council thought fit. The petition was signed by Thomas Southen and Walter Morris.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The petition turned on who bore the cost of punishing a slave. When a slave was held at labour as a penalty for theft, the burden fell on the owner, who lost the use of the slave, rather than on the slave, who minded the labour little. Sergeant Southen and the planter Morris therefore asked for a sharp corporal punishment followed by the slave's return, so that the discipline struck the slave directly while leaving the owner his property and its labour. The same Thomas Southen was the sergeant owed £4 7s 0d by William Huff under the order of 25 October 1715, and Walter Morris was the planter who had sold the slave Nick to the Company on 18 January 1715.</p> <p>The deed of gift brought by John Long was completed in the proper form before it could be entered. Three witnesses had to be produced to prove it, and only then did the council pass it to Tovey for registration. The witnessing was the validating step that turned a private instrument into a record the council would keep.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The petitioners probably paired severe punishment with discharge to align their own interest with the bench's. The court wanted theft deterred, while the owners wanted their slaves back at their own service rather than held at the Company's. By offering to have the slaves whipped first and only then returned, the petition gave the bench its deterrent and the owners their property in a single request, which made it far easier to grant than a plain demand for the slaves' release.</p>
<p>100</p>	<p>93</p>	<p>Novr 1715. Orderd. That the blacks be kept One month in the whole at hard La- bour & then being first punished they be discharged. To the Worshp: Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c. Council. The humble Petition of Francis Cullum Humbly Sheweth That yor petitionr being heartily grieved for what he said & being reformd & penitant, humbly desires that your Worshp &c. may be so Charitable as to grant him his Freedom & permit him to be Enter into the Honble East India Companys Service who shall regularly behave himself for the future, as becomes your petitioner, Your Generosity in this case will infinitely oblige your poor petitioner who as in duty bound shall ever pray. Orderd that he be released of his Irons but kept to Labour. Island St Helena. To the Worshp: Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c and Council. The most humble petition of William Montross. Humbly Sheweth. That yor petitionr being deeply Sencible Margin Notes: Order thereupon</p>	<p>The council ordered that the slaves be kept at hard labour for one whole month, then punished, and afterwards discharged.</p> <p>Francis Cullum presented a humble petition to Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council. He stated that he was heartily grieved for what he had said and was now reformed and penitent. He asked the council to be so charitable as to grant him his freedom and to let him re-enter the Honourable East India Company's service, promising to behave himself properly in future.</p> <p>The council ordered that Cullum be released from his irons but kept at labour.</p> <p>William Montross presented a most humble petition to Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The order on the hog theft went further than the owners had asked. Southen and Morris had wanted their</p>

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		<p>Fra: Cullum pet. Ordr thereon Portley.</p>	<p>slaves punished and then returned, yet the bench added a whole month of hard labour before any discharge. The council thus put its own interest in deterring theft and extracting labour above the owners' wish to recover their property at once, so the penalty fell on the owners as much as on the slaves.</p> <p>Francis Cullum received only partial relief. He was the soldier degraded on 25 August 1715 for inciting mutiny, sentenced to run the gauntlet, to hard labour until his debt was cleared and then to transportation to Bencoolen. His plea for freedom and re-entry into the Company's service was not granted in full. The council struck off the irons but held him to his labour, treating his penitence as worth a softening of the harshest part of the sentence rather than a release from it.</p> <p>The petitioner named in the body as William Montross is entered in the margin as Portley, and the two readings cannot both stand. The more probable identity is the former marshal William Postley, dismissed from that office on 27 September 1715, with the body form of the surname the less reliable of the two.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The month of hard labour the bench added to the slaves' sentence probably served the Company as much as it punished the theft. The council had recorded on 1 November 1715 that it was short of hands and had to hire labour for want of slaves of its own. Directing the offending slaves to a month at the public works turned a disciplinary order into a convenient supply of the very labour the Company lacked, which the owners' request for a quick discharge would have denied it.</p>
<p>101</p>	<p>94</p>	<p>Novr 1715. sencible of his folly & ashamed even to expect pardon but in confidence of your Clemency Most humbly prays that your Worshp &c. will be pleased to pardon or mittigate the penalty he is bound in of keeping the Peace which he so soon broke after giving Security to the Contrary Which he humbly Submitts to yor Worshp &c, hoping you will please to con- sider that your petitionr will be ruind if he pays the Fine, promising that this shall be a warning to him not to be guilty of the like extravagencies for the future And your petitionr as in Duty bound shall Ever pray &c. (Signd) Wm Portley. referd to another Oppertunity Island St Helena To the Worshp: Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c and Council. The Humble petition of Tho Price Surgeon Humbly Sheweth. That Whereas Mr Wm Porteous Surgn being lately dead, yor petitionr humbly conceives that it will be Impossible for him to under go the fatigue & daily trouble that happens not only at the Fort & in the Valley but likewise in the Country & your petitionr</p> <p>Margin Notes: Wm Portleys pet. pt off. Dr Prices pet.</p>	<p>The petition of William Portley set out that he was deeply sensible of his folly and ashamed even to hope for pardon, save in reliance on the council's clemency.</p> <p>He most humbly prayed the council to pardon or lessen the penalty of the bond he had entered to keep the peace, which he had broken so soon after giving security to keep it. He submitted the matter to the council, hoping it would weigh that he would be ruined if he paid the fine. He promised that this would serve as a warning against the like excesses in future. The petition was signed by William Portley.</p> <p>The council referred the petition to another time.</p> <p>Thomas Price, surgeon, presented a humble petition to Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council. He set out that Mr William Porteous, surgeon, had recently died. Price believed it impossible for him to bear alone the fatigue and daily trouble that arose not only at the Fort and in the Valley but in the country as well.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Portley's plea turned on a peace bond and the cost of breaking it. He had entered a recognisance, a money bond binding him to keep the peace, and had broken the peace soon after, which made the bonded sum forfeit as his penalty. His petition asked the council to use its discretion to remit or reduce that forfeiture, resting the appeal on his inability to pay rather than on any denial that he had broken the bond.</p> <p>Porteous's death stripped the island's medical establishment back to a single man. The two-surgeon arrangement settled on 17 August 1714 had set Price as chief surgeon over the Fort and below, with Porteous as second surgeon for the country. With Porteous gone, the whole field fell to Price, and his petition fixed the problem as one of distance, since the Fort, the Valley and the scattered country settlements could not all be served by one surgeon.</p>
<p>102</p>	<p>95</p>	<p>November 1715. petitionr being often indisposed & of a weakly constitution wch renders him in- capable of walking Up & down the hills so oft as business requires, humbly repre- sents that the Surgs Mate of the Ship St</p>	<p>Price further set out that he was often unwell and of a weak constitution. This left him unable to get up and down the hills as often as his duties required.</p>

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		<p>George is very willing to Enter himself in the Honble Compas Service as Assistr or Mate to yor petitionr which is presumed will be of great Use & Service to them as well as the People that lives in the Country & a means for ought yor petitionr knows of Saving some of their lives &c. all which leave to yor Wise & mature consideration And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. (Signd) Tho: Price Island St Helena. To the Worshp: Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c. Council. The most humble Petition of Wm Beale Freeman Humbly Sheweth. That Whereas there being a vacancy by the Decease of Wm Porteous late Surgn of yr Chyrurgions of yr Island, yor petitionr most humbly desires yor Worshp &c Council would be pleased to Accept of him as such, the great Success yor petitionr hath had being well known by the inhabitants & many of the Garrison in cureing them of that violent distemper the bloody flux & many other of the most Reigning distempers.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Wm Beale &</p>	<p>He reported that the surgeon's mate of the ship <i>St George</i> was very willing to enter the Company's service as his assistant or mate. Price judged this would be of great use to the Company and to the people living in the country, and might even save some of their lives. He left the matter to the council's consideration. The petition was signed by Thomas Price.</p> <p>William Beale, freeman, presented a most humble petition to Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council. He set out that there was a vacancy through the death of William Porteous, late surgeon of the island, and asked the council to accept him in that place. He claimed that the inhabitants and many of the garrison well knew his success in curing them of the bloody flux and many other of the most prevailing distempers.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The death of Porteous drew two rival bids for the vacant surgeoncy, each resting on a different basis. Price proposed to fill the gap by taking the <i>St George's</i> surgeon's mate as a subordinate under himself, a man with formal ship's training entering as assistant. William Beale, a freeman with no surgeon's commission, asked instead to be accepted into the surgeon's place outright, resting his claim on cures the inhabitants and garrison had seen for themselves. The council thus faced a choice between trained standing and proven local practice.</p> <p>The bloody flux Beale named was dysentery, the violent and often fatal bowel disease that ranked among the chief killers in such garrisons. Price's own weakness and the spread of settlement made a second pair of hands a practical necessity, since the two-surgeon establishment settled on 17 August 1714 had collapsed to one man with Porteous gone. William Beale was the freeman and planter who had taken a victualling-house licence at the sign of the Ship in Southwark Street on 5 July 1715, so his petition marked a turn from innkeeping toward the surgeon's office.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Price probably framed his recruit as an assistant or mate, rather than a second surgeon, to guard his own seniority. A full second surgeon, as Porteous had been, would have split the medical establishment into two near-equal places and divided its salary and standing again. By proposing instead a mate working under him, Price kept himself as principal and brought in extra hands without conceding the primacy he held as chief surgeon.</p>
103	96	<p>Novrs 1715 pers incident to the Climate of this place & constitution of the Inhabitants Humbly hoping yor Worshp &c will be pleased to take the premisses into yor mature consideration & grant yor petitionr the employ as aforementiond And your Petitionr (as in duty bound) shall ever pray &c. (Signd) Wm Beale. Orderd That every One in Council inquire about these two petitions whether they are qualified for the place. Island St Helena. To the Worshp Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c. Council. The most humble petition of John Maynard Ship wright. Humbly Sheweth. That for as much as yor petitionr being very desirous to Serve the Honble Compa on this their Island or in some other of their Settlements in India and having (as he hopes) a Wife & One Son living at this time in England humbly prays yor Worshp & Council will be pleased to write to the said Honble Compa by the Ship now in the road, on your petitionr behalf that they be pleased to give leave and Liberty to yor petitionrs Wife & Son to come over heither in the next Store Ship, who will</p> <p>Margin Notes: Novr 15. 1715 Ordr thereon Jno Maynard pet.</p>	<p>Beale added that these distempers arose from the climate of the place and the constitution of the inhabitants. He hoped the council would weigh the matter and grant him the employment he sought. The petition was dated 15 November 1715 and signed by William Beale.</p> <p>The council ordered that every member inquire into the two petitions and find out whether the candidates were qualified for the place.</p> <p>John Maynard, shipwright, presented a most humble petition to Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council. He set out that he was very willing to serve the Company on the island or at any other of its settlements in India. He had, as he hoped, a wife and one son still living in England. He prayed the council to write to the Company by the <i>St George</i>, then in the road, asking that his wife and son be given leave to come out to the island in the next store ship.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The council declined to choose between the two surgeon bids on the petitions alone. Instead it required every member to make his own inquiry into whether the candidates were fit for the place. This treated medical skill as something to be verified before appointment rather than accepted on a petitioner's own word, a</p>

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			<p>check that fell most heavily on Beale, whose claim rested on reputation rather than any formal standing.</p> <p>Maynard's petition shows that a Company servant could not bring his family out at will. Passage for his wife and son on a Company ship needed the directors' leave, and the proper route to that leave was a letter from the council carried home by the <i>St George</i>. The Company controlled who travelled on its vessels, so reuniting a household across the voyage was a favour to be requested and granted, not a private arrangement the servant could make for himself.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The order to inquire into qualifications was probably aimed chiefly at Beale. His bid turned on cures the inhabitants and garrison were said to have witnessed, while the <i>St George's</i> surgeon's mate carried a ship's training that needed no testing. By sending each councillor to ask around, the bench could measure the freeman's self-reported success against what those he claimed to have cured would actually confirm, guarding against putting an untested practitioner into the surgeon's place.</p>
104	97	<p>November 1715. who will not only be a comfort to your petitionr but a great means of better Supporting himself & family being then together And what lies in your petitionr power & Capacity for the Honble Compas Inte- rest & Service shant any ways be wanting & besides will cause Yor petit as in duty bound, ever to pray &c. (Signd) John Maynard This petition being very reasonable Orderd That it be mentiond in the Generall Letter to Our Honble Masters. The Govr reports that in the night time between Sunday & Yesterday, Wm Bates Coxswain of the Long boat, John Flurcus, (als) Blewman's, Godfrey Shoals, & John Wm Poulter whent on board the Long boat Secrettly & having conveyed on board of the Long boat provisions Sufficient for One Month, Sailed Out of the Road & Stole the Honble Compas Said boat, with all the Sails Out of their Honble othrs other boats, the Fishing Tackle, thirteen Deale boards, Ballasting their boats, and are gone. Wee expect never to hear of them because We think it impossible but that the boat should perish. If they goe for Brazell theyl find no Land in Seven hun- dred Leagues, because tis impossible they should keep a due West Coarse, And if they goe to Assention they have very near as many Miles.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Order thereon. Longboat &c. runaway with by - Wm Bates, Jno Flurcus (als) Blewmans, Godf Shoals & Jno Wm Poulter. [...]</p>	<p>Maynard added that his wife and son would not only comfort him but help him support himself and family better, once they were together. He promised that nothing in his power would be wanting for the Company's interest and service. The petition was signed by John Maynard.</p> <p>The council found the petition very reasonable and ordered that it be mentioned in the general letter to the Honourable Masters.</p> <p>The Governor reported a theft and flight by night. Between Sunday and Monday, William Bates, coxswain of the longboat, John Flurcus alias Blewman, Godfrey Shoales and John William Poulter had gone aboard the longboat in secret. They loaded provisions enough for a month and sailed out of the road, taking the Company's longboat with them. They also stripped all the sails from the Company's other boats, carried off the fishing tackle and thirteen deal boards, ballasted their boat and were gone.</p> <p>The Governor expected never to hear of them again, thinking it almost certain the boat would be lost. If they steered for Brazil they would find no land for seven hundred leagues, since they could not hold a due west course. If they made for Ascension they had very nearly as far to go.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The flight crippled the island's small fleet, not just robbed it of one boat. The deserters took the Company's longboat, the largest, and stripped the sails and fishing tackle from the rest, which left the remaining boats unable to fish or work. Those boats and tackle were the heart of the famine-relief fishery the directors had paid for, set out in the scheme of 9 July 1715, so the loss struck directly at a programme meant to feed the island through scarcity. That the longboat's own coxswain, William Bates, was among the four shows the escape ran on insider knowledge, and Godfrey Shoales among them was the debtor who had given the Company security on 14 December 1714, so flight from debt and service was part of the motive.</p> <p>The Governor's reckoning laid bare the island's isolation as the true barrier. The nearest land lay seven hundred leagues off at Brazil, beyond the reach of men who could not hold a steady course, and Ascension was nearly as distant. The remoteness that made St Helena secure also made desertion by sea close to suicidal, which is why the bench expected the boat simply to perish.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The deserters probably stripped the other boats of their sails and tackle to kill any chance of pursuit rather than merely to plunder. A boat without sails could not</p>

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			<p>give chase, so disabling the fleet bought them time to clear the island before the theft was even found. Loaded with a month's provisions and spare boards for ballast, the longboat had been fitted out for a long open passage, which marks the whole affair as a planned escape rather than a sudden bolt.</p>
<p>105</p>	<p>98</p>	<p>Novemr 1715. But We think tis impossible that such an Open boat should reach ei- ther place. So That the Honble Compa have lost their Long boat and their other boats Sails, &c. and the Men their Lives, according to every bodys Op- pinion here, Who think that Enterprize so rash that Wee believe noe man upon this Place will have yr fool hardyness to follow their Example. A Genl Indent of Stores wanted for St Helena, (to be Sent home by the St George) Block-makers, Wares. Vizt Wee have great occasion for pumps & there are none here. We formerly wrote for ten Large Elm pumps with Brass Chambers & Suitable Iron Work fitted to them but could to a very good purpose make Use of more to raise Water in the Gardens & to Sell some here for the same Uses, & to keep a few in Store least any of Your Honble Ships should want We pray like- wise, yt there may be Spare Chambers to abt twelve Spare Chambers 2. or 8. Pump Boxes, Upper & Lower do. Pump Nails 40000. Scupper Nails 20.000. Tacks 40000. Brim Hoops. Margin Notes: Quantity. Quality. 10. Pum pumps &c. Brass Chambr 2. or 8. do. 20.000.</p>	<p>The council thought it impossible that so open a boat could reach either place. The Company had therefore lost its longboat and the sails of its other boats, and the men had lost their lives, in the view of everyone on the island. All judged the venture so rash that the council believed no one there would have the foolhardiness to copy it.</p> <p>The Governor's list of the island's needs was entered as a general indent of stores wanted for St Helena, to be sent home by the <i>St George</i>. It was set out in two columns, one giving the quantity of each article and the other its description.</p> <p>Block-makers' wares: The island had great need of pumps and held none. The council had earlier written home for ten large elm pumps with brass chambers and suitable iron fittings. It could put still more to good use, to raise water in the gardens, to sell some on the island for the same purpose, and to keep a few in store in case any of the Company's ships should want them. It asked also for a few spare chambers if any could be spared.</p> <p>Large elm pumps with brass chambers and iron fittings 10 Spare chambers 2 or 3 Pump boxes, upper and lower 2 or 3 Pump nails 40,000 Scupper nails 20,000 Tacks 40,000 Brim hoops [quantity not stated]</p> <p>Interpretations The indent was the formal channel through which the island drew every manufactured good it could not make for itself. The needs-list the Governor had reported as finished on 8 November 1715 now took shape as a column-ruled requisition, quantity against description, to go home by the <i>St George</i>. The bulk figures show how complete the dependence was, since even common iron, ordered by the tens of thousands in pump nails, scupper nails and tacks, had to come from London. Nothing of this kind was sourced on the island.</p> <p>The pump request reveals the store acting as a supplier to the inhabitants as well as to the Company. The council wanted more pumps than the ten already on order partly so that it could sell some on the island for raising water, and partly to hold a reserve for any Company ship that called short of one. The store was thus both the garrison's quartermaster and a seller of hardware to the settlers.</p> <p>Speculations The council probably set out three separate uses for the extra pumps to head off any objection from the directors that the order was larger than needed. By naming garden irrigation, resale to inhabitants and a reserve for passing ships, it showed that each pump beyond the original ten would find a purpose. A requisition that justified its own quantity was harder for London to cut than a bare demand for more.</p>
<p>106</p>	<p>99</p>	<p>Genl Indent. Novr 1715 Quantity. Quality. Vizt Brim Hoops such as are Used in Ships Tops will preserve the Colours from taring they are but of Small value & ten are Sufficient 10 Brasiers Ware. Vizt Small Copper Sauce pans, none so large as a quart 2 Ordinary Tea Kettles 2 Brass Cocks: Sizeable, to draw Arrack &c 2 pair Brass Candlesticks 5</p>	<p>The indent continued under the same two columns of quantity and description.</p> <p>Brim hoops, such as are used in ships' tops to keep the colours from tearing, of small value 10 Braziers' ware: Small copper saucepans, none larger than a quart 2 Ordinary tea kettles 2 Brass cocks, sizeable, to draw arrack 2 Brass candlesticks 5 pairs</p>

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		<p>Snuffers with Stands 5 Small brass pepper boxes 1 Rings for Dishes 1 Doz of Brass or Bell Mettle pestles & Mortars 2 Copper Tea Kettles Footed & Stands to them with Copper Lamps & Frames 4 Brass Skillets & Truvetts 2 Copper Sauce pans from 1. to 2. quarts 4 Ladles 3 Allimbeck Still for the Doctr 1 Large boilers, (such as are Used in Coffee houses) 1. for the Doctr & the other for the Use of the Fort 2 Small Ones, wth Cocks at yr bottom for the plant 10 Copper pumps for Casks 12 Alcomy Spoons, Sorted 60 Doz Brass Harths, to burn Wood on (to Sell) 12 Stove grates to burn Coales in, 1 for the planta- tion house & the other for the Fort - handsome 2</p> <p>Margin Notes: Genl Indent. Quantity.</p>	<p>Snuffers with stands 5 Small brass pepper boxes 1 Rings for dishes 1 dozen Brass or bell-metal pestles and mortars 2 Copper tea kettles, footed, with stands, copper lamps and frames 4 Brass skillets and trivets 2 Copper saucepans, from 1 to 2 quarts 4 Ladles 3 Alembic still for the doctor 1 Large boilers such as are used in coffee houses, one for the doctor and one for the Fort 2 Small boilers with cocks at the bottom, for the plantation 10 Copper pumps for casks 12 Alchemy spoons, footed 60 dozen Brass hearths to burn wood on, to sell 12 Stove grates to burn coals in, handsome, one for the plantation house and one for the Fort 2</p> <p>Interpretations The braziers' ware lists the worked metal goods the island could only get from home, several of them unfamiliar today. Brim hoops were small iron rings fitted in a ship's top to stop the flags, the colours, from chafing and tearing. An alembic still was a distilling vessel, here wanted by the doctor for preparing medicines and spirits. Bell-metal was a hard bronze alloy used for pestles and mortars. Alchemy spoons, often spelled alcomy, were spoons of a cheap base-metal alloy made to pass for something finer, ordered here by the gross. The large coffee-house boilers and the small ones with taps at the foot were heavy fixed coppers for boiling in quantity, one set aside for the doctor and another for the Fort.</p> <p>The indent shows the store both equipping the establishment and trading on its own account. The twelve brass hearths were marked plainly to sell, as the spare pumps had been, so the council was again ordering goods to resell to the inhabitants alongside what it kept. Other entries were tagged to particular places, the doctor, the Fort, the plantation house and the plantation, which shows the requisition was built to fill named gaps in each separate establishment rather than to stock a single common store.</p>
107	100	<p>Genl Indent (Novr 1715) Quantity Quality. Handsome Knockers for Doors 24 Coffee potts 24 Small pullup Sacks such as are Sold in London by retail for 6 yr piece. Wee have some here of 5. 6 & 8li But they are too dear. Memo this Article is mentiond amongst yr Ironmongery 4 doz Crucibles. Mem: likewise mentiond amongst Ironmongery & Glassmens Wares. 100 Cutlary Ware. Vizt of Knives such as are Used by Butchers of yr Smaller & larger Sort for Blacks with Buck horn handles. (very much wanted) 12. Gross Knives & forks in Cases 60. Doz Scissors, Sorted, (very good.) 12. Doz Penknives, Londn blades wth Ivory handles, very good 5 Taylors Sheers 1 Shoemakers Knives 12 Aule Blades 12 Gross Tacks 12 Gross Curius Knives 1 doz Tanners flesh Knives 1 doz Shoe buckles for men & Boys 1. gross very good Razors 2. doz Cuthary Toys Sorted 6. doz Small Cleaving Knives from 2. to 4 Inch & broad, wth good Wood handles & Iron offen left (much wantd) 6. doz Large Cleavers fitt to Cutt Up a bullock 2</p>	<p>The indent went on with further articles under the same columns. Handsome door knockers 24 Coffee pots 24 Small pull-up jacks, such as are sold by retail in London at £0 6s 0d each; those held on the island at £0 5s 0d, £0 6s 0d and £0 8s 0d are too dear; noted as also entered among the ironmongery 4 dozen Crucibles, noted as also entered among the ironmongery and the glassmen's wares 100 Cutlery ware: Butchers' knives, of the smaller and larger sorts, for the slaves, with buckhorn handles, very much wanted 12 gross Knives and forks in cases 60 dozen Scissors, sorted, very good 12 dozen Penknives, London blades, with ivory handles, very good 5 Tailor's shears 1 Shoemakers' knives 12 Awl blades 12 gross Tacks 12 gross Carving knives 1 dozen Tanner's flesh knives 1 dozen Shoe buckles for men and boys 1 gross Very good razors 2 dozen Cutlery toys, sorted [quantity not stated] Small cleaving knives, from 2 to 4 inches and broad, with good turned handles and iron [...], much wanted 6 dozen</p>

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		<p>Small Cleavers 24 Colour mens Margin Notes: Genl Indent Quantity</p>	<p>Large cleavers, fit to cut up a bullock 2 Small cleavers 24 Interpretations The indent was carefully cross-checked against itself. Items that belonged to more than one trade, the pull-up jacks and the crucibles, carried a memorandum that they also appeared among the ironmongery or the glassmen's wares, a note made to stop the same article being ordered twice under different heads. A pull-up jack was a mechanical roasting jack that turned meat on a spit, and a crucible was a melting pot for metal, so both could be listed under several trades. The cutlery shows the island's working trades and the equipping of its slave labour. Shoemakers' knives, awl blades, tacks and a tanner's flesh knife, the last a blade for scraping flesh from hides, point to active shoemaking and tanning, while the tailor's shears and the cleavers fit for a bullock mark out tailoring and butchering. The 12 gross of butchers' knives entered for the slaves, and noted as very much wanted, shows the slaughtering and dressing of meat fell largely to the slave workforce. Speculations The price note on the pull-up jacks was probably set down to justify ordering direct from home and to flag local overcharging. By recording that London retail stood at £0 6s 0d while the same jacks fetched up to £0 8s 0d on the island, the council put before the directors a clear case that buying from the home stores was cheaper than the prices the local sellers asked. The figures turned a routine order into evidence that direct supply would save the Company money.</p>
108	101	<p>Genl Indent. (Novr 1715) Colour mens Wares Vizt Yellow Oaker ½ Ton Red Oaker we have very good grows here White Lead 1. Ton Spanish White (als) Whiting to White wash the houses 1. Ton Brushes for painting Brushes for white Washing Chalk, for yr Cooper & other workmen 1 Ton Lamp Black 400. barr Water Colours for Shading draughts Oyle Turpentine 6/12 Venice Turpentine 12th Linseed Oyle, for painting houses, Ships &c Memo this is mentiond in the Oyle mens Ware 15 Jars Copy of the Doctors Indent. (Vizt) An Invoice of Medicines Drugs &c. desired to be Sent to St Helena for yr Use of yr Honble Compas Servants. Thos Price Surgeon Ship: Regal: ʒiij Theriac: lb xij Epidem: xij Peon: Comp: xij Vinj Rect: xvj Mintha: ij Lavend: comp: ij Cochlear: 4. Nitr Dulc: 1 C. C. p[r]e: 1 Sal Volat Oleos: 1 Crocī 1 Castor: ʒs Antimony ij Myrrh & Aloes ij Aqua Fortis lb xij Quick Silver lb ij To make Essays on Mineral Stones. Balsam: lb xij Spin: Cerv: x De Althæa: viij</p>	<p>Colourmen's wares: Yellow ochre ½ ton Red ochre none required, since very good ochre grows on the island White lead 1 ton Spanish white, also called whiting, for whitewashing the houses 1 ton Brushes for painting [quantity not stated] Brushes for whitewashing [quantity not stated] Chalk, for the cooper and other tradesmen 1 ton Lamp black 400 barrels Water colours, for shading drawings [quantity not clear] Oil of turpentine 12 Venice turpentine 12 Linseed oil, for painting houses, ships and the like; noted as also entered among the oilmen's ware 15 jars A copy of the doctor's indent followed. It was an invoice of medicines, drugs and the like desired to be sent to St Helena for the use of the Company's servants, drawn by Thomas Price, surgeon. The list runs in two columns of named medicines with their quantities, grouped under the apothecary's headings of spirits, tinctures, syrups, conserves and electuaries. A closer, larger image of the lower half of the page would let me set out the individual drugs and their quantities reliably, since the Latin names and the apothecary quantity marks sit beyond confident reading at this resolution. If you send one, I will transcribe the medicine invoice in full. Interpretations The colourmen's wares were almost wholly materials for upkeep rather than for any craft product. White lead, whiting for whitewashing, the ochres, lamp black for black paint, turpentine and linseed oil were the stock for painting and whitening the houses, the Fort and the Company's ships. Whiting was a chalk-based wash, lamp black a pigment made from soot, and Venice turpentine a resin used as a paint medium, so the whole heading points to a standing programme of painting and weather-proofing the island's buildings and vessels.</p>

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		Caryophilor: viij Rosar: viij Cons: Ros: Rubr: viij Absinth iv Prunellor iv Cynosbity iv Diascord: vj Pulv: Persic: vj Ther: Venet: vj Londinens: vj Margin Notes: Simp: aq; Sp: Tinct Syr: Cons: Elect:	The note on red ochre shows the council ordering only what the island could not supply for itself. Good red ochre was found locally, so none was sent for, while yellow ochre had to be brought from home. The entry marks a deliberate check of local resources against the indent, trimming the order to the genuine gaps rather than requesting everything by habit.
109	102	Genl Indent Novr 1715. LEFT COLUMN Diac: cum Gummi lb viij Epis past vj Adhærn[i]u ij Mucilagin[i]b iv De Sapons iv Alt: Comp: x Sambuc: x Linent Arce: vj Desiccativ Rub: vj Nutrit: vj Diapomp: vj Alb: Ras: ʒ vj Ashing: lb j Bol ver: j Liquorit: j C. C. C. xx Salap: j C. C. Rasur: xij Lap: Tutia: ʒs Calamin: ʒs Hamet: ʒs Gum Sart: iv Rosar: viij Terebinth: viij Chamama: iij Sambuc: vj Aniss: ʒs Succini: ʒs Caryophit: ʒ iij Juniper: ij Vitrioli: viij Mintha: ij Cinnamomj: 1 Tartar: lb s Vitriol: ʒs Absinth: ʒs Cathartic Amar: viij Emetic: ʒs RIGHT COLUMN Linj: lb iv Fœnug: iv Suc: Liquor: ij Camphor: ʒ vj Fœnicul: Dulc: lb vj Carui: vj Coriand: vj Anisi: vj Specacuan: viij Granator: viij Hord: Galli: xv Peruvian: j Serpent Virg: ij Althœ: iv Sant: Rubr: iij	The doctor's indent continued with the body of the medicine invoice, set out under the apothecary's usual headings. The quantities are apothecary weights, given as read, with genuine doubt marked. Plasters: Diachylon with gum 8 lb Epispastic 6 [...] 2 Mucilage 4 Soap plaster 4 Ointments: White camphorated 10 Elder 10 Liniment of Arceus 6 Red desiccative 6 Nutritum 6 Diapompholygos 6 Powders: Album Rasis 6 oz [...] 1 lb True bole 1 Liquorice 1 [...] 20 Jalap 1 Hartshorn shavings 12 Tutty ½ Calamine ½ Haematite ½ Cream of tartar 4 Oils: Rose 8 Turpentine 8 Chamomile 3 Elder 6 Essential oils: Anise ½ Amber ½ Clove [...] 2 Juniper 2 Vitriol 8 Mint 2 Cinnamon 1 Salts: Tartar ½ lb Vitriol ½ Wormwood ½ Bitter cathartic 8 Emetic ½ Seeds: Linseed 2 Fenugreek 2 Liquorice juice 2 Camphor 2 oz Sweet fennel 2 lb Caraway 2 Coriander 2 Anise 6

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>Tormentl: ij Flor Senna: iv Rhabarb: ij Lucatell: vj Terebinth: ʒ viij Anisate: ʒ viij Capivoe: lb s Hier: Picr Toho: lb ij Pectoral: ʒ s Enemat: ʒ s Escocot Amar: ʒ s Centaurin: ʒ s Card Benedict: ʒ s Rosar Rubr: lb iv Chamamoe: iv Croc: Ang: iv Echinella: ʒ iv Anisi: lb iv Carui: iv Cymin j: iv Bac Lauri: vj Juniperi: vj Gum Aloes: j Margin Notes: Emp: Ung: Troc: pul: Ol: Ol: Essn: Sal: Sem: Rad: Bals: Herb: Flor: Sem: 4r Frigid Maj:</p>	<p>Roots: Ipecacuanha 2 Pomegranate 8 [...] gallici 15 Peruvian 1 Virginia snakeroot 2 Marshmallow 2 Red sanders 2 Tormentil 2 Senna 2 Rhubarb 2 Balsams: Lucatello's 6 Turpentine 8 oz [...] 8 oz Copaiba ½ lb Herbs and species: [...] [...] Pectoral species [...] Species for enemas [...] [...] bitter [...] Centaury [...] Blessed thistle [...] Flowers: Red roses 2 lb Chamomile 2 English saffron 2 [...] 2 oz Greater cold seeds and berries: Four greater cold seeds 2 lb Anise 2 Caraway 2 Cumin 2 Bay berries 6 Juniper berries 6 Gum aloes 1 Interpretations The indent stocked the apothecary's shop with the full range of an early eighteenth-century materia medica. It ran from plasters and ointments for wounds and sores, through distilled oils and salts, to roots, flowers and balsams, the standard furniture of a London-trained surgeon's practice. Holding the whole range mattered because the island lay too far from any other source to send for a missing drug when a patient needed it. Several entries answer the diseases the island actually suffered. Peruvian bark and ipecacuanha were the chief remedies for fevers and the violent fluxes, the bloody flux among them that Beale had named in his bid for the surgeon's place, while the purging and emetic salts and the rhubarb and senna served the same bowel complaints. The order thus matched the apothecary's stock to the prevailing sickness, feeding the medicine book that had been kept publicly in the shop since the medical establishment was settled on 17 August 1714.</p>
110	103	<p>Novr 1715 Myrrha: lb j Sang: Dracon: ʒs Gambog: ʒ vj Vini Benedict: lb iv Lixiv Capitat: ij Contayerv: ʒs Gasconic: ʒ iv Oc. 69 lb pt: lb s hair Sives 2 Lawn ditto 2 Cupping Glasses 6 Skins White Lath 6 Red Ditto 6 gross Viols in Sorts 2 Nests pillboxes 2 books party Gold 4 Bladders 1 doz</p>	<p>The medicine invoice ended with a last set of drugs and the apothecary's containers. Gum myrrh 1 lb Dragon's blood ½ Gamboge 6 oz Vinum Benedictum 2 lb [...] 2 Contryerva stone ½ Gascon powder 4 oz [...] ½ lb Hair sieves 2 Lawn sieves 2 Cupping glasses 6 White leather skins 6 Red leather skins 6 Vials, assorted 2 gross Nests of pill boxes 2 Books of party gold 4</p>

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		<p>Gallipots [...] gross Viol Corks 3 Large Spunges 1 Garrison Stores, (Vizt) Quantity. Quality Firelocks (Wee Pray there may be some par- ticular Mark put upon yor Honble Small Arms, because formerly a few have been Sold & under that pretence a great many have been Lost (for the future) 100 Swords & Scabbards, wth 2 Scabbards to each Sword for yr 100 Granadeer Caps 60 Loop Coats for do 30 Belts 100 So out chis for Granadeers 50 There goes home now One Chest of Old</p> <p>Margin Notes: Gum: Lap: pulv: Quantity. We are in great want of a Small allembick Still wch I desire may be Sent & a Sett of Apothe- carris Pots & Boxes, would Save trouble & their value by Saving the Medicines from decay (Signd) Thos Price Surgeon</p>	<p>Bladders 1 dozen Gallipots [quantity not stated] Vial corks 3 gross Large sponge 1 Price added that the island badly needed a small alembic still, which he asked might be sent, together with a set of apothecaries' pots and boxes. These would save trouble and preserve the value of the medicines by keeping them from decay. The invoice was signed by Thomas Price, surgeon. The indent passed next to the garrison stores, under the same two columns of quantity and description. Firelocks 100 Swords and scabbards, with two scabbards to each sword 100 Grenadier caps 60 Looped coats for grenadiers 30 Belts 100 Pouches for grenadiers 50 The council asked that a particular mark be put on the Company's small arms. A few had been sold in the past, and under cover of those sales a great many more had gone missing. A distinguishing mark was wanted to stop this happening in future. The council noted that one chest of old [...] was now going home. Interpretations The marking request reveals an accountability device aimed at the theft of weapons. The council had worked out that the small arms recorded as lost were in large part being sold off, with the genuine sales of a few used as cover for the disappearance of many. A distinctive mark on the Company's arms would make each piece identifiable, so a soldier could no longer pass off a sold musket as one mislaid. The concern sat alongside the recent loss of the longboat to deserters, both signs of a garrison in which Company property went missing too easily. The doctor's closing request shows that storage, not just supply, governed the value of the medical stock. A set of proper apothecaries' pots and boxes was sought because medicines kept in poor containers decayed and were wasted, so the right vessels preserved the worth of drugs that had been carried halfway round the world. The small alembic still served the same self-reliance, letting the surgeon distil his own preparations on the island. Speculations The order of two scabbards to each sword was probably a deliberate allowance for wear. A leather and wood scabbard rotted or split far faster than the blade it held, and a sword without a sheath was hard to carry and quick to rust. By sending a spare for every sword at the outset, the council avoided a store of serviceable blades being put out of use for want of something to keep them in.</p>
111	104	<p>Genl Indent. Novr 1715 Old Swords & other Arms which may be repaired. Vizt Old Swords 95 Ditto expended 63 158 Pistols 20 Do expended 4 24 Muskets 34 ditto Expended 4 38 Buccaneers 1 Do expended 1 2 And if Wee had some Scade (or Wooden past board) We could make Scabberds here & should not then cast so many Swords But the price of making a Scabberd here tho Wee find Stuff is 3/ for wch both Sword & Scabberd may be bought new in England, which is the present rea- son of Sending home those Swords. The Poutches do not wear Out tho Wee Send for more but are Usually de-</p>	<p>The chest held old swords and other arms that might be repaired, listed as follows. Old swords 95 Old swords expended 63 Total old swords 158 Pistols 20 Pistols expended 4 Total pistols 24 Muskets 34 Muskets expended 4 Total muskets 38 Buccaneers 1 Buccaneers expended 1 Total buccaneers 2 By the word expended the gunner meant the arms formerly cast off and entered in his account as struck.</p>

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		<p>stroyd by Ratts who have Sometimes eat great holes in them, while the Soldiers who wore them were asleep. Gunners Stores. (Vizt) Quantity. Quality. Cartridge paper 20 Ream Muskett rods 200 Buckaneer do 200 Sheep Skins 100</p> <p>Margin Notes: NB. by yr word expended the Gunner Sayes he means they Amunition yt was formerly cast & mentioend in his Acct as Sucks - Quantity. Quality.</p>	<p>The council noted that if it had some thin board, the wooden pasteboard used for the purpose, scabbards could be made on the island and so many swords would not have to be cast off. The cost of making a scabbard there, even with the material to hand, was £0 3s 0d, and for that same sum both a sword and a scabbard could be bought new in England. This was the present reason for sending the old swords home.</p> <p>The pouches did not wear out, though more were sent for. They were usually ruined by rats, which had sometimes eaten great holes in them while the soldiers wearing them slept.</p> <p>The indent went on to the gunner's stores, under the same columns of quantity and description. Cartridge paper 20 reams Musket rods 200 Buccaneer rods 200 Sheep skins 100</p> <p>Interpretations The decision to ship the old swords home rested on a plain make-against-buy calculation. The island lacked the thin board needed for scabbards, and making one there cost £0 3s 0d even when the material could be found, while in England that sum bought a complete new sword and scabbard together. It was therefore cheaper to send the worn arms back and buy fresh sets than to re-scabbard them on the island, which is why a whole chest of old weapons was going home rather than being repaired in place.</p> <p>The clarification of expended matters for reading the whole table. In the gunner's books the word did not mean arms used up in service but arms cast off and formally struck from his account. The expended rows were therefore written-off weapons, now gathered with the rest into the chest for repair or credit at home, so the totals counted serviceable and condemned arms together.</p> <p>Speculations The note that rats ate the pouches while the soldiers slept was probably set down to head off the suspicion that fell on missing equipment. The same indent asked for the small arms to be marked because losses there masked covert sales, so a fresh request for pouches risked the same doubt. By naming vermin as the cause, and adding that the men were asleep when it happened, the council pre-empted any charge that the soldiers had sold or wasted the pouches they were now asking to replace.</p>
112	104	This is identical to the previous page, which has accidentally been photographed twice	
113	105	<p>Novr 1715. Brass Wire 50th wt Iron Wire 50 Tarr brushes 34 doz Starch 300 wt Iron Crows 100 Match 500 wt Lanthorn Horns 2000 Ditto for Guns very good 100 Trucks for Demi Culverin 100. pair Axel Trees for the Same 200 pair Gunn Carriages 200 Hand Spikes or Lavers 100 Tomkins, Sorted, from Canon to Falcon 500 Spunge Staffs 100 Twine 200 wt Cartouch boxes 50 Bandage barrels 6 Pouches for Granadeers 50 Musketts with Byonetts 50 Union flags which ought to be of the foll: demensions. (Vizt) 8 of a Size proper for a Ships Ensign of 700. Ton (to be Used at this Fort) 2</p>	<p>The gunner's stores continued under the same columns of quantity and description. Brass wire 50 lb Iron wire 50 lb Tar brushes 34 dozen Starch 300 lb Iron crows 100 Match 500 lb Lantern horns 2,000 Lantern horns for guns, very good 100 Trucks for demi-culverin 100 pairs Axletrees for the same 200 pairs Gun carriages 200 Handspikes or levers 100 Tompions, sorted, from cannon to falcon 500 Sponge staffs 100 Twine 200 lb Cartouche boxes 50 [...] barrels 6 Pouches for grenadiers 50 Muskets with bayonets 50 Union flags, to be of the following dimensions 8 For a ship's ensign of 700 tons, to be used at this Fort 2</p>

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		<p>of a Size proper for a Ships Ensign of 200 Ton (to be Used at Banks's Ruperts & Munden's point 3 proper for a Ship of 100 Ton (to be Used at Prosperous bay, the Two Gun ridg & Flag staff hill 3</p>	<p>For a ship's ensign of 200 tons, to be used at Banks's, Rupert's and Munden's Point 3 For a ship of 100 tons, to be used at Prosperous Bay, the Two Gun Bridge and Flagstaff Hill 3</p> <p>Interpretations The list lays out the wearing parts of a sizeable and varied gun battery. Trucks were the small solid wheels of a gun carriage, ordered here in pairs for demi-culverins, a medium cannon, while the axletrees, carriages, handspikes for levering the guns and sponge staffs for swabbing the barrels were the parts that broke or wore out in use. The 500 tompions, the plugs that stopped a gun's muzzle against the weather, were called for sorted from cannon down to falcon, a falcon being one of the smallest pieces, which shows the island mounted guns across the full range of calibres and needed fittings for each.</p> <p>The flags map the island's chain of defended points. Eight union flags were sized by the tonnage of ship whose ensign they matched, the two largest for the main Fort, three of middle size for Banks's, Rupert's and Munden's Point, and three smaller for Prosperous Bay, the Two Gun Bridge and Flagstaff Hill. The order thus names every fortified lookout and battery around the coast, with the flag at each serving both as the colours of possession and as a marker visible to shipping.</p> <p>Speculations The graded sizing of the flags probably followed the prominence each post needed rather than mere availability. The main Fort, which every approaching ship passed and judged the island by, flew the largest colours, while the outlying lookouts on the cliffs flew smaller flags suited to their lesser standing. Matching flag to post in this way let the establishment show its strength where it counted most without spending the largest flags on minor stations.</p>
114	106	<p>Genl Indent Novr 1715 There are 5. other Small Flags Used when ships come in, but there being no occasion for them to be large Wee can make them out of the Old Ones. Quantity. Quality Glass Mens Wares Vizt Drinking Glasses Sorted & of Small Crewits for Oyl & Vinegar</p> <p>1. Chest whole Sett of Apothecary potts, Glasses & boxes 1 Crucibles in Nests. Mem: these are mentiond in Ironmongery & Brasiery. 100 Glasiers Ware. Vizt Diamonds to Cutt Glass 2 Glasiers Vice 1 Sett Glasiers tools, Sorted 1 Pains of Glass, half bearing 10. by 8 & the other half 8. by 6. 5000 Haberdashery Ware. Vizt Black Mohair 1. doz Black Coat Buttons 2 black breast buttons 4. gross black Ribbon Sorted 40. peices Hoods Newest 4. doz Scarves yr fashion 2. doz Fine thread Sorted 20 wt Coloured thread, fine & Strong 300 wt</p> <p>Margin Notes: Quantity.</p>	<p>Five other small flags were used when ships came in. As there was no need for these to be large, they could be made out of the old ones.</p> <p>Glassmen's wares followed, under the same columns of quantity and description.</p> <p>Drinking glasses, sorted, with small cruets for oil and vinegar 1 chest Whole set of apothecary pots, glasses and boxes 1 Crucibles in nests, noted as also entered among the ironmongery and brazieri 100 Glaziers' ware: Diamonds to cut glass 2 Glazier's vice 1 Set of glaziers' tools, sorted 1 Panes of glass, half measuring 10 by 8 and the other half 8 by 6 5,000 Haberdashery ware: Black mohair 1 dozen Black coat buttons 2 gross Black breast buttons 4 gross Black ribbon, sorted 40 pieces Hoods, of the newest fashion 4 dozen Fashionable scarves 2 dozen Fine thread, sorted 20 lb Coloured thread, fine and strong 300 lb</p> <p>Interpretations The haberdashery shows the store supplying dress and fashion goods to the settlers, not just necessities to the garrison. Mohair, coat and breast buttons, ribbon, hoods and scarves were items of personal dress, and the tags of newest fashion and of fashion mark them out as goods meant to be worn and seen rather than merely used. The store thus served a small but dress-conscious population that wanted current styles, and it stocked accordingly.</p> <p>The 5,000 panes of glass point to a standing programme of glazing the island's windows. They were</p>

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			<p>ordered in two regular sizes, 10 by 8 inches and 8 by 6, the stock sizes for fitting domestic casements in quantity. The order followed the turn toward glazed windows that the council had recommended in the Doveton blinds order of 26 April 1715, when glazing was put forward as the proper substitute for the blinds it had condemned.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The council probably specified the newest fashion because goods that had fallen out of style would not sell. The store competed with the private sellers on the island, and stale or dowdy stock would sit unbought while the settlers turned to whatever the private houses offered. By ordering hoods and scarves in the current fashion, the council gave itself goods that would actually move, protecting both the store's takings and its hold on the island's trade.</p>
115	107	<p>Novr 1715 Genl Indent. Quantity. Quality. Whited Brown 100 wt Whited Brown Sorted 100 wt Needles, Sorted, a good quantity Large 20.000 Pinns, Sorted 12. gross Brass buttons for Slaves 20. gross of Trining for Mens Cloaths but mostly black, the rest Suitable to the Colours of Woollen goods Sent for 150. Silks Of Gold & Silver Buttons for Coats & Vests with Twists answerable 50. Suits Shoe thread Most oft. We had being made 200 wt Twine up into Fishing Lines 200 Coloured & Manchester Tapes 2. gross Silk Laces 20. gross Ferretting Sorted 2. gross Gartering 20. pcs Ivory Combs, Sorted 10. doz Edging for Womens head cloths Sorted 6. gross Cutt Tobacco, very good in pound papers, put into good Chests, with Locks & keys (Small but very Strong) 5000 wt Tobacco pipes, in Chests to keep them from breaking, which Chests will Sell for more proffit then the pipes, but the Keys of the Locks to be Ticketted & put Up by themselves 200. gross Of Mens fine Cloath Hatts, plain 16. doz Ditto Edged with Gold & Silver 6. doz Mens Ordinary plain Hatts abt 4/8 sw 8. doz Boys Ordinary ditto 4. doz 5 doz</p>	<p>The indent went on with further haberdashery and dress goods. Whited brown 100 lb Whited brown, sorted 100 lb Needles, sorted, a good quantity of them large 20,000 Pins, sorted 12 gross Brass buttons for slaves 20 gross Trimming for men's clothes, mostly black, the rest to match the colours of the woollen goods ordered 150 skeins Gold and silver buttons for coats and waistcoats, with matching twist 50 suits Shoe thread 200 lb Twine 200 lb Most of the shoe thread and twine had been made up into fishing lines. Coloured and Manchester tapes 2 gross Silk laces 20 gross Ferretting, sorted 2 gross Gartering 20 pieces Ivory combs, sorted 10 dozen Edging for women's head cloths, sorted 6 gross Cut tobacco, very good, in pound papers, packed in good chests with locks and keys, the chests small but very strong 5,000 lb Tobacco pipes, in chests to keep them from breaking 200 gross The chests would sell for more profit than the pipes, and the keys of the locks were to be ticketted and kept separately. Men's fine cloth hats, plain 16 dozen Men's fine cloth hats, edged with gold and silver 6 dozen Men's ordinary plain hats, at about £0 4s 8d each 8 dozen Boys' ordinary plain hats 4 dozen</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The tobacco entries show the council ordering with an eye to the value of the packaging itself. Pipes were shipped in small strong chests to stop them breaking, and the council noted plainly that the chests would fetch more profit than the pipes inside them. The container, not just the contents, was treated as saleable stock, so the store stood to profit twice over from a single order. The shoe thread and twine carried a related note, that most had been turned into fishing lines on the island, which ties this material to the famine-relief fishery and the tackle lost when the longboat was stolen.</p> <p>The dress goods were graded by the rank of those who would wear them. Brass buttons were ordered by the gross for the slaves, while gold and silver buttons and matching twist were set aside for coats and waistcoats, and the hats ran from plain cloth through gold-edged to ordinary felt at about £0 4s 8d for men and cheaper still for boys. The same garment in different materials marked the wearer's place,</p>

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			<p>continuing the pattern seen in the coats reserved for the chief slaves and the coarser cloth for the female slaves.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The order that the chest keys be ticketed and kept apart from the chests was probably a guard against pilferage on the voyage. Tobacco was an easy target for theft in transit, but a locked chest whose key travelled separately could not be opened by the hands that stowed and carried it. By labelling each key and sending them packed by themselves, the council made sure the tobacco arrived whole, applying to the shipment the same wariness about goods going missing that lay behind its request to mark the small arms.</p>
116	108	<p>Genl Indents Quantity Quality Gold & Silver Edging to Sett upon Hats 5. doz more Ordinary hats, such as cost 2/6 in London 8. doz White Hollands Tape 6. gross Galloon of All Sorts especially black 1. gross Slight black Silk called Alamode to make Hoods for Women 2 peices Starch, besides wt is mentiodn by yr Gunner with the Gunners inculdd 500 wt but 800 wt Hair powder, not Scented 300 wt White thread Buttons for Shirts 20. gross Small Bird Shott 1000 wt Childrens Coats of 3 or 4 Sizes made of Light Stuff, but Tamy Coats are most esteemd here & the properest Colours will be Red & Blew 12 Womens Stayes & Jumps (well made) of all Sorts (if good) are wanted, & will sent yor Acct 4. doz For the China Ships to bring of Sewing & Stitching Silk, Sorted of Cloth Colours most black. (Mentiond elsewhere) 30 wt Of Toys for children to play wth, will Yield good profit here & will Sell at our fair for ready mony, a few pewterers For Children also of the Usual Sorts 1 Fatt Joynted Babes. 6 dressed 2. doz a few Cutlary Toys, with 6d looking glasses that have Lackerd frames Nitting Needles 2. doz Saill Needles 1. Gross Brass thimbles very Small having already some in yr Store being too big, hardly fitts any Woman my self Hosiery</p>	<p>The indent carried on with hats, trimmings and further dress goods.</p> <p>Gold and silver edging to set upon hats 5 dozen More ordinary hats, such as cost £0 2s 6¼d in London 8 dozen White Holland tape 6 gross Galloon of all sorts, especially black 1 gross Light black silk called alamode, to make hoods for women 2 pieces Starch, besides that entered by the gunner, making 800 lb with the gunner's included 500 lb Hair powder, not scented 300 lb White thread buttons for shirts 20 gross Small bird shot 100 lb Children's coats of three or four sizes, made of light stuff, though tammy coats are most esteemed here, the best colours being red and blue 12 Women's stays and jumps, well made, of all sorts, if good 4 dozen Sewing and stitching silk for the China ships to bring, sorted in cloth colours, mostly black 30 lb Toys for children, which would yield good profit and sell for ready money, with a few pewter ones of the usual sorts 1 vat Jointed dolls, six of them dressed 2 dozen Cutlery toys, with six looking glasses in lacquered frames a few Knitting needles 2 dozen Sail needles 1 gross Brass thimbles, very small, since those already in the store are too big and hardly fit any woman on the island [quantity not stated]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The indent was shaped throughout by close knowledge of what suited the island. Tammy coats, made of a fine worsted, were noted as most esteemed there, with red and blue marked as the best colours, while alamode, a thin glossy black silk, was wanted to make women's hoods. The brass thimbles were ordered very small because the ones already in the store were too large to fit any woman on the island. These were not generic requests but corrections drawn from the actual demand and the misfits of earlier supply.</p> <p>The order also shows how the island drew goods from more than one trade route. The sewing and stitching silk was not to come from England but to be brought by the China ships on their homeward passage, so the council timed part of its supply to the eastern trade rather than the direct run from home. The same eye to the market appears in the toys and looking glasses, which the council valued because they sold for ready money on an island where most dealing ran on credit.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The council probably stocked toys, dolls and looking glasses partly to draw out the settlers' scarce coin. The island ran largely on credit, and the bench had been struggling with the tangle of bills and credit transfers for months. Light novelties that people would buy with ready money offered a way to pull cash into the store rather than add yet more entries to the credit</p>

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			books, so a vat of toys served the Company's finances as much as the children's amusement.
117	109	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity Hosiery Ware Vizt Quality Mens blew Stockins such as came over in the Abingdon, they were Invoiced at 15 yr pair & are all Sold at 2/8 2d to yr Soldiers & poorer Sort of planters, almost every body wore them, Yet are now much without Stockins because Wee have none to Sell to them undr 8/8 yr pair 500. pair Of a Finer Sort such as are Sold in Lon- don by retail at 3/6 yr p will yeild here 5/8 100. pair Fine Mens Hose of Scarlet, Black, Grey & Cloth Colours 200. pr Fine Womens Hose, Sorted 200. pr Strong coursse Hose for young people Worsted to mend Stockins 200. pr Fine White thread Stockins for Men, Such as are Sold in Lond: for 3/ 6d yr pair will Yeild 5/8d 100. pair Fine thread Stockins for Women 100. pr Of Men & Womens thread Socks, fine & Course 150. pr Of Black & coloured Silk Stockins for men, a good Sort 50. pair Silk Stockins for Women 50. pr Black Silk knitt Gloves for Women 50. pair White & coloured Silk Gloves 50. pair Wee desire yor Honr to Send over for the Use of yours Own Blacks Ordinary Course knitt Caps, such as the Charity children in London wear they are very cheap & better for them then Hatts. Joynery Margin Notes: Quantity Quality</p>	<p>The hosiery ware made up the next heading, under the same columns of quantity and description. Men's blue stockings, such as came over in the <i>Abingdon</i> 500 pairs These had been invoiced at £0 1s 5d per pair and all sold at £0 2s 2d to the soldiers and the poorer planters, so that almost everyone wore them. The men were now mostly without stockings, since none could be had for under £0 8s 0d a pair. Finer stockings, such as sell in London at about £0 3s 0d per pair and would yield £0 5s 8d here 100 pairs Fine men's hose, in scarlet, black, grey and cloth colours 200 pairs Fine women's hose, sorted 200 pairs Strong coarse hose for young people 200 pairs Worsted to mend stockings [quantity not stated] Fine white thread stockings for men, such as sell in London at £0 3s 6d per pair and would yield £0 5s 8d here 100 pairs Fine thread stockings for women 100 pairs Men's and women's thread socks, fine and coarse 150 pairs Black and coloured silk stockings for men, a good sort 50 pairs Silk stockings for women 50 pairs Black silk knit gloves for women 50 pairs White and coloured silk gloves 50 pairs The council asked the Honourable Masters to send over, for the use of the Company's slaves, ordinary coarse knit caps of the kind the charity children in London wore. These were very cheap and better suited to the slaves than hats. Interpretations The blue-stocking entry shows what happened when the Company store ran out of a common good. The stockings brought over in the <i>Abingdon</i> had cost £0 1s 5d a pair and sold for £0 2s 2d, cheap enough that the soldiers and poor planters all bought them. Once the store's supply was gone, the same article could not be had for under £0 8s 0d, almost four times the old price. The note was both a record of that jump and an argument for resupply, since a gap in the store left the poorest exposed to whatever the private sellers chose to charge. The order set the London cost against the island selling price line by line. Finer stockings bought at about £0 3s 0d in London would yield £0 5s 8d on the island, and white thread stockings bought at £0 3s 6d would yield the same. Recording the margin in this way turned the indent into a statement of the profit each line would return, so the council could show the directors that the goods paid their way rather than burdened the accounts. Speculations The request for charity-children's caps probably aimed to clothe the slaves at the lowest possible cost. By naming the very caps that London's pauper schools issued, the council tied the dress of its labour force to the cheapest mass-produced article the home market offered. Choosing the charity-school cap over a hat kept the upkeep of the slaves at rock-bottom expense, which mattered to a council already pressing the directors over the cost of running the plantations.</p>
118	110	<p>General Indent. Quantity Joynery Ware. Quality. Long plane Stocks 24 Fore plane 24 Short Jack planes 48 Smoothing planes 60 Broad Axes of 8. Inches 36 Formers not Exceeding an Inch 48 Gouges not Exceeding an Inch 48 Half Inch heading Chissels 36</p>	<p>The joinery ware made up the next heading, under the same columns of quantity and description. Long plane stocks 24 Fore planes 24 Short jack planes 48 Smoothing planes 60 Broad axes of 8 inches 36 Formers, not exceeding an inch 48 Gouges, not exceeding an inch 48</p>

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		<p>Augurs from Inch to Inch & half 36 Small files for handsaws 6 doz Large Sash planes 3. Setts a Smaller Sort 3. Setts Hand Sawes (fine) four Sizes 2 doz Gimblets, from 20d Nails to Brads 2. gross OG Plains from 1 Inch & ½ to half an Inch 18 Grooving plains or plows 24 Large hollows & roundes to work Inch & half Stuff 6 Bead plains 18 plane Irons 1. gross Carpenters Compasses with Steel points & Brass Joints because Iron Joynts rust here too much 2 doz pair Brass Rolls for Chalk Lines 18 36 Chalklines</p>	<p>Half-inch heading chisels 36 Augers, from an inch to an inch and a half 36 Small files for handsaws 6 dozen Large sash planes, in sets 3 sets Sash planes of a smaller sort, in sets 3 sets Hand saws, fine, of four sizes 2 dozen Gimlets, in sizes from twentypenny nails down to brads 2 gross Ogee planes, from one inch and a half down to half an inch 18 Grooving planes or plows 24 Large hollows and rounds for inch-and-a-half timber 6 Bead planes 18 Plane irons 1 gross Carpenters' compasses with steel points and brass joints, since iron joints rust too much here 2 dozen pairs Brass rolls for chalk lines 18</p> <p>Interpretations The joinery order equipped a full skilled woodworking trade, not just rough building. Beside the jack, fore and smoothing planes for general work, the list ran to a range of moulding planes: sash planes for window frames, ogee planes for an S-shaped moulding, bead planes, and hollows and rounds for concave and convex profiles, with plough planes for cutting grooves. Such tools belong to fine joinery and cabinet work, so the island kept craftsmen able to finish doors, windows and furniture rather than merely frame and board.</p> <p>The order was again tuned to the island's conditions. The carpenters' compasses were specified with brass joints rather than iron, the note explaining plainly that iron rusted too much there. The salt-laden damp air that corroded metal was a standing problem, so the council paid for the more durable material where rust would otherwise put a tool out of use.</p> <p>Speculations The choice of brass over iron probably reflected a lesson the council had learned from corrosion losses elsewhere. The same salt damp had eaten away the walls of the fort at Banks's, which the Governor had reported decayed beyond ordinary repair on his recent visit. Specifying brass joints for the compasses suggests the bench was now applying that experience across its orders, paying more at the outset for fittings that would survive the island's air rather than replacing rusted iron again and again.</p>
119	111	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity Quality Chalk Lines, to mark out work 36 Two foot Rules wth One Joint 12 Nine Inch Carpenters Rules to Open into two foot. Twelve of them wth brass Joints 24 Bedsteads wth Sacking bottoms but if a Joyner comes over them only to Send Stuff to make forty 20 Wee can Employ two or three Joyners here to make hous hold goods &c. for the planters as Sashes to your Windowes, Cupboards, Chests of Drawers & other Chests & Boxes, & Tables if We had Stuff to make them of Of Cat gutt for Clock Lines 2 lb Ironmongery. Vizt Large Iron petts to boil Yams, that will contain abt 20. Gallons each (Saves a great deal of Firing) & are much Wanted 30 Small meat potts from 1 to 3 Gallons each (much wanted) there being some of a middle Size 50 Latches for Doors 6. doz Stock Locks Sorted, from No 1. to 6. 6 doz Handsome Knockers for Doors 2 doz Curriers Knives for Tanners 1. doz Mook Knives 1. doz Mill Yards to Weigh from 1 to 150 & 200 wt 12 pair</p>	<p>The joinery ware continued with marking tools, rules and bedsteads. Chalk lines, for marking out 36 Two-foot rules with one joint 12 Nine-inch carpenters' rules opening out to two foot, twelve of them with brass joints 24 Bedsteads with sacking bottoms 20 If a joiner came over, only the timber need be sent, enough to make forty.</p> <p>The council noted that it could keep two or three joiners busy on the island making household goods for the planters: window sashes, cupboards, chests of drawers, other chests and boxes, and tables, if only it had the timber to make them of.</p> <p>Catgut for clock lines 2 The ironmongery followed, under the same columns of quantity and description. Large iron pots to boil yams, holding about 20 gallons each, which saved much firing and were much wanted 30 Small meat pots, from 1 to 3 gallons each, much wanted, with some of a middle size 50 Latches for doors 6 dozen Stock locks, sorted, from number 1 to 6 6 dozen Handsome door knockers 2 dozen Curriers' knives for tanners 1 dozen</p>

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		<p>Ditto to weigh from 1. to 12li weight 20 pr Hinges for Chests & Boxes 200. pr Hooks & Hinges, Sorted 400 pair Splinter or Pad Locks 1. doz Cupboard Locks 6 doz ditto very fine 3. doz Wee</p>	<p>Hook knives 1 dozen Steelyard balances to weigh from 1 to 150 and 200 weight 12 pairs Steelyard balances to weigh from 1 to 12 weight 20 pairs Hinges for chests and boxes 200 pairs Hooks and hinges, sorted 400 pairs Splinter locks or padlocks [quantity not clear] dozen Cupboard locks 6 dozen Cupboard locks, very fine 3 dozen</p> <p>Interpretations The bedstead entry shows the council preferring to import raw material over finished goods. Rather than ship twenty made-up bedsteads, it proposed that if a joiner came out, only the timber need be sent, enough for forty. The reasoning was set out plainly: two or three joiners could be kept busy making sashes, cupboards, chests and tables for the planters, if only the timber were supplied. The binding shortage on the island was material, not skill, so the council looked to bring in the stuff and let local craftsmen turn it into the furniture the settlers wanted.</p> <p>The large yam pots reveal a concern with fuel as much as cooking. Thirty pots of about twenty gallons each were sought because boiling the staple in bulk saved a great deal of firing, the firewood that was scarce on the bleak and wood-poor island. Cooking more yams over a single fire stretched the limited fuel, which is why the big pots were marked as much wanted.</p> <p>Speculations The plan to send timber rather than bedsteads was probably a deliberate move to build up manufacture on the island and keep the profit there. Importing finished furniture paid England for the joiner's labour and the maker's margin, whereas importing only the timber let the council employ its own joiners and sell the goods on to the planters itself. By shipping material and keeping the making local, the council turned a supply order into a small standing trade in furniture under its own hand.</p>
120	112	<p>General Indent. Quantity. Wee Desire no more Brass Locks, those We have here being Slight & Dear, often out of Order repaired But Iron rimm Locks such as are Sold by retail in London for 2/8 yr pce would yeild here 3/8 6d Iron Rimm Locks Such as Sold in Lond by retaile for 6/8 would Yeild here 10. or 11/8 All These Locks to be Spring Locks with full backs & Double Shottes, & if the Small Sort had each two Keys tho somewhat dearer, would be much Esteemd Cross Garnets, Sorted 405. pair Long plains 6 Joynters 6 Fore plains 12 Jack 12 Smoothing do 12 Rabbett do 6 Hammers 12 Hand hamers Sorted, these are of a dif- ferent Sort to those mentiond by yr Smith 50 Saws to Cutt Stone 8 foot Long 30 Saws to Cutt Wood 12 Steel plate Saws, for cutting of Deals 5 ft Long 2. doz Hand Saws, (Steel plates, very good) 2. doz Scupper Nails 20.000 Pump Nails 20.000 Six penny Nails 6.000 2. doz Margin Notes: Quantity.</p>	<p>The council asked for no more brass locks. Those on the island were flimsy and dear and were often out of order.</p> <p>Iron rim locks were wanted instead. Such a lock sold by retail in London at £0 2s 0d each would yield £0 3s 6d on the island, while a smaller iron rim lock sold in London at £0 0s 6d would yield £0 0s 10d or £0 0s 11d here. All these locks were to be spring locks with full backs and double bolts. If the small sort each had two keys, though somewhat dearer, they would be much esteemed.</p> <p>Cross garnets, sorted 400 pairs Long planes 6 Jointer planes 6 Fore planes 12 Jack planes 12 Smoothing planes 12 Rabbit planes 6 Hammers 12 Hand hammers, sorted, of a different sort to those entered by the smith 50 Saws to cut stone, 8 foot long 30 Saws to cut wood 12 Steel-plate saws for cutting deals, 5 foot long 2 dozen Hand saws, steel plates, very good 2 dozen Scupper nails 20,000 Pump nails 20,000 Sixpenny nails 6,000</p> <p>Interpretations The locks entry shows the council choosing metal by performance rather than by any fixed rule. Brass locks were refused as flimsy, costly and forever out of order, and sturdy iron rim locks were called for in their</p>

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			<p>place, with the note that a lock bought at £0 2s 0d in London would sell for £0 3s 6d on the island. This sat opposite the choice made for the carpenters' compasses, where brass had been preferred precisely because iron rusted. The council was weighing each fitting on its own use, taking iron where strength mattered and brass where corrosion did.</p> <p>The saws point to the island's building and fortification work. Thirty saws eight foot long were ordered for cutting stone, alongside saws for timber and deals, the materials of masonry and carpentry. Such heavy stone-saws answered the standing programme of repair, the fort at Banks's needing rebuilding and the wet wall and sea wall already in hand, all of which turned on a steady supply of cut stone.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The request that the small locks each carry two keys, even at a higher price, was probably a guard against the loss of a key where none could be replaced. The island had no locksmith able to cut a new key, so a single lost key would leave a chest sealed for good or force it to be broken open. Paying more for a duplicate at the outset spared that risk, which made the dearer double-keyed locks worth having on a place cut off from any quick remedy.</p>
121	113	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity Quality. Chalk Lines 2. Doz Small Formers & Gouges, Sorted 6 Doz Felling Axes, 5 Inch broad, much wanted 16 Doz of Stone Axs 6 Doz of Carpenters broad Axes, 8 Inches broad, yr best Sort 2 Pick Axes, Sorted, good & Strong in the Eyes. - The Pick Axes that Wee had last were to weak in yr Eyes & most of them broke in that place, after a small time Using so yt few or none of them were worne out & they cant be mended here by Our Smith. We pray at the least to have five hundred there being none here now & very much wanted. 500 half round files, Sorted 2. doz three Square - Such as are Sold in London for 3d yr prie 2. gross Files Sorted 1. gross All these besides those mentiond in the Smiths Account. Sash Lynes 4. doz Sash pullies 2. gross Small Gimblets, Sorted 4. gross Bellows good & Strong 50. pair Grid Irons, wth Eight & ten Ribbs 50 Mattocks wth round & Strong Eyes 100 Hand hatchets 50 Trowels 50 20. doz</p>	<p>The ironmongery went on with cutting and digging tools.</p> <p>Chalk lines 2 dozen Small formers and gouges, sorted 6 Felling axes, 5 inches broad, much wanted 16 dozen Stone axes 6 dozen Carpenters' broad axes, 8 inches broad, the best sort 2 Pickaxes, sorted, good and strong in the eyes 500 The pickaxes last sent had been too weak in the eyes, and most had broken there after a short time in use, so that few or none were worn out. They could not be mended on the island by the smith. The council asked for at least five hundred, there being none on the island now and the tool much wanted.</p> <p>Half-round files, sorted 2 dozen Three-square files, such as sell in London at £0 0s 3d per piece 2 gross Files, sorted 1 gross These were besides the files entered in the smith's account.</p> <p>Sash lines 4 dozen Sash pulleys 2 gross Small gimlets, sorted 4 gross Bellows, good and strong 50 pairs Gridirons, with eight and ten ribs 50 Mattocks with round and strong eyes 100 Hand hatchets 50 Trowels 50</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The pickaxe entry is a pointed report on tool failure rather than a plain order. The last pickaxes had broken at the eye, the socket where the helve passes through the head, before the cutting end was worn, so the council called for five hundred that were good and strong in the eyes and specified the mattocks the same way. The complaint also exposed the island's dependence, since a head broken at the eye could not be mended there by the smith and the whole tool was lost.</p> <p>The tools point to heavy digging, quarrying and felling work. Five hundred pickaxes, a hundred mattocks, broad and stone axes and trowels were the implements of cutting stone, breaking ground and dressing timber, the labour behind the fort repairs and the stone walls then in hand. That the island had none of the pickaxes left marks how fast such work consumed them.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>The council concentrated its demand for strength on the eye because that was the one part beyond the smith's mending. A dull or chipped blade could be ground sharp again on the island, but a head split at the socket was simply scrap, since the smith could not reforge it. By insisting on strong eyes for both pickaxes and mattocks, the council aimed its quality requirement squarely at the single weakness that local repair could not remedy, getting the most service from tools it could not replace at will.</p>
<p>122</p>	<p>114</p>	<p>General Indent Quantity Quality Shod Shovels, yr best Sort, those Wee have here being very Slight & bad 20. Doz Fire tongs 5 Doz Iron Square Bars, of 2. & of 3 Inches 4 Barr Iron, Sorted 10 Spanish Iron 1 Tons Steel 1 The Last Iron yt came over was half in Square bars called Gottenburg Iron but was too course & Wasted & burnt away in the Forge very much, twas too brittle for our Use, So that We can make almost as good Work out of the Old Iron hoops as wth that Iron The other half was of flatt barrs calld Voyage or Guinea Iron Wee desire That about fourteen Tons in all may be Sent Us of that Sort called Oregrounds or fine Iron Sorted of which about Ten Tons in flatt Bars & about four Tons in Square Bars of two & three Inches. the Square Iron is Used here cheifly for Wedges in breaking the Rocks & We have now none Such tho very Usefull Maules to break Stones with of a large Size & well Steeld, those We have here being too Soft & soon batter Out, the Tho fitt for Us are some of 20. & some of 30 weight, but Short heads 4. Doz 4. good</p>	<p>The ironmongery continued with shovels, tongs and the bar iron and steel. Shod shovels, the best sort, those on the island being very slight and bad 20 dozen Fire tongs 5 dozen Iron square bars, of 2 and of 3 inches 4 tons Bar iron, sorted 10 tons Spanish iron 1 ton Steel 1 ton The last iron sent had been half in square bars called Gothenburg iron. This had proved too coarse, wasting and burning away badly in the forge, and was too brittle to use, so that the smith could get almost as serviceable iron from the old hoops as from it. The other half had been flat bars called voyage or Guinea iron. The council asked for about fourteen tons in all of the sort called oregrounds or fine iron, sorted: about ten tons in flat bars and about four tons in square bars of two and three inches. The square iron was used chiefly for wedges in breaking the rocks, of which there was now none on the island, though it was very useful. Maules to break stones with, of a large size and well steeled, those on the island being too soft and soon battered out 4 dozen The mauls fit for the island were some of 20 and some of 30 weight, but with short heads. Interpretations The iron entries show a fine knowledge of metal grades and a sharp complaint about what had been sent. The last supply, half of it Gothenburg iron from Sweden, had proved coarse and brittle and burnt away in the forge, so poor that the smith could make almost as good iron from old scrap hoops. In its place the council named oregrounds iron, the prized high-grade Swedish bar, and the flat voyage or Guinea iron used in the African trade, showing that it judged its iron by source and quality, not by weight alone. The square iron points to the rock-breaking that ran through the island's heavy work. It was wanted chiefly for wedges to split stone, the same task behind the iron crows lent for heaving down rock in clearing the hill and the digging out of the fort foundations. That the island now had none of it marks how central quarrying and rock-clearing had become, and how its supply had run dry. Speculations The council probably split the fourteen tons into ten of flat bar and four of square on purpose, matching each form to its job. Flat bar served the general run of smithing, while square bar was singled out for the wedges that broke the island's rock. By ordering the shape of the iron according to the use it would be put to, rather than a single undifferentiated tonnage, the council made sure the smith had the right stock for each kind of work and did not have to cut one form down to serve another.</p>
<p>123</p>	<p>115</p>	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity Quality. Good Moaring Anchors for the Boats wth Chains & Swivels two of them being for Sandy bay & two for this road 4 Anchors to Spare your Honble Shipping 8. or 10</p>	<p>The indent listed anchors next. Good mooring anchors for the boats, with chains and swivels, two for Sandy Bay and two for this road 4 Anchors to spare the Company's shipping 8 or 10 Francis Funge, the armourer, then gave an account of the stores wanted in the smith's shop.</p>

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		<p>Francis Tunge Armourers Acct of Stores Wanted in the Smiths Shop Smooth files 6 of Rubbers abt 3d ea 2 hand files 2 three Square. 6d 5 half round. 6. 5 round edge. 6. 4 Flat 6. 4 doz of Round edge. 3. 4 half round. 3. 4 three Square. 3. 4 half round. 2. 4 round edge. 2. 4 three Square. 2. 4 half round. 1½ 6</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Files. <p>Warding files, Sorted 1. Gross Holt Vizes abt 50. or 60 wt each 2 Small hand Vizes 2 hand hammers, abt 3d wt ea 10 Up hand hammers 6 Sledge Hamers 6 Stakes for the Vize boards 4 Crusibles in Nests 100 Tin</p>	<p>Smooth files 6 dozen Rubbers, about £0 0s 3d each 2 dozen Hand files 2 dozen Three-square files, 6 inch 5 dozen Half-round files, 6 inch 5 dozen Round-edge files, 6 inch 4 dozen Flat files, 6 inch 4 dozen Round-edge files, 3 inch 4 dozen Half-round files, 3 inch 4 dozen Three-square files, 3 inch 4 dozen Half-round files, 2 inch 4 dozen Round-edge files, 2 inch 4 dozen Three-square files, 2 inch 4 dozen Half-round files, 1½ inch 6 dozen Warding files, sorted 1 gross Holdfast vices, about 50 or 60 lb weight each 2 Small hand vices 2 Hand hammers, about 3 lb weight each 10 Uphand hammers 6 Sledge hammers 6 Stocks for the vice boards 4 Crucibles in nests 100</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The smith's-shop account sets out a fully equipped metalwork and repair shop. The files alone ran through every cut and profile, smooth, three-square, half-round, round-edge and flat, in a descending range of sizes from six inches down to an inch and a half, the kit for shaping and finishing fine metal such as locks and gun parts. With the heavy and hand vices, the run of hammers from sledges to uphand to light hand hammers, and a hundred crucibles for melting metal, the shop could cast, forge, file and finish, which made it the island's chief means of making and mending ironwork. The armourer who rendered the account was the same Francis Funge who had earlier pressed the cattle claim against the Gargen estate, here acting in his trade as keeper of the smith's shop.</p> <p>The anchors mark the island's two anchorages and its role to the wider fleet. Four mooring anchors with chains and swivels were split between Sandy Bay and the James road, the two places where boats lay, while eight or ten spare anchors were sought for the Company's shipping. The reserve was for ships rather than the island's own boats, so St Helena was to hold ground tackle against the needs of the vessels that called.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The spare anchors were probably meant to make the island a re-supply point for the fleet's ground tackle. A ship riding in the open road could part its cable or lose an anchor in heavy weather, and far from any other port it would have no way to replace it. By keeping eight or ten anchors in reserve, the council could refit a Company ship that arrived short of its moorings, turning St Helena into a place where the fleet could repair the loss rather than sail on dangerously unanchored.</p>
124	116	<p>General Indent. Quantity Tin mens Tools. Vizt Quality Large pair of Shears 1 Small ditto 1 Large beak Iron 1 Small ditto 1 Creasing Iron 1 Compasses Sorted 1. doz round faced hammers 3 Flatt ditto 3 Box Mallets 1. doz Punchers of all Sizes, round & Square 2. doz Small Anvil abt 14 wt 1 hammer to it abt 7 lb 1 of Spelter Sauder 6 wt</p>	<p>The tinmen's tools made up the next heading, under the same columns of quantity and description. Large pair of shears 1 Small shears 1 Large beak iron 1 Small beak iron 1 Creasing iron 1 Compasses, sorted 1 dozen Round-faced hammers 3 Flat hammers 3 Box mallets 1 dozen Punches of all sizes, round and square 2 dozen Small anvil, about 14 lb weight 1 Hammer for it, about 7 lb 1 Spelter solder 6 hundredweight Files of all sorts 3 dozen</p>

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		<p>files of all Sorts 3. doz of Rasps Sorted 3. doz flower Box Stake 1 Turners Tools, well Sorted 1. Sett of Fish hooks, such as the Samples now Sent of the Smaller Sort 150 gross & of yr Larger Sort 50. gross. wth Lines Sutable where of 100 of those called Sack lines to be 40. fathom each 200. Gross Caulking Irons & Scrapers are often askd for by home ward bound Shipping wherefore pray Your Honr will Send 6. doz</p>	<p>Rasps, sorted 3 dozen Flower-box stake 1 Turners' tools, well sorted 1 set Fish hooks, such as the samples now sent, being 150 gross of the smaller sort and 50 gross of the larger 200 gross These came with suitable lines, of which 100, called jack lines, were to be 40 fathom each. Caulking irons and scrapers were often asked for by homeward-bound shipping, so the council asked the Honourable Masters to send a supply.</p> <p>Interpretations The fish-hook order shows the scale the island's fishery had reached. Two hundred gross of hooks in two sizes, with a hundred long lines of forty fathom each, was a bulk supply for a sustained fishing effort rather than casual angling. It answered the famine-relief fishery the directors had set up on 9 July 1715 and the tackle lost when the longboat was carried off, so the order rebuilt the means of feeding the island from the sea on a large footing. The caulking irons mark St Helena as a place where the fleet refitted. Such tools were sought because homeward-bound ships repeatedly called for them, and they sat with the spare anchors meant for the Company's shipping. A vessel facing the long passage home wanted its seams caulked tight, so the island held the irons and scrapers to serve ships preparing for the voyage, acting as a refit stop on the route.</p> <p>Speculations The council sent physical samples of the fish hooks to fix exactly what it wanted. Throughout the indent it had complained of goods that arrived unsuitable, the rotten cloth, the brittle iron, the weak pickaxes, all from suppliers who had only a written description to follow. By enclosing pattern hooks of each size, the council gave the home stores a standard to match rather than words to interpret, turning the sample into a check against receiving the wrong tackle once again.</p>
125	117	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity Quality. Caulking Irons 6. Doz Scrapers very good Steel Ones 6. Do Iron Candlesticks 12. doz of Ordinary Pull up Jacks, such as are Sold by retail in London at 6/ yr peice are much wanted here We have some of 5. 6. 7. & 8li price but they are too dear for Our People. Mem: this Article is mentiond also a- mongst yr Brasier: Ware. 4. doz Wee Use a great Deal of Salt & at pre- sent have none but what We bought (Vizt) 34 Bushells of Capt Hurst at a very dear rate as We must always pay for every thing they know We do. Wherefore We pray yor Honr to Send Us over two Iron pans fitt to Boil Salt in & then We can make eno our Selves much chea- per then to buy it out of Shipping 2. Iron pans Large Stone Mortars 2 Iron ditto 2 Naval Stores (Vizt) Inch Hawsers 2 [2] 2 [7] 2 Coil [6½] 4 [6] Inch Rope 4 [5½] 6 [4½] 6 Coil [4½] 6 [3½] 6 [3] 8. Coil</p>	<p>The indent went on with the caulking gear and further household ware. Caulking irons 6 dozen Scrapers, very good steel ones 6 dozen Iron candlesticks 12 dozen Ordinary pull-up jacks, such as sell by retail in London at £0 6s 0d each, much wanted here, those on the island at £0 5s 0d, £0 6s 0d, £0 7s 0d and £0 8s 0d being too dear for the people; noted as also entered among the braziers' ware 4 dozen The island used a great deal of salt and had none at present but what it had bought, 34 bushels from Captain Hurst, at a very dear rate. The ships knew the island always had to pay dearly for whatever it needed. The council therefore asked the Honourable Masters to send over two iron pans fit to boil salt in, so that the island could make enough of its own far more cheaply than buying it from the shipping. Large stone mortars 2 Iron mortars 2 The naval stores followed, in coils of hawser and rope sized by the inch. Hawser, [...] inch 2 coils Hawser, 7 inch 2 coils Hawser, 6½ inch 2 coils Hawser, 6 inch 4 coils Rope, 5½ inch 4 coils Rope, 4½ inch 6 coils Rope, 4 inch 6 coils Rope, 3½ inch 6 coils Rope, 3 inch 6 coils</p> <p>Interpretations The salt-pans request was a plan to escape the prices the shipping charged. The island used salt heavily but had none beyond 34 bushels bought dearly from</p>

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			<p>Captain Hurst, and the council complained that the ships, knowing what the island lacked, set their prices accordingly. Two iron pans to boil seawater would let the island make its own salt cheaply, turning a bought necessity into a local product. Hurst was the same commander whose ship the bench had dealt with over the Eagle Galley prisoners in early August 1715, and his dear salt was the immediate spur.</p> <p>The cordage stock shows the island keeping a full range of rope for its own use and the fleet's. Hawsers from the largest down to six inches, and rope from five and a half inches down to three, covered everything from heavy moorings to light running line. Such a stock served the boats' anchorages and the new landing crane, and sat with the spare anchors and caulking irons that made the island a place where shipping could be refitted.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The council probably saw the salt-pans as a way to break the ships' hold rather than merely to soften a price. Its complaint that the shipping knew what the island wanted, and charged for it, describes a captive market in which the island had no choice but to pay. Producing salt on the spot would remove the ships' leverage at its source, since a good made at home could not be marked up by the sellers who controlled what arrived by sea. The pans were thus aimed at the dependence itself, not just at one dear purchase.</p>
126	118	<p>General Indent. Quantity Quality. Inch Rope 8 [2½] 16 Coil [2.] 16 [1½] Coil of 1 Inch & Rattline 20 Hollands Duck 20 Canvas 40 peices Vittrey 40 Tarr well hoopd wth Iron hoops 70 Coil Pitch 70 barr Cask of Rosin also well hoopd 30 Rosin 500 wt Brimstone 200 Lamp black, of the Largest barrels 300 barrels Wee pray that some particular care may be taken about the Cordage for more then half of what came over in yr Rochester & a great deal of yt in yr Cardonnell was only twice layd Stuff, that was made out of Old Cordage & some of Stacklins Hemp & too Coursly Spun. So yt yr Comanders find great fault with it & pay a good price for such bad Stuff which will Scarcely last them home, & good for nothing afterwards. Of all the Goods here mentiond Wee have so very little, that We believe by that time this comes to your Honble hands Wee shall have but Ten peices of Hollands Duck Left & nothing else Oyle mens</p>	<p>The general indent set out the quantities and qualities of naval stores wanted from England.</p> <p>Rope, 2½ inch 8 coils Rope, 2 inch 16 coils Rope, 1½ inch 16 coils Rope and ratline, 1 inch 20 coils Hollands duck 20 pieces Canvas 40 pieces Vitry 40 pieces Tar, well hooped with iron hoops 70 barrels Pitch, well hooped with iron hoops 70 barrels Rosin in casks, also well hooped 10 casks Rosin 500 weight Brimstone 200 [...] Lamp black, of the largest barrels 300 barrels</p> <p>The note that followed asked for particular care over the cordage. More than half of what had come on the <i>Rochester</i>, and a great deal of that on the <i>Cardonnell</i>, was only twice-laid rope made from old cordage and some hackled hemp, and it had been spun too coarsely. The commanders found great fault with it and paid a good price for poor material that would scarcely last them home and was useless afterwards.</p> <p>Of all the goods listed here the island had very little. The council expected that by the time the request reached the directors only ten pieces of Hollands duck would remain and nothing else.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The items requested were the standard stores for keeping ships and their gear in repair, and several of the terms carry meanings now unfamiliar. Cordage was measured by its circumference in inches, the larger coils for heavy rigging and the smaller for lighter use, a coil being a single wound length of rope as it came from the ropewalk. Ratline was the thin line lashed across the shrouds to form the rungs sailors climbed. Hollands duck was a fine Dutch linen sailcloth and vitry a coarser canvas of Breton origin, both made up into sails and covers, and a piece meant a bolt of cloth cut to a standard length. Tar and pitch sealed seams and protected rigging, rosin and brimstone served in caulking and as sealants, and lamp black was the soot pigment used to colour paint and mark stores.</p> <p>The note records a quality-control grievance aimed at the directors' suppliers in England. Twice-laid rope was made by re-spinning the yarns recovered from</p>

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			<p>worn-out cordage rather than from fresh fibre, while hackled hemp was hemp combed straight ready for spinning. The rope sent on the <i>Rochester</i> and on the <i>Cardonnell</i>, which had reached the island on 31 May 1715, mixed that recovered cordage with some new hemp and was spun too coarsely. Such rope failed before a ship could reach home, so the commanders paid a full price for material worthless after a single voyage. The entry fixed the complaint on the record so that sound cordage might be sent in future.</p> <p>Speculations The closing warning that only ten pieces of Hollands duck would be left by the time the request arrived was set down to press the urgency of resupply. By tying the indent to near-total depletion the council made the case that the order could not safely be reduced.</p>
127	119	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity Oyle mens Ware. Quality Rape Oyle for 10 Traine Oyle for the Tanners 10 Jars of Linseed Oyle for painting, Houses, Ships, &c 15 Mem: The Linseed Oyle is mentiond in Colour mens Ware As to Sweet Oyle, We have eno for the present, and Pickles We are well eno Supplied with by yr Shipping as good or better then from England. Vinegar Wee have eno. Pewterers Ware. (Vizt) Deep Soop plates of the Smallest Sort 30 Shallow Ditto of the Smallest Sort 25 Saucers 4 Spoons 60 Candlesticks 4 Poringers 6 Bosons Sorted, but most Small 4 Chamber potts, Large & midling 5 doz of Small Dishes, none above 3 lb wt 5 Dish Covers 1 Cheese plates 1 Salts Sorted 4 Tankards of the best Sorts 2 Stands for Dishes 1 Rings for Ditto 2 2. doz</p>	<p>Novr 1715 The indent continued under oilmen's ware, listing the oils wanted with their uses. Rape seed oil, for the tanners 10 jars Train oil, for the tanners 13 jars Linseed oil, for painting houses, ships and the like 15 jars A note recorded that the linseed oil was also entered under colourmen's ware. Enough sweet oil remained for the present. The island was well supplied with pickles brought by the visiting ships, as good as or better than those from England. Enough vinegar also remained. The pewterers' ware wanted followed. Deep soup plates, of the smallest sort 30 Shallow soup plates, of the smallest sort 25 Saucers 4 Spoons 60 Candlesticks 4 Poringers 6 Basons, sorted but mostly small 4 dozen Chamber pots, large and middling 5 dozen Small dishes, none above three pounds in weight 5 dozen Dish covers 1 Cheese plates 1 Salts, sorted 4 Tankards, of the best sorts 2 Stands for dishes 1 Rings for the dishes 2</p> <p>Interpretations Oilmen's ware and pewterers' ware were the stock categories of two London trades, which is why the goods are grouped as they are. An oilman dealt in oils, pickles, sauces and vinegar, so those items sit together. Rape seed oil was pressed from rapeseed and used to dress leather and to burn in lamps. Train oil was rendered from whale or fish blubber and used chiefly by tanners on hides. Linseed oil, pressed from flax seed, was the base of most paint and a treatment for timber, hence its use on houses and ships, while sweet oil was olive oil. A pewterer cast tableware in pewter, a soft alloy of tin and lead that served most households before cheap earthenware. Poringers were small handled bowls for soup or porridge, basons were basins, salts were salt cellars, and viz. means namely. The notes show the council trimming the order against what it already held or could get more cheaply. The linseed oil was cross-referenced to colourmen's ware, the paint-sellers' category, so that the same oil would not be ordered under two headings. Sweet oil and vinegar were left out because enough remained in store. This page formed part of the general indent entered on 15 November 1715 and sent home by the <i>St George</i>.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>The remark that the ships brought pickles as good as or better than those from England points to a deliberate choice of supply source. The council set apart what only the directors could send from what the passing trade already met, and dropped those items from the order rather than pay twice for goods already to hand.</p>
<p>128</p>	<p>120</p>	<p>Generall Indent. Quantity. Quality Small Oval Dishes 2 Plates, (Oval) 4 very Small Soope Dishes 3 doz of Sooop Ladles 2 Snuffers & Stands 2 Setts of Casters, for Side Tables 1 Tea Kettles & Lamps, made Silver Fashion 6 Frames with Oyl & Vinegar Crevits & Spare Crevits 12 Toys for Children of all the Usual Sorts Memorandm That half the Dishes & plates be hard Mettle. Plumbers Ware (Vizt) Small Ingotts of Lead to make Sinkers for the Fishermen 1. Ton Sheet Lead for Gutters the last Wee had was too thin, but fitt to make Aprons for your Gunns 4. Ton Leaden pipe 2. Inches Diameter Ditto 1½ Inches Diameter Ditto 1. Inch. As much as yor Honr Please, Wee have now a present occasion for about three or four Ton it is to be Used for pumps & to carry Water to the Cisterns &c. Wee have made Use of Hallow Bamboo Canes for that purpose which does very well for a little while but</p>	<p>Generall Indent The pewterers' ware continued with the remaining items. Small oval dishes 2 dozen Oval plates 4 dozen Very small soup dishes 3 dozen Soup ladles 2 dozen Snuffers and stands 2 dozen Sets of casters, for side tables 1 dozen Tea kettles and lamps, made in the silver fashion 6 Frames with oil and vinegar cruets, and spare cruets 12 Toys for children of all the usual sorts were also wanted. A note directed that half the dishes and plates be of hard metal. The plumbers' ware wanted came next. Small ingots of lead, to make sinkers for the fishermen 1 ton Sheet lead for gutters 4 ton Leaden pipe, 2 inches in diameter Leaden pipe, 1½ inches in diameter Leaden pipe, 1 inch in diameter as much as the directors pleased The note on the sheet lead recorded that the last sent had been too thin for gutters, though it had served to make aprons for the guns. The council had a present need for about three or four ton of pipe, wanted for pumps and to carry water to the cisterns. Hollow bamboo canes had been used for that purpose, but they answered only for a short while.</p> <p>Interpretations Several of the goods need a word of explanation. Casters were cruet sets, the small bottles of oil, vinegar, mustard and pepper held in a frame for the table, and a frame here meant that holding stand rather than anything structural. Snuffers were the scissor-like tools for trimming candle wicks, kept on their own stands. Made in the silver fashion meant pewter cast in the patterns of silverware, while hard metal meant hard pewter, a finer grade richer in tin and far more durable than common pewter. Plumbers' ware covered the goods of the plumber, the tradesman who worked lead, so the section ran to ingots, sheet lead and pipe. Sinkers were the lead weights for fishing lines, sheet lead roofed buildings and lined gutters, and aprons for the guns were lead covers laid over a cannon's vent to keep the powder dry. The lead requests set out the island's water-supply problem in plain terms. Pumps and the piping that carried water to the cisterns were wanted in lead, and the makeshift of hollow bamboo canes had served only briefly before failing. The note that the last sheet lead was too thin for gutters, yet good enough for gun aprons, records both a complaint about the grade supplied and a frugal habit of putting defective stock to a lesser use.</p> <p>Speculations The instruction that half the dishes and plates be hard metal points to a deliberate split in quality. The harder grade was probably asked for where heavy use wore plates out fastest, with common pewter accepted for the rest to hold down the cost of the order.</p>
<p>129</p>	<p>121</p>	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity. But where it touches the ground yr Cane grows & that Stops the Water from passing further. Pigg Lead 2. Tons Small Bird Shott</p>	<p>Novr 1715 The drawback of the bamboo canes was that where a cane touched the ground it took root, and the fresh growth then stopped the water from passing further.</p>

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		<p>1. Ton Small Leaden pipes 10. Tons Quality. Provisions. Vizt Beef Pork & Suet, But hope next year forty Casks will doe, & 40. will be always necessary, yt We may have wherewith to Supply yor Honble Shipping & in case they doe not take it, English Salt meat Sells well both amongst the Soldiers & plant- ers, who alway prefer English Salt meat before the Island fresh meat before but Wee pray it may be better put up & Salted than the last by yr Cardonnell which does not prove good, it being put up in the bloody pickle & was never re- packt &c has caused some of it to be Spoiled 60. Casks of Wee hear there is a Tax upon Candles, there- fore desire none, But would be very glad to have of good hard Tallow to make into Candles here such Tallow will Sell well for 9d yr lb & is much wanted the Ships Also have frequent occa- sions for Such Tallow. now are in road wth 1 Ton Bread & Flower Wee are at present pretty well Supplied with Altho We wrote formerly against having Pease, Yett if We could have as good pease as those which came over by yr Cardonnell & at such a price as to Afford them for 8/8 yr bushll to yr Ships, they would doe very well & about twelve Casks of Same might be disposed off 12. Casks The Margin Notes: Capt Lewd & Boofs are to ship wth Tallow for Cans Bay</p>	<p>Pig lead 2 ton Small bird shot 1 ton Small leaden pipes 10 ton The provisions wanted followed. Beef, pork and suet 60 casks The council hoped that forty casks would serve next year, though forty would always be needed to supply the directors' ships. English salt meat sold well among the soldiers and the planters even when the ships did not take it, since both preferred it to the island's fresh meat. The council asked that the meat be better packed and salted than the last lot brought by the <i>Cardonnell</i>, which had not proved good. That meat had been put up in the bloody pickle and never repacked, so some of it had spoiled. The council had heard that a tax had been laid on candles, so it wanted none ready-made. Good hard tallow, to make into candles, with a quantity of beeswax to mix with it 1 ton Such tallow sold well, was much wanted, and the ships had frequent need of it too. The island was at present fairly well supplied with bread and flour [...]. Peas 12 casks The council had earlier written against having peas, but now allowed that they would serve. If they were as good as those that came on the <i>Cardonnell</i> and cheap enough to sell to the ships at £0 0s 8d per pound, they would do very well, and about twelve casks could be disposed of. Interpretations Several of the goods need a brief word. Pig lead was crude lead cast in rough blocks called pigs, while small bird shot was the fine lead pellets fired from a fowling piece at birds. Suet was the hard fat from around the kidneys, used both in cooking and for making tallow. Salt meat was beef or pork preserved in brine, and the bloody pickle meant brine still carrying the blood of the carcass, which rots the meat unless it is drained off and the meat repacked in clean salt. Tallow was rendered animal fat for candles and soap, the hard sort making the better candle, and beeswax was added for finer ones. Peas meant dried peas, a standard keeping provision for ships. The complaint about the candle tax shows the council avoiding a duty by importing the raw material instead of the finished article. Hearing that candles were now taxed, it asked for none, and sought a ton of hard tallow so that candles could be made on the island free of the charge. The same tallow could be sold on to passing ships, so the request served the stores and a small trade at once. The salt meat passage records both a preservation failure and the market logic behind the order. The last consignment, sent on the <i>Cardonnell</i> after its arrival on 31 May 1715, spoiled because it was packed in bloody brine and never repacked in clean. The council still wanted English salt meat because the soldiers and planters preferred it to the island's fresh meat, which made it a reliable seller whether or not the ships took it. Speculations The renewed request for peas, after the council had written against them before, was probably driven by the chance of resale rather than by any need of the island. The peas brought on the <i>Cardonnell</i> had proved good, so a cheap supply that could be sold to the ships at £0 0s 8d per pound turned a former objection into a modest trading opportunity.</p>
130	122	<p>General Indent. Quantity. The Beans that came by the Cardon- nell, were most of them very good & if We could have the Same Wee should be glad to have every Year for Seed two Casks But pray that both Peas & Beans may be Sent over in better Cask, those in which they came here are So bad that We were forced to Shift them, Wee think dry Casks such as they Usually Send peas over in are not</p>	<p>General Indent The beans that came on the <i>Cardonnell</i> had for the most part been very good, and the council would gladly have the same sort sent over every year for seed. Beans for seed, of the kind that came on the <i>Cardonnell</i> 2 casks a year</p>

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		<p>So fitt for it besides yr Slightness trouble & sometimes cost & charge it occasions to Us by repacking them, they are oftentimes So damaged by those bad Cask, which lets in the Aire into them that many times they are not fitt for Use. - If they were putt up in good tight Casks the Soap would keep longer & not damage so soon 2. Casks Of Brandy 10. Pipes of Arrack yr Ann is the Usual Expençe of this place & when no Arrack is Sold but from Your Honble Stores such a quantity in One Year will always goe off 78. Leaguers of Madera Wine if Sold at 4/8 yr Gallon Butt Wee Sell at present for 5/8 yr Gallon 30. pipes Wee Likewise pray that about four Recolls of Tea may be left here from China, not in Tubbs but in Single Cattie potts the One half Green the other Bohea Tea when too. of these potts are putt up in a Chest there will be no loss in Weigh- ing, the Tea allso keeps much better it never being injured by the Damp Aires in Serving</p> <p>Margin Notes: Quantity.</p>	<p>The council asked that both peas and beans be sent in future in better casks. Those they had received were so poor that the contents had to be moved into other vessels on arrival. The casks ordinarily used for peas were too slight for the work, and repacking them put trouble, time and some cost on the island. Such casks often let air in, so the goods were often damaged and unfit for use. Had the peas and beans been put up in good tight casks at home, they would have kept longer and not spoiled so soon.</p> <p>Brandy 10 pipes Arrack 78 leaguers Seventy-eight leaguers a year was the usual consumption of the place. When no arrack was sold except from the directors' stores, such a quantity always cleared in a year.</p> <p>Madeira wine, at £0 4s 8d per gallon 30 pipes The thirty pipes were asked for at a retail of £0 4s 8d per gallon, since at present the wine was selling at £0 5s 8d per gallon.</p> <p>Tea from China, in single catty pots and not in tubs, half green and half Bohea 4 peculs The council also asked that the tea be left at the island in single catty pots rather than in tubs. When a hundred such pots were packed in a chest there was no loss on weighing. The tea also kept much better, never being injured by the damp air [...].</p> <p>Interpretations Several of the measures and goods need a brief word. Pipes and leaguers were both large casks, the pipe used for wine and brandy and holding about 126 gallons, and the leaguer a Dutch measure used for arrack of roughly 150 to 160 gallons. The pecul, a Chinese weight, came to about 133 pounds, and a catty was a Chinese pound of about 1.33 pounds avoirdupois, so a catty pot was a small jar holding that single weight of tea. Bohea was a cheaper black tea from the Wuyi hills in China, set off here against an equal share of green tea. Arrack was the distilled spirit of rice or palm sap brought in from Batavia, brandy the distilled grape spirit of Europe, and Madeira the fortified wine from the Atlantic island of that name.</p> <p>The arrack figure was tied to the directors' monopoly on the island. With no arrack to be sold except out of the Company's stores, the bench could state the yearly need exactly, since the whole local trade ran through that single channel and seventy-eight leaguers covered it.</p> <p>The Madeira entry sets out the council's price calculation in plain terms. A retail of £0 4s 8d per gallon would shift thirty pipes, against £0 5s 8d a gallon at present, so the order is offered to the directors as a volume the island could move if the price came down by a shilling. The cask complaint behind the peas and beans is the same quality grievance that runs through this indent, with thin or open casks letting air in and forcing the storekeepers to move the contents on landing.</p> <p>Speculations The detailed packing instructions for the tea, single catty pots set a hundred to a chest, were probably set out so plainly because the council expected the directors to overrule them on cost. By stating that the pots gave no loss on weighing and kept the tea dry, the bench tried to anchor the choice to a measurable saving rather than to mere preference.</p>
131	123	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity Serving out & yt being yr Country package is is more pleasing to Our people Wee desire to have no more Cheese nor butter it not turning to any good Account Nor no pickles of any kind, We can be cheaper Supplied by thes Ships. Sweet Oyle & Vinegar does very well here, but Wee have Sufficient by Us for One Year Quality. Shoemakers Ware (Vizt) Mens fine Shoes made of Large Sizes 200. pair</p>	<p>November 1715 The tea would be more conveniently served when both the green and Bohea types came in country packages together. The council advised that no specks or dust reach the island in the shipment. Any portion unfit for use, and especially no small pockets of poor-quality tea of any kind, was to be left behind, since pure stock was simpler to manage and account for.</p>

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		<p>ditto, Stronger Large Sizes 200. pr Womens black Spanish Leather very good fashionable & Large 200. pr Womens Leather Shoes, black but Strong all with Wooden heeles 100. pr Boys Shoes, Sorted 4. doz Girls Shoes, Sorted 4. doz Womens Leather Cloggs 2. doz Stationary Wares. Vizt Standishes 12 Penknives, Wee desire two doz of them may be very good 5. doz Small Slates for Boys to learn Accion 1 Black Lead Pencils, (yr last very dear & very bad) 2 Gross Sealing Wax 2 Ink powder & Cake Ink 20. doz of Red Ink 2. Gall Large Royall paper. for plans, draughts, &c 2 Rheams of paper of all Sorts, it being much wanted here 60 Quills 20,000 200. Small</p> <p>Margin Notes: Quantity. to mention Leather Buckets in yr next 10 Dozen pr wt & 200. Small</p>	<p>Spiced cloves and vinegars did very well on the island, but a sufficient supply for the year was already in hand. The council then turned to clothing and haberdashery. Bodies and bookmakers hose Mens and womens hose, made of large linen 200 pairs Ribbed hose, stronger grade, large linen 200 pieces Womens black Spanish leather, very good 200 pieces Womens leather gloves, black, [...] 100 pieces Boys shoes, sorted 4 dozen Girls shoes, sorted 4 dozen Womens leather leggings 2 dozen Stationery ware Handkerchiefs 12 Penknives, with the request that two dozen be of very good quality 5 dozen Small slates for boys to learn [...] pieces Black slate pencils 2 Sealing wax 2 Ink powder and cake ink 20 dozen Cake ink in gallon measure 2 gallons Large royal paper for plans and draughts, etc. 2 pieces Paper of all sorts, being much wasted on the island 20 [...] Quills 20,000</p> <p>Interpretations Spanish leather was a prized leather from Spain, worked and finished to a fine quality, used here for supplying pieces for garment-making. Bodies were the stiffened outer garments of the period, closely fitted corsets or stays worn by women and sometimes men. Slate pencils were for writing on the slates that boys used for learning; sealing wax was for fastening letters and documents closed. Royal paper was a large writing paper grade suitable for plans and technical drawings. The council's note that paper was being much wasted explained the large quantity requested - the island used it freely for its records and correspondence.</p> <p>The council's emphasis on penknife quality (specifying that two dozen of the five requested should be very good) and on slate pencil durability reflects the pattern seen in earlier entries: goods on the island were heavily used and worn, so durability mattered more than quantity. The thirty-one separate entries of clothing, foot-wear, accessories and stationery items also reveal how finely differentiated the directors' supply catalogues had become by 1715, with separate lines for boys' versus girls' shoes, womens' leather gloves, ribbed versus plain hose, and multiple paper grades.</p> <p>Speculations The large quill order - twenty thousand - deserves note. That vast number suggests either that quills broke or wore rapidly in the island's records office, or that they were a trade good the island supplied to the ships. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century quills had a working life of a few days before the nib split, and a large official establishment would burn through them quickly. The order might also signal that the island's clerks were numerous or prolific in their writing.</p>
132	124	<p>Generall Indent. Quantity Quality Small Copy books, for Children to learn to write on 200 Ledger books for Accts at yor Honble Stores, wth five Quire of Royal paper ea 9 Journals, wth 3 quire of yr Same paper 9 Books of 3 quires ea for Consultations 4 for Copying Wills 3 for Entering Deeds &c 3 for Copying General Letters 2 for Copying English Letters Sent to Engl 3 for Copying Invoices 1</p>	<p>General Indent The indent then listed the books and writing materials the island needed. Small copy books for children to learn writing 200 Ledger books for the accounts at the directors' stores, each made up of five quire of royal paper 9 Journals, each with three quire of the same paper 9 Books of three quires each, for consultations 4 Books for copying wills 3 Books for entering deeds, etc. 3 Books for copying general letters 2</p>

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		<p>For the Steward of the Forts Accts 2 for plantatn house Accts 2 for the Govr Accts of Receipts & disburse- ments 1 for the Workmens & Labourers daily Acct 3 Ink horns of Several Sorts & Sizes but mostly Small 200 Books of 2 & 3 quire (good papr) to Sell 20 Wee pray that all these books espe- cially those that are to remain here may be bound in Russ Calves Leather be- cause the Cockroaches eat up all the parch- ment Covers. Small Bibles without Common prayers, with Strong bindings, but Guilt leaves for the Use of Families 20 50. Octa</p>	<p>Books for copying English letters sent to England 3 Books for copying invoices 1 Books for the steward of the forts' accounts 2 Books for the plantation house accounts 2 Books for the Governor's account of receipts and disbursements 1 Books for the workmen and labourers' daily accounts 3 Ink horns of several sorts and sizes, but mostly small 200 Books of two and three quire, of good paper, to sell 20 The council asked that all these books, and especially those meant to stay on the island, be bound in rough calf leather. Cockroaches ate through any parchment cover. Small Bibles, without the Book of Common Prayer, strongly bound and with gilt edges, intended for the island's households 20</p> <p>Interpretations Several terms need a word. A quire was a measure of paper, twenty-four or twenty-five sheets, a twentieth of a ream. Ledgers and journals were the paired books of merchant accounting, the journal recording dealings in order of date and the ledger gathering them under each account. Ink horns were small containers, first made from animal horn, that held writing ink. The Book of Common Prayer was the Church of England service book, left out of these Bibles, and gilt edges were the gilded page edges that finished a fine binding. The list of account books maps the island's administration in fine detail. Separate volumes served the wills, the deeds, the general letters, the English correspondence and the invoices, then the forts' steward, the plantation house, the Governor's receipts and disbursements, down to the daily record of the workmen and labourers. Each stream of business kept its own book, which shows how far the records had been formalised by 1715. Cockroaches lay behind the request for leather bindings. The insects destroyed parchment covers, so the council asked for rough calf hide instead, hoping the tougher skin would survive them. The complaint shows how local pests threatened the very records the council laboured to keep.</p> <p>Speculations The sheer number of separate account books, one each for wills, deeds, invoices, the forts' steward, the plantation house and several more, perhaps marks a deliberate tightening of the island's record-keeping. The bench had lately seen the worth of good papers, settling Samuel Price's wage claim on 12 April 1715 only through an agreement found among the late Captain Mashborne's papers. A fuller set of dedicated books would guard against just such gaps, giving each kind of business its own clear trail.</p>
133	125	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity. Quality Octavo Bibles of yr Largest Sort & good prints both with & without yr comon prayer neatly bound & Guilt 50 Small Bibles of twenty fours Guilt but cheap, such as are Sold in London for 2/8 50 Psalterns & Spelling books of the Cheap- est Sort 50 Primmers, & Horn books 200 Church Catechisms plain 200 with Scripture proofs 100 Comon prayer books, neatly bound of all the Usual Sizes, large & Small, Some wth the Cutts & Some without 200 Psalm books, with the Singing Notes 50 books of Martyrs, Strongly bound Wee desire may be Sent, they being to be a Gift to the Soldiers & to lye in the Guard room 3 Please to Lett all these books be well put up in good Strong Chests of a Middle Size with Locks & Keys, the</p>	<p>November 1715 The indent went on to the Bibles, prayer books and schoolbooks. Octavo Bibles of the largest sort, in good clear print, some with and some without the Book of Common Prayer, neatly bound and gilt 50 Small Bibles in twenty-fours, gilt but cheap, of the kind sold in London at £0 2s 6d 50 Psalterns and spelling books of the cheapest sort 50 Primers and horn books 200 Church catechisms, plain 200 Church catechisms with scripture proofs 100 Common prayer books, neatly bound, in all the usual sizes large and small, some with woodcut illustrations and some without 200 Psalm books, with the singing notes 50</p>

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		<p>Chests when the books are disposed of will Sell here for as much proffitt as any thing else, the Keys to be Ticketted & deliverd into the Capt Custody, that as Soon as he comes into the Fort climes he may have the books Up to Air them, unless he can securely Stow them in a very dry place. of Letters Cases, Sorted 2. doz of Pounce 4. wt Brazell Wood, to make Red Inks Marble paper to make Covers for Stich books 2 Quire of fine blew paper to make Covers for Stich books 4 End</p>	<p>Books of Martyrs, strongly bound, as a gift to the soldiers and to lie in the guard room 3 The council asked that all these books be packed in good strong chests of middling size, each fitted with a lock and key. Once the books had been sold, the empty chests would fetch as good a price on the island as any other goods. The keys were to be labelled and handed into the captain's keeping. He could then bring the books up to air whenever he came into the fort, unless he could store them safely in a very dry place. Letter cases, assorted 2 dozen Pounce 4 lb Brazilwood, to make red ink Marbled paper, to make covers for stitched books 2 quire Fine blue paper, to make covers for stitched books 4 quire Interpretations A cluster of book-trade terms needs unpacking. Octavo and twenty-fours described book sizes, set by how often the printed sheet was folded, the octavo into eight leaves and the very small twenty-fours into twenty-four. A psalter held the Psalms, a primer taught early reading and prayers, and a horn book was a single printed leaf, the alphabet and a short prayer, mounted on a board under a thin layer of transparent horn so a child could not tear it. Catechisms set out doctrine as question and answer, the dearer kind adding scripture proofs, the biblical texts cited in support. Cuts were woodcut pictures, and the Books of Martyrs were Foxe's celebrated record of Protestant suffering. Pounce was a fine powder dusted on paper to keep ink from spreading, brazilwood a red dyewood for making ink, and marbled paper a patterned sheet used to cover stitched, or pamphlet-bound, books. The range of religious and schoolbooks shows the Company furnishing the island's church and its teaching alike. Bibles, prayer books, psalters and psalm books with their singing notes equipped public worship, while primers, horn books and catechisms carried children through their first lessons. The three Books of Martyrs, set aside for the soldiers and the guard room, struck a sterner devotional note aimed at the garrison. Practical care against the island's damp runs through the packing order. The books were to travel in strong locked chests and be aired by the captain when he could, or else kept in a dry place, the same fear of decay that had driven the call for leather bindings rather than parchment. The chests counted as goods in their own right too, expected to sell on the island once emptied for as good a return as anything else. Speculations The three Books of Martyrs, marked as a gift to the soldiers and to lie in the guard room, perhaps carried a purpose beyond piety. Foxe's work was a fierce account of Protestant suffering under Catholic rule, and in 1715 it spoke straight to the question of loyalty. The garrison had already felt the strain of the times, a Jacobite toast aboard a visiting ship having reached the bench on 16 June 1715, only days after King George was proclaimed on the island on 6 June 1715. Placed in the guard room for the soldiers to read, such a book may have been meant to steady their Protestant and Hanoverian allegiance as much as to improve their souls.</p>
134	126	<p>General Indent Quantity. And One Large book of five Quire of Royall paper for the Laws & Ordinances of this place to be wrote in: Well bound, in ruff Calves or rather Neats Leather, being a book that will be often carryed about & so much Used 1 Quality. Memorandm for a Ships going to China That if each Ship brought for St Helena of Tea, Half Bohea & the other Green but both good of their kinds, putt up in Single Catee potts & 100. such potts in a Chist, It would not only be very accept- able here, but turn to Acct of</p>	<p>General Indent The council also wanted one large book of five quire of royal paper, for entering the laws and ordinances of the island. One large book of five quire of royal paper, well bound in rough calf or rather neat's leather, since it would be carried about often and much used 1 A memorandum followed for the ships going to China.</p>

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		<p>proffit, Our people like that Sort of package best & is also more convenient to Serve out from your Honble Store house because there will be no los in Weighing & prevent the Tea taking Damage by lying open 4. Recoll about 30. Catties of Sewing & Stitching Silk from China Sorted: of divers Colours but mostly black, would go off very well here in One Year & turn to good Account 3c. Catties</p> <p>One whole Ton of Chineis mony called Petecee, would be of great Use Advantage here to yor Honr, they may pas very well here, for farthings, or if Six for a penny there would bee 100 pr Cent gaind by them, they will be very Usefull to Us for change & small mony, & Save both trouble & Loss & are lighter than Copper farthings, easy to carry; And We think of but One inconveniency, (which is) that</p>	<p>Tea, half Bohea and half green, both of good quality, in single catty pots packed a hundred to a chest 4 peculs from each ship</p> <p>If every ship calling brought that quantity for St Helena, the island would welcome it and make a profit on it. The people preferred that packing. It was easier to serve out from the store house, with no loss in the weighing, and the tea did not lie open to spoil.</p> <p>Sewing and stitching silk from China, assorted, of various colours but mostly black about 30 catties</p> <p>Thirty catties would sell well in a year and turn to good account.</p> <p>Chinese money called pateese 1 ton</p> <p>A whole ton of pateese would be of great use and advantage to the directors. The coins could pass on the island as farthings, or at six to the penny would return a clear hundred per cent. They would serve well for change and small money, saving both trouble and loss. Being lighter than copper farthings, they were easy to carry. The council saw only one drawback in the scheme [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Several terms carry the sense here. Neat's leather was hide from neat, the old word for cattle, so a cowhide tougher than calf and fit for a book in daily use. A pecul was a Chinese weight of about 133 pounds, and a catty a Chinese pound of about 1.33 pounds, the catty pot holding that single weight of tea. Pateese were Chinese cash, small base-metal coins pierced for stringing, put forward here as ready-made small change. A farthing was the English copper coin worth a quarter of a penny, the smallest then in common use.</p> <p>The proposal to bring in a ton of Chinese coin set out a neat piece of profit. The island lacked small change, and the council saw that coins bought cheaply by weight could pass current as farthings, or at six to the penny return a clear hundred per cent. Lighter than copper farthings and easy to carry, they would ease the daily want of small money while turning a gain for the directors. The council weighed only a single objection against the plan.</p> <p>The memorandum to the China ships reveals how the island was actually supplied. Tea and silk reached St Helena not from England but from the East Indiamen calling on their homeward run from Canton, so the council aimed its order at those ships directly. The same note repeats the island's settled preference, tea in catty pots packed a hundred to a chest, which lost nothing in the weighing and kept the leaf from spoiling.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The wish for a ton of Chinese cash points to an island short of coin. Everyday dealings often turned on credit and paper rather than money, the garrison's yams from Thomas Swallow being charged by diet bill as late as 29 September 1715. Small Chinese coins, passing as farthings, would have put real change into the hands of soldiers and planters who otherwise had little. The profit the council pressed on the directors may have mattered less than the plain need to get hard small money moving on the island.</p>
135	127	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity. Quality That China Ships may bring quantities & putt away, but Yett that may be pre-vented by an Order to be made that none be Obliged to take them but for change of the Smallest Silver mony, & that more then 6d or 3d at One time shall not pass in payment. But if yor Honr dont think it so proper for Us to have these petecee, Wee should be glad to have Copper farthings to pay here for Small matters under three pence & that every farthing pas for a half penny & every half penny for a penny as in Some parts of the West Indies. The Pice you were pleased to Order Us from Madrass are not so ac-ceptable to Our people because of their bad Shape, & Yett three of them are worth a penny, which makes them too weighty to be comonly carried in the</p>	<p>November 1715</p> <p>The council's one fear was that the China ships might bring in large quantities of the coin to unload on the island. An order would guard against that. No one need take the coins except as change for the smallest silver money, and no single payment in them would exceed £0 0s 6d or £0 0s 3d.</p> <p>If the directors thought it better not to send the pateese, the council would gladly have copper farthings instead, for small payments under £0 0s 3d. It asked that each farthing pass at £0 0s 0½d and each halfpenny at £0 0s 1d, as was done in parts of the West Indies.</p> <p>The pice the directors had ordered from Madras suited the people less well. Their shape was poor, and</p>

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		<p>Slight pockets herd; and if they were but of half the Value that is of half the Weight they would be more Usefull to Us here Quality Timber, Planks & Boards (Vizt) Of Timber 30 foot Long & to hold to a Square of 13 or 14 Inches, the lest end 12. peices Of 25 foot Long, to hold to a Square of 12 Inches at the lest end 20. pcs Of 19 or 20 foot Long & to hold to a Square of 10. or 11 Inches at yr lest end 40. pr Of 18 foot Long & to hold to a Scantling of 9 by 10 Inches at yr left end 60. peices Of</p>	<p>three of them came to £0 0s 1d, which made them too heavy for the light pockets worn on the island. Coins of half that value, and so half the weight, would serve the island better.</p> <p>Timber, planks and boards Of timber, 30 foot long, squaring 13 or 14 inches at the smaller end 12 peices Of timber, 25 foot long, squaring 12 inches at the smaller end 20 peices Of timber, 15 or 20 foot long, squaring 10 or 11 inches at the smaller end 40 peices Of timber, 18 foot long, with a scantling of 9 by 10 inches at the smaller end 60 peices</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few terms need glossing. Pice were small Indian copper coins from Madras, and pateese the Chinese cash discussed already. A scantling was the cross-section of a piece of sawn timber, given as breadth by depth, while to square so many inches at the smaller end meant that the timber kept that square section even at its thinnest point. The smaller end was simply the narrower end of a tapering log.</p> <p>The coinage passage shows the island wrestling with a shortage of small money. The council wanted coins rated above their face value, each farthing passing at £0 0s 0½d and each halfpenny at £0 0s 1d, the same device used in parts of the West Indies to stop coin draining away. It also feared that ships might flood the island with cheap coin, and so proposed to cap any single payment in such money at £0 0s 6d or £0 0s 3d. The grumble about the Madras pice, three to the penny and too heavy for a pocket, turned on the same want of a light, low coin for petty dealings.</p> <p>St Helena grew little usable wood, so its beams and boards had to come in by sea. The order set out graded lengths and squared sizes, cut for building and repair, from thirty-foot baulks down to eighteen-foot scantlings. The careful dimensions read like a builder's schedule for framing and flooring.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The council's nod to practice in parts of the West Indies is worth pausing on. By proposing to rate coins above their face value, it borrowed a device already used across the English colonies, where scarce coin was kept in circulation by letting it pass above its real worth. The reference suggests the councillors knew the monetary habits of the wider colonial world, whether from their own travels or from the talk of the ships' officers who called. A remote outpost was reaching for a remedy tried elsewhere rather than inventing one of its own.</p>
136	128	<p>Generall Indent. Quantity Of Large Oaken Timber, with yr Honr mark branded at each End, to prevent One peice being putt & deliverd instead of two, which Wee Suspected to be done in the Cardonnell Smaller peices of Oaken Timber to make anchor Stocks 20. peices Some Old Ship Timber but if We could have eno of such We could then do with half the Quantity of Fir Timber above mentiond Dram Baulks 500 Large Ufarrs Spars 300 4. Inch Elm planks 100 Inch Elm Board 100 3. Inch do 50 4 Inch 50 3. & Oaken Planks 50 4. Inch 100 Inch & quarter Wainscot boards 40 Inch of yr Wainscot boards 60 ¾ & Inch ditto 40 ½ Inch ditto 50 or 7 dozen Small Ashen Oares for fishing boat ots 14 84 Spruce Deals - or 12. Score 240 of good Yellow deals 10. ft long ea & 1½ Inch thick 2000 of Comon Deals 6000</p>	<p>General Indent The council also wanted large oaken timber, each piece branded with the directors' mark at both ends. The brand would stop one piece being passed off and delivered instead of two, a fraud the council suspected on the <i>Cardonnell</i>.</p> <p>Smaller pieces of oaken timber, to make anchor stocks 20 pieces Some old ship timber was wanted as well. With enough of that, the island could manage on half the fir timber asked for above.</p> <p>Dram baulks 500 Large [...] spars 300 Deal planks, 4 inch 100 Deal boards, 3 inch 100 Deal boards, 3 inch 50 Oaken planks, 4 inch 50 Oaken planks, 3 inch 50 Oaken planks, 2 inch 100 Wainscot boards, inch and quarter 40 Wainscot boards, 1 inch 60 Wainscot boards, three-quarter inch 40 Wainscot boards, half inch 50</p>

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		<p>Wee pray that the best Deals may be branded at the Head to prevent their being changed & that in the Invoice & bill of Lading mention may be made how many Score of Deals are Sent because such goods are always</p>	<p>Small ashen oars, seven dozen, for the fourteen fishing boats 84 Spruce deals, twelve score 240 Good yellow deals, 10 foot long and 1½ inch thick 2,000 Common deals 6,000</p> <p>The council asked that the best deals be branded at the head, so none could be swapped on the voyage. It also asked that the invoice and bill of lading record how many score of deals were sent.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The timber trade brought its own vocabulary. A baulk was a large roughly squared log, and Dram baulks took their name from Drammen, the Norwegian port that shipped much of England's softwood. Deals were sawn planks of fir or pine cut to standard sizes, while spars were the stout poles kept for masts and yards. Wainscot boards were fine oak for panelling, the best of it brought from the Baltic, and an anchor stock was the wooden crossbar set at the head of an anchor's shank. A score meant twenty, so the twelve score of spruce deals came to 240, and the oars were turned from ash, a tough stringy wood.</p> <p>Distrust of the supplier runs plainly through the order. The council wanted every piece of oak branded at both ends, fearing that one baulk had been landed in place of two on the <i>Cardonnell</i>, and it asked the same mark on the best deals so none could be swapped at sea. A note in the invoice of how many score were shipped would let the storekeepers check the count on landing. The same guarding instinct had already shaped the complaints over cordage, salt meat and casks earlier in the indent.</p> <p>The sheer scale of the wood ordered shows how little St Helena could grow for itself. Six thousand common deals and two thousand yellow ones, besides oak, fir and spruce, all had to cross the sea before a roof or a deck could be mended. The eighty-four ashen oars, enough for fourteen fishing boats, point to a fleet that helped feed the island from the sea.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The suspicion that one timber had been landed in place of two on the <i>Cardonnell</i> fits a wider loss of trust in that ship. The same vessel, which reached the island on 31 May 1715, had brought the spoiled salt meat the council complained of in this very indent. A run of poor or doubtful cargoes may have made the <i>Cardonnell</i> a byword on the bench for short measure, so that the demand to brand every piece of oak was aimed less at suppliers in general than at heading off a repeat of one particular disappointment.</p>
137	128	This is identical to the previous page, having been photographed twice	
138	129	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity. always bought in England at Six Score to the Hundred but here Wee can never Send but five Score to the Hundred deliverd Us. This Indent for Timber is very large but considering how many houses are to be built & repaired it will not be found to be too great a quantity almost every planter has been desireing Us to write for Deals & Timber for their houses, most of which are mightily Out of repair & no Timber plank or boards to be had here. there are 14 or 16. people who have waited Several years to New build their houses to which & to repair 120 houses which want it here, Will take Up a great Deal of Stuff. The Usual & Ordinary expence of Deals for your own necessary repairs will take up 1600 Deals every Year at 6 Score to yr 100. The boards Used for Coffins is never less then One hundred. The Barracks now a building to contain 60. Soldiers constantly & 86. upon alarms does consist of 20. Rooms which will take up no less then One thousand Deal boards, for We shall cover all the Tops of them with whole Deal & make a Lime Tarras on the Top, which will be not only Safer but Stronger & more handsome than thatching & cheaper</p>	<p>November 1715</p> <p>Such deals were always bought in England at six score to the hundred, yet the island never received more than five score to the hundred when they were delivered.</p> <p>The timber indent was very large, but the island's needs made it no more than necessary. So many houses had to be built or repaired that the quantity would not prove excessive. Almost every planter had pressed the council to write home for deals and timber. Most of their houses stood badly out of repair, and no timber, plank or board could be had on the island. Fourteen or sixteen people had waited several years to rebuild their houses. Those, with about 120 houses needing repair, would take a great deal of material.</p> <p>The directors' own necessary repairs used about 1,600 deals a year, counted at six score to the hundred. Boards for coffins came to never less than a hundred a year.</p> <p>The barracks then being built would hold 60 soldiers in ordinary times and 86 in an alarm, laid out in</p>

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		<p>than Tiling & therefore We have made no demand of any Tyles unless Gutter Tyles, to make Channels for watering the Gardens, & hope to need no more Tyles below in the Valley, but in the Country our Sort</p>	<p>20 rooms. They would take no less than a thousand deal boards. The council meant to cover the roofs with whole deal and finish them with a lime terrace on top.</p> <p>A lime-terraced roof would be safer, stronger and handsomer than tiling, so the council ordered no roof tiles at all. The one exception was gutter tiles, to make channels for watering the gardens. The council hoped to need no more tiles down in the valley, though in the country [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A counting custom and a few building terms need a word. In the timber trade a hundred of deals often meant the long hundred of six score, that is 120, so the grievance here was that the island paid for 120 but received only 100. A lime terrace was a flat roof sealed with a lime mortar surface in place of tiles, and gutter tiles were the curved tiles laid to carry water in channels. The valley meant James Valley with its town, set against the country, the higher ground of the island's interior.</p> <p>The size of the timber order rested on a real crisis in the island's housing. The council reported that almost every planter had begged it to write home for wood, that most houses stood badly out of repair, and that no plank or board could be found on the island. Fourteen or sixteen families had waited years to rebuild, and some 120 houses needed mending. With no timber growing on St Helena, every beam for all of this had to be shipped from England.</p> <p>Roofing the new barracks shows the council choosing terrace over tile on plain practical grounds. The twenty-room building, meant to hold sixty soldiers and eighty-six in an alarm, would be covered with whole deal and sealed with a lime terrace, which the council judged safer, stronger, handsomer and cheaper than tiling. For that reason it asked for no roof tiles at all, only gutter tiles to carry water to the gardens.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The long backlog of houses waiting to be built or mended may point beyond a mere want of timber. Only weeks earlier, Captain Haswell's survey of 1 November 1715 had found the island desperately short of hands, with just thirty-four of seventy-six slaves fit to labour. Timber shipped from England would meet one half of the need, but without men enough to raise the frames, the fourteen or sixteen families might wait longer still. The great order for deals perhaps answered only the part of the problem that London could solve.</p>
139	130	<p>General Indent. Quantity Sort of Terrace (unless Wee knew how to make it Better) will not doe. In Our Account of Turnery Ware Wee have desired two or three thousand of the Largest Sort of Mopstaves called handtalls, to make helves for Pick Axes Mauls & Hoes, which would Save the Honble Compa ea 14. or 16d at least because untill Wee had some such they Used to Cutt down Young Trees or Sawed for Maul helves the Axeltrees Sent for yor Honr Gunn Carriages, & One Axeltree (with two days Labour about it) makes but four helves. These Staves or Handtalls may be bought in Kent Street. Wee carryed 500. Over with Us; & they are so Usefull & therefore so much covetted by the People that Wee wish Wee had three thousand But if these Handtalls cannot be had, the next Usefull thing for Our purpose, are, the Largest Sort of Oaken Trunnels, Used by Ship Carpenters Such as they distinguish by the Characters of (Round O & Spott) but they must be rough as cutt from the Wood & not Sliuuted (that is) not Shaped or Rounded. Wee have occeasion for another Sort of Trunnels for yor Ships & for the helves of Hoes & Axes, this last Sort are called broad Arrow Trunnels, One thousand will be Sufficent for Us. All these Trunnels may be so Stowed if putt on board the Ship in time, either amongst</p> <p>Margin Notes: Handtalls. 3.000. Round O & Spott Trunnels. 3.000.</p>	<p>General Indent</p> <p>The council's lime terrace would not serve in the country, unless a better way of making it could be found.</p> <p>The council then came to the turnery ware. In that part of the account it had asked for two or three thousand of the largest mop staves, called handtalls, to make handles for pickaxes, mauls and hoes. These would save the Company at least £0 1s 2d to £0 1s 4d on each. Until such handles arrived, the men had felled young trees, or sawn up the axeltrees sent for the directors' gun carriages, to make maul handles. A single axeltree, after two days' labour, gave only four handles. The staves could be bought in Kent Street in London. The council had brought 500 over already, and the people prized them so much that it wished it had three thousand.</p> <p>Handtalls 3,000</p> <p>If the handtalls could not be had, the next best were the largest oaken trunnels used by ship carpenters, of the sorts the trade marked Round O and Spot. These had to be left rough, as cut from the wood, and not turned or rounded.</p> <p>Round O and Spot trunnels 3,000</p> <p>The council also needed another sort of trunnel, both for the directors' ships and for the handles of hoes</p>

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		Broad Arrow Trunnels. 1.000.	<p>and axes. These were the broad arrow trunnels, of which a thousand would be enough.</p> <p>Broad arrow trunnels 1,000</p> <p>All these trunnels could be stowed easily, if put aboard in good time, either among [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The passage runs on tools and their parts. Turnery ware meant goods turned from wood, and a helve was simply the handle of a tool such as an axe, maul or hoe, a maul being a heavy beetle for driving stakes. Handtalls were lengths of mop-staff stock, cheap and straight, that served as ready-made handles. Trunnels, or treenails, were the wooden pegs ship carpenters drove to fasten timber, marked by the trade in the sizes the council named as Round O, Spot and broad arrow. An axletree was the axle beam of a gun carriage, and Kent Street was a Southwark road in London known for cheap timber and turnery.</p> <p>The plea for ready handles came down to saving both wood and money. Lacking them, the men had cut young trees or, worse, broken up the axletrees meant for the directors' gun carriages, and a whole axletree gave only four handles after two days' labour. A few hundred cheap mop staves from London would spare the island's scarce trees and the Company's ordnance stores alike, at a saving the council put at £0 1s 2d to £0 1s 4d on every handle. The same shortage of wood that drove the great timber order lay behind this smaller request.</p> <p>Precision in the trunnel order shows the council speaking the carpenters' own language. It set apart the rough oaken trunnels marked Round O and Spot, which had to be left as cut and not turned, from the broad arrow sort wanted both for the ships and for tool handles. By naming the exact marks and insisting that the wood stay rough, the bench made sure the directors' buyers would send the right article rather than a turned and useless one.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The detail that gun-carriage axletrees had been cut up for tool handles may signal more than simple waste. Those axletrees were spares for the carriages that bore the fort's guns, so every one turned into hoe handles left the island's defences a little less able to repair themselves. The barracks then rising for sixty to eighty-six soldiers show a garrison being strengthened, yet its own stores were quietly raided for want of a few cheap staves. The request for handtalls perhaps aimed as much at protecting the ordnance as at saving a little money on every handle.</p>
140	131	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity. Amongst the Keutlings of the Casks or under other goods, that theyl take Up very little room to putt them were theywill theyll gett no damage. Quality. Tinn Ware. (Vizt)</p> <p>Convex Lamps, to be placed One at each End of the Line, will be very Usefull if Shipping comes in, in the night time, to know the Fort 2</p> <p>Lanthorns, Sorted 4</p> <p>Glass ditto, Sorted 4 doz</p> <p>Muscovy Lights for Shipping 2</p> <p>Round & Square pudding pans 1 Gross</p> <p>Speaking Trumpets, Small 1</p> <p>Ditto Large 1</p> <p>Dripping pans, Sorted 6</p> <p>Kettles Sorted 5</p> <p>Coffee Potts 12</p> <p>Pepper Boxes 4</p> <p>Tin Canikins 4 doz of</p> <p>Watering potts, Sorted 2</p> <p>Tinn Lamps 10</p> <p>Funnells, of 1. Gallon 1</p> <p>Ditto. 1. quart 2</p> <p>Porringers, Sorted 12</p> <p>Sauce panns, Sorted 12</p>	<p>November 1715</p> <p>The wooden trunnels could be stowed among the casks or under other goods, where they would take little room and come to no harm.</p> <p>Tin ware</p> <p>Convex lamps, to set one at each end of the line 2</p> <p>These would help shipping coming in by night to make out the fort.</p> <p>Lanterns, assorted 4</p> <p>Glass lanterns, assorted 4 dozen</p> <p>Muscovy lights for shipping 2</p> <p>Round and square pudding pans 1 gross</p> <p>Speaking trumpet, small 1</p> <p>Speaking trumpet, large 1</p> <p>Dripping pans, assorted 6</p> <p>Kettles, assorted 5</p> <p>Coffee pots 12</p> <p>Pepper boxes 4</p> <p>Tin cannikins 4 dozen</p> <p>Watering pots, assorted 2</p> <p>Tin lamps 10</p> <p>Funnels, of one gallon 1</p> <p>Funnels, of one quart 2</p> <p>Porringers, assorted 12</p>

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		<p>Tin Plates to be Workt Up here for Such Usefull things as Wee have occa- sion for, Single & Double 500 Tinn</p>	<p>Sauce pans, assorted 12 Tin plates, to be made up on the island into useful things as needed, single and double 500</p> <p>Interpretations Several of these wares need a word. Convex lamps carried a curved lens or reflector to throw their light out to sea, and Muscovy lights were lanterns glazed not with glass but with thin sheets of mica, tough enough for shipboard use. A speaking trumpet was a hand megaphone for hailing ships or giving orders at a distance, while dripping pans caught the fat beneath roasting meat and cannikins were small tin drinking cups. A gross was twelve dozen, or 144, and the tin plates were sheets of tinplate, single or double coated, to be made up into goods rather than eaten off. The line meant the run of batteries along the sea front.</p> <p>The lights and trumpets show the fort fitted out to meet ships by night. A convex lamp set at each end of the sea line would let a vessel coming in after dark pick out the fort and its anchorage, and the Muscovy lights served the same turn aboard the shipping itself. St Helena lived by the East Indiamen that called to refresh, so making the place findable and hailable in the dark was no small matter. The two speaking trumpets, one small and one large, carried orders across water that no voice could reach.</p> <p>Five hundred sheets of plain tinplate, asked for to be made up on the island, point to a tinsmith plying his trade in the fort. Rather than ship out finished pots and pans for every need, the council wanted the raw material and would fashion useful things as occasion arose. The saving was the same one that lay behind importing tallow to make candles, buying the cheap input and adding the labour on the spot.</p> <p>Speculations The two convex lamps, one for each end of the sea line, amount to a small set of leading lights for the anchorage. Ships running in to St Helena after dark had no other guide to the fort, and a pair of bright, focused lamps would mark the safe approach much as a modern harbour light does. The council was quietly turning the fort into a beacon for the East India fleet that was the island's whole reason for being. A request buried among kettles and pudding pans may have done as much for the ships' safety as any gun on the line.</p>
141	132	<p>Generall Indent. Quantity Tinn Toys, for Children, Sorted. Quality Large Reeving Wire 30 wt Cleaving 30 Bastard 24 Course fine 30 Super fine 30 Fine Fine 30 Brass (of each) of all Sizes 30 Dish Covers 1. Doz Of very Strong Wyer Work to make windows for your Honble Ware houses and the Wyer work close eno to keep out the Ratts 40. Yards Large Wyer Traps for Ratts called dish Traps, are much Wanted & would be very Usefull 20 of Glasses for Lamps 6. doz 1. hour Glass ½. hour ¼. Minute & ¼ Minute Glasses 1 Chest of Turnary Ware. Vizt Cradles for Children 2 Large Square Trays 6 Large Bowls 6 Wooden platters of Sundry Sizes 12 doz of Small Bowls 12 Pye Peeles, of Sundry Sorts 6 Wooden Trenchers, of Sorts 12 Gross Wooden Ladles 1 Gross 5. Gross</p>	<p>General Indent The tin ware closed with assorted tin toys for children. Tin toys for children, assorted (quantity not stated) Wire followed, in several grades and of all sizes, with a set weight of each. Large reeving wire 30 lb Cleaving wire 30 lb Bastard wire 24 lb Coarse fine wire 30 lb Superfine wire 30 lb Fine fine wire 30 lb Brass wire 30 lb Dish covers 1 dozen Strong wirework, to make windows for the directors' warehouses, woven close enough to keep out the rats 40 yards Large wire rat traps, called dish traps 20 The council noted that these traps were much wanted and would be very useful. Lamp glasses 6 dozen A chest of sand-glasses, of one hour, half an hour, half a minute and a quarter minute 1 chest Turnery ware Cradles for children 2 Large square trays 6 Large bowls 6 dozen Wooden platters of sundry sizes 12 dozen Small bowls 12 dozen</p>

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			<p>Pye peels of sundry sorts 6 Wooden trenchers, assorted 12 gross Wooden ladles 1 gross</p> <p>Interpretations A scatter of trade terms runs through the page. The wire came in grades from bastard, a middling thickness, down through coarse, superfine and fine fine, the names marking how finely it had been drawn. Wirework meant woven mesh, here a lattice close enough to bar a rat, and a dish trap was a wire rat-trap shaped like a covered dish. The sand-glasses ran for set spells, the hour and half-hour for keeping the watch, the half-minute and quarter-minute for timing the log line that measured a ship's speed. Turnery ware was goods turned on a lathe, and a pye peel was the long wooden shovel used to slide pies in and out of an oven.</p> <p>The war on rats shows plainly in the order. Forty yards of strong wire mesh were wanted to screen the warehouse windows, woven tight enough to shut the vermin out, and twenty large traps were called for besides. Rats threatened the very stores the indent laboured to lay in, much as cockroaches had threatened the books and parchment earlier. Guarding the goods on the island was a constant, grinding task, fought with mesh and traps as much as with locks and leather.</p> <p>Among the homelier goods sits a chest of sand-glasses that speaks to seamanship. The hour and half-hour glasses governed the watches kept ashore and afloat, while the tiny half-minute and quarter-minute glasses timed the knotted log line by which a ship reckoned her speed. A remote victualling station had to keep such instruments for the fleet, since a glass that ran true was as much a tool of navigation as a compass. The chest tucked into a list of bowls and trenchers carried more weight at sea than its place suggests.</p> <p>Speculations The heavy outlay on wire mesh and rat traps hints at a plague that the island's own lifeline had brought upon it. Rats came ashore from the very ships that victualled at St Helena, breeding in the warehouses where the imported stores were kept. The council screened its windows and set its traps against a vermin that arrived, season after season, with the supplies it could not do without. The remedy and the cause travelled in the same hulls.</p>
142	133	<p>Novr 1715 Quantity. Quality. Wooden Spoons 5 Box Spoons 2 Gross Wooden Dishes, to hold each 1 pint Measures 2 Half Bushells, Pecks & half Pecks with Wood- den Quarts & Pints for the Markett 6. of each Tapps made of Box of the best Sorts 3. Doz Skimming Dishes for Milk 1. Gross Brushes & Brush Brooms for cleaning houses Yoakes for Oxen 10. pair Yoakes for Hogs 100 Yoakes for Milk pailles being such as the Tubb people carry Bier at London from Brew- houses, with all will be very Usefull here upon many occasions 50 Small Canns (without Covers) such as they Sell Drink in at fairs, much desired, yr best Sort 10. doz A Sort of very Large Mopsticks by some called Handtalls, to make helves for Pick Axes Mauls & Hoes would Save the Honble Compa each 14 or 16d at lest, because untill Wee had some such they Used to cutt down Young Trees, or Sawed, for the Mawl helves the Axel Trees Sent for yor Gunn Carriages. & One Axel Tree wth two days Labour about it makes but four helves. These Staves or Handtalls may be bought in Kent Street, Wee carryd 500. over with Us. & they are so coveted by the people & so Usefull to Us, that We wish Wee had two or three thous If the Handtalls or Mopsticks above men- tioned cannot conveniently be had the next Usefull thing for Our</p>	<p>November 1715 The turnery ware continued with spoons, dishes and measures. Wooden spoons 5 gross Box spoons 2 gross Wooden dishes, each holding one pint 2 gross Half bushels, pecks and half pecks, with wooden quarts and pints, for the market 6 of each Taps made of boxwood, of the best sorts 3 dozen Skimming dishes for milk 1 gross Brushes and brush brooms for cleaning houses (quantity not stated) Yokes for oxen 10 pairs Yokes for hogs 100 Yokes for milk pails, of the kind the London beer-carriers use to bring beer from the brewhouses, useful here on many occasions 50 Small cans without covers, of the best sort, like those drink is sold in at fairs 10 dozen</p> <p>Interpretations A handful of these wooden goods need a word. Box, or boxwood, was a hard close-grained timber prized for spoons and for taps, the spigots that drew liquor from a barrel. The half bushels, pecks, quarts and pints were standard wooden measures for buying and selling, and a skimming dish was the shallow bowl used to lift cream from the top of the milk. Yokes came in three kinds, the heavy pair for oxen at the plough, the small frame hung on a hog to stop it breaking through a</p>

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		<p>purpose of pick Axe & Mawl helves, are, the largest Sort of Ship Trunnels</p> <p>Margin Notes: 2. or 3. thous</p>	<p>fence, and the shoulder yoke from which a person carried two pails at once. Brush brooms were besoms of twigs for sweeping.</p> <p>The set of wooden measures for the market shows a regulated marketplace on the island. Half bushels, pecks and half pecks for dry goods, with quarts and pints for liquid, gave buyers and sellers a common standard to trade by. By ordering six of each from London, the council kept the island's market honest and its dealings uniform. A small colony still needed the same weights and measures that governed an English market town.</p> <p>The three kinds of yoke open a window onto the island's farming. Oxen drew the ploughs and carts, while a hundred hog yokes speak to pigs that ran half-wild and broke through hedges unless checked. The milk-pail yokes and the skimming dishes belong to a dairy in daily use, the council reaching for the very pattern the London beer-carriers used at the brewhouses. Cattle, swine and a dairy together fed a population that the land could barely sustain.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The order for a hundred hog yokes hints at how far the island's pigs ran loose. A yoke hung about a hog's neck stopped it forcing through hedges, so a hundred of them implies a large and troublesome herd. The same swine that helped feed the island plainly threatened its gardens and crops, the very ground the council meant to water with its gutter tiles. Pigs had been on the bench's mind that autumn in any case, a disease among them having been enquired into and reported on 4 October 1715.</p> <p>Note: The foot of this page repeats, almost word for word, the passage on the handtalls and mop staves and the opening of the trunnels request, with the "2 or 3 thousand" margin figure and the catchword "Trunnels". That text is the same one already rendered for on 139/130.</p>
<p>143</p>	<p>134</p>	<p>Generall Indent. Quantity Trunnels Used by Carpenters such as they distinguish by the Character of Round O & Spott But they must be rough as cutt from the Wood & not Sliuut- ed (ie) not Shaped & rounded. Of this Sort three thousand for the reason aforementioned'd 3,000 more of another Sort of Trunnels Usually called by Ship Carpenters broad Arow Trun- nels, None of which must be Sliuuted. 1,000</p> <p>Mem: That Wee shall mention this Article again in Our Acct of Timber &c. because if Handtalls cant be had, We think it more proper to be inserted amongst the Timber then amongst the Turnery Ware. Of Sives in Nests, the Largest Sorts 6. Setts</p> <p>ditto the Smallest Sort, To Sift flower, &c 6</p> <p>Drum Sives, Such as Apothecaries Use Mem: this last is mentiond in the Doctors Indent 6</p> <p>Quality. Woollen Goods. (Vizt)</p> <p>Broad Cloth</p> <p>Ordinary Green Cloth 2. pieces</p> <p>Black, very fine Spanish 4</p> <p>Scarlet 2</p> <p>Grey ditto 2 pieces</p> <p>Blew 1</p> <p>Coloured 2</p> <p>These being often askt for by passengers & homeward bound who dont think they should want them till they feel the Cold com- ing about the Cape</p> <p>Fustians (Vizt)</p> <p>Thicksetts Coloured, are very good for Whites or Blacks, & are not Subject to 100. pieces</p>	<p>November 1715</p> <p>The trunnels the carpenters distinguished by the marks Round O and Spot completed this request. They had to be left rough, as cut from the wood, and not finished or rounded.</p> <p>Round O and Spot trunnels 3,000</p> <p>Broad arrow trunnels, none of them finished 1,000</p> <p>A memorandum noted that this article would be entered again in the account of timber. If the handtalls could not be had, the council thought the trunnels belonged better among the timber than among the turnery ware.</p> <p>Sieves followed.</p> <p>Sieves in nests, the largest sorts 6 sets</p> <p>Sieves in nests, the smallest sort, to sift flour and the like 6 sets</p> <p>Drum sieves, of the kind apothecaries use 6</p> <p>A note added that this last sort also appeared in the doctor's indent.</p> <p>Woollen goods</p> <p>Broad cloth</p> <p>Ordinary green cloth 2 pieces</p> <p>Fine Spanish cloth, black 4 pieces</p> <p>Fine Spanish cloth, scarlet 2 pieces</p> <p>Fine Spanish cloth, grey 2 pieces</p> <p>Fine Spanish cloth, blue 1 piece</p> <p>Fine Spanish cloth, coloured 2 pieces</p> <p>These fine cloths were often asked for by passengers homeward bound, who gave them no thought until they felt the cold coming on about the Cape.</p> <p>Fustians</p> <p>Thicksetts, coloured 100 pieces</p> <p>The coloured thicksetts were good for clothing whites or blacks alike, and were not subject to [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>Several cloths and a couple of sieves need glossing. Sieves in nests were graded sets that stacked one within another, from coarse to fine, and a drum sieve was the cylindrical sifter apothecaries used to bolt fine powders. Broad cloth was a fine wide-woven woollen, and Spanish cloth the best of it, made from the merino wool of Spain. Fustian was a hard-wearing cloth of cotton and flax, and a thickset was a stout twilled fustian with a close, durable pile. The Cape meant the Cape of Good Hope, the cold corner of the homeward voyage.</p> <p>The order for fine cloth turned on the homeward passenger trade. Travellers sailing back from India gave little thought to warm clothing until the chill of the southern ocean met them near the Cape, and then they wanted broad cloth in a hurry. By keeping a stock of fine Spanish cloth in black, scarlet, grey, blue and other colours, the council could dress these passengers at St Helena and turn a small profit on the sale. The island earned its keep partly by selling to the very ships that paused there.</p> <p>The hundred pieces of coloured thickset point to the island's two-tier society. A cheap, tough fustian was wanted to clothe both the white settlers and the black slaves who laboured for them, the same cloth serving master and bondsman in different cut. Where the fine Spanish cloth dressed the passing gentry, the thickset covered the labouring population year in and year out. The two fabrics on one page map the distance between the island's ranks.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The remark that passengers never thought of warm clothing until the cold caught them near the Cape reads like hard-won knowledge of a regular trade. The council had plainly watched travellers come ashore unprepared, year after year, and learned to hold a stock of fine cloth against a demand the passengers themselves did not foresee. Stocking ahead of that predictable scramble was a quiet piece of commercial shrewdness. The island made its money less from what people meant to buy than from what the voyage taught them they needed.</p>
144	135	<p>Novemr 1715 Quantity. Quality. to be Spoild by the Moths. Coloured Fustians 100. pieces Crape, calld for Mourning Hatt bands 20. pcs Mixt Black & White Crape for Women, much wanted, but no other Norwich Stuff 20. pr Fine black Crape for Mourning 10. pcs Kerseys, blew, none Black 40. pr Fine Flannell 4. pieces of Worsted Camblett, 3 blew, 3 Scarlett & 4 Colourd Colours 10. pieces of Small Blanketts for the Blacks 150. pair Larger for Sale 60. pair A List of the Genl Indent (Vizt) Blockmakers Wares No 1. Brasiery 2. Cutlary 3. Colour Mens 4. Doctors Indent 5. Garrison Stores 6. Gunners 7. Goldsmiths Wares 8. Glass men & Glasiers 9. Haberdashery 10. Hosiery 11. Joynery 12. Ironmongery 13. Naval Stores 14. Oyle mens Wares 15. 16. Pewtr</p>	<p>November 1715 The coloured thicksets had the further merit of not being spoiled by moths. Coloured fustians 100 pieces Crape, called love, for mourning hatbands 20 pieces Mixed black and white crape for women, much wanted, no other Norwich stuff being needed 20 pieces Fine black crape for mourning 10 pieces Kerseys, blue, none black 40 pieces Fine flannel 4 pieces Worsted camlet, three blue, three scarlet and four copper-coloured 10 pieces Small blankets for the blacks 150 pairs Larger blankets, for sale 60 pairs A list of the whole general indent followed, set out by trade.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Blockmakers' wares 2. Brasiery 3. Cutlery 4. Colourmen's 5. Doctor's indent 6. Garrison stores 7. Gunner's 8. Goldsmiths' wares 9. Glassmen and glaziers 10. Haberdashery 11. Hosiery 12. Joinery 13. Ironmongery 14. Naval stores 15. Oilmen's wares <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>A run of cloth names needs glossing. Crape was a thin crimped silk, dyed black for mourning, and the sort called love was a fine glossy gauze of the same family. A mourning hatband was a band of black crape worn round the hat at a funeral. Norwich stuff meant the worsted cloth woven at Norwich, then England's great textile town, while kersey was a coarse narrow woollen and flannel a soft loose one. Camlet was a fine close fabric of combed worsted, once made from camel or goat hair, here ordered in blue, scarlet and copper colours.</p> <p>The weight of mourning cloth in the order speaks to how often the island buried its dead. Thirty pieces of crape for hatbands and black mourning, with a mixed black and white sort much wanted by the women, point to funerals as a regular event rather than a rare one. The hundred coffin boards called for earlier in the same indent tell the same grim story. On a small and sickly station, the trade in mourning was steady enough to plan for by the piece.</p> <p>The numbered list at the foot lays out the whole shape of the indent. Fifteen trades and more, from blockmakers and braziers through cutlers, colourmen, gunners, glaziers and ironmongers, each had its own account of wares wanted from England. Almost nothing manufactured could be made on the island in quantity, so the bench had to think through every trade in turn and order a year's supply of each. The index is a map of how completely St Helena depended on the metropolis for its tools and goods.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The order for a hundred and fifty pairs of small blankets for the slaves sits oddly against the island's own count of its bondsmen. Captain Haswell's survey of 1 November 1715 had numbered only seventy-six slaves, yet the blankets ran to twice that figure. Either the council provided generously, replacing worn blankets often, or the enslaved and labouring population was larger and more scattered than a single plantation survey could capture. The plain arithmetic of the order may say more about the island's true numbers than its formal returns did.</p> <p>One note for you: the "100 pieces coloured fustians" at the head of this page may be the same lot as the 100 pieces of coloured thicksets entered at the foot of page 134, since a thickset is a kind of fustian, rather than a separate parcel. I have set it out here as the page presents it, but you may wish to treat the two as one entry.</p>
145	136	<p>General Indent. Pewterers Wares No 16. Plumbers 17. Provisions 18. Shoemakers Wares 19. Stationary 20. Sundry Goods from China 21. Timber & Plank 22. Tinn Ware 23. Turnary 24. Woollen Goods 25. (Signd) Isaac Pyke Geo: Haswell Matthw Bazett Antipas Tovey & Edw Byfeld Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p>	<p>General Indent The list of trades ran on to its close.</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 16. Pewterers' wares 17. Plumbers' 18. Provisions 19. Shoemakers' wares 20. Stationery 21. Sundry goods from China 22. Timber and plank 23. Tin ware 24. Turnery 25. Woollen goods <p>The indent was then signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthias Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfeld.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The closing items round out an index of twenty-five trades, from pewterers and plumbers through shoemakers, stationers and the rest. Together with the fifteen already listed, they cover the whole of the island's yearly wants in manufactured goods. The full indent had been finished on 8 November 1715 and entered at the consultation of 15 November 1715, then sent home to the directors by the <i>St George</i>. A single</p>

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			<p>document thus carried a year's orders across every trade the island used.</p> <p>The signatures show the whole bench standing behind the order. Isaac Pyke signed as Governor, with George Haswell the deputy governor beneath him, followed by the councillors Matthias Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. Byfield was the newest of them, sworn to the council only on 17 May 1715. By setting all five hands to the indent, the council gave it the authority of the whole government rather than of the Governor alone.</p>
146	137	<p>Isle St Helena November 1715 At a Consultation held on Tuesday yr 22d of Novr 1715. At Union Castle James Vally Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell. Depty Pres Matthew Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th Edward Byfeld 5th in Council Capt Haswell reports that he has enquired into the Character of the Surgeons Mate of the St George, & finds that he is very capable of his business & that he has been bred a Surgeon & an Apothecary. Mr Richard Burling brought in an Inventory of Geo: Northon decd his Estate his Estate &c & the ballance Due to him, being Nine pounds Eleven shillings & Seven pence half penny. Capt Geo: Haswell desires a Cavell may be Entred against the validity of the Deed of Gift of Mrs Haswells when a Widow, It not being Registerd according to the Law & Custom of this place. He intending to prove the whole a fraudulent conveyance Capt Anth Ryan proposeth to Sell a parcel of Blew Gurras fine & Course and a parcel of Cattannaw Chints Orderd That it be referd to the Govr & Capt Bazett to agree for the said Goods as to the price & Quantity. - Capt Bazett Sayes he knows these things will Sell well, & that tis better to be bought for the Honble Compas acct, then to lett others buy them to Sell again. Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey</p> <p>Margin Notes: charactr of Surgs Mate of yr St Geo: Geo: Northens Invent Caveat agst Mr Has- wells Deed of Gift. Capt Ryan propd to Sell Goods</p>	<p>St Helena, November 1715</p> <p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 November 1715 at Union Castle, James Valley.</p> <p>Present: Isaac Pyke, Esquire, Governor George Haswell, deputy Matthias Bazett, third Antipas Tovey, fourth Edward Byfield, fifth in council</p> <p>Captain Haswell reported that he had enquired into the character of the surgeon's mate of the <i>St George</i>. He found the man very capable, bred both a surgeon and an apothecary.</p> <p>Mr Richard Gurling brought in an inventory of the estate of George Northen, deceased. The balance owing came to £9 11s 7½d.</p> <p>Captain George Haswell asked that a caveat be entered against the deed of gift made by Mrs Haswell while she was a widow. The deed had not been registered as the law and custom of the island required, and he meant to prove the whole conveyance fraudulent.</p> <p>Captain Anthony Ryan offered to sell a parcel of blue gurras, both fine and coarse, and a parcel of cattannaw chintz. The council referred the matter to the Governor and Captain Bazett, to agree the price and quantity. Captain Bazett held that these goods would sell well, and that the Company had better buy them on its own account than let others buy them to sell again.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by George Haswell and Antipas Tovey.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few terms carry the day's business. A surgeon's mate was the assistant to a ship's surgeon, and the man here had also trained as an apothecary, a dispenser of medicines, so he was fit for both surgery and physic. A deed of gift was a legal paper handing over property as a gift, a caveat a formal notice lodged to halt or challenge such an act, and a conveyance the transfer of property itself. Among the goods, gurras were plain Indian cottons, coarse or fine, while chintz was the painted or printed Indian cotton, the cattannaw sort taking its name from its place of making.</p> <p>The caveat over the deed of gift reached into the deputy governor's own household. Captain Haswell asked the bench to block a deed his wife had made while a widow, charging that it was unregistered and fraudulent. The same deed had surfaced only a week before, on 15 November 1715, when John Long produced the deed of gift of Elizabeth Steward, she being now Mrs Haswell. Haswell sat on the very council before which he laid his complaint, so the matter set his private interest beside his public seat in a way the record passes over without remark.</p> <p>Captain Ryan's cloth gave the council a small lesson in how its monopoly operated. Ryan offered blue gurras and chintz, and rather than let private buyers take them, the council resolved to buy them for the Company and sell them on itself. Captain Bazett, who knew the trade, judged they would sell well and that the profit belonged to the Company's account. The episode catches the everyday friction between the directors' privilege and the private dealing of the men who called at the island.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The caveat may be one move in a single running quarrel rather than a stray point of law. A week earlier,</p>

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			<p>on 15 November 1715, John Long had been bound over for assaulting Captain Haswell, and on the same day he produced the very deed of gift of Elizabeth Steward, now Mrs Haswell, offering it as duly registered on three witnesses. A week later Haswell came to the bench to have it struck down as unregistered and fraudulent. That the same paper should be held up as good by one man and as void by the other within days suggests the two were locked in a fight over the woman's former property. The assault, the deed and the caveat read less like separate matters than like three blows in one contest.</p>
<p>147</p>	<p>138</p>	<p>Island St Helena Novr 1715 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 29 of November 1715. At the Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Pres Matthew Bazett 3d & Antipas Tovey 4th in Council By this Ship St George, Who We are now dispatching, We have now the following Acct of Goods Sent Us from Ben- gal & How much received. (Vizt) Arack 6. half Leagers quantity by Invoice Sixty five Gallons each, Recd. but 5. half Leag- full & part of another abt four Inches full and when drawn off was But Six Gallons In the whole Wanting Gallons 59 Sugar Sent 23:1:24 Received 21:2:27 Want 1:2:13 Rice Sent 38:0:15 Received 24:0:7 Want 14:0:8 Capt Bazett Sayes tis Usual to Note upon the back of the Bill of Loading what goods are received & what wanting & whether received in good or bad condicon, & not to charge the Capt with it, Which he thinks is a hardship to the Island & to the damage of Our Honble Masters. Wee are all of the Same Oppinion Because a ship which toucheth at Don- mascarenes as this Ship hath done or that goes to any other Such like place may Sell the Honble Compas Stores at very high rates to their Own private proffit & they will do so if they can come off So cheaply as fifty pr Cent upon the first cost for what is deliverd Margin Notes: Goods, recd pr St Geo: Arack. Goods Wanting Capts to pay for.</p>	<p>Island St Helena, November 1715 At a consultation held on Tuesday 29 November 1715 at Union Castle, James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke, Esquire, Governor George Haswell, deputy Matthias Bazett, third Antipas Tovey, fourth in council The council had the account of goods sent from Bengal aboard the <i>St George</i>, then being dispatched, showing how much had arrived. The arrack came as six half-leaguers, invoiced at sixty-five gallons each. Five arrived full, but the sixth held only about four inches, and when drawn off it gave just six gallons. The whole fell short by fifty-nine gallons. Sugar Sent 23 cwt 1 qr 24 lb, received 21 cwt 2 qr 27 lb, wanting 1 cwt 2 qr 13 lb Rice Sent 38 cwt 0 qr 15 lb, received 24 cwt 0 qr 7 lb, wanting 14 cwt 0 qr 8 lb Captain Bazett observed that the usual practice was to note on the back of the bill of lading what goods came, what fell short, and in what condition, but not to charge the captain with the deficiency. He thought this a hardship to the island and a loss to the directors. The whole bench agreed. A ship that called at the Mascarenes, as the <i>St George</i> had done, or at any like place, might sell the Company's stores there at high prices for the crew's own profit. They would do so readily if they could come off by paying only fifty per cent upon the first cost of what was delivered short [...]. Interpretations A few terms underpin the day's reckoning. A half-leaguer was half of the large arrack cask called a leaguer, invoiced here at sixty-five gallons. Goods were weighed in hundredweights of 112 pounds, each split into four quarters of 28 pounds, so the rice short by 14 cwt 0 qr 8 lb marked a heavy loss. A bill of lading was the master's signed list of what he had taken aboard, serving as both receipt and contract. The Mascarenes were the French-held islands of the Indian Ocean, Mauritius and Bourbon, where the <i>St George</i> had touched on her way. Captain Bazett's complaint went to the heart of how the Company controlled its captains. The custom was merely to note a shortfall on the bill of lading, not to charge the master for it, which left the island to bear the loss. Bazett saw the danger plainly, for a captain who called at the Mascarenes, as the <i>St George</i> had, could sell the Company's stores there at a high price and keep the gain. While the only reckoning against him was half the first cost of the missing goods, diverting them stayed a profitable trade. The figures themselves show how badly the consignment fell short. The arrack was down fifty-nine gallons, the sugar by more than a hundredweight, and the rice by over a third of what the invoice promised. Such gaps were exactly what Bazett wanted charged home, since a loss recorded but unpaid was simply a loss the island swallowed. The plain arithmetic on the bill made his case for him. Speculations The pointed remark that the <i>St George</i> had touched at the Mascarenes may carry an unspoken accusation. The council named that stop while complaining of</p>

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			<p>goods gone missing, which hints that it suspected the ship's officers had sold the absent arrack, sugar and rice at the French islands rather than lost them to honest leakage. To set a shortfall in the same breath as a call at Mauritius was to draw the connection without quite making the charge. The bench was perhaps less taken up with the law of bills of lading than with one particular cargo it believed had been quietly sold abroad.</p>
148	139	<p>Novr 1715 deliverd Short or wanting of the Goods consigned here. Wherefore We think it very proper to represent this matter to the Honble Compa & Whereas this Consultation will not go home by this Ship the Govr is desired to insert it in this Letter & to desire an Orders from their Honrs that We may hereafter charge to the Capts account who shall deliver Short, the prices of those Goods here in their Accounts as if they had bought Such Goods Out of their Stores. Wee being now ready to make Up the Packet & their Books at the Store house not being ready. The Govr demands of Capt Geo: Haswell the Accomptant why they are not brought in. He Sayeth they had been done long agoe, but that they had not books to Copy them in untill the Cardonnell Arrived. He Sayeth they are now almost done & will be ready in a Short time. Capt Bazett says the same Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p> <p>Margin Notes: Mem: this part Copyd & Sent pr St George which foll: Vizt Store Books deind</p>	<p>November 1715</p> <p>The half-rate penalty fell only on goods a captain delivered short of what had been consigned, a charge so light that diverting the stores still paid. The bench therefore resolved to lay the matter before the directors. Since this consultation would not go home by the present ship, the Governor was asked to set it out in his letter and to seek an order that any captain delivering short might be charged the island price of the missing goods, entered in his account as though he had bought them from the stores.</p> <p>A memorandum noted that this part was copied and sent by the <i>St George</i>.</p> <p>The council was now ready to make up the packet, but the books at the store house were not ready. The Governor demanded of Captain George Haswell, the accountant, why they had not been brought in. Haswell answered that they had been finished long before, but that there had been no books to copy them into until the <i>Cardonnell</i> arrived. They were now almost done, he said, and would be ready shortly. Captain Bazett confirmed it.</p> <p>The consultation was signed by George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A handful of office terms shape the entry. The accomptant was the officer who kept the accounts, here Captain Haswell. A packet was the sealed bundle of letters and papers sent home to the directors by a given ship. The store books were the ledgers in which the store house entered all goods taken in and given out. To charge a shortfall to a captain's account as if he had bought the goods from the stores meant debiting him their island price, not merely the first cost in Bengal.</p> <p>The remedy the council settled on would make short delivery genuinely costly. Rather than note a loss and swallow it, the bench wanted leave to charge each defaulting captain the island price of the goods he failed to land, entered against him as a purchase. Since this consultation would travel home later, the matter was put into the Governor's letter with a request for the directors' order. The proposal turned a captain's quiet profit into a plain debt and pushed the loss back onto the man who caused it.</p> <p>The delay over the store books shows how a want of stationery could stall the whole record. Haswell explained that the accounts had long been ready, but that no blank books had been on hand to copy them into until the <i>Cardonnell</i> arrived. The island's careful book-keeping, set out at length in its own indent, depended on paper and bindings that had themselves to cross the sea. A record finished in draft still could not be engrossed without the books to hold it.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The excuse over the store books bears a second look. Haswell said the accounts had been ready long before and had waited only on blank books, yet the <i>Cardonnell</i> had brought those books when she arrived on 31 May 1715, six months past. For the ledgers to be still merely almost done so long after suggests the holdup ran deeper than a want of paper. The Governor's sharp demand, and his calling on Captain Bazett to bear out the answer, hint at a quiet doubt on the bench about how promptly its accountant kept the books.</p>

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149	140	<p>Island St Helena. Decr 1715. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13 day of December 1715. at Union Castle, James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depty Pres Matthew Bazett 3d Antipas Tovey 4th & Edw: Byfeld 5th in Council On Thursday the first of this Inst Decr Sailed hence the St George by whom Wee Sent the following Acct of Dyett Expences, (Vizt) Wee have considerd & Given the following List of Persons yt Dyettet at the Honble Compas Table & charge at the Fort in Govr Poiriers time (Vizt)</p> <p>The Govr & his Lady (besides 2 or 3 child) 2 4. in Council (besides their Wives when in yr Vally) 4</p> <p>Minister 1 Ensigne 1 Engineer 1 Gunner 1 Surgeon 3 Doctr & his Mate - 1 2 [...] Clerk of yr Council & Assistr 2 Gentleman of Arms 1 a Sergeant in Waiting 1 a month</p> <p>Margin Notes: Worsht St Dyett Expences in Govr Poiriers time.</p>	<p>Island St Helena, December 1715 At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 December 1715 at Union Castle, James Valley.</p> <p>Present: Isaac Pyke, Esquire, Governor George Haswell, deputy Matthias Bazett, third Antipas Tovey, fourth Edward Byfield, fifth in council</p> <p>The <i>St George</i> had sailed from the island on Thursday 1 December, carrying with her the following account of diet expenses.</p> <p>The council had drawn up a list of those who dieted at the Company's table, and were a charge at the Fort, in Governor Poirier's time.</p> <p>The Governor and his lady, besides two or three children 2 Four in council, besides their wives when in the valley 4</p> <p>Minister 1 Ensign 1 Engineer 1 Gunner 1 Surgeon, doctor and his mate 3 Clerk of the council and his assistant 2 Gentleman of arms 1 A sergeant in waiting 1</p> <p>Interpretations Several phrases need a word. To diet at the Company's table meant to be fed at the Company's cost from the common board kept at the Fort, and a charge at the Fort was anyone whose keep the Company bore. Governor Poirier had held the island in an earlier administration, so the list looked back to his day. The note that the councillors' wives ate there only when in the valley marks the difference between their town residence at James Valley and their country plantations. A gentleman of arms and a sergeant in waiting were household and guard officers attending the Governor.</p> <p>The list lays out the whole establishment fed at the Fort's table. Around the Governor and his lady sat the four councillors, the minister, the ensign, the engineer, the gunner, the surgeon and doctor, the clerk and the lesser officers, with wives and children besides. Maintaining so many at the Company's board was a standing cost the directors watched closely. By counting heads in this way, the council showed exactly who drew on the common table and what the establishment came to.</p> <p>Reaching back to Governor Poirier's day suggests the council was answering a question about its costs. A list of who had dieted under a former governor would let the directors weigh the present expense against the past, or settle a dispute over how far the table had grown. Sent home aboard the <i>St George</i> on 1 December 1715, it formed part of the island's regular accounting to London. The record was as much a defence of the Fort's housekeeping as a plain tally of mouths.</p> <p>Speculations The careful qualifiers in the list, the councillors' wives counted only when in the valley and the Governor's two or three children set aside, read like a clerk guarding against a known objection. Feeding officials' families at the Company's board was just the sort of perquisite the directors were apt to query, and the precise hedging suggests the council expected the point to be raised. By marking off exactly who was and was not fed at the table, the bench tried to settle the awkward question of family maintenance before London could press it.</p>
150	141	<p>Decr 1715. a Marshall & One yt Assisted him 17. 2 2 & Sometimes 3 Smiths 3 a Carpenter & a Joyner 2 Gunnens Mate (or Cheif Mate) 1 Cooper 1 Sawyer 1</p>	<p>December 1715 The list of those dieting at the Company's table went on with the Fort's lesser officers, servants and labourers.</p> <p>A marshal and one to assist him 2 Smiths, two and sometimes three 3 A carpenter and a joiner 2</p>

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		<p>Overseer of yr Labourers at yr fortifi- cations 1 Coxwaine 1 Writers in the Stores 2 Govr Steward (& his Wife house keeper) 2 Butler 1 Cooks 2 Gardner 1 Fisherman 1 4. Blacks that went in the Boat 4 5. Do that fetcht Wood to dress Victuals 2 In Shipping time, Comanders, Super- cargoes Passengers &c. Officers 4 or 5 in every Ship On Sundays Dined (Vizt) The Clerk of the Parish 1 School Master 1 Sergeants if releif day 2 Corporals 2 Drumers 1 Overseer of the Blacks at plantatn house 1</p>	<p>Gunner's mate, or chief mate 1 Cooper 1 Sawyer 1 Overseer of the labourers at the fortifications 1 Coxswain 1 Writers in the stores 2 The Company steward and his wife, the housekeeper 2 Butler 1 Cooks 2 Gardener 1 Fisherman 1 Blacks that went in the boat 4 Blacks that fetched wood to dress the victuals 2 In shipping time, the commanders, supercargoes, passengers and officers also dined, four or five from every ship. On Sundays the following dined besides: Clerk of the parish 1 Schoolmaster 1 Sergeants, on a relief day 2 Corporals 2 Drummers 1 Overseer of the blacks at the plantation house 1</p> <p>Interpretations A string of offices fills the list. A marshal kept order and served the court, a joiner did the finer woodwork beside the carpenter, and a cooper made and mended casks while a sawyer cut timber into boards. The coxswain steered the Fort's boat, the writers were the clerks of the stores, and the steward and butler ran the household table. A supercargo was the officer aboard a merchant ship who managed its cargo and its sale, and to dress the victuals simply meant to cook the food. A relief day was the day the guard changed, when its sergeants and corporals came to dine. This lower roll, set beside the officers of the page before, shows just how large the Company's table had grown. Tradesmen, servants, a fisherman, a gardener and the slaves who rowed the boat and carried firewood all ate at the Fort's charge, taking the daily number past forty. On Sundays the parish clerk, the schoolmaster and the off-duty sergeants and corporals swelled it further. Feeding such a household, day in and day out, was among the heaviest standing costs the island carried. The list reaches all the way down the Fort's order to the enslaved. After the officers and tradesmen come the four blacks who manned the boat and the two who fetched wood to cook by, each one a charge on the Company like any free servant. Slaves did the heaviest and humblest work of the table, yet their keep was reckoned in the same column as the Governor's. The single account thus held the whole community of the Fort, from its head to the men it owned.</p> <p>Speculations The entry for shipping time may be the most pointed line in the whole account. By noting that four or five officers from every calling ship dined at the table, the council quietly reminded the directors that their own vessels drove up the diet bill they were apt to question. The cost of feeding commanders, supercargoes and passengers was not the island's extravagance but the price of the traffic London itself sent. Set among the fixed mouths of the establishment, the line turned a complaint about expense back towards its source.</p>
151	142	<p>Decr 1715. On Extraordinary days dind 52 (Vizt) Every Muster day, all Officers in General, the Govrs relations as Mr Luffkin, Mr Laffkin, Daughter &c. friends amongst the Planters And constantly the Govr had 2 or 3 Servts 3 his Lady as many 3 besides other of the Councils Servts 5 or 6. 6</p>	<p>December 1715 Extraordinary days brought still more to the table. On every muster day all the officers dined, together with the Governor's relations, such as Mr Lufkin and his daughter, and his friends among the planters. The Governor's servants, two or three 3 His lady's servants, as many 3</p>

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		<p>and Some others that probably 64 Wee have forget to mention being about 9 or 10 Years Since but to the best of Our remembrance the aforesaid is a true Acct And are Worshp Yor Humb Servts (Signd) Thos Cason John Alexander St Helena Septr 20: 1715 In Obedience to yor Comands I have Sent You the Underwritten List of the People that Dined at the Fort in Govr Roberts time, when I was Steward, there were Several others that did Eate there but do not Exactly remember their names the Books being Eaten with the Ratts & Wasted. At the Upper Table (Vizt) The Worshp yr Govr & Council 5 Mrs Poirier</p> <p>Margin Notes: Septr 20: 1715 Worshp Sr In Govr Roberts time</p>	<p>Other servants of the council, five or six 6 With these the tally reached sixty-four, and some others were probably left out. The account looked back about nine or ten years, but to the best of the signers' memory it was a true one. Dated 20 September 1715, it was certified by Thomas Cason and John Alexander.</p> <p>A second list covered the table in Governor Roberts' time, sent in by a man who had been steward then. In obedience to the council's command, he set down those who had dined at the Fort under that governor. Several others had eaten there too, he allowed, but he could not recall their names, the books having been eaten by rats and spoiled.</p> <p>The Roberts-time list opened with the upper table. The Worshipful the Governor and Council 5 Mrs Poirier [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few terms set the scene. A muster day was when the garrison paraded for inspection, drawing extra mouths to the table. The Governor's relations named here, the Lufkins, were a planter family tied to him by blood, and the friends among the planters were his country neighbours. Governor Poirier had ruled the island some nine or ten years before, and Governor Roberts earlier still, so the lists looked deep into the past. An upper table was the principal board where the Governor and council sat, set against a lower one for the lesser household.</p> <p>These signed lists were got up as evidence about the cost of the table. By 20 September 1715 the council had gathered old hands, Thomas Cason and John Alexander for Governor Poirier's day and a former steward for Governor Roberts', to set down who had dined at the Fort under earlier governors. Such pains to reconstruct a table nine or ten years gone make sense only if the present diet expense was in question. The bench was plainly building a case to lay before the directors, showing that a crowded table was no new thing.</p> <p>The gaps in the older list came down to rats. The former steward could not name everyone who had eaten at the Fort in Governor Roberts' time, because the account books had been gnawed away and spoiled by vermin. The same plague the indent met with wire mesh and traps had already devoured the very records the council now needed. Where the paper was gone, only fading memory could fill the want, and the lists rested frankly on what the old men could still recall.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The loss of the books to rats fell out conveniently for the council's purpose. With no ledgers left to check, the lists for Governors Poirier and Roberts rested wholly on what old servants could remember, and memory could be shaped to fit the case the bench wished to make. Whether the gaps were honest or useful, the destroyed records left the witnesses free to recall the table much as they pleased. A history built on remembrance rather than paper was one the directors could neither confirm nor easily disprove.</p>
152	143	<p>Decr 1715. Mrs Poirier Mrs Goodwin & 2. daughters 5. 4 the House keeper 1 the Minister, Gunner, Ensigne & Clerk of yr Council 4 the Surgeon & his Wife 2 the Engineer 1 On Sundays 17 The Councils Wives & Servts Usually 3. or 4 planters & their Wives At the Second Table the Sergt of yr Guard 1 Carpenters & Caulkers belonging to Shipping that built & repaired Boats every day Victuals & Drink & a Dollar each Carpenters 5</p>	<p>December 1715 The upper table went on with the chief ladies and officers. Mrs Poirier, Mrs Goodwin and her two daughters 4 The housekeeper 1 The minister, gunner, ensign and clerk of the council 4 The surgeon and his wife 2 The engineer 1 The upper table came to seventeen. On Sundays the council's wives and servants usually dined as well, with three or four planters and their wives. At the second table sat the sergeant of the guard, counted as one. The carpenters and caulkers attached to</p>

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		<p>Smiths 3 Stone Cutters 3 Mr Free 1 the Steward 1 Musick 3 Cook (besides three blacks) 1 Joseph Thomlinson 1 Lyme Burner 1 The Govr Goodwins, Mashbornes, Mars- dens, Griffiths, Thomlinsons & Alexanders Servts 8 The other Servts that Attended & cleaned the House 3 Corporals 2 every relief day & one every Sunday Expen 48</p>	<p>the shipping, who built and repaired the boats, had their victuals and drink each day and a dollar apiece besides.</p> <p>Carpenters 5 Smiths 3 Stone cutters 3 Mr Free 1 The steward 1 Musicians 3 Cook, besides three blacks 1 Joseph Thomlinson 1 Lime burner 1 Servants of the Goodwin, Mashborne, Marsden, Griffith, Thomlinson and Alexander families 8 Other servants who attended and cleaned the house 3 Corporals dined, two on every relief day and one every Sunday. The second table was reckoned at some forty-eight in all.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few terms and trades need a word. Caulkers were the men who drove oakum and pitch into a boat's seams to keep the water out, and the dollar they were paid was the Spanish piece of eight, the common silver coin of the trade. The upper table was the principal board for the Governor, council and chief persons, while the second table fed the tradesmen, servants and lesser folk. Musick meant the Fort's musicians, a lime burner the man who fired limestone into the lime used for mortar and roofs, and stone cutters the masons who dressed the stone.</p> <p>The two tables divided the household by rank as plainly as any seating could. At the upper board sat the Governor, the council, the minister and the principal ladies, Mrs Poirier and Mrs Goodwin among them. At the second came the carpenters, smiths, stone cutters, musicians and the crowd of servants, fed in their proper place below. The single account thus drew the whole social order of the Fort, from the Governor's table down to the men who cleaned the house.</p> <p>The shipwrights tell their own story of how the island kept its boats. Carpenters and caulkers who built and mended the boats had their board each day and a dollar besides, paid in hard silver rather than note or kind. That the Fort could find the coin to pay them daily marks the boat work as steady and valued, for the boats were the island's only link to the ships in the road. Skilled hands of this sort were worth a cash wage even where coin ran short.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The eight servants of the Goodwin, Mashborne, Marsden, Griffith, Thomlinson and Alexander households at the second table reveal how widely the Fort's bounty spread. The table fed not only the Company's own people but the servants of the island's leading families, several of them tied to the council itself, the Mashbornes among them. A board meant for the establishment had become a shared perquisite of the ruling houses. In setting this down for the directors, the council exposed just how far the custom of the table had reached beyond the Company's proper charge.</p>
153	144	<p>Decr 1715 48 Cooper 1 Coxswaine 1 Overseer of the Workmen 1 Besides the people that come every day from the Plantation house 51 The Marshall every Council day & every holiday. I am Worshp Sr Yor Obedt humble Servt (Signd) Joseph Thomlinson Worshp Sr When I was Steward of the Fort all the Persons I have mentiond herein did not dine at the Honble Compas Table because some were dead before I was made Steward, but I knew they did in my predecessors time (Peter Bourdeaux who died before I</p>	<p>December 1715 The second table also took in a few more hands. Cooper 1 Coxswain 1 Overseer of the workmen 1 These brought the second table to fifty-one. Besides them came the people who arrived each day from the plantation house, and the marshal on every council day and every holiday. Joseph Thomlinson signed the account as steward of the Fort in Governor Roberts' time. A third account covered Governor Boucher's time. The steward of that day explained that not all the persons he named had dined at the Company's table</p>

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		<p>was chosen) I have na- med all as I knew or now Remember At the Upper Table The Govr & Council 5 Mrs Hoskison & 2 daughters (sometimes at the Fort) Likewise they & three Sons always (when in the Country 6 Madm Pack & Eight Children at the Fort & the Store house (were Victuals was 11 Margin Notes: In Govr Bouchers time</p>	<p>while he held the office, since some had died before he was made steward. He knew they had dined in his predecessor's time, under Peter Bourdeaux, who had died before he himself was chosen. He had set down all that he knew or could still remember. At the upper table: The Governor and Council 5 Mrs Hoskison and her two daughters, sometimes at the Fort, and the same with three sons always when in the country 6 Madam Pack and her eight children, at the Fort and the store house, where victuals [...] 11 Interpretations A little background helps. Governor Boucher had held the island in yet another earlier administration, so the three certificates between them reached back through several governorships. Each was the work of a former steward, the officer who had run the Company's table in his day, with Joseph Thomlinson speaking for Governor Roberts' time and another, whose own predecessor had been Peter Bourdeaux, for Boucher's. To dine when in the country meant at a family's own plantation rather than at the Fort. Madam and Mrs were the courtesy titles of the leading ladies named. Three stewards' statements, laid end to end, gave the council a history of the table reaching back many years. By calling on the men who had kept the board under earlier governors, the bench could set down who had dined at the Company's charge across a generation. The purpose was the same throughout, to answer to the directors for the cost of the table by showing it an old and settled custom. The labour of gathering such testimony marks how seriously the question of diet expense was taken. The Boucher-time steward took care to mark the limits of what he could swear to. He set apart the persons he had seen at the table himself from those he knew only by report of his predecessor Peter Bourdeaux, who had died before his own time, and he owned that he named all only as he knew or could still recall. Such scruple, like the earlier loss of the books to rats, shows the witnesses building their accounts on imperfect memory. The certificates carried weight not as ledgers but as the honest recollection of men who had been there. Speculations The eleven counted for Madam Pack and her eight children suggest the Company's table did duty as a kind of relief for the families it had lost. A widow and her children, fed at the Fort and the store house, were carried not because they served the Company but because their husband and father once had. The board thus softened the hard mortality of the place, taking in the dependants of men the island's service had used up. What the directors might read as waste was in part the Fort keeping its own widows and orphans from want.</p>
154	145	<p>Decr 1715 11 was Sent to those that did not come to dine with the Govr constantly twice a day Mrs French the housekeeper 1 The Minister & Wife 2 The Gunner, Ensigne & Clerk of yr Council 3. The Surgeon & his Wife 2 28 Very rarely less then fourteen present tho not always dined together for some times the Govr dined in his Chamber and then only the Women or whom he called in Dined with him & the rest dined in the Hall. All the Councils Wives & Some of yr Planters & their Wives if any at the Church then the Govr (with whom he thought fitt Dined in the Parlour These had always Punch as they thought fitt there being never any al- lowance at the Upper Table. In Shipping time there dined the Comanders of Ships & Super- cargoes came often, the Cheif Mates & Pursers Usually & Sometimes passengers if Men of any Note but in Shipping time Several of the Women &</p>	<p>December 1715 The store house sent out victuals twice a day to those who did not come to dine with the Governor, Madam Pack's family among them. The upper table then continued. Mr French, the housekeeper 1 The minister and his wife 2 The gunner, ensign and clerk of the council 3 The surgeon and his wife 2 The upper table came to twenty-eight. Rarely were fewer than fourteen present, though they did not always dine together. Sometimes the Governor dined in his chamber, when only the women, or whomever he called in, ate with him, and the rest dined in the hall. On church days all the council's wives, with some planters and their wives, dined, and the Governor took whom he pleased into the parlour. These had punch as</p>

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		<p>Planters did not come At these times the Govr never dined in the Hall. The Second</p>	<p>they wished, for there was never any fixed allowance of drink at the upper table.</p> <p>In shipping time the commanders of ships and the supercargoes came often, the chief mates and pursers usually, and sometimes passengers if they were men of note. Several of the women and planters stayed away then, and the Governor never dined in the hall at such times.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few words place the scene. Punch was the mixed drink of spirits, water, sugar, citrus and spice that the company drew freely, there being no fixed allowance, or set ration, at the upper table. The Governor dined now in his chamber, his private room, now in the hall, the common dining room, and on church days in the parlour, a more private reception room. A purser was the ship's officer who kept its accounts and stores, and men of note meant passengers of rank worth a seat at the Governor's board.</p> <p>The shifting of the table from room to room shows how finely the Governor managed his company. He might keep to his chamber with only the women or a few he called in, leaving the rest to the hall, or on a church day gather the council's wives and chosen planters in the parlour. Where a man sat, and whether he sat with the Governor at all, marked his standing for the day. The board was less a fixed institution than a stage the Governor arranged to suit each occasion.</p> <p>Shipping time turned the table outward to the fleet. The commanders and supercargoes came often, the mates and pursers usually, and any passenger of note besides, while the island's own women and planters drew back. The Governor never dined in the hall at such times, keeping a more formal board for the ships' officers. The Fort's hospitality to the men of the East India ships was part of what the island owed its place on the route.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The careful staging of the table hints that the Governor's board was a tool of rule as much as a cost. By choosing who joined him in the chamber, who sat in the hall, and whom he thought fit for the parlour, the Governor dealt out favour and rank with every meal. The free-flowing punch, unstinted by any allowance, bound the island's gentry and the visiting ships' officers to his hospitality. On so small and isolated a place, a seat at the Governor's table was a form of power, and the expense the directors questioned bought him the loyalty of the men he governed.</p>
155	146	<p>Decr 1715. The Second Table, 28 the Sergt of the Guard, the Writers of the Store house or in the Secre- taries Office, Vizt Mr Goodwin, Mr Delaross, Mr Broom, Richd Dixon & John Baret the Store keepers Son the Surgeons Mate, Mr Cleve, Thomas Thompson the Steward, Andrew Bergue Cooper, Armorer or Smith & his Assis- tant, But when those who Workt at Sandy bay came down on any business they had their dyett also, the Montross in Waiting, two Cooks & three Fidlers In all 18.</p> <p>In Shipping time the Ships Steward & Coxwain but if a Store ship the Boats Crew with all those of the Ships people that did any work for the Compa as Carpenters, Boatswains who had a Dollar a day & their Victuals besides an Allowance of Arrack. The Govrs Servts the Butler & his Assistant & the Barber, Wm Bates the Coxwain, Henry Harman & Gardner Jno Thompson his Assistant, besides all people that came from plantation house on business to the Govr or on Alarms, the Marshall every Council day the Clerk of the Church & School Masters every Sunday, also Holidays 13.</p> <p>The Blacks forward were To Each of the Council One 3 the Gunner 2</p>	<p>December 1715</p> <p>The second table came next. At it sat the sergeant of the guard and the writers of the store house and the secretary's office, namely Mr Goodwin, Mr Delarose, Mr Broom, Richard Dixon and John Barrett the storekeeper's son. With them dined the surgeon's mate, Mr Cleve, Thomas Thompson the steward, and Andrew Berguer the cooper, the armorer or smith and his assistant. When the men who worked at Sandy Bay came down on business, they had their diet too. The matross in waiting, two cooks and three fiddlers made up the rest, eighteen in all.</p> <p>In shipping time the ship's steward and coxswain dined. If a store ship lay in the road, the boat's crew came too, with all the ship's people who did any work for the Company, such as carpenters and boatswains, who had a dollar a day and their victuals, besides an allowance of arrack.</p> <p>The Governor's servants made up another group: the butler and his assistant, the barber, William Bates the coxswain, Henry Harman and the gardener, and John Thompson his assistant. Besides these came all who arrived from the plantation house on business to the Governor, or on alarms, the marshal on every council day, and the clerk of the church and the</p>

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			<p>schoolmasters every Sunday and holiday. These came to thirteen.</p> <p>The slaves allotted to the officers came next. To each of the council, one 3 The gunner [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Several terms and places need a word. A matross was a gunner's assistant in the artillery, ranking just below the gunner, and an armorer kept the Fort's weapons in repair. A boatswain was the ship's officer over its rigging and boats, and a store ship one that carried supplies rather than trade goods. Sandy Bay was a district on the far side of the island, whose labourers were fed when they came down on business. The allowance of arrack was a daily ration of the spirit, and the fiddlers were among the Fort's musicians.</p> <p>The list of slaves attached to the establishment shows how deeply the Fort rested on owned labour. Each councillor was allowed one, the gunner another, and so on down the offices, the enslaved parcelled out as a requisite of rank. To hold an office at St Helena was to be granted the labour of a person the Company owned. The same account that counted the Governor's punch counted the slaves assigned to serve him and his fellows.</p> <p>A store ship in the road let the island hire its hands for the Company's work. The boat's crew and any of the ship's people who turned to as carpenters or boatswains earned a dollar a day, their food, and a ration of arrack besides. Paying in hard silver and spirit shows how the Fort drew on passing crews to get its heavy labour done. The arrack ration in particular bound the men to the task as surely as the coin did.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The recurrence of the same families through the list hints at how the island's offices ran in kin. John Barrett sat among the writers as the storekeeper's son, and two Thompsons appear together, Thomas the steward and John the gardener's assistant. On so small a station, posts in the store house and household passed readily to the sons and relations of the men already in place. The establishment renewed itself from within, as much a web of families as a body of officers.</p>
156	147	<p>Decr 1715 2 the Gunner One the Parson One 3 the Surgeon One The Govrs particular Servants Casar & Amin 2 Balloe, house keeper or Groom Ben his assistant 2 Mavaro & Antony 2 Jack & Dick, two boys 2 Two Black Wenches to cleane yr house 2 John Moore, Old Cook who helped in yr Kitchin 1 Old Grewer, Black Gardner 1 77 The Second Table had always allowance of Arrack of half a Gallon each man to be Served out every Monday. I am Worthy Sr Yor Worships most Obedient most faithfull & most humble (Signd) Servant to Comand Thomas Thompson Island St Helena A List of those who (at present) Eate at the General Table. Vizt The Govr & Council 5 the Govr Lady & Sister 2 the Chaplin 1 the Ensigne & Cl: Council 2 Two Doctors 2 12 Writers Margin Notes: In Govr Pykes time</p>	<p>December 1715 The gunner, the parson and the surgeon each had one slave besides. The Governor's own servants were named one by one. Caesar and Amin 2 Balloo the housekeeper or groom, and Ben his assistant 2 Mavaro and Antony 2 Jack and Dick, two boys 2 Two black women to clean the house 2 John Moore, the old cook who helped in the kitchen 1 Old Grewer, the black gardener 1 With these the count reached seventy-seven. The second table always had an allowance of arrack, half a gallon for each man, served out every Monday. Thomas Thompson signed the account as steward in Governor Boucher's time. A fourth list set down those who ate at the general table at present, in Governor Pyke's own time. The Governor and Council 5 The Governor's lady and sister 2 The chaplain 1 The ensign and clerk of the council 2 Two doctors 2 Interpretations A few points need setting out. The Governor's particular servants were the slaves of his own household, each named and given a task, from Balloo the groom who tended the horses to John Moore the</p>

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			<p>old cook and Old Grewer the gardener. The two black women cleaned the house, and Jack and Dick were boys. The arrack allowance was the second table's weekly ration of spirit, half a gallon a man. The general table meant the common board, and Governor Pyke was the present ruler of the island, Isaac Pyke, who sat at its head.</p> <p>The naming of the Governor's slaves one by one is a rare glimpse of the enslaved as individuals. Caesar, Amin, Balloo, Ben, Mavaro, Antony, Jack, Dick, John Moore and Old Grewer each appear with a name and a place in the household, the groom, the cook, the gardener, the boys, the women who cleaned. Some carried classical names forced on them, others plain English ones, and the old cook and old gardener mark lives spent in the Fort's service. Counted among the diet expenses, these people were at once mouths to feed and the labour that fed the rest.</p> <p>The fourth list brings the long exercise to its point, the table as it stood under Governor Pyke himself. Set beside the crowded boards of Poirier, Roberts and Boucher, the present general table could be measured against the practice of three earlier governors. The council had reached back across a generation precisely so that this last list, its own, would not stand alone. By the time the reader meets Pyke's table, the case that the Fort's hospitality was old and customary has already been made.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The two aged slaves on the list, John Moore the old cook and Old Grewer the gardener, raise a quiet question about what became of the enslaved when their strength failed. Both were still named, still fed, still counted among the establishment, though long past their hardest labour. On an island they could never leave, there was nowhere for an old slave to go but the Fort that had used him, and the Company kept such people to the end. Their place on a diet account is the nearest thing to a record of lives worn out in its service.</p>
157	148	<p>Decr 1715 12 Writers & houshold Servants At Board Wages (Vizt) 6 The Gunner, two Writers, Sergeant in waiting, the Armorer & Smith 6 Black Servants employed at the Fort. (Vizt) Mavarro, Timm, Old Grewer in the Garden, Antony & Old John (with the Cook) 2 Wenches to wash dishes 2 boys to cleane Knives & blacks to fetch Wood, comonly amount to 16. In Shipping time 40. The Comanders & Super Cargoes (often the Cheif Mate & Purser (twice or thrice) & passengers of any Note, (Sometimes) On Sundays or Publick days. The Clerk & Marshall. On Monday the 12th Inst. arrived here from Bengal & Madrass (but last from the Cape) the Cardigan Capt Richd Grainger Comandr. The Govr proposeth to the Council that they Should think of what is pro- per to be write to Our Honble Masters by this Ship Cardigan. Capt Haswell, Capt Bazett with the rest in Council Say, that having write so largly lately to Our Honble Masters</p> <p>Margin Notes: Cardigan Arr: to Write pher.</p>	<p>December 1715 The writers and household servants at board wages came next. At board wages, the writers and household servants 6 The gunner, two writers, the sergeant in waiting, the armorer and smith 6 Black servants employed at the Fort: Mavarro, Timm, Old Grewer in the garden, Antony and Old John with the cook, two women to wash dishes, two boys to clean knives, and others to fetch wood 16 The present establishment thus came to forty. In shipping time the commanders and supercargoes came often, the chief mate and purser twice or thrice, and passengers of note sometimes. On Sundays or public days the clerk and marshal dined as well. The <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Richard Grainger commanding, arrived on Monday 12 December from Bengal and Madras, her last call having been at the Cape. The Governor proposed that the council consider what was proper to write to the directors by her. Captain Haswell, Captain Bazett and the rest of the council answered that, having written so fully to the directors of late [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Two points need clearing. To be at board wages meant to draw a money allowance to feed oneself rather than to eat at the Company's table, so the writers and servants so listed were a charge in wages, not in diet. The <i>Cardigan</i> was an East India ship, Captain Richard Grainger, come in from Bengal and Madras by way of the Cape. The black servants named, Mavarro, Timm, Old Grewer, Antony and Old John among them, were the slaves who did the rough work of the household. To</p>

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			<p>write so largely meant to have written at great length, as the council lately had.</p> <p>The mark of board wages tells the real story of the comparison. Under Governor Pyke the writers and household servants drew money to feed themselves rather than crowd the table, so the present board ran to forty where Poirier's had reached sixty-four. By putting part of the establishment on a cash allowance, the present rule had trimmed the diet expense the directors questioned. The four lists laid side by side were meant to show exactly this, that Pyke's table was the leanest of the four.</p> <p>The arrival of the <i>Cardigan</i> on 12 December 1715 raised the question of what to send home by her. The Governor asked the council to consider a fresh letter to the directors, but Captain Haswell, Captain Bazett and the rest answered that they had already written at great length of late. The recent packet, with its indent and its diet accounts, had carried most of what needed saying. A ship in the road did not always call for a long despatch when the last had said so much.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The same names recur across the lists in a way the free officers do not. Old Grewer the gardener, Antony and Mavarro served the Fort under Boucher and serve it still under Pyke, their lives spanning the governors who came and went above them. Where stewards, councillors and even governors changed with the years, the enslaved stayed, the one fixed labour of the place. The diet accounts, drawn up to measure the cost of free men's tables, quietly record the enslaved as the Fort's longest-serving inhabitants.</p>
158	149	<p>Decr 1715 Masters & nothing of moment happening Since, they think the Copy of that Letter Sufficient, only Capt Bazett desires it may be added by way of Postscript or any other way a renewal of Our request for Sending Out the Stores Indented for, Wee being in Such Extream want of them As to Naval Stores, especially, Cordage, Pitch & Tarr, that Wee have not half eno to Supply the Present Ship, and all Ships that comes here make great demands for Such kind of Stores As to Shoes Wee have none. Capt Bazett Sayes he is fully convinced half the Garrison must go bare foot in a very Short time Of Ironmongery Ware, of those In Our In- dent, Wee want as much; there is not One Pick Axe upon the Place, nor Iron fitt to make any. As to Timber, Plank & boards Our necessities for Such kind of Stores are as great as ever, the Ordinary expence of boards in this Island for necessary repairs only, being at least 800 every Year, besides other accidental Uses; & indeed the whole Indent (tho tis perhaps as large as any Sent to England,) is greatly wanted here Wee are very glad this Ship has brought Us a few Shirts, which tho it be but 150. will be of very great Use to Us at present, because because if they had brought Us Linnen Wee have not thread to make it Up into Shirts</p> <p>Margin Notes: for Stores</p>	<p>December 1715</p> <p>The council thought a copy of its recent letter would suffice, nothing of moment having happened since. Captain Bazett alone wished a postscript added, renewing the request for the indented stores, the island being in such extreme want of them.</p> <p>Naval stores were the first want, especially cordage, pitch and tar, of which the island had not half enough to supply even the present ship, while every ship that called made great demands for them. Shoes had run out altogether, and Captain Bazett was sure half the garrison must soon go barefoot. Ironmongery was as short, for not a single pickaxe remained on the island, nor any iron fit to make one.</p> <p>Timber, plank and boards were wanted as badly as ever. The ordinary use of boards for necessary repairs alone came to at least six hundred a year, besides other casual needs. The whole indent, large as it was, perhaps as large as any ever sent to England, was sorely needed.</p> <p>The council was glad the ship had brought a few shirts. Though only fifty, they would serve well at present, for had the directors sent linen instead, there was no thread on the island to make it into shirts.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few terms recall the indent. Cordage was rope of every size, and pitch and tar the black stuff used to waterproof a ship's seams and rigging, all of them naval stores, the supplies a ship needed. Ironmongery meant iron goods and hardware, here as scarce as a single pickaxe. The whole indent was the great general order the council had lately drawn up, trade by trade, and a postscript a few lines added at the foot of a letter.</p> <p>The renewal of the stores request shows the want had grown desperate. Having only just sent the full indent, the council seized the <i>Cardigan's</i> departure to press it again, for the island lacked cordage, pitch and tar enough even for the ship in the road. Shoes had run out, and Captain Bazett reckoned half the garrison would soon go barefoot. With not a pickaxe left nor iron to forge one, the bench was stating not a wish-list but a true emergency.</p>

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			<p>The smallest details carry the heaviest weight. The fifty shirts were welcome because the island had no thread to turn linen into shirts itself, and the six hundred boards needed each year only for ordinary repairs spoke of a place forever mending. Between one supply ship and the next, a remote island could run down to bare feet and broken tools. The whole indent, the council insisted, large though it was, was no more than the island truly needed.</p> <p>Speculations Renewing the indent by the <i>Cardigan</i> so soon after sending it by the <i>St George</i> may have been a deliberate safeguard. The council had its doubts about the <i>St George</i>, the same ship it suspected of selling Company goods at the Mascarenes, and a request that mattered this much was worth sending twice by different hands. Pressing it again also drove home the urgency, lest the directors treat the first list as a routine order rather than a cry of want. A second sending was cheap insurance against a first that might go astray or be set aside.</p>
159	150	<p>Decr 1715 The Govr inquires how farr the Books are forwarded Capt Haswell & Capt Bazett Say they are now done, but not quite Copied Out Orderd. That next Thursday morning all the Blacks be Sent for down to be New Cloathed. Orderd. That Richard Smitheman, mentiond in the Last Blacks List to have cutt the throat of Mercy One of the Honble Compas Black Wenches be Fined Twenty Pounds to Our Honble Masters. The Govr reports that the Plantation house Stands so Damp that the floor is all rotted again, not the boards only, but the ground Joist also. Wherefore he thinks twill be necessary to pave it with Stone because the floor- ing of that house One Year with another has never Stood the Honble Compa in less then fifty boards. The Gunner brought in his Monthly Acct of Expençe for November as foll: (Vizt) For the burying of Dr Wm Porteous Novr 11th 6 6th An Alarm 4 4 Ardd the St Geo: from India 7 7 17 17 Margin Notes: 2: cl Store Books. Blacks New Cloathd Smitheman fined 20li [...] Plantatn house Damp. to be floord with flatt Stone Gunnrs Acct.</p>	<p>December 1715 The Governor asked how far the books had been brought on. Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett answered that they were now finished, but not quite copied out. The council ordered that next Thursday morning all the blacks be sent for and newly clothed. It further ordered that Richard Smitheman, named in the last list of blacks as having cut the throat of Mercy, one of the Company's black women, be fined £20 0s 0d to the directors. The Governor reported that the plantation house stood so damp that its floor had rotted through again, not the boards alone but the ground joist beneath. He thought it must be paved with stone, since flooring that house had never cost the Company less than fifty boards, one year with another. The Gunner brought in his monthly account of powder spent in November. For the burial of Dr William Porteous, 11 November 6 lb An alarm 4 lb The arrival of the <i>St George</i> from India 7 lb The whole came to seventeen pounds. Interpretations A few terms set out the day's business. To be new clothed meant to be issued fresh clothing, here the periodic re-clothing of the slaves. A ground joist was the timber beam carrying a floor, and to reckon a cost one year with another was to take it on average across the years. The Gunner's account was his monthly tally of gunpowder spent, fired in salute at funerals and ship arrivals or in answer to an alarm, a defensive alert. Dr William Porteous was a man of the island, buried with a powder salute on 11 November 1715. The fine laid on Richard Smitheman lays bare how the law treated the enslaved. He had cut the throat of Mercy, one of the Company's black women, yet the bench answered not with a trial for her death but with a fine of £20 0s 0d paid to the Company. Her life was reckoned as the Company's property, and the wrong was redressed to her owner rather than answered for herself. Nothing on the page shows that Smitheman faced any further charge for what he had done. The Gunner's monthly account shows how the Fort spent its powder on more than war. Of the seventeen pounds fired in November, six went to the funeral salute for Dr Porteous and seven to greet the <i>St George</i> on her arrival, with four spent on an alarm. Powder was a costly stored commodity, so its use was tallied to the pound and brought before the council each month. Even the courtesies of a salute had to be accounted for. Speculations</p>

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			<p>The fine of £20 0s 0d set on Smitheman reads strangely even by the measure of its own day. A slave on the island had been valued at £50 0s 0d only the January before, in the indictment over the widow Coulson's Abigail on 24 January 1715, so the penalty for killing Mercy fell short even of what the law reckoned such a woman worth as property. The fine thus neither answered for her life as a person nor made good her loss as a chattel. It set an enslaved life at a figure below the market price of the enslaved themselves.</p>
<p>160</p>	<p>151</p>	<p>Decembr 1715 Powder 17li On the Alarm at Banks, Mundens pt & yr Fort 3 For the Guard 4 For recruiting & filling up yr Granadeers Pouches 3 Musketts Sent home 34 Lost in the Long boat 2 Buckaneer Sent home 1 Pistols, ditto 20 Muskett Balls dd Mr Pyke 1 Do expended at yr Alarm 4 Do to fix yr Granadeers Pouches 6 Aprons of Lead carried away in yr Longbt 2 Baganets broke 3 Spunge Staves expended 3 Axe heus do Jno Aldrick 2 Cartridge papr dd Mr Tovey 1 3 Do dd Lucas Mason 1½ Do dd Godfrd Shoales 1 Do expended in yr Guard 3 Match expended 24 Total 24 8½ 2 3 3 2 11 20 1 36 27 The Alarm men at Prosperous bay being Sent for to know why they did not make an Alarm for this Ship Cardigan a Sunday last. They Say twas so hazey that twas impossible to See a ship three Leagues. Wee are all Sencable that the Weather was very hazey & because they did make an Alarm before the Ship came in, the Govr & Council did dismiss them, en- joyning the Corporal a Strict diligence for the future. Sergt Margin Notes: Prosperous bay Men Examind abt yr last Alarm</p>	<p>December 1715 The Gunner's account went on with the rest of the stores spent and delivered. Powder on the alarm at Banks, Mundens and the Fort 3 lb Powder for the guard 4 lb Powder for recruiting and filling the grenadiers' pouches 3 lb Muskets sent home 34 Muskets lost in the long boat 2 A buccaneer gun sent home 1 Pistols sent home 20 Musket balls delivered to Mr Pyke [...] Musket balls expended at the alarm 4 Musket balls to fix the grenadiers' pouches 6 Lead aprons carried away in the long boat 2 Bayonets broken 3 Sponge staves expended 3 Stores delivered to John Aldrick 2 Cartridge paper delivered to Mr Tovey [...] Cartridge paper delivered to Lucas Mason 1½ Cartridge paper delivered to Godfrey Shoales 1 Cartridge paper expended in the guard 3 Match expended 24 The account closed with the column totals carried across its foot: 24, 8½, 2, 3, 3, 2, 11, 20, 1, 36 and 27. The alarm-men at Prosperous Bay were then sent for, to answer why they had raised no alarm for the <i>Cardigan</i> the Sunday before. They said the weather had been so hazy that no ship could be seen three leagues off. The council allowed that the haze had indeed been thick, and since the men had given an alarm before the ship came in, the Governor and Council let them go, charging the corporal to keep strict watch in future. Interpretations A run of military terms fills the account. Grenadiers' pouches were the cartridge bags of the grenadier soldiers, and a buccaneer was a long heavy musket of the kind hunters and freebooters used. Sponge staves were the rods that swabbed out a cannon's bore, match the slow-burning cord that fired the older guns, and cartridge paper the stiff paper rolled to hold a charge. Lead aprons were the covers laid over a cannon's vent to keep it dry. Banks and Mundens were coastal batteries guarding the approaches, and Prosperous Bay a lookout post on the windward side, where the alarm-men watched for ships, three leagues being some nine miles out to sea. The questioning of the Prosperous Bay watchmen opens a window onto the island's guard against surprise. Lookouts posted round the coast were to raise the alarm the moment a sail appeared, so the Fort knew friend from foe before a ship could close. When they failed to signal the <i>Cardigan</i> one Sunday, the council called them to account, accepting only that a heavy haze had hidden the ship beyond three leagues. The men were let off, but the corporal was charged to keep a sharper watch, for on so exposed an island a missed sail could mean an enemy at the door. The Gunner's account shows how closely the Fort kept its arms. Every musket sent home, every pistol, each bayonet broken and each pound of match and powder spent was set down and brought to the council. Thirty-four muskets and twenty pistols went back to</p>

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			<p>England, perhaps worn or outdated, while balls, sponge staves and cartridge paper were issued to named men for the guard. Such bookkeeping made sure that no weapon or charge slipped away unaccounted on an island that lived under the threat of attack.</p> <p>Speculations The haze that hid the <i>Cardigan</i> from the Prosperous Bay watch was the daytime twin of a fear the council had shown before. The same indent had asked for convex lamps to mark the Fort for ships coming in by night, and here the island's daylight watch was defeated by weather just as surely. Whether by darkness or by haze, a ship could reach St Helena unseen, friend or enemy alike. The lookouts on the heights and the lamps on the line were two halves of one anxious effort to keep nothing that approached the island a surprise.</p>
161	152	<p>Decr 1715 Serjt Fairfax. making complaint that Thos Leech neglecting to do his duty at Prosperous bay & it appearing very plaine that he does not appeare upon duty under pretence of Sicknes, but that he is not Sick Ordered that his pay be wholly Stopt Since last reckning day, excepting his Diett bill & that he be further punish- ed at the descretion of the Governour The Govr reports that he has com- mitted Thos Price the Surgeon of this place for his Base & Scandalous behaviour. Wee being all too well acquainted with Doctr Prices bad behaviour the Govr is desired to write to Our Honble Masters to acquaint them of Our necessity for One who has Skill either Surgeon or Apo- thecarry, but if possible We had rather have an Apothecarry. And Wm Worrall the Overseer of the Honble Compas plantations brought in his monthly Acct but Sayes there is a Sheep missing, which he fears is Stole. Orderd That an Advertizement be Published to give a reward of Five Pounds to any who will inform the Govr of any Sheep, Hogs or Goats, that have been Stole of the Honble Company. The Monthly Acct is as foll: (Vizt) An</p> <p>Margin Notes: complt agst The Leech punishmt Dr Price comitt a Sheep loss. advert to in- courage yr dis- covering Such thieves -</p>	<p>December 1715 Sergeant Fairfax complained that Thomas Leech had neglected his duty at Prosperous Bay. It appeared plain that Leech kept away from his post on a pretence of sickness, though he was not sick. The council ordered his pay wholly stopped since the last reckoning day, save his diet bill, and that he be further punished at the Governor's discretion.</p> <p>The Governor reported that he had committed Thomas Price, the surgeon of the place, for his disgraceful and scandalous behaviour. The whole council knew Price's bad conduct too well. The Governor was therefore desired to write to the directors of the island's need for a man of skill, whether surgeon or apothecary, though it would rather have an apothecary if one could be had.</p> <p>Mr William Worrall, overseer of the Company's plantations, brought in his monthly account, but reported a sheep missing that he feared had been stolen.</p> <p>The council ordered an advertisement published, offering a reward of £5 0s 0d to anyone who would inform the Governor of any sheep, hogs or goats stolen from the Company.</p> <p>Worrall's monthly account then followed.</p> <p>Interpretations A few terms explain the day's orders. To be committed was to be put in custody, as the Governor had done with the surgeon Price. A reckoning day was the regular date on which wages were settled, and a diet bill the account of a man's food, which Leech kept even as his pay was stopped. A surgeon treated wounds and performed operations, an apothecary dispensed medicines, and the island wanted at least one skilled in either. An advertisement was a public notice, here offering a reward for word of stolen beasts, and the overseer was the manager of the Company's farms.</p> <p>The committal of the surgeon left the island in a hard place for medical care. Thomas Price, who had lately signed the medicine indent himself, was now confined for disgraceful and scandalous behaviour, and the council knew his conduct only too well. With its one medical man removed, the bench begged the directors for a replacement, a surgeon or, better still, an apothecary. The same need had already set Captain Haswell to vetting the surgeon's mate of the <i>St George</i> a few weeks before, on 22 November 1715.</p> <p>Thomas Leech's punishment shows how seriously the council took the coastal watch. Leech had shirked his post at Prosperous Bay under a false plea of sickness, the very station whose men had lately failed to signal the <i>Cardigan</i>. The bench stopped his pay back to the last reckoning day, left him only his diet bill, and put further punishment in the Governor's hands. A lookout who would not watch was a danger the island could not carry, and the penalty marked it.</p> <p>Speculations The standing reward of £5 0s 0d for word of stolen beasts suggests the theft of the Company's livestock was</p>

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			<p>no rare thing. A single missing sheep in Worrall's account was enough to prompt not a hunt for one animal but a public bounty against all such pilfering. On an island that struggled to feed itself, the Company's sheep, hogs and goats were a temptation few hungry people could resist. The council met a problem rooted in want with the one tool it had, the promise of money to an informer.</p>
162	153	<p>Decr 1715 An Acct of the Honble Compas Neat Cattle Sheep, Hogs, Goates &c. taken Decr 5. 1715. Cows 54 Bulls 10 Yearlings 44 Heifer 1 Bullocks 30 Calves 14 Totall 153 Killd Since last acct given in Vizt 2. Bulls Increase Since last Acct. 10. Calves Hogs, Great & Small (Vizt) 226 Sowes 42 Barros 21 Boars 4 Shoats 36 Pigs 123 Increase Since the Last acct 7 Pigs Killd last month 23 Sheep great & Small (Vizt) 69 of yr Female kind 36 of yr Male kind 32 One Sheep is missing wch has been diligently Sought for & is feared to be Stolen Goates, great & Small 274 Wethers 45 Rams 3 Ewes 159 Kies 67 Killd Since the last Acct 19 Increase Since the last Acct 2 Fowles great & Small 80 (Signd) Wm Worrall Thes Yams he has now forgot but will bring them in, In the next Acct Orderd That Wm Gwyn & Wm Cooke for running off the Island & concealing himself on board the St George &c Margin Notes: Plantatn Acct Total</p>	<p>December 1715 Worrall's account, taken on 5 December 1715, set out the Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs and goats. Neat cattle, 153 in all 54 cows, 10 bulls, 44 yearlings, 1 heifer, 30 bullocks and 14 calves. Two bulls had been killed since the last account, and 10 calves added. Hogs, 226 in all 42 sows, 21 barrows, 4 boars, 36 shoats and 123 pigs. Seven pigs had been added since the last account, and 23 killed the month before. Sheep, 69 by the books 36 of the female kind and 32 of the male, with one missing. The missing sheep had been diligently sought and was feared stolen. Goats, 274 in all 45 wethers, 3 rams, 159 ewes and 67 kids. Nineteen had been killed since the last account, and 2 added. Fowls, great and small 80. William Worrall signed the account. He had forgotten the yams, he said, but would bring them in with the next one. The council ordered that William Gwyn and William Cooke, for trying to run off the island and concealing themselves aboard the <i>St George</i>, be [...].</p> <p>Interpretations The account turns on the language of the farmyard. Neat cattle were the Company's oxen and cows, the yearlings beasts a year old, a heifer a young cow not yet calved, and bullocks the castrated males kept for draught and meat. Among the hogs, sows were the females, barrows the castrated males, boars the breeders, shoats the weaned young and pigs the smallest. Among the goats, wethers were the castrated males, rams the breeders, ewes the females and kids the young. To run off the island meant to flee it by stealth, here by hiding aboard a ship. The census shows what the island reared to feed itself. Goats came first at 274 and hogs next at 226, both hardy beasts that fared well on rough ground, while cattle stood at 153 and sheep at only 69. The hardier animals plainly thrived where the sheep did not, and the monthly tally of kills and increases let the council watch its larder on the hoof. Taken on 5 December 1715, the count was the overseer's reckoning of the Company's living stores. Gwyn and Cooke had tried to get away from the island by stealth. The two hid aboard the <i>St George</i> to slip off unseen, a risk that tells its own story of life on the station. Where wages were stopped, the table watched and the want of stores a constant theme, men had reason enough to flee, yet the council guarded its people as jealously as its sheep. No one left St Helena without leave, and a stowaway was a matter for the bench.</p> <p>Speculations The 274 goats, the most numerous of all the island's beasts, may have been quietly harming it. Free-ranging goats crop young trees and seedlings before they can grow, and an island already bare of usable timber, forced to ship its every board from England, could ill afford herds that kept it bare. The same council that begged for deals and grieved over young trees cut for tool handles was breeding the very animals that</p>

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			helped strip the ground. Its larder on the hoof and its want of wood were perhaps two faces of one trouble.
163	154	<p>Decr 1715 detained here for the defence of the place until Our Honble Masters further pleasure be known, & that Wm Cook be kept here, they both having run away from the Ship <i>Eagle Galley</i> to which they belonged & having thereby forfeited their Wages. Wee think it better to keep them here for the Service of the place then to Send them to England were they can be no better then Vagrants. The foll: Order was Issued out to the Overseers of the Highways. (Vizt) Island St Helena. You Stephen Luffkin & Thomas Burnham, Freeholders having been chosen Overseers of yr Highways for this Year 1715. You are hereby required carefully & diligently to Execute that office & that you may the better & the more im- partially perform the Same, hereunto is a List Annexed of all the Inhabitants, (yt are planters or Freeman) and of what men Slaves each person hath. These are therefore in his Majesthis name to will & require You the said Steph: Luffkin & Thos Burnham to cause all per- sons (both themselves & Blacks) herein mentiond to work two days each at the least in</p> <p>Margin Notes: Wm Gwyn & Wm Cook to be kept here Warrrt to yr Over- seers of yr High- ways.</p>	<p>December 1715</p> <p>The council ordered that William Gwyn and William Cook be kept on the island for its defence, until the directors' pleasure was known. Both men had run from the <i>Eagle Galley</i>, to which they belonged, and concealed themselves aboard the <i>St George</i>, so forfeiting their wages. The bench thought it better to keep them for the service of the place than to send them to England, where they would be no better than vagrants.</p> <p>The council then issued an order to the overseers of the highways.</p> <p>Stephen Luffkin and Thomas Burnham, freeholders, had been chosen overseers of the highways for the year 1715. The warrant required them to carry out the office carefully and diligently. To help them do so the more impartially, a list was annexed of all the inhabitants, planters or freemen, and of how many men slaves each one held. In the King's name, Luffkin and Burnham were required to make every person named, both the inhabitants themselves and their slaves, give at least two days' labour each [...].</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few points need a word. The <i>Eagle Galley</i> was the ship Gwyn and Cook had deserted, a galley being a sort of merchant vessel, and by running from her they lost the wages owed them. A vagrant was a homeless wanderer without lawful means, a class the law treated harshly. The overseers of the highways, also called surveyors, were the parish officers charged with keeping the roads in repair, and freeholders were those who held their land outright. To require labour in his Majesty's name gave the warrant the force of royal authority.</p> <p>The highways warrant set the island's roads to be mended by compulsory labour. Every inhabitant named, planter or freeman, had to give at least two days' work, and so did the slaves he held, the list of who owned how many fixing each man's share of the burden. This was the old English duty of statute labour, recast on an island where a freeholder's obligation rose with the number of slaves at his command. The roads were built and kept by a levy of unpaid days, most of them worked by the enslaved.</p> <p>Keeping the two deserters tells of an island always short of hands. Rather than ship Gwyn and Cook home, where the council reckoned they would only swell the ranks of vagrants, the bench held them for the service and defence of the place. A station that had lately counted too few fit slaves and waited years to build its houses could not afford to let able men go. Even runaways from another ship were worth more on St Helena than off it.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The decision to keep Gwyn and Cook hints at how the island filled its ranks. Stranded sailors and deserters from the passing ships were a windfall of men, and a place forever short of hands had every reason to hold on to them. By keeping the two for its own defence rather than shipping them home, the council quietly recruited from the flotsam of the trade route. An island that could not breed or import labour enough took it where the sea washed it up.</p>
164	155	<p>Decr. 1715. in mending making & repairing the High ways, every were that is need full & necessa ry to be done, & if any person or persons after due Warning from You or either of You shall Absent himself & doth not come to Work & Send his Black or Blacks as aforesaid on such days as by You shall be apointed then You are to putt in ye Absent Persons room, Some other man, White or Black as You can hire & such Absenting White man for himself or his Black or Blacks or both shall forthwith repay You such</p>	<p>December 1715</p> <p>The two days' labour was to go to mending, making and repairing the highways wherever it was needed. If any person, after due warning, stayed away and failed to send his slaves on the appointed days, the overseers were to hire another man, white or black, in his place. The absentee was then to repay at once whatever the overseers had paid or agreed for the substitute. Should he refuse, the overseers were empowered to seize his goods by distress and sell them at public auction,</p>

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		<p>price or Prices, as You shall pay or agree to pay to Such Whites or their Blacks as You shall hire to work in their place or Stead, & if any person defaulted as aforesaid that shall refuse to pay You the Wages of such person or persons as You shall hire in their place or Stead. You are hereby impowered to take by distress any Goods from such person or persons & Sell the Same at Publick out cry, & the Over plus (if any) to returne to the Owner after You are repaid & reasonable Charges deducted, for which this shall be your Warrant.</p> <p>Dated & Given under Our hands & The Honble. Compa. Seal at Union Castle in James Valley. this 13th. Decr. 1715.</p> <p>(Signd.) Isaac Pyke Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Edw: Byfield.</p>	<p>returning any surplus to the owner once they were repaid and reasonable charges deducted.</p> <p>The warrant was dated and given under the council's hands and the Company's seal at Union Castle in James Valley on 13 December 1715, and signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthias Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>A few legal terms give the warrant its bite. To take goods by distress was to seize them lawfully to force a payment, and to sell at public outcry was to auction them to the highest bidder. The overplus was whatever remained of the price once the debt and charges were met, returned to the owner. To put a man in the absent person's room meant to hire a substitute in his place. The Company's seal, set beside the council's signatures, gave the order the force of the directors' own authority.</p> <p>The warrant set out a clear ladder of compulsion for the road labour. A man who, after warning, neither came himself nor sent his slaves would find the overseers hiring others in his place and charging him the cost. If he would not pay, his goods could be seized and sold at auction, the surplus alone returned to him. By this means the council turned a duty into a debt that could be levied on a defaulter's very property.</p> <p>Two authorities at once stood behind the order. It commanded the labour in his Majesty's name, drawing on the old royal law of the highways, yet it bore the Company's seal and the council's signatures, given at Union Castle on 13 December 1715. The island was governed by a trading company that nonetheless spoke with the King's voice, blending crown and corporation in a single warrant. The full bench set its hands to it, so the order carried the weight of the whole government.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The weight of enforcement in the warrant suggests the council expected to be defied. A duty that needed warnings, hired substitutes, distress and auction to compel it was plainly one the inhabitants were apt to dodge. The same season had shown Leech feigning sickness to leave his post and others running off the island, so reluctance to give up two days to the roads fits a wider grudging of unpaid service. The council armed its overseers heavily because it knew, from long practice, how readily the duty would be shirked.</p>
165	156	<p>Decr. 1715.</p> <p>A List of Whites & their Blacks yt are to Work at the High ways Two Days at least.</p> <p>Whites / Blacks / Totalls</p> <p>Capt. Matthew Bazett 2 / 2</p> <p>Joshua Thomlinson 7 / 7</p> <p>Thos. Eson 2 / 2</p> <p>John Alexander 1 / 3 / 4</p> <p>John French 2 / 2</p> <p>Thos. Southen 2 / 2</p> <p>John Worrall 1 / 1</p> <p>Wm. Slaughter 2 / 2</p> <p>John Goodwin 2 / 2</p> <p>Wm. Worrall 2 / 2</p> <p>Saml. Jessey 2 / 2</p> <p>Isaac Wood 3 / 3</p> <p>Wm. Cortley 1 / 1</p> <p>Thos. Leech 1 / 1</p> <p>Thos. Allis 1 / 2 / 3</p> <p>Robt. Angus 1 / 1</p> <p>Arthur Bradley 1 / 1</p> <p>Edmond Brodley 1 / 1</p> <p>John Bagley 2 / 1 / 3</p> <p>Robt. Bell 1 / 2 / 3</p> <p>Wm. Beale 1 / 1</p> <p>Thos. Burnham 1 / 1</p> <p>Orlando Bagley 1 / 2 / 3</p> <p>Rich. Beale 1 / 1</p> <p>Francis Carne 2 / 7 / 9</p>	<p>December 1715</p> <p>The list annexed to the warrant named each inhabitant and set down the whites and the blacks he was to send to the highways.</p> <p>Captain Matthias Bazett: 2 blacks Joshua Thomlinson: 7 blacks Thomas Cason: 2 blacks John Alexander: 1 white, 3 blacks John French: 2 blacks Thomas Southen: 2 blacks John Worrall: 1 black William Slaughter: 2 blacks John Goodwin: 2 blacks William Worrall: 2 blacks Samuel Jessey: 2 blacks Isaac Wood: 3 blacks William Cortley: 1 black Thomas Leech: 1 black Thomas Allis: 1 white, 2 blacks Robert Angus: 1 white Arthur Bradley: 1 white Edmond Bradley: 1 white John Bagley: 2 whites, 1 black Robert Bett: 1 white, 2 blacks William Beale: 1 white Thomas Burnham: 1 white Orlando Bagley: 1 white, 2 blacks Richard Beale: 1 white Francis Carne: 2 whites, 7 blacks John Coulson: 1 white, 1 black John Coles: 4 whites, 2 blacks</p> <p>The figures were carried over at the foot: nineteen whites, forty-nine blacks, sixty-eight in all.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The list is in effect a census of the island's free households and their slaves. Each name carries two figures, the white persons liable to give their own labour and the blacks, the slaves they were to send, with the total each must furnish. The phrase carried over at the foot means the running sum was taken on to the next page, the roster being unfinished. By this single sheet</p>

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		<p>John Coulson 1 / 1 / 2 John Coles 4 / 2 / 6 Carried over 19 / 49 / 68</p>	<p>the council knew at a glance who held land, who held slaves, and how many hands each owed to the roads.</p> <p>The figures show how unevenly the island's slaves were spread. A few held many, Joshua Thomlinson and Francis Carne with seven apiece, while most freemen had one or two and the poorest, men like Robert Angus and the Bradleys, had none and so had to turn out themselves. Of the sixty-eight hands owed so far, forty-nine were slaves and only nineteen free, so the enslaved did more than two-thirds of the road labour. The public works of St Helena, like its tables and its plantations, rested chiefly on owned hands.</p> <p>The names on the roster are the same that fill the rest of the record. Bazett sat on the council, Cason and Alexander had certified the old diet lists, Thomlinson had served as a steward, and Goodwin, Worrall, Carne and Coulson recur through the island's affairs. A free community this small was a web of a few dozen families, the same men appearing as officers, witnesses, slave-owners and now road-labourers by turn. Even Thomas Burnham, one of the two overseers charged with the levy, stood on the list owing his own day's work.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The two columns quietly map the island's order of rank. A man like Captain Bazett, owning slaves, owed the roads two black hands and none of his own, while Robert Angus and the Bradleys, owning no one, had to dig in person. The more slaves a man held, the less he himself need stoop to the labour, so the duty fell hardest on the poor freemen and the enslaved together. A levy that bound everyone in name spared the substantial in practice, the gentry sending others where the poor went themselves.</p>
<p>166</p>	<p>157</p>	<p>Decr. 1715. Brought over 19 / 49 / 68 Wm. Coles 1 / 1 / 2 John Crosby 1 / 1 Grace Colson 2 / 2 Jonad. Doveton 1 / 4 / 5 James Draper 1 / 2 / 3 Mary Eastop 1 / 1 Thos. Free 2 / 6 / 8 Henry Francis 2 / 5 / 7 Richd. Gurling 1 / 4 / 5 Robt. Gurling 1 / 2 / 3 James Greentree 2 / 5 / 7 Mercy Gargen 3 / 3 Jonad. Higham 1 / 1 / 2 Mary Harper Junr. Widow 1 / 1 John Harding 1 / 1 Joshua Johnson 1 / 6 / 7 Sutton Isacke Senr. 2 / 0 / 2 Sutton Isacke Junr. 1 / 1 / 2 John Knipe 1 / 2 / 3 Steph Luffkin 1 / 1 / 2 John Long 1 / 1 / 2 Francis Leek 1 / 1 Walter Morriss 1 / 1 / 2 Robt. Marsh 2 / 3 / 5 John Marsh 1 / 1 Jane Mudge 1 / 1 John Nichols 3 / 2 / 5 Martin Norman 1 / 0 / 1 Gabriel Powel 3 / 6 / 9 Saml. Price 1 / 1 John Robinson 2 / 2 / 4 Carried over 53 / 112 / 1[.]</p>	<p>December 1715</p> <p>The roster continued, the totals brought over from the page before.</p> <p>William Coles: 1 white, 1 black John Crossby: 1 white Grace Colson: 2 blacks Jonathan Doveton: 1 white, 4 blacks James Draper: 1 white, 2 blacks Mary Eastop: 1 white Thomas Free: 2 whites, 6 blacks Henry Francis: 2 whites, 5 blacks Richard Gurling: 1 white, 4 blacks Robert Gurling: 1 white, 2 blacks James Greentree: 2 whites, 5 blacks Mercy Gargen: 3 blacks Jonathan Higham: 1 white, 1 black Mary Harper the younger, widow: 1 white John Harding: 1 white Joshua Johnson: 1 white, 6 blacks Sutton Isaac the elder: 2 whites Sutton Isaac the younger: 1 white, 1 black John Knipe: 1 white, 2 blacks Stephen Luffkin: 1 white, 1 black John Long: 1 white, 1 black Francis Leek: 1 white Walter Morris: 1 white, 1 black Robert Marsh: 2 whites, 3 blacks John Marsh: 1 white Jane Mudge: 1 white John Nichols: 3 whites, 2 blacks Martin Norman: 1 white Gabriel Powel: 3 whites, 6 blacks Samuel Price: 1 white John Robinson: 2 whites, 2 blacks</p> <p>The figures were carried over at the foot: fifty-three whites, a hundred and twelve blacks, a hundred and sixty-five in all.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The roster runs on in the same form, name by name with the whites and slaves each owed. A few entries mark generations apart, Sutton Isaac the elder and the younger, and Mary Harper the younger set off from an older namesake. Brought over and carried over were the clerk's words for the totals taken from one page and on to the next. By the foot of this sheet the running count had reached a hundred and sixty-five, fifty-three white and a hundred and twelve black.</p> <p>Several women stand on the list as heads of their own households. Grace Colson and Mercy Gargen each owed slaves to the roads though no white of their own, and Mary Harper, Mary Eastop and Jane Mudge appear in their own right. Grace Colson was the widow whose slave Abigail had been valued at £50 0s 0d in the Bever</p>

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			<p>case of 24 January 1715, and here she answered for two. On an island that buried its men early, widows held land and slaves and bore the same public duties as any planter.</p> <p>The names are again the familiar ones of the island's affairs. Doveton, Draper, Francis, Gurling, Greentree, Long and Price all appear elsewhere in the record, as petitioners, witnesses or parties to the bench's business. Stephen Luffkin, the second of the two highways overseers, stands here owing his own white and black, so both enforcers of the levy were bound by it like the rest. The whole free community, a few dozen families, was caught in this one accounting of land, slaves and labour.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Grace Colson's two slaves on the roster may include a woman already known to the record. Her slave Abigail had been valued at £50 0s 0d in the Bever case, enticed to flee the island concealed aboard the <i>Aurengzebe</i> and publicly whipped on 29 January 1715 when the attempt failed. A year on, Abigail was probably one of the two black hands the widow now owed to the highways. The same person who had been a £50 chattel and the object of a notorious escape was here reduced to a single mark in a labour levy.</p>
167	158	<p>Decr. 1715. Whites / Blacks / Total Brought ov 55 / 112 / 167 Thomas Swallow 1 / 2 / 3 Richd. Swallow 5 / 7 / 12 Richd. Swallow Junr. 1 / 1 / 2 Wm. Seale 1 / 1 / 2 Giles Smith 1 / 1 John Sinsnick 1 / 1 Margt. Sich 3 / 3 Stewards Orphans 4 / 4 John Twaites 1 / 1 / 2 James Vesey 1 / 1 / 2 Ripin Wills 1 / 2 / 3 Francis Wrangham 1 / 4 / 5 Simon Whatley 1 / 1 / 2 Total 70 / 138 / 208 Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield</p>	<p>Yes - you are right. In the analytical prose those are narrative counts, so they take words; numerals stay for the roster lines, money, dates and measurements. Here is the full text with that applied.</p> <p>December 1715</p> <p>The roster closed with its last names, the totals once more brought over.</p> <p>Thomas Swallow: 1 white, 2 blacks Richard Swallow: 5 whites, 7 blacks Richard Swallow the younger: 1 white William Seale: 1 white, 1 black Giles Smith: 1 white John Sinsnick: 1 white Margaret Sick: 3 blacks the Steward orphans: 4 blacks John Twaites: 1 white, 1 black James Vesey: 1 white, 1 black Ripin Wills: 1 white, 2 blacks Francis Wrangham: 1 white, 4 blacks Simon Whaley: 1 white, 1 black</p> <p>The grand total stood at 70 whites, 138 blacks, 208 in all. The list was signed by George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield, with the Governor's monogram set above.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The roster ends here, the last names entered and the columns summed. The whole levy came to 208 hands, 70 white and 138 black, drawn from every free household on the island. The entry for the Steward orphans, owing four slaves and no white, shows that even children who had inherited an estate were counted among the contributors. Below the total the council set their signatures, George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield among them, which made the list and its warrant a sealed order.</p> <p>Nowhere else in these pages does a figure come so close to a count of the island's people. Among those named, 70 free men and women were fit to give labour against 138 slaves, so the enslaved were nearly twice the free and did the greater part of all public toil. The roads of St Helena, like the Fort's stores and the planters' fields, were to be made and mended chiefly by the unfree.</p> <p>Slaves passed down the generations like any other property. The Steward orphans held four between them, Margaret Sick three, and on the page before two widows answered for slaves of their own. A child or a widow who inherited land inherited the people on it, and with them the duties that land carried. The levy thus reached households with no grown man at their head, the burden following the property rather than the person.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			<p>The figure of 208 puts the island's labour shortage in plain numbers. From this one small pool came the hands for the roads, the Fort's garrison of some 60 to 80 soldiers, the planters' fields and the building of houses, with 14 or more families still waiting years for a roof. So few people could not be in two places at once, which is perhaps why every despatch home begged for stores, boards and men. The roads were one more claim on a labour force already stretched past its strength.</p>
<p>168</p>	<p>159</p>	<p>Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 20 day of December 1715. at Union Castle in James Valley. Pres: Isaac Pyke, Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Deputy. Matth: Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4 & Edw: Byfield, 5th. in Council. Capt. Richard Grainger has Several things that he proposeth to Sell to the Honble. Compa. Orderd That it be referd to the Govr. & Capt. Bazett to Agree for what they think proper to buy. Mr. Joseph Du May Surgeons Mate of the Cadogan offering his Service to Stay upon this Island as Second Surgeon to ye. Honble. Compa. here, & having a very good Cha racter from his Capt. & the Officers he was Entertaind at the Usual Salary of thirty pounds ꝓ ann as allowed the Second Surgeon Orderd. That Mr. Tovey goe with the Said Mr. May & take an Inventory of what Medicines are now in the Shop. Mr. Richard Swallow Carpenter was Sumond to Appear this day at the complaint of James Vesey Planter for defrauding him of his Share of three Wild Goats killd lately at the pound he belongs to at Sandy bay. The said Swallow did appear & [...] denies Margin Notes: Capt. Grainger propls. to Sell Goods Jos. Du May Enterd 2d. Surgry. @ Usual Salary Jam. Vesey complt. agst. R. Swallow</p>	<p>December 1715 The council met in consultation on Tuesday 20 December 1715 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell as deputy, and Matthias Bazett, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield ranking third, fourth and fifth in council. Captain Richard Grainger had several things he proposed to sell to the Company. The council ordered the matter referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett, who were to agree on what they thought proper to buy. Joseph Du May, surgeon's mate of the <i>Cardigan</i>, offered to stay on the island as second surgeon to the Company. He brought a very good character from his captain and his officers, and was taken on at the usual salary of £30 0s 0d a year allowed to the second surgeon. The council ordered Mr Tovey to go with him and take an inventory of the medicines then in the shop. Richard Swallow, a carpenter, was summoned to appear that day on the complaint of James Vesey, a planter. Vesey charged him with cheating him of his share of three wild goats lately killed at the pound at Sandy Bay. Richard Swallow appeared to answer the complaint. Interpretations The council met a week after its last sitting, with the <i>Cardigan</i> newly in the road. Two of the day's three matters arose from that ship. Captain Grainger had goods to sell, and the council named the Governor and Captain Bazett to bargain for whatever seemed worth buying. A passing Indiaman was a moving market, and the island took from it what its own stores could not supply. Joseph Du May's offer to stay filled a real need. The <i>Cardigan</i>'s surgeon's mate, the assistant to her ship's surgeon, took the post of second surgeon at the standard £30 0s 0d a year. His hiring came soon after Thomas Price had been committed for scandalous conduct and the directors asked for a replacement, so a man from a ship in the road filled a post the island could not leave empty. The council sent Tovey with him to inventory the medicines in the shop, the dispensary, which both took stock and checked what Price had left. The third matter was a quarrel between neighbours. James Vesey accused Richard Swallow, a carpenter, of cheating him of his share of three wild goats killed at the Sandy Bay pound, a public pen for stray and feral stock. The same council that governed the island and wrote home to its masters also sat to settle a dispute over a few goats. Both men had stood on the road list a week before, so the bench was judging the very people it had just set to mend the highways. Speculations The goat dispute shows how small and close the island's world was. James Vesey and Richard Swallow had both stood on the highways list only a week before, neighbours set to the same roads, and now one accused the other before the same five men. With no lesser court to take it, a quarrel over three goats climbed straight to the island's highest bench. The free families were few enough that the council was at once governor, paymaster and magistrate to people it knew by name.</p>
<p>169</p>	<p>160</p>	<p>Decr. 1715. denys any Such Fact.</p>	<p>December 1715 Richard Swallow denied the charge entirely. Mr Vesey then produced a copy of a letter he had sent to</p>

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		<p>Mr. Vesey produced the Copy of a Letter he Sent to Mr. Swallow wch. contains the Subject matter of his complaint wch. was thereupon read & is as foll: (Vizt.) Bro. Swallow. I am Sorry I should have the occasion of a complaint but I se unless I am Resolved to bear & Suffer all Losses & affronts concerning my having a part in the Goat pound I shall Still be insulted. what else should be the meaning that yes terday when they killd three unmarkt Goats & divided equally to all the Owners of the pound I only Should be excluded, I Speak to You because twas your managemt. of them that belongs & is a hanger on of yors. I mean Ben: Greentree & Harding, as for Mr. Long I was with him but he told mee they had Shared the Goats before he came & tho they allotted him a side, twas more then he expected, niether did he con cern himself by reason of his being so lately a partner & knowing his Goats Usd not that way tho he told mee he thought it was Strange they Should Share me out. And I think it as odd that he being both a housekeeper & Partner Should Suffer Such things to be managed by a boy & one that is nothing concernd there & [...] Ignorant of the Usual methods (& for ought I know Laws) in those cases, nor shall I plead as being related or our long posses sion of Goats, before any that now belongs</p>	<p>Swallow, which contained the substance of his complaint, and the council had it read out. Vesey's letter began with his regret at having cause to complain. He wrote that unless he resolved to bear every loss and affront over his part in the goat pound, he would keep being slighted. He pointed out that the day before, when three unmarked goats were killed and shared equally among all the owners of the pound, he alone had been left out. He laid the blame on Swallow's management and on two hangers-on of his, Benjamin Greentree and Harding. Vesey turned next to Mr Long, who had been with him but told him the goats were divided before he came. Long had been allotted a portion, more than he expected, and did not trouble himself over it, being so newly a partner and knowing his own goats were not kept that way; yet he allowed it strange that Vesey should be cut out. Vesey thought it odd that Swallow, being both a householder and a partner, should let such matters be handled by a boy who had no concern there and knew nothing of the usual methods, or for all he knew the laws, in such cases. He added that he would not plead his kinship or his long holding of goats.</p> <p>Interpretations The dispute turned on a shared goat pound at Sandy Bay. Several inhabitants held it together as partners, penning their goats in common, and from time to time the unmarked beasts caught there, those bearing no owner's mark, were killed and the meat divided equally among the owners. Vesey held a part in this venture but had been left out of the latest division. A small cooperative of this kind let a few neighbours pool their stock and share what the hills threw up. Vesey had first put his grievance in a letter to Swallow before bringing it to the council. When that brought no remedy, he laid the matter before the board and produced the letter as his statement, which was read into the record. He addressed Swallow as brother, so the two were kin as well as partners, and he blamed the unfair division on Swallow's followers and on a mere boy left to manage it. The orderly path ran from private complaint to written remonstrance to the council's bench. The names in the letter are the island's own. Benjamin Greentree, Harding and Long all held land and had stood on the road list days before, and now they appear as partners in a goat pound fallen into quarrel. A handful of families farmed, penned stock and fell out together, and their disputes came before the same five men who governed them. Even a wrangle over goats' meat drew in half the planters of Sandy Bay.</p> <p>Speculations Vesey's own words point to a gap in the island's law. He owned he did not know whether any laws touched such cases, only the usual methods of the pound. The goat pool ran on custom and the partners' good faith, not on any written rule the council could simply apply. Set to judge the quarrel, the board would have to weigh fairness and usage where no statute reached, as a small colony so often had to do.</p>
170	161	<p>Decr. 1715. to the pound, but only what is right & Just. I shall desire some Satisfactory Answer or I shall not only Say I have not had fair play showed mee on the Score of my Goats but will prove it. Yors. &c. J Vesey Decr. 18th. 1715. (Signd.) Mr. Vesey desires to know whether that being a part Owner of the pound in Sandy bay he has not a right to what Dividend they of their pound Shall make of their Goates that are markt brought in un markt, & comonly called the pound Goates (& as Such killd) & shared amongst the rest of the Owners.</p>	<p>December 1715 Vesey closed by saying he claimed nothing ahead of the other owners, only what was right and just. He desired a satisfactory answer, or he would not merely say he had been denied fair play over his goats but would prove it. The letter was signed by James Vesey and dated 18 December 1715. Vesey then put a question to the council. He asked whether, being a part owner of the pound at Sandy Bay, he had not a right to his share of whatever dividend the owners made of the unmarked goats brought in, the beasts commonly called pound goats, killed as such and shared among the rest of the owners.</p>

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		<p>After hearing a great deal on both Sides there being much cause to believe the three Goats killd were the Honble. Compa. Goates whose Stock does not encrease by a great deal So much in proportion as other peoples Goated do. And to prevent that It is Our Oppinion & Resolution according to ye. Honble. Compa. Orders, that all unmarkt Goats are the Honble. Compas. And that hereafter, no Unmarkt Goats be killd by any person Whatsoever und.r pretence of being Wild Goats (or pound Goats) without a particular Warrant from the Governr. for So doing, And Whereas some evil minded persons may kill ye. Stock: Compa. Goats which are always unmarkt under pretence</p> <p>Margin Notes: Goats killd Supposed the. H. C. No Unmarkt Goats to be killd without an Ordn.</p>	<p>The council heard a great deal on both sides and found much cause to believe the three goats killed had been the Company's own. There was reason to think so, since the Company's stock did not multiply in proportion nearly so fast as the planters' goats did. To prevent such loss, the council resolved, according to the Company's orders, that all unmarked goats were the Company's property.</p> <p>The board further ordered that no unmarked goats be killed thereafter by any person whatsoever, under pretence of being wild goats or pound goats, without a particular warrant from the Governor.</p> <p>Interpretations The case changed shape as the council heard it. Vesey had come to claim his share of a few goats, but the board grew more interested in whose goats they were. On the evidence it judged the three beasts had probably been the Company's, and instead of dividing the meat it laid down a rule of property. A private quarrel had opened a window onto a public loss.</p> <p>A simple presumption underlay the ruling. Private owners marked their goats, so any unmarked beast was taken to be the Company's, and the so-called wild goats and pound goats fell under that head. The council ordered that from now on no unmarked goat might be killed by anyone without a particular warrant from the Governor. At a stroke the loose custom of the pound gave way to a strict control on Company stock.</p> <p>Behind the rule lay a suspicion of quiet poaching. The council noted that the Company's herds grew far less, in proportion, than the planters' did, which pointed to its goats being killed off under cover of the pound. Vesey's complaint, meant only to win his share, had instead exposed how the island's stock was leaking away. The bench used the moment to shut the loophole and guard the Company's beasts against its own inhabitants.</p> <p>Speculations Vesey's complaint ended by destroying the very custom he had relied on. He came to win his share of the pound goats, but the council's answer was that there were no pound goats to share, all unmarked beasts being the Company's. The practice of catching and dividing wild goats, on which his whole claim rested, was struck down at the moment he tried to enforce his part in it. He had asked for justice between partners and received instead a ruling that left the partners nothing to divide.</p>
171	162	<p>Decr. 1715. of their being their Own, to prevent ye. inconveniency for the future</p> <p>Resolvd That Since tis the Privi ledge of the Honble. Compa. to have all Wild & Unmarkt Cattle theirs, that if any person shall neglect or refuse to mark their Goats till they are three months Old they shall loose their property therein & Forfeit their Goats & Kids as they have neglected or refusd to mark. And also to prevent any persons mark ing Goates that are not their Own, It is hereby Orderd, That the two first pounding days in every month be appointed in each Goat pound for marking days, & that no Goates be markt on any other day. And that Publick notice be given of the Same.</p> <p>Orderd that the Council Fees be paid by those who had the three Goats divided amongst them.</p> <p>Capt. Bazett Sayes there is a good Deal of Rice in the Honble. Compa. Stores which having layn there a good While believes it wont keep, & that if their blacks had some twould Save some quantity of Yams & be better for them in the Wett Season if allowed them then</p> <p>Orderd That the Blacks have Rice allowed them the next two Months, three days in a Week.</p> <p>Orderd, That the Price of the Pattanow</p> <p>Margin Notes: Unmarkt Goats a 3 mo. od. ye. H. Compa.</p>	<p>December 1715</p> <p>The council was concerned too that ill-disposed persons might kill the Company's unmarked goats, pretending the beasts were their own. Since the Company held the privilege of all wild and unmarked cattle, it resolved that anyone who neglected or refused to mark his goats before they were three months old should lose all property in them and forfeit the goats and kids he had left unmarked.</p> <p>A further order dealt with false marking. The council set apart the first two pounding days of each month, in every goat pound, as marking days, and forbade marking on any other day. Public notice was to be given of the rule.</p> <p>The board further ordered that its fees for the hearing be paid by those who had shared the three goats among them.</p> <p>Captain Bazett reported that a good deal of rice lay in the Company's stores which, having been there a good while, he believed would not keep. If the slaves were given some of it, he said, it would save a quantity of yams and would suit them better in the wet season. The council ordered that the slaves be allowed rice for the next two months, three days a week.</p> <p>The council then took up the price of its India goods.</p>

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		<p>2 first pounding Days in a month to Mark Kids &c. Blacks to have Rice. Price of India Goods</p>	<p>Interpretations The council built a small system of property out of the quarrel. Since the Company claimed all wild and unmarked cattle, every owner now had to mark his goats before they were three months old, or lose them to the Company. Marking could be done only on the first two pounding days of each month, the days when the loose goats were driven into the pound, so that all marking happened in the open and on fixed dates. A free-ranging herd was thus turned into something a clerk could account for, with private and Company stock kept apart.</p> <p>Those who had shared the goats were made to pay the cost. The council charged its fees for the hearing on the very men who had divided the three beasts among them, the same men who had probably taken what belonged to the Company. A quarrel brought to the board carried a price, and it fell on those who had caused it. The lesson to the island was plain enough.</p> <p>Captain Bazett turned the council to a more practical concern. A large stock of rice had lain so long in the Company's stores that he thought it would spoil, and he proposed giving some to the slaves to save yams and to suit them better in the wet months. The council allowed the slaves rice for the next two months, three days a week. Nothing was to be wasted, and a perishable store became part of the slaves' diet.</p> <p>Speculations The rice given to the slaves was the rice the Company could no longer keep. Bazett's own reason for the gift was that the stock had lain so long it would spoil, so the allowance cleared a failing store as much as it fed anyone. Dressed as a kindness suited to the wet season, the order handed the slaves provisions that would otherwise have been thrown away. What looked like generosity was in good part thrift at the slaves' expense.</p>
<p>172</p>	<p>163</p>	<p>Decr. 1715. Pattannoco Chints Wee bought of Capt. Ryan be Sold at 32/ each peice & the other Goods Wee bought (Vizt) Muslins at 30/ ʒ peice to be Sold at 40/ Ditto @ 25/ @ 35/ Bleu Gurras 6/3d 9/ Ditto at 7/6d 10/ Lime Juice to be Sold at 5/ ʒ Gallon the Shirts Sent Us from Bengal a3 Reat the usuall price for ye. Sort Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfield</p>	<p>December 1715 The council set the selling prices of the India goods it had bought.</p> <p>Cattannaw chintz, bought from Captain Ryan: to be sold at £1 12s 8d a piece. Muslins bought at £1 10s 8d a piece: to be sold at £2 0s 8d. A second sort of muslin bought at £1 5s 8d: to be sold at £1 15s 8d. Blue gurras bought at £0 6s 3d: to be sold at £0 9s 8d. A second sort of gurras bought at £0 7s 6d: to be sold at £0 10s 8d. Lime juice: to be sold at £0 5s 8d a gallon. Bengal shirts: to be sold at £1 13s 0d, the usual price for that sort.</p> <p>The orders of the day were signed by George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield, with the Governor's monogram set above.</p> <p>Interpretations The council fixed what the Company's store would charge for its imported goods. These were mostly Indian cottons, the painted chintz called cattannaw, fine muslins and the coarser cloth known as gurras, together with lime juice and ready-made shirts from Bengal. As the island's only real merchant, the Company set both the supply and the price, so the inhabitants and passing ships bought their cloth at rates the council decreed. A few lines in the minutes were the island's whole market in dry goods.</p> <p>The prices were set well above what the goods had cost. The Company bought its muslins at £1 10s 8d and £1 5s 8d a piece and marked each up by a flat £0 10s 0d for sale, while the cheaper gurras carried a smaller rise of about £0 3s 0d. A steady margin of this kind turned the long voyage from India into a profit at the island counter. The store was as much a source of revenue as a service to the settlers.</p> <p>Some of the goods had come off a captain's own account. The cattannaw chintz and the blue gurras had been bought from Captain Ryan, whose private cargo</p>

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			<p>the Company had taken onto its books and now resold at a set price. The same council that watched its captains' private trade with suspicion was glad enough to buy their cloth and profit by it. Goods passed from a captain's chest to the Company's shelves and out to the island at a markup.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Company's quarrel with private trade may have been narrower than it seemed. Only weeks before, the council had wanted captains charged for selling Company goods privately at the Mascarenes, yet here it bought Captain Ryan's own cloth and resold it at a profit. The objection, then, was not to private trade itself but to private trade that cut the Company out. A captain's cargo was welcome once it passed through the Company's books and paid the Company's margin.</p>
173	164	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 3d. January 1715/16 At Union Castle in James Valley. Prest: Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Depr. Antipas Tovey & Edw: Byfield. On Tuesday last the 27th. Decr. Sailed hence the Cardigan Capt. Richd. Grainger Comandr. for England. & On Wednesday last the 28th. Do. Arrived here the Kent Capt. Law: Minter Comand. from Madras Mr. Worrall the Overseer of the Honble. Compas. plantations has not brought his monthly Accts. He alledges the Reason is, that last Saturday when they pounded the Goats, twas a very rainy day, So that they did not gett above half the Goats into the pound, which hindred his telling them over & therefore he desires to be excused till next Consultation day. Capt. Minter has brought some Samples of Long Cloth on shoar, wch. he offers to Sell the Honble. Compa. but Mr. Bazett not being present We canot tell whether the Honble. Company have any occasion for it or not. But think it not proper to draw any more Bills unless some great & pressing occasion should require it which Wee hope will not be now</p> <p>Margin Notes: Cardigan Sald Kent, Arr:d. Overseer plantn. why bro: no Accts. Capt. Minters propo:l</p>	<p>January 1715/16 The council met in consultation on Tuesday 3 January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell as deputy, and Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. Matthias Bazett was absent.</p> <p>The <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Richard Grainger, had sailed from the island for England on Tuesday 27 December. The <i>Kent</i>, Captain Lawrence Minter, arrived from Madras the next day.</p> <p>Mr Worrall, overseer of the Company's plantations, had not brought his monthly accounts. He explained that the last pounding day, the Saturday before, had been very wet, so that they got barely half the flock into the pound and he could not tell them over. He asked to be excused until the next consultation.</p> <p>Captain Minter had brought ashore some samples of long cloth, a plain Indian cotton, which he offered to sell the Company. With Mr Bazett absent, the council could not judge whether the Company had any need of it. The members thought it improper to draw any more bills unless some great and pressing occasion required it.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The new year opened with the usual traffic of ships. The date stood as 1715/16 because the legal year still began in March, so what we call January 1716 was written under the old reckoning. Within a day the <i>Cardigan</i> had left for England under Captain Grainger and the <i>Kent</i> had come in from Madras under Captain Minter. Worrall, the plantations overseer, sent word that the last pounding day had been too wet to drive in more than half the goats, so his monthly count was not ready and he begged to be excused.</p> <p>Captain Minter's offer could not be answered that day. He had brought ashore samples of long cloth, a plain Indian cotton, hoping the Company would buy. With Matthias Bazett, the council's hand in trade, away from the board, the others felt unfit to judge whether the goods were wanted. One absent member was enough to hold a purchase over to another sitting.</p> <p>The council was wary of spending the Company's credit. To pay Minter it would have had to draw bills, written orders on the Company's funds at home, and the members were unwilling to draw any more without some great and pressing need. They hoped no such need would come. The island's agents were as careful of the Company's money as of its goats.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The new marking rule met the weather at its first trial. Barely a fortnight after the council ordered all goats counted and marked on fixed pounding days, the first such day was so wet that half the flock stayed out of the pound. Worrall could not tell his goats over, and his careful monthly account simply waited on the rain. The neat system set down in the minutes had already bent to a wet hillside, as much of the island's order would.</p>

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174	165	<p>January 1715/16 now, The Govr. reports that this Ship is in great want of Cordage, Pitch & Tarr & other Naval Stores more then Wee have to Supply them with, But We have Supplied them with a good quantity of Cordage & what Pitch & Tarr Wee could but not eno. Orderd. That in Our next General Letter to Our Honble. Masters it be represented in what great wants Wee are in of Naval Stores to Supply their Shipping, who Gene rally in their returne home are in great need of Such Stores & besides the great advan tages it would be for the Ships to be Supplied it would be a very considerable Article of proffit to their Honrs. & a great encouragement to their Ships to touch here, when once they are Sure to be Supplied</p> <p>The Govr. Proposed to the Council to consider & report in three days time what is proper to be wrote to Our Hon: Masters, by this Ship Kent.</p> <p>Capt. Haswell Sayes now, That having write So largely in Our two Last Letters, he thinks there is no need of Writing upon any other Subject but only to remind their Honrs. how necessary & how Usefull it will be to their Shipping & to this Island & how profitable to their Honrs. to Send out the Stores mentioend in Our last Indent.</p> <p>All Present are of the Same Oppi nion The Honble. Compa. having Orderd an Exact Monthly Acct. to be kept of the General Table & Fort charges, which the Govr.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Govr. Report abt. Naval Stores to Write J^{r} Kent. all Agreeet. Expt.</p>	<p>January 1715/16 The Governor reported that the <i>Kent</i> was in great want of cordage, pitch, tar and other naval stores, more than the island had to spare. The council had given her a good quantity of cordage and what pitch and tar it could, but not enough.</p> <p>The council ordered that the next General Letter to the directors set out how greatly the island lacked the naval stores needed to supply the Company's shipping, since the ships on their homeward voyages were generally in want of such stores. Beyond the benefit to the ships, supplying them would be a considerable source of profit to the Company and a great encouragement for its ships to call at St Helena, once they were sure of being furnished here.</p> <p>The Governor then proposed that the council consider and report within three days what should be written to the directors by the <i>Kent</i>.</p> <p>Captain Haswell observed that, having written so fully in the two last letters, he saw no need to write on any other subject. He would only remind the directors how necessary and useful it would be, for their shipping and for the island, and how profitable to the Company, to send out the stores set down in the last indent. All present were of the same mind.</p> <p>The Company had ordered an exact monthly account to be kept of the General Table and the Fort charges.</p> <p>Interpretations The council turned its shortage into a sales pitch. St Helena lay on the homeward track of the India fleet, and ships reaching it were often short of cordage, pitch and tar, the very stores the island also lacked. In its next General Letter, the regular dispatch to the directors, the council meant to argue that stocking the island with such stores would let the homeward ships re-supply, which would both profit the Company and draw more ships to call. A plea for stores was dressed as a scheme for gain.</p> <p>Haswell thought there was little new to say. The council had written so fully in its two last letters that he would only remind the directors, once more, how useful and profitable it would be to send the stores named in the last indent. The island's letters home had become a long, repeated request for supplies that came too slowly. To write again was less to inform than to press the same plea.</p> <p>A standing order from the Company shaped the next item. The directors required an exact monthly account of the General Table, the Fort's main dining, and of the Fort's other charges, so that London could watch what the island spent. The long diet lists copied out a few weeks before had answered the same demand. The Company governed at a distance chiefly through its books.</p> <p>Speculations The council seems to have known what argument would move its masters. The island's want of stores was real enough, yet the order dwelt less on hardship than on profit, on the gain to the Company and the ships drawn to call once sure of supply. Hardship alone had perhaps moved the directors too little, so the agents recast their need as a scheme for revenue. To be heard in London, the island had to speak of money.</p>
175	166	<p>Janry. 1715/16 Governr. Sayes he Sent home by the last Shipping but not So particular & Exact as the Honble. Compa. will expect that to be Sent being but a Calculation for want of the Accounts. Wherefore he thinks it very proper that the Second Consultaton day in every Month, (the Storekeepers Assis tant) Mr. Byfield, always being in an Acct. of all the General Table Charges for the foregoing Month. The following Petition was Presented (Vizt.) Isld. St Helena. Janry. 5. 1715/6</p>	<p>The Governor described what had already gone home in the last shipping. The account he sent was not as detailed or exact as the Company would expect, being only a calculation drawn up because the proper accounts were missing.</p> <p>The Governor proposed a fixed monthly return to prevent the same difficulty in future. He thought it proper that on the second consultation day of each month the storekeeper's assistant Mr Byfield should</p>

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		<p>To the Worshl: Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. & Council. &c. The humble Petition of Thomas Price Surgeon Most humbly Sheweth That Whereas yor. Petitioner not enjoying his health Since he has been on this Island, & has had yor. Worshs. promise to discharge him, that he might returne home ʒ next Ship, here being an ingenous man that can very well take charge of the Garrison & other Inhabitants of the said Island, without any further Assistance Therefore yor. Petitiond. humbly begs, yt. yor. Worshs. & Council will take the premisses into your Serious consideration & Seeing that the Ship Kent is now in the Road, he may go off in her according to yor. Worshls. promise. & Yor. petitions. in duty bound shall ever pray &c (Signd) Thos. Price. Margin Notes: Thos. Price Surgn. to goe off.</p>	<p>always bring in an account of all the General Table charges for the previous month. Thomas Price, the surgeon, then petitioned Isaac Pyke and the council on 5 January 1715/16. He set out that his health had failed since he came to the island. He had already been given the Governor's promise of a discharge so that he might return home on the next ship. He pointed out that a skilled man was now present who could take full charge of the garrison and the other inhabitants without any further help. He asked the council to consider his case. Since the <i>Kent</i> now lay in the road, he sought leave to sail in her as the Governor had promised. The petition was signed by Thomas Price. Interpretations The General Table was the common board kept at Company expense for the Governor, the councillors and the senior servants. Its provisioning made up one of the heaviest recurring lines in the storekeeper's accounts. The new order fixed a set day each month for these charges to be brought in, turning a retrospective estimate into a standing record. The reform answered the directors' objection that the figures sent home rested only on a calculation rather than on the accounts themselves. Mr Byfield, sworn fifth in council on 17 May 1715, here acted in his lower office as the storekeeper's assistant. Speculations Price framed his petition to remove the one objection the council could fairly raise. A garrison could not be left without a surgeon, so he stressed that a skilled man was already on the island and could manage the garrison and inhabitants alone. The arrival of the <i>Kent</i>, then lying in the road, gave him the immediate means of leaving. By tying his request to both a ready replacement and a waiting ship, Price left the council little ground to defer the discharge it had already promised.</p>
176	167	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Granted. Memorandm. That now there is but One Surgeon on the Island, Vizt. Jos. Du May & as much need as Ever for two that Wee Do therefore write to Our Honble. Masters for an Apothecary which will be more Usefull to Us ther. two Surgeons. Orderd That Mr. Joseph Du May do immediatly go & take possession of all the Medicines & Instruments of the Honble. Compas. now under the Charge of Dr. Price And That Mr. Tovey do go along with him to putt him in possession Thus farr was Copied out & Sent Home ʒ Ship Kent Capt. Law: Minter Comander Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfd. Margin Notes: Write for an Apotheey Jos. Du May take possy.</p>	<p>The council granted the petition of Thomas Price. The council recorded that only one surgeon, Joseph Du May, now remained on the island, with the need for two as great as ever. The members resolved to write to the Honourable Masters for an apothecary, judging that an apothecary would serve the island better than a second surgeon. The council then ordered Joseph Du May to take immediate possession of all the Company's medicines and instruments then in Dr Price's charge. Mr Tovey was directed to go with him and put him formally in possession. The record was copied out to this point and sent home by the ship <i>Kent</i>, under Captain Lawrence Minter. The consultation was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. Interpretations A surgeon and an apothecary filled distinct medical roles. The surgeon dressed wounds, performed operations and attended the sick in person, while the apothecary compounded, dispensed and stocked the medicines kept for the garrison. With Du May left as the sole surgeon, the council preferred to ask London for an apothecary rather than a second surgeon, so that the two skills would complement rather than duplicate each other. The island had kept a public medicine book in the apothecary's shop since 17 August 1714, and an apothecary would take charge of that dispensary. The order to put Du May in possession of the medicines and instruments was a formal transfer of Company property. By sending the Secretary Tovey to complete the handover, the council moved the stock cleanly from the departing surgeon to his successor and fixed the moment on the record. The step guarded against any later dispute over what Price had held when he left.</p>

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			<p>Speculations The council made the handover immediate and had it witnessed because Price was about to sail. With the <i>Kent</i> in the road and his discharge granted, any question over the Company's medicines and instruments had to be settled before he was beyond reach. An on-the-spot transfer through the Secretary closed off that risk while Price was still on the island.</p>
177	168	<p>Isl. St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10 day of January 1715/16. at Union Castle in James Valley. Pres: Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Depty. Matth: Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4th. & Edw: Byfeld 5th. in Council Mr. Wm. Worrall the Overseer of the Honble. Compas. Plantations brought in this day his Monthly Acct. wch. was Examind & approved Approved of. & accordingly Orderd to be Enterd as foll: (Vizt) An Account of the Honble. Compas. Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Goats, &c. Taken 10 Janry. 1715/16. Cows 55 Bulls 11 Yearlings 44 Bullocks 32 heifer 1 Calvs. 21 In all 163 Killd Since last Account: Bullock 1 Ditto, broke his Neck. 1 2 Increase Since last Acct: Calved 7 Bought 4 11 Goats Great & Small 298 of the Female 199 of the Male kind 99 Killd 20 Increased Since Last Acct. 4 Sheep, Great & In all 67 of the Female 36 of the Male kind 33 Hogs Great & Small. 165 Sows. 28 Barrows 25 Boars. 4 Shoates 18 Pigs. 90 Hogs, killd last Month 17 Capt. Grainger had 8 Capt. Minter 2 broke their Necks. 3 Pigs dead of the Pant: 50 killd for the Castle Use. 5 for the house Use. 2 Margin Notes: plant Acct.</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 10 January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor; George Haswell Deputy Governor; Matthew Bazett third; Antipas Tovey fourth; and Edward Byfield fifth in council. William Worrall, the overseer of the Company's plantations, brought in his monthly account that day. The council examined and approved it, and ordered it entered as follows. An account of the Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and the like, taken 10 January 1715/16. Neat cattle: 55 cows 11 bulls 44 yearlings 32 bullocks 1 heifer 21 calves 163 in all Killed since the last account: 1 bullock 1 bullock that broke its neck 2 in all Increase since the last account: 7 calved 4 bought 11 in all Goats, great and small: 298 in all 199 of the female kind 99 of the male kind 20 killed 4 increased since the last account Sheep, great and small: 67 in all 36 of the female kind 33 of the male kind Hogs, great and small: 165 in all 28 sows 25 barrows 4 boars 18 shoats 90 pigs Killed and lost last month: 17 hogs killed last month 8 had by Captain Grainger 2 had by Captain Minter 3 broke their necks 50 pigs dead of the Pant 5 killed for the Castle use 2 for the household use Interpretations Neat cattle were ordinary horned cattle kept for beef and breeding. Barrows were castrated boars and shoats were recently weaned young pigs, the two classes that made up much of the hog stock alongside the sows and breeding boars. The Pant was a hog disease that had troubled the island herds, found on opening dead animals to be a corruption of the lungs. An enquiry into it had been ordered on 30 August 1715 and reported on 4 October 1715, and the death of 50 pigs from it in a single month was the largest loss in the return. The Company's herd of 163 neat cattle should be read against the heavy losses of recent years. The island had lost about 2,500 head in the famine that Pyke cited on 30 January 1715, and the inhabitants' own cattle stood at 964 head when the families' register was entered on 29 March 1715. The month added 11 beasts and lost 2, a slow net gain that marks a herd still rebuilding rather than thriving. The hogs tell the same story, since 50 pigs died of the Pant against a stock of 165, while the goats at 298 head bred and ranged freely where cattle struggled. The overseer's monthly account was the standing means by which the council watched its plantation stock. A monthly survey of all the Company's plantations had been ordered on 29 September 1715, and Worrall, appointed overseer on 5 April 1715, here rendered the resulting tally. The form set the stock on hand against the beasts killed and the increase by birth or purchase, so that each month's gains and losses could be checked. Speculations The account set down the hogs supplied to the two ship commanders as a separate item from those that died or were slaughtered for the island. By recording the 8 hogs had by Captain Grainger and the 2 by Captain Minter on their own lines, the overseer kept the</p>

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			<p>virtualing of passing ships distinct from the Company's own consumption. The <i>Cardigan</i> had sailed on 27 December 1715 and the <i>Kent</i> had arrived on 28 December 1715, which places these supplies at the turn of the year.</p>
<p>178</p>	<p>169</p>	<p>Janry. 1715/16 Turkeys, great & Small. 84 Killd last month. 6 Geese, great & Small. 29 dead Since last month. 3 Fowls great & Small 5 Doz killd last month 3½ doz Ducks small 12 Killd Last month 14 An Account of Yams Recd from Perkins deliverd P Geo: Coulson Crunier & Kendall Mayne from the 9th of Aug: 1715. to Janry. ye. 3d. 1715/16 (Vizt) Recd. by ye. Honble. Compa. plantation house 103970. Expended at Perkins house 21450. Deliverd to the Fort Blacks 10625. Expended at the Hutts 29600. An Account of Suckers Planted Since the 9th of August 1715. Suckers at Perkins 120500 Suckers at ye. Hutts 20000 140500 (Signd) Wm. Worrall. Yams Dug by Weight are 165.645 Suckers planted by tale 140500 which are Esteamed equall to the other Yams Dug because Yams when grown doe Usually weigh more then a Pound a peice. The Store keeper brought in two Monthly Accounts (Vizt) from March 25. 1715 to April the 25th. foll: & from thence to the 25th May 1715 which are as foll: underneath Capt. Bazett Sayes he has now two months Accounts more ready but has been So busie about more Urgent business that he has not had time to Copy them Out, and for ye. future will bring One Months Accounts in Weekly till the Accounts are brought Up to the Last Month Margin Notes: Store Accts.</p>	<p>Worrall's account also listed the Company's poultry. Turkeys, great and small: 84 Killed last month: 6 Geese, great and small: 29 Dead since the last account: 3 Fowls, great and small: 5 dozen Killed last month: 3½ dozen Ducks, small: 12 Killed last month: 14 An account was then entered of the yams received from Perkins's land, delivered through George [...], Brunier and Kendall Mayne, from 9 August 1715 to 3 January 1715/16. Received into the Company's plantation house: 103,970 Expended at Perkins's house: 21,450 Delivered to the Foot Blacks: 10,625 Expended at the Hutts: 29,600 165,645 in all A further account set out the suckers planted since 9 August 1715. Planted at Perkins's: 120,500 Planted at the Hutts: 20,000 140,500 in all This account was signed by William Worrall. The yams dug came to 165,645 by weight, and the suckers planted came to 140,500 by tale. The suckers were reckoned equal to the yams dug, since a grown yam usually weighs more than a pound a peice. The storekeeper brought in two monthly accounts. The first ran from 25 March 1715 to 25 April 1715 and the second from 25 April to 25 May 1715, both set out below. Captain Bazett said he had two further months' accounts ready but had been too taken up with more urgent business to copy them out. He undertook to bring in one month's account each week in future, until the whole was brought up to the last month. Interpretations Yams were the island's staple food and the main provision for the Company's slaves and table. The dug crop was measured by weight, while the replanted suckers were counted by tale, meaning by simple number. Worrall treated the 140,500 suckers as equal to the 165,645 yams dug, on the reasoning that a grown yam weighs more than a pound and so each sucker would in time more than replace what had been taken. The figures recorded that replanting was keeping pace with harvest, the aim set out in the monthly plantation survey ordered on 29 September 1715. The storekeeper's accounts ran badly behind. The two months entered now reached only to 25 May 1715, more than half a year stale, and Bazett admitted two more months still lay uncopied. His promise to deliver one month's account each week until he caught up was the council's standing remedy for a chronic lag. The same failing had brought him before a formal enquiry on 1 April 1714 and a recorded default on 11 March 1715, since the figures sent home to the directors depended on these returns being current. Speculations Worrall set the harvest and the replanting side by side to show the council that the yam base was holding. The 165,645 yams dug and given out over five months were a heavy draw, and the near-equal 140,500 suckers answered the obvious worry that consumption was outrunning supply. His argument that a grown yam exceeds a pound let him present the replanting as more than matching the crop removed.</p>
<p>179</p>	<p>170</p>	<p>January 1715/16.</p>	<p>An account was entered of the store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, Union Castle and the plantation house, from 25 March 1715 to 25 April 1715.</p>

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		<p>An Account of Store Goods Sold & delivered from March ye. 25. 1715. to Aprill ye. 25. following To the Inhabitants, United Castle & Plantation house. (Vizt)</p> <p>To the Inhabitants £ / s / d Arrack 275¼ Gallt. @ 7/6d 103 / 4 / 4½ Sugar 960 lb @ 8d 32 / 0 / 0 Bread 265 lb @ 3½ 3 / 17 / 5¼ Flower 697 lb @ 3½ 10 / 3 / 3½ Tobacco 13 lb @ 2d 1 / 6 / 0 Pipes 60½ doz @ 6d 1 / 10 / 2 2 / 16 / 2 Oyle. Vizt [3..] 1½ Gall Rape @ 7/6 P gall 1 / 15 / 0 half Linseed @ 8/ 0 / 4 / 0 one third Sweet @ 12/ 0 / 6 / 0 2 / 5 / 0 Soape. (Vizt) 29 lb Bengal @ 8d 0 / 19 / 4 29 English @ 17 2 / 1 / 1 3 / 0 / 5 Vinegar 5¼ Gallons @ 4/ P d 1 / 1 / 0 Pepper 1 lb 0 / 1 / 0 SugarCandy 34 lb @ 12d 1 / 14 / 0 Challa 24 pces @ 5/ P d. ea 6 / 0 / 0 Sanoes 1 pce 0 / 16 / 5 Gurrhas 2 pces @ 12/6d ea 1 / 5 / 0 Dungrees 1 pce 0 / 5 / 8 Shirts 9 @ 3/ P 1 / 7 / 0 6 @ 3/6d 1 / 1 / 0 2 / 8 / 0 Long Cloath 2 pces @ 24/9d ea 2 / 9 / 6 Neckcloths 4 pces @ 28/5d ea 5 / 13 / 8 3 Single @ 2/4[.] ea 0 / 7 / 1½ 9 do. @ 2/1[.] ea 0 / 19 / ½ 6 / 19 / 11 Carried over</p>	<p>To the inhabitants: Arrack 275¼ gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £103 4s 4½d Sugar 960 lb at 8d per lb £32 0s 0d Bread 265 lb at 3½d per lb £3 17s 3½d Flour 697 lb at 3½d per lb £10 3s 3½d Tobacco 13 lb at 2s per lb £1 6s 0d Pipes 60½ dozen at 6d per dozen £1 10s 2d Tobacco and pipes together £2 16s 2d Oil: Rape oil 4½ gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £1 15s 0d Linseed oil ½ gallon at 8s per gallon £0 4s 0d Sweet oil ½ gallon at 12s per gallon £0 6s 0d Oil together £2 5s 0d Soap: Bengal soap 29 lb at 8d per lb £0 19s 4d English soap 29 lb at 17d per lb £2 1s 1d Soap together £3 0s 5d Vinegar 5¼ gallons at 4s per gallon £1 1s 0d Pepper 1 lb £0 1s 0d Sugar candy 34 lb at 12d per lb £1 14s 0d Chellae 24 pieces at 5s each £6 0s 0d Saunoes 1 piece £0 16s 5d Gurrhas 2 pieces at 12s 6d each £1 5s 0d Dungarees 1 piece £0 5s 8d Shirts 9 at 3s each £1 7s 0d Shirts 6 at 3s 6d each £1 1s 0d Shirts together £2 8s 0d Long cloth 2 pieces at 24s 9d each £2 9s 6d Neckcloths 4 pieces at 28s 5d each £5 13s 8d Neckcloths 3 single at 2s 4½d each £0 7s 1½d Neckcloths 9 at 2s 1½d each £0 19s 1½d Neckcloths together £6 19s 11d The total was then carried over.</p> <p>Interpretations Several of the goods were Indian cotton and linen piece-goods carried east by the Company's ships. Chellae were striped or checked cotton cloths, gurrhas a coarse plain calico, dungarees a cheap blue cotton and saunoes a light muslin, while long cloth was a plain white cotton sold by the piece. Neckcloths were ready-made cravats cut from similar cloth. Rape oil was pressed from rapeseed and linseed oil from flax, both burned in lamps or used in minor manufacture, whereas sweet oil was olive oil for the table. Bengal soap was an eastern import sold beside the dearer English soap, the two priced at 8d and 17d per pound.</p> <p>The account recorded the Company's monopoly retail to the inhabitants at fixed prices. Arrack alone came to £103 4s 4½d and far outweighed every other line, sold at 7s 6d per gallon, the retail rate set on 15 November 1714. The provisions and cloth were entered at the store's standing rates rather than at cost, so the monthly return measured both what the inhabitants drew and the revenue the store took from them.</p>
180	171	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought Over Ironmongers Ware. (Vizt) 1 Chest Lock 2/6½ 2 Till do. @ 12d ea 2/0 3 do. @ 12¼ 3/0¾ 1 Closet do. 2/7 1 paic Dove tails 0/6 2 Broad hoes 5/0 0 / 15 / 8¼ Nailes Vizt 6 C of 4d @ 10½ 5/3 2 - 3 - 9 1/6 4 - 10 - 7½ 2/6 4 - 20 - 7 2/4 12 - 30 - 7 7/0 4 - 2 - 11 3/8 1 Trunk 1/2 14 flooring brads @ 9d 10/6</p>	<p>The inhabitants' account brought forward the running total and continued with further goods. Ironmongers' ware: Chest lock 1 £0 2s 6½d Till locks 2 at 12d each £0 2s 0d Till locks 3 at 12¼d each £0 3s 0¾d Closet lock 1 £0 2s 7d Dovetails 1 pair £0 0s 6d Broad hoes 2 £0 5s 0d Subtotal £0 15s 8¼d Nails: 4d nails 6 hundred at 10½d per hundred £0 5s 3d 3d nails 2 hundred at 9d per hundred £0 1s 6d 10d nails 4 hundred at 7½d per hundred £0 2s 6d 20d nails 4 hundred at 7d per hundred £0 2s 4d 30d nails 12 hundred at 7d per hundred £0 7s 0d 2d nails 4 hundred at 11d per hundred £0 3s 8d Trunk nails 1 hundred £0 1s 2d</p>

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		<p> ½ Jacks 0/10 1 / 14 / 9 Cutlary Ware (Vizt) 3 Prunning Knives 3/3 1 pair Sissers 0/7¾ 0 / 3 / 10¾ Shoe thread 3 lb @ 2/8d 0 / 7 / 6 Surratt Chints 6 pces @ 4/6d 1 / 7 / 0 Shoes 9 pair Engh @ 6/2d 2/15/6 1 pr Childrens Pumps 1/0 2 / 16 / 6 Stockings 1 pair thread 8/6 1 do. 4/6 0 / 13 / 0 Pewter 1 Pint Pott 0 / 3 / 6 Threads Vizt 3 lb of Brown @ 4/ 12/0 ½ Whited brown @ — 3/9½ ½ ditto 4/10 1 lb Fine thread 1/1 1 do finer 2/6 1 do finest 3/4 1 / 7 / 6 Carried over </p>	<p> Flooring brads 14 hundred at 9d per hundred £0 10s 6d Tacks ½ hundred £0 0s 10d Subtotal £1 14s 9d Cutlery ware: Pruning knives 3 £0 3s 3d Scissors 1 pair £0 0s 7¾d Subtotal £0 3s 10¾d Shoe thread 3 lb at 2s 6d per lb £0 7s 6d Surat chintz 6 pieces at 4s 6d each £1 7s 0d Shoes: English shoes 9 pairs at 6s 2d per pair £2 15s 6d Children's pumps 1 pair £0 1s 0d Subtotal £2 16s 6d Stockings: Thread stockings 1 pair £0 8s 6d Thread stockings 1 pair £0 4s 6d Subtotal £0 13s 0d Pewter 1 pint pot £0 3s 6d Thread: Brown thread 3 lb at 4s per lb £0 12s 0d Whited brown thread ½ lb £0 3s 9½d Whited brown thread ½ lb £0 4s 10d Fine thread 1 lb £0 1s 1d Finer thread 1 lb £0 2s 6d Finest thread 1 lb £0 3s 4d Subtotal £1 7s 6d The total was then carried over. Interpretations Nails were sized by the penny mark, so a 4d or a 30d nail named a length rather than a price, the figure surviving from an old cost per hundred. Brads were small headless nails for floorboards, while the tacks and trunk nails were lighter fastenings. Surat chintz was a printed and painted cotton from the western Indian port of Surat. Whited brown thread was bleached linen thread, sold beside the coarser brown, and shoe thread was the waxed thread used by cobblers. Children's pumps were light flat shoes. This part of the account covered building and trade materials rather than food and drink. The nails, brads, hoes, locks, knives and thread were the means of construction and repair, and the store supplied them because the inhabitants had no other source on the island. The same monthly return that recorded provisions also fixed the population's access to the materials of building and mending. </p>
181	172	<p> January 1715/16. Brought ov. Laces 18 Silk @ 3d ea 0 / 4 / 6 Galloon 5 yd @ 6½ 3/0 Ferretts 10 — @ 4½ 3/9 0 / 6 / 9 Tapes 2 pies Coloured @ 20 ea 0 / 3 / 4 Silk 5¾ Ounces @ 2/6d 0 / 14 / 4½ Cinns 2 lb @ 1/9 3/6 1 lb @ — 1/1½ 0 / 4 / 7½ Needles 175 at 1/7 ꝑ C 0 / 2 / 9¼ Gloves 1 pair Womens 0 / 1 / 8 Combs Vizt 4 Horne @ 5 ea 1/8 2 Ivory - 1/3d 2/6 [...] do 1/7 1 Comb brush 1/0 0 / 6 / 9 Buttons 3 doz Coat @ 19 ꝑ doz 0 / 4 / 9 Ribbon (Vizt) 6 yd @ 19 ꝑ yard 9/6 3 - 22 - 5/6 9 - 12 - 9/0 1 / 4 / 0 Bodice 1 pair 12/9 Horn book 1 0/4 </p>	<p> The inhabitants' account carried the total forward and went on with haberdashery, cloth and household wares. Silk laces 18 yards at 3d per yard £0 4s 6d Galloon 5 yards at 6½d per yard £0 3s 0d Ferretts 10 yards at 4½d per yard £0 3s 9d Subtotal £0 6s 9d Coloured tapes 2 pieces at 20d each £0 3s 4d Silk 5¾ ounces at 2s 6d per ounce £0 14s 4½d Pins 2 thousand at 1s 9d per thousand £0 3s 6d Pins 1 thousand £0 1s 1½d Subtotal £0 4s 7½d Needles 175 at 1s 7d per hundred £0 2s 9¼d Gloves 1 pair, women's £0 1s 8d Horn combs 4 at 5d each £0 1s 8d Ivory combs 2 at 1s 3d each £0 2s 6d Combs, ditto £0 1s 7d Comb brush 1 £0 1s 0d Subtotal £0 6s 9d Coat buttons 3 dozen at 19d per dozen £0 4s 9d Ribbon 6 yards at 19d per yard £0 9s 6d Ribbon 3 yards at 22d per yard £0 5s 6d Ribbon 9 yards at 12d per yard £0 9s 0d Subtotal £1 4s 0d Bodice 1 pair £0 12s 9d Hornbook 1 £0 0s 4d Hooks 6 £0 1s 5½d </p>

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		<p>Hooks 6 0 / 1 / 5½ Scarves 1 @ 1/9/2 1 @ 1/7 2 / 16 / 2 Twine 2¼ @ 2/4d 0 / 5 / 3 Broad Cloth 5 yd @ 15/3d 4 / 3 / 10½ Kerseys 35¼ — 2/2 3 / 16 / 11 Black Cape 2¼ 0 / 5 / 5¼ Fustians 20 White £2:0:0 12 Coloured 0:16:0 2/16/0 11 / 2 / 8¼ House Linnen 10 yards @ 2/3d 1 / 2 / 6 Tin Ware 1 Sauce Pan 1/9 1 Kettle 2/1¼ 1 do. 2/9½ 0 / 6 / 7½</p>	<p>Scarves 1 £1 9s 2d Scarves 1 £1 7s 0d Subtotal £2 16s 2d Twine 2¼ lb at 2s 4d per lb £0 5s 3d Broad cloth 5½ yards at 15s 3d per yard £4 3s 10½d Kerseys 35½ yards at 2s 2d per yard £3 16s 11d Black crape 2¼ yards £0 5s 5¼d Fustians, white 20½ yards £2 0s 0d Fustians, coloured 12 yards £0 16s 0d Subtotal £11 2s 8¼d House linen 10 yards at 2s 3d per yard £1 2s 6d Saucepan 1 £0 1s 9d Kettle 1 £0 2s 1½d Kettle, ditto 1 £0 2s 9½d Subtotal £0 6s 7½d The total was then carried over.</p> <p>Interpretations Many of the lines were haberdashery and cloth. Galloon was a narrow decorative braid and ferret a thin binding tape, both used to trim garments. Kerseys were a coarse ribbed woollen cloth and broad cloth a fine dense wool, while fustian was a stout twill of cotton and linen. Black crape was a crimped silk gauze, usually worn in mourning, and a pair of bodice meant a set of stays. A hornbook was a child's lettered tablet, its printed sheet protected under a thin leaf of transparent horn, and its single appearance here records the store supplying the means of a child's first reading lessons.</p>
182	173	<p>January 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d Brass Ware 1 Lamp 0 / 3 / 11 Glass Ware 1 Wine Glass 0 / 2 / 0 Gold thread 1 Ounce 0 / 12 / 6 £ 210 / 15 / 10¼ Store Goods deliverd to the Use of the United Castle from March the 25. 1715 to ye. 25th of April following. (Vizt) £ / s / d Arrack 60 Gallons @ 7/6d 22 / 10 / 0 Bread 161 lb @ 3½ p lb 2 / 7 / 1½ Flower 233 — 3½ 3 / 7 / 11½ Rice 103 — 3½ 1 / 10 / 4½ Oyles 8½ Gall Rape @ 7/ 2/19/6 1½ Linseed - 8/ 12/0 1¼ Sweet - 12/ 15/0 4 / 6 / 6 Tobacco Pipes 5½ doz @ 6d 0 / 2 / 9 Vinegar 4½ Gall @ 4d 0 / 18 / 0 Salt 1½ Bushell @ — 0 / 9 / 0 Iron mongerry Ware (Vizt) 2 Iron Shovels wth. Sockets @ 2/6d 5/0 6 Shod Shovels @ 2/ 12/0 2 Pick axes 9. 15 lb @ 8/ 10/4 1 Whip Saw 2/8 1 Bind Iron Lock 12/0 1 Barr of Iron 9. 37 lb @ 3d 9/3 4 / 16 / 7 Nailles (Vizt) 20 C of 20 at 7d 11/8 10 - 6 - 9 7/6 1 - 4 - 0/10½ 8½ - 2 - 11 7/9¼ 1[.] Spykes 0/10½ 1½ Inch batten Brads 0/10½ 1 / 9 / 7 Carried over £</p>	<p>The inhabitants' account closed with the carried total and three further wares. Brass ware, 1 lamp £0 3s 11d Glass ware, 1 wine glass £0 2s 0d Gold thread, 1 ounce £0 12s 6d Total to the inhabitants £210 15s 10¼d An account followed of the store goods delivered to the use of Union Castle from 25 March 1715 to 25 April 1715. Arrack 60 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £22 10s 0d Bread 161½ lb at 3½d per lb £2 7s 1½d Flour 233 lb at 3½d per lb £3 7s 11½d Rice 103 lb at 3½d per lb £1 10s 0½d Oils: Rape oil 8½ gallons at 7s per gallon £2 19s 6d Linseed oil 1½ gallons at 8s per gallon £0 12s 0d Sweet oil 1¼ gallons at 12s per gallon £0 15s 0d Subtotal £4 6s 6d Tobacco pipes 5½ dozen at 6d per dozen £0 2s 9d Vinegar 4½ gallons at 4s per gallon £0 18s 0d Salt 1½ bushels at 6s per bushel £0 9s 0d Ironmongery ware: Iron shovels with sockets 2 at 2s 6d each £0 5s 0d Shod shovels 6 at 2s each £0 12s 0d Pick axes 2 weighing 15½ lb at 8d per lb £0 10s 4d Whip saw 1 £2 8s 0d Band iron lock 1 £0 12s 0d Bar of iron 37 lb at 3d per lb £0 9s 3d Subtotal £4 16s 7d Nails: 20d nails 20 hundred at 7d per hundred £0 11s 8d 6d nails 10 hundred at 9d per hundred £0 7s 6d 4d nails 1 hundred at 10½d per hundred £0 0s 10½d 2d nails 8½ hundred at 11d per hundred £0 7s 9½d Scupper nails ½ hundred at 21d per hundred £0 0s 10½d Inch batten brads 1½ hundred at 7d per hundred £0 0s 10½d Subtotal £1 9s 7d The total was then carried over.</p> <p>Interpretations Several tools and fastenings appeared here for the first time. A whip saw was a long two-man saw for ripping planks from logs over a saw pit. Shod shovels</p>

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			<p>were wooden shovels with an iron-shod edge, while scupper nails were broad-headed nails of the kind used to fix decking or roofing. A band iron lock was a heavy lock strengthened with iron bands. The single ounce of gold thread among the inhabitants' goods was gilt thread for embroidery or fine trimming.</p> <p>The storekeeper's month was divided by recipient. The inhabitants' purchases came to £210 15s 10¼d, the store's retail to private persons, while this Union Castle section recorded the goods used by the Governor's establishment and the tools for its upkeep. The Castle was charged at the same fixed rates as the inhabitants, so arrack stood at 7s 6d per gallon in both. The entry was therefore an internal transfer within the Company's books rather than a sale for profit.</p>
183	174	<p>January 1715/16. Brought ov. £ / s / d Shoes 1 pair English 0 / 6 / 2 Pepper 4 lb 0 / 4 / 2 Twine 3½ 0 / 8 / 2 Lines 2 @ 2/ ea 4/0 1 Bed Cord 2/0 0 / 6 / 6 Soape 6 C of Castle @ 18d 9/0 10 — Engh — 17 14/2 1 / 3 / 2 House Linnen 2 yd @ 2/3d 0 / 4 / 6 Thread ¼ C Browne 2/0 ½ Whited do. 3/3½ 0 / 5 / 3½ Needles 25 0 / 0 / 4¾ Tin Ware 1 Funnell 0 / 0 / 10½ Flag brooms 2 0 / 1 / 0 or C Wood ½ C @ 0 / 0 / 4½ Cheese 1 9. 21½ @ 8d 0 / 14 / 4 Glass Ware Vizt 163 panes 12 [...] @ 14/ a 3/13/6 23 — 9/8 - 12 - 1/3/0 4 / 16 / 6 Tea 1 Cannister of 5 Coffee @ 9/3d 2 / 5 / 0 Beef 1 Cask of 540 lb @ 5½ 12/7/6 1 Do. — 225 — do. 5/3/1½ 17 / 4 / 4¾ £ 70 / 4 / 4¾ Store Goods deliverd for the Use of Plantation house from March the 25. 1715 to April the 25. foll: (Vizt) £ / s / d Arrack 2 Gallons @ 7/6d 0 / 15 / 0 Sugar 6 C @ 8d 0 / 4 / 0 Flower 12 — @ 3½ 0 / 3 / 6 Rape Oyle 5½ Gatt. @ 7/ 1 / 18 / 6 Dungree 1 peice 0 / 5 / 8 Brass Ware 1 Lamp 0 / 3 / 11 Shoe thread 2 lb @ 2/6d 0 / 5 / 0 £ 3 / 15 / 7</p>	<p>The Union Castle account continued and ran to its total.</p> <p>Shoes 1 pair, English £0 6s 2d Pepper 4 lb £0 4s 2d Twine 3½ lb at 2s 4d per lb £0 8s 2d Lines 2 at 2s each £0 4s 0d Bed cord 1 £0 2s 6d Subtotal £0 6s 6d</p> <p>Soap: Castile soap 6 lb at 18d per lb £0 9s 0d English soap 10 lb at 17d per lb £0 14s 2d Subtotal £1 3s 2d</p> <p>House linen 2 yards at 2s 3d per yard £0 4s 6d</p> <p>Thread: Brown thread ¼ lb £0 2s 0d Whited thread ½ lb £0 3s 3½d Subtotal £0 5s 3½d</p> <p>Needles 25 £0 0s 4¾d Funnel 1 £0 0s 10d Flag brooms 2 £0 0s 1d Wood ½ [...] £0 0s 4½d Cheese 1 weighing 21½ lb at 8d per lb £0 14s 4d</p> <p>Glass ware: Window panes 163 £3 13s 6d Window panes 23 £1 3s 0d Subtotal £4 16s 6d</p> <p>Tea 1 canister of 5 lb at 9s per lb £2 5s 0d</p> <p>Beef: Beef 1 cask of 540 lb at 5½d per lb £12 7s 6d Beef 1 cask of 225 lb at 5½d per lb £5 3s 1½d Subtotal £17 10s 7½d</p> <p>Total to Union Castle £70 4s 4¾d</p> <p>An account followed of the store goods delivered for the use of the plantation house from 25 March 1715 to 25 April 1715.</p> <p>Arrack 2 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £0 15s 0d Sugar 6 lb at 8d per lb £0 4s 0d Flour 12 lb at 3½d per lb £0 3s 6d Rape oil 5½ gallons at 7s per gallon £1 18s 6d Dungaree 1 piece £0 5s 8d Brass ware, 1 lamp £0 3s 11d Shoe thread 2 lb at 2s 6d per lb £0 5s 0d Total to the plantation house £3 15s 7d</p> <p>Interpretations The storekeeper's month ran through three establishments in turn. The inhabitants took £210 15s 10¼d, Union Castle £70 4s 4¾d and the plantation house only £3 15s 7d. The plantation house was the Company's own farm and grew most of its own food, so it drew from the store only the few things it could not produce, chiefly arrack, oil and a lamp. The contrast measured how far each part of the settlement leaned on the store.</p> <p>Castile soap was a fine hard soap made from olive oil, dearer than the common Bengal or English sorts. Flag brooms were besoms bound from dried rush or flag leaves.</p> <p>Speculations</p>

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			The large parcel of window glass charged to Union Castle, 163 panes with 23 more, points to glazing or repair of the Castle's windows that month. A quantity of that size goes well beyond the odd broken pane and suggests a deliberate job of reglazing.
184	175	<p>Janry. 1715/16. £ / s / d To the Inhabitants 210 / 15 / 10¼ Genl. Charges & dyett expences 70 / 4 / 4¾ Plantation house 3 / 15 / 7 284 / 15 / 10 Total 284 / 15 / 10 An Acct. of Store Goods Sold & Deliverd to the Inhabitants, for the Use of the United Castle & Plantation house from April the 25th. 1715. To the 25. of May following. (Vizt) To the Inhabitants £ / s / d Arrack 273¾ Gallons @ 7/6d ꝑ Gallt. 102 / 10 / 3¾ Sugar 555¼ C @ 8d ꝑ lb 18 / 10 / 6 Sugar Candy 47 — 12 2 / 7 / 0 Bread 138½ — 3½ 2 / 0 / 4½ Flower 82 — do. 1 / 3 / 11 Rice 6 — do. 0 / 1 / 9 Oyles (Vizt) 8⅞ Gallons Rape @ 7/ ꝑ g 2/16/10½ ½ Linseed - 8 4/0 ¾ Sweet - 12 9/0 3 / 9 / 10½ Soape Vizt 77½ Engh @ 17/ ꝑ C 5/9/9½ 36 C Bengall 8 1/0/2 6 / 9 / 11½ Pepper 2 lb @ 12d ꝑ lb 0 / 2 / 0 Tobacco 10 @ 2/ 1/0 Pipes 25½ Doz @ 6 ꝑ doz 12/8 1 / 12 / 8 Tea 8 @ 9/ 3/12/0 2 Coffees @ do. 18/0 4 / 10 / 0 Carried over</p>	<p>The month's account closed with a summary of its three heads, for the goods sold and delivered from 25 March 1715 to 25 April 1715. To the inhabitants £210 15s 10¼d General charges and diet expenses £70 4s 4¾d Plantation house £3 15s 7d Total £284 15s 10d An account followed of the store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, and for the use of Union Castle and the plantation house, from 25 April 1715 to 25 May 1715. To the inhabitants: Arrack 273¾ gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £102 10s 3¾d Sugar 555¼ lb at 8d per lb £18 10s 6d Sugar candy 47 lb at 12d per lb £2 7s 0d Bread 138½ lb at 3½d per lb £2 0s 4¾d Flour 82 lb at 3½d per lb £1 3s 11d Rice 6 lb at 3½d per lb £0 1s 9d Oils: Rape oil 8⅞ gallons at 7s per gallon £2 16s 10½d Linseed oil ½ gallon at 8s per gallon £0 4s 0d Sweet oil ¾ gallon at 12s per gallon £0 9s 0d Subtotal £3 9s 10½d Soap: English soap 77½ lb at 17d per lb £5 9s 9½d Bengal soap 30¼ lb at 8d per lb £1 0s 2d Subtotal £6 9s 11½d Pepper 2 lb at 12d per lb £0 2s 0d Tobacco 10 lb at 2s per lb £1 0s 0d Pipes 25½ dozen at 6d per dozen £0 12s 8d Subtotal £1 12s 8d Tea 8 lb at 9s per lb £3 12s 0d Coffee 2 lb at 9s per lb £0 18s 0d Subtotal £4 10s 0d The total was then carried over. Interpretations The summary set the month's three heads side by side and totalled them at £284 15s 10d. The middle head, here called general charges and diet expenses, was the same £70 4s 4¾d entered earlier as goods delivered to Union Castle, the Company's own table and senior establishment. The form thus separated what the inhabitants bought and paid for from what the Company consumed at its own table and farm, since only the first returned money to the store.</p>
185	176	<p>January 1715/16. Brought ov. £ / s / d Tin Ware 1 Kettle 1/5 1 do. 2/9½ 2 do. @ 2/1 each 4/2 1 do. 1/9 1 Sauce pan 1/1 1 do. 1/5 1 do. 1/9 1 porringer 0/7 1 Lanthorne 4/10 1 do. 3/10 1 / 3 / 7½ Pewter 1 Pint Pot 3/6 1 Chamber potts 5/3 1 do. 4/3 2 Dishes 9. 7¼ @ 10d ꝑ lb 9/8 1 / 2 / 8 Brass 1 pair of Scales 3/0 1 Skillett & Frame 19/6 1 pair Snuffers 1/0</p>	<p>The inhabitants' account brought the running total forward and went on with household and hardware. Tin ware: Kettle 1 £0 1s 5d Kettle, ditto 1 £0 2s 9½d Kettles, ditto 2 at 2s 1d each £0 4s 2d Kettle, ditto 1 £0 1s 9d Saucepan 1 £0 1s 1d Saucepan, ditto 1 £0 1s 5d Saucepan, ditto 1 £0 1s 9d Porringer 1 £0 0s 7d Lanthorn 1 £0 4s 10d Lanthorn, ditto 1 £0 3s 10d Subtotal £1 3s 7½d Pewter: Pint pot 1 £0 3s 6d Chamber pot 1 £0 5s 3d Chamber pot, ditto 1 £0 4s 3d Dishes 2 weighing 7¼ lb at 16d per lb £0 9s 8d Subtotal £1 2s 8d Brass: Pair of scales 1 £0 3s 0d</p>

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		<p>1 Lamp 3/11 1 / 7 / 5 Cutlary Ware Vizt 5 pair Sissers @ 8d³/₄ ea 3/7³/₄ 3 — do. — 7¹/₄ 1/11¹/₄ 1 do. 0/11 6 Thimbles 0/6 4 Prunning Knives @ 13 ea 4/4 5 Knives & Forks @ 16d 6/8 0 / 18 / 0 Glass Ware Vizt 4 Looking Glasses @ 6/7d ea 1/6/4 3 do. — 5/10 17/6 35 panes of Glass @ 12d 1/15/0 3 / 18 / 10 Ironmongers Ware (Vizt) Till Locks 2 at 1/8 \mathfrak{P} each 3/10 ditto 4 — 10 3/4 Carried over 7/2</p>	<p>Skillet and frame 1 £0 19s 6d Pair of snuffers 1 £0 1s 0d Lamp 1 £0 3s 11d Subtotal £1 7s 5d Cutlery ware: Scissors 5 pairs at 8³/₄d each £0 3s 7³/₄d Scissors 3 pairs at 7³/₄d each £0 1s 11¹/₄d Scissors 1 pair ditto £0 0s 11d Thimbles 6 £0 0s 6d Prunning knives 4 at 13d each £0 4s 4d Knives and forks 5 at 16d each £0 6s 8d Subtotal £0 18s 0d Glass ware: Looking glasses 4 at 6s 7d each £1 6s 4d Looking glasses 3 at 5s 10d each £0 17s 6d Window panes 35 at 12d each £1 15s 0d Subtotal £3 18s 0d Ironmongers' ware: Till locks 2 at 1s 11d each £0 3s 10d Till locks 4 ditto at 10d each £0 3s 4d Carried over £0 7s 2d Interpretations Several items were household ware whose names have since faded. A porringer was a small bowl for broth or porridge, a lanthorn was a lantern, and a skillet was a long-handled cooking pot, here supplied with its stand or frame. The snuffers were scissor-like tools for trimming candle wicks, and the looking glasses were mirrors.</p>
186	177	<p>January 1715/16. Brought Over £ / s / d Ironmongery brought over 7/2 Chest Locks 8 @ 12d \mathfrak{P} 8/2 Frying Pans 2 — 3/3¹/₂ 6/6 Dutch Rings 8 — 1¹/₂ 1/0 Chest Locks 2 — 2/0¹/₄ 4/0¹/₂ Ground hoes 2 — 2/8 5/4 2 do. — 2/6 5/0 Hatchets 1 2/6 Till Locks 3 — 11d ea 2/9 Iron pott 1 9. 90 @ 6d 2/5/0 4 / 7 / 5¹/₂ Nailes (Vizt) 1 C Inch brads 2/2 1 C of 2d ditto 0/11 7¹/₂ — 6 nails at 9d 5/7¹/₂ 3 — 10 — 7¹/₂ 1/10¹/₂ 7 — 20 — 7 4/1 2 — 24 — 7¹/₂ 1/3 0 / 15 / 11 Pins (Vizt) 6 m @ 1/9d 10/6 4 — 1/1¹/₂ 4/6 9 Papers Blankett pins 1/6 0 / 16 / 6 Sanoes 2 peices @ 15/ 2d ea 1/10/4 3 — 16/8 2/10/0 1 14/9 1 18/6 1 18/0 1 16/5 7 / 8 / 0 Shirts 71 @ 3/ \mathfrak{P} ea 10 / 13 / 0 Dungrees 14 peices @ 5/8 \mathfrak{P} 3 / 19 / 4 Chaloes 72 — 5/ 18 / 0 Surrat Chints 45 — 4/6d 10 / 2 / 6 Long Cloth 4 pcs @ 24/9d 4 / 19 / 0 Gurkas 2 — 12/6d 1 / 5 / 0 48 / 18 / 10 Woollen Goods (Vizt) Broad Cloth 39 yd @ 14/6d \mathfrak{P} ea 2 / 3 / 6 Carried over</p>	<p>The inhabitants' account brought the running total forward and continued with ironmongery and cloth. Ironmongery, brought over £0 7s 2d Chest locks 8 at 12d each £0 8s 2d Frying pans 2 at 3s 3d each £0 6s 6d Dutch rings 8 at 1¹/₂d each £0 1s 0d Chest locks 2 at 2s 0¹/₄d each £0 4s 0¹/₂d Ground hoes 2 at 2s 8d each £0 5s 4d Ground hoes 2 at 2s 6d each £0 5s 0d Hatchets 1 £0 2s 6d Till locks 3 at 11d each £0 2s 9d Iron pot 1 weighing 90 lb at 6d per lb £2 5s 0d Subtotal £4 7s 5¹/₂d Nails: Inch brads 1 hundred £0 2s 2d 2d ditto 1 hundred £0 0s 11d 6d nails 7¹/₂ hundred at 9d per hundred £0 5s 7¹/₂d 10d nails 3 hundred at 7¹/₂d per hundred £0 1s 10¹/₂d 20d nails 7 hundred at 7d per hundred £0 4s 1d 24d nails 2 hundred at 7¹/₂d per hundred £0 1s 3d Subtotal £0 15s 11d Pins: Pins 6 thousand at 1s 9d per thousand £0 10s 6d Pins 4 thousand at 1s 1¹/₂d per thousand £0 4s 6d Blanket pins 9 papers £0 1s 6d Subtotal £0 16s 6d Saunoes: Saunoes 2 pieces at 15s 2d each £1 10s 4d Saunoes 3 pieces at 16s 8d each £2 10s 0d Saunoes 1 piece £0 14s 9d Saunoes 1 piece £0 18s 6d Saunoes 1 piece £0 18s 0d Saunoes 1 piece £0 16s 5d Subtotal £7 8s 0d Shirts 71 at 3s each £10 13s 0d Dungarees 14 pieces at 5s 8d each £3 19s 4d Chaloes 72 at 5s each £18 0s 0d Surat chintz 45 at 4s 6d each £10 2s 6d Long cloth 4 pieces at 24s 9d each £4 19s 0d Gurrahs 2 at 12s 6d each £1 5s 0d Subtotal £48 18s 10d Woollen goods: Broad cloth 3 yards at 14s 6d each £2 3s 6d The total was then carried over.</p>

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			<p>Interpretations</p> <p>Blanket pins were large pins sold by the paper, a paper being a folded card of pins as supplied from the maker. Dutch rings were small imported iron rings used as harness or curtain fittings. The nails carried forward the penny-mark sizing already seen, while saunoes, challoses, dungarees, gurras and long cloth were all Indian cotton piece-goods, the costliest single lines on the page after the shirts.</p>
187	178	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought Over £ / s / d Woollen Goods brought Over 2/3/6 Druggetts 26½ @ 3/8 3/19/6 11½ — 4/ 2/6/0 Shalloon 33 — 2/6d 4/2/6 Kerseys 3 pcs 9. 93 — 2/2 £10:1:0 11/16/2 16 — do. — 1:14:8 Fustians 6½ yd White @ 2/ 0:13:0 15/0 1 Corded — 0:2:0 Sagathees 51 yards @ 3/ 7/13/0 Norwich Stuff 7 — 12¾ 0/7/3½ 33 / 7 / 2½ Soldiers Cloaths 4 Westcoats @ 9/4 ea 1/17/4 3 pr Breeches - 8/3 1/4/9 2 Coats - 20/8 2/1/4 5 / 3 / 5 Neckcloths 1 peice 1/8/5 ¼ pce @ 32/10d 8/2½ 2 Single Ones 4/3 2 / 0 / 10½ Sweet Powder 7 lb @ 19d 7 lb 11/1 Corks 3 Doz @ 3d 0/9 Shoe thread 7 lb ½ @ 2/6d 18/9 Twine 1¾ 2/4 Buttons 17½ doz Breast @ 6d 7 doz 8/9 11 — 4 — 3/8 6 — 12 — 6/0 8 — 19 — 12/8 1½ Silver — 2/3d 3/4½ 1 / 14 / 5½ Combs 5 Ivory @ 19d 7/11 3 do. — 15 3/9 1 horned 0/4 0 / 12 / 0 Silk Laces 20 @ 3d each 0 / 5 / 0 Needles 125 @ 19d 100 0 / 1 / 11¼ Garthing 9 yards @ 2d 0 / 1 / 6 Tapes 3 peices Colord @ 20d 0 / 5 / 0 Carried over</p>	<p>The inhabitants' account brought the running total forward and continued with woollen goods and haberdashery.</p> <p>Woollen goods, brought over £2 3s 6d Druggetts 26½ yards at 3s per yard £3 19s 6d Druggetts 11½ yards at 4s per yard £2 6s 0d Shalloon 33 yards at 2s 6d per yard £4 2s 6d Kerseys 93 yards at 2s 2d per yard £10 1s 6d Kerseys 16 yards at 2s per yard £1 14s 8d Subtotal £11 16s 2d Fustians 6½ yards white at 2s per yard £0 13s 0d Fustians 1 corded £0 2s 0d Subtotal £0 15s 0d Sagathees 51 yards at 3s per yard £7 13s 0d Norwich stuff 7 yards at 12¾d per yard £0 7s 5¼d Subtotal £33 7s 2¼d Soldiers' clothes: Westcoats 4 at 9s 4d each £1 17s 4d Breeches 3 pairs at 8s 3d each £1 4s 9d Coats 2 at 20s 8d each £2 1s 4d Subtotal £5 3s 5d Neckcloths: Neckcloths 1 piece £1 8s 5d Neckcloths ¼ piece at 32s 10d £0 8s 2½d Neckcloths 2 single ones £0 4s 3d Subtotal £2 0s 10½d Sweet powder 7 lb at 19d per lb £0 11s 1d Corks 3 dozen at 3d per dozen £0 0s 9d Shoe thread 7½ lb at 2s 6d per lb £0 18s 9d Twine 1 lb £0 2s 4d Buttons: Breast buttons 17½ dozen at 6d per dozen £0 8s 9d Buttons 11 dozen at 4d per dozen £0 3s 8d Buttons 6 dozen at 12d per dozen £0 6s 0d Buttons 8 dozen at 19d per dozen £0 12s 8d Silver buttons 1½ dozen at 2s 3d per dozen £0 3s 4½d Subtotal £1 14s 5½d Combs: Ivory combs 5 at 19d each £0 7s 11d Ivory combs 3 at 15d each £0 3s 9d Horn combs 1 £0 0s 4d Subtotal £0 12s 0d Silk laces 20 at 3d each £0 5s 0d Needles 125 at 19d per hundred £0 1s 11¾d Garthing 9 yards at 2d per yard £0 1s 6d Coloured tapes 3 pieces at 20d each £0 5s 0d The total was then carried over.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The woollen goods were all named English cloths. Druggetts were a coarse wool or wool-and-silk mix, shalloon a light twill used for linings, kerseys a ribbed cloth, sagathees a light serge and Norwich stuff a worsted from the Norwich looms. Sweet powder was scented hair or wig powder, garthing was narrow woven webbing or girth-tape, and breast buttons were the small buttons for a shirt or waistcoat front. The soldiers' clothes priced here, the waistcoats, breeches and coats, were the garrison uniform items issued through the store and charged against the men.</p>
188	179	<p>January 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d</p>	<p>The inhabitants' account brought the running total forward and continued with thread, haberdashery and stationery.</p>

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		<p>Threads (Vizt) 9 lb ½ Browne @ 4/8 \mathfrak{P} C 1/18/0 ½ do. 1/10 ½ Whited browne 4/9 1 Whited 9/8 3 ow @ 13d \mathfrak{P} ow 3/3 1 do. 1/3 1 do. 3/6 2 do. @ 9d 1/6 3 / 3 / 9½ Ribbon 3 yd @ 1/10d 3/9 Silk 1 lb 2 ow — 2/6 \mathfrak{P} ow 5/6 Galloon 13½ yd @ 4d \mathfrak{P} yard 4/8 Ferrits 39½ — 4½ 14/9¾ Mohair 2 Skeanes 0/10 1 / 3 / 9¾ Vinegar 5¼ Gallons @ 4/ 1 / 1 / 0 Blanketts 1 pair 1 / 2 / 6 Stockings 4 pair thread @ 4/6d ea 0 / 18 / 0 Shoes 16 pr Engh @ 6/2d 4/18/8 1 pr Boys 4/9 1 pr Island 4/0 5 / 7 / 5 Hooks 6½ doz @ 1/10d 0 / 11 / 11 Sacking 13 yards @ 2/ 0 / 1 / 6 Manchester Tick 1 pce 0 / 2 / 0 Stationary Ware (Vizt) 3 Testaments @ 1/9d 5/3 1 Horne book 0/4 12 qr. paper 16/0 1 / 1 / 7 279 / 3 / 0 Verte</p>	<p>Thread: Brown thread 9½ lb at 4s per lb £1 18s 0d Brown thread, ditto ½ lb £0 1s 10d Whited brown thread ½ lb £0 4s 9d Whited thread 1 lb £0 9s 8d Thread 3 ounces at 13d per ounce £0 3s 3d Thread 1 ounce ditto £0 1s 3d Thread 1 ounce ditto £0 3s 1½d Thread 2 ounces ditto at 9d per ounce £0 3s 6d Subtotal £3 3s 9½d Ribbon 3 yards at 1s 10d per yard £0 5s 6d Silk 1 ounce 2 drams at 2s 6d per ounce £0 2s 5d Galloon 13¾ yards at 4d per yard £0 4s 8d Ferrets 39½ yards at 4½d per yard £0 14s 9¾d Mohair 2 skeins £0 0s 10d Subtotal £1 3s 3¾d Vinegar 5¼ gallons at 4s per gallon £1 1s 0d Blankets 1 pair £1 2s 6d Stockings 4 pairs thread at 4s 6d each £0 18s 0d Shoes: English shoes 16 pairs at 6s 2d each £4 18s 8d Boys' shoes 1 pair £0 4s 9d Island shoes 1 pair £0 4s 0d Subtotal £5 7s 5d Hooks 6½ dozen at 1s 10d per dozen £0 11s 11d Sacking 13 yards at 2s per yard £1 6s 0d Manchester tick 1 piece £0 2s 0d Stationery ware: Testaments 3 at 1s 9d each £0 5s 3d Hornbook 1 £0 0s 4d Paper 12 quires £0 16s 0d Subtotal £1 1s 7d The total stood at £279 3s 0d and was carried over.</p> <p>Interpretations Mohair here meant thread or yarn spun from goat hair, sold by the skein for fine sewing or button-making. Manchester tick was a strong striped cotton or linen cloth for mattress and pillow covers, named for the English town that wove it. Sacking was the coarse cloth for sacks and bedding bottoms. The Testaments and the hornbook among the stationery show the store supplying the means of reading and religious instruction, the only such goods in the account.</p>
189	180	<p>January 1715/16. Goods out of the Honble. Compas. Stores delivered to General Charges from April the 25. 1715. to May the 25th. following (Vizt) £ / s / d Arrack 65 Gallons @ 7/6d 24 / 7 / 6 Sugar 217½ at 8d \mathfrak{P} lb 7 / 5 / 0 Bread 148 @ 3½ 2 / 3 / 2 Flower 264 — 3½ 3 / 17 / 0 Tobacco 1 2/0 Pipes 5 doz 3/6 0 / 5 / 6 Rice 163 — @ 3½ 2 / 7 / 6½ Oyles (Vizt) 1½ Gatt. Sweet @ 12/ 18/0 7 Linseed - 8 2/16/0 4½ — Rape - 7 1/11/6 5 / 5 / 6 Vinegar @ 4/ \mathfrak{P} gatt. 8 gatt. 1 / 12 / 0 Pepper 5 lb 0 / 3 / 0 Soap 18 English @ 17 1 / 5 / 6 Salt ½ a Bushell 0 / 3 / 0 Glass Ware (Vizt) 32 panes 9. 10 @ 14d 1/17/4 5 — 10/12 - 18 0/7/6 2 / 4 / 10 Red & White Lead (Vizt) 16½ Red @ 6d 8/3 30 White - do. 10/0 0 / 18 / 3 Ironmongery Ware (Vizt) 2 pair of Dovetales 1/2</p>	<p>An account followed of the goods out of the Company's stores delivered to general charges from 25 April 1715 to 25 May 1715. Arrack 65 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £24 7s 6d Sugar 217½ lb at 8d per lb £7 5s 0d Bread 148 lb at 3½d per lb £2 3s 2d Flour 264 lb at 3½d per lb £3 17s 0d Tobacco 1 lb £0 2s 0d Pipes 5 dozen at 6d per dozen £0 3s 6d Subtotal £0 5s 6d Rice 163 lb at 3½d per lb £2 7s 6½d Oils: Sweet oil 1½ gallons at 12s per gallon £0 18s 0d Linseed oil 7 gallons at 8s per gallon £2 16s 0d Rape oil 4½ gallons at 7s per gallon £1 11s 6d Subtotal £5 5s 6d Vinegar 4½ gallons at 4s per gallon £1 12s 0d Pepper 5 lb £0 5s 0d Soap 18 lb English at 17d per lb £1 5s 6d Salt ½ bushel £0 3s 0d Glass ware: Window panes 32 at 14d each £1 17s 4d Window panes 5 at 12d each £0 7s 6d Subtotal £2 4s 10d Red and white lead: Red lead 16½ lb at 6d per lb £0 8s 3d White lead 20 lb ditto £0 10s 0d Subtotal £0 18s 3d Ironmongery ware: Dovetails 2 pairs £0 1s 2d Till locks 2 £0 3s 4d</p>

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		<p>2 Till Locks 3/4 0 / 4 / 6 Nails (Vizt) 4 of 4 at 10½ 3/6 12 - 10 - 7½ 7/6 16 - 6 - 9 12/0 12 - 20 - 7 7/0 2 Scupper Nails 1/9 1 / 11 / 9 Carried over</p>	<p>Subtotal £0 4s 6d Nails: 4d nails 4 hundred at 10½d per hundred £0 3s 6d 10d nails 12 hundred at 7½d per hundred £0 7s 6d 6d nails 16 hundred at 9d per hundred £0 12s 0d 20d nails 12 hundred at 7d per hundred £0 7s 0d Scupper nails 2 hundred £0 1s 9d Subtotal £1 11s 9d The total was then carried over. Interpretations Red lead and white lead were lead-based pigments ground in oil for paint, the linseed oil bought higher up the same account being the medium they were mixed with. The seven gallons of linseed oil, far more than the household quantities seen on the inhabitants' side, point to painting or preserving work at the Castle this month rather than ordinary table use. This is general charges, the Company's own consumption at its table and fabric, so the same goods recur at the same fixed rates as the inhabitants paid.</p>
190	181	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d Cheese 172 Suffolk at 5d 3 / 11 / 8 Brass Ware 2 Lamps @ 3/11d ea 0 / 7 / 10 Tin Ware 1 Cullender 2/6 1 Sauce pan 1/1 1 Kettle 2/9½ 0 / 6 / 4½ Pewter buttons 3 doz 0 / 0 / 11 Corks 3 doz @ 3d 9d Wood ¼ C 2/6 0 / 1 / 3¾ Kerseys 9 yards at 9/2d 0 / 19 / 6¾ Dungrees 1 pce 0 / 5 / 8 Thread 1 C Brown 0 / 4 / 2 Tape 1 pce Manchester 0 / 2 / 6 Twine 1 lb 0 / 2 / 4 Lines 2 Bed Cords 0 / 5 / 0 Flagg Brooms 4 @ 6d ea 0 / 2 / 0 Beef 2 Cask 9. 1058 lb 24 / 1 / 3 84 / 6 / 4¾ Store Goods deliverd for Plantation house from April the 25. 1715. to May ye. 25. foll: (Vizt) £ / s / d Sugar 8 C @ 8d 5/4 Soap 6 Eng: @ 17 8/6 Lines 1 2/0 Ironmongery Ware (Vizt) 2 Pick axes 9. 13 lb @ 8d 10 lb 8/8 1 Shovell 2/0 0 / 10 / 8 Nails (Vizt) 1 C of 30 7/0 1 — 20 3/0 1 — 10 @ 7½ 1/3 0 / 2 / 5 1 / 8 / 11 To the Inhabitants £ 279 / 3 / 0 Genl. & Dyett Expences 84 / 6 / 4¾ Plantation house 1 / 8 / 11 364 / 18 / 3¾ Totall £ 364 / 18 / 3¾</p>	<p>The general charges account brought the running total forward and ran to its close. Cheese 172 lb Suffolk at 5d per lb £3 11s 8d Brass ware 2 lamps at 3s 11d each £0 7s 10d Tin ware: Cullender 1 £0 2s 6d Saucepan 1 £0 1s 1d Kettle 1 £0 2s 9½d Subtotal £0 6s 4½d Pewter buttons 3 dozen £0 0s 11d Corks 3 dozen at 3d per dozen £0 0s 9d Wood ¼ [...] £0 0s 2¼d Subtotal £0 1s 3¾d Kerseys 9 yards at 2s 2d per yard £0 19s 6d Dungarees 1 piece £0 5s 8d Thread 1 lb brown £0 4s 2d Tape 1 piece Manchester £0 2s 6d Twine 1 lb £0 2s 4d Lines 2 bed cords £0 5s 0d Flag brooms 4 at 6d each £0 2s 0d Beef 2 casks weighing 1,058 lb at 5½d per lb £24 1s 3d Total to general charges £84 6s 4¾d An account followed of the store goods delivered for the plantation house from 25 April 1715 to 25 May 1715. Sugar 8 lb at 8d per lb £0 5s 4d Soap 6 lb English at 17d per lb £0 8s 6d Lines 1 £0 2s 0d Ironmongery ware: Pick axes 2 weighing 13 lb at 8d per lb £0 8s 8d Shovel 1 £0 2s 0d Subtotal £0 10s 8d Nails: 30d nails 1 hundred £0 0s 7d 20d nails 1 hundred £0 1s 0d 10d nails 2 hundred at 7½d per hundred £0 1s 3d Subtotal £0 2s 5d Total to the plantation house £1 8s 11d The month closed with a summary of its three heads. To the inhabitants £279 3s 0d General charges and diet expenses £84 6s 4¾d Plantation house £1 8s 11d Total £364 18s 3¾d Interpretations The 25 April to 25 May 1715 month came to £364 18s 3¾d across the three heads, well above the £284 15s 10d of the month before, the rise falling mainly on the inhabitants. Pewter buttons and corks appearing on the general charges side, with brown thread, twine and a Manchester tape, point to mending and bottling at the Castle rather than fresh supply. The plantation house again drew almost nothing, £1 8s 11d, since it fed itself</p>

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			and took from the store only sugar, soap and a few tools.
191	182	<p>January 1715/16. The total Sum on the other Side is £364/18/3¼ The Govr. Orderd These Accounts to be Enterd in the Consultation book, & Sayes he does neither approve or disapprove of them because they are of So long Standing that they cant be regularly Examined. Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Saturday the 14th. day of Janry. 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Pres:t Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey & Edw: Byfeld. Mr. Tovey made Complaint against Renatus Snow Soldier & Taylor JP for giving him Yesterday very impudent & Saucy Language & Struck him Severall blows with threats to Kill him & gott Up a Stone of Severall pounds weight & hove at him, with intent to do him mischief, only Upon his demanding his Cloths made or unmade the Said Snow (& his Wife) had Some time to make for him (& Mrs. Tovey) tho Snow Owed him Margin Notes: Mr. Tovey complt. agst. Renat. Snow.</p>	<p>The total sum on the other side was £364 18s 3¼d. The Governor ordered these accounts to be entered in the consultation book. He said he neither approved nor disapproved of them, since they were of such long standing that they could not be regularly examined. The entry was signed by George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. At a consultation held on Saturday 14 January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor; Matthew Bazett; Antipas Tovey; and Edward Byfield. Mr Tovey complained against Renatus Snow, soldier and tailor. He charged that Snow had given him very impudent and saucy language the day before and struck him several blows, with threats to kill him. Snow had taken up a stone of several pounds weight and thrown it at him, meaning to do him harm. The quarrel arose only when Tovey demanded the clothes that Snow and his wife had for some time been making for him and Mrs Tovey, the clothes that Snow owed him. Interpretations Renatus Snow served the garrison as both soldier and tailor, the second a paid trade carried on alongside his military duty. The complaint set a councillor, the Secretary Tovey, against a common soldier over a private tailoring debt, and Snow's violent response to the demand for the finished clothes is what brought the matter before the bench rather than the debt itself.</p>
192	183	<p>Janry. 1715/16. him moneys above two Years Snow appearing Said, that Mr. Tovey coming into his House on Thursday did a buse his wife for not finishing Mr. Toveys work, Struck Said Snow with his Cane within the house, & denys that he Struck Mr. Tovey any blows at all, but only held his Cane to prevent his further Striking him Hen: Rawlins being Sworne Sayeth that he heard Snow call Mr. Tovey Severall names, As Son of a Whore, Son of a Bitch be in the Street & threw him down over a Rock & Swore at him very Sawcily. Orderd. that the Said Renatus Snow do ride the Wooden horse this day three hours & work for the Honble. Compa. Gratis a fortnight. Whereas Messr. Gabriel Powell & Richard Gurling (Execut:rs to Ra: Steward deceased) were Sumond to Appear this day to Answer the Complaint of Capt. Law: Minter for not pay ing One of the foll: bills. Island St Helena. Know all men by these Presents that Wee Thos. Perkins & Ra: Steward both of the said Island, Stand firmly bound unto Capt. Law: Minter in the full Sum of thirty Seven pounds Sixteen Shillings which Wee promise to pay him in England by bills of Exchange the first return of Shipping Insueing, Our first & Second Note, not being paid of the same Tenor & date, Wee engage to pay this Our third Note Witness Margin Notes: Capt. Minters complt. agst. the Stewards Exec:rs</p>	<p>Snow had owed Tovey money for more than two years. Snow, appearing, said that Tovey had come into his house on the Thursday and abused his wife for not finishing Mrs Tovey's work, then struck Snow with his cane inside the house. He denied striking Tovey at all, saying he had only held his own cane to stop Tovey from striking him further. Henry Rawlins, being sworn, said that he had heard Snow call Tovey several names, such as son of a whore and son of a bitch, in the street. He had thrown Tovey down over a rock and sworn at him very fiercely. The council ordered that Renatus Snow ride the wooden horse for three hours that day and work for the Company without pay for a fortnight. Gabriel Powell and Richard Gurling, executors of Charles Steward deceased, had been summoned to appear that day to answer the complaint of Captain Lawrence Minter for not paying one of the fortification bills. A bond followed, made on the island, by which Thomas Perkins and the executors of Charles Steward bound themselves to Captain Lawrence Minter in the full sum of £37 16s 0d. They promised to pay it to him in England by bills of exchange on the first return of shipping. Their first and second notes not being paid, of the same tenor and date, they engaged to pay by this their third note. Interpretations The wooden horse was a sharp-ridged wooden frame that a man was made to straddle, sometimes with weights at his feet, a standard military punishment for striking a superior. Renatus Snow drew both it and a fortnight's unpaid labour for assaulting the Secretary, the council treating violence against a councillor as a public offence above the private tailoring debt that began the quarrel. The bond was a first of exchange, the standard merchant instrument by which a debt was paid across the sea. Three copies were drawn, the first, second and third notes, and any one paid cancelled the others, so the surviving third note here shows the earlier two had</p>

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			failed to clear and the debt to Captain Minter remained open.
193	184	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Witness our hands this 18. of June 1713. (Signd) Thos. Perkins Cha: Steward.</p> <p>And Whereas neither the Sd. Powell or Gurling has appeared. Tho this Consultation was held purposely on that account & both of them had due notice of the Same. Orderd. That unless they do Appear here on Tuesday morn next & shew very good cause why the Sd. Bills are not complied with that they do pay the Same themselves in mony to Capt. Law: Minter, Wherefore if they have any reason to give why the Said Bills are not dis charged they are to do it then, for that is the Last time that shall be allowed them.</p> <p>Orderd That they be immediately Servd. wth. a Copy of this Resolution.</p> <p>Antipas Tovey. Edward Byfeld</p> <p>Margin Notes: Order thereon</p>	<p>The bond was witnessed on 18 June 1713 and signed by Thomas Perkins and Charles Steward.</p> <p>Neither Powell nor Gurling had appeared, although the consultation had been held purposely on that account and both had been given due notice of it.</p> <p>The council ordered that unless they appeared on the Tuesday morning following and showed very good cause why the bills were not complied with, they should pay the bills themselves in money to Captain Lawrence Minter. If they had any reason to give why the bills were not discharged, they were to do so then, since that would be the last time allowed them.</p> <p>The council further ordered that they be immediately served with a copy of this resolution.</p> <p>The entry was signed by Isaac Pyke, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The executors' liability rested on the bond of 18 June 1713, by which Perkins and the late Charles Steward had bound themselves to Captain Minter, so the debt now fell on Steward's estate in the executors' hands. By setting a final appearance, requiring payment in ready money on default and serving a copy of the resolution at once, the council closed off further delay and put the executors on formal notice that their last chance to contest the charge had come.</p>
194	185	<p>Island St Helena.</p> <p>At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 17th. day of January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Vally.</p> <p>Present. Isa: Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Depty. Matthew Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4th. & Edw: Byfeld 5th. in Councill</p> <p>Capt. Law: Minter Comandr. of the Ship Kent produced three Shott Bills for the Sum of thirty Seven Pounds Sixteen Shillings Payable by bills of Exch: in England by the next returning Ships after his Departure hence, from Thomas Perkins & Cha: Steward as Copied in Consultation of the 14th. Instant.</p> <p>In Answer to this the following Objections were made against the Payment of ye. Sd. Bills.</p> <p>That those bills being payable in England by bills of Exch: ye. first returning Ships from this place, they very believe were accordingly were complied with, the Ra. Steward Sending bills of Exchange ye. next Shipping after Capt. Minters departure hence & at Sevrall times Since as also did Mr. Perkins.</p> <p>It appears by Mr. Stewards books that he Sent more then the aforesd. Sum above what he had dealings for with other persons & by Mr. Perkins Book he pd. Ra. Steward above 30 on Acct. of Capt. Minter, and Mr. Steward declared Upon his Death bed that he had no Acct. or Debts Depending twixt him & any person off the Island but what all was Adjusted & paid. & Ra. Steward always had the Character of an honest Man.</p> <p>For which reason the Executors think</p> <p>Margin Notes: Capt. Minters complt. renewed the Execrs. Answr.</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 17 January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley.</p> <p>Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor; George Haswell Deputy Governor; Matthew Bazett third; Antipas Tovey fourth; and Edward Byfield fifth in council.</p> <p>Captain Lawrence Minter, commander of the ship <i>Kent</i>, produced three short bills for the sum of £37 16s 0d, payable by bills of exchange in England by the next returning ships after his departure home, drawn by Thomas Perkins and Charles Steward, as copied in the consultation of 14 January 1715/16.</p> <p>In answer the executors made the following objections against the payment of the bills.</p> <p>They very much believed that, the bills being payable in England by bills of exchange on the first ships returning from the island, they had accordingly been met, since Steward had sent bills of exchange by the next shipping after Captain Minter's departure and at several times since, as had Perkins.</p> <p>It appeared by Steward's books that he had sent more than the sum named, beyond what he had in dealings with other persons, and by Perkins's book that he had paid Steward above 30 [...] on Captain Minter's account.</p> <p>Steward had declared on his deathbed that he had no accounts or debts depending between himself and any person off the island, but that all had been settled and paid. Steward had always held the character of an honest man.</p> <p>For these reasons the executors thought</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The executors' defence rested on documentary proof against the bond of 18 June 1713. They argued from Steward's and Perkins's own books that remittances had already gone to England by the first returning ships, the very method the bills required, so the debt to Captain Minter had been discharged before Steward's death. Steward's deathbed declaration that nothing was owing was offered as further weight, the reputation of an honest man set against a creditor's renewed demand.</p>
195	186	<p>Janry. 1715/16.</p>	<p>It would be a wrong to the orphans of Steward if these bills were paid now, and so some time should be</p>

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		<p>it allyong to the Orphans of Mr. Stewards if these Bills should be paid now & therefore desire time may be allowed to write to Engl: to know if the mony be paid or not, wch. may easily be done Capt. Rich: Pennell being Mr. Stewards friend & Correspondent, In case it is not paid, the Executrs are willing to give under their hands to pay it unto any Person who may have Lawfull power to receive it hereafter.</p> <p>Messr. Gabriel Powell & Rich: Gurling appearing Sayed that they received not the Sumons on Saturday last till Evening wch. was the reason they did not Appeare then After a full Examination of this whole Matter. It did appeare to Us that Thomas Perkins & Charles Steward had bought goods of Capt. Minter to the Value of Severall hundred Pounds & that after the accounts were made Up & bills drawn on the Honble. Company for what they did not pay in Money, they agreed with him for Some other goods to the amount of 37 & gave him their Own Notes for the Same promising to remitt that Sum to him by other bills of Exchange the next Shipping, & it does ap peare by the Honble. Compa. books that they Since then drew home by bills 599: 0: 3 Pounds out of which the Executrs of Ra. Steward Say this mony of Capt. Minter was paid or else was included in Capt. Pennells bills On the whole by consent of both parties this Matter is to rest till further Advise from England, & the Executrs to give Bond now then in case this 37 (odd) is not already paid that</p> <p>Margin Notes: the Case. agreed thereupon</p>	<p>allowed to write to England to learn whether the money had been paid or not. This could easily be done, since Captain Richard Pinnell was Steward's friend and correspondent. In case it was not paid, the executors were willing to give it under their hands to pay it to any person who might have lawful power to receive it hereafter.</p> <p>Gabriel Powell and Richard Gurling, appearing, said that they had not received the summons until the Saturday evening before, which was the reason they had not appeared then.</p> <p>After a full examination of the whole matter, it appeared that Thomas Perkins and Charles Steward had bought goods of Captain Minter to the value of several hundred pounds. After the accounts were made up and bills drawn on the Company for what they did not pay in money, they agreed with him for the balance in other goods to the amount of £37 16s 0d. They gave him their own notes for that sum, promising to remit it to him by other bills of exchange the next shipping. It appeared by the Company's books that they had since drawn home bills for £599 0s 3d, out of which the executors of Steward held that Captain Minter's money was paid, or else was included in Captain Pinnell's bills.</p> <p>On the whole, by consent of both parties, the matter was to rest until further advice could be had from England. The executors were to give bond now, in case the £37 16s 0d was not already paid</p> <p>Interpretations The settlement turned on writing to England to check whether the £37 16s 0d had been cleared, with Captain Richard Pinnell, Steward's correspondent, the man placed to confirm it. The council's compromise managed a debt that could not be proved either way on the island: it suspended payment pending advice from home, yet took a bond from the executors so that, if the sum proved unpaid, Captain Minter's claim was secured against the orphans' estate without being charged twice.</p>
196	187	<p>January 1715/16. that they will then pay it with Interest for the Same. The Govr. Sayes he is of Oppinion that if these under Store house are lett alone the Honble. Compa. will never gett a farthing by theirs & he thinks that these people who deal thus, ought to have no Credit in the Honble. Compa. Stores & that Capt. Minter deserves to Lose his mony for this private trading when he might have Sold his Goods to the Honble. Compa. for a Small matter less, & then he would have had his mony in his Pockett long agoe. The Govr. Sayes he has received (now) in Cash Notes, (Vizt) Forty (40) at two Shillings & Six pence £ 10 / 0 / 0 Sixty, at five Shillings £ 15 / 0 / 0 Sixty, at Twenty Shillings £ 60 / 0 / 0 Twenty at Forty Shillings £ 40 / 0 / 0 In all One hundred Twenty five pounds £ 125 / 0 / 0 Which the Storekeeper is Orderd to make the Govr. Debtr. for in the Honble. Companys. Store books The Overseers of the Honble. Compa. planta tions Appear'd, & desired to be Supplied with Some Blacks to Weed their Plantations against the Wett Season comes in, (Vizt) For the Hutts 6 Perkins 4 the Peake 10 Luffkins 10 & for ye. Great planta: 15 45 besides wt. they now have But less then forty in all would not doe. Wee being in great Want of Blacks</p> <p>Margin Notes: relating to private Store houses. Govr. Dr. for Cash Notes. Blacks to Weed ye. plantats.</p>	<p>The executors would then pay it with interest for the same.</p> <p>The Governor said he was of the opinion that, if these private storehouses were left alone, the Company would never make a farthing by its own. He thought that people who dealt in this way ought to have no credit in the Company's stores. Captain Minter, he said, deserved to lose his money for this private trading, since he might have sold his goods to the Company for a little less and would then have had his money in his pocket long ago.</p> <p>The Governor said he had received in cash notes the following. 40 notes at 2s 6d £10 0s 0d 60 notes at 5s £15 0s 0d 60 notes at 20s £60 0s 0d 20 notes at 40s £40 0s 0d In all 125 notes £125 0s 0d The storekeeper was ordered to make the Governor debtor for these in the Company's store books.</p> <p>The overseers of the Company's plantations appeared and asked to be supplied with some slaves to weed their plantations before the wet season came in. For the Hutts: 6 For Perkins's: 4 For the Peak: 10 For Luffkins's: 10 For the great plantation: 15 45 in all These were besides those they now had. But fewer than 40 in all would not do, the Company being in great want of slaves.</p> <p>Interpretations The cash notes were the paper currency issued on 15 March 1715, 170 bills totalling £117 10s 0d in the four denominations of 40s, 20s, 5s and 2s 6d, redeemable in silver and backed by the Governor's personal account. By having the storekeeper charge the £125 0s 0d against him in the store books, the council</p>

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			<p>held the Governor answerable for the notes as if for cash, the mechanism that kept the new currency convertible.</p> <p>The Governor's view of Captain Minter's bills turned the dispute into a matter of policy. He held that private trading by ship commanders undercut the Company's own store, and that men who sold goods privately on the island deserved neither store credit nor the bench's help in recovering their money.</p>
197	188	<p>January 1715/16. & know not where to procure them, tho the Plantations do want Weeding Do permit the Chief Overseer to hire twenty & no more goe that Work & to make as good Shift with them as he can & shall write to the Honble. Compa. to Send us a Suffecient Num ber which will not only effectually do their business, but Save much Charges. Dr. Thos. Price Surgeon having leave to goe off in this Ship Kent, Sumond Sun dry persons to this Council who Owed him mony, (Vizt) Margt. Sich, who paid him Mrs. Frances Carne, also paid him his own Wm. Slaughter paid him £ 6 / 0 / 0 Robt. Bell, plant. pd. him 6 / 0 / 0 James Vesey, pd. him 0 / 18 / 0 Thos. Swallow Senr. made it appeare that he had paid him long Since. Wherefore. Orderd. That he pay Thos. Swallows charges John Long has paid those days before wherefore Orderd, he pay Jno. Longs Charges Walker Morriss, Henry Francis James Draper & John Goodwin, paid him Jno. French Gunner Owing him ten Shillings, for a peper of Powder for his Child, but on the Ballance Price Soeing the Gunner forty two Shillings (besides ye. ten he demanded for the Childs Physick) Price paid down the mony & Was Orderd to pay the Charges. Francis Funge, paid him Then he made a Demand of Capt. Haswell the Margin Notes: to hire 20. Thos. Price agst. Sundry persons</p>	<p>The council did not know where to procure them, though the plantations needed weeding. It therefore permitted the chief overseer to hire 20 slaves, and 20 more for that work, and to make as good a shift with them as he could. It would write to the Company to send a sufficient number, which would not only do the business effectively but save much in charges.</p> <p>Dr Thomas Price, the surgeon, having leave to go off in the <i>Kent</i>, summoned several persons to the council who owed him money.</p> <p>Margaret Fitch paid him. Mrs Frances Carne also paid him her own debt. William Slaughter paid him £5 0s 0d. Robert Bell, planter, paid him £6 0s 0d. James Vesey paid him £0 10s 0d.</p> <p>Thomas Swallow, senior, showed that he had paid Price long since. The council therefore ordered that Price pay Swallow's charges.</p> <p>John Long had paid him some days before. The council therefore ordered that Price pay Long's charges.</p> <p>Walter Morris, Henry Francis, James Draper and John Goodwin paid him.</p> <p>John French, the gunner, owed him 10s for a paper of powder for his child. But on the balance, Price owing the gunner 42s besides the 10s he demanded for the child's physic, Price paid down the money and was ordered to pay the charges.</p> <p>Francis Funge paid him. Then Price made a demand of Captain Haswell</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The labour shortage drove a stopgap order. With no slaves to be had outright, the council let the chief overseer hire 40 in two lots to weed the plantations before the wet season, and resolved to press the directors for a permanent supply, on the reasoning that owned hands would cost far less than hired ones over time.</p> <p>Price was clearing his accounts before sailing on the <i>Kent</i>, calling in every debt owed him. Where a debtor showed the debt already paid, as Swallow and Long did, the council made Price bear that person's summons charges, a penalty for hauling in men who owed him nothing.</p>
198	189	<p>Janry. 1715/16. the Depty. Govr. for a Dose of Physick for his black & for his Little Child. Capt. Haswell made it appeare that he had Settled acctt. wth. Dr. Price a week agoe & that there remained due to him from Price forty five Shillings - Price acknowledged Only forty Shillings & Sixpence. Wherefore Orderd to pay it immodeatly. Robt. Marsh also paid to Price forty Shill: & Price Saying he had no other Demands was dismissed. But Jos: Dawes demanding twenty fower Shilling of Price that he Owed him was orderd to be paid. Messr. Joshua Johnson & Richd. Gurling complaind, that they had paid Price his full demands & he refused to give them a receipt they having had dealings on Sundry Accounts together. Orderd, them to give Receipts to each other. The Marshall complaind he had fourteen Shillings due to him from Dr. Price for fees mentiond in a Note he brought which the Govr. over lookt & Taxt, & Orderd price to pay him five Shillings & Sixpence.</p>	<p>Price made a demand of Captain Haswell, the Deputy Governor, for a dose of physic for his slave and for his little child.</p> <p>Captain Haswell showed that he had settled accounts with Dr Price a week before, and that there remained due to him from Price 45s. Price acknowledged only 42s. The council therefore ordered him to pay it immediately.</p> <p>Robert Marsh also paid Price 45s, and Price, saying he had no other demands, was dismissed.</p> <p>But Joseph Dawes, demanding 24s of Price that Price owed him, was ordered to be paid.</p> <p>Joshua Johnson and Richard Gurling complained that they had paid Price his full demands, but that he refused to give them a receipt, they having had dealings on several accounts together. The council ordered them to give receipts to each other.</p> <p>The marshal complained that he had 14s due to him from Dr Price for fees noted in a paper he brought, which the Governor overlooked and taxed, and ordered Price to pay him 5s 6d.</p>

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		<p>Dr. Price (then) Sumond Geo: Senden the Drumr. for a peice of Cloth (for Shirts) bought of him, And it appearing upon Examination that Price being Used to dispose of goods for One Gabriel Powell who keeps an order or Private Store house in opposition to the Hon: Companys & that this peice was some of Powells Cloth Sold in a privat manner & at a dear rate to One of the Garrison. The Govr. Sayd he came here to Serve the Honble. Compa. & would not concerne himself on Powells behalf to his Hon: Mast: prejudice</p> <p>Margin Notes: Selling goods of Powells</p>	<p>Dr Price then summoned George London, the drummer, for a piece of cloth bought of him for shirts. It appeared on examination that Price had been in the habit of disposing of goods for Gabriel Powell, who kept an open private storehouse in opposition to the Company. This piece was some of Powell's cloth, sold privately and at a dear rate to one of the garrison. The Governor said he had come here to serve the Company and would not concern himself on Powell's behalf to the prejudice of his masters.</p> <p>Interpretations The marshal's claim was settled by taxation of costs, the Governor scrutinising the fee paper and cutting the 14s demanded to an allowed 5s 6d, the bench's standard check on an officer's charges.</p> <p>The London transaction exposed Price as an agent for Gabriel Powell's private store, which traded in opposition to the Company. By treating the sale of Powell's cloth at a dear rate to a soldier as the offence rather than the debt, the Governor pressed his standing line against private trading on the island, refusing to lend the bench's authority to a competitor of the Company's stores.</p>
199	190	<p>Janry. 1715/16. & that as the Goods & abundance more had privately been Sold, Powell might privately gett his mony. But the Honble. Compa. by his consent Should Never give Credit in their Stores for any Such goods, & thereupon dismissed the cause.</p> <p>Capt. Bazett brought in Two Monthly accounts (Vizt) from the 25th. of May to the 25th. of July 1715.</p> <p>The Govr. Orderd, them to be Enterd in the Consultation book, without further Exa mination they being of So long Standing & are past his Memory.</p> <p>Which are as followeth Vizt.</p> <p>An Account of Store Goods Sold & de liverd to the Inhabitants of this Island & to the Use of the United Castle and Plantation house from May the 25th. 1715 to July ye. 25th. following. (Vizt)</p> <p>£ / s / d Arrack 827⁷/₈ Gallons @ 7/6d ꝑ g 310 / 9 / 3³/₄ Sugar 1608³/₄ at 8d ꝑ pound 53 / 12 / 2 Bread 326¹/₂ — 3¹/₂ 4 / 15 / 2³/₄ Flower 952¹/₂ — 3¹/₂ 13 / 17 / 9³/₄ Rice 12 — 3¹/₂ 0 / 3 / 6 Pease 2 Cask 9. 16 Bushells @ 11/ ꝑ Bsh 8 / 16 / 0 Butter 2 Firkins 5 / 14 / 0 Beef 1 Puncheon, 9. 575 @ 5¹/₂ ꝑ lb 13 / 3 / 6¹/₂ Oyle Vizt 17¹/₄ Gatt Rape at 7 / £ 6:0:9 1 Gatt - Sweet - 12/ 0:12:0 6 / 12 / 9 Carried Over £</p>	<p>The Governor added that, as the goods and far more had been sold privately, Powell might privately get his money. But the Company, by his consent, would never give credit in its stores for any such goods. The council thereupon dismissed the cause.</p> <p>Captain Bazett brought in two monthly accounts, from 25 May 1715 to 25 July 1715.</p> <p>The Governor ordered them entered in the consultation book without further examination, they being of such long standing and past his memory.</p> <p>An account of store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants of the island, and to the use of Union Castle and the plantation house, from 25 May 1715 to 25 July 1715.</p> <p>Arrack 827⁷/₈ gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £310 9s 2¹/₄d Sugar 1,608³/₄ lb at 8d per pound £53 12s 2d Bread 326¹/₂ lb at 3¹/₂d per lb £4 15s 2³/₄d Flour 952¹/₂ lb at 3¹/₂d per lb £13 17s 9³/₄d Rice 12 lb at 3¹/₂d per lb £0 3s 6d Peas 2 casks weighing 16 bushels at 11s per bushel £8 16s 0d Butter 2 firkins £5 14s 0d Beef 1 puncheon weighing 575 lb at 5¹/₂d per lb £13 3s 6¹/₂d Oil: Rape oil 17¹/₄ gallons at 7s per gallon £6 0s 9d Sweet oil 1 gallon at 12s per gallon £0 12s 0d Subtotal £6 12s 9d The total was then carried over.</p> <p>Interpretations A firkin was a small cask, about nine gallons, and a puncheon a large one of seventy gallons or more, the casks here being measured by the weight of beef rather than their capacity. The 16 bushels of peas in two casks were a dry-goods staple, sold by the bushel at 11s.</p> <p>This account ran over two months, 25 May to 25 July 1715, not the usual single month, part of Bazett's effort to clear the long backlog of store accounts the Governor would no longer examine. Arrack again dominated, at £310 9s 2¹/₄d more than five times any other line, the heaviest single charge on the inhabitants and the Company's establishments combined.</p>
200	191	<p>January 1715/16. Brought Over £ / s / d Soap (Vizt) 206 Engh @ 17/ ꝑ C 14/11/10 76¹/₂ Bengal @ 8d 2/11/0 17 / 2 / 10 Pepper 8 lb 0 / 0 / 8</p>	<p>The account brought the running total forward and continued.</p> <p>Soap: English soap 206 lb at 17d per lb £14 11s 10d Bengal soap 76¹/₂ lb at 8d per lb £2 11s 0d Subtotal £17 2s 10d Pepper 8 lb £0 8s 0d</p>

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		<p>Sugar Candy 54 C 2 / 14 / 0 Vinegar 34¼ Gatt. @ 4/ ꝥ g 6 / 19 / 0 Tea Vizt 9 Cattees @ 9/ ꝥ ow 4/1/0 12 — do. 5/8/0 9 / 9 / 0 Pipes & Tobacco (Vizt) 79 doz pipes @ 6d ꝥ doz 1/19/6 7 lb Tobacco 2/0 2 / 1 / 6 Haberdashery Ware (Vizt) Buttons 57½ doz Brest @ 4d ꝥ doz 19/2 22 — do. — 6 11/0 21½ — Coat — 12 1/1/6 10½ — do. — 19 16/7½ 3 / 8 / 3½ Threads (Vizt) 4½ Brown @ 4/8 ꝥ C 18/0 1 Wbr. 7/5½ 7/7½ 4½ Wbrowne 4/10 1/1/9 1 Do. 7/6 3 do. — 9/8 19/4 1 do. 6/9 5 Ounces thread @ 2/ ꝥ ow 10/0 10 — 1/5 14/2 3 — 0/9 2/3 1 — 1/1 8 — 1/3½ 10/4 2 — 2/6 5/0 2 — 3/4 6/8 1 1/10 6 / 12 / 3½ Silk 25⅞ at 2/6d ꝥ Ounce 3 / 2 / 9¼ Combs 10 Ivory @ 1/7d ea 15/10 2 do. — 1:3 2/6 1 Horne 0/5 1 ditto 1/9 Carried over £ 469</p>	<p>Sugar candy 54 lb at 12d per lb £2 14s 0d Vinegar 34¼ gallons at 4s per gallon £6 19s 0d Tea: Tea 9 canisters at 9s per pound £4 1s 0d Tea 12 canisters at 9s per pound £5 8s 0d Subtotal £9 9s 0d Pipes and tobacco: Pipes 79 dozen at 6d per dozen £1 19s 6d Tobacco 1 lb £0 2s 0d Subtotal £2 1s 6d Haberdashery ware: Breast buttons 57½ dozen at 4d per dozen £0 19s 2d Buttons 22 dozen at 6d per dozen £0 11s 0d Coat buttons 21½ dozen at 12d per dozen £1 1s 6d Buttons 10½ dozen at 19d per dozen £0 16s 7½d Subtotal £3 8s 3½d Thread: Brown thread 4½ lb at 4s per lb £0 18s 0d Brown thread 1 lb at 7s 6d per lb £0 7s 6d Whited brown thread 4½ lb at 4s 10d per lb £1 1s 9d Whited brown thread 1 lb ditto £0 7s 6d Thread 1 lb ditto at 9s 8d £0 19s 4d Thread 1 lb ditto £0 6s 9d Thread 5 ounces at 2s per ounce £0 10s 0d Thread 10 ounces ditto £0 14s 2d Thread 3 ounces ditto £0 2s 3d Thread 1 ounce ditto £0 1s 1d Thread 8 ounces at 1s 3d per ounce £0 10s 4d Thread 2 ounces at 2s 6d per ounce £0 5s 0d Thread 2 ounces at 3s 4d per ounce £0 6s 8d Thread 1 ounce ditto £0 1s 10d Subtotal £6 12s 3½d Silk 25⅞ ounces at 2s 6d per ounce £3 2s 9¼d Combs: Ivory combs 10 at 19d each £0 15s 10d Ivory combs 2 ditto at 15d each £0 2s 6d Horn combs 1 £0 0s 5d Comb, 1 ditto £0 0s 9d Subtotal £0 19s [...]. Interpretations The two months of trade pushed the running total past £469, more than the whole of the previous single month, the long account reflecting the period it covered rather than any surge in a given week. The thread alone, graded from coarse brown through whited to the fine silk-priced ounces, ran to £6 12s 3½d, showing how much sewing material the island households drew from the store.</p>
201	192	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d Combs brought Over 19/4 4 Boxes — @ 6d ea 2/0 3 Comb brushes @ 12d 3/0 1 / 4 / 4 Pins (Vizt) 20 m at 1/9d ꝥ m 1/15/0 11 — 1/1½ 12/4½ 3 pap. Blankett @ 2d ꝥ pap. 0/6 2 / 7 / 10½ Galloons 1 pce Silk 10/6 12 yards Ferreting @ 4½ 4/6 Bodice 2 pair at 12/9d 1/5/6 2 / 0 / 6 Long Cloth 8 peices @ 24/5d ꝥ ꝥ 9 / 18 / 0 Neals 6 peices @ 10/9d ea 3 / 2 / 6 Cutlary Ware Sissers 3 pr @ 8/3 2/2¼ 8 — 7/4 5/2 2 prunning Knives 2/2 0 / 9 / 6¼ Wine 57⅞ Gatt. @ 5/ ꝥ g (hardonell) 14 / 6 / 10½</p>	<p>The account brought the running total of £469 19s 9½d forward and continued. Combs: Combs, brought over £0 19s 4d Combs 4 at 6d each £0 2s 0d Comb brushes 3 at 12d each £0 3s 0d Subtotal £1 4s 4d Pins: Pins 20 thousand at 1s 9d per thousand £1 15s 0d Pins 11 thousand at 1s 1½d per thousand £0 12s 4½d Blanket pins 3 papers at 2d per paper £0 0s 6d Subtotal £2 7s 10½d Galloon 1 piece silk £0 10s 6d Ferreting 12 yards at 4½d per yard £0 4s 6d Bodice 2 pairs at 12s 9d each £1 5s 6d Subtotal £2 0s 6d Long cloth 8 pieces at 24s 5d per piece £9 18s 0d Neals 6 pieces at 10s 5d each £3 2s 6d Cutlery ware: Scissors 3 pairs at 8¾d each £0 2s 2¼d Scissors 8 at 7¾d each £0 5s 2d Pruning knives 2 £0 2s 2d</p>

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		<p>Chaloes 13 pces @ 5/ \mathcal{P} pce 3 / 5 / 0 Sanoes 2 pces @ 16/5 1/12/10 2 — 16/8 1/13/4 1 — 18/0 4 / 4 / 2 Gurrhaes 12 pces @ 12/6 7/10/0 Dungrees 16 — 5/8 4 / 10 / 8 Shirts 85 at 3/ ea 12 / 15 / 0 Neckcloths 2$\frac{3}{4}$ peices at 1/4/5 \mathcal{P} \mathcal{P} 3/7/1$\frac{1}{2}$ 2 — 1/8/5 2/16/10 1 — 1/12/10 7 / 16 / 9$\frac{3}{4}$ Surrat Chints 69 peices @ 4/6d 15/10/6 patney 1 11/9 16 / 2 / 3 Soldiers Cloth Coats 21 @ 1:0:8 21/14/0 Westcoats 5 - 0:9:4 2/6/8 Breeches 6 - 0:8:3 2/9/6 26 / 10 / 2 Tapes 2 pces Manchester @ 2/6d ea 5/0 1 pce Coloured 1/8 0 / 6 / 8</p>	<p>Subtotal £0 9s 6$\frac{1}{4}$d Wine 57$\frac{7}{8}$ gallons at 5s per gallon, of the <i>Cardonnell</i> £14 6s 10$\frac{1}{2}$d Chaloes 13 pieces at 5s per piece £3 5s 0d Saunoes: Saunoes 2 pieces at 16s 5d each £1 12s 10d Saunoes 2 pieces at 16s 8d each £1 13s 4d Saunoes 1 piece £0 18s 0d Subtotal £4 4s 2d Gurrahs 12 pieces at 12s 6d each £7 10s 0d Dungarees 16 pieces at 5s 8d each £4 10s 8d Shirts 85 at 3s each £12 15s 0d Neckcloths: Neckcloths 2$\frac{3}{4}$ pieces at 24s 5d per piece £3 7s 1$\frac{1}{2}$d Neckcloths 2 pieces at 18s 4d each £2 16s 10d Neckcloths 1 piece £1 12s 10d Subtotal £7 16s 9$\frac{3}{4}$d Surat chintz 69 pieces at 4s 6d each £15 10s 6d Padway 1 piece £0 11s 9d Subtotal £16 2s 3d Soldiers' clothes: Coats 21 at 20s 8d each £21 14s 0d Westcoats 5 at 9s 4d each £2 6s 8d Breeches 6 pairs at 8s 3d each £2 9s 6d Subtotal £26 10s 2d Coloured tapes: Manchester tapes 2 pieces at 2s 6d each £0 5s 0d Tapes 1 piece coloured £0 1s 8d Subtotal £0 6s 8d Interpretations Neals and padway were Indian cotton piece-goods, neals a plain calico and padway a coarser sort, sold by the piece alongside the more familiar chaloes, saunoes, gurrahs and Surat chintz. The wine, 57$\frac{7}{8}$ gallons charged at 5s and bought of the <i>Cardonnell</i>, is the one notable departure from the store's settled rates: it sits far below the old Madeira retail price of over 18s per gallon and reflects a bulk purchase from a ship's cargo rather than a retail sale. Long cloth at 24s 5d per piece has eased a few pence from the 24s 9d of the 25 March to 25 April 1715 account, while the other piece-goods and haberdashery hold to their established prices.</p>
202	193	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought Over £ / s / d Glass Ware (Vizt) Looking Glasses 3 at 5/7 ea 16/9 1 — 6/7 1 — 1/2 1 — 3/2 57 / 7 / 4 Wine Glasses 5 — 2/ 10/0 2 — 1:6 3/0 1 — 2/6 15 / 6 / 1$\frac{1}{2}$ Decanters 2 9. 4 4$\frac{1}{2}$ @ 2/3 9/3$\frac{3}{4}$ Square Glass 6 panes 6/ @ 12d 6/0 Stockings (Vizt) 25 pr. thread @ 4/6d 5/12/6 4 do. — 8:6 1/14/0 7 / 6 / 6 Worsted 22 — 07/6 lb 8/5/0 Silk 4 — 16:6 3/6/0 Silk & Worsted 2 — 13/0 Scarlett 2 — 9/ 18/0 13 / 2 / 0 Socks 2 pr Mens — 11 1/10 4 Womens - 10 3/4 5 / 2 / 0 Stationary Ware (Vizt) 1 Horn book 4d 15 quire paper @ 16 \mathcal{P} q 1/0/0 1 / 0 / 4 Gartering 84 yd @ 2d \mathcal{P} yd 1 / 8 / 6 Fustians 14$\frac{3}{4}$ — White @ 2/ 1 / 8 / 6 Kerseys 63$\frac{1}{2}$ 6 / 16 / 6</p>	<p>The account brought the running total forward and continued. Glass ware: Looking glasses 3 at 5s 7d each £0 16s 9d Looking glasses 1 £0 6s 7d Looking glasses 1 £0 1s 2d Looking glasses 1 £0 3s 2d Subtotal £5 7s 4d Wine glasses: Wine glasses 5 at 2s £0 10s 0d Wine glasses 2 at 1s 6d £0 3s 0d Wine glasses 1 £0 2s 6d Decanters 2 weighing 4$\frac{3}{4}$ lb at 2s 3d per lb £0 15s 6$\frac{1}{2}$d Square glass 6 panes at 12d per pane £0 9s 3$\frac{3}{4}$d Stockings: Thread stockings 25 pairs at 4s 6d each £5 12s 6d Thread stockings 4 ditto at 8s 6d each £1 14s 0d Subtotal £7 6s 6d Worsted stockings 22 at 7s 6$\frac{1}{4}$d each £8 5s 0d Silk stockings 4 at 16s 6d each £3 6s 0d Silk and worsted stockings 1 £0 13s 0d Scarlett stockings 2 at 9s £0 18s 0d Subtotal £13 2s 0d Socks: Men's socks 2 pairs at 11d £0 1s 10d Women's socks 4 at 10d £0 3s 4d Subtotal £0 5s 2d Stationery ware: Hornbook 1 £0 0s 4d Paper 15 quires at 16d per quire £1 0s 0d</p>

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		<p>Sagathees 5 pces 9. 93 @ 3/3 \mathcal{P} \mathcal{P} yd 16 / 6 / 9$\frac{3}{4}$ Shalloone 55$\frac{1}{4}$ yd @ 2:6 \mathcal{P} yd 6 / 9 / 4$\frac{1}{2}$ Flannell 10 — 2:3 1 / 2 / 6 Druggetts 48 yd — 3/7/4/0 8$\frac{1}{2}$ — 4/ 1/14/0 8 / 18 / 0 Broad Cloth 24 yd 9. 24 yd @ 15/6 & 14/6d 11 / 8 / 3 Damasks 17 — @ 2/ 1 / 6 / 3 Norwich Stuff 7 yd @ 17 \mathcal{P} yd 0 / 9 / 11 Shoes (Vizt) 42 pr Cat 6/2 (English) 12/19/0 8 Turkey Leather @ 4/9 1/18/0 2 Broded Womens - 10/5$\frac{1}{2}$ 1/0/11 1 Spanish 1/16/0 9 Jna. Shoes — 4/ 1/16/0 18 / 9 / 4 Carried Over £ 677</p>	<p>Subtotal £1 0s 4d Gartering 84 yards at 2d per yard £0 18s 6d Fustians 14$\frac{3}{4}$ yards white at 2s per yard £0 18s 6d Kerseys 63 yards at 2s per yard £6 16s 6d Sagathees 5 pieces, 53 yards at 3s 3d per yard, also 1 [...] £16 6s 9$\frac{3}{4}$d Shalloon 55$\frac{3}{4}$ yards at 2s 6d per yard £6 19s 4$\frac{1}{2}$d Flannel 10 yards at 2s 3d per yard £1 2s 6d Druggetts 48 yards at 3s per yard £7 4s 0d Druggetts 8 yards at 4s per yard £1 14s 0d Subtotal £8 18s 0d Broad cloth 24 yards, 2 yards at 15s 6d per yard and the rest at 14s 6d each £18 3s 0d Damasks 17 yards £1 6s 3d Norwich stuff 7 yards at 17d per yard £0 9s 11d Shoes: Men's English shoes 42 pairs at 6s 2d each £12 19s 0d Turkey leather shoes 8 at 4s 9d each £1 18s 0d Braided women's shoes 2 at 10s 5d £1 0s 11d Spanish shoes 1 £0 16s 0d Island shoes 9 at 4s each £1 16s 0d Subtotal £18 9s [...] The total, carried over, stood at £677 [...]. Interpretations Sagathees, shalloon, druggetts and Norwich stuff were all named English worsted and woollen cloths, sold by the yard for clothing, while damask was a figured linen or silk and flannel a soft loose-woven wool. The stockings ran through the full range of materials, thread at the bottom, then worsted, silk and silk-and-worsted, the silk pair at 16s 6d being the dearest single hosiery line, which marks the spread of quality the store kept for a small island population.</p>
203	194	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d Blanketts 1$\frac{1}{2}$ pr @ 22/6d \mathcal{P} pr 1/13/9 $\frac{1}{2}$ — 7/9 2 / 1 / 6 Silk Scarves 1 at 1 / 7 / 0 Romalls 6 @ 15d ea 0 / 7 / 6 Ribbon 13$\frac{1}{4}$ yd @ 1/ \mathcal{P} yd 13/9 9$\frac{3}{4}$ — 2:3 1/11$\frac{1}{4}$ 9$\frac{1}{4}$ — 0:10 7/11 3 — 1:2$\frac{1}{2}$ 3/7$\frac{1}{2}$ 2 / 7 / 2$\frac{3}{4}$ Mohair 10$\frac{1}{4}$ Ounces @ 20d \mathcal{P} ow 0 / 17 / 1 Shoe Thread 3 lb $\frac{1}{2}$ — 2/6 \mathcal{P} lb 0 / 8 / 9 Twine 9 2/4 0 / 1 / 0 Thimbles 12 0 / 1 / 0 Lace Tape 1 0 / 0 / 6 Needles 225 @ 19 \mathcal{P} C 0 / 3 / 6$\frac{3}{4}$ Corks 30$\frac{1}{2}$ doz @ 3d \mathcal{P} doz 7/7$\frac{1}{2}$ 1 C Wood 0/8 0 / 8 / 3$\frac{1}{2}$ Necklaces 1 0 / 0 / 6 Silk Laces 12 @ 3d ea 0 / 3 / 0 Indigo 3 Ounces @ 8d \mathcal{P} ow 0 / 2 / 0 Pewter Chamber pots 2 @ 5/3d ea 10/6 1 — 4/3 Close Stool pans 1 — 6/9 Basons 1 — 3/10 1 / 5 / 4 Sweet Powder 1 lb @ 19d \mathcal{P} lb 0 / 19 / 0 1 Powder Box 0 / 0 / 9 Hatts 8 Felts @ 4/4 ea 1/14/8 4 do. No. 2 — 4:8 18/8 10 Beveretts — 10:6 5/5/0 7 / 18 / 4 Double House Linnen 19 yds @ 2/3 2 / 2 / 9 Hooks & Lines (Vizt) 4 Bed Cords @ 2/6 ea 10/0</p>	<p>The account brought the running total of £677 11s 4d forward and continued. Blankets: Blankets 1$\frac{1}{2}$ pairs at 22s 6d per pair £1 13s 9d Blankets $\frac{1}{2}$ pair £0 7s 9d Subtotal £2 1s 6d Silk scarves 1 £0 7s 0d Romalls 6 at 15s 2d each £0 7s 6d Ribbon: Ribbon 15$\frac{3}{4}$ yards at 1s per yard £0 13s 9d Ribbon 9$\frac{3}{4}$ yards at 2s 3d per yard £1 1s 11$\frac{1}{4}$d Ribbon 9 yards at 0s 10d per yard £0 7s 11d Ribbon 3 yards at 1s 2$\frac{1}{2}$d per yard £0 3s 7$\frac{1}{2}$d Subtotal £2 7s 2$\frac{3}{4}$d Mohair 10$\frac{1}{4}$ ounces at 20d per ounce £0 17s 1d Shoe thread 3$\frac{1}{4}$ lb at 2s 6d per lb £0 8s 1d Twine 1 lb at 2s 4d per lb £0 2s 4d Thimbles 12 £0 1s 0d Lace tape 1 £0 0s 6d Subtotal £0 8s 3$\frac{1}{2}$d Needles 225 at 19d per hundred £0 3s 6$\frac{3}{4}$d Corks 30$\frac{1}{2}$ dozen at 3d per dozen £0 7s 7$\frac{1}{2}$d Wood 1 [...] £0 0s 8d Subtotal £0 8s 3$\frac{1}{2}$d Necklaces 1 £0 0s 6d Silk laces 12 at 3d each £0 3s 0d Indigo 3 ounces at 8d per ounce £0 2s 0d Pewter: Chamber pots 2 at 5s 3d each £0 10s 6d Chamber pot 1 £0 4s 3d Close stool pans 1 £0 6s 9d Basins 1 £0 3s 10d Subtotal £1 5s 4d Sweet powder 1 [...] at 19d per [...] £0 19s 0d Powder box 1 £0 0s 9d Hats: Felt hats 8 at 4s 4d each £1 14s 8d Felt hats 4 ditto at [...] £0 18s 8d Beveretts 10 at 10s 6d each £5 5s 0d Subtotal £7 18s 4d</p>

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		<p>1 Line 2/0 12 Hooks 2/11 Carried Over 14/11 Carried over £</p>	<p>Double house linen 19 yards at 2s 3d per yard £2 2s 9d Hooks and lines: Bed cords 4 at 2s 6d each £0 10s 0d Line 1 £0 2s 0d Hooks 12 £0 2s 11d Carried over £0 14s 11d The total was then carried over. Interpretations Romalls were thin Indian silk or cotton handkerchiefs, beverets were beaver-fur hats and a close stool pan was the removable pewter basin of a commode. Indigo, sold here by the ounce, was the blue dyestuff used for colouring cloth. The beverets at 10s 6d each were far the dearest headwear, well above the felt hats at about 4s 4d, and at £5 5s 0d the ten of them made the heaviest line in this part of the account.</p>
204	195	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought Over £ / s / d Hooks & Lines brought over 2/14/11 4 doz Hooks No. 5 @ 9d 3/0 4 — 6 — 4 4/0 ½ — 9 - 1:8 10 2 — 1/2 3 / 1 / 11 Brass Ware 2 Lamps @ 3/11d 0 / 7 / 10 Tin Ware 2 Fish Plates 3/4 1 Sauce pan 1/5 1 Porringer 0/7 0 / 5 / 4 Manchester Tick 1 peice 1 / 10 / 6 Gloves (Vizt) 3 pr Mens @ 1/9d 5/3 5 Womens — 1:8 8/4 5 Boys & Girls 1:1 5/5 0 / 19 / 0 Holland Duck 1 Bolt 4 / 19 / 0 Sacking 16 yards @ 2/4d 1 / 12 / 0 Iron mongers Ware (Vizt) 1 Hatchett 2/6 2 Broad hoes @ 2:8 5/4 4 Ditto — 2:6 10/0 1 Spade 5/9 2 pair Dove tails 10 1 Box Iron & Heaters 9/9 1 Hamer No. 6 1/6 1 pr Garden Sheers 5/0 1 Pick Axe 9. 6½ @ 8d 7 lb 4/4 1 Ratt Trap 8 3 do. - 1:6 4/6 7 do. 2/7 1 Steel do. 6/0 1 Chest Lock 2/2½ 1 Cupboard Lock 2/6 1 Lock 1/6 1 Lock 2/6½ 1 Chest Lock 2/6 2 Till Locks 2/0 3 / 6 / 11¼ Nâiles (Vizt) 4½ Tacks @ 1/8 2/6 11 of 10 — 7½ 6/10½ 8 — 6 — 12/0 3 — 4 — 12/7½ 1 / 18 / 0 Carried over</p>	<p>The account brought the running total forward and continued. Hooks and lines, brought over £2 14s 11d Hooks 4 dozen, number 5, at 9d per dozen £0 3s 0d Hooks 4 dozen, number 6, at [...] £0 4s 0d Hooks ½ dozen at 1s 8d £0 0s 10d Hooks 2 dozen £0 1s 2d Subtotal £1 3s 11d Brass ware 2 lamps at 3s 11d each £0 7s 10d Tin ware: Fish plates 2 £0 3s 4d Saucepan 1 £0 1s 5d Porringer 1 £0 0s 7d Subtotal £0 5s 4d Manchester tick 1 piece £1 10s 6d Gloves: Men's gloves 3 pairs at 1s 9d each £0 5s 3d Women's gloves 5 at 1s 8d each £0 8s 4d Boys' and girls' gloves 5 at 1s 1d each £0 5s 5d Subtotal £0 19s 0d Holland duck 1 bolt £4 19s 0d Sacking 16 yards at 2s 4d per yard £1 17s 4d Ironmongers' ware: Hatchet 1 £0 2s 6d Broad hoes 2 at 2s 8d each £0 5s 4d Broad hoes 4 ditto at 2s 6d each £0 10s 0d Spade 1 £0 5s 9d Dovetails 2 pairs £0 0s 10d Box iron and heaters 1 £0 9s 9d Hammer 1, number 6 £0 1s 6d Garden shears 1 pair £0 5s 0d Pick axe 1 weighing 6½ lb at 8d per lb £0 4s 4d Rat trap 1 £0 0s 8d Rat trap 3 ditto at 1s 6d each £0 4s 6d Steel ditto 7 £0 2s 7d Chest lock 1 £0 2s 2½d Cupboard lock 1 £0 2s 6d Lock 1 £0 1s 6d Chest lock 1 £0 2s 6½d Till locks 2 £0 2s [...] Subtotal £3 6s 11¼d Nails: Tacks 4½ thousand at 1s 8d per thousand £0 2s 6d Tacks 11 hundred of 10d at 7½d per hundred £0 6s 10½d Nails 8 hundred of 6d £0 6s 0d Nails 3 hundred of 4d £0 2s 7½d Carried over £0 18s 0d The total was then carried over. Interpretations Holland duck was a strong closely woven linen canvas, sold by the bolt and used for sails, sacking and stout clothing, the single bolt here at £4 19s 0d being the heaviest line on the page. A box iron and heaters was a hollow smoothing iron with separate iron slugs heated and slipped inside, and a porringer was a small</p>

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			bowl. The ironmongery and nails carry the same penny-mark and standing rates seen in the earlier months, with broad hoes again at 2s 6d and 2s 8d and pick axes reckoned by weight at 8d the pound.
205	196	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d Nails brought over 18/0 1½ of 20 @ 7 7/0 6½ — 30 — 7 3/9 15 flooring brads @ 9d 11/3 1 — 38 do. 9d 5 Scupper Nails - 10½ 4/4½ 2 / 5 / 1½ Cheese 386 C broken Cheese Sold at an out cry at Several prices amt. to 12/10/1¾ 59½ at 12d \mathcal{P} lb 2/19/6 15 / 9 / 7¾ Totall 731 / 5 / 9 Generall Charges Dr. to Store Goods from May ye. 25. 1715. to July 25th. foll: (Vizt) £ / s / d Arrack 207 Gatt. @ 7/6d \mathcal{P} gatt 77 / 12 / 6 Sugar 219 — @ 8d \mathcal{P} lb 7 / 6 / 0 Bread 456 — 3½ 6 / 12 / 10 Flower 584 — 3½ 8 / 10 / 4 Rice 223 — 3½ 3 / 4 / 2½ Soap 38 — 17 — (Engt.) 2 / 13 / 10 Oyles (Vizt) 13½ gatt. Rape @ 7/ \mathcal{P} g 4/14/6 1½ Linseed - 8 12/0 1¼ Sweet - 12 15/0 6 / 1 / 6 Tea 1 Cattee 0 / 9 / 0 Pipes 10 doz @ 6d 0 / 5 / 0 Cheese ye. Rochester 107 @ 8d \mathcal{P} lb 3/11/4 hardonnell 43¾ - 12 2/3/9 5 / 15 / 1 Vinegar 4 Gatt. @ 4/ 0 / 16 / 0 Pepper 11 lb @ 1/ 0 / 11 / 0 Dungrees 2 peices @ 5/8d 0 / 11 / 4 Long Cloth 4 pr @ 24:9 4 / 19 / 0 Shirts 15 @ 3/ 2 / 5 / 0 Twine 7 lb @ 2/4d 0 / 16 / 4 Carried over £</p>	<p>The inhabitants' account closed the nails and ran to its total. Nails, brought over £0 18s 0d 20d nails 6½ hundred at 7d per hundred £0 7s 0d 30d nails 6½ hundred at 7d per hundred £0 3s 9d Flooring brads 15 hundred at 9d per hundred £0 11s 3d 4d nails 1 hundred ditto £0 0s 9d Scupper nails 5 hundred at 10½d per hundred £0 4s 4½d Subtotal £2 5s 1½d Cheese: Cheese 386 lb broken, sold at an outcry at several prices, amounting to £12 10s 1¾d Cheese 59½ lb at 12d per lb £2 19s 6d Subtotal £15 9s 7¾d Total £731 5s 9d An account followed of the goods out of the stores delivered to general charges from 25 May 1715 to 25 July 1715. Arrack 207 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £77 12s 6d Sugar 219 lb at 8d per lb £7 6s 0d Bread 456 lb at 3½d per lb £6 12s 10d Flour 584 lb at 3½d per lb £8 10s 4d Rice 223 lb at 3½d per lb £3 4s 2½d Soap 38 lb English at 17d per lb £2 13s 10d Oils: Rape oil 13½ gallons at 7s per gallon £4 14s 6d Linseed oil 1½ gallons at 8s per gallon £0 12s 0d Sweet oil 1¼ gallons at 12s per gallon £0 15s 0d Subtotal £6 1s 6d Tea 1 canister £0 9s 0d Pipes 10 dozen at 6d per dozen £0 5s 0d Cheese: Rochester cheese 107 lb at 8d per lb £3 11s 4d Cardonnell cheese 43¾ lb at 12d per lb £2 3s 9d Subtotal £5 15s 1d Vinegar 4 gallons at 4s per gallon £0 16s 0d Pepper 11 lb at 1s per lb £0 11s 0d Dungarees 2 pieces at 5s 8d each £0 11s 4d Long cloth 4 pieces at 24s 9d each £4 19s 0d Shirts 15 at 3s each £2 5s 0d Twine 7 lb at 2s 4d per lb £0 16s 4d The total was then carried over. Interpretations The 386 lb of broken cheese sold at an outcry was damaged stock cleared at auction for whatever it would fetch, the several prices reflecting bidding rather than the store's fixed rate, while the sound cheese stood at the usual 12d the pound. The two-month inhabitants' account closed at £731 5s 9d, far above a single month and a measure of the backlog being entered at once. On the general charges side the long cloth at 24s 9d the piece holds to the earlier rate, above the 24s 5d charged the inhabitants in the prior month, the Company paying its own table the older figure.</p>
206	197	<p>Janry. 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d Lines 8 at 2/ 16/0 2 — 16 @ 3/8 Cordg. 7/4 6 — 10 - 1:3½ 7/9 1 / 11 / 1 Nails (Vizt) 11 of 30 @ 7 \mathcal{P} C 6/5 37 — 24 - 7½ 1/3/1½ 39 — 20 - 7 1/2/9 25 — 10 - 7½ 15/6½ 18 — 6 - 9 13/0 18 — 4 - 10½ 15/9</p>	<p>The general charges account brought the running total forward and continued. Lines: Lines 8 at 2s each £0 16s 0d Lines 16 at 3s 8d, corded £0 7s 4d Lines 6 at 10½d each... 1s 3½d £0 7s 9d Subtotal £1 11s 1d Nails: 36d nails 1 hundred at 7d per hundred £0 6s 5d 24d nails 37 hundred at 7½d per hundred £1 3s 1½d 20d nails 39 hundred at 7d per hundred £1 2s 9d</p>

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		<p>19 — 2 - 11 17/5 10 Scuppr. - 10½ 8/9 5 Coop. Riv: 11 4/7 6 / 7 / 10 Iron mongers Wares (Vizt) 2 pr of Dovetail @ 6d 1/0 1 pr Side Hinges 11 2 Iron Candlesticks 2/0 2 pr of Bellows @ 3/ 6/0 1 Do. 6/1 11 Shovels @ 2/ 1/2/0 7 do. wth. Socketts - 2:6 17/6 7 pick Axes 9. 67 — 8 P lb 2/4/8 2 box Staples 2/0 1 Joyners Rubb Stone 2/6 1 Plate Closett Lock 3/8 1 Spring do. wth. Screws 3/8 1 Brass Lock 18/0 1 Chest Lock 2/6 5 Barrs of Iron 9. 150 @ do. 1/17/6 2 doz Sail Needles @ 4d 0/8 10 Dutch Rings - 4 3/4 8 pair Side Hinges 2:2½ 17/8 3 / 19 / 8 Scrubbing brushes 1 3/11 Shoe Brushes 1 0/6 0 / 10 / 5 Salt 1 Bushell Carried over £</p>	<p>10d nails 25 hundred at 7½d per hundred £0 15s 6½d 6d nails 18 hundred at 9d per hundred £0 13s 0d 4d nails 18 hundred at 10½d per hundred £0 15s 9d 2d nails 19 hundred at 11d per hundred £0 17s 5d Scupper nails 10 hundred at 10½d per hundred £0 8s 9d Coopers' rivets 5 hundred at 11d per hundred £0 4s 7d Subtotal £6 7s 10d Ironmongers' ware: Dovetails 2 pairs at 6d per pair £0 1s 0d Side hinges 1 pair £0 0s 11d Iron candlesticks 2 £0 2s 0d Bellows 2 pairs at 3s each £0 6s 0d Bellows 1 pair ditto £0 6s 1d Shovels 11 at 2s each £1 2s 0d Shovels 7 ditto with sockets at 2s 6d each £0 17s 6d Pick axes 7 weighing 67 lb at 8d per lb £2 4s 8d Box staple 2 £0 2s 0d Joiner's rubbing stone 1 £0 2s 6d Plate closet lock 1 £0 3s 8d Spring lock with screws 1 £0 3s 8d Brass lock 1 £0 18s 0d Chest lock 1 £0 2s 6d Bars of iron 5 weighing 150 lb at [...] per lb £1 17s 6d Sail needles 2 dozen at 4d each £0 0s 8d Dutch rings 10 at [...] £0 3s 4d Side hinges 8 pairs at 2s 2½d each £0 17s 8d Subtotal £3 19s 8d Scrubbing brushes 1 £0 3s 11d Shoe brushes 1 £0 0s 6d Subtotal £0 10s 5d Salt 1 bushel The total was then carried over. Interpretations A box staple was the iron plate a lock bolt shot into, a joiner's rubbing stone a flat stone for smoothing and sharpening, and coopers' rivets the fastenings for cask hoops. The far heavier nail quantities on this general charges side, several thousand in all, with bars of iron, shovels, pick axes, bellows and a range of locks, point to building and forge work at the Company's own fabric rather than the small household lots sold to the inhabitants.</p>
207	198	<p>January 1715/16. Brought over £ / s / d Ribbon 2 pcs & 4 yd @ 12 2/0 1 — 4 — @ 20 1/16/8 3 / 16 / 8 Glass Ware (Vizt) 34 Canary - @ 18d 2/11/0 2 Wine - 2 - 4/0 2 / 15 / 0 Pewter 2 Close Stool pans 8/3 1 / 16 / 6 Kerseyes 6 yds 2/2 13/0 Shalloons 12 — 2:6 5/0 0 / 18 / 0 Thread 1 C Brown 0 / 4 / 0 Shoes 1 pr Island 0 / 4 / 0 Flagg Brooms 3 0 / 1 / 6 House Linen 3½ Yards @ 2/3 0 / 7 / 10½ Holland Duck 2 Bolts @ £ 4:9/ ea 9 / 18 / 0 Canvas 1 pce @ hardonnell 1/16/3 11 yds @ 2/ 1/2/0 2 / 18 / 3 Pease 1 Cask 9. 8 Bush. @ 11/ P Bsh hardonnell 4 / 8 / 0 Butter 1 firkin 9. 59 9. 2 / 17 / 0 Beef 2 Cask 9. 1635 lb @ 5½ P lb 41 / 11 / 10½ Suett 1 Cask 9. 180 @ 5½ P lb 8 / 16 / 0</p>	<p>The general charges account brought the running total forward and ran to its total. Ribbon: Ribbon 2 pieces, 4 yards, at 12d per yard £0 2s 0d Ribbon 1 piece, 4 yards, at 20d per yard £1 16s 8d Subtotal £3 16s 8d Glass ware: Canary glasses 34 at 18d each £2 11s 0d Wine glasses 2 at 2s each £0 4s 0d Subtotal £2 15s 0d Pewter 2 close stool pans at 8s 3d each £1 16s 6d Kerseyes 6 yards at 2s 2d per yard £0 13s 0d Shalloon 2 yards at 2s 6d per yard £0 5s 0d Subtotal £0 18s 0d Thread 1 lb brown £0 4s 0d Island shoes 1 pair £0 4s 0d Flag brooms 3 £0 1s 6d House linen 3½ yards at 2s 3d per yard £0 7s 10½d Holland duck 2 bolts at £4 19s per bolt £9 18s 0d Canvas: Canvas 1 piece, of the <i>Cardonnell</i> £1 16s 3d Canvas 11 ells at 2s per ell £1 2s 0d Subtotal £2 18s 3d Peas 1 cask weighing 8 bushels at 11s per bushel, of the <i>Cardonnell</i> £4 8s 0d Butter 1 firkin weighing 59 lb £2 17s 0d</p>

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		<p>Pork 1 Cask 9. 264 @ 8d \mathcal{P} hardonnell 4 / 17 / 6 Wine 19½ Gatt. @ 5/ 4 / 17 / 6 Total 231 / 0 / 1¼ Plantation house Dr. to Store Goods from May 25th. 1715 to July 25th. foll: (Vizt) £ / s / d Arrack 2 gatt. @ 7/6 0 / 15 / 0 Sugar 180 — 8 0 / 12 / 0 Flower 8 C — 3½ 0 / 2 / 4 Rape Oyle 42 gatt. @ 7/ 1 / 11 / 6 Cheese 20 C broken @ 8d \mathcal{P} hardonnell 0 / 13 / 4 Carried over</p>	<p>Beef 2 casks weighing 1,635 lb, with 1,815 lb, at 5½d per lb £41 11s 10½d Suet 1 cask weighing 180 lb £8 16s 0d Pork 1 cask weighing 264 lb at 8d per lb, of the <i>Cardonnell</i> £4 17s 0d Wine 19½ gallons at 5s per gallon £4 17s 6d Total £231 0s 1½d An account followed of the goods delivered to the plantation house from 25 May 1715 to 25 July 1715. Arrack 2 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £0 15s 0d Sugar 18 lb at 8d per lb £0 12s 0d Flour 8 lb at 3½d per lb £0 2s 4d Rape oil 4 gallons at 7s per gallon £1 11s 6d Cheese 20 lb broken at 8d per lb, of the <i>Cardonnell</i> £0 13s 4d The total was then carried over. Interpretations An ell was a cloth measure of 45 inches, and a firkin a small cask of about nine gallons, the casks here reckoned by the weight of their contents. Several of the bulk provisions, the canvas, peas, pork and broken cheese, were bought of the <i>Cardonnell</i> and entered at the rates of that purchase, the beef and suet making this the heaviest general charges line at over £41 for the two beef casks alone. The wine again stands at 5s per gallon, the <i>Cardonnell</i> rate well below the old Madeira retail price.</p>
208	199	<p>January 1715/16. £ / s / d Iron mongers Ware (Vizt) 2 Spades @ 5/3d 10/6 8 Ground hoes - 2:6 1/0/0 2 not ground - 2:4 4/8 2 Iron potts 9. 147 @ 6d 3/13/6 5 / 8 / 8 Nails (Vizt) 2 of 20 at 7½ 1/2 2 — 10 - 7½ 9/3 2 — 4 - 10½ 1/9 0 / 4 / 2 Shoe thread 2 C @ 2/6 0 / 5 / 0 Brown do. 2 C 0 / 8 / 0 Kerseys 2 pces 9. 63¼ @ 2/2d 6 / 16 / 6 Bleu Salampores 7 pces @ 13/ 4 / 11 / 0 Cork Wood ½ C 0 / 0 / 4½ Blanketts Vizt 7½ paic at 1:2:6 \mathcal{P} paic 8/8/9 2½ middle Sze - 19 2/7/6 29½ ditto - 15:6 22/17/3 33 / 13 / 6 Total Plantation £ 55 / 14 / 4½ Genl. Charges 231 / 0 / 1½ Inhabitants 731 / 5 / 9 Genl. Totall £ 1017 / 0 / 3 Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p>	<p>The plantation house account continued with ironmongery and cloth, then ran to its totals. Ironmongers' ware: Spades 2 at 5s 3d each £0 10s 6d Ground hoes 8 at 2s 6d each £1 0s 0d Hoes, not ground 2 at 2s 4d each £0 4s 8d Iron pots 2 weighing 147 lb at 6d per lb £3 13s 6d Subtotal £5 8s 8d Nails: 20d nails 2 hundred at 7d per hundred £0 1s 2d 10d nails 2 hundred at 7½d per hundred £0 0s 9d 4d nails 2 hundred at 10½d per hundred £0 1s 9d Subtotal £0 4s 2d Shoe thread 2 lb at 2s 6d per lb £0 5s 0d Brown thread 2 lb ditto £0 8s 0d Kerseys 2 pieces, 63 yards, at 2s 2d per yard £6 16s 6d Blue salampores 7 pieces at 13s each £4 11s 0d Cork wood ½ [...] £0 0s 4½d Blankets: Blankets 7½ pairs at 22s 6d per pair £8 8s 9d Blankets 2½ middle sort at 19s each £2 7s 6d Blankets 29½ ditto at 15s 6d each £22 17s 3d Subtotal £33 13s 6d Total to the plantation house £55 14s 4½d General charges £231 0s 1½d Inhabitants £731 5s 9d Grand total £1,017 7s 3d The entry was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfeld. Interpretations Blue salampores were Indian blue-dyed cotton cloths, sold by the piece, and cork wood the light bark used for floats and stoppers. The plantation house total of £55 14s 4½d is far above its usual handful of shillings, almost all of it the 39½ blankets in three grades, so this two-month account carried the season's bedding supply for the plantation slaves rather than ordinary running stores. The whole two-month store turnover across the three heads came to £1,017 7s 3d.</p>
209	200	<p>Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 24 January 1715/16. At Union Castle in James Valley. Present. Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Depr. Matthew Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4 & Edw: Byfeld 5th. in Councill</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 24 January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor; George Haswell Deputy Governor; Matthew Bazett third; Antipas Tovey fourth; and Edward Byfield fifth in council.</p>

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		<p>The Govr. Reports that Whereas Wee have writ in Our Several Letters to Our Honble. Masters very pressingly for a greater Number of Blacks, because of the great Occasion Wee have for them, He did the Last Week (whilst the Kent was here) cause all the Honble. Compa. Blacks that were Lame or decrepid, Sickly & unfit for Service to be reviewed in the Castle Yard & called over in the presence of Mr. Cathergood that he might acquaint their Honrs. (as he promised he would) how many Useless and Unserviceable hands Wee have & Likewise how few good Ons.</p> <p>Their names, Ages, & Services, are, as followeth, (Vizt)</p> <p>Ages / Names / Characters</p> <p>Old Men</p> <p>above 70 years Old Will</p> <p>Has been a good Slave (a Carpenter) but now past Labour. Chachau He knows not how old he is but Wee believe above 70 Years.</p> <p>Margin Notes:</p> <p>Acct. of ye. H. C. Blacks.</p>	<p>The Governor reported that the council had written very pressingly in its several letters to the Honourable Masters for a greater number of slaves, because of the great need there was of them. He had the week before, while the <i>Kent</i> was here, caused all the Company's slaves who were lame, decrepit, sickly or unfit for service to be reviewed in the castle yard. They were called over in the presence of Captain Kettleby, so that he might acquaint the Honourable Masters, as he had promised, how many useless and unserviceable hands the Company had, and likewise how few good ones.</p> <p>Their names, ages and characters were as follows.</p> <p>Old men:</p> <p>Will above 70 years old A good slave and a carpenter, but now past labour.</p> <p>Chachau believed above 70 years old, his exact age not known [record continues]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The review of lame and decrepit slaves was a documentary exercise to support the council's repeated appeals to London for a fresh supply. By having Captain Kettleby of the <i>Kent</i> witness the muster in the castle yard, the Governor secured an independent voice to confirm to the directors how few serviceable hands remained, the same labour shortage pressed in the want-of-hands report of 1 November 1715.</p>
210	201	<p>January 1715/16.</p> <p>Ages / Names / Characters (Vizt)</p> <p>above 70 years Anthony his hands almost dead. D</p> <p>70 Paupaw Past any Labour</p> <p>70 Old Grewer almost past Labour, often Sick</p> <p>70 Jewell or Joel D always, Sick.</p> <p>70 Old John D almost past Labour, but now & then helps the Cook.</p> <p>60 Ferry Lame, (as well as Aged.)</p> <p>60 Samson</p> <p>60 Burgu D Old (& Sickly always.)</p> <p>60 Edlau</p> <p>Old Women</p> <p>80 Megg Old Wills Wife, (helps Sss.)</p> <p>80 Mutta Past Labour.</p> <p>70 Welchee She has Served ye. H. Compa. Cabt. 50 Years, but now past Labour.</p> <p>60 Old Cazimar very often Sick, but when able Washes diffs.</p> <p>60 Old Jary almost past Labour.</p> <p>60 Fenny D past Labour, (yett very much Poxt.)</p> <p>Sickly Men (Vizt)</p> <p>50 Blackwall often Sick & now very Jll.</p> <p>45 Mardew</p> <p>40 Abram are most always Sick</p> <p>40 Emanuel</p> <p>37 Aaron</p> <p>G 28 Joe Bates almost blind.</p> <p>G 27 Samboo often Sick</p> <p>G 26 Will often poxt & therefore good for little.</p> <p>22 Little Jacob</p> <p>18 Daniel both Lame.</p> <p>G 20 Ben troubled with fitts.</p> <p>Margin Notes:</p> <p>No. those markd with the Letter G are Quiney Blacks.</p>	<p>The roster of the Company's slaves continued, with their ages and characters.</p> <p>Old men:</p> <p>Anthony above 70 years old His hands almost dead.</p> <p>Paupaw 70 years old Past any labour.</p> <p>Old Grewer 70 years old Almost past labour, often sick.</p> <p>Tavell and Joel 70 years old Always sick.</p> <p>Old John 70 years old Almost past labour, but now and then helps the cook.</p> <p>Terry 60 years old Lame, as well as aged.</p> <p>Samson 60 years old Old and sickly always.</p> <p>Burgue 60 years old Old and sickly always.</p> <p>Bdlau 60 years old Old and sickly always.</p> <p>Old women:</p> <p>Megg 80 years old Old Will's wife, helpless.</p> <p>Mutta 80 years old Past labour.</p> <p>Welchee 70 years old She has served the Company 50 years, but is now past labour.</p> <p>Old Casimar 60 years old Very often sick, but washes dishes when able.</p> <p>Old Sary 60 years old Almost past labour.</p> <p>Fenny 60 years old Past labour, yett very much poxt.</p> <p>Sickly men:</p> <p>Blackwall 50 years old Often sick and now very ill.</p> <p>Mardew 45 years old Almost always sick.</p> <p>Abram 40 years old Almost always sick.</p> <p>Emanuel 40 years old Almost always sick.</p> <p>Aaron 37 years old [record continues]</p> <p>Joe Bates 28 years old, marked G Almost blind.</p> <p>Samboo 27 years old, marked G Often sick.</p> <p>Will 26 years old, marked G Often poxt and therefore good for little.</p> <p>Little Jacob 22 years old Lame.</p> <p>Daniel 18 years old Lame.</p> <p>Ben 20 years old, marked G Troubled with fits.</p> <p>A note in the corner recorded that those marked with the letter G were Guinea slaves.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The roster fixed each slave's worth to the Company by age and ailment, the recurring entries of past labour, often sick, lame and poxt building the case that the working stock was largely spent. The G set in the margin against four of the youngest men, Joe Bates, Samboo, Will and Ben, singled out the recently shipped Guinea hands, already blind, sick, poxt or troubled with</p>

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			fits, which bore directly on the council's complaint that the Guinea supply had come in half dead, as set out in the want-of-hands report of 1 November 1715.
211	202	<p>January 1715/16. Ages / Names / Characters Sickly Women 50 Doll when well Assists in ye. Dairy. G 30 Hagar Poxt G Maria She cant tell her Age, often Sick. 20 Margt. with the Yaws. 20 Sary Which make in all thirty three, besides (18) Children, In all fifty One, Of whom the Honble. Compa. have little or no Service. And Wee cant compute less then Six able Blacks to fetch Yams, Wood & for the Unserviceable Ons. And these 33 Old & Sickly Blacks being Shewed together made Such a dismall appearance (Tho they had their new Cloaths on) that instead of working them Mr. Scattergood was of Oppinion they were only fit to live in an Hospitall. Wee have besides Eleven Middle Aged & Young Women, Who are Yielding too little more then, Lye inn, Lye Sick, & look after their Children, (Vizt) near 70 Old Mary when able Washes &c. for daughter Mary. 46 Mercy looks after the Turkey. G 26 Catharina Work in the Plantat. when able G 26 Cracau 20 Mary at the fort 20 Mercy at Plantat. house Jacob ye. Taylors Wife. 20 Mary Old Marys daughter</p>	<p>Yes, and you're right that the rule, numerals for 10 and above, but never starting a sentence with a numeral, would have me recast rather than open with a spelled-out number. In that interpretation sentence I had written "The remark that the 33" mid-sentence, where the numeral 33 is correct, so that instance is fine.</p> <p>But I should check the body too. "These made in all 33, besides 18 children, 51 in all" is correct, all figures in a tally take numerals. The point where I must take care is sentence openings: I wrote "These 33 old and sickly slaves" and "Besides these the Company had eleven middle-aged and young women." The first is fine because the sentence opens with "These", not the numeral. The second, "eleven", I spelled out only because it followed "had" mid-sentence, but eleven is above ten and should be the numeral 11 there.</p> <p>Here is the corrected full text.</p> <p>The roster continued with the sickly women and the younger women.</p> <p>Sickly women: Doll 50 years old When well, assists in the dairy. Hagar 30 years old, marked G Poxt. Maria age unknown, marked G She cannot tell her age, often sick. Margaret 20 years old Has the yaws. Sary 20 years old Has the yaws.</p> <p>These made in all 33, besides 18 children, 51 in all, of whom the Company had little or no service. The council could not reckon fewer than six able slaves needed to fetch yams, wood and the like for the unserviceable ones. These 33 old and sickly slaves, reviewed together, made such a poor appearance, despite having their new clothes on, that Mr Scattergood was of the opinion that, instead of being put to labour, they were only fit to live in a hospital.</p> <p>Besides these the Company had 11 middle-aged and young women, who were able to do little more than lie in, lie sick and look after their children.</p> <p>Old Mary near 70 years old When able, washes for the daughter Mary. Mercy 46 years old Looks after the turkeys. Catharina 26 years old, marked G Works in the plantation when able. Cracau 26 years old, marked G Works in the plantation when able. Mary 20 years old At the fort. Mercy 20 years old At the plantation house, Jacob the tailor's wife. Mary 20 years old Old Mary's daughter.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The yaws was a contagious tropical sore disease, and the marginal note that several women only lay in, lay sick or tended children measured how little labour the Company drew from them. The remark that the 33 old and sickly slaves, even dressed in their new clothes for the muster, looked fit only for a hospital was the review's strongest line for London, the new clothing exposing rather than hiding their condition. Mr Scattergood, giving that opinion, was a visitor or officer brought to witness the muster, his judgement set down to carry weight with the directors.</p>
212	203	<p>January 1715/16. Ages / Names / Characters 20 Betty when able Milks the Cows. 18 Betty Works at Plantation house 18 Margt. with Mr. Porteous. 16 Grace at ye. Fort to cleane the house &c. Besides Children (Vizt) 11 Tom Putt out to Mr. Byfeld. 10 Daniel Capt. Haswell.</p>	<p>The roster continued with the younger women, then the children, and closed with a summary.</p> <p>Betty 20 years old When able, milks the cows. Betty 18 years old Works at the plantation house. Margaret 18 years old With Mr Porteous. Grace 16 years old At the fort, to clean the house. Besides, children: Tom 11 years old Put out to Mr Byfield. Daniel 10 years old Put out to Captain Haswell.</p>

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		<p>10 Harry Jno. Robinson. 9 Dick 8 Harry at the fort, (cleane Knives &c.) 8 Antony at Plantat. house. 5 Will 5 Grewers Dick Will John all at Ditto at Luffkins. Sam 1 to 5 years. 10 Mary ye. 2d. daughter to Old Mary. 10 Ellen putt Out to Jno. Bagley 12 Sary Gunnr. French 5 Ellen 4 Grewers Sary Mary at Plantation house. Martha from 1 to 5 Martha It appears by this Acct. that Wee have 17 Aged Blacks. 19 Children 16 Sickly, among whom may very well be reckoned the additional Numb: of 11 Childing Women above mentiond 63 which will make in the Whole Sixty three</p>	<p>Harry 10 years old Put out to John Robinson. Dick 9 years old At the fort, to clean knives. Harry 8 years old At the fort, to clean knives. Antony 8 years old At the plantation house. Will 5 years old At Lufkins's. Grewer's Dick 5 years old At Lufkins's. Will At Lufkins's. John At Lufkins's, from 1 to 5 years. Sam At Lufkins's, from 1 to 5 years. Mary 10 years old Daughter to Old Mary. Ellen 10 years old Put out to John Bagley. Sary 12 years old With the gunner French. Ellen 5 years old At the plantation house. Grewer's Sary 4 years old At the plantation house. Mary At the plantation house. Martha At the plantation house, from 1 to 5 years. Martha At the plantation house, from 1 to 5 years. It appeared by this account that the Company had: Aged slaves 17 Children 19 Sickly 16, among whom might well be reckoned the additional number of childing women above mentioned Childing women 11 63 in all, which made in the whole sixty-three.</p> <p>Interpretations Many of the children were put out, placed in the households of councillors and planters such as Mr Byfield, Captain Haswell, John Robinson and John Bagley, where they were raised and worked in service while still belonging to the Company. The closing tally of 63, set under the heads of aged, sickly, childing and children, was the figure the muster existed to produce, a single number to lay before the directors as proof of how small a serviceable workforce the island's stock truly held.</p>
213	204	<p>January 1715/16. Out of Our One hundred & Eight. & then their will remain but forty five able Bodied & good Slaves both for the Plantations and the Fort, abundantly too fee for Our Work, especially when tis considerd that Out of these 45 Some work & time is & must be daily lost upon Acct. of these Invalids before mentioned. Some (alwayes) employed to fetch Wood & Water both for the Fort & Plantation house Some (always) in the Long boat or Yawla fishing, wch. is a woodfull work that Wee would willingly employ Several more, if Wee had them to Spare The Honble. Compa. Several Plantations want a great deal of New fencing & to repair a great Deal of ye. Old fencing which if done with hired hands according to the report made in Consultation on Tuesday the 1st. of December 1715. would cost above foure hundred and eight pounds But with 30 or 40 good hands kept choisly for that Work Wee could not only do that without Charge. But goe a great way towards fencing in the Great Wood too. And Wee want 50 hands more to improve Ruperts Valay & bring the Water their. Wee shall (always) require 40 to keep the Several fortifications in repair. Fifty more to Work in the Plantations to provide Victuals for the rest. and Ten to goe a fishing (more then now does) And to all these a few lusty Women to dispose amongst the Rest deserving of the Men, would by keeping them in some tolerable degree of</p>	<p>Out of 108 slaves, there remained but 45 able-bodied and good slaves, both for the plantations and the fort, far too few for the work, especially when it was considered that out of these 45 some labour and time was and must be daily lost in caring for the invalids already mentioned. Some were always employed to fetch wood and water, both for the fort and the plantation house. Some were always in the long boat or yawl fishing, which was a job full of work that the council would willingly have given several more, if it had them to spare. The Company's several plantations needed a great deal of new fencing, and the repair of a great deal of the old fencing. If done with hired hands, this would, according to the report made in the consultation on Tuesday 13 December 1715, cost above £408 0s 0d. But with 30 or 40 good hands kept chiefly for that work, the council could not only do it without charge, but go a great way towards fencing in the Great Wood too. The council wanted 50 hands more to improve Ruperts Valley and bring the water down. It would always require 40 to keep the several fortifications in repair. Fifty more were needed to work in the plantations and provide victuals for the rest. Ten were needed to go fishing, more than at present. And besides all these, a few lusty women to dispose among the rest, deserving of the men, would, by keeping them in some tolerable degree of</p> <p>Interpretations The council turned the muster into a precise labour demand for London, setting the cost of hired fencing at over £408 0s 0d from the report of 13 December 1715 against the saving of keeping 30 or 40 owned hands for the same work. The numbered wants that followed, 50 for Ruperts Valley and the water, 40 for the fortifications, 50 for the plantations, 10 for fishing, built a head-by-head case that the island needed slaves bought outright rather than hired, the cheaper course</p>

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			over time and the only way to reach larger tasks such as fencing the Great Wood.
214	205	<p>January 1715/16. of honesty be a means of preserving their healths, at least prevent their being frequently distempered with the Pox & their Children might (in time) recruit ye. place with good Slaves & prevent the the Honble. Compa. damage by the Mortality of their Parents. Now having mentioned the biggest Number of the Honble. Compa. Slaves in this Melancholy & abject Acct. least those who look over these Consultations hereafter, shall think they are all a like Wee think it proper to Sett down also the names Ages & Characters of Our forty five good or healthy Slaves which are as foll: (Vizt) Ages / Names / Characters 50 Long Sam D Butcher, & looks after the Cattle. 50 Challemoy Goes in the Long boat or a fishing. 40 Old Geo: (alt. Padrico) Works in ye. Plantation 40 Antony Cook at Plantation house. 40 Balvardo Peter goes in ye. Long boat or a fishing. 40 Free Jack Stone Layer. 40 Mctongar fetcheth Wood for the Fort. G 40 Stephen Ditto. 38 Nichols: Jack goes in the Long boat or a fishing 36 Mavarro fetcheth Water for the Fort. 35 Mena Works ye. in the Plantation. G 35 Roger Hulls at the Hutts plantation 30 John Batavia Works (in the Plantation) in Irons, for thieving & pretending he is acquainted wth. ye. Devil & ye. he can bewitch any body & terrifies all the blacks, So that two of them formerly have died by being affrighted with him; This method is to lambrush any Slaves, (but especially ye. Honble. Compa.) in the night time & with hard words Screamd Out aloud where he had put them, in a Consternation he Sett</p>	<p>A few lusty women, disposed among the men, would by keeping them in some tolerable degree of health at least prevent their being so frequently distempered with the pox. The women and their children might in time recruit the place with good slaves, and prevent the Company's loss by the mortality of their parents. Having now set down the largest number of the Company's slaves in this melancholy and abject account, so that any who looked over these consultations hereafter should not think they were all alike, the council thought it proper to set down also the names, ages and characters of its 45 good or healthy slaves, which were as follows. Long Sam 50 years old Butcher, and looks after the cattle. Challemoy 50 years old Goes in the long boat or fishing. Old George, alias Padree 40 years old Works in the plantation. Antony 40 years old Cook at the plantation house. Balvard Peter 40 years old Goes in the long boat or fishing. Free Jack 40 years old Stone layer. Mctongar 40 years old Fetches wood for the fort. Stephen 40 years old, marked G Fetches wood for the fort. Nichols's Jack 38 years old Goes in the long boat or fishing. Mavarro 36 years old Fetches water for the fort. Mena 35 years old Works in the plantation. Roger Hulls 35 years old, marked G At the Hutts plantation. John Batavia 30 years old Works in the plantation in irons, for thieving, and pretending he is acquainted with the Devil and that he can bewitch anybody, and terrifies all the slaves, so that two of them formerly have died by being affrighted with him. This method is to lamb [...] any slaves, but especially of the Company, in the night time, and with hard words screams out alone where he had [...] in a consternation he set [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The council framed the women's value in breeding terms, that a few healthy women among the men would steady them, reduce the pox and in time raise a new generation of slaves to replace those lost, a calculation set down as plainly as the fencing and water costs. John Batavia was kept at work in irons not only for theft but because he claimed dealings with the Devil and power to bewitch, terrifying the other slaves to the point that two were said to have died of fright, a case of an enslaved man wielding a reputation for witchcraft as power over his fellows.</p>
215	206	<p>January 1715/16. Ages / Names / Characters their orchials. The two that died he only layd his Hand on their faces & repeated his (Hocus Pocus) words, but they never recovered their fright. He is otherwise a good Slave 30 Titus Works at Perkins Plantation 30 Corridon at Stone Cutting in Sandy bay G 30 Jack Cook at Great Plantation G 30 Roger 30 Goodwins Antony Ditto. 30 Banjan goe in ye. Long boat or a fishing. 30 Barrow 30 Mingoe Burns Lime 30 Jacob Taylor a Taylor. 28 Balvardo Jack goes in ye. Long boat or a fishing 28 Jack Grewer a Carpenter 27 Harry a Tanner G 26 Lackacee Works at Perkins plantation</p>	<p>The roster of the good and healthy slaves continued. The note on John Batavia closed: the two that died, he had only laid his hands on their faces and repeated his hocus-pocus words, but they never recovered their fright. He was otherwise a good slave. Titus 30 years old Works at Perkins's plantation. Corridon 30 years old At stone cutting in Sandy Bay. Jack Cook 30 years old, marked G At the great plantation. Roger 30 years old, marked G At the great plantation. Goodwin's Antony 30 years old At the great plantation. Banjam 30 years old Goes in the long boat or fishing.</p>

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		<p>G 26 Ferry fetcheth Wood for the Fort. 23 Young George Works in ye. Plantations 23 Morris: Nick in Irons for runing away & Stealing 21 Sam from ye. Planters. 21 Ben work in the Plan Garden. 20 Ned 20 Dick in Sandy bay, at Stone Cutting. G 20 Tom Low at Luffkins plantation G 20 Lower hill at Plantation house. G 19 Pott with the Smith G 18 Lackwell fetcheth Wood for the Fort. 18 Will has always waited on ye. Minister 18 Dick (alt. Jack) Works in ye. Plantation 17 Peter brings Greens to ye. Fort, & Assists ye. Gardnr. 17 Jack with Free Jack, to learne Stone laying. G 17 Mercury Assists the Cook. 15 Joshua Works at ye. Plantation 14 Scipio in ye. Garden at ye. fort. 11 Emanuel at Perkins plantation</p>	<p>Barrow 30 years old Goes in the long boat or fishing. Mingoe 30 years old Burns lime. Jacob Taylor 30 years old A tailor. Balvard Jack 28 years old Goes in the long boat or fishing. Jack Grewer 28 years old A carpenter. Harry 27 years old A tanner. Lackaree 26 years old, marked G Works at Perkins's plantation. Terry 26 years old, marked G Fetches wood for the fort. Young George 23 years old Works in the plantations. Morris's Nick 23 years old In irons for running away and stealing. Sam 21 years old From the planters. Ben 21 years old Works in the plantation garden. Ned 20 years old At stone cutting in Sandy Bay. Dick 20 years old At stone cutting in Sandy Bay. Tom Lows 20 years old, marked G At Lufkins's plantation. Tower Hill 20 years old, marked G At the plantation house. Pott 19 years old, marked G With the smith. Lackwell 18 years old, marked G Fetches wood for the fort. Will 18 years old Has always waited on the minister. Dick, alias Jack 18 years old Works in the plantation. Peter 17 years old Brings greens to the fort, and assists the gardener. Jack 17 years old With Free Jack, to learn stone laying. Mercury 17 years old, marked G Assists the cook. Joshua 15 years old Works at the plantation. Scipio 14 years old In the garden at the fort. Emanuel 11 years old At Perkins's plantation.</p> <p>Interpretations The characters set down the trades the able slaves had been taught, tailor, carpenter, tanner, stone layer, smith's hand and limeburner among them, showing how far the Company's plantation rested on skilled enslaved labour rather than field hands alone. Two of the youngest, Will at 18 waiting on the minister and Peter at 17 brought up to the garden, with Jack set to learn stone laying under Free Jack, mark how the boys were placed to acquire a craft or service that would make them more useful as they aged.</p>
216	207	<p>January 1715/16. Sarah Bell the Wife of Robert Bell was Sumond to appeare here this day for re fusing to take any of the Honble. Compas. Cash notes in payment for Washing Linnen & appeared yt. She had done Washing for Sundry Persons in the Ship Kent, to ye. valle of fifteen or Seventeen pounds, who wanting mony had procured Cash Notes & would have paid her to the amount of Five pounds in Such Notes & the rest in mony, but She Utterly refused them & Sayed She would have mony, & would take none of the Company notes, She could not tell what to doe with them for she wanted mony to buy goods Out of Ships at the best Hand, & not Lett the Company Exact upon her. this not being the first time this woman has Sayed So. Orderd that the books be inspected to See what they Owed to the Honble. Compa. & it appearing that they Owed two hundred pounds for the Land which they bought in Govr. Bouchers time Wherefore Robt. Bell had notice forthwith to discharge his Bond to ye. Honble. Compa. or else his Land Should be Seized upon. And then they were dismist till next Consultation day.</p>	<p>Sarah Bell, the wife of Robert Bell, was summoned to appear that day for refusing to take any of the Company's cash notes in payment for washing linen. It appeared that she had done washing for several persons in the <i>Kent</i>, to the value of 16s or 17s, who, wanting money, had got cash notes and would have paid her £5 0s 0d in such notes and the rest in money. But she utterly refused them, saying she would have money and would take none of the Company's notes. She could not tell what to do with them, since she wanted money to buy goods out of the ships at the best rate, and not let the Company exact upon her. This was not the first time the woman had said so. The council ordered that the books be inspected to see what the Bells owed the Company. It appeared that they owed £200 0s 0d for the land they had bought in Governor Boucher's time. Robert Bell therefore had notice to discharge his bond to the Company forthwith, or else his land would be seized. They were then dismissed until the next consultation day. The council ordered that Captain Haswell bring in, that day fortnight, an abstract of the debts due to the</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>Orderd that Capt. Haswell bring in this day fortnight an Abstract of Debts due to the Honble. Compa. and what is due from them to any in their Books. John Maynard the Carpenter be ing employed to repaire the Cano, he tooke three of the planks, Splitt them, Sent them home & burnt them. For which he is, By Govr. & Councill</p> <p>Margin Notes: Sarah Wife of Rob: Bell. Sumond his to pay his Debt to ye. H. C. Capt. H. to bring in Abst. of Debts. Jno. Maynard taking ye. plank.</p>	<p>Company and what was due from the Company to any in their books. John Maynard, the carpenter, being employed to repair the crane, had taken three of the planks, split them, sent them home and burnt them. For which he was, by the Governor's order</p> <p>Interpretations Sarah Bell's refusal struck at the new paper currency issued on 15 March 1715, which the Governor had pledged to redeem in silver. By declining the notes in favour of coin she could spend on the ships at the best rate, she rejected the very mechanism meant to keep the notes circulating at par, and her plain words against the Company exacting upon her made her a public defrauder of the kind the advertisement of 22 March 1715 had threatened with punishment. The council answered not on the currency point but through the Bells' £200 0s 0d land bond from Governor Boucher's time, threatening seizure of the land unless it was discharged at once. The move turned a quarrel over wash-money into leverage over a far larger standing debt, a reminder that the council held the whip hand over any freeholder who had bought land on Company credit.</p>
217	208	<p>January 1715/16. Fined Three pounds to the Honble. Compa. which is Double their Value in this place. Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p> <p>Margin Notes: fined 3/</p>	<p>John Maynard was fined £3 0s 0d to the Company, which was double the value of the planks in this place. The entry was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations The fine was set at double the local value of the burnt planks, a deliberate penalty rather than mere restitution, marking the destruction of the Company's timber by a servant employed to repair the crane as a punishable waste and not simply a debt to be made good.</p>
218	209	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 31. of January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Pres: Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Deputy. Matthew Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4th. & Edw: Byfeld 5th. in Councill Capt. Haswell having brought in the Abstract of the Ballance of Debts due to the Honble. Compa. and Likewise what is due from them to others at the ballancing the books the 25 of March 1715. Orderd that the Said Abstract of Debt & Credit be Entered into the fair Con sultation book, which with the State of the Same account the 8th. July 1714. is as followeth (Vizt) On the other Side.</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 31 January 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor; George Haswell Deputy Governor; Matthew Bazett third; Antipas Tovey fourth; and Edward Byfield fifth in council. Captain Haswell had brought in the abstract of the balance of debts due to the Company, and likewise what was due from the Company to others, at the balancing of the books on 25 March 1715. The council ordered that the abstract of debt and credit be entered into the fair consultation book. This, together with the state of the same account on 8 July 1714, was as follows on the other side.</p> <p>Interpretations The abstract answered the order of 24 January 1715/16 that Captain Haswell bring in a full reckoning of debts owed to and by the Company, struck as at the annual balancing of the books on 25 March 1715. By entering it beside the earlier state of 8 July 1714, the day Pyke landed and took over the government, the council set the two balances side by side, so the directors could measure how the Company's debts and credits had moved across the new administration's first stretch.</p>
219	210	<p>January 1715/16. An Abstract of Debts due to & from the Honble. United East India Compa. from the Garrison & Inhabitants of their Island of St Helena at their Ballancing their Accounts the 8th. July 1714. and at their Ballancing their Accounts the 25th. March 1715. The two left-hand money columns show what was owed at March 25. 1715 and July 8. 1714 (Debt); the two right-hand money columns show what was owed at July 8. 1714 and March 25. 1715 (Credit). March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d</p>	<p>An abstract of debts due to and from the Company by the garrison and inhabitants of the island, at the balancing of the accounts on 8 July 1714 and at the balancing of the accounts on 25 March 1715. Each name carries up to four figures. The two columns to the left of the names are debts, the earlier at 8 July 1714 and the later at 25 March 1715. The two columns to the right of the names are credits, again at 8 July 1714 and at 25 March 1715. A debt was what the person owed the Company; a credit was what the Company owed the person. Charles Ablard Debt 8 July 1714: £0 10s 5d Debt 25 March 1715: £1 19s 1½d</p>

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		<p>1 / 19 / 1½ — 1 / 10 / 5 Cha: Ablard 85 / 8 / 5 Robt. Addis Orphans 70 / 0 / 9 23 / 11 / 6½ John Aldriche 49 / 0 / 0 47 / 5 / 3¾ — 105 / 12 / 1 John Alexander Michl. Allen 2 / 10½ 3 / 12 / 3¾ Samuel Algate 28 / 16 / 11 13 / 3 / 11½ — 12 / 1 / 1½ Eliz: Allis 36 / 14 / 5 — 38 / 19 / 7 Thos. Allis 23 / 18 / 4½ — 25 / 15 / 7½ Robert Angus Thomas Ashby 12 / 10½ 1 / 13 / 9¾ — 12 / 0 / 10½ William Bates 4 / 10 / 4 Joseph Bates 7 / 12 / 1¼ 72 / 6 / 5¼ — 84 / 15 / 5¼ John Bagley 57 / 3 / 1½ — 61 / 7 / 7½ Orlando Bagley Henry Barthellour 2 / 1 / 2 — 11 / 1½ 5 / 12 / 8¾ — 6 / 4 / 8 Joseph Bayley Matthew Bazett 174 / 19 / 8¾ — 92 / 8½ 115 / 18 / 3½ — 119 / 12 / 10½ William Beale John Bedan 2 / 4 / 5</p>	<p>Robert Addis's orphans Debt 8 July 1714: £85 8s 5d Credit 25 March 1715: £70 0s 9d John Aldriche Debt 8 July 1714: £23 11s 6½d Credit 25 March 1715: £4 9s 0d John Alexander Debt 8 July 1714: £105 12s 1d Debt 25 March 1715: £47 5s 3¾d Michael Allen Credit 25 March 1715: £2 10s 0½d Samuel Algate Credit 8 July 1714: £28 16s 11d Debt 25 March 1715: £3 12s 3¾d Elizabeth Allis Debt 8 July 1714: £12 1s 1½d Debt 25 March 1715: £13 3s 11½d Thomas Allis Debt 8 July 1714: £38 19s 7d Debt 25 March 1715: £36 14s 5d Robert Angus Debt 8 July 1714: £25 15s 7¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £23 18s 4¼d Thomas Ashby Credit 25 March 1715: £12 10s 4½d William Bates Debt 8 July 1714: £12 0s 10½d Debt 25 March 1715: £1 13s 9¾d Joseph Bates Debt 8 July 1714: £4 10s 4d Credit 25 March 1715: £7 12s 1¼d John Bagley Debt 8 July 1714: £84 15s 5¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £72 6s 5¼d Orlando Bagley Debt 8 July 1714: £61 7s 7½d Debt 25 March 1715: £57 3s 1½d Henry Batchellour Debt 8 July 1714: £2 1s 0½d Credit 25 March 1715: £0 11s 1½d Joseph Bayley Debt 8 July 1714: £6 4s 8d Debt 25 March 1715: £5 12s 8¾d Matthew Bazett Debt 8 July 1714: £174 19s 8¾d Credit 25 March 1715: £92 0s 8½d William Beale Debt 8 July 1714: £119 12s 10½d Debt 25 March 1715: £115 18s 3½d John Bedan Credit 25 March 1715: £2 4s 5d</p> <p>Interpretations The abstract set every freeholder's and soldier's standing balance with the Company at the two annual reckonings side by side, the debit columns showing what each owed and the credit columns what the Company owed in return. Several balances had crossed from one side to the other between the dates, Robert Addis's orphans, Joseph Bates and Matthew Bazett each moving from a debt at 8 July 1714 to a credit at 25 March 1715, Bazett's large debit of £174 19s 8¾d turning to a credit of £92 0s 8½d. The orphans' and the councillors' accounts stood among the inhabitants' on the same list, the Company keeping one running reckoning of debt and credit against every person on the island regardless of rank.</p>
220	211	<p>January 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d Robert Bell 25 / 3 / 1½ — 39 / 4 / 0 46 / 17 / 1½ — 55 / 12 / 10½ Thomas Bevans 59 / 1 / 11½ Hugh Bodley Senr. 7 / 19 / 3¾ — 7 / 19 / 3¾ Hugh Bodley Junr. Peter Bourdeaux 6 / 13 / 2 — 6 / 13 / 2 John Baulter Briggs 1 / 0 / 6 — 5 / 1 / 0 105 / 1 / 6 — 105 / 1 / 6 James Brome 1 / 10½ — 1 / 10½ Michl. Browne 2 / 5 / 11½ Thos. Browne 9 / 11 / 8¾ — 9 / 11 / 8¾ Willm. Broymden 6 / 16 / 10 Arthur Bradley 7 / 6 / 3 4 / 13 / 1½ Edwd. Brereton 59 / 18 / 8½ — 43 / 15 / 2¾ Thos. Burnham 1 Burches Orphans 64 / 12 / 2 12 / 6 / 7 Edwd. Byfeld 17 / 6 / 10½ — 17 / 6 / 10½ John Caine 194 / 14 / 11 — 316 / 12 / 1 (£. 321/3/4 Bond) Geo: Carne 28 / 9 / 3¼ Thomas Cason 20 / 2 / 10 Andrew Cason 4 / 5 / 4 40 / 7¾ — 30 / 5 / 7¾ The Church</p>	<p>The abstract of debts and credits continued. Robert Bell Credit 8 July 1714: £25 3s 1½d Credit 25 March 1715: £39 4s 0d Thomas Bevans Debt 8 July 1714: £55 12s 10½d Debt 25 March 1715: £46 17s 1½d Hugh Bodley senior Debt 8 July 1714: £59 1s 11½d Hugh Bodley junior Debt 8 July 1714: £7 19s 3¾d Debt 25 March 1715: £7 19s 3¾d Peter Bourdeaux Credit 8 July 1714: £6 13s 2d Credit 25 March 1715: £6 13s 2d John Baulter Briggs Credit 8 July 1714: £1 0s 6d Credit 25 March 1715: £5 1s 0d James Brome Debt 8 July 1714: £105 1s 6d Debt 25 March 1715: £105 1s 6d Michael Browne Debt 8 July 1714: £0 1s 10½d Debt 25 March 1715: £0 1s 10½d Thomas Browne Debt 25 March 1715: £2 5s 11½d William Brogden Debt 8 July 1714: £9 11s 8¾d Debt 25 March 1715: £9 11s 8¾d Arthur Bradley Debt 8 July 1714: £6 16s 10d Credit 25 March 1715: £7 6s 3d Edward Brereton Debt 25 March 1715: £4 13s 1½d</p>

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		<p>25 / 1 / 9³/₄ Richd. Cleave John Chapman 4 / 12 / 8³/₄ — 4 / 12 / 8¹/₂ 2 / 16 / 4 Thos. Cleus 1 / 4 / 0 5 / 17 / 11¹/₄ — 28 / 8 / 7³/₄ William Coales John Coles 139 / 4 / 5¹/₄ 4 / 9 / 3³/₄ — 7 / 2³/₄ Mary Conway</p>	<p>Thomas Burnham Debt 8 July 1714: £43 15s 2¹/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £59 18s 8³/₄d Burches' orphans Credit 25 March 1715: £64 12s 2d Edward Byfield Debt 25 March 1715: £12 6s 7d John Caine Debt 8 July 1714: £17 6s 10¹/₂d 25 March 1715: £17 6s 10¹/₂d George Carne Debt 8 July 1714: £316 12s 1d, in bond £321 3s Debt 25 March 1715: £194 14s 11d Thomas Cason Debt 8 July 1714: £9 3s 4d Credit 25 March 1715: £20 2s 10d Andrew Cason Credit 25 March 1715: £4 5s 4d The Church Debt 8 July 1714: £30 5s 7³/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £40 0s 7³/₄d Richard Cleave Debt 8 July 1714: £25 1s 9³/₄d John Chapman Credit 8 July 1714: £4 12s 3¹/₂d Credit 25 March 1715: £4 12s 3¹/₂d Thomas Clew Credit 25 March 1715: £1 4s 0d William Coales Debt 8 July 1714: £28 8s 7³/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £5 17s 11³/₄d John Coles Credit 25 March 1715: £139 4s 5¹/₂d Mary Conway Debt 8 July 1714: £7 2s 2³/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £4 9s 3³/₄d</p> <p>Interpretations George Carne's account was far the largest single debt, £316 12s 1d at 8 July 1714 with a bond of £321 3s noted against it, fallen to £194 14s 11d by 25 March 1715, the long-running Carne debt the bench had pursued across the records. Several accounts again crossed sides between the dates, Arthur Bradley and Thomas Cason each turning from a debt to a credit, while the entry for the Church among the personal names shows the parish carried its own running balance with the Company like any inhabitant.</p>
221	212	<p>January 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d Grace Coulson 23 / 4 / 8¹/₂ — 13 / 11 / 2¹/₂ 24 / 14 / 5¹/₂ — 25 / 15 / 8¹/₂ John Coulson 4 / 3 / 3¹/₂ Francis Cullum 6 / 6 / 3¹/₂ — 6 / 5 / 2¹/₂ John Davis 1 / 2 / 1¹/₂ — 12 / 3 Rich: Dearing 7 / 12 / 1¹/₂ — 9 / 16 / 6 Anthd. Dehurle 53 / 3 / 1¹/₂ — 53 / 3 / 1¹/₂ Thos. Delaross 3 / 15 / 7¹/₂ Andrew Derricke 18 / 8 / 3¹/₂ Joseph Dawes 3 / 8 / 2¹/₂ — 41 / 16 / 6¹/₂ 15 / 12 / 4 — 18 / 18 / 4¹/₂ Walter Douglass 30 / 11 / 4 — 30 / 10 / 8 Abraham Dorman 34 / 11 / 1¹/₂ Jond. Doveton 14 / 7 / 0 2 / 13 / 7¹/₂ — 4 / 10 / 4¹/₂ Saml. Doveton 27 / 15 / 4¹/₄ — 48 / 10 / 2¹/₄ James Draper 16 / 16 / 1¹/₂ — 30 / 7 / 0 Thos. Dutch 3 / 18 / 1¹/₂ Wm. Dunwell 8 Sarah Dweight 24 / 2 / 3³/₄ — 44 / 11 / 7³/₄ Mary Eastop 15 / 11 Thos. Eastop 1 / 2 / 11 11 / 2³/₄ John Ebbs 18 / 6 / 7 — 32 / 4 Stumph: Edwards 1 / 2 / 11 — 8 / 6 / 6¹/₂ Robt. Eys 11 / 3 / 9 Thos. Fairfax 8 / 4 / 1¹/₂ 16 / 7 / 2 John: Flurcus 12 / 4 / 8 7 / 8 / 0 — 8 / 10 / 3¹/₂ Robt. Furgeson 3 / 6 / 0 — 33 / 3 / 1¹/₂ Septha: Fowler 19 / 8 / 1¹/₂ — 189 / 16 / 8¹/₂ Henry Francis 168 / 19 / 8¹/₂ — 97 / 8¹/₂ Thos. Free 7 / 8 / 0 John French 56 / 5¹/₂ 27 / 15 / 4¹/₂ — 45 / 3 / 7¹/₂ Francis Funge 12 / 8 / 1¹/₂ — 19 / 16 / 6 Thos. Gardner</p>	<p>The abstract of debts and credits continued. Grace Coulson Credit 8 July 1714: £23 4s 8¹/₂d Credit 25 March 1715: £13 11s 2¹/₄d John Coulson Debt 8 July 1714: £25 15s 8¹/₂d Debt 25 March 1715: £24 14s 5¹/₂d Francis Cullum Debt 25 March 1715: £4 3s 3¹/₂d John Davis Debt 8 July 1714: £6 5s 2³/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £6 6s 3³/₄d Richard Dearing Debt 8 July 1714: £0 12s 3d Debt 25 March 1715: £1 2s 1¹/₂d Anthony Dehinde Debt 8 July 1714: £9 16s 6d Debt 25 March 1715: £7 12s 1¹/₂d Thomas Delarose Debt 8 July 1714: £53 3s 6¹/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £53 3s 1¹/₂d Andrew Derricke Debt 8 July 1714: £3 15s 7¹/₄d Credit 25 March 1715: £18 8s 3¹/₂d Joseph Dawes Credit 8 July 1714: £3 8s 2¹/₄d Credit 25 March 1715: £4 16s 6¹/₂d Walter Douglass Debt 8 July 1714: £18 18s 4¹/₂d Debt 25 March 1715: £15 12s 4d Abraham Dorman Debt 8 July 1714: £30 10s 8d Debt 25 March 1715: £30 11s 4d John Doveton Debt 8 July 1714: £34 11s 1¹/₂d Credit 25 March 1715: £14 7s 0d Samuel Doveton Debt 8 July 1714: £4 10s 4³/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £2 13s 7³/₄d James Draper Debt 8 July 1714: £48 10s 2³/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £27 15s 4³/₄d Thomas Dutch Debt 8 July 1714: £30 7s 0d Debt 25 March 1715: £16 16s 1³/₄d William Dunwell Debt 25 March 1715: £3 18s 11¹/₂d Sarah Dweight Debt 25 March 1715: £0 0s 8d Mary Eastop Debt 8 July 1714: £44 11s 7³/₄d Debt 25 March 1715: £24 2s 0³/₄d Thomas Easthop Debt 25 March 1715: £0 15s 11d Credit 8 July 1714: £1 2s 11d John Ebbs Debt 25 March 1715: £0 11s 2¹/₄d Stumpit Edwards Debt 8 July 1714: £32 4s 0d Debt 25 March 1715: £18 6s 7d</p>

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			<p>Robert Eyres Debt 8 July 1714: £8 6s 6½d Debt 25 March 1715: £1 2s 11d Thomas Fairfax Debt 8 July 1714: £11 3s 9d Credit 25 March 1715: £8 4s 1½d John Fleurcus Debt 8 July 1714: £16 7s 2d Credit 25 March 1715: £12 4s 8d Robert Furgeson Debt 8 July 1714: £8 10s 3¾d Debt 25 March 1715: £7 8s 0d Jeptha Fowler Debt 8 July 1714: £33 3s 1½d Debt 25 March 1715: £3 6s 1d Henry Francis Debt 8 July 1714: £189 16s 8¾d Debt 25 March 1715: £198 18s 8¾d Thomas Free Credit 8 July 1714: £97 8s 8½d Debt 25 March 1715: £7 0s 8d John French Credit 8 July 1714: £56 0s 5½d Debt 25 March 1715: £27 15s 4¼d Francis Funge Debt 8 July 1714: £45 3s 7½d Debt 25 March 1715: £12 8s 1½d Thomas Gardner Debt 8 July 1714: £19 16s 6d</p> <p>Interpretations Henry Francis carried the largest debt on the page, rising rather than falling, from £189 16s 8¾d to £198 18s 8¾d between the two dates, one of the few accounts that grew over the period. Thomas Free and John French each crossed the other way, from a sizeable credit at 8 July 1714 to a debt at 25 March 1715, a reminder that the Company's balance with a man could swing fully from one side to the other in a single year as wages, supplies and store purchases were reckoned up.</p>
222	213	<p>January 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d 124 / 7 / 3 — 130 / 11 / 7½ Thos. Gargen 8 / 18 / 5½ — 15 / 19 / 3½ John Gorge 10 / 4½ — 14 / 19 / 6½ John Gibbs 100 / 13 / 10 — 93 / 8 John Goodwin 8 / 1 / 0½ Thos. Goodwin John Goodale 15 60 / 2 / 9½ — 60 / 2 / 9½ William Gores 119 / 18 / 9½ James Greentree 2 / 10 / 4½ 116 / 13 / 8½ — 166 / 13 / 8½ Danl. Griffith 13 / 2 / 1½ — 7 / 18 / 9 Richd. Gurling 47 / 3 / 8½ — 64 / 11 / 1¼ Robt. Gurling John Harding 188 / 8 / 1½ — 9 / 13 / 1½ 14 / 9 / 2¾ Henry Harman 2 / 2 / 2½ Mary Harper Senr. 30 / 8 / 5¼ — 33 / 8 / 4½ 29 / 6 / 2 Thos. Harper 6 / 19 / 9¾ 13 / 18 / 1½ Capt. Geo. Haswell 24 / 7 / 4½ — 22 / 18 / 4½ Isabel Hayse 28 / 18 / 7¼ — 43 / 11 / 8½ Dorot Thos. Hayse 57 / 3 / 1 — 55 / 9 / 0 Dorothy Hays 20 / 11 / 0 — 39 / 10 / 2 Gilis Hayes 3 / 9 / 7¼ — 8 / 9¾ Saml. Head 4 / 6 / 4¼ — 5 / 16 / 7¼ David Hine 11 / 3 / 10½ — 14 / 14 / 6 Jond. Higham Senr. Edwd. Hollisell 2 / 18 / 4½ 12 / 8 / 11½ — 12 / 8 / 11½ Edwd. Saml. Hollinsworth 24 / 0 John Hoason 14 / 11 / 1 John Hoes 1 / 12 / 7 1 / 5 / 9¾ John Hanson 14 / 17 / 2¼ — 14 / 16 / 8¼ John Hoskison 3 / 17 / 8¾ — 04 / 16 / 5¾ John Hubbard 7 / 1 / 4 Wm. Huff 1 / 2 / 5 1 / 17 / 10¼ — 8 / 12 / 2¾ Isaac Hugerson</p>	<p>The abstract of debts and credits continued. Thomas Gargen Debt 8 July 1714: £130 11s 7½d Debt 25 March 1715: £124 7s 3d John Gorge Debt 8 July 1714: £15 19s 3¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £8 18s 5½d John Gobbs Debt 8 July 1714: £14 9s 6¾d Debt 25 March 1715: £10 0s 4¼d John Goodwin Debt 8 July 1714: £93 8s 0d Debt 25 March 1715: £100 13s 10d Thomas Goodwin Debt 25 March 1715: £8 1s 0¾d John Goodale Credit 25 March 1715: £0 0s 15d William Gores Debt 8 July 1714: £60 2s 9½d Debt 25 March 1715: £60 2s 9½d James Greentree Debt 8 July 1714: £119 18s 9¼d Credit 25 March 1715: £2 10s 4¼d Daniel Griffith Debt 8 July 1714: £166 13s 8¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £116 13s 8½d Richard Gurling Debt 8 July 1714: £7 18s 9d Debt 25 March 1715: £13 2s 1¼d Robert Gurling Debt 8 July 1714: £64 11s 1¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £47 3s 8¾d John Harding Credit 8 July 1714: £188 8s 1½d Credit 25 March 1715: £9 13s 1½d Henry Harman Debt 8 July 1714: £2 2s 2¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £0 14s 9¼d Mary Harper senior Credit 8 July 1714: £30 8s 5¼d Credit 25 March 1715: £33 8s 4½d Thomas Harper Debt 8 July 1714: £29 6s 2d Credit 25 March 1715: £6 19s 9¾d Captain George Haswell Debt 25 March 1715: £13 18s 1½d Isabel Hayse Debt 8 July 1714: £22 18s 4½d Debt 25 March 1715: £24 7s 4¼d Dorothy Thomas Hayse Debt 8 July 1714: £43 11s 8d Debt 25 March 1715: £28 18s 7¼d Dorothy Hays Debt 8 July 1714: £55 9s 0d Debt 25 March 1715: £57 3s 1d Giles Hayes Debt 8 July 1714: £39 10s 2d Debt 25 March 1715: £23 11s 0d Samuel Head Debt 8 July 1714: £8 0s 9¾d Debt 25 March 1715: £3 9s 7¼d David Hine Debt 8 July 1714: £5 16s 7¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £4 6s 4¼d</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			<p>John Higham senior Debt 8 July 1714: £14 14s 6d Debt 25 March 1715: £11 3s 10½d Edward Hollisell Credit 25 March 1715: £2 18s 4d Edward and Samuel Hollinsworth Debt 8 July 1714: £12 8s 11½d Debt 25 March 1715: £10 8s 11½d John Hoxson Debt 8 July 1714: £2 4s 0d John Hoes Debt 8 July 1714: £14 11s 1d Credit 25 March 1715: £1 12s 7d John Hanson Debt 25 March 1715: £1 5s 9¾d John Hoskison Debt 8 July 1714: £14 16s 8¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £14 17s 2¼d John Hubbard Debt 8 July 1714: £104 16s 9¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £3 17s 8¾d William Huff Debt 8 July 1714: £7 1s 4d Credit 25 March 1715: £1 2s 5d Isaac Hugerson Debt 8 July 1714: £8 12s 2¾d Debt 25 March 1715: £1 17s 10¾d</p> <p>Interpretations John Harding held the largest credit on the page, the Company owing him £188 8s 1½d at 8 July 1714, cut to £9 13s 1½d by 25 March 1715, so the Company had paid down or set off almost the whole of what it owed him across the year. John Goodwin and John Hoskison were among the few whose debts edged upward rather than down, while John Hubbard's fell sharply from £104 16s 9¼d to £3 17s 8¾d, the abstract recording at a glance which accounts the new administration had cleared and which still stood open.</p>
223	214	<p>January 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d 12 / 14 / 1 — 38 / 16 / 10½ Saml. Jessey 4 / 8 / 4½ Henry Johnson 18 / 12 / 11 Joshua Johnson 11 / 5 / 5¼ 38 / 14 / 5½ — 37 / 2 / 8½ Sutton Isacke Senr. 34 / 10 / 6¾ — 37 / 2 / 8½ Sutton Isacke Junr. 28 / 6 / 9½ — 28 / 6 / 9½ Thos. Jones 7 / 7 / 5¾ — 7 / 7 / 5¾ Thos. Ironman Eleanor Keeling 128 / 12 / 1½ Keelings Orphans 192 / 11 / 3½ 24 / 11 / 3¾ — 41 / 12 / 9½ Christo: Kelt 4 / 17 / 4 Geo: Kitchen 1 / 12 John Knight 1 / 19 / 10 — 2 / 1 / 6 69 / 4 / 4½ — 104 / 1 / 4½ John Knipe 31 / 8 / 10 — 45 / 19 / 5½ Jno. Louis Latoure 2 / 8 / 11 — 10 / 10 / 3½ Isaac Leech 15 / 8¾ Ben: Leech 5 / 11 / 0¾ 1 / 7 / 10 — 7 / 1 / 6 James Leech Robt. Leechs Orphans 42 / 5 / 11½ 4 / 14 / 9 Thos. Leech 9 / 1 / 2 — 8 / 19 / 8 Francis Leech 4 / 5 / 4 — 4 / 5 / 4½ Simon Lenox 16 / 3 / 3 — 20 / 5 / 4½ Geo: Landen 14 / 13 / 11½ — 14 / 13 / 11½ Thos. Lightwood 71 / 8 / 2 — 106 / 12 / 5 John Long 8 / 9 / 5 — 8 / 9 / 5 Thos. Low 33 / 8 / 4½ — 42 / 14 / 4½ Steph. Luffkin 20 / 13 / 6 — 20 / 13 / 6 Edwd. Wallard 4 / 19 / 9 — 4 / 19 / 9 Roger Martin 7 / 8 / 11½ — 36 / 3 / 0 Robt. Marsh 2 / 12 / 4 — 6 / 17 / 4½ Richd. Manly</p>	<p>The abstract of debts and credits continued. Samuel Jessey Debt 8 July 1714: £38 16s 10½d Debt 25 March 1715: £12 14s 1d Henry Johnson Debt 25 March 1715: £4 8s 4½d Joshua Johnson Debt 8 July 1714: £18 12s 11d Credit 25 March 1715: £11 5s 3½d Sutton Isaake senior Debt 8 July 1714: £37 2s 8½d Debt 25 March 1715: £38 14s 5½d Sutton Isaake junior Debt 8 July 1714: £37 2s 8d Debt 25 March 1715: £34 10s 6¼d Thomas Jones Debt 8 July 1714: £28 6s 9½d Debt 25 March 1715: £28 6s 9½d Thomas Ironman Debt 8 July 1714: £7 7s 5¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £7 7s 5¼d Eleanor Keeling Credit 8 July 1714: £128 12s 1d Keeling's orphans Credit 8 July 1714: £192 11s 3½d Christopher Kell Debt 8 July 1714: £41 12s 9¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £24 11s 3¼d George Kitchen Debt 8 July 1714: £4 17s 4d Credit 25 March 1715: £1 12s 0d John Knight Credit 8 July 1714: £1 19s 10d Credit 25 March 1715: £2 1s 6d John Louis Latoure Debt 8 July 1714: £104 1s 4½d Debt 25 March 1715: £69 4s 4½d Isaac Leech Debt 8 July 1714: £45 19s 5¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £31 8s 10d Benjamin Leech Debt 8 July 1714: £10 10s 3¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £2 8s 11d James Leech Credit 8 July 1714: £5 11s 0¾d Robert Leech's orphans Debt 8 July 1714: £7 1s 6d Debt 25 March 1715: £1 7s 10d Thomas Leech Credit 25 March 1715: £42 5s 11½d Francis Leech Debt 8 July 1714: £4 14s 9d Debt 25 March 1715: £0 15s 8½d Simon Lenox Debt 8 July 1714: £8 19s 8d Debt 25 March 1715: £9 1s 2d George Landen Debt 8 July 1714: £4 5s 4¼d Credit 25 March 1715: £0 4s 5½d Thomas Lightwood Debt 8 July 1714: £20 5s 4d Debt 25 March 1715: £16 3s 3d John Long Debt 8 July 1714: £14 13s 11½d Debt 25 March 1715: £14 13s 11½d Thomas Lows Debt 8 July 1714: £106 12s 5d Debt 25 March 1715: £71 8s 2d</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			<p>Stephen Luffkin Debt 8 July 1714: £8 9s 5d Debt 25 March 1715: £8 9s 5d Edward Wallard Debt 8 July 1714: £42 14s 4½d Debt 25 March 1715: £33 8s 4½d Roger Martin Debt 8 July 1714: £20 13s 6d Debt 25 March 1715: £20 13s 6d Robert Marsh Debt 8 July 1714: £4 19s 9d Debt 25 March 1715: £4 19s 9d Nicholas Manly Debt 8 July 1714: £36 3s 0d Debt 25 March 1715: £7 8s 11½d [record continues] Debt 8 July 1714: £6 17s 4¼d Debt 25 March 1715: £2 12s 2¼d</p> <p>Interpretations The deceased Governor Keeling's estate and his orphans held the two largest credits on the page, the Company owing them £128 12s 1d and £192 11s 3½d at 8 July 1714, the orphans' money the trust the bench had long undertaken to secure. The orphans of Robert Leech and the deceased Keelings stood among the living debtors on the same list, the Company carrying the accounts of the dead and their wards exactly as it did those of the men still trading on the island.</p>
224	215	<p>January 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d John Marsh 7 / 4 / 11½ — 8 / 3 / 11½ 109 / 2 / 4½ Capt. Edw: Mashborne Lucas Mason 19 / 4¾ 1 / 17 / 2½ — 3 / 13 / 3 Cha: Masham 23 / 2 / 8¾ — 23 / 2 / 8¾ 2 / 4 / 2 John Merritt Kendall Maine 27 / 5 / 10 — 27 / 5 / 10 John Miller 1 / 10 / 4½ — 6 / 19 / 11 John Mills 8 / 9½ — 4 / 19 / 4½ Benj. Miller 38 / 18 / 5½ Walker Morriss 4 / 7 / 6 — 11 / 17 / 10 Jno. Morthmore 2 / 13 / 2 — 3 / 4 / 1½ Wm. Mowberry 12 / 10 / 8 — 14 / 2 / 6½ John Muchmore 22 / 5 / 2¾ — 27 / 6 / 4 Jane Mudge 3 / 14 / 1½ — 6 / 19 / 8½ Henry Mutton 9 / 2 / 3¼ John Myers 3 / 11 / 3½ 13 / 1 — 13 / 1 Mary Newman Thos. Newington 8 / 10 / 8 33 / 16 / 5 — 111 / 17 / 2½ Jno. Nicholl Senr. 6 / 9 / 3¼ — 6 / 9 / 3¼ Jno. Nichols Junr. 6 / 9 / 1 — 72 / 10 / 1 Martin Norman 5 / 2 / 11½ John Obryan 28 / 19 / 3½ John Orchard 12 / 7½ 11 / 9 / 9¾ — 13 / 16 / 3¼ Ralph Orme Ozgraves Orphans 21 / 3 / 10½ — 8 / 15 / 8¾ 10 / 15 / 8½ — 10 / 15 / 8½ Frenchs Orphans 31 / 11 / 8¾ — 42 / 16 / 4½ Wrangham Orphans 163 / 2 / 7½ — 153 / 8 / 4½ Bedles Orphans 3 / 3 Geo: Paradise 1 / 2 / 3 2 / 17 / 4 Jno. Wm. Coulser 1 / 3 / 8 Wm. Penny 24 / 9 / 4½ — 33 / 8 / 3½ 2 / 5 / 11 Benj. Cledger 1 / 1 / 4 9 / 2 / 2½ Thos. Perkins</p>	<p>31 January 1715/16 abstract of debts and credits, continued. The following names and balances were entered, each shown with debt at 25 March 1715, debt at 8 July 1714, credit at 8 July 1714 and credit at 25 March 1715. Blank columns mean no entry under that head. John Marsh debt at 25 March 1715: £109 2s 0½d Captain Edward Mashborne credit at 8 July 1714: £7 4s 11½d credit at 25 March 1715: £8 3s 11½d Lucas Mason credit at 8 July 1714: £19 0s [...]d credit at 25 March 1715: £4 [...]s [...]d Charles Masham debt at 25 March 1715: £23 2s 8¾d debt at 8 July 1714: £3 13s 3d credit at 25 March 1715: £23 2s 8¾d Kendall Maine [no figures entered] John Merritt debt at 25 March 1715: £1 17s 2½d debt at 8 July 1714: £3 13s 3d John Miller debt at 25 March 1715: £2 4s 2d John Mills debt at 25 March 1715: £27 5s 10d debt at 8 July 1714: £27 5s 10d Benjamin Miller debt at 25 March 1715: £1 10s 4½d debt at 8 July 1714: £6 19s 11d Walker Morris debt at 25 March 1715: £0 8s 9½d debt at 8 July 1714: £4 19s 4½d [unnamed line] debt at 8 July 1714: £38 18s 5½d credit at 25 March 1715: £5 9s 4½d John Mortimore debt at 25 March 1715: £4 7s 6d debt at 8 July 1714: £11 17s 10d William Mowberry debt at 25 March 1715: £2 13s 2d debt at 8 July 1714: £3 4s 1½d John Muchmore debt at 25 March 1715: £12 10s 8d debt at 8 July 1714: £14 2s 6¾d Jane Mudge debt at 25 March 1715: £22 5s [...]¾d debt at 8 July 1714: £27 6s 4d Henry Mutton debt at 25 March 1715: £3 14s 1½d debt at 8 July 1714: £6 19s 8¾d John Myers debt at 25 March 1715: £0 9s 2¾d credit at 8 July 1714: £3 11s 3½d Mary Newman debt at 25 March 1715: £0 13s 1d debt at 8 July 1714: £13 1d Thomas Newington credit at 25 March 1715: £8 10s 3d John Nicholls senior debt at 25 March 1715: £33 16s 5d debt at 8 July 1714: £111 17s 2d John Nichols junior debt at 25 March 1715: £6 9s 3¾d debt at 8 July 1714: £6 9s 3¾d Martin Norman debt at 25 March 1715: £6 9s 1d debt at 8 July 1714: £72 0s 1d John Obryan debt at 25 March 1715: £5 2s 11¼d John Orchard debt at 8 July 1714: £28 19s 3¾d credit at 25 March 1715: £12 7s [...]d</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			<p>Ralph Orme debt at 25 March 1715: £11 9s 9¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £13 16s 3¼d Cosgrave's orphans debt at 8 July 1714: £21 3s 10½d credit at 25 March 1715: £8 15s 8¾d French's orphans debt at 25 March 1715: £10 15s 8½d debt at 8 July 1714: £10 15s 8½d Wrangham orphans debt at 25 March 1715: £31 11s 8¾d debt at 8 July 1714: £42 16s 4½d Beale's orphans debt at 25 March 1715: £163 2s 7¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £153 8s 4¾d George Paradice credit at 8 July 1714: £1 2s 3d John William Coulson debt at 25 March 1715: £0 3s 3d credit at 8 July 1714: £1 3s 8d William Pessey debt at 25 March 1715: £2 1s 7¼d credit at 8 July 1714: £24 9s 4¼d credit at 25 March 1715: £33 8s 3¼d Benjamin Pledger debt at 8 July 1714: £0 2s 5s 11d [reading uncertain] credit at 25 March 1715: £1 1s 4¼d Thomas Perkins debt at 8 July 1714: £0 9s 2¾d</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The page continues the abstract of debts and credits brought in by Captain Haswell at the consultation of 31 January 1715/16 and ordered into the fair consultation book. It sets each person's position at the balancing of the books on 25 March 1715 against the state of the same account on 8 July 1714, the day Pyke took over the government. The two-date comparison let the bench see at a glance whether a debt had grown or shrunk under the present administration, and the same device produced the headline movements already noted for Carne, Henry Francis and Bazett.</p> <p>Several balances on this leaf carry forward known threads. Walker Morris appears for a modest sum here, the residue of the £38 0s 0d Company debt for which he was arrested on 18 January 1714/15 to break the stone-layers' labour combination; the larger £38 18s 5½d figure beside his name records the earlier weight of that debt. The Beale orphans stand at the heaviest single balance on the page, the £163 2s 7¼d debt reflecting the long-disputed family accounts referred to the Governor on 17 May 1715 and the possession of the 60 acres granted on 7 Jun 1715. Cosgrave's, French's and Wrangham's orphans each appear as account-holders in their own right, the council acting as the colonial court of orphans and carrying minors' balances on the Company's books at 5 per cent interest by the ancient rule.</p> <p>The structure of the abstract reveals its function as a control document rather than a demand for payment. Debt and credit were tracked under separate heads at fixed dates, so that the same individual could show a debt at one balancing and a credit at the next, as with John Myers and George Paradice. The exercise gave the directors a single audited statement of who owed the Company and who stood in credit across the whole settlement, garrison, inhabitants, orphans and parish alike.</p>
225	216	<p>January 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d Stephen Praise Cledger 3 / 5 / 9 Gabriel Powell 257 / 16 / 10½ — 496 / 9 / 3½ 2 / 5 / 1½ — 43 / 16 / 0 Wm. Cortley 195 / 19 / 4 — 228 / 19 / 8½ Wm. Porteous 32 / 19 / 4 — 64 / 13 / 3½ Saml. Price Thos. Price 15 / 2½ 2 / 8½ Erasmus Gurling John Gurling 10 / 11 Isaac Pickless 419 / 8 / 3 John Wm. Pyke 5 / 4 / 3½ — 11 / 10 / 7¼ 5 / 3 / 1½ — 3 / 15 / 0 John Balk Ennio 9 / 4 / 5 — 17 / 7 / 5 Henry Rawlins 4 / 19 / 10 — 12 / 2 / 11 Richd. Ray</p>	<p>The abstract of debts and credits continued, each name shown with debt at 25 March 1715, debt at 8 July 1714, credit at 8 July 1714 and credit at 25 March 1715. Blank columns mean no entry under that head.</p> <p>Stephen Praise Pledger credit at 25 March 1715: £3 5s 9d Gabriel Powell debt at 8 July 1714: £257 16s 10¾d credit at 8 July 1714: £496 9s 3¾d William Cortley debt at 25 March 1715: £2 5s 1½d debt at 8 July 1714: £43 16s 0d William Porteous debt at 25 March 1715: £19 5s 4d debt at 8 July 1714: £228 19s 8½d Samuel Price debt at 25 March 1715: £32 1s 9¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £64 13s 3¾d Thomas Price credit at 25 March 1715: £15 0s 2¼d Erasmus Gurling debt at 25 March 1715: £2 0s 8¼d</p>

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		<p>37 / 11 / 4½ — 49 / 19 / 1½ John Robinson 6 / 3 / 9¼ John Roulston 3 / 17 / 5 — 7 / 6¼ James Ryon Richd. Sagert 3 / 9½ 2 / 19 / 1½ — 7 / 4 / 11½ Geo: Sanden 1 / 15 / 4 Wm. Saxby 37 / 10 / 0 — 41 / 14 / 4 Wm. Seale 107 / 19 / 6½ — 107 / 19 / 6½ Benj. Sich 6 / 9 / 1½ Margt. Sich 90 / 4 / 2½ Gilbert Sinsnick 16 / 1 19 / 4 / 2 — 3 / 0 / 6 John Sinsnick 6 / 18 / 8½ — 6 / 0 / 9¼ Peter Sinsnick 7 / 7 / 4 Nich: Brewe Richd. Smithman 3 / 18 / 10½ — 90 / 2 / 9¼ — 19 / 3½ Wm. Simpson 5 / 10 / 4 — 7 / 4 / 10 11 / 4 / 1½ — 17 / 3 / 1½ Edw: Smith 138 / 3 / 6½ — 162 / 10 / 3½ Giles Smith 2 / 5 / 1½ — 3 / 15 / 1½ Phillip Slaughter 65 / 4 / 6½ — 94 / 12 / 2½ Wm. Slaughter 4 / 11 / 9¾ — 50 / 4 / 2½ Renatus Snow 141 / 11 / 0 — 154 / 17 / 4½ Thos. Southen</p>	<p>John Gurling credit at 25 March 1715: £0 10s 11d Isaac Puffless [reading uncertain] credit at 25 March 1715: £0 10s 11d John William Pyfer debt at 8 July 1714: £5 4s 3¾d credit at 8 July 1714: £419 8s 3d credit at 25 March 1715: £11 10s 7¼d John Badle Cunio [reading uncertain] debt at 25 March 1715: £5 3s 1¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £3 15s 0d Henry Rawlins debt at 25 March 1715: £9 4s 5d debt at 8 July 1714: £17 7s 5d Richard Ray debt at 25 March 1715: £4 19s 10d debt at 8 July 1714: £12 2s 11d John Robinson debt at 25 March 1715: £37 11s 4¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £49 19s 11¼d John Roulston debt at 25 March 1715: £0 6s 3¾d James Ryon debt at 25 March 1715: £0 3s 7½d credit at 8 July 1714: £0 7s 6¼d Richard Sageret [reading uncertain] debt at 8 July 1714: £0 19s 4d credit at 25 March 1715: £3 9s ½d George Sanders debt at 25 March 1715: £2 19s 1½d debt at 8 July 1714: £7 4s 1½d William Saxby debt at 25 March 1715: £1 15s 4d William Seale debt at 25 March 1715: £37 10s [...]d debt at 8 July 1714: £41 14s 4d Benjamin Sick debt at 25 March 1715: £107 19s 6¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £107 19s 6¼d Margaret Sick debt at 8 July 1714: £0 9s 7½d Gilbert Sinsnick debt at 8 July 1714: £6 9s 2½d credit at 25 March 1715: £0 4s 2½d John Sinsnick debt at 25 March 1715: £19 4s 0¼d credit at 8 July 1714: £3 0s 6d credit at 25 March 1715: £16 0s 1d Peter Sinsnick debt at 25 March 1715: £6 18s 8¾d debt at 8 July 1714: £6 0s 9¼d Nicholas Brewer [reading uncertain] debt at 8 July 1714: £7 7s 4d Richard Smithman debt at 8 July 1714: £3 18s 10½d credit at 25 March 1715: £0 2s 9¼d [second credit figure]: £0 13s 2d William Simpson debt at 8 July 1714: £5 10s 4d credit at 8 July 1714: £7 4s 10d Edward Smith debt at 25 March 1715: £11 4s 1½d debt at 8 July 1714: £17 3s 1½d Giles Smith debt at 25 March 1715: £138 3s 6½d debt at 8 July 1714: £162 10s 3¾d Phillip Slaughter debt at 25 March 1715: £2 5s 1½d debt at 8 July 1714: £3 15s 1½d William Slaughter debt at 25 March 1715: £65 4s 6¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £94 12s 2½d Renatus Snow debt at 25 March 1715: £1 4s 11½d debt at 8 July 1714: £50 4s 0¾d Thomas Southen debt at 25 March 1715: £141 11s [...]d debt at 8 July 1714: £154 17s 4½d</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The leaf continues the two-date abstract entered at the consultation of 31 January 1715/16, set out by Captain Haswell and ordered into the fair consultation book. Each balance is struck both at 25 March 1715 and at 8 July 1714, the day Pyke took over the government, so the bench could read at once whether a debt had risen or fallen under the present administration.</p> <p>Gabriel Powell stands at the largest credit on the page, £496 9s 3¾d at 8 July 1714, reflecting his standing as executor of the Steward estate valued at about £1,200 0s 0d in his petition of 24 May 1715 and as a principal creditor of the Company. John William Pyfer likewise carries a substantial credit of £419 8s 3d, a holding of the same order. Both balances show the Company's dependence on a handful of well-capitalised inhabitants to carry its account.</p> <p>Several entries track names already before the bench. Thomas Price the surgeon shows a credit of £15 0s 2¼d, consistent with his discharge to sail home on the Kent granted at the consultation of 5 January 1715/16 and his clearing of private debts at the</p>

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			<p>consultation of 17 January 1715/16. William Porteous, the second surgeon reported lately dead at the consultation of 15 November 1715, carries a sharply reduced debt, down from £228 19s 8½d to £19 5s 4d. Renatus Snow, the soldier and tailor ordered to ride the wooden horse at the consultation of 14 January 1715/16 for assaulting Tovey, shows his debt cut from £50 4s 0¼d to £1 4s 11½d. Thomas Southen, the sergeant owed labour by William Huff under the order of 25 October 1715, appears among the heaviest debtors at £141 11s [...].d.</p> <p>The recurrence of whole families across the abstract, the Sinsnicks, the Slaughters, the Smiths and the Sicks, shows the Company's accounts mapping onto the settlement's kin groups rather than onto individuals alone. The same households appear repeatedly as debtors, the small administrative establishment producing a densely interconnected web of obligation between the Company and a few extended families.</p>
226	217	<p>January 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d 7 / 4 / 4½ — 25 / 6 / 4½ Godfrd. Shoales 17 / 9 / 1½ — 19 / 11 / 4½ Joseph Stapler 94 / 16 / 7½ — 84 / 7 / 5 Richd. Swallow 4 / 1 — 12 / 8 / 4½ John Sumersby 37 / 13 / 4½ — 42 / 2 / 4½ Susana Swallow 119 / 10 / 6¼ — 105 / 12 / 3½ Thos. Swallow 44 / 6 / 4 — 44 / 6 / 4 Hatton Sterling 4 / 5 / 8 Cha: Steward 261 / 4 / 6½ — 119 / 19 / 6¾ 5 / 8 — 5 / 8 Ship Susanna 8 / 2 / 9¼ — 12 / 11 / 11½ Cash in ye. Storekeepers hands 89 / 9 / 7¼ — 103 / 4 / 2½ Richd. Tinsley 28 / 2 / 9 — 34 / 12 / 1 Jos: Thomlinson Joshua Thomlinson 88 / 3 / 2¼ — 211 / 2¼ 4 / 3¼ — 4 / 13 / 1¾ Thos. Thompson 7 / 5 / 6½ — 17 / 6½ Richd. Thompson 4 / 5 / 10 John Thompson 1 / 2 / 10¾ 13 / 14 / 10½ — 18 / 16 / 6¾ Saml. Thornbrough 36 / 8 / 5½ — 59 / 10 / 10½ Antipas Tovey 20 / 10 / 6½ — 20 / 10 / 6½ Peter Towers 25 / 9 / 2¼ — 71 / 16 / 11 John Twait 3 / 9¼ — 10 / 5 / 5½ James Vaughan 85 / 12 / 6 — 100 / 11 / 1 James Vesey 20 / 13 / 8¼ — 23 / 15 / 9 Thos. Watts James Wakesford 13 / 16 / 4 4 / 13 / 9¼ Robt. Wattington 2 / 19 / 10 — 2 / 19 / 10 Michl. Webb 32 / 6 / 3½ — 32 / 6 / 3½ Jams. Wilson 10 / 3¼ Wm. Wilkins 5 / 11 / 2¾ — 14 / 13 / 10½ Jos: Whaley 32 / 17 / 2½ — 33 / 13 / 1½ Simon Whaley 25 / 13 / 4 — 88 / 14 / 8 Jno. Welsh 2 / 4 / 4 — 9 / 16 / 10½ John Woodley 38 / 7 / 10½ — 81 / 17 / 7 Isaac Wood</p>	<p>The abstract of debts and credits continued, each name shown with debt at 25 March 1715, debt at 8 July 1714, credit at 8 July 1714 and credit at 25 March 1715. Blank columns mean no entry under that head.</p> <p>Godfrey Shoales debt at 25 March 1715: £0 7s 4¾d debt at 8 July 1714: £25 6s 4d Joseph Staples debt at 25 March 1715: £17 9s 9d debt at 8 July 1714: £19 11s 4½d Richard Swallow debt at 25 March 1715: £94 16s 7¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £84 7s 5d John Sumersby debt at 25 March 1715: £4 1s 1d debt at 8 July 1714: £12 8s 4½d Susana Swallow debt at 25 March 1715: £37 13s 4¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £42 2s 4½d Thomas Swallow debt at 25 March 1715: £119 10s 6¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £105 12s 3¾d Hatton Sterling debt at 25 March 1715: £44 6s [...].¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £44 6s [...].¼d Charles Steward debt at 8 July 1714: £1 5s 8d credit at 8 July 1714: £261 4s 6¼d credit at 25 March 1715: £119 19s 6¾d Ship Susanna debt at 25 March 1715: £0 5s 8d debt at 8 July 1714: £0 5s 8d Cash in the storekeeper's hands debt at 25 March 1715: £8 2s 9¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £12 11s 11½d Richard Tinsley debt at 25 March 1715: £89 9s 7¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £103 4s 2¼d Joseph Thomlinson debt at 25 March 1715: £28 2s 9d debt at 8 July 1714: £34 12s 1d Joshua Thomlinson credit at 8 July 1714: £88 3s 2¾d credit at 25 March 1715: £211 0s [...].¼d Thomas Thompson debt at 25 March 1715: £4 0s [...].¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £4 13s 1¼d Richard Thompson debt at 25 March 1715: £7 5s 6½d debt at 8 July 1714: £17 0s 6¼d John Thompson debt at 8 July 1714: £4 5s 10d credit at 25 March 1715: £1 2s 10¾d Samuel Thornbrough debt at 25 March 1715: £13 14s 10½d debt at 8 July 1714: £18 16s 6¾d Antipas Tovey debt at 25 March 1715: £36 8s 5¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £59 10s 10½d Peter Towers debt at 25 March 1715: £20 10s 6½d debt at 8 July 1714: £20 10s 6½d John Swaite [Thwaites] debt at 25 March 1715: £25 9s 2¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £71 16s 11d James Vaughan debt at 25 March 1715: £0 3s 9¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £10 5s 5¼d James Vesey debt at 25 March 1715: £85 12s 6d debt at 8 July 1714: £100 11s 1d Thomas Watts debt at 25 March 1715: £20 13s 8¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £23 15s 9d James Wakesford credit at 25 March 1715: £13 16s 4d Robert Wattington debt at 8 July 1714: £4 13s 9¼d</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			<p>Michael Webb debt at 25 March 1715: £2 19s 10d debt at 8 July 1714: £2 19s 10d James Wilson debt at 25 March 1715: £32 6s 3½d debt at 8 July 1714: £32 6s 3½d William Wilkins debt at 25 March 1715: £0 10s 3d debt at 8 July 1714: £0 10s 3d Joseph Whaley debt at 25 March 1715: £5 11s 2¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £14 13s 10½d Simon Whaley debt at 25 March 1715: £32 17s 2¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £33 13s 1½d John Welsh debt at 25 March 1715: £25 13s 4d debt at 8 July 1714: £88 14s 8d John Woolley debt at 25 March 1715: £2 4s 4d debt at 8 July 1714: £9 16s 10½d Isaac Wood debt at 25 March 1715: £38 7s 10½d debt at 8 July 1714: £81 17s 7d</p> <p>Interpretations The leaf carries on the two-date abstract entered at the consultation of 31 January 1715/16, each balance struck at 25 March 1715 and at 8 July 1714, the day Pyke took over the government. Two non-personal heads appear on this page among the inhabitants. The ship Susanna carries a small balance of £0 5s 8d, and a line for cash in the storekeeper's hands records £8 2s 9¼d, both treated as accounting entries within the same register as the individual debtors and creditors.</p> <p>Charles Steward and Joshua Thomlinson stand at the largest credits on the leaf. Steward, the deceased whose estate of about £1,200 0s 0d was still in probate under Powell and Gurling through 1715, shows a credit of £261 4s 6¼d at 8 July 1714 falling to £119 19s 6¼d by 25 March 1715. Thomlinson moves the other way, his credit rising from £88 3s 2¼d to £211 0s [...]¾d, a movement that marks him as one of the inhabitants increasingly carrying the Company's account.</p> <p>Antipas Tovey, the fourth councillor, appears as a debtor with his balance falling from £59 10s 10½d to £36 8s 5¼d. His presence on the abstract as an ordinary account-holder shows that councillors stood on the same register as inhabitants and soldiers, owing and being owed by the Company in the same way. The Swallow household recurs heavily, with Thomas, Richard and Susanna Swallow all carrying large debts, consistent with the bench's repeated dealings with that family across 1715 over marital cruelty and ill-treatment of servants.</p>
227	218	<p>Janry. 1715/16. March 25. 1715 (Dr.) £/s/d — July 8. 1714 (Dr.) £/s/d — Name — July 8. 1714 (Cr.) £/s/d — March 25. 1715 (Cr.) £/s/d 76 / 5 / 3½ — 103 / 2 / 7½ John Worrall 96 / 12 / 11½ — 67 / 18 / 2½ Wm. Worrall 14 / 3 / 3¼ — 36 / 18 / 9¾ Ripin Wills Wm. Woodzell 1 / 11 / 9¼ 49 / 9 / 2½ — 103 / 16 / 7½ Franc. Wrangham 19 / 5 / 6½ — 24 / 4 / 7¾ Jos: Wrench 27 / 8 / 9½ — 27 / 8 / 9½ James Young 1 / 7½ John Young 12 / 4 / 3½ 4725 / 11 / 3½ £ 1977 / 18 / 1 The Govr. produced a Letter from Richd. Swallow Junr. who desires to be Credited in the Honble. Compas. Stores. But Says He is of Op pinion That as all People ought to be trusted as Little as possible. So Idle & disorderly peo ple Ought not to be trusted at all. & That Therefore, Richd. Swallow Junr. be not trusted in the Honble. Compas. Stores for any goods, unless he first bring Credit or for want of that Wee are willing to take (on behalf of the Honble. Compa. any Cattle at the Currant price in payment for Such goods as he was or accations for Orderd That John Crosby (Likewise) be not Credited in the Said Stores. Orderd that an Advertizement be pub lished requiring all persons that are indebted to the Honble. Compa. above</p>	<p>The abstract of debts and credits completed, each name shown with debt at 25 March 1715, debt at 8 July 1714, credit at 8 July 1714 and credit at 25 March 1715. Blank columns mean no entry under that head.</p> <p>John Worrall debt at 25 March 1715: £76 5s 3½d debt at 8 July 1714: £103 2s 7½d William Worrall debt at 25 March 1715: £96 12s 11½d debt at 8 July 1714: £67 18s 2½d Ripin Wills debt at 25 March 1715: £14 3s 3¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £36 18s 9¼d William Woodzell credit at 25 March 1715: £1 11s 9¼d Francis Wrangham debt at 25 March 1715: £49 9s 2¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £103 16s 7½d James Wrench debt at 25 March 1715: £19 6s 6¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £24 4s 7¾d James Young debt at 25 March 1715: £27 8s 9¼d debt at 8 July 1714: £27 8s 9¼d John Young debt at 25 March 1715: £1 0s 7½d credit at 8 July 1714: £12 4s 3½d Total debt: £4,725 11s 3½d Total credit: £1,977 18s 1d The Governor produced a letter from Richard Swallow junior, who sought credit at the Honourable Company's stores. The Governor gave his opinion that everyone should be trusted as little as possible, and that idle and disorderly people should not be trusted at all. He held that Richard Swallow junior should therefore</p>

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		<p>Ten pounds that they do within Fourteen days after the Date hereof make proposals to the Governr. about Satisfying</p> <p>Margin Notes: Richd. Swallow Junr. Jno. Crosby not to be Crd. all indebted above 10 lb. to pay.</p>	<p>have no credit at the stores for any goods unless he first brought security. Failing that, the council was content to take any cattle from him at the current price, on the Company's behalf, in payment for such goods as he needed.</p> <p>The council ordered that John Crosby likewise be refused credit at the stores.</p> <p>The council ordered that an advertisement be published requiring every person indebted to the Honourable Company above ten pounds to make proposals to the Governor about clearing the debt within fourteen days of its date.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The leaf closes the abstract entered at the consultation of 31 January 1715/16 with the grand totals, the whole settlement owing £4,725 11s 3½d to the Company against £1,977 18s 1d standing to credit. The Company was a net creditor of its own people by roughly £2,748, a structural imbalance that explains the recovery measures ordered on the same leaf. The two councillor-overseers of the plantations, John and William Worrall, both appear as substantial debtors, William's balance having risen against the general downward trend.</p> <p>The refusal of credit to Richard Swallow junior sets out the working principle of the store-credit system in unusually plain terms. Credit was a privilege withheld from the idle and disorderly, and the Governor offered the cattle-for-goods alternative as a way of supplying a distrusted man without extending him unsecured debt. The arrangement also served the Company's separate aim of building its herd, pursued through the cow-saving order of 7 June 1715, by drawing private cattle into Company hands at the current price.</p> <p>The ten-pound advertisement converts the static abstract into an instrument of collection. By fixing a threshold and a fourteen-day deadline for proposals, the council turned the audited list of debts into a demand for settlement schedules from its larger debtors, the same device already applied case by case to Carne and Mrs Carne through their instalment arrangements. The measure pressed the heaviest debtors on the abstract, names such as Giles Smith, Thomas Southen and Thomas Swallow, toward formal terms of repayment.</p>
228	219	<p>January 1715/16. And paying their Said Debts. The Govr. Says that Whereas he reported the 25. of October Last that he had finished the book of the Laws of this place Copied from the Honble. Compas. Genl. Letters, &c. But that Lately he has found in an Old Book wherein Severl. of the Honble. Compas. Letters are (intermixt with other writing) which he knew not of before. And that in One of those Letters he finds directions to make a path Up the Hill twenty foot broad & therefore hopes the path he is now about of Six & Eight foot wide will not only answer the End wch. be very Usefull, but approved of. Therefore thinks it very proper that That Letter Should be added to the Said book which he will cause to be done as soon as possi ble. Orderd That all the Honble. Companys. Slaves who were Lett Out before Our arrivall be Sent for next Consultation day in Order to their being reviewed & that their present Masters have notice thereof accordingly. The Govr. reports that On Sunday morn ing Last One Joseph Bayley a Soldier hanged himself But One John Knight going to gett a Light to Light his Pipe for Said him hanging & did acquaint the Serjeant of it who broke open the door & Saved his Wife, but brought him to the Govr. before he had well recoverd his Speech. He Orderd him to be carried to the flag Staff & Whipt with fifty Lashes, which Seemd to bring him to himself But afterwards he had the Impudence to Say (Laughing) It Should not Serve turne, for he had promised his Soul to the Devil & the Devil Should have it. And if he died not</p>	<p>The proposals required of the Company's larger debtors were to cover both the settling and the paying of what they owed.</p> <p>The Governor reported on the book of the island's laws and on the Castle path. He had stated on 25 October 1715 that he had finished the book of the laws, copied from the Honourable Company's general letters. He had lately found an old book in which several of the Company's letters were mixed in with other writing, unknown to him before. One of those letters directed that a path be made up the hill 20 feet wide. He hoped the path he was now making, of 6 to 8 feet wide, would serve the purpose and meet with approval. He thought it proper to add that letter to the law book and would have it done as soon as possible.</p> <p>The council ordered that all the Honourable Company's slaves who had been let out before the present government's arrival be sent for on the next consultation day so they could be reviewed, their current masters to have notice accordingly.</p> <p>The Governor reported that on the Sunday morning before, one Joseph Bayley, a soldier, had hanged himself. John Knight, going to fetch a light for his pipe, found him hanging and told the sergeant, who broke open the door and saved his life. Bayley was brought to the Governor before he had fully recovered his speech. The Governor ordered him carried to the flagstaff and whipped with 50 lashes, which seemed to bring him to his senses. Afterwards he had the impudence to say, laughing, that it would not serve their</p>

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		<p>Margin Notes: Govr. Report abt. ye. Laws of ye. place collected. & the Castle path. Blacks Lett out to be Sent for Jos: Bayley hangs himself</p>	<p>turn, for he had promised his soul to the devil and the devil should have it. He added that if he did not die...</p> <p>Interpretations The discovery of directions in an old letter shows how far the island's law was held to rest on the Company's accumulated correspondence rather than on any single code. The Governor's book of laws of 25 October 1715 was a compilation from the general letters, and a stray instruction found later in a misfiled book had the same binding force as the rest. His readiness to add the letter at once reflects the records-repair programme begun under the survey of 29 September 1715, which found many office books decayed and mislabelled.</p> <p>The order to recall the slaves let out before the present government's arrival completes the enquiry directed to Tovey on 26 July 1715 into which of the Company's slaves had been put out, to whom, and whether their terms had expired. The review answered directly to the severe shortage reported in Haswell's plantation survey of 1 November 1715 and the slave muster of 24 January 1715/16, which found only 45 of 108 slaves able-bodied. Recalling hired-out slaves was a way of recovering labour the Company already owned before pressing the directors for fresh supply.</p> <p>The Bayley episode shows the bench treating attempted suicide as a disciplinary and spiritual offence rather than a matter for care. The 50 lashes were administered as correction, the whipping read as having restored the man to his senses. His parting words, framing the act as a bargain with the devil, place the case within the period's understanding of self-destruction as a sin against both the Company's order and the man's own soul.</p>
229	220	<p>Janry. 1715/16. go to him by the head he would Goe to him by the heels, by wch. Wee guess he meant, he would leap from Some Precipice & break his Neck, if he could not hang himself. But Last night the Chaplain went to him & made him Sencable of his fault & he pretends to be very penitent. Refferd the consideration hereof till next Consultation day.</p> <p>Serjt. Southen having discovered that his Son in Law (a boy named Geo: Bagley) had ta ken a Kidd of the Honble. Compas. from their Pound, Likewise it having appeared formerly that Benj. Greentree One of ye. Overseers Servts. had killd Some of the Honble. Compas. Goates under pretence of Wild Goats. as on the 17. of December Last (Vide Cons: of ye. 28.) Whereby the Honble. Compa. were robbed of three Goats at that time & this One at another, tho tis more then probable that twenty are Stolen that does not come to Our knowledge to One that does. And these things are done or pretended to be done by Children.</p> <p>Orderd That the Boy be Whipt at home by his Mother, but on her failure to be Whipt at the Flagg Staff.</p> <p>The Govr. & Council are of Oppinion that no Children Whatsoever ought to have any Goats, & that Since all Goats feed upon the Honble. Compas. Waste Land. It is Resolved, That noe Person be allowed to keep any Flock or part of a Flock of Goats who has not a family or is not a house keeper This being intended to prevent Children from</p> <p>Margin Notes: Serjt. Southen Son in Law Geo: Bagley to be Whipt. None to have Goats yt. have no family.</p>	<p>Bayley had said that if they would not let him go to it by the head, he would go to it by the heels. The council took this to mean that he would leap from some cliff and break his neck if he could not hang himself. The night before, the chaplain had visited him and brought him to a sense of his fault, and he now made a show of penitence. The council deferred the matter to the next consultation day.</p> <p>Sergeant Southen had found that his son-in-law, a boy named George Bagley, had taken a kid of the Honourable Company's from the pound. It had also appeared earlier that Benjamin Greentree, one of the [...] servants, had killed some of the Company's goats under the pretence that they were wild, as on 17 December 1715. The Company had thus been robbed of three goats at that time and of this one at another. The council held it more than probable that twenty were stolen without coming to its knowledge for every one that did, and that such things were done, or said to be done, by children.</p> <p>The council ordered that the boy be whipped at home by his mother, and, if she failed to do it, that he be whipped at the flagstaff.</p> <p>The Governor and council were of the opinion that no children at all should keep any goats, since all goats fed upon the Honourable Company's waste land.</p> <p>The council resolved that no person be allowed to keep a flock or any part of a flock of goats who did not have a family or was not a householder. This was intended to prevent children from...</p> <p>Interpretations The goat rule turns a string of petty thefts into a question of property in the island's commons. Because all goats grazed on the Company's waste land, the council treated unmarked and ill-kept flocks as a standing drain on Company resources, the same principle behind the ruling of 20 December 1715 that all wild and unmarked goats were the Company's. Restricting flocks to householders with families tied the privilege of grazing to settled, accountable persons and</p>

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			<p>stripped it from children, who could neither be sued nor easily disciplined.</p> <p>The Greentree case shows how the goat-marking regime exposed earlier killings once records were kept. The killing of 17 December 1715 under cover of taking wild goats fits the pattern that brought Greentree before the bench across 1715, including his fine for unlicensed arrack retailing on 27 September 1715. The bench's estimate that twenty thefts went undetected for every one discovered reveals its own sense of how leaky the pound and marking system still was, despite the deliveries of marked goats reported in February 1715.</p> <p>The split penalty on George Bagley, whipping at home by the mother failing which at the flagstaff, marks a deliberate calibration of punishment to the offender's age and household. The bench preferred domestic correction for a child and reserved the public sanction of the flagstaff as a fallback, the same graduated approach it had used for adults across the records.</p>
230	221	<p>January 1715/16. From keeping Goats, Yet notwithstanding when any Such Child shall come to be a house keeper & have a family then upon Application to the Govr. & Council he Shall be permitted to have a Stock of Goats & not otherwise Orderd That there be Publick notice given hereof (by Advertizement.) The following Petition was Presented Island St Helena To the Worshl: Isaac Pyke Esqr. & Govr. &c. Council. The most humble Petition of Thos. Southen Serjt. Humbly Sheweth Whereas Your Petitioner did some time Since purchase the house in Southwarke Street formerly Maxwells Orphans with the consent & approbation of the Executors & rest of the Orphans then of Age & has Likewise paid for the Same (Vizt) Ten pounds for the Use of Eliz: Maxwell One of the Orphans & twenty pounds more (being Ten pounds each) to the other Two Orphans (now Wives to Messr. Tovey & Alexander) who acknowledge the Receipt of the Same: Never having a Deed Signed but only a Receipt for the mony. Humbly Prays the Said bargain may be Registred & Likewise a Deed of Sale for a peice of Grounded joyning to the Said house, purchased of Mary Conway Widow And yor. Petition (as in duty bound) Shall ever pray. (Signd) Thomas Southen Granted. The following Advertizement was published (Vizt) Island St Helena. Margin Notes: Serjt. Southen. request to Registe. a purchase of a house bought of Maxwell Orph: & Land adjoining 2/ of Wid: Conway.</p>	<p>Bayley had said that if they would not let him go to it by the head, he would go to it by the heels. The council took this to mean that he would leap from some cliff and break his neck if he could not hang himself. The night before, the chaplain had visited him and brought him to a sense of his fault, and he now made a show of penitence. The council deferred the matter to the next consultation day.</p> <p>Sergeant Southen had found that his son-in-law, a boy named George Bagley, had taken a kid of the Honourable Company's from the pound. It had also appeared earlier that Benjamin Greentree, one of the [...] servants, had killed some of the Company's goats under the pretence that they were wild, as on 17 December 1715. The Company had thus been robbed of three goats at that time and of this one at another. The council held it more than probable that twenty were stolen without coming to its knowledge for every one that did, and that such things were done, or said to be done, by children.</p> <p>The council ordered that the boy be whipped at home by his mother, and, if she failed to do it, that he be whipped at the flagstaff.</p> <p>The Governor and council were of the opinion that no children at all should keep any goats, since all goats fed upon the Honourable Company's waste land.</p> <p>The council resolved that no person be allowed to keep a flock or any part of a flock of goats who did not have a family or was not a householder. This was intended to prevent children from...</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The goat rule turns a string of petty thefts into a question of property in the island's commons. Because all goats grazed on the Company's waste land, the council treated unmarked and ill-kept flocks as a standing drain on Company resources, the same principle behind the ruling of 20 December 1715 that all wild and unmarked goats were the Company's. Restricting flocks to householders with families tied the privilege of grazing to settled, accountable persons and stripped it from children, who could neither be sued nor easily disciplined.</p> <p>The Greentree case shows how the goat-marking regime exposed earlier killings once records were kept. The killing of 17 December 1715 under cover of taking wild goats fits the pattern that brought Greentree before the bench across 1715, including his fine for unlicensed arrack retailing on 27 September 1715. The bench's estimate that twenty thefts went undetected for every one discovered reveals its own sense of how leaky the pound and marking system still was, despite the deliveries of marked goats reported in February 1715.</p> <p>The split penalty on George Bagley, whipping at home by the mother failing which at the flagstaff, marks a deliberate calibration of punishment to the offender's</p>

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			age and household. The bench preferred domestic correction for a child and reserved the public sanction of the flagstaff as a fallback, the same graduated approach it had used for adults across the records.
231	222	<p>January 1715/16. Island St Helena. By the Governr. & Council An Advertizement. These are to give notice to all Persons that Owe above Ten Pounds to the Honble. Compa. That they doe Speedily pay in the Same. Or that they doe Upon this Third (& Last notice) or within Fourteen days at fur thest after the Date hereof repair to the Governr. & make their Several Proposals how they will Satisfy & pay their Debts. Signd by Order of Governr. & Counc: at Union Castle in James Valley this 31. Janry. 1715/16 (Signd) Antipas Tovey Secr.</p> <p>The following Petition was Presented (Vizt) To the Worshl: Isa: Pyke Esqr. Govr. &c. Council The most humble Petition of Robt. Bell, planter & Mason Most humbly Sheweth, That Whereas unknown to ye. petr. & contrary to his will his Wife Sarah Bell did Lately refuse to take ye. Honble. Compas. Cash Notes whon yor. petr. throws he has got his bread by their Service & been Credited 200 which being now called in Yor. Petr. humbly prays yor. Worshl. & Counc: to be So favourable as to Lett the Bond for ye. Sum continue (a good fond whereby hopes now to discharge it) untill he is better able to pay ye. whole, otherwise must be Oblaged to pay Ten pound at present to first Rider who got not old and (he is in continual frequent of ye. Bonds) by other Petition Should be Trashned on their debt had refusd. ye. Honble. Compa. Should by ye. Governr. then any friende person. Which leave to yor. Worshl. (& other consideracions, & yor. petr. in duty bound Shall ever pray &c</p> <p>Robt. Bell makes Oath yt. he has borrowed Sd. of Jam: Rider ye. Sd. Capt. Bell this Acct. in the Stores & hath given him a Bond to pay Interest. Wth. proser. Hint 10 ʒ Ct.</p> <p>Order. That James Rider if Wee be Set down & acquainted that by Act of Parliamt. he hath forfeited his Sum of ye. for ye. extorhonate & exacting and Unlawfull Usury. Upon Robt. Bells Submission. Orderd That he be for this time excused on paying a Fine of Five pounds for his Wives misdemeanor But that James Rider be not So Excused.</p> <p>Antipas Tovey Margin Notes: Island St Helena. Most humbly Sheweth 200 lb. owd. to ye. H. C. to borrow mony. not a fond Granted Heart for Wm. Rider ye. Bond. may. Sue. Setting on ye. Stores Crpkr. Robt. Bell. Jam: Rider went. Sum.</p>	<p>By the Governor and council, an advertisement was published. It gave notice to all persons owing the Honourable Company above £10 0s 0d that they should pay in the sum without delay. Failing that, they were required, on this third and last notice or within 14 days of its date at the latest, to come to the Governor and make their proposals for satisfying and paying their debts. It was signed by order of the Governor and council at Union Castle in James Valley on 31 January 1715/16 by Antipas Tovey, secretary.</p> <p>The following petition was then presented, headed Island of St Helena and addressed to the Worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>Robert Bell, planter and mason, set out that his wife Sarah Bell had lately refused to take the Honourable Company's paper notes, without his knowledge and against his will. He had earned his living by the Company's service and had been credited £200 0s 0d, now called in. He asked the council to allow the bond for the sum to continue until he was better able to discharge the whole. Otherwise he would be obliged to pay £10 0s 0d at present to James Rider, who had [...] and lent the money [...] on his bonds, charging him interest [...].</p> <p>The council ordered that James Rider, if it were proved that he had lent at unlawful interest, had forfeited his claim under the act of Parliament against usury. On Robert Bell's submission, the council ordered that he be excused this time on paying a fine of £5 0s 0d for his wife's offence, but that James Rider not be excused. The order was signed by Antipas Tovey.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The advertisement turns the abstract of debts entered on 31 January 1715/16 into a public demand for settlement. By styling it the third and last notice and fixing a 14-day deadline, the council moved from recording debts to compelling proposals from its larger debtors, the same recovery measure resolved in the consultation of the same day. The single instrument addressed every inhabitant owing above £10 0s 0d at once, sparing the bench the labour of pursuing each separately.</p> <p>The Bell case shows the Company enforcing its paper currency as a test of loyalty rather than a mere convenience. Sarah Bell's refusal of the notes for washing done aboard the Kent struck at the credit of the new cash issue, whose par value rested on the Governor's personal undertaking of 22 March 1715 to redeem it in silver. The fine of £5 0s 0d on the husband for the wife's refusal placed the household's legal liability on the man, consistent with the period's rule that a married woman's acts bound her husband, while marking the bench's determination that the notes be taken at face value.</p> <p>The handling of James Rider exposes the council acting against private lending at interest under the usury statutes. The bench distinguished sharply between Bell, excused on submission, and Rider, denied any indulgence, treating the lender's unlawful interest as forfeiting his whole claim. The ruling shows the council policing the credit market among inhabitants and protecting a debtor pressed by a moneylender while it pursued its own debts through the public advertisement.</p>
232	223	<p>Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 7th. day of February 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley.</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday the [...] day of February 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p>

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		<p>Prest Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Depty. Matthew Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4th. & Edw: Byfeld 5th. in Councill.</p> <p>The foll: Petition was Presented (Vizt)</p> <p>To the Worshl: Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. & Councill</p> <p>The humble Petition of Wm. Slaughter Senr. Most humbly Sheweth, That Whereas yor. petition having been at a conyderable Los by his black Wenchs being so long in Irons by reason he is forst to keep another Black whose whole employment is to Supply his family with provisions & Wood, which otherwise would have worked at the Honble. Compans. Fortifications thereby to have Lessened his Debt.</p> <p>Therefore yor. Petition humbly begs your Worshl. & Councill will take it into your Serious con sideration & that her Irons may be taken off. & yor. petr. (as in duty bound) shall ever pray &c (Signd) Wm. Slaughter. St Helena. Feb: 7. 1715/16</p> <p>Orderd. That to morrow the Year being Expired her Irons be taken off. (NB.) She was convicted at Our Sessions on Monday ye. 7. Febr. Last 1714/15 for Felony, and Burglary & then Whipt & Orderd into Irons.</p> <p>John Bagley (his Wife) brought Ellen a black Girl of the Honble. Compa. Aged about Ten or Eleven Years, (according to Sumons) Lett out abt. Seven Years Since, who being fitt to do the Honble. Compas. Service Orderd she he have the Said Girl, One month</p> <p>Margin Notes:</p> <p>Slaughters black to have her Irons taken off</p> <p>Wenchs back ꝑ Irons.</p> <p>Most humbly Sheweth</p> <p>St Helena. Feb: 7. 1715/16</p> <p>Granted.</p> <p>H. Compas. Young Slaves taken againe</p>	<p>The following petition was presented, headed Island of St Helena and addressed to the Worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>William Slaughter set out that he had suffered a considerable loss through his black wench being kept in irons. By that confinement he was forced to keep another slave, whose whole employment was to supply his family with provisions and wood, work that would otherwise have been done at the Honourable Company's fortifications, so that his debt had been lessened. He therefore asked the council to take the matter into consideration and to have the irons taken off. The petition was signed by William Slaughter.</p> <p>The council granted the request, ordering that the irons be taken off the next day, the year of her sentence being then expired. She had been convicted at the court held on Monday 7 February 1714/15 for felony and burglary, and had then been whipped and ordered into irons.</p> <p>John Bagley and his wife had brought Ellen, a black girl of the Honourable Company's aged about ten or eleven years, who had been let out about seven years before, as recorded in the consultations, and who was now fit for the Company's service. The council ordered that they keep the girl one [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Slaughter petition turns a disciplinary sentence into an economic argument about labour and debt. The black woman's year in irons removed her from productive work, forcing Slaughter to divert a second slave to domestic supply rather than to the Company's fortifications, where her labour would have reduced his standing debt. The case shows how the Company set off a planter's debt against slave labour at the fortifications, so that confinement of one slave had a direct accounting cost to the Company itself.</p> <p>The handling of Ellen completes the recall of hired-out slaves ordered on the previous consultation day and rooted in the enquiry directed to Tovey on 26 July 1715. The girl had been let out about seven years earlier, and the expiry of her term, with her now being fit for service, brought her back to the Company at the very moment the slave muster of 24 January 1715/16 had found only 45 of 108 slaves able-bodied. Recovering a child raised in a private household was a way of replenishing the Company's depleted labour force from stock it already owned.</p>
233	224	<p>February 1715/16.</p> <p>month Longer & then he be deliverd to Mr. W. Worrall ye. H. Compas. Overseer.</p> <p>John Robinson (according to his Sumons) brought down a Boy named Harry, (belonging to the H. Compa.) Aged abt. 11 Years who being fitt to do ye. H. Compas. Service & he having had him almost five Years</p> <p>Orderd That he deliver the said Boy presently to Mr. Worrall.</p> <p>The Chaplain has a Man named Will Aged about 18 Years, who claims the Priviledge of a Man Servant as he saith all his Prede cessors have had & Sayes he had this fellow upon the 8. Nov: 1709 wch. is Upwards of Six Years agoe & Sayes he has taken a great deale of Pains to bring him Up, & now cant do without him for a Boy (wch. Wee would have him take) is not fitt for his business. Wee lookt over the former Consultn. books & do find that on Tuesday the 8. of Novr. 1709. the foll: Entry was made by Govr. Roberts & the then Council. (Vizt)</p> <p>The Govr. having ever Since the 25. March, 1708. allowed the Minister Mr. Thomlinson a Servt. & Soldiers pay for him, desires the H. Compa. to continue it So for that his behaviour deserves the best encouragement.</p> <p>Wee finding no mention made thereof or Answer to the Same in any of the H. Compas. Genl. Letters, have therefore been the more particular in this Account</p>	<p>The girl was to remain a month longer and then be delivered to William Worrall, the Honourable Company's overseer.</p> <p>John Robinson, in answer to his summons, brought down a boy named Harry, belonging to the Honourable Company, aged about eleven years and now fit for the Company's service. Robinson had kept him almost five years. The council ordered that he deliver the boy at once to Worrall.</p> <p>The chaplain kept a man named Will, aged about eighteen years, whom he claimed as a manservant. He said that all his predecessors had been allowed such a servant, that he had had Will since 8 November 1709, upwards of six years before, and that he had taken great pains to bring him up. He did not want to lose him for a boy, which he thought unfit for his work. The council looked over the earlier consultation books and found that the first entry had been made by Governor Roberts and the council of that time on Tuesday 8 November 1709.</p> <p>The Governor noted that he had, ever since 25 March 1708, allowed the minister Mr Thomlinson a servant and a soldier's pay for him, and wished the Company to continue the arrangement, since his good conduct deserved the best encouragement.</p> <p>The council found no mention of the matter, nor any answer to it, in any of the Company's general letters.</p>

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		<p>because of Our great wants of Servants & he being a Lusty fellow would be Usefull to Us. Orderd.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Robinsons Boy del:d Servt. of Chaplin.</p>	<p>It had therefore set the account out at greater length because of the great shortage of servants, the man being a strong, able fellow who would be very useful. The council then ordered [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The chaplain's claim rests on custom and continuity rather than written grant. With no provision in any of the Company's general letters, the bench fell back on the earlier consultation books and confirmed the entry by Governor Roberts and his council of 8 November 1709 as the foundation of the right. The case shows how an established practice, once recorded in the council books, acquired the force of an entitlement that a later administration felt bound to weigh seriously.</p> <p>The recall of the boys Harry and Ellen ties this entry to the labour drive begun on the previous consultation day and to the enquiry directed to Tovey on 26 July 1715. Both children had been let out for years and were reclaimed the moment they were judged fit for service, the timing answering directly to the slave muster of 24 January 1715/16, which found only 45 of 108 slaves able-bodied. The bench was systematically gathering its scattered young labour back to the overseer Worrall as the able workforce ran short.</p> <p>Speculations The council's unusually full record of the chaplain's servant was a deliberate hedge against the absence of any written authority. Faced with a claim resting only on custom and a single consultation entry of 8 November 1709, and finding nothing in the Company's general letters to confirm or deny it, the bench set the matter out at length so that the directors could rule on it later. The fullness of the account was a substitute for the missing instruction, framed by the ocrpa want of servants so that London would read the local decision in the light of the labour shortage.</p>
234	225	<p>Febr. 1715/16. Orderd. That the Chaplain & Joshua Thom linson being unwilling to part with him he be not taken away untill the Honble. Compas. pleasure be known. NB. he has Seven Men Slaves of his Own for whom the H. Compa. pay him constantly 18d. ʒ Day, each Slave, which is 3/ ʒ Week. Capt. Bazett having been to view all the Honble. Compas. Plantations made the following report. (Vizt) The Hutts Plantation is so over run with Weeds yt. if there is not a Speedy remedy by getting hands to Weed the same will lose the benefit of the Prime Season wee expect daily this present Month, & the two following, Therefore he thinks it very necessary to Use ye. Utmost care (to gett hands) to effect the same imediatly & he thinks it also to be very proper to dig the Gutt of Yams next to Ripin Wills to fill Up what dry ground it will be capable to Supply, & those Suckers that cannot be planted in the dry ground to be planted in ye. Gutt being now the only proper Season for it. Luffkins plantation is almost in the same want of Weeding as the Hutts, there will be wanting abundance of Suckers to fill up the Same. The Peak Plantation is in very good Order & pretty cleare of Weeds Coles Gutt I think is not worth the Planting & will be but Labour lost & Suckers thrown away if planted againe it being over run with Wire grass that Spoiles all plantations; the Soil being also worne Out. Pertina Margin Notes: Capt. Bazetts report. abt. ye. H. Compas. Plantats. (Vizt) Hutts. Luffkins. Peak Coles Gutt.</p>	<p>The council ordered that, the chaplain and Joshua Thomlinson being unwilling to part with him, Will not be taken away until the Honourable Company's pleasure was known. Thomlinson kept seven men slaves of his own, for whom the Company paid him constantly £0 1s 6d a day for each slave, which came to 3s 0d a week. Captain Bazett, having been to view all the Honourable Company's plantations, made the following report. The Hutts plantation was so overrun with weeds that, without a speedy remedy by getting hands to weed it, the benefit of the prime season would be lost. That season was expected daily, through the present month and the two following. He thought it most necessary to use the utmost care in getting hands to weed it at once. He also thought it proper to dig the gut of yams next to Ripin Wills's, to fill up whatever dry ground it could supply, and to plant there the suckers that could not be set in the dry ground, the present being the only proper season for it. Luffkins plantation was almost as much in want of weeding as the Hutts, and a great many suckers would be needed to fill it up. The Peak plantation was in very good order and fairly clear of weeds. Coles Gut was, in his view, not worth planting. It would be only labour lost and suckers thrown away to plant it again, since it was overrun with wire grass that spoiled all plantations, and the soil was also worn out. The report continued [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The slave-hire rate fixes the price the Company paid private holders for labour it did not own. Thomlinson received £0 1s 6d a day for each of his seven men, the standard planter slave-hire rate seen across the records, so the Company met its labour shortage partly by renting slaves from inhabitants rather than only by recalling its own. The arrangement sat</p>

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			<p>alongside the recall of hired-out Company slaves pressed on the previous consultation days, the two policies together answering the want of hands set out in the muster of 24 January 1715/16.</p> <p>Bazett's survey reads as a working classification of the plantations by their yield potential, not a uniform inventory. The Hutts and Lufkins were judged recoverable if weeded in the prime season, the Peak was sound, and Coles Gut was written off as exhausted ground choked with wire grass. The report gave the bench the evidence to concentrate its scarce labour where it would pay and to abandon land where further effort would be wasted.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The timing of the survey was calculated to force an immediate labour decision before the prime season passed. Bazett pressed that the benefit of the season would be lost within the present month and the two following unless hands were got at once, turning a routine inspection into an argument for urgent reallocation of weeders. By pairing the digging of the yam gut next to Ripin Wills's land with the replanting of surplus suckers in the same window, he proposed a single coordinated operation that used the one narrow planting season to both harvest and restock.</p>
235	226	<p>February 1715/16.</p> <p>Perkins Plantation is in very good Order and the only Plantation at Present that will maintain it Self, & may be improved.</p> <p>Feaddals plantation is in very good Order & will fill the ground againe it Self, Yams being now fitt to dig.</p> <p>Orderd. That the Overseers Sett all the Honble. Compas. Blacks at Once together to weed the Hutts plantation & when that is done that ye. they goe to the next plantation (altogether) & so all round. And Orderd also that they endeavour to plant 30 or 40 Thousand more Yams at Perkins</p> <p>But that the Yams & Suckers in Coles Gutt be be Dugg Out, & the ground thrown Up for some time. And the Overseer is permitted to hire what hands they want to Assist the H. Compas. Blacks & to farther the Dispatch. & the Overseers being Sent for & acquainted with this Order are to begin to morrow.</p> <p>Mr. Wm. Worrall the H. Compas. Overseer brought in the foll: Acct. (Vizt)</p> <p>An Acct. of the Honble. Compas. Neat Cattle, Sheep Hoggs, Goats, &c. taken Feb: 7th. 1715/16.</p> <p>Cows 71 Bulls 10 Bullocks 31 Heifer 1 Yearlings 44 Calves 31 188</p> <p>Killd Since last acct: Bullock 1 Bull 1 2</p> <p>Increased Since Last Accounts. Calves 16 Hoggs 151</p> <p>Margin Notes: Perkins. Feaddals. Overseers planta: acct.</p>	<p>Perkins plantation was in very good order, and at present the only plantation that would maintain itself and might be improved.</p> <p>Teasdale's plantation was in very good order and would refill the ground by itself, the yams being now fit to dig.</p> <p>The council ordered the overseers to set all the Honourable Company's slaves to work together at once, to weed the Hutts plantation, and, once that was done, to move on all together to the next plantation and so go round. It also ordered them to try to plant 30,000 or 40,000 more yams at Perkins's.</p> <p>The yams and suckers in Coles Gut were to be dug out and the ground left fallow for a time. The overseer was allowed to hire whatever hands he needed to help the Company's slaves and speed the work. The overseers, having been sent for and told of this order, were to begin the next day.</p> <p>William Worrall, the Honourable Company's overseer, brought in the following account.</p> <p>An account of the Honourable Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and the rest, taken on 7 February 1715/16:</p> <p>Cows 71 Bulls 10 Bullocks 31 Heifer 1 Yearlings 44 Calves 31 Total 188</p> <p>Killed since the last account: Bullock 1 Bull 1 Total 2</p> <p>Increased since the last account: Calves 16 Hogs 151</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The herd return measures the progress of the cow-saving order made on 7 June 1715 under the Company's general letter, which forbade killing any cow, heifer or calf until after 20 July 1716. With only a bullock and a bull killed against sixteen calves born, the cattle account shows the herd-building policy holding, the same recovery from the famine losses tracked in the Worrall stock account of 18 June 1715. The bench used the monthly return as a running check that the killing ban was being observed and the stock allowed to grow.</p>

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			<p>The order to mass all the slaves on one plantation at a time marks a shift from dispersed to concentrated labour. Rather than spreading a thin and ailing workforce across every plantation, the bench drove the whole gang through the estates in turn, beginning with the worst-choked ground at the Hutts. The decision rests directly on Bazett's survey, which had graded the plantations by need, and on the labour shortage set out in the muster of 24 January 1715/16.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The bench paired its own concentrated slave gang with hired hands as a calculated response to a fixed seasonal deadline. Knowing from Bazett's report that the prime season would pass within three months, it chose to mass the Company's slaves for sequential weeding while authorising the overseer to buy in extra labour to keep pace. The writing-off of Coles Gut at the same time freed effort from exhausted ground, so that scarce labour, owned and hired alike, was steered only toward plantations that could still repay it.</p>
236	227	<p>Febr. 1715/16. Hoggs great & Small 151 Sows 30 Barrows 23 Boars 4 Shoats 35 Pigs 59 151 Killd Since last acct: & Dead. Barrows 9 Dead 5 None Increased Since last account. Goates 168 4 Ewes 57 Wethers 37 Ram Kidds 36 Ewe Kidds 3 Rams Killd Since last acct. 18 Increased Since last Account 18 Great & Small 301 Sheep 44 Ewes 22 Wethers 1 Ram 1 Lamb 68 great & Small Killd Since last acct. 2 Wethers Increased Since Last acct. 1 Lamb Geese 29 Increased None Turkeys 81 Killd Since last acct. 3 Ducks 12 Dunghill fowls 5 Dozen Asses 7 of the Male 4 of the female Kind 11 (Signd) Wm. Worrall Mr. French the Gunner brought in his Monthly account as foll: (Vizt) St Helena. An Acct. of Gunners Stores Expended in the month of January 1715/16. (Vizt) Falcon Powder Janry. 5 To Lucas Mason 1 lb 6 Capt. Haswell 1 20 Sailed the Kent (a Law: Minter for England) 2 26 Mr. Tovey 2 The Guard 1 Carried over Margin Notes: Guns. Expencc for 1 Months St Helena.</p>	<p>Understood. From now on, whenever you make a correction I will reissue the full corrected version of the affected rewritten text, including the Interpretations and Speculations, with the change worked in and no commentary. Here is the full corrected rewrite of the 7 February 1715/16 stock page.</p> <p>The account of the Honourable Company's stock taken on 7 February 1715/16 continued.</p> <p>Hogs, great and small 151 Sows 30 Barrows 13 Boars 4 Shoats 35 Pigs 59 Total 151 Killed since the last account and dead: Barrows 9 Dead 5 Increased since the last account: none Goats 168 Ewes 4 Wethers 57 Ram kids 37 Ewe kids 36 Rams 3 Total, great and small 301 Killed since the last account: 18 Increased since the last account: 18 Sheep 44 Ewes 22 Wethers, ram and lamb, great and small 68 Ram 1 Lamb 1 Killed since the last account: Wethers 2 Increased since the last account: Lamb 1 Geese 29 increased: none Turkeys 81 killed since the last account: 3 Ducks 12 Dunghill fowls 5 dozen Asses, of the male kind 7 Of the female kind 4 Total 11 The account was signed by William Worrall. Mr French the gunner brought in his monthly account, headed Island of St Helena, an account of the gunner's stores expended in the month of January 1715/16, the quantities reckoned in falcon powder by the pound. 5 January to Lucas Mason 1 pound 6 January to Captain Haswell 1 pound 20 January on the sailing of the Kent, the [...] master bound for England 2 pounds 2 [...]</p>

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			<p>26 January to Mr Tovey [...] to the Guard [...] The account was carried over.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The return is best read against Worrall's previous monthly account of 10 January 1715/16, which the bench used as its baseline. Neat cattle rose over the four weeks from 163 to 188, an increase of 25 head against only two beasts killed, the gain driven by the sixteen calves born and consistent with the herd-building required by the cow-saving order of 7 June 1715. The cattle line shows the killing ban holding and the stock recovering from the famine losses tracked in the Worrall stock account of 18 June 1715.</p> <p>The hogs moved the other way, falling from 165 to 151, a net loss of fourteen with nine barrows killed and five dead and no increase recorded. The mortality continues the run of hog deaths that had carried off 50 pigs to the Pant in the 10 January 1715/16 return and that prompted the disease enquiry of 30 August 1715, when the planters' remedies of brine and milk were reported. The hogs remained the one herd the bench could not bring into growth.</p> <p>The goats stood almost still, rising only from 298 to 301, the eighteen killed exactly offsetting the eighteen bred, a deliberate steady state rather than a drawdown. Sheep, by contrast, fell from 67 to 44, a drop of 23 that the return's own figures of two wethers killed and one lamb born do not account for, so the gap between the totals and the stated movement is a point the bench would have needed to query. Turkeys eased from 84 to 81, geese held at 29 and ducks at 12.</p> <p>The whole document functions as a running balance sheet rather than a simple headcount. Each species is set out by breeding category with its losses and its increase since the last account, so the bench could see at a glance which stock was growing and which was being drawn down, and could match the monthly totals against the figures of the month before.</p> <p>The gunner's powder account treats gunpowder as a controlled store issued by warrant and entered by recipient and date. Powder spent in salutes, such as the rounds fired on the sailing of the Kent, sat in the same ledger as small issues to named officers, so that every pound expended could be accounted to the Company. The Kent had arrived on 28 December 1715, and its departure salute marks the customary exchange of honours that the bench enforced strictly, as it had with the French ships of early 1715.</p>
237	228	<p>Febr. 1715/16. Brought Ovr. 9 / 20 Janry. 29 Muskett Balls No. to Mr. Tovey 4 Do. to ye. Garrison 1 Cartridge paper No. to Lucas Mason 2½ Do. to the Guard 3 Flints No. to the Armourer 28 Ramers. Rodds No. Do. 8 Trucks No. to Jno. Bagley Junr. 1 Watch Expended ꝑ ye. Guard No. 24 24 (Signd) Jno. French 24 / 1 / 8 / 28 / 5 / 2½ / 10 / 20 The Acct: of the last Months Expence is as foll: (Vizt) An Expence of Gunners Stores for the Month of Decemr. 1715. Falcon Powder Decr. 1 Saild ye. St George Capt. Ryan for England 12 An Alarm 4 / 4 Do. Arrivd ye. Cardigan Capt. Grainger from India 7 / 7 22 Deliverd to Wm. Worrall 1 Do. for the Burying of Walter Douglass 1 23 for ye. Burying of Robt. Eyers 1 27 Saild the Cardigan for England 11 / 11 28 An Alarm 4 / 4 Do. Arrivd the Kent Capt: Minter from India 9 / 9</p>	<p>The gunner's account of stores expended in January 1715/16 continued, brought over at falcon powder 9 pounds, balls 20.</p> <p>29 January musket balls delivered to Mr Tovey 4 musket balls to the Garrison 1 cartridge paper to Lucas Mason 2½ cartridge paper to the Guard 3 flints delivered to the Armourer 28 ramrods delivered to the Armourer 8 trucks to John Bagley junior 1 match expended for the Guard 24</p> <p>The account was signed by John French, with the totals: falcon powder 24 pounds, [...] 1, cartridge paper 8, flints 28, ramrods 5, [...] 2½, trucks 10, balls 20.</p> <p>The account of the last month's expense followed, an account of the gunner's stores expended in the month of December 1715, the powder reckoned in falcon powder by the pound.</p> <p>1 December on the sailing of the St George, Captain Ryan, for England [...] 12 December an alarm 4 pounds 4 [...] on the arrival of the Cardigan, Captain Grainger, from India 7 pounds 7 [...] 22 December delivered to William Worrall 1 for the burying of Walter Douglas 1</p>

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		<p>Do. for ye. Gentlemen coming on Shoar from ye. Kent 7 / 7 Powder for the Guards use 7 Muskett Balls for the Guard 3 Cartridge Paper No. to Lucas Mason 4 Do. to Henry Rawlins 1 5 / 3 / 49 / 59</p>	<p>23 December for the burying of Robert Eyers 1 27 December on the sailing of the Cardigan for England 11 pounds 11 [...] 28 December an alarm 4 pounds 4 [...] on the arrival of the Kent, Captain Minter, from India 9 pounds 9 [...] for the gentlemen coming ashore from the Kent 7 pounds 7 [...] powder for the Guards' use 7 musket balls for the Guard 3 cartridge paper delivered to Lucas Mason 4 cartridge paper to Henry Rawlins 1 Total: 5 [...], cartridge paper 3, balls 49, [...] 59.</p> <p>Interpretations The two monthly accounts together show gunpowder serving as the island's chief medium of ceremony as well as defence. The heaviest single charges fall on ship movements, the salutes on the arrival and departure of the St George, the Cardigan and the Kent each costing seven to eleven pounds of powder, far more than the small issues to officers or the Guard. The gunner booked these salutes as a recurring and substantial cost, the price of the customary exchange of honours the bench enforced on every Company ship and that it had withheld from the French St Lewis in February 1715 until proper form was observed.</p> <p>The account doubles as an incidental register of events at the fort. Powder is entered against two alarms, against the burials of Walter Douglas and Robert Eyers, and against the comings and goings of named ships and officers, so the ledger records deaths, false alarms and shipping alongside the stores expended. The dates confirm the Cardigan in the road and sailing on 27 December 1715 and the Kent arriving on 28 December 1715, the powder spent on the gentlemen coming ashore marking the reception of the Kent's passengers.</p> <p>The spread of issues to individual planters, Lucas Mason, Henry Rawlins, John Bagley junior and Mr Tovey, shows the gunner's stores supplying the inhabitants' own arms and not only the garrison. Cartridge paper, balls, flints and ramrods passed from the Company's magazine to named freemen, so the fort acted as the central armoury for a settlement expected to muster in its own defence.</p>
238	229	<p>February 1715/16. 5 / 3 / 49 / 59 Do. Expended on the Guard 4 Axell trees No. to Jno. Aldrick 7 Do. Trucks 1 Spunge Heads Expended 1 Ramer Heads 1 Spunge Staves 1 Flints 48 Match 28 28 / 48 / 1 / 1 / 1 / 7 / 9 / 3 / 49 / 59 (Signd) Jno. French Mr. Tovey desired the Store Books might be brought into the Secretarys Office According to the Honble. Companys. Orders Capt. Haswell Sayes that they have not done with the Last books but Some of the Old ones that are not in use now, Shall be Sent in tomoroco and the rest as Soon as Possible James Rider having Extorsed from Robert Bell Ten pounds ʒ Cent not for Interest for money but for Allowing his Credit to be transferred in the Stores to Bells Acct. in Order to Support him in his Contempt of the new Credit in refusing to take the bank bills in paymt. The Case is as follows Some of the Passengers were to pay fourteen Pound for washing of Cloths to Bells wife and wanting mony procured Some bills from our Treasury and offered to her Ten pound in bills and four Pound in mony but She refused it, When they offered her five pound in bills &</p>	<p>The gunner's account of stores expended in December 1715 continued, brought over: 5 [...], cartridge paper 3, balls 49, [...] 59. expended on the Guard 4 axletrees delivered to John Addrick 7 trucks delivered to John Addrick 1 sponge heads expended 1 rammer heads 1 sponge staves 1 flints 48 match 28 The account was signed by John French, with the totals: 28, 48, 1, 1, 1, 7, 9, 3, 49, 59. Mr Tovey asked that the store books be brought into the Secretary's office in line with the Honourable Company's orders. Captain Haswell said that the latest books had not been finished, but that some of the old ones no longer in use would be sent in at once and the rest as soon as possible. The council took up the case of James Rider, who had extorted £10 0s 0d from Robert Bell. The sum was taken not as interest for money lent but for allowing Bell's credit at the stores to be transferred to Bell's account, so as to support him in his refusal to take the new bank bills in payment. The facts were set out as follows. Some of the passengers were to pay £14 0s 0d for the washing of clothes to Bell's wife. Being short of ready money, they obtained some bills from the</p>

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		<p>Nine pound in money but She would not have neaught but mony Alleging that if She took</p> <p>Margin Notes: Store books demd. not done. yet. Jam: Rider Userer. the Case.</p>	<p>Company's treasury and offered her £10 0s 0d in bills and £4 0s 0d in money, which she refused. They then offered her £5 0s 0d in bills and £9 0s 0d in money, but she would have nothing but money, saying that if she took [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Rider case turns on a distinction the bench drew with care, between interest on a loan and a charge for transferring store credit. Rider had taken £10 0s 0d from Bell not for lending money but as the price of moving Bell's credit at the stores onto Bell's own account, the device that let Bell hold out against the new paper currency. By naming the charge precisely, the council treated it as a fee extracted to frustrate the bank bills rather than as ordinary usury, which sharpened the offence into resistance to the Company's currency itself.</p> <p>The washing dispute exposes the practical limits of the paper notes issued on 15 March 1715 and backed by the Governor's personal undertaking of 22 March 1715 to redeem them in silver. Sarah Bell's flat refusal of any mixture of bills, even when offered the larger part in coin, shows the inhabitants discounting the notes against hard money in daily dealings despite the official par value. The episode is the concrete instance behind the bench's finding against the Bells on 24 January 1715/16 and the fine of £5 0s 0d laid on Robert Bell for his wife's refusal.</p> <p>Tovey's demand for the store books continues the records-discipline drive running through the administration. The order to bring the books into the Secretary's office answered the standing requirement that the stores be properly accounted, while Haswell's reply, that the current books were unfinished but the disused old ones would be sent in, repeats the established position that the proper deadline fell six months after 25 March.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The bench appears to have built its case against Rider by reconstructing the washing transaction in forensic detail precisely because the charge was disguised as something lawful. Setting out the passengers' successive offers, £10 0s 0d in bills with £4 0s 0d in coin, then £5 0s 0d in bills with £9 0s 0d in coin, established that Sarah Bell's resistance to the notes was deliberate and that Rider's fee was tied to sustaining it. The careful record was the evidence needed to punish a money dealing that, framed as a credit transfer rather than a loan, would otherwise have escaped the usury law.</p>
239	230	<p>February 1715/16.</p> <p>took these Bills She must lay them out in the Stores but She would have money that She might buy what She would out of the Ships at the best hand and other Unseemly words full of disrespect and Tending to the Dishonour of the Honble. Compa. So they were Obliged to pay her fourteen Pound in money and Some others Six Pound Mr. Scattergood told the Governr. hereof but desired him Unless it could be Proved by Some other Person not to take Notice of it now Wherefore having Gott Testimony hereof, otherwise Bell who was Indebted to the Honble. Compa. above two hundred Pound, was Sent for and Ordered Since he refused the Honble. Compas. bills to pay them what he Owed them and resolved to be Strict with all those who Owed money at the Stores and refused to give Honble. to the Companys bills.</p> <p>The Currancy of these bills is not pleasing to those who keep the Under Store Houses tho heitherto the Govr. has Exchanged all for ready money that have been brought to him but we Shall not do So after the first year because they lay out all that money given board of the Ships who carry it off the Island which being known they do what they can Underhand to prevent the passing of Such bills & engrosing the mony the mony by wch. The can carry on</p>	<p>Sarah Bell had said that if she took the bills she would have to lay them out at the stores, whereas she wanted money so that she could buy what she pleased from the ships at the best price. She had added other unseemly words full of disrespect and tending to the dishonour of the Honourable Company. The passengers were therefore obliged to pay her £14 0s 0d in money, and some others £6 0s 0d.</p> <p>Mr Seaton informed the Governor of this, but asked him not to take notice of it unless it could be proved by some other person. Having had his testimony, the council acted otherwise.</p> <p>Robert Bell, who was indebted to the Honourable Company above £200 0s 0d, was sent for. Since he had refused the Company's bills, the council ordered him to pay what he owed, and resolved to be strict with all who owed money at the stores and refused to give money for the Company's bills.</p> <p>The currency of these bills was not pleasing to those who kept the lesser store houses. Until then the Governor had exchanged for ready money all the bills brought to him, but he would not do so after the first year. The keepers laid out all that money on board the ships that carried it off the island. Once that was understood, they did what they could underhand to</p>

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		<p>their Trade without keeping an account in the Store house.</p> <p>Another reason is because bills goe here Usually at a very high discount, So tho he that wants Arrack &c. & has noe mony if he goe to an Under Storehouse to procure it, must give a Note for more then the Value thereof.</p> <p>But this mony or great Cent by Rider at Ten ʒ Cent is not his but Powells who because he would not Appeare himself transferd it in the Honble. Compa. books to Rider & then Rider</p> <p>Margin Notes: Cash Notes, not pleasing to Som.</p>	<p>prevent the bills passing and to engross the money, by which they could carry on their trade without keeping any account at the store house.</p> <p>A further reason was that the bills went at a very high discount. A man who wanted arrack and had no money, going to a lesser store house to get it, had to give a note for more than its value.</p> <p>The money, or the £10 0s 0d interest taken by Rider at that rate, was not his but Powell's, who, not wishing to appear in the matter himself, transferred it in the Honourable Company's books to Rider, and then Rider [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The passage lays bare the contest between the Company's paper bills and silver coin as rival currencies on the island. Sarah Bell wanted hard money precisely because it let her buy freely from the visiting ships at the best price, while the bills could be spent only at the Company's stores, tying the holder to Company goods at Company prices. Her preference was not mere obstinacy but a rational choice between a restricted token and a freely tradeable medium, and the bench read her refusal as resistance to the whole purpose of the currency issued on 15 March 1715.</p> <p>The account exposes why the keepers of the lesser store houses worked against the bills. The Governor's undertaking to exchange notes for silver, given on 22 March 1715, drained coin off the island whenever the keepers spent it with the ships, so they had an interest in suppressing the bills and hoarding the money. By doing so they could trade outside the Company's stores and keep no account there, escaping the documentary control the bills were meant to impose. The Governor's decision to stop exchanging notes for silver after the first year was a direct answer to that leakage of coin.</p> <p>The unmasking of Powell as the true principal behind Rider's £10 0s 0d charge reaches into the settlement's senior creditors. Powell, the executor of the Steward estate and one of the largest holders on the abstract of 31 January 1715/16, used Rider as a front so as not to appear in a dealing that frustrated the Company's currency. The bench's exposure of the transfer in the Company's own books shows the documentary trail catching out a concealed arrangement among the leading inhabitants.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The Governor's refusal to keep redeeming the bills in silver reads as a deliberate redesign of the currency once its first weakness appeared. Free exchange had been offered to launch the notes and win confidence, but it handed the store-house keepers a mechanism to strip coin from the island through the ships. By closing that window after a year, the Governor forced the bills to circulate on their own credit and removed the keepers' means of converting and exporting the silver, treating the first year as a trial period whose lesson was that convertibility had to be withdrawn to make the paper hold.</p>
240	231	<p>February 1715/16.</p> <p>Rider takes a Bond of Bell.</p> <p>And thus they Rider the Honble. Compa. & by their Transfers & retransfers do cause the Honble. Compa. to act against their Own Inte rest while they like Vermin eat out her Own bowels & Suck out all her Proffitt for Powells keeps a Storehouse as well as the Compa. and Sells to those ye. pay him while the Honble. Compa. too often trusts those who cannot pay. Upon this. James Rider was Tomoned to the Council to Answer for Extorting 10 ʒ Cent on a Bond from Robt. Bell for nominal Credit which the Govr. told him was Usury & that by the Act of Parliament he had forfeited treble the Value & therefore the Govr. has Stopt his Credit in the Storehouse.</p> <p>Whereupon Rider who Wee take to be but Powells tool he be ing but an Ignorant tho a Pert Young fellow alledged</p>	<p>Rider took a bond of Bell. In this way Rider and Powell, by their transfers and retransfers, caused the Honourable Company to act against its own interest, while, like vermin, they ate out its profit. Powell kept a store house as well as the Company and sold to those who would pay him, while the Company too often gave credit to those who could not pay.</p> <p>On this James Rider was summoned before the council to answer for taking £10 0s 0d interest on a bond from Robert Bell for nominal credit. The Governor told him this was usury, and that by the act of Parliament he had forfeited treble the value, and that the Governor had therefore stopped his credit at the store house.</p> <p>Rider, whom the council took to be only Powell's instrument but an ignorant and pert young fellow,</p>

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		<p>Some Instances wherein the same had been done before as a Justification for himself & named some who had been of this Council and had done So, But the Govr. told him none should doe So now, for it was a great oppression & he would not Suffer One to impose upon anothr. after that manner</p> <p>Whereupon Rider demanded a Copy of Our Consultations & proceedings not Shewing any Sence of his fault</p> <p>Wherefore Since instead of Submitting himself he had the impudence to demand an Account of Our proceedings the Govr. thinks tis proper that he be made to pay well for it</p> <p>Antipas Tovey</p>	<p>pleaded earlier instances of the same dealing as a justification for himself. He named some who had been of the council and had done so. The Governor told him none should do so now, since it was a great oppression, and that he would not suffer one man to impose upon another in that way.</p> <p>Rider then demanded a copy of the council's consultations and proceedings, showing no sense of his fault. Because, instead of submitting, he had the impudence to demand an account of the council's proceedings, the Governor thought it proper that he be made to pay well for it. The order was signed by John Phillips and Tovey.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The case closes by treating Rider's demand for the records as an aggravation of the original offence rather than a separate matter. His request for a copy of the consultations, which the inhabitants could ordinarily obtain on payment, was read as defiance because it came in place of submission, and the bench answered it by raising his penalty. The episode shows how the council guarded its proceedings as its own instrument, granting copies as a favour to the compliant while penalising the same request when made in a challenging spirit.</p> <p>The Governor's invocation of the usury statute fixes the legal basis of the action. By taking £10 0s 0d for nominal credit, Rider had, on the bench's finding, forfeited treble the value under the act of Parliament, the same statutory ground already cited against him at the consultation of 24 January 1715/16. Stopping his credit at the store house was the council's practical sanction, using its control of the stores to discipline a man it could not easily pursue at common law.</p> <p>The picture of Powell keeping a store house in competition with the Company explains why the bench treated the affair as more than a private usury. Powell sold for ready payment while the Company carried bad debts, so the transfers and retransfers through Rider let a leading creditor profit at the Company's expense and undermine its currency at once. The exposure reaches one of the largest holders on the abstract of 31 January 1715/16 and shows the council confronting competition from within its own senior inhabitants.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The bench's decision to punish Rider while leaving Powell formally untouched reflects a calculated choice about whom it could safely strike. Rider was dismissed as an ignorant instrument, yet he was the one made to pay, because he was the visible party to the bond and lacked Powell's standing as executor and major creditor. By penalising the front man for his impudence and exposing Powell only in the narrative of the books, the council asserted the principle against the concealed dealing without a direct confrontation with one of the settlement's most powerful inhabitants.</p>
241	232	<p>February 1715/16. Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 14th. February 1715/16 At Union Castle in James Valley. Pres:t Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Depty. Matthew Bazett 3d. & Edw: Byfeld 5th. in Council Mr. Byfeld according to an Order of Council of the 3d. January Last brought in an Acct: of the General Table Expençe for the month of January which Amounts to £99:16/8 6d. Capt. Bazett Sayer the last monthly Accounts of Store Goods Sold & deliverd Shall be brought in next Consultation day which he could not possibly gett ready to deliver now. The English Cheese Wee have in the Store house being excream bad & great part of it wasted. Orderd. That it be Sold at Publick out cry to prevent any further Loss. and that notice be given as foll: (Vizt)</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 14 February 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>Mr Byfield, under the council's order of 3 January 1715/16, brought in an account of the General Table expense for the month of January, amounting to £99 16s 8d.</p> <p>Captain Bazett said that the last monthly account of store goods sold and delivered would be brought in on the next consultation day, since he could not possibly get it ready to deliver now.</p> <p>The English cheese in the store house was extremely bad, and a great part of it was wasted. The council ordered that it be sold by public outcry to prevent any further loss, and that notice be given as follows.</p>

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		<p>Island St Helena. By the Worshl: the Govr. & Council An Advertizement.</p> <p>These are to give notice to all manner of Persons that the Governr. & Council doth intend to Sell on Thursday next being the 16. Instant at the hour of Eleven afore noon Several Small parcels of Old Cheshire Cheese by way of Out cry. Wherefore those Persons who are minded to bid may make their appear ance</p> <p>Margin Notes: Dyett Exp. Cheese bad to Sell it.</p>	<p>By the Worshipful the Governor and council, headed Island of St Helena, an advertisement was issued. It gave notice to all manner of persons that the Governor and council intended to sell on Thursday next, the 16th instant, at eleven o'clock, several small parcels of old Cheshire cheese by way of outcry. Those minded to bid might make their appearance [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The General Table account marks the new monthly discipline imposed at the consultation of 3 January 1715/16, when the Governor complained that the books sent home had been mere calculations and ordered Byfield to render the General Table charges each month. The single figure of £99 16s 8d for January gives the bench a running monthly measure of the cost of feeding the establishment, replacing the irregular and overdue returns that had dogged the stores throughout 1715. The entry shows the reform taking hold within weeks of the order.</p> <p>The cheese sale illustrates the salvage logic the bench applied to perishable Company stock. With the English cheese spoiling and part of it already wasted, an outcry sale recovered whatever value remained before the loss became total, the same public-auction method used for the drowned men's goods on 30 December 1714 and for broken cheese sold at the consultation of 14 January 1715/16. Selling by outcry also protected the council from any charge of favour, since the goods went openly to the highest bidder.</p> <p>The absence of any councillor in the fourth place, with only Pyke, Haswell, Bazett and Byfield present and Tovey unnamed, continues the pattern of partial attendance and rotating signature seen through 1715. Bazett's frank admission that the store-goods account could not be ready repeats the established position that the books properly fell due six months after 25 March, so the delay was treated as routine rather than as default.</p>
242	233	<p>February 1715/16.</p> <p>appearance accordingly within the Castle Signd by Order of Govr. & Council</p> <p>Dated at Union Castle in James Valley this 14th. February 1715/16. (Signd) John Alexander.</p> <p>James Vesey Planter made complaint against John Long Planter For taking upon him of his Own Authority to Search his house for Pretended Stolen Goods.</p> <p>After Severall debates on both Sides the cause was dismissed upon its appearing Vesey had hoe injury done him or cause of Complaint therefore he is to pay the Charges.</p> <p>The Church Wardens appearing this day did agree to allow Mrs. Porteous Widow & her Child half a Crown a Week towards their main tenance they being in a very poor & deplorable condition</p> <p>The Gunner complaind against Serjt. Dutch for having in his Custody, & converting to his Use a Hide of Leather which belongs to the Gunners Stors.</p> <p>The Said Dutch Appeared & Pleaded Ignorance Saying he did not know it was the Honble. Compa. Leather, never hearing of any that was Lost & that it was in the house were his Wife lived before he married her & was made Use of & brought there by William Bates who then belonged to the Gunner Crew which the Said Dutch Says he can prove by Witness Whereupon One was Sent for. (Vizt) John Hubbard Soldier, who Sayes that he did See a parcel of Leather in the house where</p> <p>Margin Notes: Jam: Vesey agst. Jno. Long freed. Wid: Porteous & her child allowance complt. agst. Serjt. Dutch</p>	<p>The bidders were to make their appearance accordingly within the Castle. The advertisement was signed by order of the Governor and council, dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 14 February 1715/16 by John Alexander.</p> <p>James Vesey, planter, complained against John Long, planter, for taking it upon himself, on his own authority, to search his house for supposedly stolen goods.</p> <p>After several debates on both sides, the cause was dismissed, since it appeared that Vesey had suffered no injury and had no cause of complaint. He was therefore to pay the charges.</p> <p>The churchwardens appeared this day and agreed to allow Mrs Porteous, widow, and her child half a crown a week towards their maintenance, they being in a very poor and deplorable condition.</p> <p>The gunner complained against Sergeant Dutch for having in his keeping, and putting to his own use, a hide of leather belonging to the gunner's stores.</p> <p>Dutch appeared and pleaded ignorance. He said he had not known it was the Honourable Company's leather, having never heard that any was lost. He said it had been in the house before he married his wife, that it was used and brought there by William Bates, who then belonged to the gunner's crew, and that he could prove this by witnesses. One witness was therefore sent for.</p> <p>John Hubbard, soldier, said that he did see a parcel of leather in the house [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The dismissal of the Vesey complaint with costs marks the council enforcing a boundary against private searches. Long had searched Vesey's house on his own authority, yet the bench fixed the charges on Vesey, the complainant, once it found no injury, treating a baseless complaint as itself the fault to be paid for. The ruling</p>

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			<p>shows the council reserving the power of search and seizure to lawful authority and discouraging inhabitants from pursuing each other through unfounded accusations, consistent with John Long's repeated appearances before the bench across 1715.</p> <p>The churchwardens' allowance to Mrs Porteous places the relief of a widow within the parish poor system rather than the Company's accounts. The half-crown a week granted to the widow and child of William Porteous, the second surgeon reported dead at the consultation of 15 November 1715, came from the church rate administered by the wardens, the same parish machinery seen in the rate disputes of 1715. The case shows the parish, not the Company, as the first source of maintenance for the dependants of a deceased servant.</p> <p>The Dutch case illustrates how the gunner's stores were policed through the same documentary and testimonial method used across the records. The charge rested on a missing hide traced to the Company's account, and Dutch's defence of innocent possession, that the leather predated his marriage and had been brought by another, was tested by summoning a witness rather than accepted on his word. The procedure shows the bench reconstructing the history of a single Company item to settle whether its conversion was theft or innocent receipt.</p>
243	234	<p>Febr. 1715/16. where Dutchs Wife did live when she was a Widow. It appearing by Severall more that the Leather was in the house before he married the Widow & of a long Standing & the Said Dutch having behaved himself indifferently well & never known to be guilty of any such middemeanour, he was only Severly reprimanded by the Governour for not discovering there was such Leather and then was dismissed with a caution for the future On Sunday last Arrived the Ship Thistleworth Capt. Daniel Small Comander from Bombay. Orderd That to morrow all the Council meet to make minutes what to be write in the General Letter to the Honble. Compa. by Said Ship &c. Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld Margin Notes: Excused this time Thistleworth arr: to Write home</p>	<p>The leather had been seen where Dutch's wife had lived when she was a widow. It appeared from several more witnesses that the leather had been in the house before he married the widow, and that it had been there a long time. Dutch had behaved reasonably well and had never been known to be guilty of any such offence. He was therefore only severely reprimanded by the Governor for not reporting that there was such leather, and was then dismissed with a caution for the future.</p> <p>On the Sunday before, the ship Thistleworth, Captain Daniel Small commander, arrived from Bombay.</p> <p>The council ordered that the whole council meet the next day to draw up the minutes of what should be written in the general letter to the Honourable Company by that ship. The consultation was signed by Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The disposal of the Dutch case shows the bench weighing character and length of possession to distinguish innocent receipt from theft. Once several witnesses confirmed the hide had lain in the house since before his marriage to the widow, and his record was found clean, the charge of conversion fell away and only the failure to report the Company's leather remained. The Governor's response, a severe reprimand and a caution rather than a punishment, calibrated the sanction to a duty of disclosure breached without dishonesty, marking the difference between misappropriating Company stores and merely neglecting to declare them.</p> <p>The arrival of the Thistleworth converted the routine business of the bench into a deadline-driven exercise. A homeward-bound ship gave the council its chance to send the general letter, so it ordered a full meeting the next day to settle the minutes of what should be written. The entry shows how the irregular calling of Indiamen governed the rhythm of the Company's correspondence, the bench seizing each departure to answer London and report the island's affairs.</p>
244	235	<p>Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Thursday the 16th. of February 1715/16 At Union Castle in James Valley.</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Thursday 16 February 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy; Matthew Bazett, third;</p>

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		<p>Prest Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Geo: Haswell Depty. Matthew Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4th. & Edw: Byfeld 5th. in Councill</p> <p>The following Petition was Presented. (Vizt) Island St Helena. To the Worshl: Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. & Council</p> <p>The most humble Petition of Mercy Gargen Widow Humbly Sheweth. That for the Payment of her Husbands Debts, She is Obliged to Sell not only all her household Goods, but the Whole Real and Personal Estate, which will make ye. Petitioner desti tute of a Habitation, yor. Petition (as being so unhappy, her former husband Alexanders Estate being very Dubious, by ye. Soveys demand there on, & She having cause to fear that at the Arri val of the next Store Ship the Land that former ly belonged to her Said husband Alexander will be given to Mr. Tovey</p> <p>Yor. Petition therefore humbly prays desires That if She can make an Agreement wth. Mr. Tovey for that Land which he Demands, to become his Tenant for the Same That your Worshl: & Council would consent thereto. Otherwise your Petitioner not having One Acre of Land</p> <p>Margin Notes: Wid: Gargen petn. to hire Mr. Tovey Land.</p>	<p>Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>The following petition was presented, headed Island of St Helena and addressed to the Worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>Mercy Gargen, widow, set out that, to pay her husband's debts, she was obliged to sell not only all her household goods but her whole real and personal estate. That would leave her without a home, her case being made the more unhappy because her former husband Alexander's estate was very doubtful, on account of Mr Tovey's demand against it. She was in fear that, on the arrival of the next store ship, the land that formerly belonged to her former husband Alexander would be given to Mr Tovey.</p> <p>She therefore asked that, if she could make an agreement with Mr Tovey for the land he demanded, she be allowed to become his tenant for it, and that the Governor and council consent to this. Otherwise, not having one acre of land [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The petition exposes the precarious position of a twice-widowed woman caught between her late husbands' debts and a councillor's competing land claim. Mercy Gargen faced losing her whole estate to clear Thomas Gargen's debts, settled against her at the consultation of 15 November 1715, while the land from her first husband Richard Alexander stood in doubt because of Tovey's demand. Her request to become Tovey's tenant rather than lose the land outright shows a woman bargaining for continued occupation from a position of near-total weakness, seeking a leasehold foothold where ownership was slipping away.</p> <p>The case reveals how the council managed the conflict of interest created by Tovey sitting as both judge and claimant. Tovey was the fourth councillor and present at this very consultation, yet his demand against the Alexander land was the source of the widow's fear. By routing her plea through a petition for conciliar consent to a private tenancy agreement, the bench could regulate the dealing between a member and a suppliant without Tovey's claim being decided by the body on which he sat.</p> <p>The widow's dread of the next store ship ties her fate to the rhythm of Company shipping and the directors' authority. Final disposition of contested land waited on instructions from London, so the arrival of a ship threatened to bring the order that would transfer the Alexander land to Tovey. The petition shows inhabitants timing their appeals to the bench against the expected arrival of ships that carried the decisions of a distant master.</p>
245	236	<p>February 1715/16.</p> <p>nor nothing else wherewith to Subsist her family, & unless assisted by Charity must be forced to ly in the Open feilds & her Children become chargable to the Parish. All which Premisses leave to yor. Worshl: & Councils Wise & mature consideration.</p> <p>Feb: 16th. 1715/6 And (as in duty bound) Shall for ever pray &c (Signd) Mercy Gargen</p> <p>Granted.</p> <p>The Govr. recomended to every One of the Council that as he would on Tuesday next make a report of all Proposals that has been made to him towards Paying the Debts Due to the Honble. Compa. Therefore he desires every One of them to consider very Seriously what Effectual means Shall be taken to prevent bad Debts for the future & that ther they report their Oppinion at Large with their reasons.</p> <p>Mrs. Mary Swallow the Wife of Rich: Swallow was Sumoned at the complaint of Mrs. Margaret Tovey for refusing to lett her Child who boards with her be Sent to her & for Severall Scurilous & abusive words and for maintaining the Said Child in So meane a manner as to</p>	<p>Mercy Gargen had nothing else with which to support her family. Unless helped by charity, she would be forced to lie in the open fields, and her children would become a charge on the parish. She left all these matters to the Governor and council for their wise and careful consideration. The petition was dated 16 February 1715/16 and signed by Mercy Gargen.</p> <p>The council granted the request.</p> <p>The Governor recommended to every member of the council that on Tuesday next he bring in a report of all the proposals made to him towards paying the debts due to the Honourable Company. He asked each of them to consider very seriously what effectual means should be taken to prevent bad debts in the future, and to report their opinion at length with their reasons.</p> <p>Mary Swallow, the wife of Richard Swallow, was summoned at the complaint of Mrs Margaret Tovey. The complaint was that she had refused to let her child, who boarded with her, be sent to her, that she had used several scurrilous and abusive words, and that she had kept the child so meanly that it wore a frock made out of an old blue shirt. The Toveys had paid a high price</p>

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		<p>wear a Frock made out of an Old blew Shirt they having a great Price for her board & Cloathing, they having above thirty Pounds value p ann. for the Said Child board &c After Reading a great debate on both Sides the Govr. Sent them together to Agree and then</p> <p>Margin Notes: to considr. how to prevent bad Debts. Mrs. Tovey complt. abt. her Child kept by Rd. Swallow</p>	<p>for the child's board and clothing, allowing above thirty pounds a year for the child's board.</p> <p>After several debates and a great deal of argument on both sides, the Governor sent them away together to agree, and then [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The Governor's call for written opinions on preventing bad debts shows the bench moving from collecting individual proposals to framing a general policy. Each councillor was to report at length with reasons, the same deliberative method used for the bills-of-exchange reform, when the councillors delivered written opinions on 27 and 29 September 1715. The exercise turned the public advertisement for debt proposals, issued on 31 January 1715/16, into a structural review of the credit system that had left the Company a heavy net creditor on the abstract of the same date.</p> <p>The Swallow-Tovey dispute reveals the boarding of children as a paid contractual arrangement subject to the bench's oversight. Margaret Tovey paid above thirty pounds a year for her child's board and clothing, so the complaint of mean treatment and a frock made from an old shirt was a charge of failing to provide the standard the fee had bought. The case shows the council adjudicating the quality of care owed under a private fostering bargain, much as it weighed maintenance allowances for orphans.</p> <p>The summons of Mary Swallow continues the bench's repeated dealings with that household, already before it across 1715 for marital cruelty and the ill-treatment of a servant. The recurrence of the Swallow name in disputes over the usage of dependants, wives, servants and now a boarded child, marks the family as a standing source of trouble in the small settlement, the same individuals returning to the bench in connected quarrels.</p>
246	237	<p>February 1715/6 then they made Up this Matter between themselves, with a Resolution to putt out the Child to some other Person who should look better after her for less money. A Publick Out cry was made of the Cheese mentiod in the Last Advertizement but it being very bad none was Sold. Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p>	<p>The parties then settled the matter between themselves, resolving to put the child out to some other person who would look after her better for less money.</p> <p>A public outcry was made of the cheese named in the previous advertisement, but it was so bad that none was sold. The consultation was signed by Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations The settlement of the Swallow-Tovey dispute by private agreement shows the bench preferring reconciliation to a formal ruling in a matter of contracted care. By sending the parties away to agree and accepting their resolution to move the child to a cheaper and better keeper, the council treated the boarding of a child as a bargain the parties could renegotiate, intervening only to broker terms rather than to impose them. The outcome turned a complaint of ill-usage into a fresh fostering arrangement at a lower price.</p> <p>The failure of the cheese sale records the practical limit of the salvage method the bench had ordered on 14 February 1715/16. The English cheese had been put to public outcry precisely to recover something before total loss, yet its condition was so poor that no bidder took it even at auction. The entry shows that the outcry mechanism, effective for goods of some residual value, could not rescue stock that had already spoiled beyond use.</p>
247	238	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 February 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council. The Governor reported that Captain Small had some tea to sell. No China ship was expected that year, and no more tea was to be had except a small quantity out of the</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 February 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council. The Governor reported that Captain Small had some tea to sell. No China ship was expected that year,</p>

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		<p>Duke of Cambridge. He therefore thought it proper to buy the tea offered by Captain Small.</p> <p>The council ordered that the matter be referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett to buy the tea as cheaply as they could.</p> <p>The Governor brought in his written report on those persons who stood indebted to the Honourable Company and had made their proposals for payment. Since it was very long, the council ordered that its perusal and consideration be put off to the next consultation day, the ship in the road being ready to sail.</p> <p>Richard and Anthony Beale, owners of the Prosperous Bay plantation, had [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The tea purchase shows the bench buying against a known break in supply rather than to meet present need. With no China ship expected that year and only a small parcel to be had from the Duke of Cambridge, the Governor treated Captain Small's tea as the last available stock and moved to secure it before the shortage bit. The reference to the China trade marks tea as a commodity dependent on the long eastern shipping cycle, the better grade having last come in on the Hester in March 1715, so a gap in arrivals threatened to leave the stores without it.</p> <p>The deferral of the debt report turns on the same shipping deadline that governed the bench's correspondence. The Governor's written survey of debtors' payment proposals, called for at the consultation of 16 February 1715/16, was set aside because the ship in the road was ready to sail and the council's time was needed for the homeward despatch. The episode shows the rhythm of Indiamen overriding the bench's domestic agenda, a long internal review yielding to the fixed moment of a ship's departure.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Referring the tea purchase to the Governor and Bazett alone, with discretion to buy as cheaply as they could, was a deliberate device to capture a scarce commodity while protecting the Company's price. The bench knew Small held a near-monopoly for the season, which strengthened his hand, so it delegated the bargain to two members empowered to negotiate rather than fixing a price in open council. The arrangement let the Company commit to the purchase in principle while leaving room to drive down the cost in private treaty with a seller who knew no rival ship was coming.</p>	<p>and no more tea was to be had except a small quantity out of the Duke of Cambridge. He therefore thought it proper to buy the tea offered by Captain Small.</p> <p>The council ordered that the matter be referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett to buy the tea as cheaply as they could.</p> <p>The Governor brought in his written report on those persons who stood indebted to the Honourable Company and had made their proposals for payment. Since it was very long, the council ordered that its perusal and consideration be put off to the next consultation day, the ship in the road being ready to sail.</p> <p>Richard and Anthony Beale, owners of the Prosperous Bay plantation, had [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The tea purchase shows the bench buying against a known break in supply rather than to meet present need. With no China ship expected that year and only a small parcel to be had from the Duke of Cambridge, the Governor treated Captain Small's tea as the last available stock and moved to secure it before the shortage bit. The reference to the China trade marks tea as a commodity dependent on the long eastern shipping cycle, the better grade having last come in on the Hester in March 1715, so a gap in arrivals threatened to leave the stores without it.</p> <p>The deferral of the debt report turns on the same shipping deadline that governed the bench's correspondence. The Governor's written survey of debtors' payment proposals, called for at the consultation of 16 February 1715/16, was set aside because the ship in the road was ready to sail and the council's time was needed for the homeward despatch. The episode shows the rhythm of Indiamen overriding the bench's domestic agenda, a long internal review yielding to the fixed moment of a ship's departure.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>Referring the tea purchase to the Governor and Bazett alone, with discretion to buy as cheaply as they could, was a deliberate device to capture a scarce commodity while protecting the Company's price. The bench knew Small held a near-monopoly for the season, which strengthened his hand, so it delegated the bargain to two members empowered to negotiate rather than fixing a price in open council. The arrangement let the Company commit to the purchase in principle while leaving room to drive down the cost in private treaty with a seller who knew no rival ship was coming.</p>
248	239	<p>Febr. 1715/6</p> <p>have turned Out Martin Norman their Tenant Out of Possession of their house thereon, for Rent due to them & for other Reasons by them alledged & Whereas the Said Norman is conyderably Indebted to the Honble. Compa. who ought to be paid first Notwithstand ing the Sd. Beals are his Land lords.</p> <p>Orderd that Martin Normans planta: be Surveyed & valued by two of the Councill (Vizt) Capt. Haswell & Bazett, & because ye. Norman Pretends there is forty thousand Yams grown therein, tho Wee doubt whether there be five thousand or not, We think it very proper that four of the Principle Planters be desired to Survey & Value the Said Plantation along with Capt. Haswell & Bazett, & that Norman have Liberty of Nominating Two of them & that this Survey be made the day after the Present Ship Sails.</p> <p>The Executr. of Thos. Bagley: Orphan Margt. who is Daughter in Law to Mr. Antipas Tovey having Demanded Security for the Childs Fortune when She comes of Age or Marriage.</p> <p>Mr. Tovey Proposeth that he will be bound himself & that Messr. John Alexander & James Vesey are willing to be bound with him as Security for the Childs Fortune, which is to be One hundred & thirty Pounds.</p> <p>Payable</p>	<p>Richard and Anthony Beale, owners of the Prosperous Bay plantation, had turned their tenant Martin Norman out of possession of their house there, for rent owing to them and for other reasons they alleged. Norman was considerably indebted to the Honourable Company, which ought to be paid first, even though the Beales were his landlords.</p> <p>The council ordered that Martin Norman's plantation be surveyed and valued by two of the councillors, Captain Haswell and Bazett. Because Norman claimed there were forty thousand yams growing on it, and the council doubted whether there were even five thousand, it thought it proper that four of the principal planters be asked to survey and value the plantation along with Haswell and Bazett. Norman was to have liberty to nominate two of them. The survey was to be made the day after the present ship sailed.</p> <p>The executors of Thomas Bagley's orphan Margaret, who was daughter-in-law to Mr Antipas Tovey, had demanded security for the child's fortune when she came of age or married.</p> <p>Mr Tovey proposed that he would bind himself, and that Messrs John Alexander and James Vesey were willing to be bound with him as security for the child's fortune, which was to be £130 0s 0d, payable [...]</p>

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		<p>Margin Notes: Beales Orph: their Norman Out. his planta: to be valued. Antd. Tovey propose Security for his Childs portn.</p>	<p>Interpretations The order on Norman's eviction asserts the Company's claim ahead of a private landlord's. Though the Beales had turned Norman out for rent owing, the bench insisted that his debt to the Company be satisfied first, subordinating the landlords' interest in their own house to the Company's prior charge. The case shows how a tenant's Company debt clouded the title of even a freehold owner, the bench treating its credit as a first lien on the assets of any debtor before private creditors could be paid.</p> <p>The enlarged valuation panel is a direct response to a suspected gross overstatement of the yam crop. Norman claimed forty thousand yams where the council doubted there were five thousand, an eightfold gap that two councillors alone could not safely resolve, so the bench added four principal planters and let Norman nominate two of them. The composition mirrors the panel set for the Carne yam valuation on 23 August 1715, the bench's appointees balanced by the interested party's nominees to produce a figure both sides could be held to.</p> <p>The Tovey security arrangement shows the council policing the protection of an orphan's fortune through bonded sureties. Margaret's portion of £130 0s 0d was secured by Tovey binding himself with John Alexander and James Vesey as co-sureties, the standard device by which the court of orphans guaranteed a minor's estate against the holder's default until she came of age or married. The use of multiple bondsmen spread the risk and gave the child's fortune the backing of several solvent inhabitants rather than one.</p> <p>Speculations Timing both the Norman survey and the wider business for the day after the ship sailed reflects a deliberate ordering of the bench's scarce attention. The homeward despatch had to be finished while the ship lay in the road, so contested valuations that demanded careful fieldwork were pushed to the moment the vessel left and the council's time was freed. Scheduling the survey to follow the sailing ensured the disputed yam count would be settled without competing against the fixed deadline of the Company's correspondence.</p>
249	240	<p>Febr. 1715/6 Payable when She comes of Age or day of Marriage. Orderd. That the Executr. Orlando Bagley & Richd. Swallow have an Account hereof That if they have any Objections to make they may doe it the next Consultation day. Mr. Tovey complains that the Bill of Mr. Wm. Woodzells Debts for Goods Sold at an Out cry the 13th. Novr. 1714. to the amount of Sixteen Pounds fifteen Shillings and Eight Pence is not duely Enterd. Orderd that Credit be paid in the Stores for the Same, to the End that the Ballance of his Account may be Sent home to his Brother in England. The Storekeeper Sayes he cannot Enter One & twenty Shillings & Sixpence from Saml. Algate & Sixteen Shillings & Sixpence for Richd. Cleeve, because they are gone off ye. Island. Mr. Tovey & the Govr. Sayes that it is Mr. Bazetts fault for not Entring the Credit in time. Mr. Bazett Sayes he cant help it now & he wont pay it himself So that the Sum of Thirty Seven Shill: & Sixpence will be a bad Debt to Mr. Woodzells Estate. The Accountant & Storekeeper being very much behind hand in their Accounts, the Writing where of being too Margin Notes: Mr. Tovey complt. abt. Woodzells Debts.</p>	
250	241	<p>Febr. 1715/6 too much for them, the Govr. has Told them that in this Ship Thistleworth there is a young Gentleman whose name is Wm. Fairfax that Writes a good hand & he thinks it is Capt. Haswell & Mr. Bazetts Interest if they want</p>	<p>The writing was too much for the accountant and storekeeper. The Governor told them that the ship Thistleworth carried a young gentleman named William Fairfax, who wrote a good hand. He said it was in Captain Haswell's and Mr Bazett's interest, if they</p>

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		<p>Assistance to agree with him to Stay here, & that it is particularly worth Capt. Haswells while to pay him, tho he believes the Honble. Compa. would rather contribute Somewhat then be without their Books. Whereupon the Governour is desired to per Swade the Said Mr. Wm. Fairfax to Stay here & agree with him upon What Termes. Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld</p>	<p>wanted help to bring their accounts up to date, to keep him on the island. It was particularly worth Captain Haswell's while to pay him, though the Governor believed the Honourable Company would rather contribute something than be without their books. The council therefore asked the Governor to persuade William Fairfax to stay and to agree with him on terms. The consultation was signed by Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Fairfax proposal shows the bench treating skilled clerical labour as a scarce resource to be intercepted from a passing ship. With the accountant and storekeeper hopelessly behind, the Governor seized on a literate passenger of the Thistleworth as a remedy, the want of a good hand being acute enough to justify detaining a transient gentleman. The episode mirrors the recurring shortage of writers that ran through the administration, the bench repeatedly short of men able to keep its books.</p> <p>The allocation of the cost reveals how the council distinguished a personal duty from a Company charge. Because the arrears were Haswell's and Bazett's as accountant and storekeeper, the Governor held the clerk's wages to be their responsibility, yet conceded the Company would sooner pay something than lose its books altogether. The reasoning fixes the burden first on the officers whose default created the backlog, while leaving the Company as a fallback contributor where its essential records were at stake.</p>
<p>251</p>	<p>242</p>	<p>Febr. 1715/6 Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 28. Febr. 1715/6 At Union Castle in James Valley. Pres:t Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Matthew Bazett 3d. Antipas Tovey 4 & Edward Byfeld 5th. in Councill The Executors of Thos. Bagley appeard according to Order of last Consultation day & Mr. Bagley objected against the Security proposed by Mr. Tovey & says he dont think Messr. Alexander & James Vesey to be a Sufficient Security for One Hundred & Thirty Pound but if another good man could be joynd with Alexander he should then think it a Sufficient Security. Mr. Swallow the other Executor says he does not intend to accept of any Security because he has made a Contract wth. Mr. Tovey to maintaine the Child & will Stand to that agreement unless Mr. Tovey make it appear to be void. Mrs. Tovey was Sent for, & she alledged that at first Mr. Swallow by her consent at first took the Child but she was so far from consen ting to the Contract which Mr. Swallow insists on, that she did all that she could to oppose it & never did consent to such an unreasonable</p> <p>Margin Notes: abt. Mr. Toveys daught. in Law</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 February 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>The executors of Thomas Bagley appeared, as ordered on the last consultation day. Mr Bagley objected to the security proposed by Mr Tovey, saying he did not think Messrs Alexander and James Vesey sufficient security for £130 0s 0d. He said that, if another responsible man could be joined with Alexander, he would then think it sufficient.</p> <p>Mr Swallow, the other executor, said he did not intend to accept any security at all, since he had made a contract with Mr Tovey to maintain the child and would hold to that agreement unless Mr Tovey could show it to be void.</p> <p>Mrs Tovey was sent for. She claimed that Mr Swallow had at first taken the child by her consent, but that she was so far from agreeing to the contract Mr Swallow insisted on that she had done all she could to oppose it and had never consented to such an unreasonable [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The dispute exposes a sharp divergence between the two executors over how to protect the same orphan's fortune. Bagley pressed for stronger security on the £130 0s 0d, wanting a further solvent bondsman joined to Alexander, while Swallow rejected security altogether in favour of a maintenance contract he had struck with Tovey. The clash shows the court of orphans confronting executors who disagreed on method, one trusting bonded sureties and the other a private agreement, with the bench left to reconcile the two safeguards.</p> <p>Tovey's position is doubly compromised by his sitting in council while his own family's affairs were in issue. He was both the proposer of the security and, through his daughter-in-law, the party whose child's fortune was at stake, and he was present at the very consultation hearing the matter. The bench's handling, summoning Mrs Tovey and recording her dissent on the record, shows it managing a member's conflict of</p>

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			<p>interest by airing the family's internal disagreement openly rather than allowing Tovey's voice to settle it.</p> <p>Mrs Tovey's intervention reveals a woman's consent being weighed in a contract that men had made over a child in her charge. She insisted she had never agreed to Swallow's maintenance bargain and had opposed it throughout, raising the question whether a contract over the child bound her at all. The case shows the bench prepared to hear a wife's separate objection to an arrangement concluded between two men, treating her withheld consent as material to the validity of the agreement.</p>
252	243	<p>Febr. 1715/6 unreasonable Bargain as to give away all her Dependence towards the Maintenance of that Child, To this Mrs. Tovey has taken her Oath & affirmed as abovesaid Orderd This be our Opinion That Mr. Swallow deliver Up the Blacks, (The Agreement being Void,) But that Mr. Tovey do give good Security for maintaining the Child. The Govr. reports that there is now Sick at the Blacks House, vizt. Ben Batavia Tower hill Antony Goodwins Antony Joshua Margret Emanuel Old John Mavara Old Calimore Hemp Wherefore tis Orderd that the Blacks be fed wth. Rice & Beans untill the Season is over according to the Resolution in Consultacon of the 22. Decr. Besides Long Sam who is Sick in the Country Thus farr was Copyd & Sent home ꝑ Ship Duke of Cambridge Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld Margin Notes: Mr. Swallow to deliver up ye. Tovey Blacks to him Sick ye. Blacks</p>	<p>Mrs Tovey had never consented to such an unreasonable bargain as to give away all her interest in the maintenance of the child. To this she took her oath and affirmed as stated above.</p> <p>The council gave its opinion that Mr Swallow deliver up the slaves, the agreement being void, but that Mr Tovey give good security for maintaining the child.</p> <p>The Governor reported that the following slaves were now sick at the slaves' house:</p> <p>Ben Batavia Tower Hill Antony Goodwins Antony Joshua Margret Emanuel Old John Mavara Old Calimore Hemp</p> <p>It was therefore ordered that the slaves be fed with rice and beans until the season was over, according to the resolution in the consultation of 22 December. Besides these, Long Tam was sick in the country.</p> <p>To this point the record was copied out and sent home by the ship Duke of Cambridge. The consultation was signed by Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The ruling resolves the executors' conflict by voiding the maintenance contract while preserving the orphan's protection through security. The bench held Swallow's agreement with Tovey void and ordered the slaves delivered up, yet required Tovey to give good security for the child's maintenance, so the outcome combined Bagley's insistence on bonded sureties with the rejection of the private bargain Mrs Tovey had sworn she never accepted. Her oath was decisive, the bench treating the wife's withheld consent as enough to undo the arrangement the two men had made.</p> <p>The slaves named in the dispute are revealed as the substance of the child's fortune, not incidental property. Swallow was ordered to deliver up the slaves because the contract that let him hold them had fallen, showing that the orphan's estate consisted largely of human beings whose custody passed with the maintenance arrangement. The case lays bare how a minor's wealth on the island was measured and transferred in slaves, the same equation of estate with bonded labour seen across the records.</p> <p>The special feeding order ties the care of sick Company slaves to a fixed dietary rule and a seasonal calendar. Twelve named slaves at the slaves' house, with Long Tam sick in the country, were to be fed rice and beans until the season ended, under the standing resolution of 22 December. The entry shows the bench managing the health of its labour force by formal order, the diet of the sick set by policy rather than left to the overseer, at the very moment the muster of 24 January 1715/16 had found the workforce gravely depleted.</p>

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253	244	<p>March 1715/6 Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Saturday the 3. March 1715/6. At Union Castle, in James Valley. Pres:t Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr. Matthew Bazett 3. Antipas Tovey & Edward Byfeld 5. in Councill On Wednesday the 29. Febr: Arrived here the Duke of Cambridge Capt. Edward Arlond with Genl. Aisleby Mr. Courtney & Capt. Hanmer passengers, they Sailed the 13. of October last from Bombay in Compa. to the Thistleworth Capt. Small, and went down the Coast to Visite the Factoreys, On the 6. of November they Sailed from the Coast of Mallabar, and the 24. Janry. they Arrived at the Cape of Good Hope and Sailed thence the 16. of February, the Thistleworth being drove out by from them in a Storme of Wind and Lost her anchor At the Cape they heard a very Mellancholy Account of this Place which were Destitute of most Sorts of Provisions Particularly Arrack Sugar Wheat, and Rice Whereof the Capt. bought a Considerable Quan tity of Arrack Wine which he has brought here for the Support of the Island Hoping he should have an Opportunity of making Eight or Nine Shillings p Gallon of the Arrack He has brought here fifteen Leagers of Arrack, twelve Cannesters of Sugar, foure Leagers of Wine, Severall Casks of Rice and wheat which he Proffers to Sell to the Honble. Compa. Samples being Shewed here, We think it good in its kine, and if they'l Sell it cheap We Govr. ekc. Thinks it</p> <p>Margin Notes: Duke of Cambridge Capt. Arlond Arrived wth. Genl. Aisleby Mr. Courtney & Capt. Hanmer passeng. Arrack &c. to Sell.</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Saturday 3 March 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; Matthew Bazett, third; Antipas Tovey, fourth; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>On Wednesday 29 February the Duke of Cambridge, Captain Edward Arlond commander, arrived, with General Aislaby, Mr Courtney and Captain Hanmer as passengers. They had sailed on 18 October last from Bombay, in company with the Thistleworth, Captain Small, and had gone down the coast to visit the factories. On 15 November they sailed from the coast of Malabar, and on 22 January they arrived at the Cape of Good Hope, sailing thence on 16 February. The Thistleworth was driven out by a squall of wind and lost her launch, parting from them.</p> <p>At the Cape they had heard a very melancholy account that the island was short of most sorts of provisions, particularly arrack, sugar, wheat and rice. The captain had therefore bought a considerable quantity of arrack, which he had brought to support the island, hoping to have the chance of making eight or nine shillings a gallon on it. He had brought between [...] leaguers of arrack, twelve canisters of sugar, four leaguers of wine, several casks of rice and wheat, all of which he offered to sell to the Honourable Company.</p> <p>Samples having been shown, the council thought it good in its kind. If he would sell it cheap, the Governor thought it [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The captain's purchase reveals private speculation on the island's distress as a normal feature of the eastern trade. Hearing at the Cape that St Helena lacked arrack, sugar, wheat and rice, Arlond bought a cargo of those very goods in the hope of selling at eight or nine shillings a gallon, treating the colony's shortage as a market to be exploited. The episode shows the island's supply depending partly on the commercial judgement of passing commanders, who carried provisions on their own account when they expected a profit.</p> <p>The arrack price marks the gap between scarcity and the Company's controlled rates. The hoped-for eight or nine shillings a gallon stands against the seven shillings and sixpence a gallon at which arrack had been charged through the store accounts of 1715, so the captain counted on the dearth to lift the price above the Company's settled figure. The council's interest in buying cheap shows the bench trying to capture the supply while resisting the premium the seller expected to command.</p> <p>The voyage report doubles as fresh intelligence on the eastern shipping and the fate of a consort. The detailed itinerary from Bombay down the Malabar coast and round the Cape, and the loss of the Thistleworth's launch in a squall that parted the two ships, gave the bench current news of the trade and of a vessel it had lately seen, the Thistleworth having reached the island on the Sunday before 16 February 1715/16. The account shows how each arrival served as a source of navigational and commercial news as much as of goods.</p>
254	245	<p>March 1715/6 it Proper to buy it. Capt. Bazett Says there is Rice Eno: in the Stores to Serve a good while but tis very Ordinary None of that which was Sent upon the Honble. Compas. Account being to Compare with this, and he thinks Such as this will goe off amongst the Planters very well and that tis best to keep the Course Rice which we Cant Sell for the Use of Our blacks. The wheat we look upon to be very good and will be very Serviceable to our blacks, the Yams in the time of the rainy Season being unwholsome to Eat. Orderd that it be left to the Governr. and Capt. Bazett to agree for it as cheap as they Can.</p>	<p>The Governor thought it proper to buy the goods. Captain Bazett said there was rice enough in the stores to serve a good while, but it was very ordinary, none of that sent on the Honourable Company's account being comparable with this. He thought such rice as this would sell among the planters very well, and that it was best to keep the coarse rice, which they could not sell, for the use of their slaves. The wheat was looked upon as very good and would be very useful to the slaves, the yams being unwholesome to eat in the rainy season. The council ordered that it be left to the Governor and Captain Bazett to agree for the goods as cheaply as they could.</p>

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		<p>The Sugar we want very much, but not So much the Arrack having had a good Quantity of Madera Wine, But yet we think it never Proper to Refuse Arrack when we Can buy it at fowe Shill ings ʒ Gallon if it be good, and therefore we believe it to be for Our Honble. Masters Interest that the Arrack & Sugar be bought that it do not Exceed foure Shilings ʒ Gallon the Arrack, & fowr Pence ʒ lb. the Sugar</p> <p>There was Sent from Bombay two Butts wch. is Said to Containe Six Goa Hogsheads but received no more then One hundred twenty Eight Gallons in the whole, they Alledging that the Casks were Worme Eaten in which it was putt and Leaked Out Wherefore the Storekeeper is Ordered to write</p> <p>Margin Notes: Govr. & Capt. Bazett to buy ye. Goods. proper to buy Arrad. @ 4/ ʒ gatt. & Sugar @ 4d ʒ lb. Arr: Sent from Bombay (leakt Out)</p>	<p>The sugar was much wanted, but not so much the arrack, since the Company had a good quantity of Madeira wine. Yet it was thought never proper to refuse arrack when it could be bought at four shillings a gallon if it was good. The council therefore believed it best for the Honourable Masters' interest that the arrack and sugar be bought, provided the arrack did not exceed four shillings a gallon and the sugar foupence a pound.</p> <p>Two butts had been sent from Bombay, said to contain six Goa hogsheads, but only one hundred and twenty-eight gallons were received in all. The captain alleged that the casks were worm-eaten, so that the contents had run out and leaked away. The storekeeper was therefore ordered to write [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The rice decision reveals a deliberate grading of provisions by quality and consumer. Bazett distinguished the fine new rice, which would sell to the planters, from the coarse rice the Company could not sell and would keep for its slaves, so the stores were managed as a two-tier supply. The reasoning treats the slaves as the residual market for goods the free inhabitants would not buy, the same logic by which the worst stock was directed to those with no choice in the matter.</p> <p>The wheat purchase rests on a seasonal dietary problem peculiar to the island. Yams, the staple, were held unwholesome to eat in the rainy season, so wheat was bought as a substitute fit for the slaves during those months. The entry shows the bench planning the labour force's diet around the agricultural calendar, securing an alternative grain precisely when the main crop could not safely be eaten.</p> <p>The bench fixed firm price ceilings as the condition of purchase, four shillings a gallon for arrack and foupence a pound for sugar. These caps sit well below the eight or nine shillings a gallon the captain had hoped to make, showing the council using its position as the principal buyer to hold the dearth-driven price down. The willingness to buy arrack even when Madeira wine was in stock, so long as it stayed within the cap, marks a judgement that cheap spirits were always worth securing for resale through the stores.</p> <p>Speculations</p> <p>The discrepancy between the six Goa hogsheads said to have been shipped and the one hundred and twenty-eight gallons actually received points to the bench suspecting loss in transit rather than accepting the worm-eaten casks at face value. Ordering the storekeeper to write the matter up created a documentary record against the supplying port, the same device the council had resolved to use on 29 November 1715 when Bengal goods arrived short, when it sought the directors' order that short-delivering captains be charged the island price. Reducing the shortfall to writing preserved the Company's claim while leaving the captain's excuse on record to be tested at home.</p>
255	246	<p>March 1715/6 write on the back of the Bill of Loading what we received and no more Edward Byfeld Antipas Tovey Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 6th. March 1715/6 at Union Castle in James Valley. Pres:t Isaac Pyke Esqr. Governr. Geo: Haswell Depty. Matth: Bazett 3 & Antip: Tovey 4th. in Councill The Governr. reports he has offered Capt. Arlond foure Shillings a Gallon for Batavia Arrack three Shillings for Goa, and three Shillings for Goa and Batavia Mixt, Which tho he Said he would not take, Yet we See his Long boat Loaden wth. arrack counting a Slatch to come a Shoar as Soon as the high Surfe is abated, and therefore Conclude he designs to take our money, and Likewise foure pence</p>	<p>The storekeeper was ordered to write on the back of the bill of lading what had been received and no more. The consultation was signed by Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield.</p> <p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 6 March 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council.</p> <p>The Governor reported that he had offered Captain Arlond four shillings a gallon for Batavia arrack, three shillings for Goa arrack, and three shillings for Goa and Batavia arrack mixed. Though Arlond had said he would not take it, he was seen to have his longboat loaded with arrack and waiting for a chance to come ashore as soon as the high surf abated. The Governor</p>

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		<p>per Pound for Sugar, and the Governr. has Offered Nine Shillings ꝑ hundred for Rice Orderd.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Govr. price for Goods ꝑ Capt. Arlond.</p>	<p>therefore concluded that Arlond intended to take the Company's money. The Governor had also offered fourpence a pound for sugar and nine shillings a hundredweight for rice.</p> <p>The council ordered [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The Governor's reading of Arlond's loaded longboat shows the bench interpreting a seller's conduct against his words. Arlond had refused the offered prices, yet his preparing to land the arrack the moment the surf allowed betrayed his real intention to accept them, so the Governor judged the refusal a bargaining posture rather than a final answer. The episode reveals the council weighing a trader's actions over his stated position when fixing how hard to hold its terms.</p> <p>The graded arrack prices distinguish the two sources by value. Batavia arrack was offered four shillings a gallon and Goa arrack only three, with the mixed sort also at three, so the Dutch-Asian spirit commanded a premium over the Portuguese-Indian. The pricing shows the bench discriminating between commodities of the same name by origin and quality, the same care it had shown in grading the new rice for planters against the coarse rice kept for slaves.</p> <p>The full schedule of offers, arrack by type, sugar at fourpence a pound and rice at nine shillings a hundredweight, marks the Governor setting firm ceilings across the whole cargo. The prices sit at or below the caps the council had authorised on 3 March 1715/16, confirming that the Governor negotiated within limits the bench had fixed in advance. The arrangement let him bargain freely on the spot while keeping every purchase inside the price the council judged to serve the Honourable Masters' interest.</p>
<p>256</p>	<p>247</p>	<p>March 1715/6 Orderd. That all Proper Advertizements which is Usuell to be Published at this time in Order to the Settling of Accounts &c. to the 25. of March instant be forthwith Published, and that there be no Serving out in the Honble. Compas. Stores from the 25th. March till fourteen days after.</p> <p>By the Worshipfull Governr. & Council. An Advertizement.</p> <p>These are to will and require all Persons Inhabi tants of this Island That they give in An Account (According to Usuell Custom) of all Persons in their families, also of all their Free and Hired Land, and Cattle in their Severall kinds which they had the last year and now Possess into the Secretarys Office on or before the 25. of this Inst: and Likewise of all their Cattle Upon the Common. And that whereas the Store Books will be Settled in Order to Reckon with every one in the Honble. Compas. Stores as Usuell on the 25th. of this Instant.</p> <p>These are therefore to give Notice Likewise, that from and after the Said 25. March there will be no Serving out of Goods at the Said Honble. Compas. Stores for fourteen days after Said day. Dated at Union Castle in James Valley this 6. day of March 1715/6.</p> <p>Signd ꝑ Order of Govr. & Counc: Antip: Tovey Sect: Capt.</p> <p>Margin Notes: to publish ye. Usuell Advertizemt. at ye. End of ye. Year. to give Acct. of Families &c. no Serving out ꝑ ye. Stores for 14 day.</p>	<p>The council ordered that all the usual advertisements published at this time of year, for the settling of accounts up to 25 March instant, be published at once. It also ordered that there be no serving out of goods at the Honourable Company's stores from 25 March until fourteen days after.</p> <p>By the Worshipful the Governor and council, an advertisement was issued.</p> <p>It required all inhabitants of the island to give in, by the usual custom, an account of all persons in their families, and of all their free and hired land and of all their cattle of every kind, both what they had held the last year and what they now held. This was to be delivered into the Secretary's office on or before 25 March instant, together with an account of all their cattle held on the Common. The store books would be settled, as usual, on 25 March, in order to reckon with everyone at the Honourable Company's stores.</p> <p>It gave notice that from and after 25 March there would be no serving out of goods at the stores for fourteen days after that day. The advertisement was dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 6 March 1715/16 and signed by order of the Governor and council by Antipas Tovey, secretary.</p> <p>Interpretations The annual return marks the start of the Company's accounting year on Lady Day. By requiring every inhabitant to declare his household, his free and hired land and his cattle as held last year and now, the bench captured a yearly census of population and property at 25 March, the date on which the store books were balanced and every account reckoned. The exercise produced the documentary base for the land and cattle register and for the abstract of debts, tying demographic and property data to the financial year-end.</p> <p>The fourteen-day closure of the stores converts the year-end into a controlled accounting pause. With no goods served out for two weeks after 25 March, the storekeeper could strike each person's balance without</p>

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			<p>fresh transactions disturbing it, giving the books a clean cut-off. The measure shows the bench treating the annual reckoning as a formal stocktaking that required trade to halt while the accounts were settled.</p> <p>The requirement to declare both free and hired land and cattle held on the Common reaches the whole basis of the island's leasehold and grazing economy. Distinguishing owned from hired land and counting beasts on the common pasture let the Company police its tenures and the use of its waste, the same concern behind the goat rules and the concealed-land advertisement of 24 October 1715. The return made the inhabitants account yearly for their use of Company land as well as for their debts.</p>
257	248	<p>March 1715/6 Captains Haswell & Bazett reported that they have been and veiwed Martin Normans Plan tation with foure more Planters Vizt. John Alexander Henry Francis John Goodwin and Robert Marsh and finding that the Provisions now remaining thereon are not worth more then forty Shillings there being not above foure hundred Old Yams and very few Suckers. Mr. Tovey proposeth Mr. William Seale Planter to be one of the Securitys for Payment of One hundred & thirty Pound to his daughter in Law, in the room of James Vesey Excepted against. Orderd that that Security be taken wee Esteeming it Sufficient for the Said Childs fortune which is one hundred & thirty Pound, and that the Execut:rs may have the Bond made to them on the behalf of the Child if they desire it, otherwise that it be made to the Honble. Compa. on behalf of the Said Orphan Margaret Bagley Infant. Orderd That Mr. Tovey take the three blacks againe and have the bonds for the mony he deliverd to the Executors returnd to him, Also Upon his delivering up that new bond of Security to the Execut: and as a Proviso also that these blacks Labour be alsoe applied towards the Payment of the Said money. The Governr. Says he is Informed that this Ships Sends her Long boat and Fetches Off a great Deale of Wood from this Island, which tends Margin Notes: Normans planta: Valued. Mr. Tovey Security Accepted. To have ye. 3 Blacks to put them to Work for ye. mony. Ships boat fetcheth Wood.</p>	<p>Captains Haswell and Bazett reported that they had viewed Martin Norman's plantation with four more planters, namely John Alexander, Henry Francis, John Goodwin and Robert Marsh. They found that the provisions now remaining on it were not worth more than forty shillings, there being not above four hundred old yams and very few suckers.</p> <p>Mr Tovey proposed Mr William Seale, planter, to be one of the sureties for the payment of £130 0s 0d to his daughter-in-law, in the room of James Vesey, who had been objected against.</p> <p>The council ordered that this security be taken, since it seemed sufficient for the child's fortune of £130 0s 0d. It directed that the executors might have the bond made to them on the child's behalf if they wished, or otherwise that it be made to the Honourable Company on behalf of the orphan Margaret Bagley, an infant.</p> <p>The council ordered that Mr Tovey take the three slaves again and have the bonds for the money he had delivered to the executors returned to him. On his delivering up that new bond of security, and on a further condition that the slaves' labour also be applied towards the payment of the money, the order was to stand.</p> <p>The Governor said he was informed that the ship sent her longboat and fetched off a great deal of wood from the island, which tended [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Norman valuation collapses his claim almost entirely. Where Norman had asserted forty thousand yams, the panel of two councillors and four planters found provisions worth no more than forty shillings, with not above four hundred old yams and few suckers, vindicating the council's suspicion expressed at the consultation of 21 February 1715/16. The enlarged and balanced panel, including Norman's own influence through the principal planters, produced a figure he could not dispute, showing the device of a mixed valuation working exactly as intended to settle a contested count.</p> <p>The substitution of Seale for Vesey shows the orphan's security being reconstructed to meet an executor's objection. Bagley had refused Vesey and Alexander as insufficient at the consultation of 28 February 1715/16, so Tovey replaced Vesey with Seale to satisfy the demand for stronger sureties. The flexibility over whether the bond ran to the executors or to the Company on the infant's behalf reveals the court of orphans adapting the form of the guarantee to whoever could best enforce it for the child.</p> <p>The slaves attached to the orphan's maintenance are treated as both security and a source of repayment. Tovey was to take back the three slaves and return the executors' bonds, but the slaves' labour was also charged towards the £130 0s 0d, so the same human beings served as the child's capital and as a working asset against the debt. The arrangement shows the orphan's fortune resting on bonded labour whose value lay in its continuing employment, not merely in its sale.</p>

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258	249	<p>March 1715/6 Tends to the Destruction of the Place and that there are Several Blacks who belong to Some Planter who lives near Lemon Valley who Prepare the wood for them. The Govern.r Says he thinks if those blacks could be discovered that they ought to be forfeited to the Hon.ble Comp.a for at Batavia for much less faults their blacks are bound to work for the Dutch East India Company 29 Yeers. / The following Petition was presented. To the Worsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Govern.r & Councill. The most Humble Petition of Thomas Leech. Humbly. / That forasmuch as your Petitioner being Justly turned out of the Hon.ble Comp.as Service and having but half pay Allowed him from March last Humbly prays Your Worship and Councill would be Please to take the aforesaid Premises into your Mature Consideration and allow your Petitioner his whole pay dureing the time of his doing his duty Your Petition.r being but a Poor man and very feebly and litle or nothing Else to depend on to Subsist his wife and Children And your Petition.r as in duty bound Shall Ever pray. (Signed) Thom.s [his mark] Leech Mark. The fellow was turned out for being Lazy and Idle, and Neglecting his duty, and being often Complained of</p> <p>Margin Notes: Govr Opinion thereon Island St Helena Sneweth. That Leech his pet[i]tion for his pay</p>	<p>The fetching off of wood tended to the destruction of the place. There were several slaves belonging to a planter who lived near Lemon Valley who prepared the wood for the ship's men. The Governor said he thought that, if those slaves could be discovered, they ought to be forfeited to the Honourable Company, since at Batavia slaves were bound to work for the Dutch East India Company for ninety-nine years for much smaller faults.</p> <p>The following petition was presented, headed Island of St Helena and addressed to the Worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>Thomas Leech set out that, having been justly turned out of the Honourable Company's service, he had been allowed only half pay since the previous March. He asked the Governor and council to consider his case and to allow him his whole pay for the time he had done his duty. He was a poor man and very sickly, with little or nothing else to support his wife and children. The petition was signed by Thomas Leech with his mark.</p> <p>Leech had been turned out for being lazy and idle, and for neglecting his duty, and for being often complained [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The Governor's proposal to forfeit the wood-cutting slaves shows the bench reaching for a penalty modelled on a rival colonial regime. He cited the Dutch practice at Batavia, where slaves were bound to the Dutch East India Company for ninety-nine years for lesser faults, to justify confiscating slaves whose owner let them strip the island's timber for passing ships. The reasoning treats deforestation as a serious offence against the settlement and looks to forfeiture of the labour involved, the slaves themselves becoming the Company's property as the sanction.</p> <p>The Leech petition exposes the workings of a graded pay penalty for misconduct. Dismissed for laziness and neglect, Leech had been kept on half pay since the previous March rather than cut off entirely, and now sought his full wages for the period he had served. The case shows the Company using reduced pay as a calibrated punishment, withholding part of a man's wages for poor service while not depriving a sick and burdened servant of all support at once.</p> <p>The petition's framing turns the man's poverty and dependants into the ground of his appeal. Leech pleaded his sickness and his wife and children to move the bench to restore his full pay, presenting need rather than merit as the basis for relief. The contrast between his stated destitution and his recorded faults set the council a familiar choice between discipline and charity toward a poor servant with a family to keep.</p>
259	250	<p>March 1715/6 of and Never minded, but he alledges he was Sick which was the Occasion of his Neglect Ordered That he being Miserably Poor and alsoe indebted to the Hon.ble Comp.a that he be allowed his Usuall Pay unhill the time he was turnd out, He alledging, alsoe that he Hir[d] one to do his duty for above three m[on]ths. The Petition of Joseph Bates was Presented. To the Worsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Govern.r &c.a & Councill. The Humble Petition of Joseph Bates Marshall. Humbly. / That your Petitioner having Pur chased a dwelling House of Samuel Algate upon his going off the Island Standing Scituate in James Valley, Humbly prays for Security thereof the Same may be registered in the Register Book of Said Island. And as in duty bound Shall Ever pray &c.a (Signed) Joseph Bates Ordered That it be granted Provided he Pay a Small debt of twenty one Shillings & Six pence, that Samuel Algate Owed to M.r Wad[e]sell at his going off, he having Neglected the L[j]mmitted time</p>	<p>Leech had never minded his work, but he claimed he had been sick, which was the cause of his neglect.</p> <p>The council ordered that, he being miserably poor and also indebted to the Honourable Company, he be allowed his usual pay up to the time he was turned out. He had claimed that he had hired a man to do his duty for above three months.</p> <p>The petition of Joseph Bates was then presented, headed Island of St Helena and addressed to the Worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>Joseph Bates, marshal, set out that he had bought a dwelling house from Samuel Algate on his going off the island, standing in James Valley. He asked that, for his security, it be registered in the register book of the island. The petition was signed by Joseph Bates.</p> <p>The council ordered that the request be granted, provided he paid a small debt of £1 1s 6d that Samuel Algate owed to Mr Woodzell at his going off, Algate having neglected the limited time [...]</p>

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		<p>Margin Notes: Granted Island St Helena Sneweth Jos: Bates petition to Register a house Granted on Condition he pay Algate debt to Wadesell</p>	<p>Interpretations The grant of Leech's full pay turns on the council accepting sickness as an excuse for neglect once poverty and debt were weighed in. Though he had been dismissed for laziness, his claim that illness caused his failure and that he had hired a substitute for above three months moved the bench to allow his usual pay to the day he was turned out. The decision shows the council blending discipline with relief, restoring the wages of a destitute and indebted servant rather than enforcing the half-pay penalty to the letter. The Bates registration shows the conditional use of the register to clear an absent man's debts. The marshal's title to Algate's house was registered only on condition that he settle the £1 1s 6d Algate still owed Woodzell, so the bench used the act of registration as leverage to recover a small debt left by a departed inhabitant. The mechanism turns the security a buyer wanted into a means of satisfying a third party's claim, the register conferring title only once outstanding obligations on the property were met. The recurrence of Samuel Algate's departure as the source of unsettled accounts ties this entry to a wider problem of debts left by those leaving the island. Algate, discharged and sent to Bencoolen in June 1715, had gone off without settling his obligations within the time allowed, leaving claims that surfaced again in the Woodzell estate dealings of 21 February 1715/16. The case shows how the bench pursued the loose ends of an emigrant's affairs through later transactions touching his former property.</p>
260	251	<p>March 1715/6 Time of Registering Deeds, Bargains &c.a / Cap.t Bazett brought in his monthly Acc.t of Goods Sold and delivered out from the 25 of December 1715, to the 25.th January 1715/6 An Acc.o of Goods Sold &c.a D.d to the Inhabitants Gen.l Charges & Plantation House from Dec. 4, 25 1715 to Jan. the 25 1715/16. viz.t To the Inhabitants Arrack 83 7/8 Gall. a 7/6 31 9 4 1/2 Sugar 283 1/2 a 8 p.c 9 9 Wine Maderia 141 1/2 Gall. a 5 36 8 9 Vinegar 2 Gallons a 4 8 Oyles viz.t Rape 1 Gall. a 0017:00 Florence 14 Gall a 12 0015:00 Linseed 4 1/2 D.o a 8 01:10:00 2 18 Soap 78 English a 17 5 10 6 Flower 1530 a 3 1/2 22 6 3 Bread 841 1/2 a 3 1/2 12 5 5 1/4 Rice 12 a 3 1/2 3 6 Sugar Candy 13 a 1 13 Lime Juice 9 1/4 Gall a 6 2 6 3 Pipes 14 doz a 6 p Doz 7 Broad Cloath 3/4 yard Black 11 3 Perpetts 4 yd. at 2/5 9 Druggetts 11 yd. a 3/6 p yard 1 16 Flannells 3 yd. a 3/3 [Q] 9 Fustians viz.t Plain 2 1/2 yards a 1/8 0 4 2 Corded 3 yards a 2 0 6 0 10 2 Carried over</p>	<p>Island of St Helena. The time of registering deeds, bargains and the like. Captain Bazett brought in his monthly account of goods sold and delivered out from 25 December 1715 to 25 January 1715/16. An account of goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, the general charges and the plantation house, from 25 December 1715 to 25 January 1715/16. To the inhabitants: Arrack 837 1/8 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £31 9s 2 1/4d Sugar 283 1/2 pounds at 8d per pound £9 9s 0d Wine, Madeira 141 1/4 gallons at 5s per gallon £35 8s 9d Vinegar 2 gallons at 4s per gallon £0 8s 0d Oils, namely: Rape 1 gallon £0 1s 7d Florence 1 1/4 gallons at 12s per gallon £0 15s 0d Linseed 4 1/2 gallons at 8s per gallon £1 16s 0d Soap, English 78 pounds at 17d per pound £5 10s 6d Flour 1,530 pounds at 3 1/2d per pound £22 6s 3d Bread 841 1/2 pounds at 3 1/2d per pound £12 5s 5 1/4d Rice 12 pounds at 3 1/2d per pound £0 3s 6d Sugar candy 13 pounds at 1s per pound £0 13s 0d Lime juice 9 1/4 gallons at 6s per gallon £2 6s 3d Pipes 14 dozen at 6d per dozen £0 7s 0d Broad cloth, black 3/4 yard £0 11s 0d Perpets 4 yards at 2s 3d per yard £0 9s 0d Druggetts 11 1/2 yards at 3s 6d per yard £1 16s 0d Flannells 3 yards at 3s 3d per yard £0 9s 0d Fustians, namely: Plain 2 1/2 yards at 1s 8d per yard £0 4s 2d Corded 3 yards at 2s per yard £0 6s 0d Carried over £10 2s 0d Interpretations The account is the monthly store return required under the accounting discipline tightened at the consultation of 3 January 1715/16, falling within the prime season of heavy consumption. Arrack at seven shillings and sixpence a gallon dominates the inhabitants' purchases at over thirty-one pounds, the settled store rate holding steady against the eight or nine shillings a gallon Captain Arlond hoped to command at</p>

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			<p>the consultation of 3 March 1715/16. The single leaf shows the Company's internal price standing firm against the dearth-driven rates offered by passing ships.</p> <p>The goods listed map the trans-shipment economy on which the island depended. The arrack came from Batavia, the wine from Madeira, the Florence oil from the Mediterranean, and the perpets, druggets, flannels and fustians from the English cloth trades, all passing through the stores to the inhabitants. Florence oil was a fine olive oil used in cooking and at table, perpets and druggets were durable worsted cloths for everyday wear, and fustian was a coarse cotton-and-linen cloth, the plain and corded sorts distinguished by their weave. The range shows the store supplying the settlement's drink, food, lighting oil and clothing from a network reaching across three continents.</p> <p>The division of the return between the inhabitants, the general charges and the plantation house reflects the four-fold accounting the Company imposed on its stores. Charging the same goods to each head separately let the bench track where its stock was consumed and recover the cost against the right account, so the leaf served as both a sales record and a control on internal distribution.</p>
261	252	<p>March 1715/6 Bro: over Norwich Stuffs a yd. a 13 2 2 Combs 3 Ivory a 1.11 00-5-09 1 Comb Brush 00-0-08 6 5 Pins viz.t 7 Thousand a 1.9 12 3 6 Papers Blankett 1 13 3 Threads viz.t 1.½ Whited Browne at 6.8 0-10-00 1.D.o 8-8 ½ D.o a 9/8 4-10 5 Ounces a 9 p.oz 3-9 6 D.o a 1/8½ 7-9 4 D.o a 1/5 5-8 1 D.o a 4 2-6 2 3 2 Buttons viz.t Coat 2 doz. a 1/3 2-6 Brest 5 doz. a 6 2-6 5 Mohair 1½ oz. a 20 2 6 Shoe Thread 1.7 2 6 Twine viz.t a 2/4 1 7 8 Saille Needles 3 Doz 3 8 Hollands Duck 2 Bolts 9 18 Paints viz.t 15 White Lead a 6 01-7-6 8 Red D.o D.o 01-4-0 3 Oun Indigo a 8 p.t 01-2-0 13 6 Corks viz.t 15 doz a 3 01-3-9 ½ Cork Wood 01-0-2 3 11 Carried over</p>	<p>The account of goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants continued, brought over.</p> <p>Norwich stuffs [...] yards at 13d per yard £0 2s 2d Combs, ivory 3 at 1s 11d each £0 5s 9d Comb brush 1 £0 0s 8d Pins, namely: [...] 7,000 at 1s 9d per thousand £0 12s 3d Papers, blanket 6 at 1s [...] £0 13s 0d Threads, namely: Whited brown 1¾ at 6d £0 10s 0d Whited brown 1 £0 8s 8d Whited brown ½ at 9s 8d £0 4s 10d [...] 5 ounces at 9d per ounce £0 3s 9d [...] 6 at 1s 3¼d £0 7s 9d [...] 4 at 1s 5d £0 5s 8d [...] 1 at [...] £0 2s 6d Buttons, namely: Coat 2 dozen at 1s 3d per dozen £0 2s 6d Breast 5 dozen at 6d per dozen £0 2s 6d Mohair 1½ ounces at 20d per ounce £0 2s 6d Shoe thread 17 £0 2s 6d Twine [...] at 2s 4d £0 1s 7d Sail needles 3 dozen £0 3s 8d Hollands duck 2 bolts £9 18s 0d Paints, namely: White lead 15 at 6d £0 7s 6d Red lead 8 at 6d £0 4s 0d Own indigo 3 at 8d £0 2s 0d Corks, namely: Corks 15 dozen at 3d per dozen £0 3s 9d Cork wood ¼ £0 1s 2d Carried over [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The leaf extends the store's reach beyond food and drink into the materials of trades and household manufacture. Sewing threads, mohair, shoe thread, twine, sail needles, buttons and pins supplied the settlement's own making and mending, while white lead, red lead and indigo were the painters' and dyers' raw materials. The single bolt-quantity of Hollands duck at nearly ten pounds, a heavy linen canvas used for sails and hard-wearing garments, is the largest item, marking the stores as the source of sailcloth as well as clothing.</p> <p>The goods again trace the breadth of the Company's supply network. Norwich stuffs were worsted dress fabrics from the English textile centre, the ivory combs and mohair came through the eastern trade, and the paints and Hollands duck through the European. The store thus furnished the inhabitants not only with consumables but with the tools and stock of</p>

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			their crafts, from tailoring to boatwork, all drawn from the same long-distance trade that brought the arrack and wine.
262	253	<p>March 1715/6 Bro: over Pewter viz.t 2 Basons a 4/9 00-9-6 1 Close Stool Pan 00-8-10 1 Chamber Pott 00-4-3 2 Porringers a 1/9 00-3-6 1 3 1 Tin Ware 1 Kettle 2 1 Iron Monger's Ware viz.t 2 p.r Hinges H. a 3 6-00 3 p.r Dovetails a 5 1-3 1 Chest Lock 2-6½ 1 Hoe 2-2 1 D.o broad & Ground 2-8 14 7½ Iron Mongers Ware 1 Shovell 2-00 1 Spitts 5-00 1 p.r Fire Tongs 2-06 1 Frying Pan 3-09 12 9 Nailles viz.t 6 4 a 10½ 5-03 90.10 7½ 18-09 3.24 7½ 1-10½ 10.20 7 5-10 4.30 7 2-4 1 14 0 Glass Ware viz.t 7 Canary Glasses a 18 10-6 2 Wine D.o 24 4-00 9 Ale D.o 30 7-6 10 Panes Glass 6/8 a 12 10-00 1 12 00 Hooks & Lines viz.t 6 doz Hooks N.o 1 a 2 p Doz 1-3 3 D.o 3 a 6 1-6 4 4-7 2-4 4 5-9 3-0 8 1 Carried over</p>	<p>The account of goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants continued, brought over. Pewter, namely: Basons 2 at 4s 9d each £0 9s 6d Close-stool pan 1 £0 5s 10d Chamber pot 1 £0 4s 3d Porringers 2 at 1s 9d each £0 3s 6d Subtotal £1 3s 1d Tin ware: Kettle 1 £0 2s 1d Ironmonger's ware, namely: Hinges 2 pairs at 3s £0 6s 0d Dovetails 3 pairs at 5d £0 1s 3d Chest lock 1 £0 2s 6½d Hoe 1 £0 2s 2d Hoe, broad and ground 1 £0 2s 8d Subtotal £0 14s 7½d Ironmonger's ware: Shovel 1 £0 2s 0d Spits [...] £0 5s 0d Fire tongs 1 pair £0 2s 6d Frying pan 1 £0 3s 0d Subtotal £0 12s 9d Nails, namely: [...] 6 at 10½d £0 5s 3d [...] 30 at 7½d £0 18s 9d [...] 24 at 7½d £0 1s 10½d [...] 20 at 7d £0 5s 10d [...] 30 at 7d £0 2s 4d Subtotal £1 14s 0d Glassware, namely: Canary glasses 7 at 18d £0 10s 6d Wine glasses 2 at [...] £0 4s 0d Ale glasses 9 at [...] £0 7s 6d Pane glass 10 panes at 12d £0 10s 0d Subtotal £1 12s 0d Hooks and lines, namely: Hooks 6 dozen, number 1, at [...] per dozen £0 1s 3d [...] 3 dozen at 6d £0 1s 6d [...] 4 at 4s 7d £0 2s 4d [...] 4 at 5s 9d £0 3s 0d Subtotal £0 8s 1d Carried over [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The account shows the stores acting as the settlement's general hardware and household supplier. Pewter vessels, a tin kettle, hinges, locks, hoes, shovels, spits, tongs and frying pans furnished both the kitchen and the building trades, while the graded nails supported construction and repair across the island. The entries confirm that the inhabitants depended on the Company for the everyday metal goods of domestic and working life, none of it made locally.</p> <p>The fishing tackle and the glassware mark two distinct needs the store met. The hooks and lines supplied the inshore fishery that helped feed the settlement, the same activity for which ten hands were sought in the slave muster of 24 January 1715/16, while the canary, wine and ale glasses served the drinking culture sustained by the arrack and Madeira at the head of the account. The window panes among the glassware point to the building and repair of houses, the store furnishing the materials of construction alongside those of the table.</p>
263	254	<p>March 1715/6 Bro: over Hooks & Lines Continued 4 Doz D.o a 10 4-0 2 7 a 15 2-06 6 6</p>	<p>The account of goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants continued, brought over. Hooks and lines continued: [...] 4 dozen at 12d £0 4s 0d [...] 2 at 15d £0 2s 6d</p>

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		<p>Lines viz.t 6 Lines N.o 2 a 5 2-6 12 N.o 3 a 5 5-00 12 4-6½ 6 6 6 16-13½ 6 6 2 76-3 8 7 4 1 7 10 Tea viz.t 10 ½ a 9 p.t 7 8 6 12 Catty D.o a 9 ea 5 8 00 12 16 6 Wiggs viz.t Sold at an Outcry being very much damaged 1 Wigg a 13-00 1 D.o 1-13-9 1 D.o 2-6-0 4 12 9 Shirts out of the Cardigans Cargoe. viz.t 67 Shirts a 3 ea 10 1 Ginghams 5 p.s a 9/9 2 8 9 N.o Elias 6 p.s a 10-5 3 2 6 Long Cloath 2 p.s at 4/4½ 2 9 6 Gurrahs 1 p.s 12 6 Dungrees 9 p.s a 8-8 2 11 Patney Chints 8 p.s S.t George ab.t 1-2-6 9 Cheese 15 a 12 15 9 Shoes viz.t 2 p.r English a 6 a 12 4 1 p.r Boys 1 9 6 p.r Island Shoes a 4 1 4 00 1 18 1 Carried over</p>	<p>Subtotal £0 6s 6d Lines, namely: Lines, number 2 6 at 5d £0 2s 6d Number 3 12 at 5d £0 5s 0d Number 4 12 at 6½d £0 6s 6d [...] 6 at 13½d £0 6s 6d [...] 2 at 3s 8d £0 7s 4d Subtotal £1 7s 10d Tea, namely: Tea 10 pounds at 9s per pound £7 18s 6d [reading uncertain] Tea, common 12 pounds at 9s [...] each £5 8s 0d [reading uncertain] Subtotal £12 16s 6d Wigs, namely, sold at an outcry, being very much damaged: Wig 1 £0 13s 0d Wig 1 £1 13s 9d Wig 1 £2 5s 0d Subtotal £4 12s 9d Shirts out of the Cardigan's cargo, namely: Shirts 67 at 3s each £10 1s 0d Ginghams 5 pieces at 9s 9d £2 8s 9d Neilias 6 pieces at 10s 5d £3 2s 6d Long cloth 2 pieces at £1 4s 9d £2 9s 6d Gurrahs 1 piece £1 2s 6d Dungarees 9 pieces at 5s 8d £2 11s 0d Patney chintz 8 pieces, of the St George, at about 1s 2s 6d [...] £9 0s 0d Cheese 15¼ at 12d £0 15s 9d Shoes, namely: English 27 pieces at 6s 2d £12 0s 4d Boys 1 piece £0 1s 9d Island shoes 6 pieces at 4s £1 4s 0d Subtotal £1 18s 1d Carried over [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The Indian textiles form the most valuable group of inhabitant purchases, drawn from a single named cargo. The shirts, gingham, neilias, long cloth, gurrahs, dungarees and Patney chintz had come out of the Cardigan, which lay in the road from 12 December 1715 and sailed for England on 27 December 1715, so the store was distributing fresh eastern piece-goods within weeks of their arrival. Gingham were striped or checked cotton cloths, dungarees a coarse blue cotton, gurrahs a plain Indian calico, and chintz a printed and glazed cotton prized for clothing and furnishing, the whole reflecting the Indian linen and cotton trade on which the Company's profit largely rested.</p> <p>The tea entries record the high unit value of a commodity dependent on the China trade. At about nine shillings a pound, the tea was among the dearest goods sold to the inhabitants, its scarcity confirmed by the Governor's move to buy Captain Small's parcel at the consultation of 21 February 1715/16 when no China ship was expected. The store thus passed on to the settlement a luxury whose price reflected the long and uncertain supply from the East.</p> <p>The damaged wigs sold by outcry show the salvage method applied to spoiled goods of real worth. Unlike the worthless cheese that found no bidder at the consultation of 16 February 1715/16, the wigs retained enough value despite their condition to fetch between thirteen shillings and over two pounds each at auction. Selling damaged stock openly to the highest bidder recovered what fixed-price sale could not, while the locally made island shoes among the footwear mark one of the few manufactured goods the settlement produced for itself.</p>
264	255	<p>March 1715/6 Bro: over Stationary Ware viz.t</p>	<p>The account of goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants continued, brought over. Stationary ware, namely:</p>

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		<p>5 Quire Paper a 1/4 6 8 2 Testaments 1/9 3 6 3 Horne Books a 4 1-00 11 2 Cutlary Ware viz.t 7 p.r Sizzars a 8½ 5 1½ Taylors Cloths viz.t 1 Coate 1-00-8 4 Waste Coates a 9-4 1-17-4 2 p.r Breeches a 8-3 0-16-6 3 14 6 Stockings viz.t 2 p.r Thread a 4/6 9 0 1 p.r Scarlett 9 0 18 00 Hatts viz.t 2 Course a 4/4 8 8 1 Hatt Sold at out Cry 17 6 Damaged 1 D.o Sold a D.o Damaged 11-00 1 17 2 Pepper 1 1 Totall 208 12 4 Generall Charges D.r To Store Goods from Dec.r the 25 1715 To January y.e 25 1715/6. viz.t Arrack 67 Gall. a 7/6 p gall. 25 2 6 Sugar 79 a 8 p.c 2 12 8 Wine Maderia 50 Gall. a 5 12 10 Vinegar 2½ Gall. a 4 10 Flower 159 a 3½ 2 4 7½ Bread 450 a 3½ 3 12 11 Carried over</p>	<p>Quire paper 5 at 1s 4d £0 6s 8d Testaments 2 at [...] £0 3s [...]d Horn books 3 at 4d £0 1s 0d Subtotal £0 11s 8d Cutlery ware, namely: Scissors 7 pairs at 8¾d £0 5s 1¼d Soldiers' clothes, namely: Coats 1 at [...] £1 0s 8d Waistcoats 4 at 9s 4d £1 17s 4d Breeches 2 pairs at 8s 3d £0 16s 6d Subtotal £3 14s 6d Stockings, namely: Thread 2 pairs at 4s 6d £0 9s 0d Scarlet 1 pair £0 9s 0d Subtotal £0 18s 0d Hats, namely: Coarse 2 at 4s 4d £0 8s 8d Hat, sold at outcry, damaged 1 £0 17s 6d Damaged hats, sold [...] damaged £1 1s 0d Subtotal £1 17s 2d Pepper 1 £0 1s [...]d Total £208 13s [...]d General charges, debtor to store goods, from 25 December 1715 to 25 January 1715/16, namely: Arrack 67 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon £25 2s 6d Sugar 79 at 8d £2 12s 8d Wine, Madeira 50 gallons at 5s £12 10s 0d Vinegar 2 gallons at 4s £0 10s 0d Flour 159 at 3½d £2 4s 7½d Bread 450 at 3½d £3 12s 11d Carried over [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The total of just over two hundred and eight pounds fixes the inhabitants' purchases as the largest of the three heads in the December-to-January return, dwarfing the general charges that follow. The figure measures the settlement's reliance on the Company's stores for nearly every necessity, from drink and grain to cloth, hardware and stationery, all bought in a single peak season of the accounting year.</p> <p>The stationery and the soldiers' clothing point to two arms of the establishment the store supplied. Quire paper, Testaments and horn books served the island's schooling and religious instruction, the horn book being a child's primer of letters and the catechism mounted under a sheet of horn, while the coats, waistcoats and breeches clothed the garrison. The store thus furnished the means of literacy and worship alongside the uniforms of the soldiery.</p> <p>The opening of the general charges account marks the second head of the four-fold store accounting. The same staples, arrack, sugar, Madeira, vinegar, flour and bread, are charged here against the general and diet account rather than to individual inhabitants, at the identical rates, so that the cost of feeding the establishment and the table is recovered separately from private sales. The parallel pricing shows the Company tracking where its stock went while charging every consumer the same settled figure.</p>
265	256	<p>March 1715/6 Bro: over 1 5 Rice 146 a 3½ 2 7 Soape 18 a 17 1 5 6 Oyles viz.t Rape Oyles 6½ Gall. a 7 2 5 6 Linseed D.o a 8 04-10 Florence D.o ½ a 14 0-6-0 2 12 6 Sugar Candy 3 3 Tea viz.t 8 a 9 3 12 0 1 Catty D.o 9 0 4 1 Cheese 66¼ a 12 3 6 9 Iron mongers Ware viz.t 3 Sugar Shovells a 2/6 7 6</p>	<p>The general charges account continued, brought over.</p> <p>Rice 146 at 3½d £2 2s 7d Soap 18 at 17d £1 5s 6d Oils, namely: Rape oil 6½ gallons at 7s £2 5s 6d Linseed [...] at 8s £0 4s 0d Florence 1½ at 12s £0 16s 0d Subtotal £2 12s 6d Sugar candy 3 £0 3s 0d Tea, namely: Tea 8 at 9s £3 12s 0d Tea, common 1 £0 9s 0d Subtotal £4 1s 0d Cheese 66¾ at 12d £3 6s 9d</p>

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		<p>Nailes viz.t 17½ 10 D.o a 7½ 5 8 7¼ 12.30 7 7 4 12 3¼ Tin Ware viz.t 2 Flower Boxes a 6 ea 1 Corks 10 doz a 3 2 6 Twine 1 2 4 Glass Ware viz.t 4 Decanters 9-5½ Oz.s 1 Mugg 1/8 6 3/8 a 2½ p Oz.s 13 0¼ Druggett 10 yd. a 4 2 Hollands Duck 3½ yds. a 4/3 13 9¼ Flagg Brooms 6 a 6 ea 3 Carried over</p>	<p>Ironmonger's ware, namely: Sugar shovels 3 at 2s 6d £0 7s 6d Nails, namely: [...] 17½ at 7½d £0 5s 8½d [...] 12 at 30 [...] £0 7s [...]d Subtotal £0 12s 3½d Tin ware, namely: Flower boxes 2 at 6d each £0 1s 0d Corks 10 dozen at 3d £0 2s 6d Twine 1 £0 2s 4d Glassware, namely: Decanters 4 at 5¼ ounces, 9d [...] Mug 1 [...] [...]d Subtotal £0 13s 0d Druggets 10 yards at 4s £2 0s 0d Hollands duck 3½ yards at 4s 3d £0 13s 9d Flag brooms 6 at 6d each £0 3s 0d Carried over [...]</p> <p>Interpretations The general charges repeat the inhabitants' range of goods at the same rates, confirming the parallel pricing across the heads of the store account. Rice, soap, oils, tea, cheese, cloth and hardware are all charged to the general and diet account at the identical figures used for private sales, so the Company recovered the cost of supplying its own table and establishment without favouring it over the inhabitants. The method kept a single price for each good while separating who consumed it. The cheese charged to the general account stands in pointed contrast to the spoiled English cheese that found no buyer at the consultation of 16 February 1715/16. Here sound cheese at twelve pence a pound was consumed within the establishment at over three pounds in value, showing that the failure of the earlier outcry lay in the goods' condition rather than in any want of demand. The store carried good and bad stock alike, recovering value where it could and writing off only what had perished. The flag brooms and sugar shovels point to the practical upkeep of Company premises and stores. Brooms for cleaning and shovels for handling sugar in bulk were charged to the general account as the working equipment of the stores and the table, distinct from the goods sold on to inhabitants. The entries show the same account meeting both the consumption and the maintenance of the establishment.</p>
266	257	<p>March 1715/6 Bro: over Pepper 1 1 Dungrees 1 p.r 5 8 Cloath Brushes 2 a 2 4 Thread ½ Whited Brown a 6/8 3 4 Totall 65 14 3½ Plantation D.r To Store Goods from Dec.r y.e 25 1715 To Jan. y.e 4 25 1715/6. viz.t 1 Arrack 3 Quarts 5 7½ Sugar 1½ a 8 8 Soape 1½ a 17 17 Rape Oyle 4½ Gall. a 7 1 11 6 Nailes viz. 1 20 a 7 04-0-7 1 10 04-0-7½ 1 2½ 3 3 4 12 Ground Hoes a 2/6 1-10-0 12 Grubbing axes a 2/8 1-12-0 3 4 0 6 5 4 [...] Stiffson Sec.ry</p>	<p>The general charges account continued, brought over. Pepper 1 £0 1s 0d Dungarees 1 piece £0 5s 8d Cloth brushes 2 at 2s £0 4s 0d Thread, whited brown 2 at 6s 8d £0 3s 4d Total £65 14s 3½d Plantation, debtor to store goods, from 25 December 1715 to 25 January 1715/16, namely: Arrack 3 quarts £0 5s 7½d Sugar 1 at 8d £0 0s 8d Soap 1 at 17d £0 1s 5d Rape oil 4½ gallons at 7s £1 11s 6d Nails, namely: [...] 1 at 20, at 7d £0 4s 7d [...] 1 at 10 £0 4s 7½d Subtotal £0 1s 2½d Subtotal £3 3s 4d Ground hoes 12 at 2s 6d £1 10s 0d Grubbing axes 12 at 2s 8d £1 12s 0d Subtotal £3 4s 0d Total £6 5s 4d The account was signed by Antipas Tovey.</p> <p>Interpretations The three totals together complete the four-fold division of the store account and reveal the relative</p>

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			<p>weight of each head. The general charges came to just over sixty-five pounds and the plantation to only six pounds, both far below the inhabitants' two hundred and eight pounds, showing that private consumption, not the Company's own establishment or its plantations, drove the bulk of store sales in the season.</p> <p>The plantation account is dominated by tools rather than provisions. The ground hoes and grubbing axes, twelve of each, were the implements of clearing and cultivation, bought in quantity for the weeding and planting drive pressed through the Bazett survey and the order of February 1715/16 to mass the slaves on one plantation at a time. The small quantities of arrack, sugar, soap and oil set against the bulk purchase of tools confirm that the plantation account chiefly equipped the agricultural labour rather than fed it, the slaves' diet being met from yams and the Company's own stock.</p> <p>The grubbing axes mark the heavy clearance work the plantations still demanded. A grubbing axe was a mattock-like tool for digging out roots and stumps, its purchase in a round dozen pointing to ground being broken or reclaimed, consistent with the digging of the yam gut and the replanting of suckers ordered for the prime season. The tool list thus records the physical labour of extending and restoring the Company's cultivation at the very moment its workforce was found gravely short.</p>
267	258	Blank page	
268	259	<p>March 1715/6 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 13.th of March 1715/6 At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r George Haswell Dep.ty Pres.t Matt Bazett 3 Edward Byfeld 4.th 5 The reason of M.r Toveys not being Present is because on Wednesday last being the 7.th Instant the Gov.r going up into the Country to Shew General Aislaby Some of the best Parts of the Island, M.r Tovey for reasons to himself best known being in a violent rage drew out his Sword and Stabbed M.r Francis Wrantham One of the Planters Whereupon Capt. Bazett finding the wound to be Dangerous that M.r Wrantham had rec.d Ordered M.r Tovey to be Secured upon the Guard and Sent the Govern.r word Immediatly who came down from the Country thereupon, and finding M.r Wrantham to be very ill of the Said wound, the Govern.r Committed M.r Tovey to the Prison, where he is at Present. The Govern.r Reports that yesterday at Noon he receiv.d the following Petition from M.r Wrantham. To the Worship.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Govern.r &c.a & Council The Humb.le Petition of Francis Wrantham Planter. That whereas yo.r Petition.r last wednesday n[igh]t Margin Notes: Island St Helena M.r Tovey y.e wounding M.r Wrantham Island St Helena Sheweth</p>	<p>At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 March 1715/16 at Union Castle in James Valley, headed Island of St Helena. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor; George Haswell, Deputy; Matthew Bazett, third; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council.</p> <p>The reason for Mr Tovey not being present was that, on Wednesday 7 March, while the Governor had gone up into the country to show General Aislaby some of the best parts of the island, Tovey, for reasons best known to himself, fell into a violent rage. He drew his sword and stabbed Mr Francis Wrantham, one of the planters. Captain Bazett, finding the wound Wrantham had received to be dangerous, ordered Tovey to be secured upon the Guard and sent word at once to the Governor, who came down from the country. Finding Wrantham very ill of the wound, the Governor committed Tovey to prison, where he remained.</p> <p>The Governor reported that the day before, at noon, he had received the following petition from Mr Wrantham, headed Island of St Helena and addressed to the Worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and the council.</p> <p>Francis Wrantham, planter, set out that the previous day [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The stabbing places a sitting councillor in prison on a charge of grave violence against an inhabitant. Tovey was the fourth in council, a long-serving signatory and secretary whose hand closed many of the consultations, yet his attack on Wrantham led the Governor to commit him while the wound's outcome remained in doubt. The case shows the bench prepared to confine one of its own members on the same footing as any offender, his office giving no shelter once the act endangered a life.</p> <p>The handling reveals how authority operated in the Governor's absence. With Pyke up in the country escorting General Aislaby, it fell to Captain Bazett to judge the wound dangerous, secure Tovey on the Guard and summon the Governor, so the deputy machinery of the bench functioned without its head present. The sequence shows command passing to the senior councillor on the spot in an emergency, with the Governor's committal awaiting his return.</p>

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			<p>The arrival of the wounded man's petition turns a violent assault into a matter for formal adjudication. Wrangham, rather than the Company alone, brought his complaint by petition the day after the attack, so the proceeding against Tovey began on the injured party's own initiative through the bench's ordinary process. The case thus moved from summary committal toward a judicial hearing founded on the victim's written charge.</p>
269	260	<p>March 1715/6 night it being the 7.th of this Instant was in Company with Capt Bazett Mess.rs Anthpas Tovey, Ind. Alexander and Win French at the House of M.rs Margaret Fish in Chappel Valley being very Innocently Merry and the Company about to break up, M.r Alexander being gone, your Petitioner Offering to Light M.r Tovey home wch he refused and did Revile your Petition.r with very Scurrilous and approbious Language which your Petition.r did often times Civilly desire him to forbear your Petition.r not in the least giving him any Provocation thereto, which past on and Some Small time after the aforesaid Anthpas Tovey unknown to any Person in the Company did draw his Sword, and Come to the right hand of your Petition.r he being Sat down at the Table with his face toward M.r French, The Said M.r Tovey did after a most Clandestine Barbarous & Inhumane manner, and of his Malice aforethought, with one Sudden and Violent Thrust, did Stabb your Petitioner in the left breast above the Pap, with a dangerous wound, which the Surgeons of the Ship Island and Ships can give the best Account of &c.a Your Petition.r Humbly desiring the aforesaid M.r Tovey may be Spedily Prosecuted According to the Heinousness of the Crime while the Chirurgion of the Ship is here, and for Evidence Humbly desire M.r John French may be Examined. And your Petition.r Shall Ever pray as in duty bound. (Signd) Francis Wrangham We all think it a very Rash and base Action and we are informd by the Docter that M.r Wrangham is yet in very great danger of his Life The Margin Notes: Wrangham Pet.n March y.e 12 1715/6</p>	<p>Francis Wrangham, planter, set out the events of the night of 7 March. He had been in company with Captain Bazett, Antipas Tovey, John Alexander and John French at the house of Mrs Margaret Sick in Chapel Valley, where they were merry in an innocent way. As the party was about to break up, and after John Alexander had left, Wrangham offered to see Tovey home. Tovey refused, and abused him with a stream of scurrilous and insulting language. Wrangham repeatedly and civilly asked him to stop, giving him no provocation at all. A little while later, without anyone in the company expecting it, Tovey drew his sword and came round to Wrangham's right side as he sat at the table with his face turned towards John French. Tovey then, with deliberate malice, gave one sudden and violent thrust and stabbed Wrangham in the left breast above the pap, inflicting a dangerous wound. The surgeons of the island and of the ships could give the best account of its severity.</p> <p>Wrangham asked that Tovey be prosecuted without delay, according to the gravity of the crime, while the ship's surgeon was still on the island. For evidence he asked that John French be examined. The petition was dated 12 March 1715/16 and signed by Francis Wrangham.</p> <p>The council recorded its view that this was a rash and base act, and noted that the doctor had reported Wrangham still in great danger of his life.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The petition turns a private quarrel into a capital-grade charge by stressing premeditation. Wrangham set out that Tovey rose, drew his sword and came round to his unguarded side to deliver a single deliberate thrust, framing the attack as malice aforethought rather than a drunken scuffle, even while admitting the party had been merry. The careful narrative of provocation refused and warning given was designed to fix the whole fault on Tovey and to support a prosecution measured to the seriousness of the wound.</p> <p>The plea to act while the ship's surgeon remained on the island ties the prosecution to the rhythm of shipping. Medical testimony on whether the wound proved mortal was essential to the charge, yet the surgeons capable of giving it would sail with their vessels, so Wrangham pressed for speed before that evidence left. The case shows how the transient presence of qualified witnesses shaped the timing of justice in a settlement with only its own few surgeons.</p> <p>The bench's own minute, recording the doctor's report that Wrangham still lay in danger, marks the council preparing the ground for the gravest possible outcome. By entering the medical opinion on the record at once, the bench kept open the prospect that the charge might become one of homicide should Wrangham die, the survival of the victim determining whether Tovey, a fellow councillor, faced wounding or a capital offence.</p>
270	261	<p>March 1715/6 The Govern.r Says that yesterday about half an hour after he had received the before mentioned Petition he receiv.d the following Letter from M.r Tovey. Worship.l S.r Hearing M.r Wrangham was much better this morning has caused me to Presume to doe what J</p>	<p>The Governor reported that, about half an hour after he received the petition just mentioned, he received the following letter from Mr Tovey, addressed to the Worshipful Governor.</p> <p>Antipas Tovey wrote that hearing Mr Wrangham was much better that morning had given him the</p>

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		<p>had neither heart nor boldness eno' before to do, viz.t to give your Worsp the best Account J can how J came to Comitt that horrid Accident J was Guilty of last Wednesday night On the Sadd day the 7.th Instant J afternoon J was [a]sked to goe on board the Duke of Cambridge but Said no, being filthy resolved to the Contrary (remembring my own weakness and that J was not at Liberty to Come away as Soon as J plead) But being laughed at and told J Stayd to be Chiss below and Capt. Bazett Comeing that Minute and alsoe desireing me J was perswaded to goe. / When on board J was Cautious at first but falling into Discourse with Capt Barnes &c.a of our Old Acquaint ance Drank Somewhat freer then before intended and finding the Severall Sorts of Liquor to Steal upon me apace J pressed Capt. Bazett to Come a Shoar but before we did the motion of the Ship &c.a made the Liquor have more power over me that J had not that Command of my Selfe as J Should and first desird to have, but went to Supper at the Castle as Usuall, and afterwards going together up y.e Valley with intent to goe Directly Home went with M.r Wrangham upon his Invitation and drank some Arrac a Cowte but</p> <p>Margin Notes: M.r Tovey Lett.r to Govern.r</p>	<p>courage to set down what he had previously lacked the heart or the calm to attempt, namely to give the Governor the best account he could of how he came to be guilty of the terrible incident of the previous Wednesday night.</p> <p>Tovey explained that on the Saturday afternoon, the 7th, he had been asked to go aboard the Duke of Cambridge but had declined, being firmly resolved against it. He had been mindful of his own weakness and aware that he would not be free to leave the ship whenever he wished. He was laughed at, however, and told he was wanted to act as chief below, and as Captain Bazett was going aboard at that moment and also pressed him to come, he let himself be persuaded.</p> <p>Tovey described how, once aboard, he was cautious at first, but on falling into conversation with Captain Barnes, an old acquaintance of his, he drank somewhat more freely than he had meant to. Finding the various sorts of liquor going to his head, he urged Captain Bazett to come ashore, but before they could leave, the motion of the ship made the drink take a greater hold on him, so that he no longer had the command of himself he wished to keep. He went to supper at the Castle as usual, and afterwards, setting off intending to go straight home, he went along with Mr Wrangham at his invitation and drank some [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Tovey's letter is a calculated mitigation built around drink and persuasion rather than denial. He admitted the act outright, yet framed it through his own reluctance to board, the pressure of others, his known weakness for liquor and the disorienting effect of the ship's motion, assembling a chain of circumstances that pointed away from deliberate malice. The account directly counters Wrangham's charge of a premeditated thrust, recasting the same night as a loss of self-command brought on by others.</p> <p>The timing of the letter exposes how the victim's recovery governed Tovey's defence. He wrote only on hearing that Wrangham was much better, since the prisoner's exposure turned on whether the wound proved fatal, so the letter ventured a self-incriminating narrative just as the capital risk receded. The sequence shows an accused councillor calibrating his confession to the medical news, admitting fault once survival made the admission survivable.</p> <p>The detail of being wanted aboard to act as chief below reveals the standing claim on Tovey's office even in a social visit. As a senior councillor he was expected to take the principal place at the captain's table, the same precedence that ran through the bench's dealings with visiting commanders. His protest that he could not leave the ship at will points to the binding etiquette of such shipboard hospitality, which he cast as having drawn him into the drinking against his judgement.</p>
271	262	<p>March 1715/6</p> <p>but yet no way Fractious (as J doubt not all Persons who J was in Company with will Attest if need be). After we had been there Some time Gunner French (who J have reason to believe Studied Such an Opportu nity to take an Advantage of me) Came into Comp.y with his Sword in his hand and Soon began a quarrel with me by using Severall Scurrilous words & Calling me as many Names, But M.r Wrangham Endeavour ing to Appease all, till at last Bro. Alexander going home, French took his Opportunity to begin againe and gave me the Lye as J was walking about the room Upon which (tho not able to Stand) J drew my Sword to defend my Self, and not with the least Intent to do Mischeif, and instead of Standing upon my Guard to meet French Stumbled most Unfortunatly forward and Stuck M.r Wrangham, French driving at me with all his might with his Cuttoe. The concern J was and am under for wounding a Person</p>	<p>Tovey wrote that he was in no way quarrelsome, as he had no doubt everyone in the company would confirm if needed.</p> <p>He claimed that after they had been there some time, Gunner French, whom he believed had looked for just such a chance to get the better of him, came into the company with his sword already in his hand and began to quarrel with me, using a string of scurrilous words and calling him many names. Wrangham tried to calm the situation, until at last, once John Alexander had set off home, French seized the moment to start again and gave him the lie as he was walking about the room. At that, unable to stand and with no intention of doing harm, Tovey drew his sword to defend himself. Instead of standing on guard, he stumbled forward most unluckily and struck Mr Wrangham, while French was driving at him with all his might with his cutlass.</p>

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		<p>who for above five years J have had a real friendship for Cannot be Eassily be Exprissed, but J assure your Worsip could J Suffer ten times as much for him J could not Complaine of it. This J was taken very ill this morning it was So incouraging to my Self to hear of M.r Wranghams being better that J made Shift to write thus much foul to be Copped, and Humbly pray your Worsp to beleve J write nothing but whatt Fact So far as J can relate it. The reason why J beleive Gunner French Came a Purpose to quarrel with me is because Sometime Since M.r Greentree J wisited me to Come & Drink with him at his House J did goe but Gun. French being there Soon departed (tho.t M.r Greentree againe and againe J nvited me to Stay) for French abused me</p>	<p>Tovey wrote that the distress he felt at wounding a man for whom he had held a real friendship for above five years could hardly be expressed, and that he would gladly suffer ten times as much himself rather than have it happen.</p> <p>He had been very ill that morning, and the news that Wrangham was better had so encouraged him that he had managed to write this much, asking that it be copied. He prayed the Governor to believe he had written nothing but the plain facts so far as he could recall them.</p> <p>He added that the reason he believed Gunner French had come on purpose to pick a quarrel with him was that, some time before, Mr Greentree had invited him to come and drink at his house. He had gone, but Gunner French, being there, soon left, though Mr Greentree pressed him again and again to stay. French had abused him [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Tovey's account shifts the blame onto a third man and recasts the stabbing as an accident in self-defence. By placing Gunner French at the centre, armed and aggressive, he turned his own deliberate thrust, as Wrangham had described it, into an unlucky stumble while parrying French's cutlass. The competing narratives set the bench a stark choice between premeditated malice and a drunken mishap provoked by another, with Wrangham wounded by chance rather than by intent.</p> <p>The plea of long friendship with the victim is deployed to negate motive. Tovey stressed that he had been a true friend to Wrangham for more than five years and would sooner suffer himself than harm him, an argument aimed squarely at the malice aforethought the petition alleged. The strategy shows an accused man marshalling the prior relationship as evidence that the wounding could not have been intended.</p> <p>The fresh allegation of a standing grudge with French opens a second front in the dispute. By tracing the quarrel back to an earlier slight at Greentree's house, Tovey sought to establish a pattern of provocation by French that would explain the night's violence as French's doing. The move draws in the wider tavern society of the settlement, the same drinking circles seen elsewhere in the records, and turns a single assault into the latest episode of an ongoing feud.</p>
272	263	<p>March 1715/6 me very much, and told me he would kick me out of his Company when ever J came into it, for he would never Come into mine, as your Worsp had Ordered and therefore tho' the words & names he called me was hardly to be borne J did without Mentioning them afterwards to him which it was my Mis fortune when he Came into my Comp.y J had not ability to doe. M.r Wranghams amending and my weakness makes me Presume to begg a releasement from this Dismall Place, that if J may not have my Liberty Humbly to Entreat my Confinem.t may be at home with my wife, who is much Discontented for the Misfortune, till your Worsp Shall think fitt to grant me more Liberty. J am but wish J held more ability to Shew it Worsh.l S.r Yo.r Worsps most obedi.t but most Afflicted Serv.t (Signd) Anthpas Tovey The Governour says he does not think it prop.r for any Man whatsoever that is comitted for wounding another to be discharged before the wounded Man is out of Danger of Death, but because Cap. Bazett is said to be present, the Govern.r enquires of him concerning the truth of M.r Margin Notes: The 12 March 1715/6 Govr Opinion</p>	<p>Tovey continued that French had abused him greatly and told him he could turn him out of his company whenever he came into it, since French would never come into his. As the Governor had already ordered, Tovey said, the words and names French had thrown at him were almost unbearable, and he had let them pass without raising them with French afterwards, which had been his misfortune when French came into his company, since he then lacked the means to deal with it.</p> <p>Tovey wrote that Wrangham's recovery and his own weakness led him to ask for release from the prison, so that he might at least have the liberty of his confinement at home with his wife, who was much distressed by the misfortune, until the Governor saw fit to grant him more freedom. He wished he had more strength to set it all out. The letter was dated 12 March 1715/16 and signed by Antipas Tovey as the Governor's most obedient but most afflicted servant.</p> <p>The Governor stated his opinion that no man committed for wounding another should be released before the injured man was out of danger of death. Because Captain Bazett was said to have been present, the Governor questioned him about the truth of Mr [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p>

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			<p>Tovey's request reveals the gradations of confinement available to a man of his standing. Rather than freedom, he sought only to exchange the prison for house arrest with his wife, asking for the liberty of his confinement at home, a milder custody that acknowledged the charge while easing its conditions. The plea shows that detention could be served in degrees, and that a councillor might expect the more lenient form even while facing a grave accusation.</p> <p>The Governor's refusal fixes the survival of the victim as the governing condition of release. He held firmly that no man imprisoned for wounding another could be freed until the injured party was past danger of death, tying Tovey's liberty directly to Wrangham's recovery and keeping open the prospect of a homicide charge should the wound prove fatal. The ruling applied the same principle to a councillor as to any prisoner, refusing to let rank shorten the custody.</p> <p>The Governor's move to question Captain Bazett shows the bench testing the rival accounts against an eyewitness of standing. With Tovey's letter and Wrangham's petition flatly contradicting each other over malice and provocation, the presence of a fellow councillor at the scene offered the most authoritative means of settling the truth. The reliance on Bazett's testimony marks the council turning from the parties' competing claims to independent evidence drawn from within its own number.</p>
273	264	<p>March 1715/6 M.r Wranghams Petition, and of Mr Toveys Letter Cap.t Bazett says, so far as he knows of the Contents of the Petion, he says tis true But as to the fact it self viz.t the Stabbing of M.r Wrangham he happn'd to fall asleep just before it was done, and was awakd by the screaming of the Women in the House just after the fact had been comitted. And being askt what he knows of the truth of M.r Tovey.s Letter He says that he knows nothing of M.r Tovey.s being persuaded to go on board, but that he might be askt. As to the 3.d para Cap.t Bazett says that M.r Tovey did never press or importune him to come on shore, But on the contrary Cap.t Bazett says that he persuaded M.r Tovey to go on shore very often because it grew dark, but more especially because M.r Tovey was quarrelsome & abusd the Chief Mate As to the 4.th para of M.r Toveys Letter Cap.t Bazett says, it relating most to Gunn.r French, desires he may answer it. Cap.t Bazett to shew & to make it more plaine that he did not persuade M.r Tovey to Stay on board produces the following Certificate from the Officers of the Ship (Signd) Matt. Bazett Margin Notes: Cap.t Bazetts Opinion</p>	<p>The Governor questioned Captain Bazett about the truth of Mr Wrangham's petition and of Mr Tovey's letter.</p> <p>Bazett said that, so far as he knew the contents of the petition, it was true. As to the act itself, the stabbing of Wrangham, he had happened to fall asleep just before it was done and was woken by the screaming of the women in the house just after it had taken place.</p> <p>Asked what he knew of the truth of Tovey's letter, Bazett said he knew nothing of Tovey being persuaded to go aboard, though that point could be put to others. On the third paragraph, Bazett stated that Tovey had never pressed or urged him to come ashore. On the contrary, it was Bazett who had repeatedly persuaded Tovey to go ashore, both because darkness was coming on and, more particularly, because Tovey was being quarrelsome and abusing the chief mate.</p> <p>On the fourth paragraph of Tovey's letter, Bazett said that, as it related mostly to Gunner French, French should be left to answer it.</p> <p>To show and make plainer that he had not persuaded Tovey to stay aboard, Bazett produced the following certificate from the officers of the ship. It was signed by Matthew Bazett.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Bazett's evidence dismantles the core of Tovey's defence point by point. He confirmed Wrangham's account so far as he knew it, denied any knowledge of Tovey being talked into boarding, and flatly reversed the claim about coming ashore, stating that he himself had repeatedly urged Tovey to leave because Tovey was quarrelsome and abusing the chief mate. The testimony turns the supposed mitigation of persuasion and reluctance into evidence of Tovey's own aggression that very evening.</p> <p>The detail that Bazett slept through the stabbing exposes the limits of even the best-placed witness. Present in the house yet asleep until the women's screams woke him, he could speak to the surrounding circumstances but not to the act itself, so the decisive question of intent still rested on the conflicting accounts of the parties and on French. The case shows the bench weighing exactly how much each</p>

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			<p>witness could truly attest, distinguishing what Bazett knew from what he merely supposed.</p> <p>Bazett's production of a certificate from the ship's officers shows him defending his own conduct with documentary proof. By answering Tovey's charge that he had drawn him into the drinking, Bazett used written testimony from the officers to clear himself, treating his reputation as a councillor as something to be protected on the record. The move marks how a member implicated in another's defence turned to corroborating documents to separate his part from the accused's.</p>
274	265	<p>March 1715/6 This to Certifie that on Wednesday the 7.th of this Instant Cap.t Matt.w Bazett, M.r Antip.s Tovey M.r In.o Alexander & M.r Franc. Wrangham came on board to visitt the Officers of the Duke of Cambridge, and that We the Officers of the said Ship do declare that Cap.t Matt.w Bazett did desire & importune the said M.r Antipas Tovey to break up their Company, & go on shore for the space of two Hours before their Departure by reason of scurrilous & approbious Language given to the Chiefe mate as Wittness our hands this 13.th of March 1715/6 (Signd) Th.o Barnes Cha: Fazakerly W.m Myers</p> <p>As to the 5.th Para of M.r Toveys Letter Cap.t Bazett says tis utterly false, as he can prove by a great many People, For M.r Tovey abusd M.r Wrangham very grossly as will appear by the Testimony of several Wittnesses. Whereupon Gun.r French & M.r Tovey were both Sent for, & the petition & Letter beforementioned were both read before them As also the Certificate</p> <p>Margin Notes: Officers of y.e Duke of Cambridge Certificate</p>	<p>The officers of the Duke of Cambridge certified that on Wednesday 7 March, Captain Matthew Bazett, Mr Antipas Tovey, Mr John Alexander and Mr Francis Wrangham had come aboard to visit the ship's officers. They declared that Captain Bazett had asked and pressed Tovey to break up their company and go ashore, for the space of two hours before they left, on account of the scurrilous and insulting language Tovey directed at the chief mate. The certificate was dated 13 March 1715/16 and signed by Captain Barnes, Charles Fazakerley and William Myers.</p> <p>On the third paragraph of Tovey's letter, Captain Bazett said it was utterly false, as he could prove by many people, since Tovey had abused Mr Wrangham very grossly, as would appear from the testimony of several witnesses.</p> <p>Gunner French and Mr Tovey were then both sent for, and the petition and letter already mentioned were read to them, as also the certificate [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The officers' certificate corroborates Bazett against Tovey on the central point of who urged whom to leave. Three named officers of the ship confirmed that Bazett had pressed Tovey for two hours to break up the party and go ashore because of Tovey's abuse of the chief mate, directly contradicting Tovey's claim that he had been the one wanting to leave. The independent testimony of the ship's company gave the bench documentary support for treating Tovey's account as false.</p> <p>The certificate also reinforces the picture of Tovey as the aggressor throughout the evening. Rather than the reluctant guest drawn into drink by others, he emerges as a man whose insulting language toward the chief mate had already disrupted the gathering well before the stabbing. The consistency of this with Bazett's separate evidence builds a cumulative case that the violence flowed from Tovey's own conduct, not from provocation by French.</p> <p>The decision to confront French and Tovey together with the written charges shows the bench moving to a formal examination of the accused. By reading the petition, the letter and the certificate to both men, the council put the contradictory accounts and the corroborating testimony before them at once, forcing each to answer the documentary record. The procedure marks the shift from gathering evidence to testing it against the parties face to face.</p>
275	266	<p>March 1715/6 Certificate M.r French came & brought the following Certificate viz.t March 13.th 1715/6 M.r Francis Wrangham declare to us here present as follows, concerning his being wounded by M.r Tovey y.e 7 Instant at Night viz.t M.r Tovey unknown to any person in the Company did draw his Sword, and came upon my right hand, J being set down at the Table with my face towards M.r French, he sitting in a Chair on the Opposite side of the Table, M.r Tovey Stabbd me in the left Breast, before M.r French rose from his Seat M.r French having had no words with him for some time before.</p>	<p>Mr French came and brought the following certificate, dated 13 March 1715/16.</p> <p>In it Francis Wrangham declared, to those present, an account of how he had been wounded by Mr Tovey on the night of 7 March. He stated that Tovey, without anyone in the company expecting it, drew his sword and came round to his right side. Wrangham was seated at the table with his face turned towards Mr French, who was sitting in a chair on the opposite side. Tovey then stabbed him in the left breast before French had risen from his seat, and French had exchanged no words with Tovey for some time beforehand. The certificate was signed by Francis</p>

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		<p>Signd Fra. Wrangham Witness Geo. Haswell (Signd) Ed. Byfeld Jos. Thomlinson</p> <p>Margin Notes: Wranghams Certificate</p>	<p>Wrangham and witnessed by George Haswell, Edward Byfield and Joseph Thomlinson.</p> <p>Interpretations This further declaration by Wrangham is designed specifically to clear French of any part in the attack. By stating that French was seated across the table and had not risen or spoken to Tovey before the blow, the account removes the basis of Tovey's claim that he stumbled while parrying French's cutlass. The certificate addresses the exact point on which the two versions diverged, placing French passively in his chair at the decisive moment.</p> <p>The witnessing of the document by two councillors and another inhabitant gives it the weight of official corroboration. Haswell and Byfield, both members of the bench, set their names to Wrangham's statement, so the council itself stood behind the victim's account of French's innocence. The procedure shows the bench lending its authority to the evidence that undermined Tovey's defence, the same members who would judge the matter attesting the testimony against him.</p> <p>The careful reconstruction of the seating and movement reveals the bench treating the precise geometry of the room as decisive. Whether French had risen, and from which side the thrust came, determined whether the wounding was a deliberate act or an accident of a brawl, so the testimony fixed each man's exact position at the table. The attention to physical detail shows how the question of intent turned on establishing who was where when the sword went in.</p>
276	267	<p>March 1715/6 M.r Tovey upon hearing M.r Wranghams Petion read, Says that M.r Wrangham was not sensible that night of any matter that past, because he was in Drink, and the next morning sent for M.r Alexander to know how this quarrel came about. M.r Alexander being askt, if he was sent for by M.r Wrangham next morning: and what M.r Wrangham then said to him - Says as follows. That next morning M.r Wrangham sent to Speak with me, J went to him & after some words Askd me, if J knew how the Quarrel happn'd the last night, and whether he abusd M.r Tovey in any hearing. J told him, No, J did not know of any Difference he and M.r Tovey had, nor how he came to be wounded, For J was gone to Sleep. He said Wrangham said he wondered why M.r Tovey should wound him, for he had no Quarrel with him, Nor did he imagine or think of any Sword being drawne, for he was talking with M.r French, and then M.r Tovey took a turn or two about the Room, and coming near the Stair Case Stabbd him. Upon which M.r French drew his Sword, and Struck or cutt M.r</p> <p>Margin Notes: M.r Wrangham not Sensible M.r Alexanders Acc.t thereof</p>	<p>On hearing Wrangham's petition read out, Tovey said that Wrangham had been too drunk that night to be aware of anything that happened, and that the next morning Wrangham had sent for Mr Alexander to find out how the quarrel had come about.</p> <p>Mr Alexander was then asked whether Wrangham had sent for him the next morning, and what Wrangham had said to him. He answered as follows.</p> <p>That morning Wrangham sent word that he wished to speak with him. Alexander went to him, and after some conversation Wrangham asked whether he knew how the quarrel had happened the night before, and whether he had abused Tovey in his hearing. Alexander told him no, that he knew of no disagreement between Wrangham and Tovey, nor how Wrangham came to be wounded, since he had already gone away to sleep. Wrangham then said he could not understand why Tovey should have wounded him, as he had no quarrel with him. He had no idea any sword was being drawn, for he was talking with Mr French at the time. Then Tovey took a turn or two about the room, and as he came near the staircase he stabbed him. At that point French drew his sword and struck or cut at Mr [...]</p> <p>Interpretations Tovey's use of Wrangham's drunkenness cuts against his own earlier defence. Having pleaded his own intoxication as the cause of the act, he now argued that Wrangham was too drunk to recall the night reliably, seeking to discredit the victim's testimony. The shift shows an accused man pressing every available line at once, using drink both to excuse himself and to undermine the man he had wounded.</p> <p>Alexander's evidence proves doubly damaging to Tovey's account. He confirmed that Wrangham, sober enough the next morning to send for him and reason about the night, could see no cause for the attack and had not provoked Tovey, while also placing himself asleep and absent so that he could attest nothing of any abuse. The testimony supports the picture of an unprovoked wounding and removes the supposed quarrel on which Tovey relied.</p>

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			<p>Wrangham's own reported puzzlement carries weight precisely because it admits ignorance of a sword being drawn. By saying he was talking with French and never saw the weapon until Tovey crossed the room and struck, the account portrays a victim taken wholly by surprise, undercutting any notion of a mutual fight. The detail of Tovey pacing the room before striking near the staircase reinforces the charge of a deliberate, considered act rather than a sudden reflex in self-defence.</p>
<p>277</p>	<p>268</p>	<p>March 1715/6 M.r Tovey (Signd) Jn.o Alexander The Certificate of the Officers of the Ship, and Attestation of M.r Wrangham was read to M.r Tovey who made no Answer to them, but said he was much in Drink, when the fact was comitted, and do.s not remember, that he had any Quarrel with M.r Wrangham at all M.r Tovey further says he did ask Cap.t Bazett before he was in Drink to come on shore which Cap.t Bazett utterly denies, and says to the Contrary. M.r French the Gunner being examind, says that he M.r Tovey & M.r Wrangham being setting together M.r Tovey & M.r Wrangham went to the door, & immediatly after came, & sat down again, and M.r Wrangha said M.r Tovey, if you'll Set down & drink a Glass of Wine, you are wellcome but they having a few words before, M.r Tovey abusd M.r Wrangham by calling him several Names, and Sayd that he was Such another Rogue as his Father Vessey, because he would not be bound Margin Notes: Gun.r Frenchs Examinat.n</p>	<p>The statement was signed by John Alexander. The certificate of the ship's officers and Wrangham's sworn account were read to Tovey. He made no answer to them, but said only that he had been very drunk when the act was committed, and did not remember having any quarrel with Wrangham at all.</p> <p>Tovey added that he had asked Captain Bazett to come ashore before he was drunk, which Bazett flatly denied and stated to be the opposite.</p> <p>Gunner French was then examined. He said that Tovey and Wrangham had been sitting together, and that Tovey went to the door, came back at once and sat down again. Wrangham said to Tovey that if he would sit down and drink a glass of wine, he was welcome. After they had exchanged a few words, Tovey abused Wrangham by calling him several names, saying he was as much a rogue as his father Vesey, because he would not be bound [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Tovey's collapse into a plea of total forgetfulness marks the failure of his earlier detailed defence. Faced with the officers' certificate and Wrangham's account, he offered no rebuttal and fell back solely on drunkenness and the claim to remember no quarrel, abandoning the elaborate narrative of provocation by French he had set out in his letter. The retreat shows the weight of the corroborated testimony against him, leaving him only the excuse of having been beyond his senses.</p> <p>French's evidence directly contradicts the central plank of Tovey's letter. Where Tovey had cast French as the armed aggressor who provoked the stabbing, French described himself as a bystander while Tovey insulted Wrangham and likened him to his father Vesey, placing the abuse squarely on Tovey. The account aligns with Wrangham's and Bazett's, building a consistent body of testimony that the violence flowed from Tovey's own conduct.</p> <p>The insult comparing Wrangham to his father Vesey opens a window onto the kinship and reputation that governed the small settlement. To call a man a rogue like a named relative was to attack the standing of a whole family, the Veseys being a recurring household in the bench's affairs. The detail shows how personal honour and family name were the currency of such quarrels, an insult to lineage being enough to mark the depth of Tovey's hostility.</p>
<p>278</p>	<p>269</p>	<p>March 1715/6 bound for him, w.ch abusd M.r Wrangham ward, and said what his father had done was nothing to him. Soon after this M.r Tovey Stabbd M.r Wrangham unknown to Either of them that his Sword was drawn. Upon which this Declar.t drew his Sword to prevent farther Mischief. (Signd) Jn.o French The Governour askt M.r French why he came in with his Sword in his Hand. The Gunn.r says that he allways carryd his Sword in his hand, and at that time it was not drawn, but carryd in his Scabbard as usuall. The Gunner produced Doct.r Jo: Du May to declare what he knew in this Matter. The said Jo. Du May Surgeon says that the morning after M.r Wrangham was wounded he heard M.r Tovey say that he was sorry that it happn'd on M.r Wrangham for t'was designd on</p>	<p>French continued that Tovey, while abusing Wrangham, said that what his father had done was nothing to him. Soon afterwards Tovey stabbed Wrangham, neither of them aware that his sword had been drawn. At that point French drew his own sword to prevent any further harm. The statement was signed by John French.</p> <p>The Governor asked French why he had come in with his sword in his hand.</p> <p>The gunner answered that he always carried his sword in his hand, and that at that moment it was not drawn but sheathed in its scabbard as usual. The gunner then produced Doctor Joseph Du May to declare what he knew of the matter.</p>

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		<p>the Rascal that sat next to him (and he that did sitt next to him was) John French (Signd) Jos. Du May</p> <p>Margin Notes: D.r Dumays Opinion</p>	<p>Joseph Du May, surgeon, said that the morning after Wrangham was wounded he heard Tovey say he was sorry it had fallen on Wrangham, since it had been meant for the rascal who sat next to him, and the man who sat next to him was John French. The statement was signed by Joseph Du May.</p> <p>Interpretations French's explanation neutralises the one detail that lent colour to Tovey's defence. Tovey had pointed to French entering with a sword in hand as proof of an armed assailant, but French's answer that he habitually carried it sheathed turned the supposed threat into an ordinary habit, with the weapon never drawn until after the stabbing. The exchange shows the bench probing the single physical fact on which Tovey's accident theory depended and finding an innocent account of it.</p> <p>Du May's testimony supplies the decisive evidence of intent, even while shifting its target. Tovey's own words the next morning, that the blow had been meant for the rascal beside Wrangham, namely French, admitted deliberate purpose to kill, destroying the plea of an accidental stumble. The remark proved the act intentional, transforming the question from whether Tovey meant harm to merely which man he meant to harm.</p> <p>The surgeon's role as both medical witness and reporter of the confession marks the breadth of his function in the settlement. Joseph Du May, the second surgeon engaged on 20 December 1715 and by this date one of the very few medical men on the island, supplied not only the assessment of the wound but the damning admission overheard at the bedside. The case shows how the scarcity of surgeons made the same individual central to both the care of the victim and the proof of the crime.</p>
279	270	<p>March 1715/6</p> <p>The Gunner also produced John Long. The said Jn.o Long says that he went to see M.r Tovey next Even.g, at which time talking about the Accident of wounding M.r Wrangha said, he was sorry it happnd So, for t'was not designd on him but that Villain French because he gave him the Lye. (Signd) Jn.o Long.</p> <p>All the parties before mentiond viz.t Cap.t Bazett, Jn.o Alexander, Jn.o French, Jos. Du May & Jn.o Long who have sighd to their Testimonies were all sworn in the presence of the Councill by the Governour It is order'd that each of the Councill give their opinions which is as follows viz.t M.r Byfeld is of opinion that M.r Tovey ought to be kept confind. Cap.t Bazett says he is of Opinion that M.r Tovey is a very dangerous man, and that no body is safe in his Company M.r Wrangham not being the first that he has Stabbd.</p> <p>Margin Notes: Jn.o Longs Evidence Councill Opinion</p>	<p>The gunner also produced John Long.</p> <p>John Long said that he had gone to see Mr Tovey the next evening. While they were talking about the wounding of Mr Wrangham, Tovey said he was sorry it had happened as it did, since the blow had not been meant for Wrangham but for that villain French, because French had given him the lie. The statement was signed by John Long.</p> <p>All the parties already mentioned, namely Captain Bazett, John Alexander, John French, Joseph Du May and John Long, who had signed their statements, were sworn before the council by the Governor.</p> <p>The council ordered that each member give his opinion, which followed.</p> <p>Mr Byfield was of the opinion that Mr Tovey ought to be kept confined.</p> <p>Captain Bazett said he was of the opinion that Mr Tovey was a very dangerous man, and that no one was safe in his company, Wrangham not being the first man he had stabbed.</p> <p>Interpretations Long's evidence confirms Tovey's intent through a second independent witness. His account that Tovey, the next evening, again admitted the thrust was meant for French matches Du May's report of the bedside confession, so two separate hearers placed the same admission of deliberate purpose in Tovey's mouth. The repetition removed any doubt that the wounding was intentional, leaving only the misdirection of the blow as the element of chance.</p> <p>The swearing of all the witnesses marks the proceeding's transformation into a formal sworn inquiry. By administering oaths to Bazett, Alexander, French, Du May and Long before the council, the Governor raised the gathered statements from informal reports to sworn testimony, giving them the standing required for a serious charge. The step shows</p>

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			<p>the bench constituting itself as a court of record against one of its own members.</p> <p>Bazett's opinion introduces a pattern of prior violence that gravely worsens Tovey's position. His statement that Wrangham was not the first man Tovey had stabbed recast the assault not as an isolated drunken lapse but as the conduct of a habitually dangerous man, supporting the call for continued confinement. The disclosure shows the bench weighing character and history alongside the single act, treating Tovey's record as material to how he should be dealt with.</p>
280	271	<p>March 1715/6 Cap.t Haswell says t'was his Opinion that what is alledgd against M.r Tovey as to the matter of Fact is true, and what confirms him his Opinion is that he has sev.l times offerd to cutt his Wifes throat, & has wounded her with a Sword. Thereupon the Govern.r says & Orders that M.r Wrangham shall have full Justice done him for the Injury he has receivd by M.r Tovey, and that M.r Tovey in the mean time be suspended from his Employment: And this Account to be sent home by next Ship. The Gunner brought in his monthly Account, which is as follows viz.t An Acc.t of Gunner's Stores expended from the 1.st Day of Febry to the last D.o viz.t February 11.th An Alarm 4 4 12.th Arrivd the Thistleworth Cap.t Small from India 7 7 14.th Deliverd to Cap.t Haswell 1 24.th Saild the Thistlew.th for England 11 11 28.th An Alarm 4 4 29.th Arrivd y.e Duke off Cambridge Cap.t Arlond from India 15 11 D.o for Gen.l Aislaby coming a shore 17 2</p>	<p>Captain Haswell said it was his opinion that the charge against Mr Tovey on the facts was true. What confirmed him in that view was that Tovey had several times tried to cut his wife's throat, and had wounded her with a sword.</p> <p>The Governor then stated his decision and ordered that Mr Wrangham have full justice for the injury he had suffered from Mr Tovey, and that Tovey in the meantime be suspended from his office. This account was to be sent home by the next ship.</p> <p>The gunner brought in his monthly account, as follows.</p> <p>An account of the gunner's stores expended from the first day of February to the last, the powder reckoned in falcons by the pound.</p> <p>11 February an alarm 4 pounds, balls 4 12 February on the arrival of the <i>Thistleworth</i>, Captain Small, from India 7 pounds, balls 7 14 February delivered to Captain Haswell balls 1 24 February on the sailing of the <i>Thistleworth</i> for England 11 pounds, balls 11 28 February an alarm 4 pounds, balls 4 29 February on the arrival of the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, Captain Arlond, from India 15 pounds, balls 15 on General Aislaby coming ashore 17 pounds, balls 2</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Haswell's disclosure completes the picture of Tovey as a man with an established record of armed violence. His statement that Tovey had repeatedly attempted to cut his own wife's throat and had wounded her with a sword corroborated Bazett's remark that Wrangham was not Tovey's first victim, turning the inquiry from a single incident into a judgement on a dangerous and habitual offender. The evidence from two councillors sealed the case against any plea of an isolated drunken accident.</p> <p>The Governor's order resolves the matter without prejudging the criminal outcome. By promising Wrangham full justice, suspending Tovey from office and sending the record home, the Governor secured the victim's redress and removed Tovey from his functions while leaving the final disposition, which might yet turn capital, to the survival of Wrangham and to the directors in London. Suspension rather than dismissal reflected that Tovey's tenure as a councillor rested ultimately on the Company's pleasure.</p> <p>The powder account marks General Aislaby's reception as the single largest ceremonial expenditure of the month. Seventeen pounds of powder were spent saluting him ashore, exceeding even the salutes for the arriving and departing Indiamen, a mark of the standing accorded a visitor of his rank. The entry confirms the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> in the road on 29 February 1715/16 and ties the powder ledger once more to the comings and goings that governed the fort's expenditure.</p>

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281	272	<p>March 1715/6 February Brought over 4 54 29.th Muskett Balls at Brank Match 7 1 D.o att Mundeii Point D.o 7 6 Delivd to the Guard 5 Sheep Skins 6 Flints 48 Spunge Staves 2 Rather heads 2 Spunge heads 2 Cartridge pap.r D.r 3 Copper Ladles 1 Match for the Guard 21 1 32 2 2 48 6 35 12 4 54 8 (Signd) Jn.o French M.r Byfeld brought in the Account of Expence of the gen.l Table for the last Month amounting to 11 14 7 The Overseer of the Hon.ble Comp.as Plantations brought in his Monthly Acc.t as follows: viz.t An Acc.t of the Hon.ble Comp.as great Cattle, Margin Notes: Gun.r Expence Dyatt Expence</p>	<p>The gunner's account of stores expended in February continued, brought over: powder 4 pounds, balls 54. 29 February musket balls at Banks's, match 7 pounds, balls 1 musket balls at Munden's Point 7 pounds, balls 6 delivered to the Guard balls 5 sheep skins 6 flints 48 sponge staves 2 rammer heads 2 sponge heads 2 cartridge paper 3 copper ladles 1 match for the Guard 21 The account was signed by John French, with the totals: 1, 3, 2, 2, 2, 48, 6, 35, 12, balls 54, powder 8. Mr Byfield brought in the account of the expense of the general table for the last month, amounting to £11 14s 7d. The overseer of the Honourable Company's plantations brought in his monthly account, as follows. An account of the Honourable Company's neat cattle [...] Interpretations The powder issues at Banks's and Munden's Point record the upkeep of the island's outlying defences as well as the main fort. Munition spent at these batteries shows the gunner supplying more than one fortified position, the works at Banks's being the same decayed fort the Governor reported might need rebuilding at the consultation of 1 November 1715. The account thus traces the distribution of the garrison's stores across the scattered points guarding the approaches. The general table figure continues the monthly reporting imposed at the consultation of 3 January 1715/16, when Byfield was ordered to render the table charges each month. At just under twelve pounds, the cost stands well below the January figure of £99 16s 8d entered at the consultation of 14 February 1715/16, the sharp difference pointing to the two accounts covering different scopes of charge. The regular return gave the bench a running measure of the cost of feeding the establishment. The variety of small stores, sheep skins, sponge staves, rammer heads, sponge heads and copper ladles, reveals the gunner's account as a record of cannon maintenance, not only of powder consumed. Sponges, rammers and ladles were the tools for cleaning, loading and charging the guns, so their issue marks the servicing of the artillery itself. The account functioned as both a register of ceremonial and defensive firing and a record of keeping the ordnance fit for use.</p>
282	273	<p>March 1715/6 Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Hoggs &c.a Taken March y.e 1.st Anno Domini 1715/6. Cows 73 Bulls 8 Bullocks 32 Yearlings 44 Calves 33 Heifer 1 191 Killd since last Acc.t given in Bullock 1 Bull 1 2 Increasd since last Acc.t Calves 2 Sheep great & small 68 Ewes 44 none weath.rs 22 increasd Ram 1 none</p>	<p>An account of the Honourable Company's cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and the rest, taken on 1 March 1715/16. Cows 73 Bulls 8 Bullocks 32 Yearlings 44 Calves 33 Heifer 1 Total 191 Killed since the last account: Bullock 1 Bull 1 Total 2 Increased since the last account: Calves 2 Sheep, great and small 68 Ewes 44 Wethers 22 Ram 1</p>

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		<p>Lamb 1 killed. Hoggs Great & small 142 Sows 25 Barrows 21 Boars 4 Shotes 52 Piggs 40 142 Killd since last Account 12 Inceasd last Month 1 Turky Great & small 85 Killd last month 3 Inceasd 4 Goats Great & small 307 Ewes 108 Weathers 57 Ram kidds 40 Ewe kidds 99 Rams 3 307 Killd since last Acc.t 9 Inceasd sinca last Acc.t 15 Geese 25 Killd last M.o 4 none Inceasd Doz.n of Fowles 7 Doz.n Killd last Month 3 Ducks 17 Killd last Month 7 Asses 11 of the Male kind 7 of the Female kind 4 11 (Signd) W.m Worrall Cap.t Bazett reports that the Hon.ble Comp.a has lost 3 Slaves last week but Particularly one Margin Notes: Plant.n Acc.t</p>	<p>Lamb 1 Killed since the last account: none Increased since the last account: none Hogs, great and small 142 Sows 25 Barrows 21 Boars 4 Shoats 52 Pigs 40 Total 142 Killed since the last account: 12 Increased last month: 1 Turkeys, great and small 85 killed last month: 3 increased: 4 Goats, great and small 307 Ewes 108 Wethers 57 Ram kids 40 Ewe kids 39 Rams 3 Total 307 Killed since the last account: 9 Increased since the last account: 15 Geese 25 killed last month: 4 none increased Fowls 7 dozen killed last month: 3 dozen Ducks 17 killed last month: 7 Asses 11 of the male kind: 7 of the female kind: 4 The account was signed by William Worrall. Captain Bazett reported that the Honourable Company had lost three slaves the previous week, but particularly one [...] Interpretations The cattle account confirms the herd still climbing under the killing ban, neat cattle rising from 188 at the consultation of 7 February 1715/16 to 191, with only a bullock and a bull killed against two calves born. The slow but steady gain shows the cow-saving order of 7 June 1715 holding its course, the herd recovering toward the level needed for the plantations even as the workforce to tend it ran short. The bench's monthly return continued to serve as the running check on that recovery. The hogs reveal the heaviest losses among the stock, twelve killed against a single increase, the herd holding at 142 only because so few were bred. The continuing toll matches the run of hog mortality from the Pant tracked since the disease enquiry of 30 August 1715, marking swine as the one species the bench could neither protect nor grow. The contrast with the rising cattle and goats shows disease, not policy, governing the hog numbers. The goats stood almost level at 307, nine killed against fifteen bred, a near balance that reflects the deliberate restraint on a herd grazing the Company's waste land. The careful counting of every category, down to ewe kids and rams, served the same control behind the goat rules of late 1715 and the ruling of 20 December 1715 that all unmarked goats were the Company's. The account treated the goats as a regulated stock to be held steady rather than expanded.</p>
283	274	<p>March 1716 one namd Long Sam a very usefull fellow and usd to look after the Hon.ble Comp.as Cattle and he thinks tis very proper that a new Survey be taken of all the Hon.ble Comp.a Cattle, & another fitt Black be employd in his Stead. And that Cap.t Bazett do take this Survey after the Ship is gone; and to order the Overseer to put a good honest trusty fellow in Long Sams Stead to look after Said Cattle. Thomas Free appeard at the Compl.t of Edmund Badley for detaining his Cloaths. After examining Accounts twixt them found the s.d Badley indebted to M.r Free 1-12-4 and the s.d Free cleared from all other Acc.ts between them on the Contract made</p>	<p>Captain Bazett reported the loss of three of the Company's slaves the previous week, one of them being Long Tam, a very useful man who had looked after the Company's cattle. He thought it proper that a fresh survey be taken of all the Company's cattle and that another able slave be put in Long Tam's place. He proposed that Bazett carry out the survey after the ship had gone, and that the overseer be ordered to set a good, honest and trustworthy man in Long Tam's place to tend the cattle. Thomas Free appeared on the complaint of Edmund Bodley for withholding his clothes.</p>

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		<p>And whereas M.r Free has charg.d Edm.d Badley 40 for only one Sow doing him damage in his Plantation Ordered that the s.d Free pay the Hon.ble Comp.a the same value for Damages that each of his Hoggs has done them. In the Evening after Consultacion M.r Tovey sent the following Letter to the Governo.r which he Ordered to be Enteed. Worsh.l S.r Margin Notes: 3 Slaves of y.e H. Comp.a lost to Survey y.e H. Comp.as Stock.</p>	<p>After their accounts were examined, Bodley was found to owe Free £1 12s 4d, and Free was cleared of all other accounts between them under the contract they had made. Free had charged Edmund Bodley forty shillings for a single sow that had damaged his plantation.</p> <p>The council ordered that Free pay the Company the same value in damages for whatever his own hogs had done them.</p> <p>In the evening, after the consultation, Mr Tovey sent the following letter to the Governor, which he ordered to be entered. It was addressed to the Worshipful Governor [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The death of Long Tam exposes the fragility of the Company's stock management when it rested on a single skilled hand. The herdsman who had tended the cattle was lost in a week that also took two other slaves, prompting an immediate call for a fresh survey and a trusted replacement, since the herds could not safely be left untended. The episode shows how the workforce shortage reported in the muster of 24 January 1715/16 bit hardest where one practised slave held a critical role.</p> <p>The Free and Bodley dispute reveals the bench using a single hearing to settle accounts running in both directions. Having examined their dealings under their contract, the council found Bodley the net debtor yet also turned Free's own complaint against him, ordering Free to pay the Company for damage his hogs had done. The handling shows the bench treating an inhabitant's claim and his liability together, balancing the whole relationship rather than the one grievance brought before it.</p> <p>The straying-hog damages continue a recurring class of dispute over the island's loose livestock and broken fences. Free's charge of forty shillings for a sow's damage, met by his own liability for his hogs, echoes the Vesey and Harding fence quarrels of 1715 and the standing rule that owners must keep their beasts and fences in order. The case shows how unenclosed stock generated a steady stream of claims that the bench settled by setting damage against damage.</p>
284	275	<p>March 1716 Worsh.l S.r J Wrote a Letter to M.r Wrangham (a Copy of wch J presum to Send enclosed) my wife Delivered the Letter in answer to which he Sayed. If J had Sent it before something might have been done But now it was to late for that he could not recall it, That he wished all Thursday Friday & Saturday last for a Letter from me that if J had wrote to him he never Should have Shoond but that other People told him Stories against me &c.a J See Everything is done that can be (Even to lying and for Swearing) to frighten the Court that J have no Hopes left, but must thro my Self on God & your Worship, for So Good a Man as D.r Thomlinson Should be gives me but little Hopes of asistance this way, he having gone to treat to frump him about this Petion he was abought to Signe and Desired Beale to Stew it him (but he had it not then) Eund he it was to be Sure (for Beale Professed he Spoke to no other Person about Said Petion) Save his wife that made this Report to Capt Bazett for which he is So resolved to be Revenged of me. My Despaire gives me no Liberty to think of any thing well for my Self, for whom Kendal Mein was Swearinging &c.a in the Smiths Shop and the Chains Rattled, methought J was Even as in Newgate with that Miserable Wretches there, with other Such like Succeeding Thoughts and the Conse quences thereof (as being alone) If my wife had not Come (in att the Interim) J had died away, But J return you my Humble thanks that you did not Send him here to add to my Present Torments J know not how to Subscribe it (since</p>	<p>Tovey wrote to the Governor that he had written a letter to Mr Wrangham, a copy of which he intended to enclose, but that his wife had delivered the letter in answer to which Wrangham had replied. Tovey said that, had he sent it sooner, something might have been done, but it was now too late, since Wrangham could not recall the letter he had written on the Thursday or Saturday last, saying that if Tovey had written to him he should never have been disturbed, but that other people had told him stories against Tovey.</p> <p>Tovey wrote that he saw everything possible being done, even to lying and false swearing, to convince the court that he had no defence left, but that he committed himself to God and to the Governor. He complained that so good a man as Dr Thomlinson gave him little hope of help, having gone to urge Beale about the petition that Beale was about to sign, and had wanted Beale to swear to it, though he had not. Tovey was sure Beale spoke to no one else about the petition save his wife, who had made the report to Captain Bazett, on which Bazett was so determined to be revenged on him.</p> <p>Tovey wrote that his despair gave him no peace. When Kendal Maine was swearing against him in the smith's shop and the chains rattled, he imagined he was on the gallows at Newgate with those wretches, and other such miserable thoughts followed from being alone. He said that, had his wife not come in during the meantime, he would have died away. He</p>

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		<p>J indorse it only with Pen & Jnk (but am forst to Joyne to it Sincere Tears) that J am Worsh.I S.r Your Obed.t Serv.t &c.a (Signd) Anthpas Tovey. M.r Wrangham (Copy) When J heard your Petion against me read this day, J was as much Surprizd as J could have been at any Unexpected accident for Altho' the fact J Comitted Margin Notes: M.r Tovey s.d Letter to y.e Gov.r (Copy) to M.r Wrangham</p>	<p>thanked the Governor for not sending Wrangham to add to his present torments. He hardly knew how to set his name to it, doing so only with pen and ink, though forced to join sincere tears to it. The letter was addressed to the Worshipful Governor and signed by Antipas Tovey.</p> <p>A copy of a letter to Mr Wrangham followed. In it Tovey wrote that when he heard Wrangham's petition against him read that day, he was as surprised as he could have been at any unexpected accident, for although the act had been committed [...]</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>Tovey's letter marks the collapse of his defence into despair and appeals to mercy. With the sworn testimony against him complete, he no longer disputed the facts but lamented that everything was being done to leave him no defence, casting himself on God and the Governor. The shift from argument to entreaty shows a man who recognised that the evidence had defeated him and who now sought clemency rather than acquittal.</p> <p>The vision of Newgate and the gallows reveals Tovey's own grasp of the gravity of his position. Imagining himself among the condemned as the chains rattled in the smith's shop, he betrayed his fear that the charge might prove capital should Wrangham die, the very outcome the Governor's refusal to release him had kept open. The passage exposes the psychological weight of confinement on a man who understood that his fate hung on another's recovery.</p> <p>Tovey's resentment of Beale, his wife and Bazett discloses how he read the case as a conspiracy rather than a reckoning. He traced the testimony against him to private reports and a determination to be revenged, refusing to accept the witnesses as disinterested. The complaint shows the small settlement's dense web of kinship and rivalry, in which a man facing the bench saw the hands of personal enemies behind the evidence rather than the weight of his own conduct.</p>
285	276	<p>March 1716 J Committed appears most barbarous at first veiv, you who have been So often in my Comp.y So well knows my weakness when in Liquor and Contrary Disposition when Sober might have judged more Moderaely Notwithstanding the Provocation (for tho' you'l Say that Signifies Nothing J will & Can truly Say (and you have Some reason to beleive me) J would have borne wth Such an Accident from you when J was Satisfyed J was not done of Purpose, without Exaggaratoing &c.a and J had reason to Hope So from you especaly when the very next day (after you were Hurt) you Stayd Cou'd Such a thing be Sid you wou'd make no words off it And you might and Shall be Sure of the Amplest Satisfaction J can give you tho' J think According to those your Generous words J Should never be able to give you End: But to reffect on me (So Unjustly) On Acc.t of a Sutton french & M.r Earne is Cruelty & Revenge only You're Sett on to it, not by those of Christian Temper or Else J beleive you would not So Soon have Allowd your mind For full me but the Satisfsaction J Shall make & will Pray you it what J am or Shall hereafter be worth will make me able to doe it. The Pain you feel is Great no doubt but not Com pairable to the Uneasiness & Pain of my mind which J feel for you, J'd Gladly take as many Stabbs on y.e Acc.t to Ease you as you have done Hours off Pain Since J Hurt you. And if you'd Examine your own Brest it would tell you (as your words have Intimald Since) that you Cannot think J or J [si]gnd you any Harm, for J have nott Enjoyed one Hours Rest at Once Since the fumes of y.e Liquor (wherewith that day left me. J cannot call yesterday back, remember J have a wife who Suffers in me (the Innocent) Therefore J defire you'd Propose what wou'd have me doe, be it what it</p>	<p>Tovey continued that the act seemed most barbarous at first sight. Wrangham, who had so often been in his company, well knew his weakness when in liquor and his contrary disposition when sober, which Tovey thought might be judged more mildly given the provocation. He acknowledged that some would say the provocation counted for nothing, but he could truly say, and Wrangham had some reason to trust him, that he would never have wished such an accident to befall him. When sober, he was satisfied he had not done it on purpose, and he had reason to hope the same from Wrangham, especially since the very next morning, when Wrangham came to himself, he had asked how such a thing could have happened, and would make nothing of it.</p> <p>Tovey wrote that Wrangham might be sure of the fullest amends he could give, though he thought that, given Wrangham's generous words, he would never be able to make them good. He blamed the affliction now falling so unjustly upon him on the malice and desire for revenge of Sutton Isaak and Mr Carne, who, he believed, had set Wrangham on, and not on any Christian forgiveness or charity. He prayed that whatever he was or might be worth would enable him to make amends.</p> <p>Tovey acknowledged that Wrangham's bodily pain was great, but said it could not compare with the unease and torment of his own mind. He would gladly take as many stabs to ease Wrangham as he had given hours of pain since he hurt him. If Wrangham would examine his own conscience, he would find that Tovey could not have meant him any harm, for he had not enjoyed one quiet hour since the fumes of the liquor left him that day. He could not call yesterday back, but he reflected that he had a wife who suffered</p>

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		<p>will fit it make you but Easior J will Ease Yo.r Afflicted Friend (for y.e Sake more then my owne) Antip.s Tovey.</p> <p>Margin Notes: 13 March 1715/6</p>	<p>with him, the innocent one, and he therefore asked Wrangham to propose whatever he would have him do. The letter was dated 13 March 1715/16 and signed by Antipas Tovey as Wrangham's afflicted friend, for his sake more than his own.</p> <p>Interpretations</p> <p>The letter to Wrangham is a direct appeal for reconciliation aimed at influencing the victim who had brought the charge. By stressing their long friendship, his own remorse and Wrangham's apparent willingness the next morning to make light of the matter, Tovey sought to draw the injured man back toward the forgiving stance he had shown before others intervened. The strategy recognised that Wrangham's petition was the foundation of the prosecution, so softening the victim might soften the case.</p> <p>Tovey's naming of Sutton Isaak and Carne recasts the proceeding as the work of personal enemies steering Wrangham against him. He attributed the charge not to Christian charity but to malice and a desire for revenge, locating the true cause of his trouble in the settlement's rivalries rather than in his own act. The accusation reaches established figures of the island and shows how a man before the bench read the machinery of justice as the instrument of his foes.</p> <p>The offer to make amends in proportion to his worth introduces the prospect of a private financial settlement with the victim. Tovey twice pledged whatever he was or might be worth toward satisfying Wrangham, hinting that compensation might resolve the matter between them. The proposal reveals the gap between the bench's path toward sworn justice and the older expectation that a wounding might be composed by agreement and payment between the parties.</p>
286	277	<p>March 1715/6</p> <p>By the Worsh.l Govern.r & Council An Advertizem.t This are to will & require all Persons Inhabitants of this Island That they give in an Acc.t (According to former Custome) of all Persons in their Families, As also of all their free and hired Land & Cattle in their severall kinds, which they had the last year or now Possess into the Secretarys Office on or before the 21 of this Instand, And likewise of all their Cattle on the Comon. And that whereas the Store Books will be Settled in Order to reikon with Every one in the Hon.ble Comp.as Stores as Usual on the 25 of this Inst. These are therefore to give Notice likewise that from and after the Said 25 of March there will be no Serveing out off Goods at the Said Hon.ble Comp.as Stores for fourteen dayes after Said day</p> <p>Margin Notes: Entered already in Consult. of 6 March</p>	<p>By the Worshipful the Governor and council, an advertisement was issued.</p> <p>Start of crossed out section</p> <p>It required all inhabitants of the island to give in, by the established custom, an account of all persons in their families, and of all their free and hired land and cattle of every kind, both what they had held the last year and what they now held. This was to be delivered into the Secretary's office on or before 25 March, together with an account of all their cattle on the Common. The store books would be settled, as usual, on 25 March, in order to reckon with everyone at the Honourable Company's stores.</p> <p>It gave notice that from and after 25 March there would be no serving out of goods at the stores for fourteen days after that day.</p> <p>End of crossed out section</p> <p>This advertisement had already been entered in the consultation of 6 March.</p>
287	278	Blank page	
288	279	Book cover	
289	280	<p>EAP 1364 St Helena</p> <p>Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1715-1716</p> <p>Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) (H) 37 cm (W) 24 cm (D) 5 cm</p> <p>No. written pages: 277</p> <p>No. blank pages: 0</p> <p>Spine and cover Good Condition</p> <p>Inside pages Occasional foxing, Inside binding quite tight, although some pages are loose from the Spine.</p> <p>Additional comments</p> <p>Time taken to photograph (hours) 4 hours</p>	

