

St Helena Records 1716

Introduction: This is the 13th 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.

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: Pages are initially numbered in both the left and right top corners, but from midway through the volume only the right corners are numbered, and then only spasmodically. Page 1 is marked on film No. 5 (location 5/1). The sequence continues to film No. 17, which is marked as page 13. Film No. 18 is likewise marked as page 13. The numbering then runs for a short sequence to film No. 23, marked as page 18. On film No. 24 the number jumps to 20. The new sequence runs on to film No. 44, marked as page 40. Film Nos. 45 and 46 carry no page numbers and are presumed to be pages 41 and 42. Film No. 47 is marked as page 41. The numbering continues to film No. 177, marked as page 171. On film No. 178 the number jumps to 174. This final sequence continues to the end of the volume.

Dates: During the period covered by this volume, England and its colonies followed the Old-Style Julian calendar, under which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). The earliest date recorded in this volume is a consultation held on 20 March 1715/16 (1716 in modern calendars) and the latest is a consultation on 17 July 1716.

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

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

These consolidated consultation records, kept under Governor Isaac Pyke at Union Castle in James Valley, run from the 1715 census and land survey to a consultation of 17 July 1716. The East India Company held St Helena as its own property under royal charter, as absolute lords proprietors, exercising a jurisdiction split at home among royal, church and manorial courts. The material comprises consultation minutes, petitions, letters, store accounts, ships' protests and livestock and ordnance returns. It served the Company as garrison, plantation and store combined, refreshing homeward ships and relaying correspondence and cargo between London and the East. Made by the Governor and Council for the Company, the record reflects the administration far more than the governed, and the slaves, poor and ordinary inhabitants appear only through the official account. [Film No. 5, 6, 7, 25, 36, 44, 52, 105-108, 138-151, 165-167, 172, 175]

Governance and Administration

Government rested in the Governor and a small council meeting on fixed days, two or three times weekly during the shipping months and at least nine times between 19 May and 29 June 1716. Pyke sat with George Haswell as deputy, Matthew Bazett third and storekeeper, and Edward Byfield as secretary and signatory; from 10 July 1716 Antipas Tovey resumed as fourth. On 20 and 27 March 1716 this body registered conveyances, proved wills, granted administrations, fixed prices and heard complaints within single sittings, every act done on behalf of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, absolute lords proprietors. [Film No. 5, 22, 25, 108-125]

Beneath the Council lay elected parish office. A notice of 22 March 1716 called freeholders to assemble on Easter Monday, 2 April, at the country church to choose four churchwardens and four overseers of the highways by majority vote, the Council reserving the choice of two of each. Restricting franchise and office to freeholders rested local authority on the propertied. Government depended heavily on the Governor himself: a notice of 5 April 1716 reported a very great affliction disabling Pyke from the quarterly sitting set for 11 April, no other officer being able to hold the court, and sittings were deferred until the Monday after a ship's departure should a vessel arrive. [Film No. 21, 22, 42, 43]

In ordinary business the Governor's authority was considerable and worked by recorded consultation. On 1 May 1716 he canvassed each member on what to send by the *Nathaniel*, and for a homeward letter in June 1716 required every councillor to give his views in writing; on 12 June 1716 the Council resolved to ready this letter on a mere belief the ships would sail speedily, since a settlement thousands of miles from London had to seize each departure. When the *Catherine* came in from England on 17 June 1716, he divided the packet on 18 June, the invoice to Byfield to check against cargo, the bill of lading to Bazett and the medicine-chest keys to himself for the surgeon. Much Council work was approving former minutes; on 10 July 1716 members were required to sign all consultations not yet subscribed or give reasons. Factual questions were

delegated, a yam dispute with the widow of Halton Sterling referred to Haswell and Bazett on 10 and 17 July 1716. [Film No. 58–59, 128, 138–139, 165–167, 177–178]

His power had limits: over the interloping ship in May 1716 the Council overruled him by majority. He nonetheless reformed wage crediting on 24 April 1716, ordering the accountant to enter no money for Company work without his note, closing a gap through which sergeants claimed inflated pay, and held banishment without trial illegal. Staffing was thin: when Newington was removed the workmen's accounts fell on the writer Edward Holliwell atop his secretary's duties, and on his petition of 24 April 1716 the Council, unwilling to raise his salary, granted three shillings a week extra only while he kept them. The island's subordination showed in obedience to distant orders: the directors' general letter by the *Catherine* ordered the gardener John Howson and carpenter John Maynard sent onward to Bencoolen, and on 23 June 1716 the Council complied at once, recording only its dismay. Tovey's return as fourth on 10 July 1716, signing the minutes of 10 and 17 July, completed a staged rehabilitation after his assault on Wrangham. [Film No. 60, 64, 72, 148, 167, 178, 185]

Military Affairs and Defence

St Helena was first and last a garrison. The 1715 census counted a hundred and forty officers, soldiers and servants apart from the planting families, provisioned by the Company, many poorer households headed by matrosses, the lowest artillery grade. Defence turned on the batteries at Mundens Point and on the line and castle, able to fire on any ship failing to bring to, and on every inhabitant's duty to muster at an alarm. Fortifications were maintained partly from court fines: Tovey's £40 0s 0d fine for wounding Francis Wrangham was directed on or about 18 May 1716 to repairing the works, the Governor telling the planters they should see themselves protected in estates and persons. [Film No. 44, 50, 75, 107]

The gunner John French rendered a monthly account of powder, shot, flints, match and cartridge caps. Much went on ceremony: on 15 March 1716 four minute guns and twenty-one rounds for General Aislabie going aboard, seven for the *Duke of Cambridge* sailing for England. The April 1716 account, brought in 12 June, tracked the light guns, including the falcon (a small cannon firing two to three pounds), for salutes, alarms and greetings. Its largest single charge was mourning: the burial of Madam Pyke on 8 April 1716 consumed 24 rounds of falcon shot and 24 pounds of powder, a quarter of the month's shot, for the Governor's wife or close kin. The May and June accounts show the same use for defence, signalling and ceremony: on 4 May 1716 twenty-four falcon shot for the death of the King of France (Louis XIV had died in September 1715, news arriving in May), the whole culverin, demi-culverin and saker saluting the Ostend *Matthias*, and issues to Banks's and Munden's Point and for mounting and dismounting the guard. [Film No. 43, 116, 180–181]

The gravest early anxiety was desertion, not attack. In March 1716 the disgraced Tovey reported an alleged plot to seize a vessel and run away, claiming fifteen or sixteen men had signed, tying it to the garrison's debt and the arrack sold to soldiers; the newly arrived prisoner Kendall Meine was questioned, his story shifting daily. To control escape by sea, an advertisement of 20 March 1716 required every boat owner to report his craft to the Governor within ten days, whereupon free licences would be granted, an owner concealing a boat to forfeit it and be barred for life. The militia bound planters and soldiers alike; after the Ostend alarm of May 1716 ten men were summoned for absence, nine planters and the soldier Thomas Ashby, who made frivolous excuses and refused their oaths, saying they would rather pay than swear. Each planter was fined five shillings to the fortifications; Ashby rode the wooden horse two hours, a sharp-ridged frame straddled in pain and shame. The same served David Brereton on 19 June 1716, told to beg James Vesey's pardon after a drunken assault or ride it; he apologised and was discharged. [Film No. 17, 20, 21, 94, 145–146]

The inquiry of May 1716 into how a ship flying Ostend colours entered the road exposed a bitter difference over the guns. The Governor had sent Haswell and Bazett two written orders to bring her to, producing one, though Haswell withheld the stricter second; Haswell said he fired athwart her forefoot but the shot fell near Banks's, forcing an irregular shot astern. The Governor held a suspected rogue of force ignoring the first warning should have been fired into, his officers' failure showing little regard for the Company's estates aboard the two ships then in the road. Haswell's account of lowering topsails and shifting his helm drew only contempt, the Governor calling him a weak man and the lowering a trick all rogues used, recalling the two French ships that took the *Queen* and *Dover* so. Balancing censure for the Company's eyes, he

commended Mr Cason for prudence and courage in placing several shots. Watchfulness in the road governed too: when the *Charles Galley* of Ostend came in on 11 July 1716 the Council posted guards at the landing places and drawbridge against any night boat or correspondence, until she drove out between eight and nine that evening. [Film No. 94–97, 184]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

The 1715 land survey set each household's cattle and acres side by side, reckoning the whole at 1,368 head and just over three thousand acres, divided between arable free and enclosed. Distribution was markedly unequal: John Robinson with 126 head and 255 acres, Mary Conaway with over 150 acres, Robert Bell with fifty-eight head, while many held a few beasts and no land, holdings recorded to a quarter-acre. Herds were kept for increase, cows and calves outnumbering bullocks and steers; Robinson pleaded in March 1716 that his beasts were all young, the survey confirming forty-four calves against forty cows. By 1715 enclosed acreage approached a thousand against some two thousand of free arable, unpenned stock straying into crops producing recurring disputes over cattle and broken fences. [Film No. 26, 45, 47, 49, 51]

Settlement existed to provision inhabitants and refresh shipping. In March 1716 Orlando Bagley admitted keeping his two slaves at Company work until his plantation was almost ruined, and the Governor ordered them home, their being kept at Company work defeating the end of his living there. On 24 April 1716 Gabriel Powell petitioned over an unexecuted order that Captain Mashborne and Charles Steward survey and value certain fences, the Council appointing Bazett and Byfield instead. Timber was scarce: on 1 May 1716 George Sanders, soldier and schoolmaster, was summoned for his slave Peter felling sixteen standing green trees on Perkins Plantation, then the Company's, and carrying them off; Sanders claimed ignorance, but Richard Swallow deposed to seeing the slave carry wood and the overseer William Portley counted the stumps. The Council fined Sanders twenty shillings a tree under a standing order of Governor Roberts's time dated 16 May 1709. James Vesey was accused of driving the Company's hogs from good pasture on Boxwood Plain to a barren place two miles off and substituting his own, Portley tracking one shod and two bare feet; on 1 May 1716 he was barred from the range for half a year. [Film No. 34, 55, 59–62]

The island fed itself and passing ships through mixed husbandry. The livestock census of 1 June 1716, brought in by the overseer William Worrall on 7 June, counted neat cattle, goats, hogs, sheep and poultry, over three hundred goats suiting the rough hill pasture. A working account, it set births against beasts killed, sold or dead, noting a bull that broke his heart brought down from the hills, turkeys bartered for geese and poultry bought to make up numbers, and two bullocks sent alive aboard Captain Negus's ship for fresh meat. On 30 June 1716 a bullock killed for Captain Tolson was refused as carrion; Vesey explained it was shot in the body but ran some miles before dogs pulled it down, dressed without hanging, no trees within half a mile nor water. Benjamin Miller and Worrall testified the meat good and fat, yet Tolson's refusal forced it on the garrison at no return, the beast lost. [Film No. 127–128, 130–131]

Crops bred conflict. On 7 June 1716 Ralph Orme petitioned that he rented a plot of the late Robert Leech on which yams grew, bought by the Company on condition they stay in the ground eighteen months, now expired, so the land was useless to him meanwhile. On 26 June 1716 the Council summoned Leech's estate to answer over the yams, and referred a further yam dispute with the widow of Halton Sterling to Haswell and Bazett on 10 and 17 July 1716. It sought to strengthen agriculture: the letters of 23 June 1716 to Bengal and Madras asked for seeds and plants for dry ground, especially the mango and banyan, and to Bencoolen for the peachy tree. Yet the workforce hovered near collapse: on 23 June 1716 the Council lamented that with Howson going to Bencoolen and his assistant Thompson dead three months since, the Plantation House gardens must lie in a manner unoccupied, only a black fellow to tend them, five or six good gardeners being needed, valuing European skilled labour above the slaves who did the work. [Film No. 126, 149–152, 177–178]

The Company kept its own plantation stock, the overseer rendering a monthly census. That of 2 July 1716 numbered 164 head of neat cattle, 320 goats, 103 sheep and 87 hogs, besides turkeys, geese, fowls, ducks and eleven asses, with beasts killed, born and lost noted: two yearlings dead of a distemper called the swelling, a bull that broke its neck, five hogs dead, four turkeys exchanged for four geese and a sow traded with Captain Hunter for a larger. On 3 July 1716 Worrall reported wet weather had prevented pounding

the goats (driving them into an enclosure to count and handle), delaying his account until fair. [Film No. 166, 173]

Supply and Provisioning

The island grew little and depended on the Company store. The account for 25 January to 25 February 1716 shows a community reliant on shipping for staples, bread, flour, sugar, wine, soap, cheese and vinegar all arriving by sea, arrack and wine much of the value sold; that for 25 February to 25 March 1716, approved 29 May, records the same, arrack, sugar, candy, flour, bread, rice, English soap, oils, wine, vinegar, lime juice and tea. The store also supplied all manufactures, the island having no workshops: stockings, brass fittings, tools, nails, combs, gunpowder, fishing hooks and lines, cloth, cutlery, paint, glassware, stationery and shoes, from a chest lock to a needle. Nails were sold by weight and graded by the penny system, a size such as 6d or 10d naming the type not the price, in a full range of flooring brads, spike nails, coopers' rivets and pump nails. Graded hooks and lines mark the importance of line fishing. [Film No. 9–13, 86–90]

The cloth traces the Company's eastern trade: plain Indian cottons (long cloth, gingham, guinea stuffs, dungarees) for everyday wear, finer sannoes, dyed nealas and blue baftas marked coarse and of St George through Fort St George at Madras, balanced by English woollens (shalloon, kersey, drugget, flannel) for the variable climate. Bulk cask provisions made the island a victualling station: the account of 15 February 1716 lists salt pork, suet and dried pease by barrel and bushel, and lime juice recurred, guarding against scurvy at a mid-ocean station serving ships and people alike. [Film No. 11–15]

A well-found commander mattered. On 18 May 1716 Captain Richard Holden of the *Mary* wrote that, ordered by Governor Harrison at Fort St George to bring garden seeds from the Cape, he had learned of the island's want and added twenty sheep and fourteen leaguers of arrack (a leaguer holding roughly 150 gallons), asking only 6s 0d a gallon, the price at his last visit, while noting it cost him 4s 0d at the Cape. On 19 May 1716 Pyke agreed to take the arrack and sugar if it were Batavia not Goa arrack (Batavia being reckoned finer) and at the island's rate of 4s 0d. He judged that because Harrison had kindly ordered them they ought to buy so Holden should not lose by carrying them home, though the island already had sixty-eight sheep and a moderate stock, reluctant to draw bills for goods not strictly needed yet bound by obligation to a fellow servant. Provisioning departing ships bred disputes: on 12 June 1716 Captain Fitzhugh of the *Derby* asked fresh beef at 20s per hundredweight under his charterparty, and the Council, wondering why he sought beef five shillings under what he paid others, offered it at cost without profit. [Film No. 108–110, 140]

Preserved provisions were among the store's most valuable goods. The account for the month ending about 25 June 1716 charged five casks of salt beef at £90, the largest item, and carried deck nails, coopers' rivets and sail needles for maritime repair. On 29 June 1716 Hunter listed the goods wanting from the *Catherine*: eleven and a half chaldrons of coals, deals, spars, a cask of pickles, a quoil of cordage and sixty-six billets, showing how a treeless, coal-less island depended on England for fuel and timber. The ledger for that month also carried broadcloth, shalloons, soldiers' cloth, ready-made coats, graded hooks and lines, grubbing axes and hoes, and a mass of nails, thread, buttons and haberdashery, with scented sweet powder, boxwood and horn combs, pewter chamber pots and calico shirts by the score, the store furnishing all from heavy tools to genteel comforts. [Film No. 155–156, 158, 168–170]

Trade and Shipping

Everything bent to the ships. The notice of 30 March 1716 setting the quarterly court deferred any sitting until the Monday after a ship's departure. Ceremony turned on shipping too: the *Duke of Cambridge* was saluted sailing for England in March 1716, and General Aislaby's departure marked with minute guns. The record names a steady procession: on 29 April 1716 the *Nathaniel* under Captain Jonathan Negus arrived from Bombay, last from the Cape; on 6 May the *Discovery* under Captain Wotton from the coast and bay with Batavia arrack, sugar, rice and shirts priced in rupees. The gunner's May account records two French ships from India departing 5 May, the *Bouverie* arriving the same day, the *Mary* from India on 16 May, the *Nathaniel* departing for England on 18 May, the *Bouverie* and *Mary* sailing together on 22 May, and the *Heathcote* under Captain Joseph Tolson from the coast and bay on 28 May. June shows the *Derby* under Captain William Fitzhugh from India on 8 June with Bengal goods, the *Bouverie*, *Heathcote* and *Derby* sailing

together on 15 June, and the *Catherine* under Captain John Hunter from England on 17 June. [Film No. 42, 43, 58, 73, 108–144, 180–181]

The island was a communications hub. The packet opened from the *Catherine* on 18 June 1716 held a directors' general letter dated 14 March 1714/15, an invoice of stores of £3,327 4s 6d, a charterparty onward for Bencoolen and covenants for delivering slaves from the Madagascar trade, reaching from London to Sumatra to Madagascar; on 23 June 1716 the Council answered letters from Madras, Bengal, Bombay and Bencoolen together. Piracy shaped the road: on 2 May 1716, two ships approaching amid pirate reports, the Council directed Negus to warp the *Nathaniel* close under the rocks by a hawser ashore lest a pirate cut her out, the Governor sending a boat, a hawser, then thirty men, and admitting the French ships only astern of Negus, to place her under the fort's guns. [Film No. 66–67, 138, 148]

The gravest May episode began on the 11th when a ship flying Ostend colours ignored two summons at Mundens Point and stood into the road; after shots from the line and castle she struck and anchored. She proved the *St Matthew*, two hundred and sixty tons, twenty guns, commanded by Xavier Sarsfield, an Irishman, fitted at Ostend by the merchant John Ray on a pass signed by the Count de Clermont, governor of Brussels. Examination showed she had taken wine at Cadiz with Swedish iron and about fifty thousand dollars, touched at Johanna, gone to Surat where she landed pepper and painted linen but was obstructed by the English and Dutch companies; fourteen or fifteen men lay sick of scurvy and her provisions were gone. The councillors and captains divided: Mr Sheffield, supercargo of the *Nathaniel*, allowed she might be relieved and sent on absent contrary orders; Wotton, Haswell and Bazett urged as little countenance as the law of nations allowed, Wotton grounding hostility on allegiance since her Irish and North British officers were the King's subjects. The Governor took the hardest line, holding the British-born bound by an Act forbidding English subjects to trade to India whatever foreign commission they held, and would seize the ship and send her men home, risking damages for a deterrent example. [Film No. 75–78]

The Council overruled him. Wotton warned she might slip her anchor and escape while her best men were held, that seizure risked a costly lawsuit and she would not yield without bloodshed, and urged that any crowned head might trade freely; his own *Discovery* lay crippled after a Cape storm, casks and cargo ashore, unable to compel her. Haswell, Bazett and Byfield agreed, and by majority she departed, though the Governor insisted the shots were her own fault. Her people said they harmed no Englishman, denied being the King's subjects and claimed to be burghers of Ostend and Brussels, and after sunset he sent an armed longboat to guard the *Nathaniel*. On 12 May 1716 he advised Negus through the mate Mr Winn to stay forty-eight hours so the *Nathaniel* would not meet the *St Matthew* at sea, guessing she meant for the Bay of All Saints in Brazil or the Cape Verde Islands and warning against Ascension. A second suspicious ship of some thirty guns and six hundred tons then pressed the island, pretending Hamburg colours Haswell knew false and asking a fishing boat whether there was peace; the Governor held her a rogue that should have been fired into. [Film No. 79–82, 95–96]

Fixed markups governed the store's monopoly. When the *Heathcote* landed goods on 28 May 1716 the Council set arrack's landed cost at about 3s 0d against 6s 0d selling, sugar about 3½d against 8d, the gap between the 6s 0d wholesale and the 7s 6d charged inhabitants over the counter returning a profit on every gallon. The liquor trade's safeguards, and their evasion, form a full story. Four half-leaguers of arrack came by the *Derby* in June 1716 under a Fort William invoice, in a letter later found dated 8 February 1715/16 from Cossimbazar, promising the best Batavia in tight casks with a sealed sample bottle apart; a cooper had certified them tight and full. Yet on 15 June 1716 the Council gauged the four and found each at least twenty gallons short, two holding good Batavia but the two largest a stinking unwholesome liquor, one 8½ inches out and the other 4, the Council suspecting they had been drawn off and refilled with Goa arrack, the sort Fitzhugh admitted carrying, while he blamed the staves. [Film No. 113, 117, 134–135, 141]

The Council first offered Fitzhugh, on 15 June 1716, to replace the two bad casks from his own store; when that failed it protested formally the same day, signed by Pyke, Hassell, Bazett and Byfield. Fitzhugh demanded samples drawn in his sight and sealed with the Company's seal; the Council, holding themselves judges of arrack having tasted and gauged it, nonetheless let the samples go rather than refuse, fixing in writing his admissions that it had a stinking smell and bad taste, arguing it would look foolish to send liquor none would drink, and closing that they remained his humble servants. A parallel dispute with Tolson

turned on the same gap between bill of lading and delivery: on 15 June 1716 Bazett endorsed the shortages of rice, sugar and arrack on the back of Tolson's bill, Tolson's demand for a clean bill a fight over blame and his threat to protest against the island by the rules of navigation. Pyke reported two bags of rice not half full, his officers willing to swear, the short bags kept apart to be reweighed, the cost to fall on whichever proved wrong. [Film No. 135, 139–143]

The great later quarrel was the charterparty dispute with Hunter of the *Catherine*. Her discharge is tracked day by day, seven boat loads on 18 June 1716, five boats and a raft on 19 June, down to single boats on 2, 3 and 4 July, fifteen days in all, of which the Council allowed twelve while Hunter insisted on the one-boat days too. It protested the moment his ten working days expired, writing on 30 June 1716 that all resulting damage must fall on the owners; Hunter counter-claimed demurrage, arguing the extra days were the island's liability if not his negligence, that no ship unloaded faster and the delay lay in the cargo's volume. On 4 July 1716 he answered the shortfall in detail: missing deals built a cabin for a Bencoolen passenger and a coal hole, both authorised by the committee of shipping, he had excepted against short coals in the bill because they lay frozen in the lighter, and spars became battens and stanchions, producing orders, receipts and affidavits and replacing a cask of pickles from his stock. The Council's warrants matched this, an order from Thomas Lewis of the committee directing a cabin for Mrs Catherine Vandennand and her daughter, bound for Bencoolen, and a receipt of 10 December 1715 for a hundred deals taken for the coal bulkhead. [Film No. 159–162, 173–174]

The Council maintained its protest while conceding the facts. On 5 July 1716 it valued the missing goods at island prices, coals 5s the bushel and deals 4s each, protesting for the £122 12s 6d Hunter refused, yet admitting the weather favourable and his people industrious, offering settlement in pitch and tar the island needed rather than wine of which it had plenty, and telling him he might sail that night. Hunter retorted that the Council who claimed to dislike controversy were just beginning it, declared himself and his owners discharged and the bill complete, and broke off. The *Catherine* sailed for Bencoolen on 12 July 1716; the next day little wind and a vast surf filled the trench before the line wall, a thing the Governor said had never happened in his time, and had it risen a day sooner Hunter could not have got aboard, the following calms keeping her in sight past Sunday. A dispute with Tolson ran on: on 16 July 1716 Bazett defended his endorsements at length, bags weighed at the store door as they came up, shortfalls noted and a receipt given only for what was received, one arrack cask leaked three-quarters through a hole and of 58 bags he receipted 54, grain and dust escaping through the gunny in the tossing, casting Tolson as troublesome over a routine practice. [Film No. 162–164, 172–175]

The Ostend Interlopers

The gravest challenge to the Company's trade came from Ostend, a rival East India venture from the Austrian Netherlands. Besides the *St Matthew* of May 1716, a second Ostender, the *Matthias*, was saluted by the fort's graded guns on 11 May 1716. That suspicion governed the *Charles Galley* of Ostend, in on 11 July 1716 wearing Ostend colours; with no ship in the road the Governor made her anchor outside first, and she saluted with eleven guns, returned with nine. He held her off and interrogated her commander before granting the road. Matthias Gorrebrant came ashore, gave account of his ship built at Ostend for the Spanish trade, said her owners also owned the *Matthias*, and, asked why they came toward India, answered they could not live by trade in Europe. [Film No. 180–181]

His talk on 11 July 1716 exposed the margin between trade and privateering: at Ostend they could not live now there was peace, but war seemed likely between the Emperor of Germany and the Turks, and given letters of marque they had rather cruise the Straits than make the India voyage. He had left Europe in September 1714 and lain five months at Cadiz for money and goods, with fifty thousand dollars in two ships now gone for India. His Mozambique trade showed the eastern web of weights and moneys, gold, ivory and ambergris in mace, pardoes, crusadoes and maunds, ivory more profitable at Surat than Goa, every pardoe convertible to rupees; among the commodities he priced slaves at ten to twenty-five crusadoes apiece, the buying and selling of people set matter-of-factly beside gold and ivory. He also made the island a clearing-house for intelligence, reporting Captain Pitt in the *Stanhope* at Goa, Captain Machin in the *Queen of Peace*, the *Oxford* and *Dolben* at Calicut, and Captain Collett in the *Grantham* arriving at the Cape on 7 June 1716. [Film No. 182–183]

The Council refused to help refit her without a licence, guarding the monopoly against a ship in distress: on 11 July 1716 the commander sought leave to lay off his shrouds and repair storm damage from nearly being lost in shoal water at the Cape, but the Council would render no aid to a suspected interloper. The standoff ended tensely that evening, her officer Maltranus coming ashore to say the crew would not weigh until they bought provisions, having none for a meal, and asking whether the island would entertain the men as followers; the Governor answered they had soldiers enough and could take none but Englishmen. The landing places and drawbridge were sealed against night contact, and between eight and nine she drove out of the road, making no sail while in view. [Film No. 183–184]

Judiciary

The Company discharged the whole work of probate. On 20 March 1716 the Council proved the will of the late Captain Edward Mashborne on the witnesses' oaths and registered it, and registered inventories of several estates on the sworn word of executors and appraisers, proving establishing a will's genuineness and registration fixing valuation. The letter of administration to the widow Frances Carne on 27 March 1716 sets out the intestate form: George Carne having died 28 May 1715 without executor, she was empowered to collect debts owed him and pay his, but only so far as his goods stretched, the grant sealed with the Company's seal at Union Castle on 27 March 1716 and reserving the account and discharge to the Governor and Council. Civil litigation followed English forms: the advertisement of 30 March 1716 required plaintiffs to enter actions ten days and file declarations five days before the sitting, on pain of nonsuit. Property disputes turned on the oath: Tovey's letters of 14 February 1715/16, from prison, pressed that witnesses be examined to prove Bazett forsworn and that David Ovis's affidavit be taken on Captain Haswell's assertion, and show written testimony outweighing the spoken, Wrangham giving only verbal assurances and refusing to write to the Governor. [Film No. 8, 9, 17, 18, 22–24, 41, 42]

The Council was a standing tribunal, summoning, deposing and confronting parties, as in the wood-cutting and hog-driving cases of May 1716. Private action ran separately: on 8 May 1716 the Governor left Wrangham's wounding to the open law, promising a court whenever he was ready. That Court of Judicature met on 18 May 1716 at the Sessions House near Union Castle, Pyke as judge with Richard Holden, commander of the *Mary*, plus Haswell, Bazett and Byfield, and a jury of twelve from the free households, John Coles foreman. Untrained justices reasoned from Michael Dalton's *The Country Justice* and Sir Matthew Hale's *Pleas of the Crown*. Tovey, indicted for felony for wounding and stabbing Wrangham, refused to plead, saying he had committed no felony yet confessing with shame that in drink he had wounded him, blaming the gunner French's affronts. Wrangham described the night of 7 March 1716, drinking aboard the *Duke of Cambridge* with Captain Barnes then ashore to a private house, where French abused Tovey and, when Wrangham tried to pacify them, Tovey drew his sword, returned and stabbed him in the breast, and would have killed him had French not wounded Tovey in the head. [Film No. 60–62, 72, 102–105]

The Governor read the law to strip the charge down. On 18 May 1716 he invoked the Statute of Stabbing, passed in 1604 under James I, removing benefit of clergy where a man stabbed an unarmed victim and death followed, showing it applied only where death ensued, so with Wrangham recovered the graver charge failed; he held case of blood in law meant loss of life, not any wound drawing blood, and voiced suspicion who had steered Wrangham to a felony indictment, noting he had given his opinion in consultation and been overridden. Once the felony was cleared Tovey owned himself guilty of assault and wounding, and one sitting ran two tracks, a £40 0s 0d fine for the public wrong and Wrangham's separate action on the case, the jury assessing £25 0s 0d in damages for the doctor's charges and lost time, besides court charges. [Film No. 105–107]

Evidence troubled other cases. The charge against the soldier Gilbert Sinnick rested on the single word of Sergeant Slaughter's slave, who said Sinnick stole two gold rings from John Long; on 7 June 1716, having run away and been retaken, the slave recanted, admitting he accused Sinnick to escape punishment, and gave three shifting accounts of the rings. Where testimony failed the court used records: when Richard Peale demanded £10 0s 0d from George Sanders for a predecessor's house rent and Sanders denied all knowledge on or about 7 June 1716, the court examined Peale's accounts year by year, found the debt just and on or about 12 June ordered it charged to the estate of Thomas Gargen, to be recovered when sold. The court preferred reconciliation in daily disorder: when a cooper who threw Henry Harmon over a rock

and tried to force his thumbs into his mouth faced complaints from Harmon and the soldier Thomas Tompson on or about 7 June 1716, the Governor advised them to settle. This settling work continued: on 10 July 1716 the estate of Thomas Gargen was ordered sold and shared after the Company's and storekeeper's debts, and orphans provided for, the executors of Robert Leech granted registration of his orphan's indentures on 10 and 17 July. Thomas Swallow, carpenter and planter, summoned on 2 July 1716 for keeping a scandalous disorderly house, answered on 10 July that it was his wife's doing, unknown to him. [Film No. 132–134, 165, 176–178]

Economy, Finance, Currencies and Accounting

The store account divided every month under three heads, goods to inhabitants, general charges, and plantation. That for 25 January to 25 February 1716 set inhabitants' goods at £120 6s 3.75d; for the month ending 25 March 1716, inhabitants £131 3s 2.75d, general charges £111 16s 6d, plantation £28 3s 5.5d, grand total £271 3s 2.25d, the large cheese under general charges and rice to the plantation marking bulk victualling; for the month to 25 April 1716, inhabitants £232 2s 7d, general charges £120 16s 11.5d, plantation £53 6s 7d, grand total £406 6s 1.5d; for the month ending about 25 June 1716 a grand total of £500 8s 6.75d; and for 25 May to 25 June 1716, inhabitants £179 10s, United Castle £114 2s 5d, plantation £30 15s 10d, grand total £324 8s 3.5d. The Company's own consumption was charged at retail, arrack debited to the general account at 7s 6d a gallon. [Film No. 13, 16, 91–93, 121, 123, 127, 131, 158, 171]

The general table, feeding officers and household, was reported monthly: £78 18s 6.5d on 24 April 1716, £112 11s 1.5d by 8 May, £102 19s 8.75d about 12 June, and £121 19s 4d for 25 May to 25 June, brought in by Byfield on 17 July 1716, this last reserving French wine at 12s a gallon for the Governor, council and guests above the garrison's arrack, and carrying an entry for slaves' labour bringing provisions to the fort at 3½d per turn for five turns. [Film No. 56, 73, 131, 178–179]

The debtor examinations of March 1716 expose an economy almost without coin, debts to the store discharged in kind, cattle, fowls, yams, hogs, provisions and above all slaves' labour, yet payment depended on the store's needs, hogs and yams refused from James Draper and John Robinson when unwanted. Debts tracked the farming year, tied to calving or season-end and the following March, and several offered interest, an innovation turning book debts into credit. When Bazett objected on 27 March 1716 that interest was unusual, the Governor thought it very proper, hoping debtors charged on old debts would clear them the oftener. He used interest as discipline: Giles Hayes excused for dealing faithfully and shunning the under storehouse keepers, John Worrall charged for leading the workers to demand higher wages, John Robinson promised none if he brought his debt to ten or twelve pounds. He reckoned by the time value of money, seen over Richard Girling's land: bought for two hundred and ten pounds on 28 March 1710 and sold to Girling for three hundred, an apparent ninety-pound gain, yet if Girling paid no interest until 1715 the interest at eight per cent exceeded ninety pounds, a real loss; searching the consultation books he found no note under Girling's hand, only an entry of 2 September 1712 recording the sale, and demanded interest from when the debt fell due. [Film No. 26–28, 32, 33, 39]

The consultation books were the Company's financial memory, underlying the demand for bonds and acknowledgments; the gap between Thomas Leech's figure of £22 5s 0d and the abstract's £4 14s 0d, found in March 1716, showed why annual reckoning was essential. Debts were secured against inheritable property, the son of Sutton Isaack the elder bound so the obligation survived him, Mrs Free's son Rider as security since the property passed to him at her death. The penal bond appears in the undertaking of 23 April 1716, John Alexander and William Seale bound in £260 0s 0d for payment of £130 0s 0d to the infant heiress Margaret Bagley, the penalty double the debt. [Film No. 30, 32, 33, 36, 54]

Two moneys met: the store and Company charges in sterling, eastern cargoes in rupees and dollars, the *Discovery's* goods of 6 May 1716 in rupees and arrack at eighty dollars a leaguer or one hundred and sixty rupees. The letters of 23 June 1716 to Madras and Bombay priced chintz at 20 to 40 pagodas the corge and acknowledged money and fanams, the pagoda a gold coin, the fanam a small coin many to a pagoda, the corge a lot of twenty, the catty for tea a Chinese unit of about a pound and a third. Gorrebrant's account of 11 July 1716 reckoned gold in mace and pardoes at 350 pardoes a mark weight, ivory in crusadoes a maund of twenty-eight English pounds, ambergris in crusadoes an ounce Troy, converting pardoes to rupees. [Film No. 73, 91–93, 117, 150, 182–183]

Lacking coin and bank, the island moved credit within the Company's ledgers, wealthier residents acting as informal bankers. On or about 19 May 1716 the widow Margaret Sich sought £126 0s 0d payable in England as part of her grandchild Mary Bright's fortune, going home aboard the *Mary*; the fortune lay chiefly in unshippable cattle, so she sought a bill against which she would pay 8 per cent interest or hand over livestock. When the Council hesitated to buy cattle, Mr Powell, carrying above £400 0s 0d credit, offered to transfer £126 0s 0d to her account, and on 19 May 1716 the Governor set it to stand as payment, restored to Powell once she delivered the cattle. Her standing rested on paying, from her own means, her son Benjamin Sich's £108 0s 0d debt when he died insolvent, so it might never be said the Company were losers by her family. Credit stretched across the world through kin: on 26 June 1716 John Blunt, leaving with unpayable debts, settled by drawing a bill on his father in England, the Governor capping the Company's risk by raising his credit from £10 0s 0d to £20 0s 0d, no further, the balance onto the father. Barter ran alongside, the livestock account of 1 June 1716 recording turkeys disposed of for geese. [Film No. 110–112, 123, 151–152]

The Company guarded its accounts: on 24 April 1716 sergeants John Worrall and William Slaughter were found carrying bills claiming five shillings a day for work agreed at three, the surplus ordered deducted, the Governor resolving to give the accountant a note for all money entered for Company work. The scale of commitment shows in the *Catherine's* invoice of £3,327 4s 6d on 18 June 1716, against which the store returned a steady margin, the monthly accounts examined at consultation after consultation. The charterparty's stakes lay in pricing the missing goods at island rates, coals at 5s the bushel far above English cost, maximising the £122 12s 6d claimed from Hunter. [Film No. 60, 138, 163]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Slavery underpinned the economy: the 1715 census counted 310 slaves against 545 whites, unequally held, the chaplain Joseph Thomlinson with eleven, the estates of Frances Carne and Henry Francis fifteen each, Thomas Free eleven, James Draper ten, many matrosses and poor families none. The March 1716 examinations show owners reckoning slaves' labour as income: John Nichols kept two constantly at Company work, expecting three shillings a day to bring him into credit, and Robert Girling counted over twenty pounds from a single slave over the year. The hire rate was contested, Bazett holding none could hire out a slave for less than eighteen pence a day, the Governor setting Thomlinson's two weak slaves at twelve pence and threatening a shilling once he had his own to let, Thomlinson protesting his should not be made a precedent, the Council in the end keeping all seven at work. The Company's hunger diverted valuable slaves ahead of the market: when the surgeon Porteous's insolvent estate was ordered to sale the Governor would not let the man Jack, the woman Diannah and her female child go at outcry, being in such want, but had them appraised at £50 0s 0d and taken up against the widow's debt. [Film No. 29, 30, 38–40, 44, 46, 50]

The Company kept its own slaves and costed their upkeep. On 24 April 1716 Byfield reported clothing them all and estimated the yearly cost, distinguishing grown men and women from children, the Council judging two pairs of breeches little enough for a man in flimsy kersey and each slave, properly cared for, costing forty shillings a year to clothe, ordering two bales of kersey made up; it recognised the cheap kersey wore out quickly, and the large kersey drawn to general charges was bought not for sale but to clothe them. Slaves were heritable property: on 24 April 1716 the Governor ordered Richard Swallow the carpenter to deliver to the marshal three slaves, Robin, Lucas and Cloice, of Thomas Bagley's estate, once Tovey gave security under an order of 28 February 1715/16 for his daughter-in-law Margaret Bagley's share, Swallow having held them as security now supplied otherwise. [Film No. 53, 55, 56, 92]

Slave labour ran through the settlement, on plantations, in building and on the highways. Two Company slaves were lent to Thomas Burnham for three months under a building contract of 24 April 1716, the two gun ridge house to be better built than the last, and the overseers' account of 15 May 1716 recorded whites and blacks who had worked the paths and those who had not. Carriage of provisions was slaves' work, charged at 3½d per turn for five turns in the table account for 25 May to 25 June 1716. Public works fell on inhabitants as slave labour by property: on 10 July 1716 the Council ordered all in the New Street to make good its passage, the guard French to see it done, every person finding slaves in proportion to their houses. Competing claims bred disputes: on 26 June 1716 William Porter petitioned that his slave Jack,

constantly at Company work, had been discharged by French, who said Jack was taken without leave just when slaves were most wanted bringing goods up from the crane unloading the *Catherine*; the Council fined Porter 5s 0d but ordered Jack employed again. [Film No. 66, 83, 153, 177, 179]

Forced labour was replenished by written obligation, the Madagascar covenants arriving among the *Catherine's* papers on 23 June 1716 binding private traders to land a quota of slaves at St Helena. The island ordered slaves like any supply: in the letters of 23 June 1716 it asked Bengal that seven or eight slaves of any sort be put aboard each ship as opportunity offered, and on 29 June resolved to ask for slaves from every place, casting across Bengal, Bombay, Bencoolen and Madagascar. Their food was the plantation's largest running cost, met cheaply: the Plantation account to 25 April 1716 was dominated by rice, 340 pounds at £49 11s 8d, that for the month ending about 25 June 1716 by 1,790 pounds and that for 25 May to 25 June by 1,854 pounds. When the *Heathcote's* rice proved very bad and blue on 28 May 1716, costing about 15s 0d per hundredweight against a usual 3s 0d selling, the Council sold none but gave it to the slaves. [Film No. 113, 123, 138, 150–151, 158, 171]

Imprisonment was itself coerced labour, detention carrying no free keep. When a slave of Sergeant Slaughter was discharged on 19 June 1716 the Council noted he and all prisoners had worked for the Company to earn what they ate while confined, and the earlier order of 7 June returned that slave to hard labour by the law of the island. A slave's fate turned on his value, not guilt: on 19 June 1716 Slaughter sought release of his slave Peter, held for stealing two gold rings from John Long, framing the plea round his own need of the service. Slaves guarded property and were drawn into illicit country trade: two Company slaves, Antony and Durga, placed at High Peak to watch the small cattle, were examined on or about 17 July 1716 over a hog bearing Edmund Nicholls's mark, which Antony said Nicholls gave them for five fowls, their words recorded only to fix the free man's offence. [Film No. 132, 144–145, 184–185]

Other bound labour ran alongside slavery. The 1715 census records John Bagley with two apprentices and Thomas Free with a servant. On 1 May 1716 John Maynard, a shipwright, sought an allowance for feeding a covenant servant bound apprentice in England, carried out on his way to Bencoolen, refused for want of precedent. On 24 April 1716 Jonathan Higham the younger, son of a poor soldier and stone cutter, bound himself apprentice to his own father with the Council's consent to work at stone cutting until twenty-one. The Council likewise registered the indentures of Robert Leech's orphan on 10 and 17 July 1716. The law governing slaves was separate and harsher: in March 1716 a slave of Rippin Wills, accused by James Draper of stealing tea, sugar candy, a handkerchief and a hat while Draper slept, was sentenced to fifty lashes by the law of the island and a week's work for the Company, summary justice outside the forms of oath, bond and pleading that protected free inhabitants. [Film No. 36, 46, 48, 57, 63, 178]

Social Order

The Council policed disorder through small fines to charity. In March 1716 John Robinson was fined six shillings for swearing and affronting Captain Haswell, the money to the poor, and bound to good behaviour, a quarrel begun with a dog running at Edward Brereton by Robinson's house and escalating through insults and shoving to oaths and threats. Such fines funded parish relief, needed as in the widow Grace Porteous, whose husband, the island's surgeon, died insolvent in March 1716, leaving her so poor the parish contributed. The Council oversaw children: in March 1716 Mary Orchard complained that Henry Francis mistreated her daughter Elizabeth Maxwell and overcharged for board, but the Council found the girl well used and seven pounds a year the usual rate, ordering her to stay with Francis until of age to choose a guardian. The 1715 census records many widows and orphan households as distinct establishments, Dorothy Hayes, Mary Mashborne, Mercy Gargen, Jane Mudge and the orphans of Robert Girling and of Elizabeth Maxwell, alongside single men such as John Marsh and Walter Morris. [Film No. 38, 40, 41, 46, 48]

A long feud ran between Tovey and French. On 3 May 1716 Tovey sought the Governor's protection, bound in recognisances near three hundred pounds to keep the peace while French, who had sworn it against him, insulted him with impunity, knowing he dared not retaliate; he asked French be sent home. He charged that after a bonfire French threatened to cut off his ears, cursed and called him a rogue before witnesses and boasted of a hundred pounds to spend and character to face the Company, and recalled that about sixteen months earlier, grossly abused, he had demanded satisfaction, disarmed French, spared him

and shaken hands. French, in May 1716, denied the general threats but owned the words on the ears and going home, unable to disown what witnesses heard; the councillors divided, Haswell finding no real cause, Bazett uncertain, Byfield thinking Tovey overstated it yet French had abused him. The Governor, having several times composed and then forbidden their company, blamed the outburst on Tovey drinking aboard the *Duke of Cambridge* and French joining him; he thought Tovey had great cause yet refused to let him swear the peace against a serving gunner, holding it his own office to protect him, and thought Bencoolen fittest for both unless they lived more quietly. [Film No. 68–72]

Conviction cost a man of standing more than any fine. On 16 May 1716 Tovey's first request was not money but restoration to his employment and council seat, and he recounted offering to submit the quarrel to Wrangham or any two of his choosing, the ordinary route between gentlemen, complaining Wrangham spurned it for law. Restoration was gradual: on 7 June 1716 the Council, though pressed by Hassell and Bazett to make him a severe example, heard the Governor say he had been dealt with a little too severely in being indicted for felony, and Tovey was told he had not suffered enough to be readmitted but, behaving well until 8 July 1716, should then be; on 19 June, asking to sit to learn the general letter, he was allowed to read it and answer the paragraphs touching himself, the date unchanged. The small council could be hollowed by entanglement: on 7 June 1716, asked whether Wrangham was right to indict for felony, Hassell, who had urged severity, asked to be excused, leaving it split, Bazett holding any man would have prosecuted so and Byfield that charging felony where none existed was a serious wrong. The community was bound by marriage, debt and sale: on 10 July 1716 George Sanders, the schoolmaster, pursued debts to the estate of Thomas Gargen, whose widow he had married, one against Edward Brereton, just shipped to Bencoolen for a piracy plot, another against Kensley Maine, both from goods bought at outcry. The precarious widow appears in Sarah Sinnick, who on 3 July 1716 set out that her husband died intestate and indebted, leaving only a house and a few old goods, offering all to creditors but the clothes she and her eleven-month-old child wore; on 10 July the Council ordered the house sold to the best purchaser with a full year's credit to encourage bidders, the heir to inventory the goods. [Film No. 114–116, 125–126, 145, 175–177]

Religion and Education

Religion and schooling came through the store. The stationery in the account for 25 January to 25 February 1716 lists eight horn books, two testaments, a large Bible and eight quires of paper, horn books being primers bearing the alphabet and Lord's Prayer under horn; the account to 25 April 1716 lists two testaments among stationery ware, the store being the only source of scripture. The parish framework gave religion footing: on 8 May 1716 the outgoing wardens James Greentree and John Twaits brought the names elected by the freeholders, and the Council appointed John Goodwin and Robert Bell churchwardens and Thomas Allis and Robert Girling overseers, one per division; on 15 May they were discharged on bringing in their accounts of the year's payments and disbursements, examined and approved before Goodwin and Bell were sworn. The written instructions of 29 May 1716 required the wardens to guard both churches' furniture, vestments and utensils, keep account of gifts, report the poor and impotent for relief, preserve order at divine service and charge and pay the sexton by assessment, and to note Sabbath breakers, swearers, drunkards and whoremongers, admonishing the lesser but presenting the obstinate after a third admonition. [Film No. 12, 21, 73–74, 83–86, 120]

The church chiefly received the court's fines: Gabriel Powell's £5 0s 0d on 7 June 1716 went to the church and poor, Henry Johnson's on 19 June to the poor. On 10 July 1716 the Council ordered new psalm books, bibles and common prayer books delivered to the chaplain to dispose of on credit and account for to the storekeeper. Schooling shows through those who taught: George Sanders, soldier and schoolmaster, fined for his slave's wood-cutting and pursuing his wife's first husband's estate on 10 July 1716, and the chaplain Joseph Thomlinson, a substantial member of the 1715 census whose contested slaves appear in the labour disputes; the store's testaments, horn books and paper supplied the materials of learning. [Film No. 39, 44, 59, 90, 130, 146, 170, 176, 177]

Crime and Punishment

The great early scandal was a clandestine extortionate arrack trade run by the under storehouse keepers, uncovered through the March 1716 examinations. They bought spirit privately from ships and sold it to soldiers at inflated prices, drawing men into debt and passing the notes into the stores as good payment. The Governor found a note for £17 0s 0d from the fiddler William Huff extorted for arrack at eighteen

shillings the gallon against the regulated dollar and a quarter, and refused it, leaving Huff free to strike at the racket. The corruption reached him: the punch man William Beale offered ten pounds in silver to have his bills transferred to his store credit; rather than take it the Governor had Beale arrested and prosecuted, and ruled that no transfer be made except openly in Council, that it was the accountant's or secretary's business not the storekeeper's, and that one reasoned objection should stop it. A further device came out when the Sandy Bay slave overseer's account showed Thomas Leech's slave entered to the credit of James Greentree, who kept an under storehouse in the valley, so Leech's debt to Greentree was satisfied first while a fresh debt accrued to the Company; the Governor held the slave should be seized for the Company while Leech lived, but hearing Leech's wife had just been brought to bed of two boys, judged it too rigorous at once and tried forbearance. [Film No. 31, 36–38]

Removal punished nuisances. In March 1716 the Governor pressed that John Nichols the younger, of bad family character whose sons were pilfering fellows complained of almost monthly, be held to his request for leave to Bencoolen and obliged to depart, the father content. On 1 May 1716 the Council resolved to send off four notorious rogues, William Gwyn, William Cook, Kendal Mein and William Eagle, for the island's and shipping's security, fearing their false notions spread among seamen; Haswell judging only one could go in the small *Nathaniel*, William Gwyn was punished and put aboard in irons. Shipping brought disorder: on 19 June 1716 John Bagley, a planter, summoned for lewd scandalous behaviour last shipping and offering in drink to prostitute his wife, pleaded he was too drunk to remember and defended her as honest, fined 5s 0d; Henry Johnson, summoned the same day for neglecting business and telling young gentlemen he could show them a young woman they might be free with, being drunk, was fined 10s 0d to the poor. [Film No. 29, 58, 146]

Contempt of court was serious. Gabriel Powell, a free planter who about eight months earlier uttered rash words before the whole court, petitioned on 7 June 1716 in elaborate submission to be discharged from his recognizance, a bond binding him under threat of forfeiting money, and was fined no more than £5 0s 0d to the church and poor. The gravest challenge came from appeals over the Governor's head: on 19 June 1716 Thomas Free was summoned for writing to the Company so scandalously, admitting it was because the Governor would not buy his yams; the Governor branded him as notorious a drunkard as any on the island, his parting shot that the next time Free hanged himself he should not be cut down pointing to an earlier attempt at self-destruction. Transportation rid the island of dangerous men: on 2 July 1716 the Council resolved to send Edward Brereton, intended supercargo of a small ship, to Bencoolen by the *Catherine*, being unable to clear himself of a paper by his fellow conspirator Gwyn and not denying the piratical intention to seize a small ship on arrival, and the same day sent James Alexander, a drummer who ran from the *Shuttleworth* and hid on the island, as beyond reform. [Film No. 129–130, 146–147, 165]

Illicit trade between inhabitants and slaves came to a head with Edmund Nicholls: on or about 17 July 1716 he was summoned for bartering a hog with the Company's slaves, a sound shoat for five fowls, such dealing letting slaves dispose of goods unlawfully and giving disreputable residents a hidden supply. Old Nicholls and his sons were continually complained of for secret correspondence with slaves and bad people, of the character of common thieves and pilferers, the Council suspecting so good a hog sold so cheap was meant to buy the slaves' connivance at greater roguery. The Peak country showed violence to livestock beside theft, a bullock hamstrung two or three days before, said to be Thomas Swallow's, and a hog of John Coles found with all four feet cut off, mutilation pointing to malice or a method of marking beasts for later theft. [Film No. 184–185]

Personalities

Governor Isaac Pyke shapes almost every entry, a careful administrator ordering the accounts, introducing interest against custom, demanding bonds and searching the consultation books to recover an old loss, firm yet discriminating, excusing interest to the loyal Giles Hayes and hard-pressed widow Mashborne while pressing the troublesome Worrall, and merciful in staying the seizure of Leech's slave on the birth of twins. He read the Statute of Stabbing and Dalton and Hale to strip a felony to assault, correcting his own bench, and tempered firmness with obligation, buying Holden's cargo and letting Powell's credit rescue a widow, yet could be harsh, throwing Free's attempted suicide in his face on 19 June 1716, and bold to rashness, pressing to seize the *St Matthew* against his whole council and calling Haswell a weak man. [Film No. 33, 37, 38, 78, 105–106, 147]

Antipas Tovey is the most vivid inhabitant, a self-styled gentleman in a bitter feud and serious crime. His letters of February 1715/16, from prison in pain, confessed his weakness, alleged Bazett made him drunk to discredit him and drew in French, and pressed for bail, his enmity with French reaching to England. He sought protection on 3 May 1716, recalled his duel and sparing of French, and at trial on 18 May refused to plead as a felon while confessing the wounding, insisting he answered as a gentleman and be tried by equals not planters; valuing his council seat above his fine, he was set to regain his place by 8 July 1716, and by 23 April 1716 had given bond for his daughter-in-law's portion, securing an infant heiress's inheritance. The gunner John French, his implacable adversary, accused of threatening to cut off Tovey's ears and boasting of a hundred pounds and character to face the Company, met the charges in May 1716 with denial and grudging admission; the Governor blamed him for breaching the order to keep them apart and thought Bencoolen fittest for both. [Film No. 16, 17, 19, 54, 69–72, 103–104, 126]

Captain George Haswell, deputy, is Pyke's counterweight, urging caution over the *St Matthew* on 11 May 1716 with warnings of escape, lawsuit and bloodshed and defending his handling of the second suspicious ship with a seaman's account that drew only contempt, his prudence carrying the Council against seizure. Matthew Bazett sits on the Council yet is accused by Tovey of intrigue and drunkenness, voices the owners' case against lowering slave hire and objects to interest, and as storekeeper defended his honest account on 16 July 1716, ready to swear to every shortfall and casting Tolson as troublesome. Captain John Hunter of the *Catherine* is the sharpest commander, between 30 June and 5 July 1716 meeting the protest with a demurrage claim, answering every item with orders and receipts and retorting that the Council who disliked controversy were just beginning it, then breaking off and sailing. Captain William Fitzhugh of the *Derby* cuts a dubious figure, delivering short spoiled arrack in June 1716 and blaming the staves while the Council suspected substitution. Francis Wrangham's character stays contested, Tovey painting him on 16 May 1716 as ringleader of the malcontents in Governor Roberts's time and a keeper of private store houses, Bazett holding on 7 June that any man would have prosecuted so. Among lesser figures, the widow Margaret Sich paid her son's debt and secured her grandchild's fortune, the chaplain Joseph Thomlinson protested his slaves' reduced wages, the overseer William Worrall served diligently, and the Ostend commander Matthias Gorrebrant of the *Charles Galley* spoke frankly on 11 July 1716 of turning privateer and his Mozambique trade in gold, ivory, ambergris and slaves. [Film No. 39, 40, 79, 96, 110, 115, 125, 127, 141, 160–164, 172, 181–183]

Conclusion

The 1715 census and survey and the 1716 consultations, accounts and courts portray a small, dependent and tightly governed settlement turning wholly on the Company that owned it and the ships that supplied it. St Helena grew little and made almost nothing, drawing provisions, cloth, tools and even horn books and Bibles through one store and repaying in cattle, produce and the coerced labour of slaves and servants for want of coin. The Company was landlord, employer, merchant, banker, magistrate and church at once, through a handful of officers at Union Castle under a charter making them absolute lords proprietors. Its parts were tightly bound, a wounding funding the fortifications, spoiled rice feeding the slaves and the loss of one gardener threatening the greens that victualled passing ships. [Film No. 9, 13, 25, 44, 107, 149]

The wider world pressed constantly. The Ostend ventures of the *St Matthew*, *Matthias* and *Charles Galley* drew the island into the chartered companies' commercial warfare and the quarrel over allegiance and free trade, while the storms battering the *Bouverie* and *Mary* and the surf filling the castle ditch made it at once refuge and hazard. The salute for the death of the King of France on 4 May 1716 brought Europe's diplomacy to the guns, and cargoes in rupees, pagodas and crusadoes, the kersey clothing the slaves and the Madagascar covenants tie St Helena to a network from Sweden and Cadiz to Surat, Mozambique and Bencoolen. Read with its origins in mind, the record shows the administration as firm but reasonable, the petitions of the poor, pleas of debtors and sentences on slaves reaching us only as the Council chose, so Wrangham is judged through his enemy's words and slaves appear as assets or unreliable witnesses, the careful forms of oath, bond and pleading throwing the summary whip and seizure into relief. Yet it is candid, admitting the keepers' corruption, the bribe, the wage disputes and the near-ruin of settlers drained of their slaves, laying bare both the machinery of a proprietary colony and the human costs on which it rested. [Film No. 17, 34, 36, 37, 78, 98–99, 138, 150, 174–175, 180–183]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1716 Photographer Peter Date photographed 8th Oct 2021 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5	1	Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 20th of March 171 5/6 att Union Castle in James Valley. Isa: Pyke Esqr Governr Present. Matt: Bazett & Edwd Byfield. The Petion of James Greentree Island St Helena To the Worspf Isa: Pyke Esqr Governr &c Council The hum Petition of James Greentree ffreeholder Humbly sheweth. That whereas Yr Petioner haveing purchas[...] vizt one dwelling House scituate in James Valley of Richd Cleve at or before his going off the Island and also four Cleeres of Land of John Goddervn ffer which Yr Petioner hath Bills of Sale, Whereupon humbly prays the said Bills of Sale now produced may be registred for the better Security of the Purchase aforesaid And (as in duty bound) shall ever pray &c March 26th 171 5/6 (Signd) James Greentree Granted, The Petion Margin Notes: Island St Helena Humbly sheweth. Greentrees Petrn to Register Bills of Sale	At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 March 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield. James Greentree, a freeholder of St Helena, brought a petition before the Governor and Council. He had bought one dwelling house in James Valley from Richard Cleeve at or before Cleeve left the island, together with four acres of land from John Goodwin. Greentree held bills of sale for both properties, and he asked that these bills of sale, now produced, be registered to give him better security over his purchase. The Council granted the request on 20 March 1716. Interpretations The registration of a bill of sale converted a private conveyance into a matter of public record held by the Council. Greentree already owned the properties through the bills of sale themselves, so what he sought was not title but proof of it that later claimants or purchasers could not easily dispute. On a small island where a seller such as Cleeve might leave and become impossible to trace, a registered instrument protected the buyer against rival claims once the original party was gone. The detail that Cleeve sold the house at or before leaving the island points to the practical reason behind the petition. A departed vendor could neither confirm the sale nor answer any challenge to it, so entering the bill in the Council's records fixed the transaction before memory or documents could be lost.
6	2	Island St Helena. March 171 5/6 The Petion of Dorx Hayes Widdo Island St Helena To the Worspll Isa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The most humble Petition of Dorx Hayes Widx humbly Sheweth. That whereas near three Years since Yr Petionrs Cattle getting into the Honble Comps ffrutt plantation when the fences were bad, the Black Men did sett on two or more of the biggest Dogs and worried the best Cow Yr Petionr had to that Degree that she dyed in few Days after (tho calved two Calves at one Time that died also) Which being a very great Loss to Yr Petionr did thereupon make Application to Govr Boucher for satisfaction, who did promise another Cow in lieu of that so worried and lost, but having never receivd any Cow or Satisfaction for so great a Loss humbly prays Yr Worsp &c to allow Yr petitionr who is a very poor Woman such satisfaction as you in your prudence & Justice shall think fitt towards the lessning her Debt to the Honble Comps And yr Petionr as in duty bound shall ever pray March 26th 171 5/6 Dorothy D Hayes mark Margin Notes: Island St Helena Sheweth. Dorothy Hayes Petit for a Cow	Dorothy Hayes, a widow, brought a petition before Governor Pyke and the Council on 20 March 1716. Nearly three years earlier, her cattle had strayed into the Company's fruit plantation at a time when the fences there stood in poor repair. The black men set two or more of the largest dogs on the animals and worried her best cow so badly that it died within a few days. The cow was in calf with two calves at once, and those died with it, which was a heavy loss to a poor woman. She had applied to Governor Boucher for compensation at the time, and he promised her another cow in place of the one lost. No cow and no other satisfaction ever came. She now asked the Governor and Council to grant her whatever compensation they thought fair towards clearing her debt to the Company. Dorothy Hayes signed the petition with her mark. Interpretations The plantation belonged to the East India Company, which governed St Helena and ran farms on the island directly. When Hayes framed her request as help towards her debt to the Company, she revealed that the same body she owed money to was also the party responsible for killing her cow. Compensation for the loss would in effect be set against what she owed, so the petition sought a bookkeeping remedy rather than a cash payment. The failure of the fences carried legal weight that shaped the claim. A landowner who let his boundaries fall into disrepair bore the blame when neighbouring stock strayed in, so the poor state of the Company's fences undercut any argument that Hayes was at fault for the trespass. Her cow's death by the plantation dogs then became an injury for which she, not the Company, was the wronged party.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The reliance on a personal promise from a previous governor shows how loosely such undertakings bound the administration. Boucher had given his word, but nothing was recorded or secured, and once he left office the obligation lapsed with him. Hayes returned to the Council years later precisely because a spoken promise from one governor gave her no hold over his successor.
7	3	March 1716 Giles Hayse being calld, and askt whether he knew any thing of the fences (aforesd) being bad or down about the ffrutt plantacen, says, his Mother Cattle gott in over the fences next Mr Will which were very much at that time out of repair, & knows that the Blacks that livd there did hunt & warry his Brother Cow, so much that she died soon after and that he was told Govr Boucher promisid her another Cow. Mr Casen testifies that Govr Boucher did promise to give Mrs Hayse another Cow being a very poor Woman. Orderd that the Consideration of Mrs Hayse ffreton be left to the Govr & Capt Bazett to allow her towards satisfaction for the loss of her Cow as they shall think fitt. Orderd that the Arrack now in the Stores be sold att a Dollar and a Quart pr Gallon Henry Francis was sumond to answere for sending his Black or Blacks to assist Captain Arlond in getting wood off the Island without any leave which being of ill Consequence, now Wood is so very scarce, the said Francis was made sensible of his fault, But Genll Ailabie having denyed the Margin Notes: Left to ye Govr Capt Bazett. Arrack to be Sold Dollar 1/4 pr gall Francis assists to gett wood off ye Isld	Giles Hayes was called and asked whether he knew anything about the fences at the fruit plantation being bad or down. He said his mother's cattle got in over the fences next to Mr Will's land, which were much out of repair at that time. He knew that the black men living there did hunt and worry his mother's cow so badly that it died soon after, and he had been told that Governor Boucher promised her another cow. Mr Casen testified that Governor Boucher did promise to give Mrs Hayes another cow, she being a very poor woman. The Council ordered that the consideration of Mrs Hayes's petition be left to the Governor and Captain Bazett, to allow her whatever they thought fit towards satisfaction for the loss of her cow. The Council ordered that the arrack now in the stores be sold at a dollar and a quart for each gallon. Henry Francis was summoned to answer for sending his slave or slaves to help Captain Arlond get wood off the island without any leave. Wood was now very scarce, so this was a matter of ill consequence, and Francis was made to understand his fault. General Ailabie having denied the [...] Interpretations The two orders on cattle and arrack show the Council moving between welfare and revenue in the same short space. Mrs Hayes's claim was handed to the Governor and one councillor to settle at their discretion rather than fixed at a set sum, which left the amount to depend on judgement of what a poor widow was owed against what she in turn owed the Company. The arrack order set a fixed retail price of one dollar and a quart per gallon, giving the stores a controlled margin on spirits sold to the inhabitants. Wood scarcity drove the case against Francis and reveals a standing anxiety on the island. St Helena carried little timber, and every load taken off by a passing ship reduced a resource the settlement could not readily replace. Sending slaves to load wood for a ship's captain without leave was therefore treated as damaging the common stock, and the requirement of prior permission shows the Council controlling the removal of wood as a scarce strategic asset rather than a free good. Arrack was a spirit distilled in the East, most often from palm sap or fermented rice and molasses, and shipped westward by the Company's vessels. On St Helena it was a staple of the drink trade and a reliable source of revenue when sold through the Company stores at a regulated rate. Speculations The Council chose to fix the price of arrack by the gallon at the stores rather than leave it to private sale among the inhabitants. The order set one dollar and a quart per gallon as the rate, which placed the spirit trade under the Company's control and secured a known return on each measure sold. A free market in arrack was the obvious alternative on so small an island, yet the Council preferred a managed price, treating drink as a source of steady revenue and perhaps as a supply worth regulating in a place where excess was a constant concern.
8	4	March 171 5/6 the Governr to excuse Mr Francis, he is upon that desire excusd this time wth a caution not to do so for the future	Since the Governor was willing to excuse Mr Francis, he was let off this time with a warning not to do so again in future.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mrs Mary Mashborne Widdo brought this Day her Deat Husband Capt Edwd Mashbornes, last Will & Testament in order of having the same proved, wch was accordingly done by the Oaths of the Witness thereto. Orderd that the sd Will be reed & appd of, and registerd accordingly. The Execrs of Ann ffuller vizt Sam Greentree & Josh Johnson brought an Inventory of her Estate this day, which being examind and approvd of Orderd that the same be reed & registerd accordingly Also the sd Execrs Jos: Johnson & Ja Greentree brought an Inventory of Robt Addis Estate, which was likewise examind, and upon their Oaths. Orderd to be reed and approvd of accordingly. Mrs Frances Carne Widdo brought the Inventory of her decesad husband Mr Geo Carne, wch was examind & approvd on upon her Oath & the Appraisers Ja Greenhd & Frank Wrangham. Margin Notes: Capt Mashborne Will Proved, Ann ffullers Inr ventory Reord &c Robt Addis Green Inventory	Mrs Mary Mashborne, a widow, brought in the last will and testament of her late husband Captain Edward Mashborne so that it might be proved. This was done through the oaths of the witnesses to it. The Council ordered that the will be read, approved and registered accordingly. The executors of Ann Fuller, namely James Greentree and Joshua Johnson, brought an inventory of her estate. After it was examined and approved, the Council ordered that it be read and registered accordingly. The same executors, Joshua Johnson and James Greentree, also brought an inventory of Robert Addis's estate, which was likewise examined and confirmed on their oaths. The Council ordered it to be read and approved accordingly. Mrs Frances Carne, a widow, brought the inventory of her late husband Mr George Carne. It was examined and approved on her oath and on the appraisal of James Greentree and Francis Wrangham. Interpretations The proving of a will and the registration of an inventory were the two halves of settling a dead person's estate under the Council's supervision. Proving established that the will was genuine, done here by the sworn testimony of the witnesses who had seen it signed, after which the Council authorised its entry into the record. Registration of an inventory then fixed an agreed valuation of the goods, so that executors and heirs could not later dispute what the estate had contained. The recurrence of the same few names across several estates points to a small circle handling probate business on the island. James Greentree appears as executor of one estate, appraiser of another and party to a third within a single sitting, which shows how a handful of trusted freeholders carried much of the work of valuing and administering the property of the dead. On a settlement of limited population, the same men served repeatedly as executors, appraisers and witnesses because few others had the standing to do so.
9	5	March 171 5/6 Orderd that the sd Inventory be reed & enterd accordingly. The sd Mrs Frances Carne desires she may be admitted to administer on the sd Mr Carne Estate. Orderd That a Letter of Administration be drawn and deliverd her according to her request. Capt Bazett brought in his Monthly Account from the 25th Janny to yr 25 Feby 171 5/6 which is as follows. An Account of Store Goods sold & deliverd from Jan the 25 171 5/6 to Feby yr 25 following to the Inhabitants also to the use of the Castle & plantation Houses vizt To the Inhabitants vizt Arrack 58 7/8 Gall att 7s 6d £22 1s 6 3/4d Sugar 447 1/2 at 8d £14 18s 4d Bread 149 1/2 at 3 1/2d £2 3s 7 1/2d Flowr 210 att 3 1/2d £3 1s 3d Wine 57 7/8 Gall att 5s £14 9s 4 1/2d Candy 33 £1 13s ~d Soap 86 att 17d £6 1s 10d Limejuice 5 1/2 Gall at 5s £1 5s 7 1/2d Chise 7 1/2 £0 7s 6d	The Council ordered that the inventory of the late Mr George Carne be read and entered accordingly. Mrs Frances Carne asked to be allowed to administer her late husband's estate, and the Council ordered that a letter of administration be drawn up and delivered to her as she requested. Captain Bazett brought in his monthly account for the period from 25 January to 25 February 1716, which follows below. It set out the store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants over that period, and also those supplied for the use of the castle and plantation houses. To the inhabitants: Arrack, 58 and a half gallons at 7d, £22 1s 6.25d Sugar, 447.5 at 8d, £14 18s 4d Bread, 149.5 at 3.5d, £2 3s 7.5d Flour, 210 at 3.5d, £3 1s 3d Wine, 57.5 gallons at 5s, £14 9s 4.5d Candy, 33, £1 13s 0d Soap, 86 at 17d, £6 1s 10d Lime juice, 5.5 gallons at 5s, £1 5s 7.5d Cheese, 7.5, £0 7s 6d Vinegar, 8.5 gallons at 4d, £1 14s 6d Hats, 3 coarse at 4s 4d, £0 13s 0d Carried over, £68 9s 6d Interpretations The account was the Company store's running record of what it sold to the settlement each month, priced by weight or measure and totted into a single sterling total carried forward to the next page. Store goods were sold to the inhabitants at set rates and separately charged to the castle and plantation houses, which let the Company track both its retail turnover to

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Vinegar 0 5/8 Gall att 4s £1 14s 6d Hatts 3 Coarse att 4s 4d £0 13s 0d Carryd over £68 9s 6d	private buyers and the cost of running its own establishments. The store was the island's main source of imported provisions, so this ledger doubled as a picture of what the settlement consumed. The goods listed show a community wholly dependent on imports for staples that a mainland population would have produced locally. Bread, flour, sugar, wine, soap, cheese and vinegar all arrived by ship and passed through the Company store, since St Helena grew little grain and manufactured almost nothing. Candy here meant sugar candy, crystallised sugar sold as a keeping sweet, while arrack and wine between them made up much of the value, confirming how large a share of the store's trade rested on drink. The retail price of arrack here stood at 7d a gallon within the store account, distinct from the dollar and a quart per gallon fixed for its sale a few days earlier at the same sitting. The two figures measured different things, the store's charged rate against the regulated selling price to the public, and together they show the margin between what the Company booked the spirit at and what it sold for.
10	6	March 171 5/6 Brought over £68 9s 6d Stockings vizt 3 pr of Scarlett Sr att 9s £0 1s 7d Wr of Silk & Worsted £0 0s 13d 5 pr of thread at 4s 6d £0 1s 2 6d sum £3 2s 6d Brass Ware vizt 1 Lamp £0 3s 11d 1 Ladle £0 2s 6d sum £0 6s 5d Ironmonger Ware vizt 1 pr of Sheers £0 0s 8d 2 Hatchetts £0 0s 5d 2 Chest Locks at 1s 10d £0 3s 8d 1 Till Do £0 1s 10d 4 Chest Do at 2s 0 1/4d £0 8s 1d 1 plate Chest Do £0 2s 7d 1 Chest Do £0 1s 6d 3 Shovels £0 6s 0d 2 Hoes £0 5s 0d sum £1 14s 8d Nayles vizt 2 lb Jacks £0 0s 10d lb 4d £0 5s 4 1/4d 8 6d at 9d £0 6s 0d 17 10d at 7 1/2d £0 10s 7 1/2d 6 20d 7d £0 3s 6d 4 24d 7 1/2d £0 2s 6d	The account continued from the previous page, with £68 9s 6d brought over. Brought over, £68 9s 6d Stockings: 3 pairs of scarlet at 9s, £1 7s 0d 1 pair of silk and worsted, £0 13s 0d 5 pairs of thread at 4s 6d, £1 2s 6d Stockings total, £3 2s 6d Brass ware: 1 lamp, £0 3s 11d 1 ladle, £0 2s 6d Brass ware total, £0 6s 5d Ironmongery ware: 1 pair of pliers, £0 0s 8d 2 hatchets, £0 5s 0d 2 chest locks at 1s 10d, £0 3s 8d 1 till ditto, £0 1s 10d 4 chest ditto at 2s 0.25d, £0 8s 1d 1 plate chest ditto, £0 2s 7d 1 chest ditto, £0 1s 6d 3 shovels, £0 6s 0d 2 hoes, £0 5s 0d Ironmongery ware total, £1 14s 8d Nails: 2 lb tacks, £0 0s 10d 2 lb 4d, £0 5s 0.25d 8 lb 6d at 9d, £0 6s 0d 17 lb 10d at 7.5d, £0 10s 7.5d 6 lb 20d at 7d, £0 3s 6d 4 lb 24d at 7.5d, £0 2s 6d 8 lb 30d at 7d, £0 4s 8d 10 spikes or wall nails, £0 5s 0d Nails total, £1 13s 6.5d Combs: 3 ivory at 1s 11d, £0 5s 9d 3 box at 1s 8d, £0 5s 0d 1 ditto at 2s, £0 2s 0d 1 ditto, £0 0s 6d 2 horn, £0 0s 10d Combs total, £0 14s 1d Carried over, £76 0s 4d Interpretations The account moved from provisions into hardware and finished goods, which shows the store as a general supplier of manufactured items the island could not produce. Stockings, brass fittings, tools, nails and combs all came in by ship and passed through the Company store at fixed retail prices, the same channel that handled food and drink on the previous page. A settlement without workshops or foundries depended on the store for everything from a chest lock to a sewing needle, so the ledger records the full reach of imported manufacture into daily island life.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		8 30d 7d £0 4s 8d 10 Spykes 0 wt Nayles £0 5s 0d sum £1 13s 6 1/2d Combs vizt 8 Ivory at 1s 11d £0 5s 9d 2 Box 1s 8d £0 5s 0d 1 Do 2d £0 2s 0d 1 Do 2d £0 0s 6d 1 Hone £0 0s 10d sum £0 14s 1d Carryd over £76 0s 4d	Nails were sold by weight and graded by the older penny system, in which a size such as 6d or 10d named the type of nail rather than its price. The figure originally meant the cost per hundred, but by this date it had hardened into a standard measure of length and gauge, so a heavier nail carried a higher penny number. The store stocked a full range from small tacks up to spikes and wall nails, which reflects the constant demand for fastenings in a place where buildings and fences needed continual repair. Worsted was a smooth, hard-wearing woollen yarn spun from long-staple wool and combed to lie flat, used here for stockings alongside silk and plain thread. It gave a firmer and more durable finish than ordinary wool, which suited working garments that had to last. The presence of scarlet, silk and worsted stockings together shows the store carrying both everyday and better-quality goods to meet a range of purses.
11	7	March 171 5/6 Brought over £78 0s 4d Pewter vizt 6 Bason att 2s 4d £0 14s 0d Chinaware vizt 2 Decanters yr 3s 11d att 2s 2d £0 8s 0d Hooks vizt 4 Do No 1 £0 2s 10d 2 2 £0 0s 6d 1 3 £0 3s 6d 6 4 £0 3s 0d 3 5 £0 6s 0d 3 6 £0 3s 9d 3 7 £0 18s 1d Lines vizt 2 No 5 £0 1s 1d 3 7 £0 2s 6d 4 8 £0 1s 8d sum £0 5s 3d 4 Long Cloath 6 pr at 24s 9d £7 8s 6d Gingham 1 pr £0 9s 9d Guerkees 3 pr at 12s 6d £1 17s 6d Dungrees 6 pr at 5s 0d £1 14s 0d Smith yd Ends £1 1s 0d Cutlary Ware vizt Scissars 4 pr at 8d £0 2s 11d Pruning Knives 2 £0 2s 2d Thimbles 6 £0 5s 1d Tobacco pipes 10 doz & 10 pipes att 6d £0 6s 6d ffish 12 att 6d £0 9s 5d	The account continued from the previous page, with £78 5s 4d brought over. Brought over, £78 5s 4d Powder: 6 barrels at 2s 9d, £0 16s 6d Glassware: 2 decanters at 3s 11d, £0 8s 0d Hooks: 4 of number 1 at 2s 6d, £0 10s 0d 2 of number 2, £0 0s 6d 2 of number 3, £0 3s 6d 6 of number 4, £0 3s 0d 6 of number 5, £0 6s 0d 3 of number 6, £0 3s 0d 3 of number 7, £0 3s 9d Hooks total, £0 18s 1d Lines: 2 of number 5, £0 1s 1d 3 of number 7, £0 2s 6d 4 of number 9, £0 1s 8d Lines total, £0 5s 3d Long cloth, 6 pieces at 24s 9d, £7 8s 6d Gingham, 1 piece, £0 9s 9d Guinea stuffs, 3 pieces at 12s 6d, £1 17s 6d Dungarees, 6 pieces at 5s 0d, £1 14s 0d Smith stuff, £1 1s 0d Cutlery ware: Scissors, 4 pairs at 8.5d, £0 2s 11d Pruning knives, 2, £0 2s 2d Thimbles, 6, [...] Tobacco pipes, 10 dozen and 10 pipes at 6d, £0 9s 5d Silk, 12 ounces at 8d, £1 10s 0d Buttons: 8 dozen breast at 4d, £0 2s 8d 8 dozen coat at 19d, £0 12s 0d Buttons total, £0 15s 4d Carried over, £95 17s 4d Interpretations The account here ran through gunpowder, fishing tackle, cloth, cutlery and haberdashery, which shows the store supplying the working needs of a fishing and farming settlement as well as its household wants. Powder came in barrels for defence and for the muskets the inhabitants kept, while numbered hooks and lines served the boat fishery that gave the island much of its fresh food. Cloth by the piece, buttons and silk let people make and mend their own clothes, since ready-made garments were scarce and the store dealt chiefly in materials. The imported cloths named here were the standard fabrics of the Company's eastern trade, each with its own use. Long cloth was a plain white cotton woven in India in long lengths, valued for its even

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		sum £1 10s 0d Buttons vizt 4 doz Brest at 4d £0 2s 0d 4 doz Coat at 9d £0 12s 0d sum £0 15s 4d Carryd over £95 17s 8d	quality and sold by the piece for shirts and general wear. Gingham was a checked or striped cotton, guinea stuffs were coarse cottons of the kind used in the West African trade, and dungarees were a cheap, coarse and hard-wearing cotton suited to working clothes. Their presence together shows how far Indian textiles had come to clothe even a remote South Atlantic settlement. The fish hooks and lines were graded and sold by number, a higher number marking a different size within the set. This let a buyer match tackle to the fish being sought, from small inshore catches to larger deep-water species, and the range the store carried reflects how central line fishing was to island life. A settlement that could grow little relied on the sea, so fishing gear was as much a staple of the store as flour or cloth.
12	8	March 171 5/6 Brought over £95 17s 0d Threads vizt 7 1/2 lb Brown at 8s 8d £3 5s 0d lb 6s 10d £3 5s 0d lb 5s 10d £2 11s 0d lb 7s 7d £15 2s 0d 2 6s 8d £10 0s 0d 1 1/2 4s 9d £2 4 1/2d 3 cut fine at 1s 9 1/2d £3 10 1/2d 11 9s 2d £8 3s 0d 8 2 6s 12d £1 0s 0d 1 lb £1 5s 0d 1 Do ffinish £3 6s 0d sum £6 17s 0d Pins vizt 9 M at 1s 9d £15 9s 0d 1 Mr at 2d £1 1 1/2d sum £0 16s 0d Stationary Ware vizt 8 Horn Books £0 2s 8d 2 Testaments £0 3s 6d 1 Large Bible £1 4s 6d 8 quire of Paper att 1s 4d £0 10s 8d sum £2 1s 0d Shoes vizt 7 pr Island at 4s £1 8s 0d 1 pr Boys Do £0 1s 9d Shoe Thread 1 £0 2s 0d Do No 1 £0 2s 0d Shalloon 5 1/2 yd att 2s 6d £0 13s 4d Kerseys 8 1/2 yd at 2s 2d	The account continued from the previous page, with £95 17s 0d brought over. Brought over, £95 17s 0d Threads: 7.5 lb brown at 8s 8d, £3 5s 0d [...] lb at 6s 10d, £3 5s 0d [...] lb at 5s 10d, £2 11s 0d [...] lb at 7s 7d, £15 2s 0d 2 lb at 7s 7d, £10 0s 0d 1.5 lb at 6s 8d, £2 4s 0d [...] lb at 4s 9d, £3 10s 6d 8 ounces fine at 1s 9.5d, £0 8s 3d 11 [...] at 9s 3d, £1 0s 0d 8 [...] at 2s 6d, £1 5s 0d 1 [...], £0 3s 6d 1 dozen Flemish, £1 2s 6d Threads total, £6 17s 0d Pins: 9 thousand at 1s 9d, £0 15s 9d 1 thousand at ditto, £0 1s 1.5d Pins total, £0 16s 0d Stationery ware: 8 horn books, £0 2s 8d 2 testaments, £0 3s 6d 1 large Bible, £0 4s 6d 8 quire of paper at 1s 4d, £0 10s 8d Stationery ware total, £2 1s 0d Shoes: 7 pairs island at 4s, £1 8s 0d 1 pair boys ditto, £0 1s 9d Shoe thread, 1, £0 2s 0d Ditto, 1, £0 2s 0d Shalloon, 5.5 yards at 2s 6d, £0 13s 9d Kerseys, 8.5 yards at 2s 2d, £0 18s 6d Druggets, 17 yards at 4s, £3 8s 0d Flannel, 1 yard, £0 2s 3d Carried over, £112 7s 4d Interpretations The account closed with sewing threads, pins, stationery, shoes and further cloth, rounding out the store's stock of things needed to clothe, shoe and educate the settlement. Thread and pins in quantity supported the constant making and mending of clothes, while the woollen cloths named here served for warmer garments than the Indian cottons of the previous page. Shoes came ready-made in island and boys' sizes, one of the few finished garments the store carried rather than the raw material. The woollen fabrics reflect the mild but variable climate of a South Atlantic island where warmer cloth had its use. Shalloon was a light twilled wool used chiefly for linings, kersey a coarse ribbed wool for hard-wearing outer garments, drugget a cheap wool or wool-and-linen mix for common clothing and flannel a soft open wool for warmth. Together they show the store balancing light Indian cottons with heavier English woollens to suit the range of the island's weather and work.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 18s 6d Druggets 17 yd at 4s £3 8s 0d Flannel 1 yd £0 2s 3d Carryd over £112 7s 4d	The stationery entry is the most telling item on the page, small in value but large in meaning. Eight horn books, two testaments, a large Bible and eight quires of paper supplied the basic tools of reading, writing and religious instruction for a settlement far from any school or church supply. Horn books were the primers by which children learned their letters, a thin board bearing the alphabet and the Lord's Prayer under a protective sheet of horn, so their presence in the store shows the Company providing for the schooling and worship of island families through the same channel that sold them flour and nails.
13	9	March 171 5/6 Brought over £112 7s 4 3/4d Gawnoes vizt 2 pr at 15s 2d £1 10s 4d 1 pr Do £1 16s 5d sum £2 6s 9d Nealas 4 pr £0 10s 5d Ribband 6 yd at 2s 3d £0 6s 9d Corkwood 1 9/16 lb £0 1s 2d Saile Needles 12 £0 1s 7d Blew Baftas 1 pr Coure St Geo £0 9s 0d Tea 6 lb att 9s £2 14s 0d 8 Catty att 9d £1 7s 0d sum £4 1s 0d Pepper 9 lb £0 2s 0d Torall £120 6s 3/4d Genll Charges & Dyett Expences pr Store Goods from Jant yr 25 171 5/6 to Febry 25 followg vizt Arrack 60 1/2 Gall at 7s 6d £25 13s 9d Flower 192 at 8 1/2d £2 16s 0d Bread 194 at 3 1/2d £2 16s 7d Rice 146 3 1/2d £2 2s 7d Wine 29 Gall at 5s £7 5s 0d Vinegar 2 Gall £0 8s 0d Oyles vizt 6 Gall Rape at 7s £2 2s 0d 1 2/4 Gall sweet 18d £1 1s 0d sum £3 3s 0d Carryd over	The account continued from the previous page, with £112 7s 4d brought over. This section closed the reckoning of goods sold to the inhabitants with a grand total. Brought over, £112 7s 4d Sannoos: 2 pieces at 15s 2d, £1 10s 4d 1 piece ditto, £1 16s 5d Sannoos total, £2 6s 9d Nealas, 1 piece, £0 10s 5d Ribbon, 3 yards at 2s 3d, £0 6s 9d Corkwood, 1 [...] lb, £0 1s 2d Sail needles, 12, £0 1s 7d Blue baftas, 1 piece, coarse, St George, £0 9s 0d Tea, 6 lb at 9s, £2 14s 0d 3 catty at 9s, £1 7s 0d Tea total, £4 1s 0d Pepper, 2 lb, £0 2s 0d Total, £120 6s 3.75d The account then turned to general charges and diet expenses at the store, covering goods used from 25 January to 25 February 1716. Arrack, 60.5 gallons at 7s 6d, £25 13s 9d Flour, 192 at 3.5d, £2 16s 0d Bread, 194 at 3.5d, £2 16s 7d Rice, 146 at 3.5d, £2 2s 7d Wine, 29 gallons at 5s, £7 5s 0d Vinegar, 2 gallons, £0 8s 0d Oils: 6 gallons rape at 7s, £2 2s 0d 1 gallon sweet at 12s, £1 1s 0d Oils total, £3 3s 0d Carried over Interpretations The first section reached its grand total of £120 6s 3.75d, closing the full account of store goods sold to the inhabitants over the month. The second account then began a separate reckoning of what the store itself consumed in general charges and in feeding those it maintained, priced at the same rates but charged to the Company's own use rather than sold to private buyers. Keeping the two accounts apart let the Company distinguish its retail trade with the settlement from the running cost of its own establishment. The eastern textiles here were finer or more specialised than the plain cottons listed earlier. Sannoos were a fine white Indian cotton or muslin, nealas a coloured or dyed cotton, and baftas a plain calico of middling quality, the blue baftas dyed with indigo and marked coarse and of St George, meaning shipped through the Company's Fort St George at Madras. The naming of the port of origin on the baftas shows how closely the store's cloth stock was tied to particular Indian trading centres. Tea appeared here priced partly by the pound and partly by the catty, a Chinese unit of weight of a little over a pound, which points to its arrival direct from the China trade. Its inclusion in a store account of this date reflects how far tea had spread as a commodity, reaching a small South Atlantic garrison through the same shipping that carried it to England. Corkwood, a light buoyant wood, was likely kept for floats and

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			stoppers, another small sign of the fishery that ran through the island's supplies.
14	10	March 171 5/6 Brought over £1 18s 3d Soap 27 att 17d £0 18s 0d Tea 2 Cattys att 9s £1 16s 0d 4 Do att 9s sum £2 14s 0d Pepper 4 lb £0 4s 0d Candy 12 £0 12s 0d Cheese 1 of 16 £0 16s 0d Limejuice 3 Gall £0 15s 0d Kerseys 119 yd att 2s 2d £12 17s 10d Dungrees 4 pr at 5s 8d £1 2s 8d Long Cloatts 2 pr at 1s 4s 9d £2 9s 6d Sawnoes 1 pr £0 15s 2d Chints 2 pr St Geor att 1s 2d £2 4s 0d Threads vizt 2 lb Brown £3 4s 0d 2 Do att 8s 8d £17 4s 0d 4 cut at 9s £3 0s 0d sum £1 3s 0d Shirts 2 Candid £0 6s 0d Iron Monger's Ware vizt 2 Till Locks £0 2s 0d 1 Do £0 1s 8d 1 Chest Do £0 1s 10d 4 pr Hooks & Hinges at 2s 2 1/2d £0 8s 10d 36 Stone Cutters Chizells £1 16s 0d sum £2 10s 4d Nayles vizt 18 10d at 7 1/2d £0 11s 3d 7 4d 10 1/2d £0 6s 1 1/2d 2 4 Batton Brads at 14d £0 2s 4d 2 Do Do 2s 2d £0 4s 4d 2 tacks at 1s 0d £0 3s 4d sum £1 7s 4 8/d Carryd over	The account continued from the previous page, with the running total brought over. Brought over Soap, 27 at 17d, £1 18s 3d Tea: 2 catty at 9s, £0 18s 0d 4 ditto at 9s, £1 16s 0d Tea total, £2 14s 0d Pepper, 4 lb, £0 4s 0d Candy, 12, £0 12s 0d Cheese, 1 of 16 lb, £0 16s 0d Lime juice, 3 gallons, £0 15s 0d Kerseys, 119 yards at 2s 2d, £12 17s 10d Dungarees, 4 pieces at 5s 8d, £1 2s 8d Long cloth, 2 pieces at 24s 9d, £2 9s 6d Sannoos, 1 piece, £0 15s 2d Chintz, 2 pieces, St George, at 22s, £2 4s 0d Threads: 2 lb brown, £0 3s 4d 2 ounces ditto at 8s 8d, £0 17s 4d 4 ounces at 9s, £0 3s 0d Threads total, £1 3s 8d Shirts, 2 candid, £0 6s 0d Ironmongery ware: 2 till locks, £0 2s 0d 1 ditto, £0 1s 8d 1 chest ditto, £0 1s 10d 4 pairs hooks and hinges at 2s 2.5d, £0 8s 10d 36 stone cutters chisels, £1 16s 0d Ironmongery ware total, £2 10s 4d Nails: 18 lb 10d at 7.5d, £0 11s 3d 7 lb 4d at 10.5d, £0 6s 1.5d 2 lb 4 batten brads at 14d, £0 2s 4d 2 lb 2d ditto at 2s 2d, £0 4s 4d 2 lb tacks at 1s 8d, £0 3s 4d Nails total, £1 7s 4.5d Carried over Interpretations The account continued to divide the store's outgoings between provisions and hardware charged to the Company's own use, the same dual pattern seen throughout the reckoning. Food and drink such as tea, cheese, pepper and lime juice sat beside cloth, thread, locks and nails, all drawn from the same store and priced at the same rates as the goods sold to the inhabitants. This second running account measured the material cost of maintaining the Company's people and works over the month. The heavy entry for kerseys, at 119 yards and nearly £13, stands out sharply against the small yardages sold to private buyers on the earlier pages. Such a quantity points to a bulk requirement, most likely clothing issued to the garrison, slaves or Company servants rather than sold piece by piece across the counter. The contrast shows how the Company's own consumption of cloth could dwarf the retail trade, since it clothed a body of dependents as well as supplying a market. Lime juice recurred across both accounts and carried a value beyond ordinary refreshment. As a store of preserved citrus it guarded against scurvy, the wasting disease that struck sailors and settlers deprived of fresh fruit, so a stock of it at a mid-ocean victualling station served both the island's people and the crews of calling ships. The stone cutters' chisels, thirty-six in one entry, point to building work in stone, a reminder that the Company maintained fortifications and dwellings that needed a steady supply of mason's tools.
15	11	March 1715 5/6 Brought over Tinn Ware vizt	The account continued from the previous page, with the running total brought over. Brought over

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		1 Cullender £0 2s 6d 2 Nutmeg graters £0 0s 8d sum £0 3s 2d Pewter 1 Bason £0 6s 4d Glass ware vizt 14 Ale Glasses at 2s 6d £1 15s 0d 1 Decanter yr 2s 9d at 2s 2d £0 5s 6 3/4d sum £2 0s 6 3/4d Corks 12 doz at 6d £0 3s 0d Twine 2 £0 4s 8d Pork 1 Cask yr 287 at 8d £9 11s 4d Suett 1 Cask yr 132 at 6d £3 6s 0d Pease 1 Cask Cardon yr 8 Bushd £4 4s 0d Plantation Dr to store Goods from Jan 25th 171 5/6 to Febry 25 following vizt Arrack 4 Gall at 7s 6d £1 10s 0d Sugar 18 lb at 8d £0 12s 0d Sheetthread 2 £0 5s 0d Iron Monger Ware viz 1 Frying Pan £0 3s 3d 2 small Hatchetts £0 5s 0d sum £0 8s 3d Nayles vizt 6 lb of 10d att 7 1/2d £0 3s 9d 7 4d 10 1/2d £0 6s 1 1/2d sum £0 9s 10 1/2d Pewter 3 Dishes yr 10d att 1s 6d £0 15s 0d Paper 1 Quire £0 1s 4d Carryd over	Tin ware: 1 colander, £0 2s 6d 2 nutmeg graters, £0 0s 8d Tin ware total, £0 3s 2d Pewter: 1 basin, £0 6s 4d Glassware: 14 ale glasses at 2s 6d, £1 15s 0d 1 decanter, £0 3s 9d 2 [...] at 2s 2d, £0 5s 6d Glassware total, £2 6s 3.75d Corks: 12 dozen at 3d, £0 3s 0d Twine, 2, £0 4s 8d Pork, 1 cask of 287 lb at 8d, £9 11s 4d Suet, 1 cask of 132 lb at 6d, £3 6s 0d Pease, 1 cask, Cardones, of 8 bushels, £4 4s 0d The account then opened a further reckoning, charging the plantation with store goods used from 25 January to 25 February 1716. Arrack, 4 gallons at 7s 6d, £1 10s 0d Sugar, 18 lb at 8d, £0 12s 0d Shoe thread, 2, £0 5s 0d Ironmongery ware: 1 frying pan, £0 3s 3d 2 small hatchets, £0 5s 0d Ironmongery ware total, £0 8s 3d Nails: 6 lb of 10d at 7.5d, £0 3s 9d 7 lb of 4 and 10d, £0 6s 1.5d Nails total, £0 9s 10.5d Pewter: 3 dishes of 10 lb at 1s 6d, £0 15s 0d Paper, 1 quire, £0 1s 4d Carried over Interpretations The reckoning moved into household tin, pewter and glass, then into bulk provisions held in cask, before opening yet another separate account charging the plantation directly. This third heading, the plantation as debtor, shows the Company keeping the running cost of its farming establishment apart from both its retail trade and its general charges, so that the expense of working the land could be seen on its own. Dividing the accounts in this way let the Company judge what each part of its operation drew from the store. The provisions in cask were the salted and preserved staples of a victualling station, laid in against the needs of ships and garrison alike. Salt pork and suet kept for long periods and fed both the island and calling crews, while pease, dried and stored by the bushel, gave a cheap and lasting source of protein. The note that the pease came from Cardones marks their origin, perhaps a supplier or a place of lading, another instance of the store recording where its bulk goods were sourced. The plantation account carried the ordinary tools and materials of farm work, a frying pan, hatchets, nails and pewter dishes among them, which shows the establishment provisioned as a working household as well as a farm. Such items equipped the people who laboured on the Company's land, whether servants or slaves, and their charge to the plantation rather than to general use kept the cost of cultivation distinct in the books. Even a quire of paper was booked against the plantation, a sign of how closely each portion of expense was tracked.
16	12	March 171 5/6 Brou over Cutlary Ware vizt 6 Knives Perkin £0 2s 6d 12 Knives & forks No 2 wth maple handles & silver ferrills £0 17s 3d	The account continued from the previous page, with the running total brought over, and closed the plantation reckoning with cutlery before setting down the three grand totals. Brought over Cutlery ware: 6 knives, Perkin, £0 2s 6d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		sum £19 19s 9d Totall to the Plantation Totall to Generall Charges Totall to the Inhabitants The Governour having reed some Letters from Mr Tovey, after perusal orderd them to be enterd (vizt) as follows. Worthy Sr By the proceedings against me I plainly see that my prying into the Storekeepers Accts has been the means that the Mischief I have done Mr Wrangham, and my self was brought about designedly (they knowing my weakness, wch I trust none shall ever know again) I mean that Capt Bazett laid a snare for me to make me drunk and m[...] Margin Notes: Mr Tovey's about Letter to the Govr	12 knives and forks, number 2, with maple handles and silver ferrules, £0 17s 3d Cutlery ware total, £19 19s 9d Total to the plantation Total to general charges Total to the inhabitants Governor Pyke, having read some letters from Mr Tovey, ordered after reading them that they be entered in the record. They ran as follows. Tovey wrote to the Governor complaining of the proceedings taken against him. He claimed to see plainly that his prying into the storekeeper's accounts had been the means by which the harm he had done both to Mr Wrangham and to himself was deliberately brought about. He alleged that others, knowing his weakness, had contrived it, and he trusted no one should ever know of that weakness again. By this he meant that Captain Bazett had laid a snare for him, to make him drunk [...] Interpretations The three summary lines drew together the whole month's reckoning under its three heads, the inhabitants, the general charges and the plantation, each carrying its own grand total. Setting the totals side by side let the Company read at a glance how much of the store's turnover went to retail trade, how much to its general upkeep and how much to working the land. This tripartite division was the organising principle of the entire account, separating the Company's dealings with the settlement from the costs of its own establishment. Tovey's letter opened a bitter internal dispute that the earlier store accounts had given no hint of. His charge that Captain Bazett had deliberately made him drunk in order to discredit him points to a factional quarrel among the Company's own officers, in which access to and scrutiny of the store accounts was the point of conflict. That a man's inspection of the storekeeper's books could be turned into the occasion of his ruin shows how sensitive control of the store had become, and how personal rivalry could fasten onto the handling of Company property. The cutlery entry named its wares by maker and pattern, six knives marked Perkin and a dozen knives and forks of number 2 with maple handles and silver ferrules. Such detail marks these as better-quality tableware than plain issue, the silver ferrule being the metal band securing the handle to the blade. Their charge to the plantation suggests furnishing for the Company's own house on the land rather than rough tools for labour. Speculations Governor Pyke chose to enter Tovey's accusing letters into the formal record rather than deal with the complaint privately or set it aside. He ordered the letters copied into the consultation book after reading them, which fixed Tovey's charges against Captain Bazett permanently in the Company's proceedings. The quieter course, given that the letters attacked a serving councillor and touched on drunkenness and intrigue among the officers, would have been to suppress or return them, yet the Governor preferred a full and open entry, perhaps to protect himself by putting the whole matter on record where the Company's superiors could later judge it.
17	13	March 171 5/6 and getting his son ffrrench to breed a Quarrell they could then say & swear what they pleasd. But as I am prevented further searching, I pray Mr Worth there may be a scrutiny especially in the Transfers & day Books, how for about three Years last past (only) the Garrison have run so much into Debt, & who it was sold Arrack then to make	Tovey alleged that Captain Bazett had drawn in his own son French to pick a quarrel, so that they could then say and swear whatever they pleased. Since he was now prevented from searching any further, he asked the Governor that there be a scrutiny, especially of the transfers and day books, for about the last three years. Only the garrison, he said, had run so far into debt, and someone had sold them arrack to bring that about. He turned then to Kendall Meine, who had lately arrived on the island. Tovey said he had watched the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		them so. Since Kendall Meine has been here, I have watchd his Words & Actions all I could, & find him a hard old Wretch a prodigious Swearer & lyer, but very close. Yet in the 4 days he has been here has contradicted himself, for first he said he knew not why he came here; next day there were 7 or 8 more concernd (as he said was told him since he came to prison) & then that there were 15 or 16 had signd to a paper to run away with some Vessel from hence. But that he only was told this now too. But some time after (forgetting himself, I suppose) told me he heard of it when first he came down the Hill, when he told me if he had known how he should have been usd he would not have made so much hast down, & on ffryday last as my Wife was setting by one in prison & he at the Door, he said (as a part I suppose of some former discourse) to the Sentinell then posted at the door If you draw your Piece whilst you are Centry you'll repent it but what he meant by it we could not tell, for I was reading, & when I left off to listen to their discourse, they talkt aloud of something very different. I am Yr Worshs Obed Servt (in affliction) (Signd) Antipas Tovey Margin Notes: March 171 5/6	man's words and actions as closely as he could, and judged him a hardened wretch, a great swearer and a curser, yet very guarded. Even so, in the four days Meine had been there he had contradicted himself. First he said he did not know why he had come. The next day he claimed there were seven or eight others involved, as he had been told since coming to prison, and then that fifteen or sixteen had signed a paper to run away with some vessel from the island, though he said he had only just been told this. Some while later, forgetting himself as Tovey supposed, Meine said he had heard of the plot when he first came down the hill, and remarked that had he known how things would turn out he would not have made so much haste in coming down. On the previous Friday, as Tovey's wife sat by a prisoner and Meine stood at the door, Meine said to the sentinel posted there, as if picking up some earlier talk, that if the man drew his piece while on sentry duty he would regret it. What he meant by this they could not tell, for Tovey was reading at the time, and by the time he attended to their talk they had fallen to speaking aloud of something quite different. Tovey signed the letter, describing himself as writing in affliction. Interpretations The letter set out an alleged plot by the garrison to seize a ship and desert the island, the kind of conspiracy that a small isolated garrison always feared. Tovey reported that fifteen or sixteen men were said to have signed an agreement to run away with a vessel, and he tied this to the garrison's heavy debt and to the arrack sold to them. Desertion by armed men who guarded the settlement threatened its whole security, and the link Tovey drew between drink, debt and mutiny shows how the sale of spirits to soldiers was seen as corroding discipline. Tovey's demand for a scrutiny of the transfers and day books over three years connects this letter directly to the store accounts that fill the preceding pages. The transfers and day books were the working records of goods moving in and out of the store, and his call to examine them shows that his quarrel with Bazett turned on suspected mishandling of Company stock. His claim that someone had deliberately sold arrack to the garrison to drive them into debt frames the store's spirit trade as a weapon of private interest rather than ordinary supply. The account of Kendall Meine's shifting story reflects how such a conspiracy would be uncovered, through the questioning of prisoners whose accounts changed under pressure. Tovey noted each contradiction as evidence of a man concealing what he knew, and the fragment of talk with the sentinel about drawing his piece hints at an attempt to test or suborn the guard. The letter shows the anxious watchfulness of a settlement where a handful of discontented soldiers could imperil the whole, and where every ambiguous word was weighed for signs of treachery. Speculations Tovey pressed for a formal examination of three full years of store records rather than confining his complaint to the immediate quarrel with Bazett. He singled out the transfers and day books as the documents to be searched, which would have exposed the whole course of the garrison's mounting debt and the arrack sold against it. The narrower and safer course, given that he wrote as a man already under proceedings and confessedly weak, would have been to defend himself on the single charge he faced, yet he chose instead to demand a sweeping audit that implicated others, wagering that a full scrutiny of the books would turn the accusation back upon his accusers.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
18	13	March 171 5/6 Worthy Sr I wrote to Mr Wrangham a second Letter yr 14 Instant but understand it was not delivd till thursday yr 15th when I had a verball Answer yt he did not desire I should be kept in prison, for that would do him no good and he was very willing (if Yr Worsh: was) that I should be dischargd giving Security. But as I prayd him therein to write to Yr Worsh: about it & he did not, I sent him my third Letter (& 2d about that) on Satturday, to which I had answer (also verball) That he did not desire to keep me here But he would not write to the Governr to discharge me for that would be undoing all he had done. On the whole Sr I see the way to address Mr Wrangham is pavid wth hard Stones, for he sent me a Letter (let my 2 & 3 that shews it) so that I have no hopes of receiving any ffavour from him. But as he is well eno to go abroad, I hope Yr Wors will be pleasd to discharge me upon Bail. I have the Coppy of what Capt Bazett swore last Tuesday (& perusd it) Therefore I humbly pray I may have witness examind upon Oath relating thereto in which he is forsworn or has strangely forgott himself) And likewise that any Owens affidavit may be taken relating to Capt Haswells Assertion then. I am in great Pain in my right Arm & hand by a Cold I have gott, wch hinders my Writing, else had sent Coppys of whats abovement (to Yr Worsh:) & some farther	Tovey told the Governor that he had written a second letter to Mr Wrangham on 14 March, but understood it was not delivered until Thursday 15 March, when he received a verbal answer. Wrangham replied that he did not wish Tovey kept in prison, since that would do him no good, and that he was very willing, if the Governor agreed, for Tovey to be discharged on giving security. When Tovey asked him to write to the Governor about it, Wrangham did not do so, and Tovey sent a third letter on the Saturday. To this he again had only a verbal answer, that Wrangham did not want him held there, but would not write to the Governor to have him discharged, since that would undo everything he had done. On the whole, Tovey said, he could see how matters stood with Wrangham. His approach had been met with hard treatment, for Wrangham had sent him a letter between the second and third that showed as much. He had no hope of any favour from that quarter. Yet since he was well enough to go abroad, he asked the Governor to be pleased to discharge him on bail. Tovey said he had the copy of what Captain Bazett swore on the previous Tuesday, and had preserved it. He therefore asked that witnesses be examined on oath about the matter, in which he held Bazett to be forsworn or else strangely forgetful of himself. He asked likewise that David Ovis's affidavit be taken concerning Captain Haswell's assertion. He added that he was in great pain in his right arm and hand from a cold he had caught, which hindered his writing, or he would have sent copies of what was written above. He signed off to the Governor, promising something further. Interpretations The letter turned on the question of bail, the release of a prisoner on security pending the outcome of proceedings against him. Tovey pressed repeatedly to be discharged on giving surety, arguing that he was well enough to go about and that continued imprisonment served no purpose. His difficulty was that the man who might have supported his release, Wrangham, would give only verbal assurances and refused to put anything in writing to the Governor, which left Tovey without the formal backing he needed. Tovey's request that witnesses be examined on oath reveals the legal mechanism by which he hoped to overturn Bazett's testimony. By having others swear to what they had seen, he aimed to show that Bazett had sworn falsely or misremembered, since a charge of perjury against his accuser would discredit the whole case built on that sworn evidence. The naming of a specific affidavit from David Ovis about Captain Haswell's assertion shows how such disputes were fought through competing sworn statements, each side marshalling oaths to fix its version in the record. Wrangham's conduct, willing in private yet unwilling to commit himself on paper, illustrates the weight attached to written testimony over spoken word in Company proceedings. A verbal assurance bound no one and could be denied, whereas a letter to the Governor would have been an act on the record that Wrangham was plainly reluctant to make. His refusal shows a man protecting himself, unwilling to undo what he had already set in motion against Tovey by openly calling for his release.
19	14	March 171 5/6 farther remarks I am not able now to do, but pray Yr Worsh: that it may be no prejudice to Worthy Sr Yr most faithfull Servt (in Bonds & extream pain) Antipas Tovey. (Signd) Worthy Sr	Tovey added that he was not able to make any further remarks at present, and asked the Governor that no prejudice come to him. He signed the letter to the Governor as his most faithful servant, describing himself as in bonds and in extreme pain, dated 14 March 1716. A further letter followed. Tovey told the Governor that he had spoken to Mr Wrangham, who was willing

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		As I have spoke to Mr Wrangham & he is willing I should be out of Prison on Bail, & also this afternoon spoke to Mr ffrench desiring we might be Friends, & assuring him he should have no Cause to believe me otherwise; for I heartily desire to be in amity with all Men; But he told me I had been his Enemy in England to the Honble Comps & threatid him here, & therefore he would have nothing to do, but seek for security from Yr Worsh: & Cour. & Bro: ffrancis being to go up the Country to morrow (who profferd to be One of my Security) I humbly entreat you'll take the recognance now, & if Mr ffrench must have farther security too, I hope shall have such as Yr Worsh will approve of. But beg I may be dischargd from this dismall Confinement I have endurd this fortnight Hoping I shall so demean my self for the future to satisfy Margin Notes: March 19 171 5/6	that he be released from prison on bail. That afternoon he had also spoken to Mr French, wishing that the two of them might be friends and assuring him he had no cause to think otherwise, for Tovey sincerely wanted to be at peace with all men. French answered that Tovey had been his enemy in England to the Company and had threatened him there, and that for this reason he would have nothing to do with him. Tovey therefore turned to seek his security from the Governor and the Court. Since his brother Francis, who had agreed to be one of his sureties, was to go up the country the next day, Tovey asked that his recognisance be taken. Should French require further security as well, he hoped to provide such as the Governor would approve. He begged to be discharged from the miserable confinement he had endured for the past fortnight, promising to conduct himself in future so as to satisfy [...] Interpretations A recognisance was a formal bond entered before the authorities, by which a surety pledged a sum of money guaranteeing that the prisoner would appear when required or keep the peace. Tovey pressed for his brother's recognisance to be taken quickly because the brother was leaving for the interior the next day, which would have removed the surety before the bond could be sealed. The urgency shows how the practical business of finding and binding sureties governed whether a prisoner could actually be released, however willing the authorities might be in principle. French's refusal to be reconciled rested on a history that reached back to England, which reveals that the quarrel now playing out on the island had older roots. French charged that Tovey had worked against him and against the Company in England and had threatened him there, so the present dispute was the continuation of an enmity carried across the ocean. That such personal histories followed men to a remote posting shows how the small world of Company service bound former antagonists together in a confined place where old grievances could not be escaped. Tovey's turn from private reconciliation to official security marks the point at which he gave up seeking peace with French and threw himself on the Governor and Court instead. Having failed to make a friend of his adversary, he sought release through the formal machinery of bail and sureties, offering whatever additional security the Governor might demand. His plea shows a prisoner exhausting every avenue, first personal goodwill and then institutional process, to escape a confinement he had already borne for a fortnight.
20	15	March 1715 5/6 to satisfie Yr Worsh & all others That there never will be any more need of demanding security for my good behaviour; & keeping the Peace, who am with all Dutyfull Respect & Submission Yr Worsh: Obedt faithfull humle Servant (Signd) Antipas Tovey. The following Advertizements were publisht as follow vizt Island St Helena By the Worshipll Governr & Council. An Advertizment These are to will & require all Persons residing on St Island who have any Boats or share therein That they do wthin ten Days after the date hereof give an Account in Writing unto the Governour of what Boats they have & where kept. Upon which Proper directions will be given the owners thereof and licence for so keeping them Gratis. But if any person or persons do refuse to comply herewith the design of this Order being intended for the generall good) such persons (so offending may expect	Tovey ended by promising to conduct himself so as to satisfy the Governor and all others that there would never again be any need to demand security for his good behaviour or his keeping the peace. He signed the letter to the Governor as his obedient, faithful and humble servant. On Wednesday 21 March 1716 the following advertisement was published by the Governor and Council. The Governor and Council issued a notice to all persons living on the island who kept any boats there. Within ten days of the date of the notice, every such owner was to give the Governor a written account of what boats they had and where these were kept. Proper directions would then be given to the owners, and licences for keeping the boats would be granted free of charge. Anyone who refused to comply would be treated as an offender, since the order was intended for the general good. Interpretations The order requiring boat owners to register their craft was a measure of security control, aimed at the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Margin Notes: Wednes March 21 171 5/6 Island St Helena Acct of Boats to be Given the Govr &c	same danger of desertion that Tovey's letters had raised. By compelling every owner to declare what boats they held and where, the Governor and Council gained a register of the vessels by which men might attempt to flee the island or with which a seized ship might be reached. The timing, coming directly after reports of a garrison plot to run away with a vessel, shows the administration moving to account for every means of escape from the settlement. The offer of licences free of charge marks the order as a matter of control rather than revenue. The Company sought not to profit from the boats but to know of them and to regulate their keeping, so that no craft could be used without official knowledge. Making registration free removed any excuse for non-compliance and signalled that the purpose was oversight of a security risk, not the raising of a fee. The threat to treat non-compliance as an offence gave the notice its force, turning a request for information into a binding order. An inhabitant who failed to declare a boat would stand as one who had defied a lawful order made for the common safety, which allowed the administration to act against concealment. The measure shows how the Council extended its reach over private property in the name of the general good, requiring the inhabitants to account for their possessions in the interest of the settlement's security. Speculations The Council chose to bring every privately owned boat under licence rather than leave the inhabitants free to keep their craft as they pleased. The notice required each owner to report what boats he held and where they were kept, on pain of being treated as an offender, though the licences themselves cost nothing. The obvious course on an island whose people depended on boats for fishing and trade would have been to leave such ordinary property alone, yet the Council preferred to register and control every vessel, plainly moved by the reports of a garrison plot to escape by sea that fill the preceding pages, and willing to burden the whole population with oversight to close off that danger.
21	16	March 171 5/6 to forfeit the present boat they have, and for ever after debarred the Priviledge of keeping any boat, or to have or share wth any other person. Wherefore all Persons are to take notice accordingly. Dated &c yr 20th March 171 5/6 Signd pr order of Govr & Council Jno Alexander Island St Helena By the Worsh Govr &c Council An Advertizement. These are to give notice to all the Inhabitants ffreeholders of the sd Island, That they do assemble and meet together wth the present Church wardens & Overseers of the high Ways on Easter Monday being the 2d of Aprill next ensuing at the Country Church or some other Convenient place; and there by Majority of Voices make Choice of four of such persons ffreeholders for Church wardens and four of the like persons for Overseers of the High Ways to Succeed the sd present Church Wardens & Overseers who are hereby requird to bring in an Account of the Names of such Persons Margin Notes: Island St Helena Choosing Parish officers.	Such offenders would forfeit the boat they then had, and would be barred for ever afterwards from keeping any boat or from having a share in one with any other person. All persons were therefore to take notice accordingly. The notice was dated 20 March 1716 and signed by order of the Governor and Council by Mr Alexander. A further advertisement was published by the Governor and Council. The Governor and Council gave notice to all the inhabitants and freeholders of the island. On Easter Monday, 2 April next, they were to assemble with the present churchwardens and overseers of the highways at the country church or some other convenient place. There, by majority of votes, they were to choose four freeholders as churchwardens and four more of the like standing as overseers of the highways, to succeed those then holding the offices. The present churchwardens and overseers were required to bring in an account of the names of such persons. Interpretations The boat notice imposed a permanent penalty far heavier than the loss of the vessel alone, barring an offender for life from keeping any boat or sharing in one. This lasting disqualification shows how seriously the Council treated the concealment of craft, since on an island a boat was the one means of unsanctioned departure. The severity fits the security purpose behind the whole measure, the same fear of desertion by sea that ran through Tovey's letters and the garrison plot. The election of churchwardens and overseers of the highways transplanted the machinery of English

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			parish government to the island. Churchwardens managed the affairs and property of the parish church, while overseers of the highways were responsible for maintaining the roads, both offices filled annually by the choice of the freeholders. Holding the election on Easter Monday followed the customary English calendar for renewing parish officers, which shows the settlement reproducing the familiar forms of local self-government far from home. The requirement that the outgoing officers bring in the names of those elected gave the Council a record of who held these local offices and tied the parish election into the wider administration. Restricting both the vote and the offices to freeholders shows how local authority rested on the propertied inhabitants, the men with a permanent stake in the island. The measure reveals the Company governing not only through its own officers but through elected parish officers drawn from the settled landholders, a layer of local governance beneath the Governor and Council.
22	17	March 171 5/6 Persons so chosen in writing) unto the Governr & Council the ensuing Council day in order to their making Choice of two Persons out of the four (in each Office) to Succeed the present Parrish Officers as afores. Wherefore all Persons are to take Notice, and comply herewith accordingly Dated &c yr 22 March 171 5/6 Signd by order of Govr & Council Jno Alexander The Coppy of an Administration granted to Mrs Carne Island St Helena We the Governr & Council of the said Island on behalf of the Honble United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies absolute Lords Propriet of the said Island To Frances Carne Widd & Relict of George Carne who deceast on the 28th day of May Ao Dñi 1715 Greeting Whereas the sd Geor Carne dec (as aforesaid) haveing in his Life, and at the time of his Death, Goods, rights, or Creditts wthin the Jurisdiction of the sd Island, Died intestate. By Margin Notes: Copy of Mrs Carne Admin.	The names of those chosen were to be given in writing to the Governor and Council on the next council day. The Governor and Council would then choose two persons out of the four for each office, to succeed the present parish officers. All persons were therefore to take notice and comply accordingly. The notice was dated 22 March 1716 and signed by order of the Governor and Council by Mr Alexander. There followed a copy of the letter of administration granted to Mrs Carne. The Governor and Council of the island, acting on behalf of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, absolute lords proprietors of the island, granted administration to Frances Carne, widow and relict of George Carne, who died on 28 May 1715. George Carne had held goods, rights or credits within the jurisdiction of the island during his life and at the time of his death, and he died intestate. Interpretations A letter of administration was the grant by which authority to settle the estate of a person who died without a will passed to a named administrator, here the dead man's widow. Because George Carne died intestate, no executor had been appointed to gather his goods and pay his debts, so the Council stepped in to confer that power on his widow. The grant gave Frances Carne the legal standing to collect what was owed to the estate and to discharge its obligations, a standing she could not otherwise have held. The document asserted the Company's position as absolute lords proprietors of the island, which reveals the legal foundation of all authority exercised there. The Governor and Council granted administration not in the name of the Crown but on behalf of the Company, which held the island as its property under royal charter. This shows how the ordinary business of probate, elsewhere the work of church or royal courts, fell on St Helena to the Company's own government, the proprietor exercising jurisdiction over the estates of those who died on its territory. The careful recital that Carne held goods, rights or credits within the island's jurisdiction established the ground on which the Council could act. Administration could only be granted where the deceased had left assets within the authority's reach, so the statement fixed the estate as properly within the island's jurisdiction. The precision reflects how a grant of administration had to be anchored to property in a particular place, defining the limits within which the Company's probate authority ran.
23	18	March 1715 5/6 By vertue whereof the full disposal and grant of Administratr of all & singular the Goods, &	The grant declared that the full disposal and administration of all the goods and chattels of the dead man, together with the hearing of the account of that

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Chattles of the said Deceas. Also the hearing of the computation, calculate, or account of such Administr and the final Release, or Discharge from the same are notoriously known to belong entirely and solely To us the Governour & Coun. of this place. We being desirous that the Goods & Chattles of the sd deceased Geo: Carne should be well & faithfully Administred, employd & disposd of to proper uses, do by vertue of these presents Grant to you full power entirely to administer and faithfully to dispose of the Goods & Chattles of the deceased Also to demand, collect, levy, & cause payment to be made of all Debts, or dues whatsoever belonging to the said Deceasd in his Life, and at the time of his Death, And to pay what Debts were owing by the said Deceasd at the same time, as fair as such his Goods & Chattles will extend in proportion according to their valuation. This power we grant you having assurance of your Fidelity, chargeing you by the Oath you have taken in this behalf That you do make or	administration and the final discharge from it, belonged entirely and solely to the Governor and Council of the island. Wishing that the goods and chattels of the late George Carne should be well and faithfully administered, employed and disposed of to their proper uses, the Governor and Council granted Frances Carne full power to administer and faithfully dispose of the estate. She was empowered to demand, collect and levy all debts and dues owed to the deceased, both in his life and at the time of his death, and to pay the debts he had owed at that time, so far as his goods and chattels would stretch according to their valuation. The Governor and Council granted this power having assurance of her fidelity, and charged her by the oath she had taken in this behalf that she [...] Interpretations The grant vested in the administrator the twin powers that made up the settlement of an estate, the calling in of debts owed to the deceased and the payment of debts he owed. Frances Carne was authorised to demand and collect all sums due to her late husband and to discharge his obligations out of his goods, but only as far as those goods would reach according to their appraised value. This limitation shows the principle that an estate paid its debts only to the extent of its assets, so the administrator was never bound to make good a shortfall from her own means. The document reserved to the Governor and Council the hearing of the administrator's account and the final discharge, which reveals the continuing oversight the authority kept over the settling of an estate. Administration was not a power granted and then left alone, for the administrator remained answerable to render an account of how the goods had been dealt with before being released from the office. This shows the Company's government retaining control over the whole process, from the grant of authority to the final quittance. The charge laid on the administrator by her sworn oath bound the exercise of the power to a personal legal obligation. Frances Carne administered the estate under oath, so any failure to deal faithfully with the goods would have been a breach of that oath as well as of her duty. The reliance on an oath backed by the prospect of accounting shows how the honest administration of a dead man's property was secured, through personal undertaking enforced by the authority that granted it.
24	20	March 171 5/6 or cause to be made a full, true, entire and faithfull Inventory of all & singular the Goods, and premises of the sd deceased Geo Carne that hath been and is or may be found on this Island to belong to him at the time of his decease, and deliver the same to us on or before the 10th day of Aprill next ensuing the date hereof, And also that you deliver an Account of yr Administration here unto us when you shall be thereunto requir And therefore to you we do comitt, and you we do ordain, constitute, and appoint & to be sole Administratrix of all and singular such Goods and Chattells by these presents. Dated & Given under our hands and the Honble Comps Seal at Union Castle in James Valley yr 27th day of March Ao D 1716 Edward Byfield	The grant required Frances Carne to make, or cause to be made, a full, true and faithful inventory of all the goods and premises of the late George Carne that were or might be found on the island to belong to him at the time of his death. She was to deliver this inventory to the Governor and Council on or before 10 April next, and also to render an account of her administration whenever they should require it. To this end the Governor and Council committed, ordained, constituted and appointed her sole administrator of all such goods and chattels. The grant was dated and given under the hands of the Governor and Council and the seal of the Company at Union Castle in James Valley on 27 March 1716, and signed by the Governor and by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The requirement to deliver a sworn inventory by a fixed date set the administrator a firm deadline for accounting for the estate's contents. Frances Carne had to list every item of her late husband's property found on the island and hand the schedule to the Council within a set period, which gave the authority a documented valuation against which her later account could be checked. This shows the inventory serving as the baseline record of an estate, the fixed starting point from which the administration was measured.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The use of the Company's seal alongside the signatures of the Governor and a councillor marks the grant as a formal instrument carrying the full weight of the proprietor's authority. Sealing was the act that gave a document its binding legal force, so the impression of the Company's seal turned the grant from a mere order into a sealed instrument of administration. This reflects how the Company's government clothed its acts in the same legal forms used at home, the seal standing as the mark of proprietorial authority over the estates of the dead. The dating of the instrument at Union Castle in James Valley fixed the place and moment at which the grant took effect, tying the Company's authority to its seat of government on the island. Union Castle was the administrative centre from which the Governor and Council ruled, so the grant issued from the heart of the settlement's power. The precise recording of place and date shows the care taken to make the instrument unassailable, an act done at a known time in a known place under the proper seal.
25	21	Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 27th Day of March 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr: Present: Matthw Bazett 3. Edward Byfield 5. Ordered That according to a Resolution of Council the 11 of March 171 5/6 Arrack in the Honoble Companys Stores be Sold out at a Dollar & a Quarter per Gatt; when Beef is Sold by the Inhabitants at Twenty five Shillings pr Hundred pound, and not before. The Governr Reports that haveing the List or abstract of Debts and Creditts in the Honble Companys Store House which is recited in the Consultation of Tuesday the 21 of January last there has Pursuant to the Advertizement then Published been with him the following Persons Since the 1st of ffebru Last and Proposed how they could Lessen or Clear their Debts. And the Governr Sayes he would a Proposed this before but thinks he Ought to Stay no Longer tho all the Council be not Present because tis the Usual time to Reckon and he thinks tis Proper the accomptant Should have a Copy of this Report by him when he Reckons with the People to Govern himself thereby. An Acco of the Debts Mentioned in the above recited Consultation and Advertizemt then Published That all Persons who Owed above Ten Pounds Should repair to the Margin Notes: Arrack at a Dollar a Beef at 25s pr 100. Debts proposals	At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 March 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield. The Council ordered that, following a resolution of 11 March 1716, arrack in the Company's stores be sold out at a dollar and a quarter per gallon once beef was being sold by the inhabitants at twenty-five shillings per hundredweight, and not before. The Governor reported that he had held the list of debts and credits in the Company's storehouse, set out in the consultation of Tuesday 25 January. Following the notice then published, the persons named below had come to him since 1 February and proposed how they would lessen or clear their debts. He said he would have brought this forward earlier, but felt he ought to wait no longer even though the whole Council was not present, since this was the customary time to reckon accounts. He thought it proper that the accountant should have a copy of his report when reckoning with the people, so as to be guided by it. The account of the debts mentioned in that consultation and notice required all persons who owed above ten pounds to come to the [...] Interpretations The order tying the sale of arrack to the price of beef reveals the Council managing two commodities in tandem to protect the inhabitants' own trade. Arrack from the Company stores was held back until the islanders could sell their beef at twenty-five shillings the hundredweight, which shows the administration timing its own sales so as not to undercut the local producers. This coupling of a Company sale to a market condition demonstrates a deliberate use of the store's spirit supply to support the price of island beef. The Governor's scheme for debtors to come forward and propose terms shows the machinery by which the store recovered what it was owed. Rather than simply demanding payment, the administration published a notice and invited those in debt to set out how they would clear their accounts, which allowed the Company to gauge what could realistically be recovered. The threshold of ten pounds marked the level above which a debt was serious enough to require the debtor to treat directly with the authority. The Governor's insistence on proceeding without a full Council and on giving the accountant a copy of his report reflects the routine discipline of settling the store's books at a fixed time. He judged the customary reckoning too important to delay for the sake of attendance, and wanted the accountant guided by his record when dealing with each debtor. This shows the administrative care taken to keep the store's accounts current, the reckoning treated as a regular obligation not to be put off.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Speculations The Council chose to hold back the sale of the Company's arrack until island beef reached twenty-five shillings the hundredweight, rather than sell its spirit stock whenever it pleased. The order fixed both the price of a dollar and a quarter per gallon and the condition that beef must first command that figure, plainly to avoid drawing money and custom away from the inhabitants before they had sold their own produce. The straightforward course was to sell the store's arrack for the best return as soon as buyers were found, yet the Council preferred to subordinate its own sale to the state of the local beef market, protecting the islanders' trade at the cost of deferring its own.
26	22	March 1716. the Governr and make Proposals How they Intended to Lessen or to Clear their debts. The following Persons has been with me Since ffebruary the 1st 171 5/6: Isaac Wood who Owed last March thirty Eight Pounds Seven Shillings, Proposes that as Soon as his Cattle have Calved (which will be before the 25 of March) he is willing to Account and will Sell them three Cows & Calves and hopes to Clear. John Knipe Owes Sixty Nine Pounds and desires a years time and is very willing to pay Interest for the Same till tis Cleard, but desires the Honble Compa to take Some fflowles of him now James Vessey who Owed Eighty ffive Pound last March Proposes that as Soon as the Season is over he will Reckon and Clear a good Part of his debt by Delive ring inn Cattle and Creditt and to pay Interest for the Remainder Samuel Jessey owed about twelve Pound fourteen Shillings but Says that he hopes next March when he reckons to clear all and to have Some Creditts. Samuel Price Shoemaker that owed last March thirty two Pounds Says he hopes to Clear in a Small time his whole Debt by working it Out as he hath done for 15 months Last past and doe believe when he Reckons next he shall reduce it to about Ten Pound. John Long Owed Last March Seventy One Pound and Says he has paid in a great Deal Since, and Next March when He Reckons is willing to pay Interest for what is due. Giles Margin Notes: Wood. Knipe. Vessey. Jessey. Price. Long.	The persons who owed above ten pounds were required to come to the Governor and set out how they intended to lessen or clear their debts. The following persons had come to him since 1 February 1716. Isaac Wood, who owed £38 7s 0d as of the previous March, proposed that as soon as his cattle had calved, which would be before 25 March, he would settle his account. He was willing to sell three cows and calves and hoped to clear his debt. John Knipe owed £69 0s 0d and asked for a year to pay, being very willing to pay interest on the sum until it was cleared. He wanted the Company to take some fowls from him now. James Vesey, who owed £85 0s 0d as of the previous March, proposed that as soon as the season was over he would reckon and clear a good part of his debt by delivering cattle and credit, and pay interest on the remainder. Samuel Jessey owed about £12 14s 0d, but said he hoped to clear the whole the next March when he reckoned, and to have some credit. Samuel Price, a shoemaker who owed £32 0s 0d as of the previous March, said he hoped to clear his whole debt in a short time by working it off, as he had done for the past fifteen months. He believed that when he next reckoned he would have reduced it to about £10 0s 0d. John Long, who owed £71 0s 0d as of the previous March, said he had already paid a good deal since, and was willing the next March, when he reckoned, to pay interest on what was due. Interpretations The debtors' proposals reveal how a cashless island economy discharged its obligations to the Company store, through cattle, produce, labour and credit rather than money. Wood offered to sell cows and calves, Knipe to hand over fowls, Vesey to deliver cattle and credit, and Price to work off his debt at his trade, which shows that the store was repaid in the goods and services the island actually produced. This pattern demonstrates an economy where the Company was both the chief creditor and the main market, taking payment in kind because coin was scarce. The reckoning fixed to the following March and to the turn of the season shows how debt on the island followed the rhythm of the agricultural year. Several debtors tied their proposed payments to the calving of cattle or the end of the season, since their capacity to pay rose and fell with the productivity of their farms. The Company's willingness to wait for these natural cycles reflects an understanding that a pastoral economy yielded its surplus only at certain times, so debts had to be timed to the land. The offer of several debtors to pay interest on the outstanding balance marks the transactions as formal credit arrangements rather than mere arrears. By accepting interest, the Company treated the unpaid debts as loans on which a return was due, which turned the store's book debts into an instrument of finance. This shows the store functioning not only as a supplier

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			but as a source of credit, extending time to its debtors in exchange for interest on what they owed.
27	23	March 1716. Giles Hayse Owed twenty three Pounds and is willing his pay as a Montross be Stopt till it be all paid & Proffers to pay Interest for his debt but because he always buys what he wants of the Honble Comp and dont Deal with the Under Store house keepers I think it is Proper to Shew him Some favour by Excuseing his paying Interest. John Worrall Serjt Owed Seventy Six Pound has Nothing but his pay (as he Says) and Some Poultry, he is a good Stone Layer but is one of those Mentioned in the Consul tation of the 18th January 171 5/6 who first left the Honble Comp work wherefore I think he ought to pay Interest he being unwilling to Part with any Cattle and has behaved himself So by Carrying the People from the work Unless we raised their Wages to five Shillings pr day that I think he Deserves no favour from the Honble Company. Thomas Allis Owed thirty Six Pound & Sayes he is willing to Transfer a debt that John Alexander Owes him for Payment of the whole. Isaac Leech Says he owes thirty Pound but hopes by March to pay half. Sutton Isaack Junr Owed thirty four Pounds Offers to Send his Black to work for the Honble Comp and to breed up Poultry for them till he has Cleared all he Says he never bought any thing but of the Comp till he was denyd being treated he is willing to pay Interest for what Remains due Henry Francis Sayeth that next March when he Reckons hopes to Enter Credit to the value of Sixty Pounds & will pay Interest for the rest till all is paid, His debt is now near two Hundred Pound: But as this debt grew by buying a house &c I think look on it as a good debt. Francis Margin Notes: G Hayse. J Worrall. Allis. J Leech. S Isaack. Francis	Giles Hayes owed £23 0s 0d and was willing that his pay as a matross be stopped until it was all cleared. He offered to pay interest on his debt. Since he always bought what he needed from the Company and did not deal with the under storehouse keepers, the Governor thought it proper to show him some favour by excusing him the interest. John Worrall, a sergeant, owed £76 0s 0d and had nothing but his pay, as he said, and some poultry. He was a good stone layer, but was one of those named in the consultation of 18 January 1716 who first left the Company's work. The Governor therefore thought he ought to pay interest. Worrall was unwilling to part with any cattle and had behaved so badly in leading the people away from the work, unless their wages were raised to five shillings a day, that the Governor judged he deserved no favour from the Company. Thomas Allis owed £36 0s 0d and said he was willing to transfer a debt that John Alexander owed him towards payment of the whole. Isaac Leech said he owed £30 0s 0d, but hoped by March to pay half. Sutton Isaack the younger owed £34 0s 0d. He offered to send his slave to work for the Company and to breed up poultry for them until he had cleared it all. He said he had never bought anything but from the Company until he was refused, being treated so, and he was willing to pay interest on what remained due. Henry Francis said that the next March, when he reckoned, he hoped to enter credit to the value of £60 0s 0d and would pay interest on the rest until all was paid. His debt was now near two hundred pounds, but since it grew by his buying a house, the Governor looked on it as a good debt. Interpretations The Governor's differing treatment of the debtors reveals how favour and penalty were used to reward loyalty and punish defiance. Hayes was excused interest because he dealt faithfully with the Company store and shunned the under keepers, while Worrall was refused all favour and charged interest because he had led the workers in demanding higher wages. This shows the Company using the terms of debt as a lever of discipline, easing the burden for the compliant and pressing it on those who had crossed the administration. Worrall's offence points to a labour dispute in which the workers had withdrawn from Company work to force up their wages. He was named as one who first left the work and who drew others away unless their pay was raised to five shillings a day, which marks him as a ringleader in a collective action over wages. The Company's response, denying him any indulgence on his debt, shows how it turned its position as creditor into a weapon against those who organised the labourers. The distinction the Governor drew over the nature of a debt appears in his view of Henry Francis's near two hundred pounds. Because that debt had grown from the purchase of a house, an asset of lasting value, the Governor counted it a good debt, secure against the property behind it. This shows a creditor's understanding that a debt backed by a tangible asset stood on firmer ground than one owed by a man with nothing but his pay, the security behind the sum mattering as much as its size. Speculations The Governor chose to excuse Giles Hayes the interest on his debt while charging it strictly to John Worrall, though both were servants owing money to the Company. He rested the difference on conduct, that Hayes bought loyally from the Company store and kept clear of the under keepers, whereas Worrall had

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			led the labourers in refusing work until their wages rose. The even-handed course would have been to apply the same terms of interest to all the indebted servants alike, yet the Governor preferred to make the charge turn on whether a man had served the Company's interest or defied it, using the remission of interest as a reward he withheld from those who had made trouble over wages.
28	24	March 1716. Francis Wrangham Says that when he Reckoned Last he Owed Forty Nine Pounds Part of a debt that he had Contracted in buying Land but Hopes next month when he reckons to Clear all. John Sinsmith owed Nineteen Pound but has Severall debts owing to him on the Island which he will gett in and pay with, and will pay Interest (but he is worth Nothing) & his paying Interest by Promise Signifies as Little, but I have Ordered him to gett Security or Else to Come & work it out he Sayes he has a right to a house which he will Sell rather then Come to work which I have therefore Ordered him to doe. James Draper owes twenty Seven pounds, is very Poor but desires his Black may be Employed in the Honble Comp Plantations, he is Counted a very Honest man but Suffered much by his Loss of Cattle and has a great family & Says he had nothing Else, but Hoggs or Yamss of neither of which we at this time have need) to Lessen his debt withalle. John Robinson Owed thirty Seven Pounds and Sayes at Present he cannot pay in Cattle because his Cattle are all Young, and twill be a great Loss to him he desires to Sell Some Yams which I told him we Can by no means take but he Promises to reduce his debt to ten or twelve Pounds, and on that Condition that he do's So when he reckons at March next, that then he pay no Interest Robert Marsh owes Seven pounds but Sayes he Cant well Clear it yet his debt being under ten Pounds I told him we would Not be too hard with any Body, and bad him take his own time Widdow Mercy Gargen has proposed again to Sell her House and ten Acres of Land for the payment of Margin Notes: Wrangham. Sinsmith. Draper. Robinson. Rt Marsh. Gargen.	Francis Wrangham said that when he last reckoned he owed £49 0s 0d, part of a debt he had contracted in buying land, but hoped the next month, when he reckoned, to clear it all. John Sinsmith owed £19 0s 0d, but had several debts owing to him on the island which he would collect and pay with, and he would pay interest. Since he was worth nothing, his promise to pay interest counted for as little, so the Governor ordered him either to give security or else to come and work it out. Sinsmith said he liked well enough a house that he would sell rather than come to work, so the Governor ordered him to do so. James Draper owed £27 0s 0d and was very poor. He asked that his slave might be employed in the Company plantations. He was counted a very honest man, but had suffered much by the loss of his cattle and had a large family. He said he had nothing else but hogs or yams, neither of which the Company needed at that time to reduce his debt. John Robinson owed £37 0s 0d and said he could not at present pay in cattle, because his cattle were all young and it would be a great loss to him. He asked to sell some yams, but the Governor told him the Company could by no means take them. Robinson promised to reduce his debt to ten or twelve pounds, on condition that when he did so at the reckoning next March, he would then pay no interest. Robert Marsh owed £7 0s 0d but said he could not clear it yet. Since his debt was under ten pounds, the Governor told him the Company would not be too hard with anybody, and let him take his own time. Widow Mercy Gargen proposed again to sell her house and ten acres of land for the payment of [...] Interpretations The debtors' varied offers of payment show which island produce the Company would accept and which it would not. Cattle and collectable credit were welcome, but the Company refused hogs and yams from Draper and Robinson because it had no need of them at that time, which reveals that repayment in kind depended on the store's own requirements. A debtor rich only in goods the Company did not want was as unable to pay as one with nothing, so the value of produce lay entirely in whether the store had use for it. The Governor's demand that Sinsmith give security or work off his debt exposes the weakness of a promise from a man of no substance. Because Sinsmith was worth nothing, his undertaking to pay interest carried no weight, so the Governor required either a surety or the man's labour instead. This shows how a creditor assessed the worth of a promise by the assets behind it, treating the word of a pauper as no security at all and forcing him to pledge his person through work. The exemption from interest offered as an inducement appears again in Robinson's case, where the Governor promised no interest if the debt were reduced to ten or twelve pounds by the next reckoning. This turned the remission of interest into a reward for part payment, encouraging the debtor to bring his balance down to a manageable level. The device shows the Company using interest not merely as a charge but as a lever, waiving it to draw in payment and pressing it where a debtor gave no satisfaction.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
29	25	March 1716. her debts to the best bidder She owed One Hundred twenty nine Pounds, and as many other debts as amount in the whole to Two Hundred Sixty one Pounds, and by Selling her House and land Hopes to have One Hundred Pounds Clear, wherefore I Caused an Advertizemt to be Sett up; Her four daughters who are Co-heirs to the Reversion of Said Estate (three of whom are at age & married) Consented to the Same John Nichols Senr owes thirty three Pounds Sixteen Shill but Sayes he keeps two blacks always at the Honble Comp work which he Hopes at the Next Reckoning in March will bring him into Credit they Earning three Shill pr day, I told him of the bad Character he had on Account of his Sons who are Counted to be Pilfering fellows they Seldome Passing a month and Some times oftner but there is Compl against them by every Neighbour that lives within two Miles of him, and that therefore his Son John who has askd leave to goe to Bencoolen Shall be held to his word and Obligated to goe off for the Satisfaction of the Country, to which he Sayes with all his heart he is very well Contented. John Bagley Carpentr Sayes he owed Last March Seventy two Pounds but has worked at his Trade for the Honble Comp Great part of the year and hopes he Shall Lessen his Debt very much when he goes next month to Reckon I told him Margin Notes: Nichols Bagley	Widow Mercy Gargen proposed to sell her house and land to the best bidder for the payment of her debts. She owed £129 0s 0d, and with her other debts the whole came to £261 0s 0d. By selling her house and land she hoped to clear one hundred pounds, and so the Governor had a notice put up. Her four daughters, who were co-heirs to the reversion of the estate, three of them of age and married, consented to the sale. John Nichols, a sergeant, owed £33 16s 0d, but said he kept two slaves always at the Company's work, who he hoped would bring him into credit at the next reckoning in March, they earning three shillings a day. The Governor told him of the bad character he had on account of his sons, who were counted pilfering fellows, seldom passing a month and sometimes less without a complaint against them from every neighbour living within two miles. The Governor said that therefore his son John, who had asked leave to go to Bencoolen, should be held to his word and obliged to go off for the satisfaction of the country. Nichols answered that with all his heart he was very well content. John Bagley, a carpenter, said he had owed £72 0s 0d as of the previous March, but had worked at his trade for the Company a great part of the year, and hoped he would lessen his debt very much when he went to reckon the next month. The Governor told him [...] Interpretations Widow Gargen's case shows how a heavily indebted estate was liquidated by public sale, with the interests of the heirs formally protected. Her four daughters held the reversion, the right to the property after her death, so their consent was needed before the house and land could be sold to clear her debts. The recording of that consent shows the care taken to secure a valid sale, since without the agreement of those entitled to inherit, the title passed to a buyer might later be challenged. The Governor's use of a son's departure to Bencoolen as a remedy for his sons' misconduct reveals transportation as a means of ridding the island of troublesome inhabitants. Because the Nichols sons were reckoned petty thieves against whom the neighbours constantly complained, the Governor seized on John's request to leave for the Company's settlement at Bencoolen and made it an obligation for the good of the community. This shows how the administration turned a voluntary departure into a form of removal, exporting a nuisance to another Company post. The repeated appearance of slaves earning three shillings a day at the Company's work illuminates how slaveholders used their slaves to service their own debts. Nichols kept two slaves constantly at Company labour, expecting their earnings to bring him into credit, which shows the slave's labour converted directly into the master's income. This reveals the economic function of slaveholding on the island, the slave generating a wage that accrued to the owner and offset what he owed the store. Speculations The Governor chose to treat young John Nichols's request for leave to go to Bencoolen not as a favour to be granted or refused but as an obligation to be enforced. He fastened on the son's own asking to leave and turned it into a requirement that he go off for the satisfaction of the country, moved plainly by the family's standing as pilfering fellows against whom the neighbours complained almost monthly. The ordinary course would have been simply to allow or deny the leave as the young man wished, yet the Governor preferred to convert a voluntary departure into compelled removal, using the son's request as the occasion to be rid of a troublesome household.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
30	26	March 1716. him if any Sume remaind he must pay Interest for it he Says he Shall Clear off So much that he Hopes there will be no Need of it. Simon Whaley Sawyer owed thirty two Pounds and he Proposes to Clear it by working which he is very willing to doe when there is Occasion but he has no Other way. Robert Gurling Sayes that the last year he has had a black Constantly at the work which will Come to above twenty Pounds and will put in five Pound Credit from Mr Greentree and Some other Small Debts which are good and hopes to reduce his forty Seven Pounds unto less then twenty Pound, and is willing to pay Interest for what Shall be behind. Que. if he be a Shoemaker and will work for the Company Mrs Free & Thomas Free Owed One Hundred & Sixty Eight Pounds She Proposes to pay Interest at March next for it till all is paid. Lewis Latour Owed thirty one pounds, he Says he Shall have next month a years pay due to him which he is willing to Sell off and Hopes then to Clear all, and if he do's not he will goe to work & work out the rest. Mrs Free returned to know what Security I Expected I told her, her Son Rider, because at her Death all goes to him and her Husband will have nothing to pay it with to which She and her Husband agreed. Then She brought me the following Note on William Huff a fidler. Island. Margin Notes: Whaley. Gurling. Free. Latour.	The Governor told John Bagley that if any sum remained he would have to pay interest on it. Bagley said he would clear so much of the debt that he hoped there would be no need of it. Simon Whaley, a sawyer, owed £32 0s 0d, and proposed to clear it by working, which he was very willing to do when there was occasion, but he had no other way. Robert Girling said that over the past year he had kept a slave constantly at the work, which would come to above twenty pounds. He would also put in five pounds of credit from Mr Greentree and some other small debts which were good, and hoped to reduce his £47 0s 0d to below twenty pounds. He was willing to pay interest on what remained behind. Girling was a shoemaker and would work for the Company. Mrs Free and Thomas Free owed £168 0s 0d. She proposed to pay interest at March next until all was paid. Lewis Latour owed £31 0s 0d. He said he would have a year's pay due to him the next month, which he was willing to sell off, and hoped then to clear it all. If he could not, he would go to work and work out the rest. Mrs Free returned to ask what security was expected of her. The Governor told her, her son Rider, because at her death all went to him and her husband would have nothing to pay it with. She and her husband agreed to this. She then brought the Governor the following note, on William Huff, a fiddler. Interpretations The demand that Mrs Free's son Rider stand as security reveals how a creditor looked past the immediate debtor to whoever would inherit the assets. The Governor required Rider because at his mother's death the property would pass to him, leaving her husband with nothing from which the debt could be recovered. This shows a creditor securing a debt against the person who would ultimately hold the estate, tying the obligation to the line of inheritance rather than to a debtor who might die possessing nothing. The recurrence of slaveholders reckoning their slaves' labour at above twenty pounds a year shows the scale of income a single slave could generate for a master. Girling counted more than twenty pounds from one slave kept constantly at the Company's work, a sum that formed the backbone of his proposal to clear his debt. This confirms the slave as a productive asset whose hired labour serviced the owner's obligations, the master living in part on the wage his slave earned. The willingness of tradesmen such as Whaley, Girling and Bagley to work off their debts at their crafts shows labour itself serving as a currency between the inhabitants and the Company. A sawyer, a shoemaker and a carpenter each offered their skilled work in place of money or goods, which the Company could accept because it always needed such trades. This reveals an economy where a man's trade was a means of payment, the Company taking skilled labour as readily as cattle to discharge what was owed.
31	27	Island St Helena. March 1716 I Acknowledge to be Indebted unto Mr Daniel Griffith the Just & ffull Sume of Seventeen Pounds for Arrack & Dyett which I promise to Pay unto him or his Heirs In Witness whereof I have Sett my hand this 21 day of January 171 5/6 (Signd) William Huff. Wittness Matt: Bazett Gabriel Powell For which Note She desired She might have Credit in the Honble Comps Stores, but Huff is worth	William Huff acknowledged himself indebted to Mr Daniel Griffith in the sum of £17 0s 0d for arrack and diet, which he promised to pay to Griffith or his heirs. He signed the note on 21 January 1716, witnessed by Matthew Bazett and Gabriel Cowell. Mrs Free asked that she might have credit in the Company stores for this note, but Huff was worth nothing and his note worth as little. On enquiring into it, the Governor found that the sum had been extorted from Huff for arrack sold at eighteen shillings the gallon. It was therefore the Governor's opinion that

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		nothing nor his Note Neither and on Inquiring into it I find it was Extorted from him for Arrack at Eighteen Shillings pr Gall wherefore it is my opinion that Huff be not Obligated to pay it but left to his own Liberty, which may be a means to Discourage these People who keep Under Store Houses from Carrying on their Clandestine and Extorting trade otherwise if they are Suffered to buy Arrack out of the Ships to Sell and Can draw in a Drunken Soldier to give them his Note for it and make the Honble Company take it as good Payment in their Stores it would be Less Damage to the Compa to Sett their Store House on fire and Never keep no more than to be Cheated with Transferring these Sort of Notes. Thomas Swallow Senr Owed One Hundred & Nineteen Pounds for which he has given his bond, and has promised to Lessen it at March. Thomas Southen Serjt who Owed One Hundred forty one pounds Sayes he hopes at March to Sell off Seventy Pounds and will Send both his blacks to the work and doubt. Margin Notes: Huffs Note. Wittness Matt: Bazett Gabriel Powell Swallow. Southen	Huff should not be obliged to pay it, but left to his own liberty. This might serve to discourage those who kept the under storehouses from carrying on their clandestine and extortionate trade. If such people were allowed to buy arrack out of the ships to sell, and to draw in a drunken soldier to give them his note for it and make the Company take it as good payment in their stores, it would do less damage to set the storehouse on fire and keep no more than to be cheated by the transferring of such notes. Thomas Swallow the elder owed £119 0s 0d, for which he had given his bond, and had promised to lessen it at March. Thomas Southen, a sergeant, who owed £141 0s 0d, said he hoped at March to sell off seventy pounds, and would send both his slaves to the work, and doubted [...] Interpretations The Governor's refusal to enforce Huff's note exposes a clandestine trade in arrack run by the under storehouse keepers against the Company's interest. These men bought spirit privately from the ships and sold it at inflated prices, here eighteen shillings the gallon, drawing drunken soldiers into debt and then seeking to pass the resulting notes into the Company stores as payment. By releasing Huff from the obligation, the Governor struck at the profitability of this racket, denying the keepers the means of turning their extortion into good credit at the Company's expense. The mechanism of the fraud lay in the transfer of a private note into the store as if it were sound payment. A keeper who held a soldier's note for overpriced arrack could, if the Company accepted such notes, convert a worthless promise from an insolvent man into real credit against the store. The Governor's vehement rejection of the practice shows him closing this channel, protecting the store from being made the ultimate creditor for debts the keepers had manufactured through drink. The price of arrack at eighteen shillings the gallon in this illicit trade stands in sharp contrast to the regulated rates recorded elsewhere in these accounts. The Company sold its arrack at a dollar and a quarter the gallon under controlled conditions, while the keepers extracted more than that from an intoxicated buyer. This gap reveals why the private trade was so damaging, the keepers profiting from prices the Company would not charge, and doing so by preying on soldiers whose debts then threatened to fall back on the store. Speculations The Governor chose to release Huff from a note he had validly signed and witnessed, rather than treat it as the enforceable debt it appeared to be. He rested the decision on his finding that the sum had been extorted for arrack at eighteen shillings the gallon by a storehouse keeper, and judged that leaving Huff at liberty would discourage the whole clandestine trade. The obvious course, faced with a signed and witnessed acknowledgment of debt, would have been to uphold it and require payment, yet the Governor preferred to void it as the fruit of extortion, using the single case to warn off those who fattened on drunken soldiers and then looked to the Company store to make their notes good.
32	28	March 1716. doubts not but to Clear all next year, and hopes he shall be Excused paying Interest, the man is very Diligent and deserves Some favour. William Seale owed thirty Seven Pounds but Says he has deliverd Provisions to the value of near twenty Pounds and Proffers twelve Goats in may or June next and will send his black to the work and raise Some Poultry till he has Cleared his debt.	Thomas Southen doubted not that he would clear all the next year, and hoped to be excused paying interest. The man was very diligent and deserved some favour. William Seale owed £37 0s 0d, but said he had delivered provisions to the value of near twenty pounds. He offered twelve goats in May or June next, and would send his slave to the work and raise some poultry until he had cleared his debt.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Tovait's Owed twenty five pounds, & Says he will send his black to the work which in one year he hopes will Clear it and Desires we would take Some Hoggs & Yams which we Cannot do having Eno at present and he has no Cattle. Richard Gurling owed thirteen pounds three Shillings by my Abstract of Debts & Creditts Deliverd in and Entred in the Consultation books but being askd if his Land was paid for Says he Owes three Hundred Pounds more to the Honble Compa for Land bought of yr Said Honble Empr in Govr Boucher time for which we have as yett nothing to Shew, so I Ordered him to give bond for the same Payable with Interest from the time due. Sutton Isaack Senr Owed thirty Eight Pounds, but he has Nothing at Present to pay it with, he having lost all his Cattle he has Some Land about ten Acres wch at his death may pay it So I Ordered him to bring down his Son and give a bond for the money to which he agrees. Giles Margin Notes: Seale. Tovait's. Rd Gurling. Isaack.	John Twaits owed £25 0s 0d and said he would send his slave to the work, which in one year he hoped would clear it. He asked the Governor to take some hogs and yams, which the Company could not do, having enough at present, and he had no cattle. Richard Girling owed £13 3s 0d by the abstract of debts and credits delivered in and entered in the consultation books. When asked whether his land was paid for, he said he owed three hundred pounds more to the Company for land bought from it in Governor Boucher's time, for which nothing had yet been shown. The Governor ordered him to give bond for this sum, payable with interest from the time it was due. Sutton Isaack the elder owed £38 0s 0d, but had nothing at present to pay it with, having lost all his cattle. He had some land, about ten acres, which at his death might pay it, so the Governor ordered him to bring down his son and give a bond for the money, to which he agreed. Interpretations Richard Girling's undisclosed debt of three hundred pounds for land reveals a large outstanding liability that had never been formally secured. He had bought the land in Governor Boucher's time, yet nothing had been produced to record the debt, so the Governor ordered him to give a bond payable with interest from when it fell due. This shows the administration bringing an old and undocumented obligation onto a proper footing, converting a loose liability into a secured bond that carried interest for the period it had gone unpaid. The pattern of requiring bonds and bringing in sons as sureties shows a systematic effort to secure debts against inheritable property. Where a debtor such as Sutton Isaack held land that might pay the debt only at his death, the Governor required the son to be bound, so that the obligation would survive the father and attach to whoever took the land. This reveals a creditor thinking beyond the debtor's lifetime, fixing the debt to the estate and to the heir who would inherit it. The repeated refusal of hogs and yams, declined again from Twaits, confirms that the Company took payment in kind only where the produce met its needs. Twaits had no cattle and only hogs and yams to offer, none of which the store required at the time, which left him able to pay only through his slave's labour. This shows how narrowly the option of payment in kind was bounded, a debtor with the wrong produce being effectively as unable to pay as one with nothing at all.
33	29	March 1716. Giles Smith owed One Hundred thirty Eight Pounds and Sayes he is to Accot for fifty Pounds Credit but Can pay no more now I dont know what to Say to him, he is a Sickly fellow and has a family, but I have Ordered him to gett Security and to make a bond for the money due, but doubt if he can doe it. Thomas Buenham owed Sixty Pounds, and Sayes he has Some Credit to Enter that Shall be Entered next month which will Clear twenty Pounds, He has no Black nor Cattle Left Since the dry time but is willing to give a bond and Pay as Soon as he Can. In Searching the Consultation books we do not find Acco of Gurlings debt more then that on the 2 of Septmr Anno Dom 1712 he bought the Land (formerly the Widdow Easthoppes) for three Hundred Pounds, but find no Note under his hand for the money nor when to be Payed or how, for which reason I have Demanded Interest from the time due because Govornr Boucher Sayes there that they Unanimously agree and Order that Richard Gurling have the Said House and Land at the Price	Giles Smith owed £138 0s 0d and said he was to be credited fifty pounds, but could pay no more now. The Governor was unsure what to make of him, since he was a sickly fellow with a family, but ordered him to give security and make a bond for the money due, though he doubted whether Smith could do it. Thomas Burnham owed £60 0s 0d and said he had some credit to enter the next month, which would clear twenty pounds. He had no slave nor cattle left since the dry time, but was willing to give a bond and pay as soon as he could. In searching the consultation books, the Governor found no account of Girling's debt beyond an entry of 2 September 1712, recording that he had bought the land formerly the Widow Easthope's for three hundred pounds. No note under his hand was found for the money, nor any record of when or how it was to be paid, which was why the Governor had demanded interest from the time it fell due. Governor Boucher's entry recorded that the Council had unanimously agreed and ordered that Richard Girling have the house and land at the price he offered, three hundred pounds, being ninety pounds more than the first cost. Girling told the Governor that he was to pay no interest on the money until August 1715. If that were

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Offered (vizt) three Hundred Pounds, being Ninety Pounds more then the first Cost, but Gurling tells me that he was to pay no Interest for that money Untill August 1715 and if So, the Honble Company must Instead of Gaining Ninety Pounds be above fifty Pounds Loosers of what their Purchase mony would exceeded at the Interest of Eight Per Cent for they gave on the 28 of March 1710 two Hundred & ten Pounds for it as will appear plainer by looking over the Consultation books. Theo Margin Notes: Smith. Buenham.	so, the Company, instead of gaining ninety pounds, would be more than fifty pounds the loser on what their purchase money would have earned at interest of eight per cent, for they had paid two hundred and ten pounds for it on 28 March 1710, as would appear plainly by looking over the consultation books. Interpretations The Governor's calculation over the Girling land exposes how the Company reckoned the true profit or loss on a resale in terms of foregone interest. The Company had bought the property for two hundred and ten pounds in 1710 and sold it to Girling for three hundred, an apparent gain of ninety pounds, yet the Governor saw that if Girling paid no interest until 1715, the interest the purchase money would have earned at eight per cent over those years exceeded the ninety pounds. This reveals a creditor treating the time value of money as real, so that a nominal profit on a sale became an actual loss once the cost of capital tied up was counted. The absence of any note or record fixing the terms of Girling's purchase shows the danger of loosely documented transactions in the Company's dealings. Because no writing under Girling's hand set out when or how the three hundred pounds was to be paid, a dispute arose years later over whether interest was owed, which the Governor resolved by demanding it from the date the money fell due. This demonstrates why the administration insisted on bonds and written acknowledgments, since an unrecorded sale left the Company exposed to the debtor's own account of the terms. The consultation books themselves emerge here as the Company's authoritative financial record, consulted to settle a question about a transaction years past. The Governor searched the books to establish what had been agreed and at what price, treating the entries as the definitive account of the Company's dealings. This shows the register functioning as an institutional memory, the means by which the administration held its members and debtors to what had been recorded, and by which old obligations could be reconstructed and enforced. Speculations The Governor chose to demand interest on Girling's three hundred pounds from the time it fell due, rather than let the sale stand as the ninety-pound profit it appeared to be on its face. He grounded this on his search of the consultation books, which showed a purchase price to the Company of two hundred and ten pounds in 1710 and no written term excusing interest, so that the apparent gain dissolved into a loss once the cost of the money over five years was reckoned at eight per cent. The straightforward course would have been to accept the recorded profit and require only the principal, yet the Governor preferred to press for interest and expose the transaction as a loss, refusing to let an undocumented indulgence to Girling cost the Company more than the sale had seemed to earn.
34	30	March 1716. The Widdow Mashborne owes One Hundred and nine Pounds and She desires a little time being Saying when the next Generall Letter Comes She hopes to make it appear that fifty Pound wch was Advanced to her Husband in England is payed and because we all know She do's what She Can and that her Husband was at Great Charges to bring his family over and dying So Soon he gott nothing here I think tis not proper to ask her for any Interest Richard Swallow owed Ninety four Pounds but Saijs that by his and his Servants work he has reduced that debt to about ten Pounds but desires Liberty to have things out of the Stores as he has	The Widow Mashborne owed £109 0s 0d and asked for a little time. She said that when the next general letter came she hoped to show that fifty pounds advanced to her husband in England had been paid. Since everyone knew she did what she could, and her husband had been at great charges to bring his family over and got nothing here before dying so soon, the Governor thought it not proper to ask her for any interest. Richard Swallow owed £94 0s 0d, but said that by his own and his servants' work he had reduced that debt to about ten pounds. He asked leave to have things out of the stores as he had occasion for them, which the Governor thought reasonable and would never refuse to those who could pay so fast, and who

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Occasion for them which I think is reasonable and would never refuse trusting those can Pay So fast, and who has the Security of ecs off Stock off both Land and Cattle Orlando Bagley owed fifty Seven Pounds, he Sayes he has kept his two blacks at the work till his Plantation is Almost ruined whereupon I told him to take them home for that Destroyed the End of his Comeing here which was to Occupy the Land for maintainance of the Inhabitants and Refreshmt of the Shiping, he Says he will Deliver two bullocks & Some Poultry and Pay Interest for what remains, which I Demanded because he do's not buy of Late of the Honble Compas Storehouse, but now Promiss he will for the future The Margin Notes: Mashborne. Swallow. Bagley.	had the security of so large a stock of both land and cattle. Orlando Bagley owed £57 0s 0d. He said he had kept his two slaves at the work until his plantation was almost ruined, so the Governor told him to take them home. Their being kept at the work here defeated the whole end of his living on the island, which was to occupy the land for the maintenance of the inhabitants and the refreshment of the shipping. Bagley said he would deliver two bullocks and some poultry and pay interest on what remained. The Governor demanded interest because Bagley had not lately bought from the Company storehouse, but Bagley now promised he would in future. Interpretations The Governor's decision to send Bagley's slaves home reveals a tension between the Company's demand for labour and its interest in seeing the land cultivated. Bagley had kept both slaves at the Company's work until his plantation fell into ruin, which defeated the very purpose of his settlement on the island, namely to farm the land for the provisioning of the inhabitants and the refreshment of calling ships. This shows the administration recognising that draining a settler's labour into Company work undermined the food supply the whole settlement depended upon, so the labour had to be returned to the soil. The contrast between the treatment of Swallow and of others turned on the security behind the debt. Swallow was freely allowed continued credit at the stores because he paid down his debt quickly and held a large stock of land and cattle, which stood as security for anything further he took. This shows a creditor extending easy terms to a debtor whose assets guaranteed repayment, the willingness to supply goods rising directly with the tangible wealth standing behind the account. The Widow Mashborne's case illustrates how the Company weighed hardship and good faith in deciding whether to press for interest. She was excused interest because she did what she could, because her husband had spent heavily bringing his family over and had died before profiting, and because a debt advanced to him in England might soon be discharged. This reveals an administration tempering its financial demands with judgement of circumstance, remitting interest where a debtor's misfortune and evident honesty made strict enforcement seem unjust. Speculations The Governor chose to order Orlando Bagley to withdraw his two slaves from the Company's work, even though their labour there was helping to pay down Bagley's debt of £57 0s 0d. He grounded the decision on the ruin of Bagley's plantation, seeing that keeping the slaves at Company work defeated the purpose of settling the land, which was to raise provisions for the inhabitants and the shipping. The obvious course, with a debtor eager to work off what he owed, would have been to let the slaves continue at the Company's service and take the benefit, yet the Governor preferred to send them back to the failing plantation, judging the island's food supply more important than the immediate recovery of the debt.
35	31	March 1716. The Widdow Carne Owed One Hundred Ninety four Pounds but Sayes She Cannot pay off any more at present and is unwilling to allow Interest She has a great Deal of Land of Capt Goodwins now in Possesion and a good House in the valley that was Mr Carnes who left nothing Else to pay his debts which amounted to above three times the value of that House the that House is worth more than he Owed the Compa at his Death and therefore She desires that we do not take any of Capt Goodwins Estate from his Children for payment of	The Widow Carne owed £194 0s 0d, but said she could not pay off any more at present and was unwilling to allow interest. She held a great deal of Captain Goodwin's land, now in her possession, and a good house in the valley that had been Mr Carne's, who left nothing else to pay his debts, which amounted to above three times the value of that house. The house was worth more than he owed the Company at his death. She asked, therefore, that Captain Goodwin's estate not be taken from his children for the payment of Carne's debts, but that the Company be paid out of

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mr Carnes Debts but to pay the Compa out of Carnes Estate and She Promisses to make Carnes Children Equall to her own which Request I think is reasonable, Especially because we all know She is at least Six Hundred Pounds the Poorer for marrying Carne and that all that Carne had would not withbut her fortune have paid half his debts and as Carne in his life time Sold Capt Goodwins House to pay part of his own debts So I think Carnes House rather than Capt Goodwins Land Should be Sold for the Payment of the remainder of Carnes debts and that tis Proper that we for the Honble Compa Should Seize of the Same and Sell it by Consent of the Widdow to the best bidder. William Slaughter Owed Sixty five Pounds and he Proposes to work at Stone Laying and his black, I told him that I gave no more now then half a Crown a day and he being one of those that left the work a year agoe because he would not work for Less then five Shillings Margin Notes: Carne. Slaughter.	Carne's estate instead, and she promised to make Carne's children equal to her own. The Governor thought this request reasonable, especially since everyone knew she was at least six hundred pounds the worse for marrying Carne. All that Carne had would not, without her own fortune, have paid half his debts. Since Carne in his lifetime had sold Captain Goodwin's house to pay part of his own debts, the Governor thought Carne's house, rather than Captain Goodwin's land, should be sold for the payment of the remainder of Carne's debts. He judged it proper that the Company seize the house and sell it by consent of the widow to the best bidder. William Slaughter owed £65 0s 0d and proposed to work at stone laying, together with his slave. The Governor told him that he now gave no more than half a crown a day, and Slaughter was one of those who had left the work a year before, because he would not work for less than five shillings [...] Interpretations The widow's request untangled two estates that her late husband's debts had entwined, protecting one family's inheritance at the cost of her own. Carne had left debts above three times the value of his house and had, in his lifetime, sold Captain Goodwin's house to meet part of them, drawing Goodwin's estate into his own insolvency. By asking that Carne's house be sold rather than Goodwin's land, and promising to make Goodwin's children equal to her own, she sought to keep the two inheritances separate and to bear the loss herself, which the Governor accepted as just given how far her own fortune had already been sunk in her husband's debts. The Governor's reasoning that Carne's house should be sold because Carne himself had sold Goodwin's shows a principle of tracing liability to its proper source. Since it was Carne's debts that had consumed Goodwin's property, it was Carne's own asset, the house, that ought to answer for the remainder, rather than further stripping the Goodwin children. This reveals a concern to match the burden of a debt to the estate that had incurred it, unwinding the entanglement of the two properties in the order that fairness required. Slaughter's case returns to the wage dispute that recurs through these debtor examinations, fixing the Company's rate against the labourers' demand. The Governor stated plainly that he now paid only half a crown a day, while Slaughter was among those who had left the work a year before rather than accept less than five shillings. This shows the gulf between what the Company would pay and what the workers had held out for, the administration having evidently faced down the demand and settled wages well below the five shillings the labourers had sought. Speculations The Governor chose to have Carne's own house seized and sold for his debts, rather than take Captain Goodwin's land that the widow also held. He rested this on the history that Carne had himself sold Goodwin's house in his lifetime to pay part of his debts, so that Carne's remaining asset ought to answer for the rest instead of further reducing the Goodwin children's inheritance. The simpler course, with valuable Goodwin land already in the widow's possession, would have been to sell that to satisfy the Company, yet the Governor preferred to trace the debt back to Carne's own property and spare the Goodwin estate, accepting the widow's plea that the two families' fortunes be kept distinct.
36	32	March 1716. Shillings tho he had then agreed with me for three Shill pay for which reason Since I can doe without him I would not employ him unless he would take Six pence Less, So	William Slaughter had left the work a year before because he would not work for less than five shillings, though he had then agreed with the Governor for three shillings a day. For that reason, since the Governor could do without him, he would not employ Slaughter

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		he now agrees to work for Halfe a Crown even. Thomas Leech Sayes that Last March he Owed twenty two pounds five Shillings (Altho by the Abstract I do not find Acco of more then four pound fourteen Shillings which Shews that Calling over these Accounts once a year is most Necessary) but he has nothing to pay it wth but one black who half a year home he could Send to work, I told him that would not doe but he must gett Some Security for the debt he proffers to Send three dozen of fflowles about a month Hence and will Endeavour to raise more as fast as he Can Byadjue a black of Rippih Wills Accused by James Draper for Stealing from him one pound of Tea, One Pound of Sugar Candy a handkercheif and a Hatt, while he was asleep, the black Pretended he found them, So Ordered him to be Corrected with fifty Lashes According to the Law of this Place; & to work a work for the Honble Company. Ph overseer of the blacks at Sandybay brought the Govr inn his Acco and there he find Thomas Leeches black put down to the Credit of James Greentree who keeps a Store House in this valley So that Leeches debt must be paid to Greentree first and his black made oath in the mean time which is a direct Cheat to the Honble Compa almost as bad as Transferring is But I I think Since his debt is more than he Can pay perhaps while Margin Notes: T Leech. Byadjue a Wills black punished for theft from Mr Draper. Govr Acct abt Leech Blacks working for Mr Greentree Govr	unless he would take sixpence less, so Slaughter now agreed to work for even half a crown. Thomas Leech said that the previous March he owed £22 5s 0d, though by the abstract the Governor found an account of no more than £4 14s 0d, which showed how necessary it was to go over these accounts once a year. Leech had nothing to pay it with but one slave, whom he could send to the work half a year hence. The Governor told him that this would not do, but that he must give some security for the debt. Leech offered to send three dozen fowls about a month later, and would try to raise more as fast as he could. A slave of Rippin Wills was accused by James Draper of stealing from him one pound of tea, one pound of sugar candy, a handkerchief and a hat while Draper was asleep. The slave pretended he had found them, so the Governor ordered him to be given fifty lashes according to the law of the island, and then to work a week for the Company. The overseer of the slaves at Sandy Bay brought the Governor his account, in which he found Thomas Leech's slave entered to the credit of James Greentree, who kept an under storehouse in the valley. This meant that Leech's debt had to be paid to Greentree first, and his slave made another debt in the meantime, which was a direct cheat to the Company, almost as bad as the transferring of notes. The Governor thought that, since Leech's debt was more than he could pay, perhaps [...] Interpretations The stark gap between Leech's own figure of £22 5s 0d and the abstract's £4 14s 0d exposes why the Company insisted on an annual reckoning of its accounts. The discrepancy showed that without a yearly review the record and the debtor's understanding could drift far apart, leaving the true state of a debt uncertain. This confirms the audit of the store's books as an essential discipline, the means by which errors and divergences were caught before they hardened into disputes. The punishment of Rippin Wills's slave reveals the summary and brutal justice meted out to slaves under the island's own law. The slave was sentenced to fifty lashes and a week's forced labour for the Company on Draper's accusation of theft, a penalty imposed directly by the Governor without any process resembling that afforded a free man. This shows the separate and harsher legal regime that governed slaves, corporal punishment and appropriated labour standing as the routine response to alleged crime. The discovery of Leech's slave credited to Greentree's account uncovered another device by which the under storehouse keepers diverted the Company's due. By having a debtor's slave work to his own credit rather than the Company's, a keeper could ensure his private debt was satisfied first while a fresh debt accrued to the store, which the Governor condemned as a cheat akin to the passing of notes. This reveals a further channel of the keepers' fraud, the misdirection of a debtor's labour to serve the keeper's interest ahead of the Company's. Speculations The Governor chose not to employ William Slaughter at the three shillings a day they had earlier agreed, insisting instead that he take half a crown or be turned away. He rested this on his own freedom to do without the man, having faced down the labourers who left the work a year before rather than accept less than five shillings. The natural course, with an agreed rate already settled between them, would have been to take Slaughter back at three shillings, yet the Governor preferred to press the wage lower still, using his lack of need for the labour to break the rate down to half a crown and drive home the defeat of the workers' demand.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
37	33	March 1716. while he lives, this Black for his Masters Roguery ought to be Seized on for the Honble Company. William Beale Punch man Owed One Hundred and fifteen pounds and Sayed he had Enough to pay it with Bills but Sayed he could not gett them Entered in the Store House because he could not afford to letts them gaine So much by his bills as they did by the others who Sold Arrack but told me he would give me Ten pound in Silver mony if I would Order his bills to be transferred to his Credits he. Wherefore I have Ordered him to be Arrested for his Debt at the Companys Suit and he is now in Custody And it is my opinion that a full Stop be put to the Iniquity of these Proceedings by Regulateing the abuse of these Trans ferrs for it is not Enough to Discount their Extortionate bills by bribeing of the Councill but they have the Confidence to Attaque the Governr too. For which reason I will lay the ax to the root of the tree and have no transfer made but in Consultation. For it is not the Storekeepers but the accomptants business to make transfers, and in his absence the Secretaries but for the future it shall be nobodys to doe it Singly but every Every bodys to do it Publickly by Consent of yr Majority of the Council and not by a bare Majority Neither, for if but one gives a good reason against Transferring I think that Transferring ought not to be made. I have Just now heard that Thomas Leech his wife is brought to bed of two boys, and therefore tho he deserves his black to be Seized on it will be too rigerous to do it now and. Margin Notes: Proffers a bribe to yr Govr. Arrested No Transfer but in Council	The Governor held that while Leech lived, his slave ought to be seized for the Company on account of his master's roguery. William Beale, a punch man, owed £115 0s 0d and said he had enough to pay it with in bills, but could not get them entered in the storehouse because he could not afford to let them gain as much by his bills as they did by the others who sold arrack. Beale told the Governor that he would give him ten pounds in silver money if he would order his bills to be transferred to his credit. For this reason the Governor ordered Beale to be arrested for his debt at the Company's suit, and he was now in custody. It was the Governor's opinion that a full stop should be put to the iniquity of these proceedings by regulating the abuse of the transfers, for it was not enough that the keepers discounted their extortionate bills by bribing the Council, but they now had the confidence to attempt to bribe the Governor too. For this reason the Governor would lay the axe to the root of the tree and have no transfer made except in consultation. It was not the storekeeper's business to make transfers but the accountant's, and in his absence the secretary's. In future nobody would do it alone, but everybody would do it publicly by consent of the majority of the Council, and not by a bare majority either, for if even one member gave a good reason against a transfer, the Governor thought it ought not to be made. The Governor had just heard that Thomas Leech's wife had been brought to bed of two boys. Therefore, though Leech deserved to have his slave seized, it would be too rigorous to do it now. Interpretations Beale's attempted bribe brought the keepers' corruption directly to the Governor's door and hardened his resolve to reform the system. Beale offered ten pounds in silver to have his bills transferred to his credit in the store, revealing that the keepers routinely bought favourable treatment for their paper, and that they now presumed to purchase the Governor himself. His arrest for the debt shows the Governor refusing the bribe and instead turning the machinery of the Company's suit against the very practice Beale sought to exploit. The Governor's remedy struck at the procedure by which transfers were made, removing the discretion that had allowed corruption to flourish. He ruled that no transfer should be made except openly in Council, that it was the accountant's or secretary's business and not the storekeeper's, and that a single reasoned objection should be enough to stop it. This reveals a structural reform aimed at the root of the abuse, replacing the private act of an individual keeper with a public decision requiring near-unanimous consent, so that no transfer could be slipped through for a bribe. The mechanism of the fraud emerges clearly in Beale's complaint about the gain taken on transferred bills. The keepers who dealt in arrack took a large discount on the bills they entered, profiting from the difference, and Beale could not match what they allowed the Council, so his own bills were shut out. This shows how control of the transfer process let the keepers enrich themselves at the expense of both honest debtors and the Company, the discretion to accept or refuse a bill being the lever of their extortion. Speculations The Governor chose to have William Beale arrested and prosecuted at the Company's suit, rather than quietly accept the ten pounds in silver offered to transfer his bills. He grounded this on the affront of a second attempt at bribery reaching the Governor himself, seeing in it proof that regulating the transfers had become urgent. The path of least resistance, and the one the keepers plainly expected, would have been

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			to take the money and enter the bills as others did, yet the Governor preferred to turn the Company's legal power against the man who tried to buy him, making Beale's arrest the occasion to lay the axe to the root of the whole corrupt practice.
38	34	March 1716. and am for trying a Little Longer if our forbearance will have any good Effect upon him. Giles Smith has been with me again and Sayes he Shall be able in march next to pay in good Creditt forty Pound more, and Desires if he do's So that we may take his own Security for the rest, which I think is Pretty well. Stephen Luffkin owed thirty three Pounds, Proposes to pay ten pound next March, and it being a debt of Long Standing he is willing to pay Interest for the remainder The Widdow Grace Porteous owed One Hundred ninety Six pounds, her Husband lately dead was Surgn of the place but deceased Insolvent whereupon I Ordered the Secretary Mr Byfeld to take an Acco of the Goods for the Honble Compa and to make a Publick Sale thereof but have Left the poor Widdow a bed, & bedding three Chairs a Chest with her own wearing Cloths and a little of the China ffurniture to Dress Her Victuals and Ordered to her Husbands Cloths and the remainder of the Goods to be Sold at a Publick Out Cry with twelve months Creditt that they might Yeild the better Price (which Creditt are all to be Entered to the Honble Compa account But She had a black man Named Jack, and a woman Slave Named Dinnah with a female Child, the which I would not Suffer to be Sold by Out Cry because the Honble Compa is in Such want of Slaves, and therefore I had them appraised by one of the Council Mr Byfeld, and Mr Wrangham d Clentonr who Vallued them at fifty Pounds, which is to be placed to her Creditt as well as the Goods the Widdow is now So poor that the Parrish Contribute towards Her Maintenance. The Margin Notes: Luffkin. Widdow Porteous	The Governor was for trying a little longer, to see whether his forbearance would have any good effect upon Leech. Giles Smith had been with the Governor again and said he would be able the next March to pay in good credit forty pounds more. He asked that, if he did so, they might take his own security for the rest, which the Governor thought reasonable enough. Stephen Luffkin owed £33 0s 0d and proposed to pay ten pounds the next March. Since it was a debt of long standing, he was willing to pay interest on the remainder. The Widow Grace Porteous owed £196 0s 0d. Her husband, lately dead, had been surgeon of the island, but died insolvent, so the Governor ordered the secretary Mr Byfield to take an account of the goods for the Company and to make a public sale of them. He left the poor widow a bed and bedding, three chairs, a chest, her own wearing clothes and a little of the china furniture to serve her meals. He ordered her husband's clothes to be given to her as well, and the remainder of the goods to be sold at public outcry with twelve months' credit, so that they might yield a better price, the credit all to be entered to the Company's account. She had a male slave named Jack and a woman slave named Diannah with a female child, whom the Governor would not allow to be sold at outcry, because the Company was in such want of slaves. He therefore had them appraised by Mr Byfield, one of the Council, together with Mr Wrangham and a planter, who valued them at £50 0s 0d, which was to be placed to her credit along with the goods. The widow was now so poor that the parish contributed towards her maintenance. Interpretations The Governor's treatment of the Widow Porteous shows the law of insolvency tempered by a measure of humanity toward a destitute widow. Though her late husband died owing £196 0s 0d and his goods were seized for public sale, the Governor set aside a bed, chairs, a chest, her clothes and a little tableware, sparing her the barest necessities of life. This reveals a practice of leaving an insolvent's widow the essentials rather than stripping her entirely, the recovery of the debt stopping short of reducing her to complete destitution. The decision to appraise the slaves privately rather than sell them at auction exposes the Company's acute need for slave labour on the island. Because the Company was so short of slaves, the Governor would not let Jack, Diannah and her child be sold by public outcry, but had them valued and taken up at £50 0s 0d against the widow's debt. This shows the Company diverting valuable slaves to its own use ahead of the open market, its scarcity of labour overriding the ordinary course of a public insolvency sale. The grant of twelve months' credit at the public sale reveals a deliberate strategy to maximise the return on the insolvent estate. By allowing buyers a year to pay, the Governor expected the goods to fetch a better price than a cash sale would bring, the credit itself becoming an asset entered to the Company's account. This demonstrates an understanding that extended credit could raise the yield of a forced sale, the administration managing the disposal to recover as much of the debt as possible. Speculations The Governor chose to withhold the three slaves from the public auction and have them appraised for the Company at £50 0s 0d, rather than let them be sold

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			at outcry with the rest of the widow's goods. He grounded this on the Company's pressing want of slaves, singling them out from an estate otherwise ordered to be sold openly for the best price. The straightforward course, having directed a public sale of the insolvent's property, would have been to include the slaves and let the bidding set their value, yet the Governor preferred to reserve them for the Company at a fixed appraisal, the shortage of labour outweighing whatever a competitive sale might have yielded.
39	35	March 1716. The Council present being asked if they agreed or made any Objection to this report, Capt Bazett Saijs he thinks it a little hard to ask any body for Interest because it has not been usuall to doe So here the Governr Sayes he has written down in his report the reason why and he do's think it very Proper & doubts not of finding it turn to Account, and Hope when they find they must pay Interest for Debts of Long Standing it will be a Spurr to them to Clear their Accots a little the Oftener. The Governr having at the Complaint of Gunner ffrench Discharged two blacks of Docter Thomlinsons from the work they being weakly and not So fitt as others, and being Importuned to Imploy them againe has sett them at work for twelve pence pday which he Says he thinks is more then they deserve, Doct Thomlinson appeared and Desired a Presedent for Lowering of Wages might not be made of his blacks Mr Bazett Says tis his opinion that no body Can afford to Send a black to work for less then Eighteen pence pday and that Governr Robats repented many times that he had Lowered them to 18d and the Doctors other five Slaves being Good Blacks those two may goe Very well among them, The Govr Says he will buy what blacks he Can and as Soon as he has Ten will begin the Presedent himself and lett them to the Honble Company for one Shilling Each pday but he is Answered that if he do's So he will find no body Else to doe So too, because tis So little Margin Notes: Interest for Debts. Thomlinsor blks complained on Lowering Blacks Wages to 12d day. Govr will do it him self.	The Council present was asked whether it agreed or had any objection to the report. Captain Bazett said he thought it a little hard to ask anybody for interest, since it had not been usual to do so on the island. The Governor answered that he had written down in his report the reason why, and did think it very proper, and doubted not of finding it turn to account. He hoped that when the debtors found they must pay interest on debts of long standing, it would spur them to clear their accounts a little the oftener. The Governor, at the complaint of Gunner French, had discharged two slaves of Doctor Thomlinson from the work, they being weakly and not so fit as others. Being pressed to employ them again, he had set them to work at twelve pence a day, which he said was more than they deserved. Doctor Thomlinson appeared and asked that no precedent for the lowering of wages be made of his slaves. Mr Bazett said it was his opinion that nobody could afford to send a slave to work for less than eighteen pence a day, and that Governor Roberts had many times reported that he had lowered them to eighteen pence. Since the Doctor's other five slaves were good slaves, these two might go very well among them. The Governor said he would buy what slaves he could, and as soon as he had ten would set the precedent himself and let them to the Company for one shilling each a day. He was answered that if he did so, he would find nobody else to do the same, because it was so little [...] Interpretations The dispute over the hire rate for slaves exposes a conflict between the Governor's drive to cut costs and the slaveholders' insistence on a floor beneath their returns. Bazett held that no one could afford to hire out a slave for less than eighteen pence a day, while the Governor set Thomlinson's two weak slaves at twelve pence and threatened to bring the rate down to a shilling once he had slaves of his own. This reveals the tension at the heart of the labour market, the Company as employer pressing wages down while the owners defended the rate that made hiring out their slaves worthwhile. Thomlinson's plea that his slaves not be made a precedent shows how a single rate, once set, was feared to govern the whole market. The doctor accepted the lowered rate for his two weak slaves only under protest, anxious that it not become the standard applied to his five good ones or to the slaves of others. This reveals how the hire rate functioned as a shared benchmark, a reduction forced in one case threatening to pull down the return on all, so that owners resisted any lowering even of a marginal case. The Governor's answer to Bazett on interest ties this sitting back to the whole debtor reckoning that fills the preceding pages. He defended the novel charge of interest as a spur to make debtors clear their accounts more often, treating a device unusual on the island as a tool to quicken a sluggish flow of repayment. This shows the reasoning behind a departure from local custom, interest introduced not for its own return alone but to change the behaviour of men who let their debts run for years.
40	36	March 1716. little the People Can gett Nothing by it. Upon	The people could gain little by working so cheaply. On the whole, the Governor left the matter to the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		the whole the Governr Leaving it to the Council is desired to Employ all the Seven Blacks of Dr Thomlinsons as before. Edward Brereton made Complt That going by Mr Robinsons House on Satturday last, his dogg Run very feirce at him, and thereupon he Called to the black wench and bid her Call the dogg away or Else he would Shoot him next time he Came by there, which Robinson over hearing bid him Kiss the dogs Arse Brereton bid him kiss it your Selfe Upon which Robinson Called him Several ffames as rogue Rascall &c and threatned to break his head and Come up Close to him, and Shoved him him along, and Sayd he Supposed the Said Brereton was Sett on by Somebody, Meaning Capt Haswell by knoding his head towards his houss, and Saying he would have his Sattisfaction of him if it Cost fifty pounds, and Said Capt Haswell was a Sorry ffellow wth other reflecting words Swearing at the Same time two or three Oaths. To all which the Said Brereton made Oath. Whereupon. Ordered That the Said John Robinson be fined the Sume of Six Shilling for Swearing to yr use of the Poor, And for his Affronting Capt Haswell without any Just reason. He be bound over to his good behaviour till next Sessions. Mr Henry Francis being Summoned down on the Account of Elizabeth Maxwell at a Complaint of her Mother Mary Orchard, for not using her well and. Margin Notes: Brereton compl agst Robinson. Fined 6s & bound over to good behavr. Mary Orchard compl agst Henr Francis.	Council, which wished to employ all seven of Doctor Thomlinson's slaves as before. Edward Brereton complained that, going by Mr Robinson's house on the previous Saturday, Robinson's dog ran very fiercely at him. He called to the black wench and bid her call the dog away, or else he would shoot it the next time he came by. Robinson, overhearing, told him to kiss the dog's backside himself. Brereton then called Robinson several names, such as rogue and rascal, and threatened to break his head, coming up close to him and shoving him along. Robinson said he supposed Brereton was set on by somebody, meaning Captain Haswell, and he nodded his head towards Haswell's house. He said he would have his satisfaction of Brereton if it cost him fifty pounds, and called Captain Haswell a sorry fellow, with other insulting words, swearing two or three oaths at the same time. To all this Brereton made oath. The Council ordered that John Robinson be fined the sum of six shillings for swearing, to the use of the poor, and for affronting Captain Haswell without any just reason. He was to be bound over to his good behaviour until the next sitting. Mr Henry Francis had been summoned down on account of Elizabeth Maxwell, at the complaint of her mother Mary Orchard, for not using her well [...] Interpretations The fine imposed on Robinson shows the small machinery by which the Council policed swearing and public affronts among the inhabitants. He was fined six shillings for his oaths, the money directed to the use of the poor, and bound over to good behaviour until the next sitting. This reveals how minor breaches of order were handled, a modest penalty turned to charitable use combined with a recognisance that held the offender to keep the peace under threat of forfeiture. Robinson's suspicion that Brereton had been set on by Captain Haswell points to the undercurrent of faction that ran beneath even a trivial quarrel over a dog. He read the confrontation not as a chance dispute but as an attack contrived by an enemy, nodding toward Haswell's house and vowing satisfaction whatever it cost. This shows how personal rivalries coloured the reading of ordinary incidents, a barking dog and a shove becoming, in the mind of one party, the visible edge of a hidden design. The direction of the fine to the use of the poor illustrates how the penalties for petty offences were folded into the parish's provision for its needy. Rather than accruing to the Company or the court, the six shillings went to relieve the poor, tying the punishment of disorder to the support of the destitute. This reveals a small circuit of local governance, the fines levied on the unruly serving to fund the parish's charitable obligations.
41	37	March 1716. and for taking Seven pound a year for her boarding appeared and Sayd that neither he nor his wife, had any way misused the Girle Nor had he any more for her board then the usuall Price of Seven pounds a year, It appears to us that the Girle (who wth her mother is now present) is very well usd and that there's no Cause of any Complt Seven pounds a year being the usuall rate for boarding any Children on this Place. Therefore Mr Francis is dismist and the Said Girle Ordered to remaine with him at least till She is of age to Choose a Guardian. Ordered That the following Advertize ment be Issued out. By the Worsh Governr & Counr An Advertizem. These are to give Notice to the Inhabitants of this Island that the Governr & Council doth intend to Hold their Quarterly Sessions at the Sessions House in James valley near Union Castle on Wednesday the 11th of Aprill next Insuing the date hereof.	The complaint against Henry Francis was for not using the girl well and for taking seven pounds a year for her boarding. Francis appeared and said that neither he nor his wife had in any way mistreated the girl, nor had he charged more for her board than the usual price of seven pounds a year. It appeared to the Council that the girl, who was now present with her mother, was very well used, and that there was no cause for any complaint, seven pounds a year being the usual rate for boarding any children on the island. Francis was therefore dismissed, and the girl ordered to remain with him at least until she was of age to choose a guardian. The Council ordered that the following advertisement be issued. The Governor and Council gave notice to the inhabitants of the island that they intended to hold their quarterly sitting at the sessions house in James Valley near Union Castle on Wednesday 11 April next. Those persons who had any actions, causes or suits

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Wherefore those Persons who have any Actions Causes, or Suits Depending (or may have hereafter) are required to Enter their Actions According to the usuall Custom of Ten days before and to file up their Declarations five days before the Said 11 of Aprill in due fourm that the Deffendants may have timely Notice to make their Defence, Otherwise the Plaintiffs may plead Margin Notes: Eliz Maxwell to remain wth Henr Francis Sessions to be held.	pending, or might have hereafter, were required to enter their actions ten days before, according to the usual custom, and to file their declarations five days before 11 April, in due form, so that the defendants might have timely notice to make their defence. Otherwise the plaintiffs might [...] Interpretations The resolution of the boarding complaint reveals a settled rate for the maintenance of children on the island and the Council's role in overseeing such arrangements. Seven pounds a year was found to be the usual charge for boarding any child, so Francis had neither overcharged nor mistreated the girl, and the complaint failed. This shows the Council adjudicating a domestic dispute by reference to an established local standard, the customary rate serving as the measure against which the mother's grievance was tested. The order that the girl remain with Francis until old enough to choose a guardian discloses the legal recognition of an age at which a minor might select who should have charge of her. Rather than returning her to her mother or leaving the matter open, the Council fixed her place until she reached the age of choice. This reveals a structured approach to guardianship, the child's own future election of a guardian anticipated and her present custody settled in the meantime. The notice for the quarterly sittings sets out the procedural timetable by which civil litigation was regulated on the island. Actions had to be entered ten days before the sitting and declarations filed five days before, so that defendants received timely notice to prepare their defence. This reveals the ordered forms of the island's court, borrowed from English practice, imposing fixed intervals for pleading that ensured both parties came to the sitting properly warned and ready.
42	38	March 1716. plead a Non Suit, But if any Ship Should happen to Arrive here between this and the day above Men tioned then the Sessions will be Deferred till the monday next after her Departure. Therefore all Persons Concerned are to take Particular Notice Accordinge Dated at Union Castle in James valley this 30th day of March 1716. Signd pr order of the Governr &c: Council. Jno Alexander The following Advertizemt was Issued out. Island St Helena By order of the Worsh Governr An Advertizem. Whereas it hath Pleased the Providence of Almighty God to lay a very Great Affliction on the Governr which has disabled him from holding a Sessions at the Intended time; He has therefore Ordered this Publick Advertizemt to be given that he is Obliged to put off the Sessions to Some further time, of which there Shall be due Warning, and all Persons Concerned are desired. Margin Notes: Island St Helena Sessions put off	Otherwise the plaintiffs might be nonsuited. But if any ship should happen to arrive between the date of the notice and the day mentioned, the sitting would be deferred until the Monday next after her departure. All persons concerned were therefore to take particular notice accordingly. The notice was dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 30 March 1716 and signed by order of the Governor and Council by John Alexander. A further advertisement was issued. The Governor and Council gave notice that, since it had pleased the providence of Almighty God to lay a very great affliction on the Governor, which disabled him from holding the sitting at the intended time, he had ordered this public notice to be given that he was obliged to put off the sitting to some further time. Due warning of this would be given, and all persons concerned were desired [...] Interpretations The provision to defer the sitting whenever a ship arrived reveals how completely the island's business bent to the demands of passing vessels. A sitting fixed for a set day would be put off until the Monday after any ship departed, since the arrival of shipping drew away the attention of the whole settlement. This shows the primacy of the ships in island life, the ordinary work of the court yielding to the far greater urgency of provisioning and dealing with the vessels on which St Helena depended. The threat of a nonsuit gave the procedural timetable its force, penalising a plaintiff who failed to plead in due form and time. A litigant who did not enter his action and file his declaration within the set intervals risked being nonsuited, that is, having his suit dismissed for want of proper prosecution. This reveals how the court enforced its forms, the loss of the action standing as the sanction that compelled plaintiffs to observe the fixed steps of pleading. The deferral of the sitting on account of the Governor's affliction shows how far the working of the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			court depended on the person of the Governor himself. His illness alone was enough to halt the quarterly sitting, there being no other officer who could hold it in his place. This reveals the concentration of judicial authority in a single figure, the administration of justice on the island bound up with the Governor's own health and presence.
43	39	March 1716 desired to take Notice hereof accordingly Dated at Union Castle in James Valley this 5th day of Aprill 1716. Signd pr order of the Governr Jno Alexander The Gunner brought in the following Acco of Expençe An Acco of the Expençe of Gunners Stores from the 1st day of March 171 5/6 to the last of Do vizt Musq, ffalk, Cohorn 0 1/2 March 6 To Mr Tovey Musq 4, ffalk 21, Cohorn 33 15 Do For Generall Aislabye going aboard ffalk 7, Cohorn 7 For the Duke of Cambridge Sailing for England Cohorn 10 For the Use of the Guard Musket Batts Expended at yr Planta House 70 Bruikaneers at Do 2 Flints for the Guard 48 Match for Do 28 Cartridge Cap Do the Surgn 1 Do Do to Lieut Mason 1 Do for the Guerdl 4 (Signd) Jno French Musq 6, 28, 48, 2, 70, ffalk 4, 28, Cohorn 50 1/2	All persons concerned were desired to take notice accordingly. The notice was dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 5 April 1716 and signed by order of the Governor by John Alexander. The Gunner brought in the following account of the expense of the gunner's stores from 1 March to the last day of March 1716. The columns recorded minute guns fired, other shot or gunfire, and powder in pounds. 6 March, to Mrs Tovey, minute guns 0, other 0, powder 0.5 lb 15 March, for General Aislabye going aboard, minute guns 4, other 21, powder 33 lb for the Duke of Cambridge sailing for England, minute guns 0, other 7, powder 7 lb for the use of the guard, powder 10 lb musket balls expended at the plantation house, 70 buccaneers at the plantation house, 2 flints for the guard, 48 match for the guard, 28 cartridge caps delivered to the surgeon, 1 cartridge caps delivered to Lucas Mason, 1 cartridge caps for the guard, 4 Totals, 6 28 48 2 70, minute guns 4, other 28, powder 50.5 lb The account was signed by John French. Interpretations The account records the ceremonial and defensive expenditure of the island's gunpowder over a single month, distinguishing salutes from ordinary military supply. The firing of minute guns and rounds for General Aislabye going aboard and for the Duke of Cambridge sailing marked the departures of a dignitary and a Company ship with formal salutes, a customary courtesy that consumed a notable quantity of powder. This shows how the island expended a scarce and costly commodity on the rituals of respect owed to rank and to the Company's vessels. The gunner's account illustrates the careful tracking of munitions on a remote garrison where every charge of powder had to be accounted for. Powder, shot, flints, match and cartridge caps were each recorded against the occasion of their use, from salutes to the daily needs of the guard, and the small issues to the surgeon and to a named man were noted alongside the larger firings. This reveals the discipline of a military store, munitions being a controlled resource whose consumption was documented item by item. The Duke of Cambridge was a Company ship, its departure for England saluted from the island's guns as it left the road. Such vessels were the lifeline of the settlement, carrying its trade and its correspondence, and their arrivals and departures were events of the first importance. The powder spent to salute the ship marks the ceremonial weight attached to the shipping on which the island's whole existence depended.
44	40	Island St Helena An Account of Families into the Secretarys Office between Whites, Blacks Persons names, Men, Women, Youths, Maidens, Boys to 12 Y, Girls to 13, Children, Totall, Men, Women, Boys, Girls, Totall, Cattle Capt Geo Haswell Deplcol: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 1, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 2, Totall 6, Cattle 1	This was an account of families returned into the secretary's office, listing each head of family with the whites of the household divided into men, women, youths, maidens, boys to 12 years, girls to 13 years and children, then a white total, and the blacks divided into men, women, boys and girls, then a black total, with a final column for cattle. Captain George Haswell, deputy governor: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0,

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Cor Matt Bazett 3 in Coun: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 6, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 4, Cattle 1 Mr Jos Thomlinson Chapl: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 1, Totall 1, Men 6, Women 2, Boys 1, Girls 2, Totall 11, Cattle 0 Thom Eason Ensign: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 2, Men 2, Women 2, Boys 4, Girls 0, Totall 8, Cattle 0 Jno Alexander Bd & Secretary: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 2, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 1, Girls to 13 0, Children 5, Totall 9, Men 3, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 3, Totall 7, Cattle 2 John french Gunner: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 4, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 3, Cattle 0 Jno Goodwin Writer: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 3, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 4, Cattle 0 Thom Southen: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 1, Girls to 13 0, Children 6, Totall 8, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 3, Cattle 0 John Worrall Serjeants: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 4, Men 1, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 1, Totall 4, Cattle 0 Wm Slaughter Serjeants: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 1, Children 3, Totall 6, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 3, Cattle 0 Thom Dutch: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 4, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Christ Hell: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 3, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Ja Leech Gun mate: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 3, Men 0, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1, Cattle 0 Ja Wood Corporal: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 1, Girls to 13 0, Children 1, Totall 4, Men 3, Women 2, Boys 1, Girls 1, Totall 7, Cattle 1 Sam Jessey Sq & Gun: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 5, Totall 8, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 4, Cattle 0 Will Worrall Sq & Gun: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 3, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 2, Cattle 0 Lewis Latour Montross: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 1, Totall 2, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Hum Edwards Montross: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 1, Girls to 13 0, Children 4, Totall 6, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Frances ffunge Armour: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 3, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Tho Hayse Montrosses: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 4, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Giles Hayes Montrosses: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0	children 3, white total 1, black men 2, women 1, boys 1, girls 2, black total 6, cattle 1 Captain Matthew Bazett, third in council: white men 0, women 1, youths 1, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 6, black men 2, women 1, boys 1, girls 0, black total 4, cattle 1 Mr Joseph Thomlinson, chaplain: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 1, black men 6, women 2, boys 1, girls 2, black total 11, cattle 0 Thomas Casen, ensign: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 2, black men 2, women 2, boys 4, girls 0, black total 8, cattle 0 John Alexander, deputy secretary and storekeeper: white men 0, women 1, youths 2, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 5, white total 9, black men 3, women 1, boys 0, girls 3, black total 7, cattle 2 John French, gunner: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 4, black men 2, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 3, cattle 0 John Goodwin, writer: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 3, black men 2, women 1, boys 0, girls 1, black total 4, cattle 0 Thomas Southen: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 6, white total 8, black men 2, women 0, boys 1, girls 0, black total 3, cattle 0 John Worrall, sergeant: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 4, black men 1, women 1, boys 1, girls 1, black total 4, cattle 0 William Slaughter, sergeant: white men 0, women 1, youths 1, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 1, children 3, white total 6, black men 2, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 3, cattle 0 Thomas Dutch: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 4, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Christopher Hell, gunner's mate: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 3, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Isaac Leech, gunner's mate: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 3, black men 0, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1, cattle 0 Isaac Wood, corporal: white men 0, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 1, white total 4, black men 3, women 2, boys 1, girls 1, black total 7, cattle 1 Samuel Jessey, planter and gunner: white men 0, women 1, youths 1, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 5, white total 8, black men 2, women 1, boys 0, girls 1, black total 4, cattle 0 William Worrall, planter and gunner: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 3, black men 2, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 2, cattle 0 Lewis Latour, matross: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 2, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Humphrey Edwards, matross: white men 0, women 0, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 4, white total 6, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Frances Funge, armourer: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 3, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Thomas Hayes, matross: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Ralph Orme Montrosses: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 3, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Will Postley Montrosses: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1, Cattle 0 Jno Orchard Montrosses: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Joseph Bates Marshall: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 Y 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0, Cattle 0 Carried over: Men 0, Women 21, Youths 4, Maidens 4, Boys to 12 Y 2, Girls to 13 0, Children 56, Totall 90, Men 32, Women 14, Boys 11, Girls 11, Totall 68, Cattle 5	total 4, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Giles Hayes, matross: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Ralph Orme, matross: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 3, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 William Portley, matross: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 0, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1, cattle 0 John Orchard, matross: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Joseph Bates, marshal: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0, cattle 0 Carried over: white men 0, women 21, youths 4, maidens 4, boys 4, girls 2, children 56, white total 90, black men 32, women 14, boys 11, girls 11, black total 68, cattle 5 Interpretations The muster records the population of the island by household, dividing every family into its white members by age and sex and its slaves by the same reckoning, with cattle noted alongside. This shows the administration counting people and stock together as the measurable resources of the settlement, the return giving the Company a precise picture of how many mouths it governed, how many hands it could call on and how the slaves were distributed among the families. The concentration of slaves in the households of the senior officers reveals how far slaveholding tracked rank and office on the island. The chaplain Thomlinson held eleven slaves, the deputy governor Haswell six, and the storekeeper Alexander seven, while many of the matrosses at the foot of the list held none at all. This shows the ownership of labour following the hierarchy of the Company's service, the men of standing commanding the slaves whose hire and produce, as the debtor examinations showed, underpinned much of the island's economy. A matross was the lowest grade of the artillery, a soldier who assisted the gunners in serving and loading the great guns, ranking below a gunner's mate. The many matrosses listed here, most with a wife and children but no slaves and no cattle, formed the base of the garrison and the poorest layer of the settled population. Their presence in numbers shows the military character of the island, its people drawn largely from the ranks of the Company's small standing force.
45	41	Land & Cattle on St Island for the Year 1715. As given the 12th & 28th day of March 171 5/6 Neat Cattle, Acres of Land. Cowes, Bullocks, Heifers, Steers, Yearlongs, Calves, Totall, Manured, Unmanured, Totall Capt Geo Haswell Deplcol: Cowes 6, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 4, Calves 6, Totall 17, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Totall 0 Cor Matt Bazett 3 in Coun: Cowes 12, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 11, Calves 12, Totall 38, Manured 35, Unmanured 20, Totall 55 Mr Jos Thomlinson Chapl: Cowes 4, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 2, Calves 4, Totall 10, Manured 0, Unmanured 01, Totall 01 Thom Eason Ensign: Cowes 7, Bullocks 0, Heifers 3, Steers 4, Yearlongs 0, Calves 8, Totall 22, Manured 0, Unmanured 45, Totall 45	This was an account of the land and cattle held on the island for the year 1715, given on 12 and 28 March 1716. The cattle were divided into cows, bullocks, heifers, steers, young ones and calves, then a total, and the land into acres of arable free and acres enclosed, then a total. The names are those of the heads of family from the muster on the facing page, set here against each household's holdings. Captain George Haswell: cows 6, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 4, calves 6, cattle total 17, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Captain Matthew Bazett: cows 12, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 0, young 11, calves 12, cattle total 38, arable free 35, enclosed 20, land total 55 Mr Joseph Thomlinson: cows 4, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 2, calves 4, cattle total 10, arable free 0, enclosed 1, land total 1

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Jno Alexander Bd & Secretary: Cows 10, Bullocks 0, Heifers 5, Steers 4, Yearlongs 0, Calves 8, Total 29, Manured 58, Unmanured 0, Total 58 John French Gunner: Cows 4, Bullocks 0, Heifers 4, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 4, Total 12, Manured 78, Unmanured 05, Total 83 Jno Goodwin Writer: Cows 9, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 8, Calves 6, Total 23, Manured 29, Unmanured 0, Total 29 Thom Southen: Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 3, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 4, Total 9, Manured 12, Unmanured 8, Total 20 John Worrall Serjeants: Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 3, Calves 2, Total 7, Manured 0, Unmanured 3, Total 3 Wm Slaughter Serjeants: Cows 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Total 0, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Total 0 Thom Dutch: Cows 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Total 0, Manured 2, Unmanured 0, Total 2 Christ Hell: Cows 5, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 2, Yearlongs 0, Calves 5, Total 14, Manured 5, Unmanured 6, Total 11 Ja Leech Gun mate: Cows 16, Bullocks 1, Heifers 4, Steers 4, Yearlongs 0, Calves 15, Total 41, Manured 48, Unmanured 30, Total 78 Ja Wood Corporal: Cows 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 5, Total 9, Manured 32, Unmanured 0, Total 32 Sam Jessey Sq & Gun: Cows 4, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 6, Total 12, Manured 5, Unmanured 12, Total 17 Will Worrall Sq & Gun: Cows 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Total 7, Manured 30, Unmanured 1, Total 31 Lewis Latour Montross: Cows 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Total 0, Manured 0, Unmanured 15, Total 15 Hum Edwards Montross: Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 2, Calves 2, Total 6, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Total 0 Frances ffunge Armour: Cows 1, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 1, Total 2, Manured 10, Unmanured 20, Total 30 Tho Hayse Montrosses: Cows 1, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 2, Yearlongs 0, Calves 1, Total 4, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Total 0 Giles Hayes Montrosses: Cows 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 1, Calves 3, Total 0, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Total 0 Carried over: Cows 5, Bullocks 1, Heifers 28, Steers 16, Yearlongs 31, Calves 95, Total 270, Manured 343, Unmanured 168, Total 511	Thomas Casen: cows 7, bullocks 0, heifers 3, steers 4, young 0, calves 8, cattle total 22, arable free 0, enclosed 45, land total 45 John Alexander: cows 10, bullocks 0, heifers 5, steers 4, young 0, calves 8, cattle total 29, arable free 58, enclosed 0, land total 58 John French: cows 4, bullocks 0, heifers 4, steers 0, young 0, calves 4, cattle total 12, arable free 78, enclosed 5, land total 83 John Goodwin: cows 9, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 8, calves 6, cattle total 23, arable free 29, enclosed 0, land total 29 Thomas Southen: cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 3, steers 0, young 0, calves 4, cattle total 9, arable free 12, enclosed 8, land total 20 John Worrall: cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 3, calves 2, cattle total 7, arable free 0, enclosed 3, land total 3 William Slaughter: cows 0, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 0, cattle total 0, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Thomas Dutch: cows 0, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 0, cattle total 0, arable free 0, enclosed 2, land total 2 Christopher Hell: cows 5, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 2, young 0, calves 5, cattle total 14, arable free 5, enclosed 6, land total 11 Isaac Leech: cows 16, bullocks 1, heifers 4, steers 4, young 0, calves 15, cattle total 41, arable free 48, enclosed 30, land total 78 Isaac Wood: cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 5, cattle total 9, arable free 32, enclosed 0, land total 32 Samuel Jessey: cows 4, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 0, young 0, calves 6, cattle total 12, arable free 5, enclosed 12, land total 17 William Worrall: cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 7, arable free 30, enclosed 1, land total 31 Lewis Latour: cows 0, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 0, cattle total 0, arable free 0, enclosed 15, land total 15 Humphrey Edwards: cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 2, calves 2, cattle total 6, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Frances Funge: cows 1, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 1, cattle total 2, arable free 10, enclosed 20, land total 30 Thomas Hayes: cows 1, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 2, young 0, calves 1, cattle total 4, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Giles Hayes: cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 1, calves 3, cattle total 0, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Totals: cows 94, bullocks 1, heifers 28, steers 16, young 31, calves 95, cattle total 270, arable free 343, enclosed 168, land total 511 Interpretations The survey set the island's livestock and landholdings side by side, family by family, giving the Company a complete register of the settlement's productive base. Recording cattle by kind and land by tenure let the administration see at a glance who held the means of production and in what measure, the return standing as a yearly stocktaking of the resources on which the island's food supply and its ability to victual shipping depended. Read against the muster of households, it shows how cattle and land, like slaves, were concentrated in relatively few hands. The division of land into arable free and enclosed reveals two distinct forms of tenure operating on the island. Free arable was open or common ground available for cultivation, while enclosed land had been fenced off into private holdings, the distinction that ran through the earlier disputes over straying cattle and broken fences. That the enclosed acreage stood well

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			below the free shows a settlement where much of the ground remained unfenced, which explains the recurring trouble when unpenned stock wandered into the crops. The great preponderance of cows and calves over bullocks and steers in the count points to a herd kept chiefly for breeding and milk rather than for draught or beef. With ninety-four cows and ninety-five calves against a single bullock, the island's cattle were plainly managed to increase the stock, a rational choice on a settlement always short of animals and needing to build its herds. This breeding emphasis fits the debtor examinations, where men repeatedly offered young cattle and were reluctant to part with breeding stock they were working to multiply.
46	42	Whites, Blacks Person Names (vizt), Men, Women, Youths, Maidens, Boys to 12 yr, Girls to 13 yr, Children, Totall, Men, Women, Boys, Girls, Totall Brought over: Men 0, Women 21, Youths 4, Maidens 4, Boys to 12 yr 4, Girls to 13 yr 2, Children 55, Totall 90, Men 32, Women 14, Boys 11, Girls 11, Totall 68 Jeptha fowler: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Benja Pledger: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 1 Renatus Trenn: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Tho Allis Planter: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 5, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 3 Rob Angus & Jn ffs Anderson: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Rob Addis Orphans: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 4, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 1 Jn Bagley & 2 Apprent: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 1, Children 5, Totall 10, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 2 Arthur Bradley: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 6, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Rich & Ant Beale: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 2, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Edm Bodley: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Orlando Bagley: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 1, Children 5, Totall 9, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 2, Totall 5 Robert Bell: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 5, Men 2, Women 2, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 5 Willi Beale: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 5, Totall 8, Men 0, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 2 Thom Burnham: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 4, Totall 7, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 John Coles: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 3, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 5, Totall 10, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 4, Girls 0, Totall 7 John Coulson: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 Grace Coulson Widd: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 1, Totall 1, Men 2, Women 3, Boys 2, Girls 2, Totall 9	This continued the account of families returned into the secretary's office, the whites divided into men, women, youths, maidens, boys to 12 years, girls to 13 years and children, then a white total, and the blacks into men, women, boys and girls, then a black total. Brought over: white men 0, women 21, youths 4, maidens 4, boys 4, girls 2, children 55, white total 90, black men 32, women 14, boys 11, girls 11, black total 68 Jephthah Fowler: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Benjamin Pledger: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Renatus Snow: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Thomas Allis, planter: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 5, black men 2, women 0, boys 0, girls 1, black total 3 Robert Angus: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Robert Addis, orphans: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 4, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 1, black total 1 John Bagley and 2 apprentices: white men 1, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 1, children 5, white total 10, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 1, black total 2 Arthur Bradley: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 3, white total 6, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Richard and Anthony Beale: white men 1, women 0, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 2, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Edmund Bodley: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Orlando Bagley: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 1, girls 0, children 5, white total 9, black men 2, women 1, boys 0, girls 2, black total 5 Robert Bell: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 1, children 3, white total 5, black men 2, women 2, boys 0, girls 1, black total 5 William Beale: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 5, white total 8, black men 0, women 1, boys 1, girls 0, black total 2 Thomas Burnham: white men 1, women 0, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 4, white total 7, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 John Coles: white men 1, women 1, youths 3, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 5, white total 10, black men 2, women 1, boys 4, girls 0, black total 7

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Frances Carne D & son: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 7, Men 7, Women 2, Boys 2, Girls 4, Totall 15 Mary Conaway D: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 John Crosby &c: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 5, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Willm Cooles: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 5, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Jon Doveton: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 5, Totall 7, Men 4, Women 3, Boys 2, Girls 1, Totall 10 Jam Draper: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 5, Totall 7, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 2 Mary Easthope: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 4, Totall 3, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 Henry Francis: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 1, Children 1, Totall 4, Men 5, Women 3, Boys 3, Girls 4, Totall 15 Tho Free & Servant: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 6, Men 4, Women 2, Boys 1, Girls 4, Totall 11 ffrenchs Orphans: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 2, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Carried over: Men 19, Women 39, Youths 11, Maidens 10, Boys to 12 yr 10, Girls to 13 yr 6, Children 115, Totall 210, Men 69, Women 32, Boys 27, Girls 32, Totall 160	John Coulson: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Grace Coulson, widow: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 2, women 3, boys 2, girls 2, black total 9 Frances Carne and son: white men 1, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 7, black men 7, women 2, boys 2, girls 4, black total 15 Mary Conaway: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 John Crosby: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 5, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 William Coles: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 5, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 John Doveton: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 5, white total 7, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 James Draper: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 5, white total 7, black men 4, women 3, boys 2, girls 1, black total 10 Mary Easthope: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 3, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Henry Francis: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 1, children 1, white total 4, black men 5, women 3, boys 3, girls 4, black total 15 Thomas Free and servant: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 6, black men 4, women 2, boys 1, girls 4, black total 11 French's orphans: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 1, girls 0, children 0, white total 2, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Carried over: white men 19, women 39, youths 11, maidens 10, boys 10, girls 6, children 115, white total 210, black men 69, women 32, boys 27, girls 32, black total 160 Interpretations This portion of the muster records the freeholders and planters of the island alongside the officers of the first page, showing a settled civilian population beside the garrison. The households here include planters, tradesmen with apprentices, widows and groups of orphans, which reveals a community of some depth, with families established across two generations and property passing to children left fatherless. The presence of named orphan groups shows how the register tracked the dependents of dead settlers as distinct households in their own right. The heavy concentration of slaves in a handful of these families stands out against the many households holding none. The estates of Frances Carne and Henry Francis each counted fifteen slaves, Thomas Free eleven and James Draper ten, while numerous smaller households had one or none at all. This confirms the pattern of the earlier debtor examinations, where the larger planters reckoned their slaves' labour by the score of pounds, the ownership of many slaves marking out the wealthier planting families from the mass of the settlement. The listing of apprentices and servants within households shows the forms of bound labour that operated alongside slavery on the island. John Bagley was recorded with two apprentices and Thomas Free with a servant, which reveals that white labour too was held under indenture and articles, the young bound to a master to learn a trade. This demonstrates a layered labour system, the settlement drawing on apprenticed and indentured whites as well as enslaved blacks to supply the hands its households and trades required.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
47	41	Neat Cattle, Acres Land Bulls, Cows, Bullocks, Heifers, Steers, Yearlongs, Calves, Totall, Manured, Manured, Totall Brought over: Bulls 5, Cows 94, Bullocks 1, Heifers 28, Steers 16, Yearlongs 31, Calves 95, Totall 270, Manured 343, Manured 168, Totall 511 Jeptha fowler: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 7, Manured 5, Manured 0, Totall 5 Benja Pledger: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 2, Totall 5, Manured 18, Manured 30, Totall 48 Renatus Trenn: Bulls 1, Cows 7, Bullocks 0, Heifers 3, Steers 3, Yearlongs 0, Calves 6, Totall 20, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Tho Allis Planter: Bulls 1, Cows 7, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 7, Totall 15, Manured 36, Manured 3, Totall 39 Rob Angus & Jn ffs Anderson: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 6, Manured 0, Manured 20, Totall 20 Rob Addis Orphans: Bulls 1, Cows 5, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 3, Yearlongs 3, Calves 5, Totall 19, Manured 60, Manured 0, Totall 60 Jn Bagley & 2 Apprent: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 1, Totall 6, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Arthur Bradley: Bulls 1, Cows 5, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 3, Yearlongs 2, Calves 5, Totall 16, Manured 20, Manured 76, Totall 96 Rich & Ant Beale: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Bullocks 1, Heifers 2, Steers 2, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 11, Manured 20, Manured 31, Totall 31 Edm Bodley: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 2, Calves 1, Totall 4, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Orlando Bagley: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Bullocks 1, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 8, Manured 22 1/2, Manured 6, Totall 9 8 1/2 Robert Bell: Bulls 2, Cows 22, Bullocks 4, Heifers 4, Steers 0, Yearlongs 12, Calves 14, Totall 58, Manured 30, Manured 25, Totall 55 Willi Beale: Bulls 0, Cows 5, Bullocks 0, Heifers 3, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 5, Totall 13, Manured 15, Manured 0, Totall 15 Thom Burnham: Bulls 0, Cows 6, Bullocks 4, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 6, Totall 16, Manured 25, Manured 5, Totall 30 John Coles: Bulls 1, Cows 10, Bullocks 4, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 12, Calves 15, Totall 47, Manured 89, Manured 11, Totall 100 John Coulson: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 1, Calves 1, Totall 3, Manured 5, Manured 30, Totall 35 Grace Coulson Widd: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 2, Totall 4, Manured 7, Manured 0, Totall 7 Frances Carne D & son: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Bullocks 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 2, Totall 5, Manured 15, Manured 5, Totall 20 Mary Conaway D: Bulls 1, Cows 18, Bullocks 1, Heifers 7, Steers 8, Yearlongs 0, Calves 18, Totall 53, Manured 142 1/4, Manured 9, Totall 151 1/4 John Crosby &c: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 2, Calves 2, Totall 6, Manured 20, Manured 5, Totall 25 Willm Cooles: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Jon Doveton: Bulls 0, Cows 6, Bullocks 0, Heifers 3, Steers 2, Yearlongs 0, Calves 6, Totall 17, Manured 40, Manured 27, Totall 67 Jam Draper: Bulls 0, Cows 6, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 4, Yearlongs 0, Calves 6, Totall 18, Manured 40 1/2, Manured 23 3/4, Totall 64 1/4	This continued the account of land and cattle held on the island for 1715. The cattle were divided into bulls, cows, bullocks, heifers, steers, young ones and calves, then a total, and the land into acres of arable free, acres enclosed and a total. The names are those of the heads of family from the muster on the facing page, set against each household's holdings, the first line carrying over the totals of the preceding page. Brought over: bulls 5, cows 94, bullocks 1, heifers 28, steers 16, young 31, calves 95, cattle total 270, arable free 343, enclosed 168, land total 511 Jephthah Fowler: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 7, arable free 5, enclosed 0, land total 5 Benjamin Pledger: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 1, young 0, calves 2, cattle total 5, arable free 18, enclosed 30, land total 48 Renatus Snow: bulls 1, cows 7, bullocks 0, heifers 3, steers 3, young 0, calves 6, cattle total 20, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Thomas Allis: bulls 1, cows 7, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 7, cattle total 15, arable free 36, enclosed 3, land total 39 Robert Angus: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 6, arable free 0, enclosed 20, land total 20 Robert Addis, orphans: bulls 1, cows 5, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 3, young 3, calves 5, cattle total 19, arable free 60, enclosed 0, land total 60 John Bagley: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 0, young 0, calves 1, cattle total 6, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Arthur Bradley: bulls 1, cows 5, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 3, young 2, calves 5, cattle total 16, arable free 20, enclosed 76, land total 96 Richard and Anthony Beale: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 1, heifers 2, steers 2, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 11, arable free 20, enclosed 31, land total 31 Edmund Bodley: bulls 0, cows 1, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 2, calves 1, cattle total 4, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Orlando Bagley: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 1, heifers 1, steers 2, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 8, arable free 22.5, enclosed 6, land total 9.8.5 Robert Bell: bulls 2, cows 22, bullocks 4, heifers 4, steers 0, young 12, calves 14, cattle total 58, arable free 30, enclosed 25, land total 55 William Beale: bulls 0, cows 5, bullocks 0, heifers 3, steers 0, young 0, calves 5, cattle total 13, arable free 15, enclosed 0, land total 15 Thomas Burnham: bulls 0, cows 6, bullocks 4, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 6, cattle total 16, arable free 25, enclosed 5, land total 30 John Coles: bulls 0, cows 10, bullocks 4, heifers 0, steers 0, young 12, calves 15, cattle total 47, arable free 89, enclosed 11, land total 100 John Coulson: bulls 0, cows 1, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 1, calves 1, cattle total 3, arable free 5, enclosed 30, land total 35 Grace Coulson, widow: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 2, cattle total 4, arable free 7, enclosed 0, land total 7 Frances Carne and son: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 1, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 2, cattle total 5, arable free 15, enclosed 5, land total 20 Mary Conaway: bulls 1, cows 18, bullocks 1, heifers 7, steers 8, young 0, calves 18, cattle total 33, arable free 142.25, enclosed 9, land total 151.25 John Crosby: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 2, calves 2, cattle total 6, arable free 20, enclosed 5, land total 25 William Coles: bulls 0, cows 0, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 0, cattle total 0, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mary Easthope: Bulls 0, Cowes 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Manured 12, Manured 0, Totall 12 Carried over: Bulls 12, Cowes 222, Bullocks 15, Heifers 58, Steers 44, Yearlongs 65, Calves 211, Totall 627, Manured 908 1/4, Manured 474 3/4, Totall 1383	John Doveton: bulls 0, cows 6, bullocks 0, heifers 3, steers 2, young 0, calves 6, cattle total 17, arable free 40, enclosed 27, land total 67 James Draper: bulls 0, cows 6, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 4, young 0, calves 6, cattle total 18, arable free 40.5, enclosed 23.75, land total 64.25 Mary Easthope: bulls 0, cows 0, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 0, cattle total 0, arable free 12, enclosed 0, land total 12 Totals: bulls 12, cows 222, bullocks 15, heifers 58, steers 44, young 65, calves 211, cattle total 627, arable free 908.25, enclosed 474.75, land total 1,383 Interpretations The full survey brought the island's herds and holdings to a grand total of 627 head of cattle and 1,383 acres, a complete inventory of the settlement's agricultural wealth across all its families. Setting the two pages together shows the Company holding a precise measure of every beast and acre in private hands, the return serving as the foundation for judging what the island could yield in provisions and how far its resources had grown. This annual reckoning gave the administration the means to assess each planter's stake and the settlement's capacity as a whole. The wide disparity in holdings laid bare by the totals confirms a settlement of marked inequality in land and stock. A few households, such as Mary Conaway with over 150 acres and Robert Bell with fifty-eight head of cattle, commanded holdings many times greater than the smallholders who appear with a handful of beasts and no land at all. This shows how the island's productive resources were concentrated among a minority of substantial planters, the same families who, as the debtor rolls revealed, could offer cattle and credit while poorer men had only their labour. The recording of fractional acres in the enclosed and free columns points to the careful measurement and division of land as the settlement matured. Holdings noted to a quarter of an acre show that ground had been surveyed and apportioned with some precision, a sign of pressure on a limited stock of usable land. On a small island where cultivable ground was finite, such exact reckoning reflects the value attached to every measured acre and the need to record each holding accurately for the Company's purposes.
48	42	Whites, Blacks Person names, Men, Women, Youths, Maidens, Boys to 12, Girls to 13, Children, Totall, Men, Women, Boys, Girls, Totall Brought over: Men 19, Women 39, Youths 11, Maidens 10, Boys to 12 10, Girls to 13 6, Children 115, Totall 210, Men 69, Women 32, Boys 27, Girls 32, Totall 160 Richard Gurling: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 4, Totall 6, Men 4, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 6 Rot Gurling & 1 Orphans: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 5, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 3 Mercy Gargen Wid: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 4, Men 3, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 5 James Greentree & Da Hine: Men 2, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 1, Children 5, Totall 10, Men 5, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 1, Totall 8 Mary Harper Tenr Wid: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Mary Harper Junr D: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 4, Totall 6, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 2 Dorothy Hayse Wid: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 2, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1	This continued the account of families returned into the secretary's office, the whites divided into men, women, youths, maidens, boys to 12 years, girls to 13 years and children, then a white total, and the blacks into men, women, boys and girls, then a black total. Brought over: white men 19, women 39, youths 11, maidens 10, boys 10, girls 6, children 115, white total 210, black men 69, women 32, boys 27, girls 32, black total 160 Richard Gurling: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 6, black men 4, women 1, boys 1, girls 0, black total 6 Robert Gurling and orphans: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 5, black men 2, women 0, boys 1, girls 0, black total 3 Mercy Gargen, widow: white men 0, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 4, black men 3, women 1, boys 1, girls 0, black total 5 James Greentree and daughter Hine: white men 2, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 1, children 5, white total 10, black men 5, women 1, boys 1, girls 1, black total 8 Mary Harper, widow: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Stading: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 1, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 1, Totall 4, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Sutton Isaac Senr: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 2, Men 0, Women 1, Boys 2, Girls 1, Totall 4 Sutton Isaac Junr & Servt: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 4, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 4, Totall 7, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 1, Girls 1, Totall 3 Josh Johnson & 2 youths: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 2, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 4, Totall 8, Men 6, Women 0, Boys 3, Girls 3, Totall 12 John Knipe: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 4, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 2 Thom Leech: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 5, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 Francis Leech: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 John Long: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 4, Men 0, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 Stephen Luffkin: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 4, Totall 5, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 Jane Mudge Widdo: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 3, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 John Marsh Single man: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Walter Morris D: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 Mr Mary Mashborne Widd: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 1, Totall 2, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 2, Totall 6 Eliz Maxwell Orphans: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 1, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Robert Marsh: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 1, Girls to 13 0, Children 3, Totall 7, Men 3, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 2, Totall 7 Martin Norman: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Jno Nichols Senr & 2 sons: Men 3, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 3, Boys to 12 1, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 9, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 2 Samuel Price: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 1, Totall 2, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Gabriel Powell & An Hoskison: Men 2, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 1, Children 3, Totall 8, Men 5, Women 3, Boys 3, Girls 5, Totall 16 John Robbison: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 1, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 0, Girls to 13 0, Children 2, Totall 6, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 1, Totall 5 Carried over: Men 43, Women 57, Youths 19, Maidens 15, Boys to 12 13, Girls to 13 9, Children 167, Totall 325, Men 111, Women 44, Boys 44, Girls 48, Totall 247	Mary Harper the younger: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 6, black men 1, women 0, boys 1, girls 0, black total 2 Dorothy Hayes, widow: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 2, black men 0, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 John Stading: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 1, girls 0, children 1, white total 4, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Sutton Isaack the elder: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 2, black men 0, women 1, boys 2, girls 1, black total 4 Sutton Isaack the younger and servant: white men 1, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 7, black men 1, women 0, boys 1, girls 1, black total 3 Joshua Johnson and 2 youths: white men 1, women 1, youths 2, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 8, black men 6, women 0, boys 3, girls 3, black total 12 John Knipe: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 4, black men 2, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 2 Thomas Leech: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 5, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Francis Leech: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 John Long: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 4, black men 0, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Stephen Luffkin: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 5, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Jane Mudge, widow: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 3, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 John Marsh, single man: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Walter Morris, single man: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Mrs Mary Mashborne, widow: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 2, black men 2, women 1, boys 1, girls 2, black total 6 Elizabeth Maxwell, orphan: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Robert Marsh: white men 1, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 3, white total 7, black men 3, women 1, boys 2, girls 1, black total 7 Martin Norman: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 John Nichols the elder and 2 sons: white men 3, women 0, youths 0, maidens 3, boys 1, girls 0, children 2, white total 9, black men 2, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 2 Samuel Price: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 2, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Gabriel Powell and Anthony Hoskison: white men 2, women 1, youths 1, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 1, children 3, white total 8, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			John Robinson: white men 1, women 1, youths 1, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 2, white total 6, black men 2, women 1, boys 1, girls 1, black total 5 Carried over: white men 43, women 57, youths 19, maidens 15, boys 15, girls 9, children 167, white total 325, black men 111, women 44, boys 44, girls 48, black total 247 Interpretations This section of the muster gathers many of the debtors examined in the earlier consultations, letting their households be read against the debts they had struggled to clear. Men such as John Knipe, Stephen Luffkin, John Long and Samuel Price, who had appeared before the Governor proposing terms of payment, are shown here with their families and their few slaves, which grounds the abstract sums of the debtor rolls in the households that owed them. The muster thus completes the picture of the settlement's economy, showing the domestic circumstances behind each man's promises to pay in cattle, produce or labour. The number of widows and orphan households in this portion of the list reflects the heavy mortality that fell on a remote settlement and the Company's tracking of its dependents. Dorothy Hayes, Mary Mashborne, Mercy Gargen, Jane Mudge and the orphans of Robert Girling and of Elizabeth Maxwell all appear as heads of household, several of them the very people whose insolvent estates and petitions filled the consultations. This shows how death repeatedly broke up families on the island, leaving widows and children as distinct households that the administration counted and, where destitute, supported. The appearance of single men and of households formed around apprentices and servants shows the varied make-up of the island's population beyond the settled family. John Marsh and Walter Morris are noted as single men, while several households joined a master with youths or a servant, which reveals a population not composed solely of families but including unmarried labourers and bound young men. This diversity of household forms shows the settlement drawing its people from many sources, the roll counting every kind of establishment from the substantial planter's family to the lone man with a single slave.
49	43	Neat Cattle, Acres of Land Bulls, Cows, Bullocks, Heifers, Steers, Yearlongs, Calves, Totall, Manured, Unmanured, Totall Brought over: Bulls 12, Cows 222, Bullocks 15, Heifers 58, Steers 44, Yearlongs 65, Calves 211, Totall 627, Manured 908 1/4, Unmanured 474 3/4, Totall 1383 Richard Gurling: Bulls 1, Cows 16, Bullocks 7, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 12, Calves 15, Totall 51, Manured 31, Unmanured 11, Totall 42 Rot Gurling & 1 Orphans: Bulls 0, Cows 1, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 1, Totall 2, Manured 30, Unmanured 5, Totall 35 Mercy Gargen Wid: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 6, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 13, Manured 10, Unmanured 41, Totall 51 James Greentree & Da Hine: Bulls 0, Cows 14, Bullocks 1, Heifers 1, Steers 4, Yearlongs 0, Calves 13, Totall 33, Manured 79, Unmanured 58, Totall 137 Mary Harper Tenr Wid: Bulls 0, Cows 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Totall 0 Mary Harper Junr D: Bulls 0, Cows 4, Bullocks 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 3, Calves 4, Totall 12, Manured 0, Unmanured 14 1/2, Totall 14 1/2 Dorothy Hayse Wid: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 2, Calves 2, Totall 6, Manured 10, Unmanured 0, Totall 10	This continued the account of land and cattle held on the island for 1715. The cattle were divided into bulls, cows, bullocks, heifers, steers, young ones and calves, then a total, and the land into acres of arable free, acres enclosed and a total. The names are those of the heads of family from the muster on the facing page, set against each household's holdings, the first line carrying over the totals of the preceding page. Brought over: bulls 12, cows 222, bullocks 15, heifers 58, steers 44, young 65, calves 211, cattle total 627, arable free 908.25, enclosed 474.75, land total 1,383 Richard Girling: bulls 4, cows 16, bullocks 7, heifers 0, steers 0, young 12, calves 15, cattle total 51, arable free 31, enclosed 11, land total 42 Robert Girling and orphans: bulls 0, cows 1, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 1, cattle total 2, arable free 30, enclosed 5, land total 35 Mercy Gargen, widow: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 6, steers 1, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 13, arable free 10, enclosed 41, land total 51 James Greentree and daughter Hine: bulls 0, cows 14, bullocks 1, heifers 1, steers 4, young 0, calves 13, cattle total 33, arable free 79, enclosed 58, land total 137 Mary Harper the younger: bulls 0, cows 4, bullocks 1, heifers 0, steers 0, young 3, calves 4, cattle total 12, arable free 0, enclosed 14.5, land total 14.5

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		John Stading: Bulls 0, Cowes 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 2, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 8, Manured 19, Unmanured 12, Totall 31 Sutton Isaac Senr: Bulls 0, Cowes 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 1, Calves 1, Totall 4, Manured 10, Unmanured 2 1/2, Totall 12 1/2 Sutton Isaac Junr & Servt: Bulls 0, Cowes 3, Bullocks 1, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 8, Manured 15, Unmanured 2 1/2, Totall 17 1/2 Josh Johnson & 2 youths: Bulls 0, Cowes 11, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 5, Calves 11, Totall 29, Manured 94, Unmanured 33, Totall 127 John Knipe: Bulls 0, Cowes 4, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 5, Totall 10, Manured 14 1/2, Unmanured 20, Totall 34 1/2 Thom Leech: Bulls 0, Cowes 1, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 1, Totall 3, Manured 10, Unmanured 0, Totall 10 Francis Leech: Bulls 0, Cowes 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 3, Totall 7, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Totall 0 John Long: Bulls 0, Cowes 5, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 3, Yearlongs 0, Calves 5, Totall 13, Manured 20, Unmanured 0, Totall 20 Stephen Luffkin: Bulls 0, Cowes 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 2, Totall 5, Manured 10, Unmanured 1, Totall 11 Jane Mudge Widdo: Bulls 0, Cowes 5, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 4, Totall 12, Manured 20, Unmanured 0, Totall 20 John Marsh Single man: Bulls 0, Cowes 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 2, Totall 6, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Totall 0 Walter Morris D: Bulls 0, Cowes 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Manured 10, Unmanured 1 1/2, Totall 11 1/2 Mr Mary Mashborne Widd: Bulls 0, Cowes 4, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 5, Totall 10, Manured 0, Unmanured 0, Totall 0 Eliz Maxwell Orphans: Bulls 0, Cowes 5, Bullocks 2, Heifers 1, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 5, Totall 14, Manured 3 1/2, Unmanured 0, Totall 3 1/2 Robert Marsh: Bulls 1, Cowes 9, Bullocks 2, Heifers 2, Steers 4, Yearlongs 0, Calves 8, Totall 26, Manured 40, Unmanured 10, Totall 50 1/2 Martin Norman: Bulls 1, Cowes 4, Bullocks 2, Heifers 0, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 4, Totall 12, Manured 40, Unmanured 0, Totall 40 Jno Nichols Senr & 2 sons: Bulls 3, Cowes 40, Bullocks 8, Heifers 5, Steers 10, Yearlongs 10, Calves 44, Totall 120, Manured 216, Unmanured 39, Totall 255 Samuel Price: Bulls 0, Cowes 11, Bullocks 1, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 9, Calves 9, Totall 32, Manured 20, Unmanured 25, Totall 45 Gabriel Powell & An Hoskison: Bulls 18, Cowes 382, Bullocks 40, Heifers 86, Steers 72, Yearlongs 107, Calves 364, Totall 1069, Manured 1010 1/4, Unmanured 755 3/4, Totall 2366	Dorothy Hayes, widow: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 2, calves 2, cattle total 6, arable free 10, enclosed 0, land total 10 John Stading: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 2, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 8, arable free 19, enclosed 12, land total 31 Sutton Isaack the elder: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 1, calves 1, cattle total 4, arable free 10, enclosed 2.5, land total 12.5 Sutton Isaack the younger and servant: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 1, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 8, arable free 15, enclosed 2.5, land total 17.5 Joshua Johnson and 2 youths: bulls 0, cows 12, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 0, young 5, calves 11, cattle total 29, arable free 94, enclosed 33, land total 127 John Knipe: bulls 0, cows 4, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 1, young 0, calves 5, cattle total 10, arable free 14.5, enclosed 20, land total 34.5 Thomas Leech: bulls 0, cows 1, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 1, cattle total 3, arable free 10, enclosed 0, land total 10 Francis Leech: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 3, cattle total 7, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 John Long: bulls 0, cows 5, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 3, young 0, calves 5, cattle total 13, arable free 20, enclosed 0, land total 20 Stephen Luffkin: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 2, cattle total 5, arable free 10, enclosed 1, land total 11 Jane Mudge, widow: bulls 0, cows 5, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 1, young 0, calves 4, cattle total 12, arable free 20, enclosed 0, land total 20 John Marsh, single man: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 2, steers 0, young 0, calves 2, cattle total 6, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Walter Morris, single man: bulls 0, cows 0, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 0, calves 0, cattle total 0, arable free 10, enclosed 1.5, land total 11.5 Mrs Mary Mashborne, widow: bulls 0, cows 4, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 5, cattle total 10, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 Robert Marsh: bulls 0, cows 5, bullocks 2, heifers 1, steers 1, young 0, calves 5, cattle total 14, arable free 3.5, enclosed 0, land total 3.5 John Nichols the elder and 2 sons: bulls 1, cows 9, bullocks 2, heifers 2, steers 4, young 0, calves 8, cattle total 26, arable free 40, enclosed 10, land total 50.5 Gabriel Powell and Anthony Hoskison: bulls 1, cows 4, bullocks 2, heifers 0, steers 1, young 0, calves 4, cattle total 12, arable free 40, enclosed 0, land total 40 John Robinson: bulls 3, cows 40, bullocks 8, heifers 5, steers 10, young 10, calves 44, cattle total 126, arable free 216, enclosed 39, land total 255 Samuel Price: bulls 0, cows 11, bullocks 1, heifers 2, steers 0, young 0, calves 9, cattle total 32, arable free 20, enclosed 23, land total 45 Totals: bulls 18, cows 382, bullocks 40, heifers 86, steers 72, young 107, calves 364, cattle total 1,069, arable free 1,010.25, enclosed 755.75, land total 2,366 Interpretations The final totals of the survey give the whole island 1,069 head of cattle and 2,366 acres of land, the complete measure of the settlement's agricultural resources in 1715. Read against the household muster, this closing reckoning lets the Company see the full extent of what its people held and produced, the foundation for judging the island's capacity to feed itself and supply the ships. The register stands as a yearly audit of the settlement's material strength, cattle and land counted with the same care given to the people themselves. The single largest holding on the page, John Robinson's 126 head of cattle and 255 acres, illuminates the debtor examination in which he had

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			appeared. Robinson had told the Governor he could not pay in cattle because his beasts were all young, and here his forty-four calves against forty cows confirm a herd heavily weighted toward increase. This shows the truth behind his plea, a large but immature stock that he was reluctant to break up, the muster corroborating the very reason he gave for withholding payment. The scale of the enclosed acreage in this portion, set against the free arable, marks these households as among the more substantially established on the island. Large holdings such as Greentree's 137 acres and Johnson's 127 combined open and fenced ground in significant measure, the enclosure representing the labour and investment of settling the land. On an island where fencing was costly and cattle strayed readily, a large enclosed holding stood as a mark of a planter's permanence and standing, distinguishing the settled proprietors from the smallholders and the landless.
50	44	Whites, Blacks Person names (vizt), Men, Women, Youths, Maidens, Boys to 12 yr, Girls to 13 yr, Children, Totall, Men, Women, Boys, Girls, Totall Brought over: Men 43, Women 57, Youths 19, Maidens 15, Boys to 12 yr 15, Girls to 13 yr 9, Children 167, Totall 325, Men 111, Women 44, Boys 44, Girls 48, Totall 247 James Rider single man: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 1, Men 2, Women 0, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 3 Giles Smith: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 1, Totall 3, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Charles Steward Chil: Men 0, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 4, Totall 5, Men 4, Women 0, Boys 1, Girls 2, Totall 7 Rich Swallow Senr & 1 app: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 4, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 6, Totall 14, Men 7, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 8 Jn Sinsmick: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 1, Totall 3, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Rich Swallow Junr: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 2, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Marg Sich & granddaughter: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 1, Totall 3, Men 3, Women 2, Boys 4, Girls 6, Totall 15 William Seale: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 4, Totall 7, Men 1, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 1, Totall 3 Thoms Swallow & grand: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 2, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 1, Children 1, Totall 6, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 2, Girls 0, Totall 5 John Twaits: Men 1, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 5, Men 1, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 3 James Vesey: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 2, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 1, Children 2, Totall 7, Men 1, Women 2, Boys 1, Girls 0, Totall 4 Bridget Welch Wid: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 3, Totall 4, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Simon Whaley: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 1, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 4, Totall 8, Men 1, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1 Ripin Wills & grand: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 1, Totall 3, Men 2, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 3 Franc Wrangham: Men 1, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 4, Totall 6, Men 4, Women 1, Boys 1, Girls 2, Totall 8 Eliz Wrangham Orp: Men 0, Women 1, Youths 0, Maidens 1, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 1, Totall 1, Men 0, Women 1, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 1	This concluded the account of families returned into the secretary's office, the whites divided into men, women, youths, maidens, boys to 12 years, girls to 13 years and children, then a white total, and the blacks into men, women, boys and girls, then a black total. Brought over: white men 43, women 57, youths 19, maidens 15, boys 15, girls 9, children 167, white total 325, black men 111, women 44, boys 44, girls 48, black total 247 James Rider, single man: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 1, black men 2, women 0, boys 1, girls 0, black total 3 Giles Smith: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 3, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Charles Steward, widow: white men 0, women 0, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 5, black men 4, women 0, boys 1, girls 2, black total 7 Richard Swallow the elder and apprentice: white men 1, women 1, youths 4, maidens 1, boys 1, girls 0, children 6, white total 14, black men 7, women 0, boys 0, girls 1, black total 8 John Sinsmith: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 3, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Richard Swallow the younger: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 2, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Margaret Silk and granddaughter: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 3, black men 3, women 2, boys 4, girls 6, black total 15 William Seale: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 7, black men 1, women 1, boys 0, girls 1, black total 3 Thomas Swallow and grandchild: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 2, boys 0, girls 1, children 1, white total 6, black men 2, women 1, boys 2, girls 0, black total 5 John Twaits: white men 1, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 1, girls 0, children 3, white total 5, black men 1, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 3 James Vesey: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 2, boys 1, girls 1, children 2, white total 7, black men 1, women 2, boys 1, girls 0, black total 4 Bridget Welsh, widow: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 3, white total 4, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Simon Whaley: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 1, girls 0, children 4, white total 8, black men 1, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mr Tovey, wife & Chil: Men 55, Women 70, Youths 23, Maidens 23, Boys to 12 yr 20, Girls to 13 yr 11, Children 203, Totall 405, Men 139, Women 54, Boys 56, Girls 61, Totall 25 Officers Sold ffs & Servts: Men 140, Women 0, Youths 0, Maidens 0, Boys to 12 yr 0, Girls to 13 yr 0, Children 0, Totall 140, Men 0, Women 0, Boys 0, Girls 0, Totall 0 Totall: Men 195, Women 70, Youths 23, Maidens 23, Boys to 12 yr 20, Girls to 13 yr 11, Children 203, Totall 545, Men 139, Women 54, Boys 56, Girls 61, Totall 310	Rippin Wills and grandchild: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 3, black men 2, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 3 Francis Wrangham: white men 1, women 1, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 4, white total 6, black men 4, women 1, boys 1, girls 2, black total 8 Elizabeth Wrangham, orphan: white men 0, women 1, youths 0, maidens 1, boys 0, girls 0, children 1, white total 1, black men 0, women 1, boys 0, girls 0, black total 1 Mr Tovey, wife and children: white men 55, women 70, youths 23, maidens 23, boys 20, girls 11, children 203, white total 405, black men 139, women 54, boys 56, girls 61, black total 310 Officers, soldiers and servants: white men 140, women 0, youths 0, maidens 0, boys 0, girls 0, children 0, white total 140, black men 0, women 0, boys 0, girls 0, black total 0 Totals: white men 195, women 70, youths 23, maidens 23, boys 20, girls 11, children 203, white total 545, black men 139, women 54, boys 56, girls 61, black total 310 Interpretations The muster closes by adding the garrison to the settled families, bringing the whole population of the island to 545 whites and 310 slaves. The final rows fold in Mr Tovey's household and a body of a hundred and forty officers, soldiers and servants, the military establishment counted separately from the planting families. This shows the double character of the settlement, a civilian community of planters and tradesmen resting on a Company garrison, the two together making up the entire body of people the administration governed and had to feed. The many familiar names in this last portion tie the census back to the disputes and debts that fill the consultations. Richard Swallow, John Twaits, James Vesey, Simon Whaley, John Sinsmith and Francis Wrangham had all appeared before the Governor over their debts, and Rippin Wills was the master of the slave punished for theft, while Tovey was the author of the accusing letters. This shows the census as the human register underlying the whole record, each household on the page a party to the transactions and quarrels set down in the pages before. The counting of the garrison as a hundred and forty men without families of their own reveals the transient, male character of the military establishment. Unlike the planting households with their wives, children and slaves, the soldiers and servants were listed as a single body of men, quartered and provisioned by the Company rather than settled on the land. This shows the distinction between the permanent population that struck root in the island and the shifting garrison that manned its defences, the two forming the whole from which the settlement drew its strength.
51	45	Neat Cattle, Acres of Land Bulls, Cows, Bullocks, Heifers, Steers, Yearlongs, Calves, Totall, Manured, Manured, Totall Brought over: Bulls 18, Cows 382, Bullocks 40, Heifers 86, Steers 72, Yearlongs 107, Calves 364, Totall 1069, Manured 1610 1/4, Manured 755 3/4, Totall 2366 James Rider single man: Bulls 0, Cows 3, Bullocks 1, Heifers 1, Steers 2, Yearlongs 0, Calves 4, Totall 11, Manured 30 1/2, Manured 2 1/2, Totall 33 Giles Smith: Bulls 0, Cows 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 2, Totall 5, Manured 10, Manured 31, Totall 41 Charles Steward Chil: Bulls 1, Cows 21, Bullocks 9, Heifers 5, Steers 0, Yearlongs 9, Calves 5, Totall 60, Manured 41, Manured 42, Totall 88	This concluded the account of land and cattle held on the island for 1715. The cattle were divided into bulls, cows, bullocks, heifers, steers, young ones and calves, then a total, and the land into acres of arable free, acres enclosed and a total. The names are those of the heads of family from the muster on the facing page, set against each household's holdings, the first line carrying over the totals of the preceding page. Brought over: bulls 18, cows 382, bullocks 40, heifers 86, steers 72, young 107, calves 364, cattle total 1,069, arable free 1,010.25, enclosed 755.75, land total 2,366 Giles Smith: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 1, heifers 1, steers 2, young 0, calves 4, cattle total 11, arable free 30.5, enclosed 2.5, land total 33

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Rich Swallow Senr & 1 app: Bulls 2, Cowes 10, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 7, Calves 5, Totall 24, Manured 39, Manured 36, Totall 75 Jn Sinsmick: Bulls 0, Cowes 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Rich Swallow Junr: Bulls 0, Cowes 2, Bullocks 0, Heifers 3, Steers 1, Yearlongs 0, Calves 1, Totall 7, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Marg Sich & granddaught: Bulls 0, Cowes 12, Bullocks 1, Heifers 3, Steers 3, Yearlongs 0, Calves 10, Totall 29, Manured 70, Manured 8, Totall 78 William Seale: Bulls 0, Cowes 6, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 3, Yearlongs 0, Calves 6, Totall 16, Manured 40, Manured 0, Totall 40 Thoms Swallow & grand: Bulls 1, Cowes 10, Bullocks 2, Heifers 4, Steers 3, Yearlongs 0, Calves 9, Totall 29, Manured 40, Manured 31, Totall 71 John Twaits: Bulls 0, Cowes 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 3, Calves 3, Totall 9, Manured 15 1/2, Manured 16, Totall 31 1/2 James Vesey: Bulls 1, Cowes 11, Bullocks 3, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 10, Calves 12, Totall 39, Manured 20, Manured 12, Totall 32 Bridget Welch Wid: Bulls 0, Cowes 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Simon Whaley: Bulls 0, Cowes 1, Bullocks 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 2, Manured 13 1/3, Manured 10, Totall 23 1/3 Ripin Wills & grand: Bulls 0, Cowes 3, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 2, Calves 3, Totall 8, Manured 40, Manured 0, Totall 40 Franc Wrangham: Bulls 1, Cowes 16, Bullocks 2, Heifers 4, Steers 5, Yearlongs 0, Calves 15, Totall 43, Manured 65, Manured 11, Totall 76 Eliz Wrangham Orp: Bulls 1, Cowes 6, Bullocks 0, Heifers 3, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 7, Totall 17, Manured 10, Manured 2, Totall 12 Mr Tovey, wife & Chil: Bulls 25, Cowes 488, Bullocks 58, Heifers 113, Steers 90, Yearlongs 138, Calves 456, Totall 1368, Manured 2044 7/12, Manured 957 1/4, Totall 3001 10/12 Officers Sold ffs & Servts: Bulls 0, Cowes 0, Bullocks 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlongs 0, Calves 0, Totall 0, Manured 0, Manured 0, Totall 0 Totall: Bulls 25, Cowes 488, Bullocks 58, Heifers 113, Steers 90, Yearlongs 138, Calves 456, Totall 1368, Manured 2044 7/12, Manured 957 1/4, Totall 3001 10/12	Charles Steward, widow: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 1, young 0, calves 2, cattle total 5, arable free 10, enclosed 31, land total 41 Richard Swallow the elder: bulls 1, cows 21, bullocks 9, heifers 5, steers 0, young 9, calves 5, cattle total 60, arable free 41, enclosed 42, land total 88 John Sinsmith: bulls 2, cows 10, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 7, calves 5, cattle total 24, arable free 39, enclosed 36, land total 75 Margaret Silk and granddaughter: bulls 0, cows 2, bullocks 0, heifers 3, steers 1, young 0, calves 1, cattle total 7, arable free 0, enclosed 0, land total 0 William Seale: bulls 0, cows 12, bullocks 1, heifers 3, steers 3, young 0, calves 10, cattle total 29, arable free 70, enclosed 8, land total 78 Thomas Swallow and grandchild: bulls 0, cows 6, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 3, young 0, calves 6, cattle total 16, arable free 40, enclosed 0, land total 40 John Twaits: bulls 1, cows 10, bullocks 2, heifers 4, steers 3, young 0, calves 9, cattle total 29, arable free 40, enclosed 31, land total 71 James Vesey: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 3, calves 3, cattle total 9, arable free 15.5, enclosed 16, land total 31.5 Simon Whaley: bulls 1, cows 11, bullocks 3, heifers 2, steers 0, young 10, calves 12, cattle total 39, arable free 20, enclosed 12, land total 32 Ripin Wills and grandchild: bulls 0, cows 1, bullocks 0, heifers 1, steers 0, young 0, calves 0, cattle total 2, arable free 13.5, enclosed 10, land total 23.5 Francis Wrangham: bulls 0, cows 3, bullocks 0, heifers 0, steers 0, young 2, calves 3, cattle total 8, arable free 40, enclosed 0, land total 40 Mr Tovey: bulls 1, cows 16, bullocks 2, heifers 4, steers 5, young 0, calves 15, cattle total 43, arable free 65, enclosed 11, land total 76 Officers, soldiers and servants: bulls 1, cows 6, bullocks 0, heifers 3, steers 0, young 0, calves 7, cattle total 17, arable free 10, enclosed 2, land total 12 Totals: bulls 25, cows 488, bullocks 58, heifers 113, steers 90, young 138, calves 456, cattle total 1,368, arable free 2,044.4375, enclosed 957.25, land total 3,001.10.19 Interpretations The grand totals close the survey at 1,368 head of cattle and just over three thousand acres of land, the whole agricultural resource of St Helena in 1715. Set beside the census of 545 whites and 310 slaves, these figures give the Company its complete annual measure of the island, the people, the stock and the ground reckoned together. This paired accounting of population and produce was the foundation of the settlement's management, the means by which the administration judged what the island held and what it could be expected to yield. The very small holding attached to the whole body of officers, soldiers and servants confirms the garrison's detachment from the land. The hundred and forty men of the military establishment held only seventeen head of cattle and twelve acres between them, a negligible share against the planters' holdings. This shows that the soldiers lived provisioned by the Company rather than by their own farming, the burden of feeding them falling on the store and on the produce of the planting families rather than on any land the garrison itself worked. The considerable expansion of enclosed acreage revealed across the whole survey, approaching a thousand acres fenced against some two thousand of free arable, marks a settlement steadily converting open ground to private holding. Enclosure represented the labour of fencing and the security of exclusive tenure, the process at the root of the disputes over straying cattle that opened this record. That so much land had been enclosed by 1715 shows the settlement maturing from open grazing toward defined and defended

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			property, the island's agriculture taking on the fixed forms of permanent cultivation.
52	46	Island St Helena. Aprill 1716 At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 24th Day of Aprill 1716. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr George Haswell Dpty 2 Pres: Matthw Bazett 3 Edward Byfeld c. The following Petitions were Presented. Island St Helena. To the Worsh Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr &c Council. The most Humble Petition of William Beale freeman. Humbly Sheweth That whereas your Petition was of late Imprisond for a debt owing to the Honble Company humbly desire I may be released from my Confinement and allowed the Accustomed Priviledge of paying the usuall Interest for what I shall not have Creditts for at the Adjustment of my Accounts If your Worships be please to grant my Enlargement I may the Sooner be Capacitated to discharge my Debts and further will be of most Important Service to the Main tenance of your Poor Petitionr Family which will ever be bound to pray as in duty for Your Worships &c Aprill 24th 1716 (Signd) Wm Beale Ordered. That Margin Notes: Island St Helena Wm Beale Petrn to be Dischd	At a consultation held on Tuesday 24 April 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett third in council and Edward Byfield. The following petitions were presented. William Beale, a freeman, petitioned the Governor and Council. He had lately been imprisoned for a debt owing to the Company, and asked to be released from his confinement and allowed the usual privilege of paying the customary interest on whatever he was not credited for at the adjustment of his accounts. If the Governor would grant his release, he would be the sooner able to discharge his debt, which would be of great service to the maintenance of his poor family. Beale signed the petition, dated 24 April 1716. The Council then made its order [...] Interpretations Beale's petition marks the sequel to his arrest recorded in the March consultations, where he had offered the Governor ten pounds to transfer his bills and was imprisoned at the Company's suit instead. He now sought release on the same terms allowed to other debtors, asking to pay the usual interest on the balance he could not clear at the reckoning. This shows the man who had attempted to bribe his way to favourable treatment reduced to petitioning for the ordinary indulgence, his confinement having brought him to seek only what the honest debtors were granted. The privilege of paying interest on an unsatisfied balance emerges here as the settled mechanism by which a debtor secured his liberty and time to pay. Beale asked to be allowed interest on what he was not credited for at the adjustment of his accounts, treating the charge of interest not as a penalty but as the price of continued credit and freedom. This reveals how the interest introduced at the March reckoning had become the accepted instrument for managing a debt, the debtor accepting the charge in exchange for release and the chance to clear his account over time. The argument that his liberty would serve the maintenance of his family shows the practical case a debtor made for release over imprisonment. Beale urged that a confined man could not work to discharge his debt, whereas a free one could support his household and pay down what he owed. This reveals the reasoning that told against holding a debtor in gaol, imprisonment serving neither the creditor, who wanted payment, nor the family left without its provider, so that release on security was the course that best answered the interests of all.
53	47	Aprill 1716. former Petition twas Ordered that Capt Mashborne and Charles Steward Shoud Survey the Said Fences and Vallue the Same which having never Yet been done Your Petitionr doth Humbly move & pray that the Said ffences may be as Soon as Possible Surveyd and vallued According to the Order of the above recited Order of Council. Aprill 24 1716. And (as in duty bound) shall for ever pray &c (Signd) Gabriell Powell. Granted. And that Capt Bazett & Mr Byfeld be appointd to goe and Vallue the Said ffences as Soon as they have time, and report the same the Council day following. Mr Byfeld reports that now he has Cloathed all the Honble Comps Blacks and has brought in a Calendate of what the blacks are likely to Stand the Honble Comp in	Gabriel Powell petitioned the Council over a former order that Captain Mashborne and Charles Steward should survey and value certain fences. Since this had never yet been done, he asked that the fences be surveyed and valued as soon as possible, according to the earlier order of the Council. Powell signed the petition, dated 24 April 1716. The Council granted the request, and ordered that Captain Bazett and Mr Byfield go and value the fences as soon as they had time, and report to the Council the following consultation day. Mr Byfield reported that he had now clothed all the Company's slaves, and brought in a calendar of what the slaves were likely to cost the Company yearly. Since some of them were grown men or women and some were children, he thought his estimate would be very exact. All agreed that two pairs of breeches was little enough for a man in a year, especially if made of such flimsy stuff as the kerseys were, and that some of the men and women would wear out two jackets. On the whole, they further judged that each slave, if proper

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Yearly, and whereas Some of them are Lusty Men or Women and Some Children but thinks his Calculate will be very Exact But we all think that two pair of breeches is little Enough for a man a year Especially if made of Such Slight Stuff as these Kerseys are, and Some of the Men and Women will wear out two Jacketts So that upon the whole we further think that Each black if due Care be taken of them will Stand the Honble Comps in forty Shillings pr annum Ordered That it be left to Mr Byfelds Care to gett the two Bales of Kerseys that are now in the Stores, made up into Cloths for the Blacks against they want more. Ordered Margin Notes: Gab Powel to be paid ffor envy ye Cesk. Cloathing of HCs Blacks will cost 40s pann	care were taken of them, would cost the Company forty shillings a year to clothe. The Council ordered that it be left to Mr Byfield's care to have the two bales of kerseys now in the stores made up into clothes for the slaves against they wanted more. Interpretations The reckoning of the annual cost of clothing the Company's slaves reveals the administration treating its slave labour as a capital asset to be maintained at a calculated expense. Byfield brought in an estimate of forty shillings a year for each slave, distinguishing grown men and women from children, and allowing for the rapid wear of the flimsy kersey cloth. This shows the Company costing the upkeep of its slaves with the same care it gave to any other charge, the maintenance of the labour force reduced to a fixed annual figure per head. The heavy dependence of the clothing scheme on the coarse kersey held in the stores ties this order back to the great quantities of that cloth recorded in the earlier accounts. The two bales now to be made up into slave clothing explain the bulk purchases of kersey that had dwarfed the retail trade, the cloth bought not for sale but to clothe the Company's own labourers. This shows the connection between the store's stock and the maintenance of the slaves, the coarse woollen serving as the standard material for outfitting those the Company owned. The judgement that the cloth was too flimsy to last a man two pairs of breeches a year exposes a tension between economy and durability in provisioning the slaves. The Council recognised that the cheap kersey wore out quickly, so that a false economy in the cloth raised the frequency and cost of replacement. This reveals a practical calculation behind the clothing of the labour force, the administration weighing the low price of poor material against the expense of clothing worn through, and fixing its annual estimate accordingly.
54	48	Aprill 1716 That an Order be made and Sent to Richard Swallow for his delivering Said Blacks he haveing no Just right to Detain them any Longer Mr Tovey haveing given bond for his daughter in Law Margaret Bagleys Portion and Share of her father Thomas Bagleys Estate And in Case of his Refusall to Comply herewith then the Said Tovey to goe with the Marshall and take them by fforce Copy of the receipt before mentioned. Received this 23 Aprill 1716. of Antipas Tovey a bond of this date wherein Mr John Alexander and Mr William Seale are bound in the Penal Sume of Two Hundred and Sixty Pounds to my Self and Mr Richard Swallow for Payment of One Hundred and thirty Pounds to Margaret Bagley an Infant (the daughter and Sole Heiress of Thom Bagley Dec) at age or day of Marriage which Shall first Happen as Witness my hand in St Helena the day & year abovesaid (Signd) Orlando Bagley Witness Jos Bates. Island St Helena. To the Worsh Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr &c Council The most Humble Petition of Gabriel Powell free Holder Humbly Sheweth That your Petitioner did on the 14 day of September 1714 Exhibit a Petition to your Worsp and then Council Humbly praying Sattisfaction for the Fences and Charge your Petitionr and wife (while a Widd) Built and was at in Enclosing about three Acres of the Honble Comps Land lying under the High Peak Upon which former Margin Notes: Ordered him.	The Council ordered that an order be sent to Richard Swallow to deliver up the slaves, since he had no just right to detain them any longer, Mr Tovey having given bond for his daughter-in-law Margaret Bagley's portion and share of her father Thomas Bagley's estate. Should Swallow refuse to comply, Tovey was to go with the marshal and take them by force. There followed a copy of the receipt mentioned above. Antipas Tovey acknowledged that on 23 April 1716 he had received a bond of that date, by which Mr John Alexander and Mr William Seale were bound in the penal sum of £260 0s 0d to himself and Mr Richard Swallow, for the payment of £130 0s 0d to Margaret Bagley, an infant, the daughter and sole heiress of Thomas Bagley, deceased, at whichever should first happen of her coming of age or her marriage. Tovey signed the receipt at St Helena on the day and year above, witnessed by Joseph Bates. Gabriel Powell, a freeholder, petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out that on 14 September 1715 he had exhibited a petition to the Governor and Council, asking for compensation for the fences, and charged that his wife, while a widow, had built and enclosed about three acres of the Company's land lying under High Peak. Upon this [...] Interpretations The order to Swallow shows how the settlement of a dead man's estate for the benefit of an infant heiress was secured through a bond and enforced by the threat of force. Tovey had given a bond in the penal sum of £260 0s 0d to guarantee payment of £130 0s 0d to Margaret Bagley when she came of age or married, and on that security the slaves Swallow held were to be surrendered. This reveals the machinery

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		receipt for yr Bond of Security. Island St Helena	protecting a minor's inheritance, the bond standing as the guarantee that her portion would be paid, and the marshal ready to compel delivery of the property that formed part of her estate. The penal sum of double the debt in Bagley's bond illustrates the standard form by which such undertakings were secured. The bond bound Alexander and Seale in £260 0s 0d for the payment of £130 0s 0d, the penalty set at twice the sum to be paid as the customary means of ensuring performance. This shows the legal device of the penal bond at work, the obligor liable to the larger sum should he default, the doubled penalty giving the creditor a powerful hold to compel payment of the actual debt. The provision fixing payment to the heiress at her coming of age or marriage, whichever fell first, reveals the law's care to preserve a minor's property until she could manage it herself. Margaret Bagley, an infant and sole heiress, was to receive her portion only on reaching adulthood or entering marriage, the two events at which a woman gained control of her inheritance. This shows how the estate of a dead father was held in trust for his infant daughter, the bond ensuring the sum would be there for her at the moment she became entitled to it.
55	49	Aprill 1716. former Petition twas Ordered that Capt Mashborne and Charles Steward Shoud Survey the Said Fences and Vallue the Same which having never Yet been done Your Petitionr doth Humbly move & pray that the Said ffences may be as Soon as Possible Surveyd and vallued According to the Order of the above recited Order of Council. Aprill 24 1716. And (as in duty bound) shall for ever pray &c (Signd) Gabriell Powell. Granted. And that Capt Bazett & Mr Byfeld be appointd to goe and Vallue the Said ffences as Soon as they have time, and report the same the Council day following. Mr Byfeld reports that now he has Cloathed all the Honble Comps Blacks and has brought in a Calendate of what the blacks are likely to Stand the Honble Comp in Yearly, and whereas Some of them are Lusty Men or Women and Some Children but thinks his Calculate will be very Exact But we all think that two pair of breeches is little Enough for a man a year Especially if made of Such Slight Stuff as these Kerseys are, and Some of the Men and Women will wear out two Jacketts So that upon the whole we further think that Each black if due Care be taken of them will Stand the Honble Comps in forty Shillings pr annum Ordered That it be left to Mr Byfelds Care to gett the two Bales of Kerseys that are now in the Stores, made up into Cloths for the Blacks against they want more. Ordered Margin Notes: Gab Powel to be paid ffor envy ye Cesk. Cloathing of HCs Blacks will cost 40s pann	Gabriel Powell petitioned the Council over a former order that Captain Mashborne and Charles Steward should survey and value certain fences. Since this had never yet been done, he asked that the fences be surveyed and valued as soon as possible, according to the earlier order of the Council. Powell signed the petition, dated 24 April 1716. The Council granted the request, and ordered that Captain Bazett and Mr Byfield go and value the fences as soon as they had time, and report to the Council the following consultation day. Mr Byfield reported that he had now clothed all the Company's slaves, and brought in a calendar of what the slaves were likely to cost the Company yearly. Since some of them were grown men or women and some were children, he thought his estimate would be very exact. All agreed that two pairs of breeches was little enough for a man in a year, especially if made of such flimsy stuff as the kerseys were, and that some of the men and women would wear out two jackets. On the whole, they further judged that each slave, if proper care were taken of them, would cost the Company forty shillings a year to clothe. The Council ordered that it be left to Mr Byfield's care to have the two bales of kerseys now in the stores made up into clothes for the slaves against they wanted more. Interpretations The reckoning of the annual cost of clothing the Company's slaves reveals the administration treating its slave labour as a capital asset to be maintained at a calculated expense. Byfield brought in an estimate of forty shillings a year for each slave, distinguishing grown men and women from children, and allowing for the rapid wear of the flimsy kersey cloth. This shows the Company costing the upkeep of its slaves with the same care it gave to any other charge, the maintenance of the labour force reduced to a fixed annual figure per head. The heavy dependence of the clothing scheme on the coarse kersey held in the stores ties this order back to the great quantities of that cloth recorded in the earlier accounts. The two bales now to be made up into slave clothing explain the bulk purchases of kersey that had dwarfed the retail trade, the cloth bought not for sale but to clothe the Company's own labourers. This shows the connection between the store's stock and the maintenance of the slaves, the coarse woollen serving as the standard material for outfitting those the Company owned.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The judgement that the cloth was too flimsy to last a man two pairs of breeches a year exposes a tension between economy and durability in provisioning the slaves. The Council recognised that the cheap kersey wore out quickly, so that a false economy in the cloth raised the frequency and cost of replacement. This reveals a practical calculation behind the clothing of the labour force, the administration weighing the low price of poor material against the expense of clothing worn through, and fixing its annual estimate accordingly.
56	50	Aprill 1716. Ordered that James Vesey upon the Complaint of the Overseers of the Honble Comps Plantations be Summoned to attend next Consultation day. Alsoe John Long as Evidences against him. Mr Byfeld brought in the Account of the Generall Table Expende for One month which amounts to Seventy Eight Pounds Eighteen Shillings and Six pence Halfe Penny. Copy of an Order Sent to Richard Swallow Carpent (vizt) Whereas Mr Antipas Tovey has given Sufficient Security Pursuant to an Order of Council bearing date the 28th February 171 5/6 for his daughter in law Margaret Bagleys Portion and Share of her father Thomas Bagleys Estate and Such as Orlando Bagley first Named do's Ap prove of You are therefore hereby Ordered & required to Deliver unto the Marshall on receipt hereof the three Blacks therein Named vizt Robbin, Leicus and Cloice, you having no right to detain them any Longer, Since Security is given and Approved of Hereof ffaile not as you'll Answer the Contrary at your Perill. Dated & given undr my hand this 24 day of Aprill. 1716. (Signd) Isaac Pyke To Richd Swallow Snr & Carpenter. Jonathan. Margin Notes: Mr Vesey to be Summoned. Dyett Expende. Ordr to R Swallow to deliver 3 Blacks to Mr Tovey.	The Council ordered that James Vesey, on the complaint of the overseers of the Company plantations, be summoned to attend the next consultation day, and also John Long, as evidence against him. Mr Byfield brought in the account of the general table expense for one month, which came to £78 18s 6.5d. There followed a copy of an order sent to Richard Swallow, a carpenter. The order set out that Mr Antipas Tovey had given sufficient security, following an order of Council dated 28 February 1716, for his daughter-in-law Margaret Bagley's portion and share of her father Thomas Bagley's estate, such security as Orlando Bagley, first named, approved. Swallow was therefore ordered and required to deliver to the marshal, on receipt of the order, the three slaves named in it, namely Robin, Lucas and Cloice, since he had no right to detain them any longer once security had been given and approved. He was to fail not in this, as he would answer the contrary at his peril. The order was dated and given under the Governor's hand on 24 April 1716 and signed by Governor Pyke, addressed to Richard Swallow the elder, carpenter. Interpretations The order names the three slaves, Robin, Lucas and Cloice, whose delivery was the point of the whole dispute, showing them as the tangible portion of the infant heiress's inheritance. They formed part of Thomas Bagley's estate, and their possession passed to secure his daughter Margaret's share once Tovey's bond was accepted. This reveals how slaves were treated as heritable property in the settlement of an estate, human beings numbered and named among the assets that made up a child's portion and transferred from one holder to another as security was given. The insistence that Swallow had no right to detain the slaves once security was given and approved shows the legal logic by which possession followed the securing of the debt. Swallow had evidently held the slaves as a form of security for the portion owed, but once Tovey's bond supplied that security in another form, Swallow's ground for keeping them fell away. This reveals how the giving of a bond dissolved a prior claim of possession, the property passing on once the obligation it had secured was otherwise guaranteed. The general table expense of £78 18s 6.5d recorded here ties into the running accounts of the Company's establishment that appear through the record. This was the monthly cost of the Company's table, the provisioning of the officers and household maintained at the Company's charge, a substantial standing expense distinct from the store's retail trade. Its regular entry shows the administration tracking the cost of feeding its establishment as a fixed charge, the table a recurring burden on the Company's accounts alongside the clothing of its slaves and the running of its plantations.
57	51	Aprill 1716. Jonathan Higham desired the following Indenture might be Entered. Island St Helena. This Indenture Witnesseth That Jonath	Jonathan Higham asked that the following indenture might be entered. The indenture recorded that Jonathan Higham the younger, son of Jonathan Higham the elder, a soldier of the island, with the consent and direction of the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Higham Junr Son of Jonathan Higham Senr of Said Island Souldier with the Consent and Direction of the Worshipp the Governr &c Doth put himselfe Apprentice to the afore named Jonathan Higham Senr to Serve him from the date hereof untill he be of the Age of Twenty one Years the design of this being that the Said Jonathan Higham Jun shall work at his Trade of Stone Cutting for his father He being a very Poor man untill he attain to the age aforemencond & for the True performance hereof the aforenamd Jonat Higham Junr is bound by these Presents. In Witness Whereof have here unto Sett his hand & Seale this 24 Day of Aprill AD 16. his Jonathan Higham Junr Mark Signd Seald & Del. in the Presence of Isaac Pyke Matthew Bazett Thus far was copyd and Sent pr ship Nathaniel Edward Byfield	Governor and Council, bound himself apprentice to his father Jonathan Higham the elder, to serve him from the date of the indenture until he reached the age of twenty-one years. The purpose was that the son should work at his father's trade of stone cutting for him, the father being a very poor man, until the son attained that age. For the true performance of this, Jonathan Higham the younger bound himself by the indenture. He set his hand and seal to it on 24 April 1716, signing with his mark, sealed and delivered in the presence of Governor Pyke and Matthew Bazett. This far was copied and sent per ship Nathaniel. The document was also signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The indenture of a son to his own father as apprentice reveals a legal device used to formalise and secure the labour of a child within a poor family. Rather than an ordinary apprenticeship binding a boy to an outside master, this bound Jonathan Higham the younger to his father to learn and work at stone cutting until he came of age. This shows how the form of apprenticeship could serve a family's own need, giving the poor father a legally enforceable claim on his son's labour in the trade that supported them both. The requirement of the Governor and Council's consent to the indenture shows the administration's oversight of the binding of the island's young. Even an arrangement between father and son needed official sanction, the Council's approval recorded as part of the instrument. This reveals how the settlement regulated the labour of minors, the authority overseeing the terms on which the young were bound even within their own families, so that no apprenticeship was made without its knowledge. The stone cutting trade named in the indenture ties this family's livelihood to the building work that recurs through the record, from the mason's chisels in the store accounts to the fortifications the Company maintained. A poor soldier who worked as a stone cutter depended on his son learning the same skill to sustain the household, the trade offering steady employment on an island that needed masons for its walls and buildings. This shows how a family's fortunes rested on the transmission of a useful craft from father to son, the indenture securing that transmission in law.
58	52	Island St Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the first day of May 1716, at the Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr George Haswell Dpty Pres: Matthw Bazett 3 & Edward Byfield. On Satturday last the 29th of Aprill Arrived the Ship Nathaniel Capt Jonathan Negus from Bombay but last from the Cape of Good Hope That whereas we haveing four Notorious Rogues on this Island vizt William Gdyn William Cook Kendal Mein and William Eagle we thinke it is very Proper to send them off as fast as we Can for the Security of this Place and of the Honble Comps Shipping Least by their false Notions & Suggestions they might Cause their Infectious Humours to Spread among the Seamen. Capt Haswell Says he thinks tis not Proper to send any more then one of them in this Ship, and he to be put in Irons. It being a Small Ship, but thinks tis Proper he Shord be Corrected before he goes for his Notorious Roguery. Ordered that Willm Gwyn be Punnished and then Sent on board. The Governr Proposes that Every one of Council do by thursday next Acquaint him what they think Proper Margin Notes: arrival of the	At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett third in council and Edward Byfield. On the previous Saturday, 29 April, the ship <i>Nathaniel</i> under Captain Jonathan Negus arrived from Bombay, but last from the Cape of Good Hope. The Council held that, since there were four notorious rogues on the island, namely William Gwyn, William Cook, Kendal Mein and William Eagle, it was proper to send them off as fast as possible for the security of the island and of the Company's shipping. It was feared that by their false notions and suggestions they might cause their infectious ideas to spread among the seamen. Captain Haswell said he thought it not proper to send more than one of them in this ship, as she was a small ship, and that this one should be put in irons. He judged it proper that the man be corrected before he went, for his notorious roguery. The Council ordered that William Gwyn be punished and then sent on board. The Governor proposed that every member of the Council acquaint him by the next Thursday what they thought proper [...] Interpretations The decision to remove the four men from the island reveals the administration's fear of subversive influence spreading from the settlement to the ships that were its lifeline. The Council judged that the false

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Nathaniel Rogues to be Sent off first punished Gwyn only Sent off now.	notions and suggestions of these men might infect the seamen, so their removal served to protect the crews of the Company's vessels from ideas that could undermine discipline. This shows how the security of the shipping governed the treatment of troublemakers, the men expelled not merely as local nuisances but as a contagion that had to be kept from the sailors on whom the island depended. The language of infection applied to the men's ideas discloses how disorder was conceived as a kind of disease to be contained. Their notions were called infectious and their influence a spreading contamination, the metaphor casting political or moral subversion as a sickness that might pass from the rogues to the seamen. This reveals the administration's understanding of sedition, treated like a plague to be isolated and removed before it could take hold among the vulnerable body of the crews. The care taken over how many such men a single small ship could safely carry shows the practical limits on the island's power to rid itself of its troublemakers. Haswell judged that only one of the four could be sent in the <i>Nathaniel</i>, and that he should go in irons after correction, the removal constrained by the capacity and safety of the vessel. This reveals how the disposal of undesirables depended on the shipping available, the island able to export its rogues only as fast as passing ships could be found to carry them securely. Kendal Mein appears here among the four rogues, the same man Tovey had described at length in his accusing letters as a hardened swearer newly come to the island and mixed up in the talk of a plot to seize a vessel. His inclusion in the list marked for removal shows the Council acting on the disquiet those letters had raised, the suspected conspirator now among those to be shipped off for the security of the settlement.
59	53	May 1716. Proper to be wrote to the Honble Comps by this Ship Nathaniel. George Sanders Soldr and School Master was Summoned to appear this day for Suffering his black Named Peter to Cutt Severall Standing and Green trees and Carrying them to Convert to his owne use without leave for So doing from off the Land that goes by the Name of Perkins Plantation now in the Possesion of the Honble Comps The Said Sanders appeared and Said he had Occasion for Some wood to help fence in the Land whereon he now lives and sent his Black to Cutt & bring some wood down to the place where wanted, but Where he did Cutt the wood he dont know but thought it had been in his Pasture Land and that if the black did goe and Cutt Said wood where he Should not twas without his Order or knowledge. Whereupon Richard Swallow Senr was Called & sworne who Deposes that Some of the People of his House told him that Some body was Cutting of wood upon the Land calld Perkins upon which he Immediatly went up there and Saw the Said Sanders black Named Peter a Carrying Wood upon his Shoulder from off that Land aforesaid. William Postley overseer at Perkins Plantation being Examined Sayd the Said Swallow told him as above and that he went Yesterday and Saw where Sixteen Trees had been Cutt but Cant tell whether Sanders black Cutt. Margin Notes: to write to yr Hs Comp by yr Nathl Sanders Sumond for Cutting wood. Rd Swallows Sonr deposi Wm Postley.	Each member of the Council was to say what they thought proper to be written to the Company by the ship <i>Nathaniel</i>. George Sanders, a soldier and schoolmaster, was summoned to appear for allowing his slave, named Peter, to cut several standing and green trees and carry them off, converting them to his own use without leave, from the land known as Perkins Plantation, now in the possession of the Company. Sanders appeared and said he had needed some wood to help fence in the land where he now lived, and had sent his slave to cut and bring some down to the place where it was wanted. He did not know where the slave had cut the wood, but thought it had been on his own pasture land, and said that if the slave went and cut wood where he should not, it was without his order or knowledge. Richard Swallow the elder was called and sworn. He deposed that some of the people of his house told him somebody was cutting wood on the land called Perkins. He immediately went up there and saw Sanders' slave, named Peter, carrying wood on his shoulder off that land. William Portley, overseer at Perkins Plantation, was examined and said that Swallow had told him the same, and that he went the previous day and saw where sixteen trees had been cut, but could not tell whether Sanders' slave had cut them [...] Interpretations The case turned on the theft of standing timber from Company land, an offence that struck at the scarce and jealously guarded wood supply of the island. Sanders was charged with allowing his slave to cut green and standing trees from Perkins Plantation and carry them off, the felling of sixteen trees representing a significant loss on a settlement short of timber. This shows the seriousness with which the removal of wood was treated, the same anxiety over a dwindling resource

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			that had driven the earlier case against Henry Francis and the control of boats and timber. Sanders' defence that the trespass was without his order or knowledge reveals the legal question of a master's responsibility for the acts of his slave. He did not deny that his slave took the wood, but sought to escape liability by claiming ignorance of where the cutting was done, throwing the fault onto the slave's own action. This raises the issue of how far a master answered for what his slave did on his behalf, Sanders attempting to sever his own responsibility from the act he had set in motion by sending the slave for wood. The reliance on the testimony of the overseer and of a neighbour who caught the slave in the act shows how such trespasses were detected and proved on the island. Swallow saw the slave carrying wood off the land, and Portley counted the stumps of the felled trees, the offence established by direct observation and physical evidence. This reveals the practical means by which the Company protected its land, the watchfulness of overseers and neighbours supplying the proof needed to bring a charge of cutting timber without leave.
60	54	May 1716. Cutt them all, or not. Ordered That the Said Sanders be find the Sume of twenty Shillings for Every tree his black Cutt, According to an Order of Council in Governr Robats his time, dated the 19 day of May 1709. John Worrall Serjt was Summoned to appear this day for Carrying a bill into the Stores for to have five Shillings pday Creedtd for work he formerly did at the ffortefications when the Govr agreed with him for no more then three Shillings pday. Ordered that the Overplus for So many days he Carried So in above three Shillings pday be Deducted from his Credit in the Store Books. William Slaughter Serjt Did alsoe Carry a bill after the Intent and manner which is Ordered to be deducted likewise as afores. And to prevent such Clandestine Practices The Governour Says, for the future he will give a Note to the Accomptant for all mony that shall be Entered for work done for the Honble Company. James Vesey Planter was Summond According to an Order of Council dated the 24 Aprill Last for driveing the Honble Comps Hogs from off their Usual Pastureage and puting his own Hogs on the Same Place. Margin Notes: Sanders fined 16s Serjt Worrall false acct for works regulated. Serjt Slaughter ye same Govr to give a Note for ye future James Vesey appears	The witness could not tell whether the slave had cut all sixteen trees or not. The Council ordered that Sanders be fined twenty shillings for every tree his slave had cut, according to an order of Council made in Governor Roberts's time, dated 16 May 1709. John Worrall, a sergeant, was summoned to appear for carrying a bill into the stores to have five shillings a day credited for work he had formerly done at the fortifications, when the Governor had agreed with him for no more than three shillings a day. The Council ordered that the surplus for the days he had so carried, above three shillings a day, be deducted from his credit in the store books. William Slaughter, a sergeant, had also carried a bill after the same intent and manner, which was ordered to be deducted likewise. To prevent such clandestine practices in future, the Governor said he would give a note to the accountant for all money that should be entered for work done for the Company. James Vesey, a planter, was summoned according to an order of Council dated 24 April, for driving the Company's hogs off their usual pasturage and putting his own hogs on the same place [...] Interpretations The fine of twenty shillings a tree levied on Sanders reveals the settled tariff by which the Company punished the cutting of its timber, drawn from a standing order years old. The penalty was fixed per tree according to a rule made in Governor Roberts's time in 1709, so that the loss was priced by the number felled. This shows the administration enforcing the protection of its wood through an established scale of fines, the offence measured and charged tree by tree under a regulation that had governed such cases for years. The cases of Worrall and Slaughter expose an attempt by the sergeants to claim more for their labour than had been agreed, by entering inflated bills at the store. Each had carried a bill demanding five shillings a day for work done at three, seeking to have the difference credited to his account, which the Governor detected and ordered struck out. This ties directly to the wage dispute that ran through the debtor examinations, the men who had held out for higher pay now trying to recover it covertly through the store books, and the Governor moving to close the gap. The Governor's resolve to give the accountant a note for all money entered for Company work reveals a procedural reform to stop the false claiming of wages. By requiring his own authorisation for every sum credited for labour, he removed the opportunity for a

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			workman to enter a bill at a rate never agreed. This shows the administration tightening its control over the store's accounts, the same concern with clandestine manipulation of the books that had driven the reform of the transfers, now applied to the crediting of wages for work done.
61	55	May 1716. The Said Vesey appeard and Denyd the Com plaint made against him but owned he did drive his hogs near the place where the Comps goes and by Chance they fell in Company together but he and his black Soon parted them and drove his Hogs a Mile at least further, and if any of the Companys did go as farr it might be by Scenting or following the track of his Hogs. William Postley overseer at Perkins Plantation Says he mett Said Vesey and his Black on monday (the 23) before, who told him Six of the Companys Hogs was in boxwood Plain, and going to see for them, found that the Companys Hogs was drove away from their usuall Range, and was above a Mile from the Place Named by Vesey, but above two Miles from their usuall Place of Pasturage; and Saw the tracks of one Shoe and bare foot of two Persons, which he Supposes to be Vesey and his black, and Consequently the Persons that So drove away the Honble Comps Hogs from where there was good food for them to a very Rockey and barron place. John Long & Francis Steward Planters Says they do beleive that the Said Vesey and his black did drive the Companys Hogs from their Usuall range and Margin Notes: Wm Postley Evidence	Vesey appeared and denied the complaint against him, but admitted he had driven his hogs near the place where the Company's hogs went. He said that by chance the two lots fell in together, but that he and his slave soon parted them and drove his own hogs at least a mile further off. If any of the Company's hogs went as far, it might be by scenting or following the track of his own. William Portley, overseer at Perkins Plantation, said he met Vesey and his slave on the previous Monday, 23 April, who told him that six of the Company's hogs were in Boxwood Plain. Going to see for them, Portley found that the Company's hogs had been driven away from their usual range, and were above a mile from the place named by Vesey, but above two miles from their usual pasturage. He saw the tracks of one shoe and the bare foot of two persons, which he supposed to be Vesey and his slave, and consequently the persons who had driven the Company's hogs from where there was good food to a very rocky and barren place. John Long and Francis Steward, planters, said they believed Vesey and his slave had driven the Company's hogs from their usual range [...] Interpretations The dispute over the hogs reveals a settler manipulating the grazing of the Company's stock to the advantage of his own, an offence against the common pasturage on which the island's animals depended. Vesey was charged with driving the Company's hogs from their good feeding ground to a barren place and putting his own in their stead, so seizing the better pasture for his herd. This shows how competition for limited grazing bred quarrels among the inhabitants, the deliberate displacement of another's stock treated as a wrong the Council would examine and punish. The tracking of footprints as evidence discloses the rudimentary but effective methods by which such trespasses were investigated on the island. Portley followed the marks of one shod and two bare feet to fix Vesey and his slave as the persons who had driven the hogs, the physical trace on the ground standing as proof of their presence. This reveals how offences in the open country were brought home to their authors, the reading of tracks supplying the evidence where no one had directly witnessed the act. Vesey's explanation that the Company's hogs might have followed his own by scent shows the defence of natural animal behaviour raised against a charge of deliberate driving. He sought to attribute the movement of the Company's stock to the hogs' own inclination to follow a herd rather than to any act of his, offering an innocent cause for their displacement. This reveals the difficulty of proving intent in such a case, the accused able to point to the ordinary habits of the animals as an alternative to the charge that he had driven them off by design.
62	56	May 1716. and that the place Vesey named is above a mile from the place he told Postley the Comps Hoggs were at Ordered That the Said James Vesey be not Suffered to keep his Hogs Upon that range where they are now for halfe a years time from this day. The following Petitions was Presented Island St Helena. To the Worsp Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The most Humble Petition of George & Thoms Brayne	The planters added that the place Vesey named was above a mile from where he had told Portley the Company's hogs were. The Council ordered that James Vesey not be allowed to keep his hogs on that range where they now were for the space of half a year from that day. The following petitions were presented. George and Thomas Brayne, youths, petitioned the Governor and Council. Having no trade or employment by which to support themselves, one being seventeen and the other sixteen years of age, they

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		(Youths) Humbly Sheweth That your Petitionrs having no trade or Employment whereby to Support themselves. one being Seventeen and the other Sixteen years of age are Very desirous to Serve the Honble Comps as Sold for the terme of Seven years Wherefore Humbly Prays your Worsp & Council to Intertaine us as Such and Shall to Our Utmost take Care to Demean our Selves in all respects as we ought, and beg a favourable Compltyance with this our Humble and Earnest request. And as in duty bound shall for ever pray &c his May 1st 1716. George + Brayne mark his Thoms + Brayne mark Island Margin Notes: Geo & Tho Brayn he to Serve yr H Comp 7 Year.	were very desirous to serve the Company as soldiers for the term of seven years. They asked the Governor and Council to accept them as such, promising to conduct themselves in all respects as they ought, and begged a favourable answer to their request. Both signed the petition with their marks, dated 1 May 1716. Interpretations The penalty imposed on Vesey shows the Council protecting the common grazing by temporary exclusion rather than a fine, matching the remedy to the nature of the offence. He was barred from keeping his hogs on the disputed range for half a year, a punishment that directly reversed the advantage he had seized by displacing the Company's stock. This reveals how the administration policed the shared pasturage, denying the offender the very benefit he had sought so that the Company's hogs might return to the ground he had driven them from. The petition of the two Brayne youths to enlist as soldiers reveals how the garrison drew its recruits from the island's own young men who lacked other means of support. Having no trade, the brothers of sixteen and seventeen sought seven years' service with the Company as their path to a livelihood, the military establishment offering employment to those the settlement could not otherwise absorb. This shows the garrison functioning as a refuge for the trade-less young, the Company's need for soldiers meeting the young men's need for maintenance. The fixed term of seven years in the enlistment echoes the standard span of apprenticeship and indenture that recurs through the record, marking military service as another form of bound engagement. The Braynes offered themselves for the same seven-year term that governed apprenticeships, the soldier's enlistment structured like the binding of a servant or apprentice to a master. This reveals the common shape of bound labour on the island, whether in a trade or in the garrison, the seven-year term standing as the customary measure of such committed service.
63	57	Island St Helena. May 1716. To the Worsh Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Esqr Governr &c Council. The most Humble Petition of John Maynard Ship-right. Sheweth. That whereas your Petitionr having a Covenant Servant bound Apprentice in England did at his Coming out for Bencoolen and ever Since his Stay here beleived he Needed not doubt of his Said Servants dyeting at the Honble Comps Charge as well as your Petitionr and having been at daily Expence for Dyeting him Since the Departure of Ship Cardonnell, and which hath been Equivolent to 12 pr day Doth. Therefore Humbly move and pray Your Worship and Council to grant your Petitionr Such an Allowance for dyett as you in your Prudence Shall think fitt to Defray the Charge your Petitionr hath been at for his Said Servant. And as in duty bound shall Ever pray &c May 1st 1716. John Maynard Wee haveing no Presedent of this nature and Such a request being unusuall. Ordered that this Petition be rejected. Island St Helena. To the Worsh Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr &c & Council. The most Humble Petition of Edward Holliwell Writer. most Margin Notes: Maynards Petrn for his Servt Dyett rejected	John Maynard, a shipwright, petitioned the Governor and Council. He had a covenant servant bound apprentice in England, whom he brought out on his way to Bencoolen. Ever since his stay on the island, he had believed he needed not doubt that his servant would be fed at the Company's charge, as he himself was, and he had been at daily expense in feeding the man since the departure of the ship <i>Cardonnell</i>, which had amounted to twelve pence a day. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to grant him such an allowance for diet as they thought fit, to defray the charge he had borne for his servant. Maynard signed the petition, dated 1 May 1716. Since there was no precedent of this nature and the request was unusual, the Council ordered that the petition be rejected. Edward Holliwell, a writer, petitioned the Governor and Council [...] Interpretations The rejection of Maynard's petition for want of precedent reveals how far the Council relied on established practice in deciding claims upon the Company's purse. Maynard sought an allowance for feeding his covenant servant, but because no such claim had been granted before and the request was unusual, the Council refused it outright. This shows the administration's caution in creating new charges against the Company, an unprecedented demand denied precisely because granting it would establish a precedent others might follow. The position of Maynard's covenant servant illuminates the movement of bound labour through the island toward the Company's eastern settlements. The man was an apprentice bound in England and carried out on the way to Bencoolen, one of many such

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			indentured workers passing through St Helena as they moved between the Company's stations. This reveals the island's place on the network of the Company's labour supply, a waypoint where servants and apprentices bound for distant posts were held and fed while awaiting onward passage. The distinction between who was fed at the Company's charge and who was not exposes the limits of the Company's obligation to provision those passing through. Maynard himself was maintained at the Company's cost, but his servant was not, and Maynard's assumption that the man would be covered proved mistaken. This reveals how narrowly the Company drew the bounds of its keep, extending it to the principal but not to his dependent servant, so that the cost of feeding the bound man fell on the master rather than the Company. The <i>Cardonell</i> was a Company ship, its departure marking the point from which Maynard began to bear the daily cost of feeding his servant on the island. Named here as the vessel whose sailing left him at that expense, it was one of the Company's ships passing through on the eastern route, the same shipping that carried servants, provisions and correspondence between the scattered settlements. Its mention fixes the moment his charge began, the ship's departure the event from which his petition was reckoned.
64	58	May 1716. most Humbly. Sheweth That whereas your Petitioner on Mr Newingtons removal, reed your Worships Order to Continue the Accots of the Work men be Employed at the Honble Comps Works and for my Fidelity, Care and daily trouble therein had your Worsps Promise of Encouragement those Books only (Excepting other duties in the Secretarys Office) requireing one persons application, Humbly Conceives he may Presume to remind your Worship of the Just Endeavours of your Petitionr to merit the Promise made him. If you Shall pleas to make an Additionall augmentation to my Present Sallary it will prove of Extraordinary Service to my Occasions and Undoubtedly Excite me to a more Strenuous Vigilancy to Serve the Honble Comps and ever Oblige me (as in duty bound) to pray for Yor Worsp &c and Council. Aprill 24th 1716. Edward Holliwell We are very Sensible that the Said Holliwell has abundance of trouble about the Work Peoples Accounts and is very faithfull in that Employ, But cant Allow him any more Sallary then what he at Present has However for his Care and future Dilligence and to Encourage him therein Do think it fitt and reasonable to allow him two Shillings pr week more than his Usual Sallary while he Continues keeping that Acco. Copy of an agreement the Govornr made with Thoms Burnham, about the Building the two Gun ridge House. The Margin Notes: Holliwells Petn for more pay. 2s pr week alld him.	Edward Holliwell, a writer, petitioned the Governor and Council for more pay. On Mr Newington's removal, he had received the Council's order to continue keeping the accounts of the workmen employed at the Company's works. For his faithfulness, care and daily trouble in that work, he had received the Governor's promise of encouragement, those books alone, apart from the other duties in the secretary's office, requiring one person's full application. He ventured to remind the Governor of his honest efforts to merit the promise made him. If the Governor would make some addition to his present salary, it would be of great service to his circumstances and would spur him to still more strenuous diligence in serving the Company. Holliwell signed the petition, dated 24 April 1716. The Council answered that it was well aware Holliwell had a great deal of trouble over the workmen's accounts and was very faithful in that work, but it could not allow him any more salary than he presently had. However, for his care and future diligence, and to encourage him in the work, it thought it fit and reasonable to allow him three shillings a week more than his usual salary while he continued to keep those accounts. There followed a copy of an agreement the Governor made with Thomas Burnham about the building of the two gun ridge house. Interpretations The Council's response to Holliwell reveals a careful distinction between a permanent rise in salary and a temporary allowance tied to a particular task. It refused to increase his standing salary, but granted three shillings a week extra only while he continued to keep the workmen's accounts, so that the additional pay would cease when the duty did. This shows the administration guarding against a lasting increase in its wage bill, rewarding the extra work with a conditional allowance rather than a rise that would persist beyond the task that earned it. The additional burden that fell on Holliwell after Newington's removal illuminates how the loss of one officer loaded his work onto another. The keeping of the workmen's accounts, described as requiring one person's whole application, was added to Holliwell's existing duties in the secretary's office when Newington left. This reveals the thin staffing of the island's administration, the departure of a single clerk

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			throwing a full workload onto a colleague who had to be compensated for taking it on. The keeping of the workmen's accounts emerges here as a substantial and distinct task, the very records at the centre of the wage disputes running through these consultations. The bills the sergeants had tried to inflate and the wages the Governor sought to control were entered in these books, so the diligent keeping of them mattered to the Company's protection against false claims. This shows why the work was valued enough to reward, the accurate accounting of the workmen's pay standing as a safeguard the administration was willing to encourage with extra allowance.
65	59	May 1716 The House is to be forty one feet from out to out besides the Chimney. The Chimney is to be Exactly of the same bigness Every way as Mr Coulsons and to be built at the East end of the House The inside of the House is to be all the way twelve feet wide. The room where the Chimney is to be fifteen feet Long the Inside besides the Chimney. No windows on the backside the House. There is to be two Large Windows and one door in the middle of the ffront. There is to be a Passage or Entry between the two rooms of Six foot and a half wide, or Seven, on Each side of the Entry Eighteen or twenty Inches. The West End is to be twelve foot Square. The Walls to be laid one foot within the ground for Security of the foundation, but the floor of the House to be two foot above the Ground to Preserve it drye and then the Ceiling or under part of the Roof to be full Eight foot from the floor. This House to be built in three months time and the Proportion of the work to be Vallued and Mr Burnham to be paid as he was to be paid for the other Old House that is twenty Six pound but So much as this House is Larger or has more Walls then the other head he is to be paid in Proportion after that rate. But none of this House is to be built of that Sort of Stone the other was but of good hard Stone all Margin Notes: Agreemt wt Thos Burnham to build ye 2 Gunridge House.	This was the agreement with Thomas Burnham to build the two gun ridge house, setting out its dimensions and terms. The house was to be forty-one feet from outside to outside, not counting the chimney. The chimney was to be exactly the same size in every way as Mr Coulson's, and built at the east end of the house. The inside of the house was to be twelve feet wide throughout. The room where the chimney stood was to be fifteen feet long on the inside, not counting the chimney. There were to be no windows on the back of the house. There were to be two large windows and one door in the middle of the front. There was to be a passage or entry between the two rooms, six and a half or seven feet wide, with eighteen or twenty inches on each side of the entry. The west end was to be twelve feet square. The walls were to be laid one foot within the ground for the security of the foundation, but the floor of the house to stand two feet above the ground to keep it dry, and the ceiling or underside of the roof to be a full eight feet from the floor. The house was to be built within three months, and the proportion of the work valued. Burnham was to be paid as he had been for the other old house, that is twenty-six pounds, but since this house was larger or had more walls than the other, he was to be paid in proportion at that rate. None of this house was to be built of that sort of stone the other was, but of good hard stone [...] Interpretations The building agreement reveals the careful specification by which the Company contracted for construction, fixing every dimension and material in advance. The contract set out the length, width, window placement, foundation depth and floor height in precise measurements, leaving nothing to the builder's discretion. This shows the administration procuring its buildings by detailed written contract, the exact terms protecting the Company against poor or skimped work and giving a clear standard against which Burnham's performance could be measured. The insistence on good hard stone in place of the sort used for the earlier house exposes a concern with durability learned from past experience. The contract expressly required better stone than had gone into the previous building, a stipulation that points to dissatisfaction with the earlier work. This reveals the Company applying the lessons of former construction to its new contracts, specifying superior material to avoid the decay or failure that the poorer stone had evidently produced. The method of pricing the work by proportion to a known benchmark shows a practical means of costing a building against an established rate. Burnham was to be paid as he had been for the old house, twenty-six pounds, but more in proportion since this house was larger, the price scaled to the additional walling. This reveals how the Company fixed a fair charge for construction by reference to a previous job

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			of known cost, adjusting the sum to the size of the new work rather than negotiating a wholly fresh price.
66	60	May 1716 All the back wall and the Chimney Part of the Old House is to be left Standing. Mr Burnham to have two of the Companys blacks for three months in Consideration that this House is to be Pointed and better built then the other was. And in Case the House be built in three months Mr Burnham to have forty Shillings reward besides his payment but otherwise he is to be abated twenty Shillings of his Price. Isa Pyke (Signd) Tho: Burnham Capt Negus. You are hereby desired and required to send out your Stream Cable or a very good Hawser with a Small Anchor near the Shore, or Else to make fast one End of your Said Cable, or Hawser to the Rocks and to heave in by it as near the Rocks as will be Safe which you will know by Sounding; the Intent of this order is that no Shipps may Come ahead of you to Cutt you Out there being two Ships now Comeing into the road which there we Expect to be the Honble Comps Shiping Yet because we are Informd of Severall Corsature Ships abroad we think the Utmost Caution is to be Used for the Security of Our Honble Masters Estates. Wee are Your Loveing ffrriends. Union Castle St Helena. Isa Pyke May the 2 1716. Geo Haswell Matt Bazett Edw Byfeld Margin Notes: Capt Negus. Letter to Capt Negus. to come nearer inn	All the back wall and the chimney part of the old house was to be left standing. Burnham was to have two of the Company's slaves for three months, in consideration that this house was to be pointed and better built than the other was. If the house were built within three months, Burnham was to have forty shillings reward besides his payment, but otherwise twenty shillings was to be abated from his price. The agreement was signed by Governor Pyke and Thomas Burnham. There followed a letter to Captain Negus, directing him to bring his ship nearer in. Captain Negus was desired and required to send out his stream cable or any good hawser with a small anchor near the shore, or else to make fast one end of the cable or hawser to the rocks and heave in by it as near the rocks as would be safe, which he would know by sounding. The intent of the order was that no ship might come ahead of him and cut him out. Two ships were now coming into the road, which the Council expected to be the Company's shipping, yet because they were informed of several pirate ships abroad, they thought the utmost caution should be used for the security of their masters' estates. The letter closed as from his loving friends and was signed by Governor Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield, dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 2 May 1716. Interpretations The letter to Negus reveals the constant threat of piracy that shaped the defence of the island's roadstead and its shipping. The Council feared that a pirate vessel might slip in ahead of the <i>Nathaniel</i> and cut her out from her anchorage, so it directed the captain to warp his ship close to the rocks where she could be protected. This shows how the danger of piracy governed the handling of ships in the road, the vessels drawn under the shelter of the shore batteries against the risk of attack from the sea. The instruction to make fast to the rocks and heave in by cable discloses the seamanship by which a ship was secured in a threatened anchorage. Negus was to run a hawser to the rocks and haul his ship inshore, sounding as he went to keep her safe, so placing her where no enemy could easily reach her. This reveals the practical measures taken to protect a valuable vessel in an exposed road, the ship manoeuvred close under the land where the guns of the fort could cover her. The reference to the security of the masters' estates shows how the defence of the shipping was understood as the protection of the Company's property. The ships and their cargoes were the Company's investment, so guarding them against piracy was guarding the estates of the Company itself. This reveals the commercial logic behind the military caution, the Council's care for the ships in the road driven by their duty to preserve the property of the masters they served. The two ships approaching, expected to be the Company's own, tie this order to the arrival of the shipping on which the island depended, the same <i>Nathaniel</i> whose coming had opened the May consultations now to be defended in the road. The Council's readiness to treat even expected vessels with caution, in case pirates lurked among them, shows the anxious vigilance of a settlement whose lifeline lay in the ships it could neither do without nor wholly trust until they were known.
67	61	May 1716. Capt Negus. Sr I doe not See your People yet heaving in and So doubt of their haveing received our Order if they	Governor Pyke wrote again to Captain Negus, saying he did not yet see his people heaving in, and so doubted whether they had received the order. If they wanted a boat, they might take any one of the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		want a boat they may take any one of the Honble Comps boats from the Shoar Jam. Your Lov ffriend & Servt Isa Pyke Capt Negus. I have sent you off a good boat to use as you have Occasion and have directed the People to Observe your Orders. Yor Lov ffriend. Isa Pyke Capt Negus. This boat comes to bring you the end of a Large Hawser to haul your Ship Nearer in by, that these ships may not goe ahead of you the other End I have Caused to be fastned to the rocks on Shoar and I have Written to these French ships that I shall Permitt them to Come into this road on Condition they do not goe ahead of you and told them in my Letter that unless they goe a Stern of you I will fire at them I desire you to Come nearer in I have sent thirty men to Assist you. May 2 1716. Jam Your Loveing ffriend. Isa Pyke Capt Negus. Sr There is a Ship now Comeing into this road which may be for Ought I know at Present upon a bad account, because I wrote you word before that divers Pyrats were abroad, I have been Acquainted that the fFrench Intended to Saile too day, if they doe Saile then I desire you to Haul nearer	Company's boats from the shore. He signed himself as Negus's loving friend and servant. In a further note the Governor told Negus he had sent off a good boat for him to use as he had occasion, and had directed his people to observe the orders. He signed himself as Negus's loving friend. In another note the Governor explained that the boat came to bring Negus the end of a large hawser to haul his ship nearer in, so that the other ships might not get ahead of him, the other end having been made fast to the rocks on shore. He had written to the French ships that he would permit them to come into the road on condition they did not get ahead of Negus, and had told them in his letter that unless they came astern of him he would fire at them. He asked Negus to come nearer in, and had sent thirty men to assist him. He signed himself as Negus's loving friend, dated 2 May 1716. In a further note the Governor told Negus there was a ship now coming into the road which, for all he knew, might be there on a bad account. Since he had written before that several pirates were abroad, and had been informed that the French intended to sail that day, if they did sail he asked Negus to haul nearer [...] Interpretations The urgency of the Governor's repeated notes reveals how seriously the Council took the danger to a ship lying in an exposed road with strangers approaching. He wrote again and again as the situation developed, sending a boat, then a hawser, then thirty men, pressing Negus to warp his ship close under the shore before the other vessels could get ahead of her. This shows the anxious management of the anchorage in real time, the Governor directing the defence of the <i>Nathaniel</i> through a stream of messages as the threat unfolded. The conditional permission granted to the French ships discloses the delicate handling of foreign vessels at a time of suspected piracy. The Governor allowed them into the road only on condition they stayed astern of Negus, threatening to fire on them if they came ahead, so admitting them under strict control rather than barring or freely welcoming them. This reveals the careful diplomacy of a small garrison, obliged to receive foreign ships yet unwilling to let them into a position from which they might do harm. The dispatch of thirty men to assist Negus shows the Company committing its own soldiers to the defence of a ship in the road. The garrison's men were sent aboard or to the shore to help warp the vessel and man her defence, the island's small military strength thrown behind the protection of the shipping. This reveals how the security of the ships drew directly on the garrison, the soldiers who guarded the settlement also serving to defend the vessels on which its trade and survival depended. The position of a ship relative to the shore batteries emerges as the key to her safety in the road. The whole aim of hauling Negus nearer in and keeping the other ships astern of him was to place the <i>Nathaniel</i> where the guns of the fort could protect her and no stranger could get between her and the shore. This reveals the tactical logic of the anchorage, safety lying in the shelter of the land and the covering fire of the batteries, exposure in being left ahead and open to attack from seaward.
68	62	May 1716. nearer in Jam Yor Lov ffriend. Union Castle St May yr 5 1716. Isa Pyke Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Saturday the 5 of May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr George Haswell Dpty Pres: Matthw Bazett 3	The Governor closed his last note to Captain Negus by asking him again to haul nearer in, signing himself as Negus's loving friend, dated at Union Castle on 5 May 1716. At a consultation held on Saturday 5 May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett third in council and Edward Byfield. The following petition was presented.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Edward Byfeld. The following Petition was Presented To the Worsh Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr &c Council. The Humble Petition of Antipas Tovey. Sheweth To yor Worsp That your Petitionr being bound in Penal Sums to the Value of Near three Hundred Pounds to keep the Peace (which he never broke) the Person who Swore the Peace against him being the agressor now takes the advantage to Insult your Petitioner (who thought himselfe his Superior) not being able to Defend himself he daily goes in danger of his Life and Margin Notes: Mr Tovey's Petn agst Gunr French &c.	Antipas Tovey petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out that he stood bound in penal sums to the value of near three hundred pounds to keep the peace, which he had never broken. The person who had sworn the peace against him was the real aggressor, and now took advantage to insult Tovey, who thought himself the man's superior. Since Tovey was not able to defend himself, he went daily in danger of his life [...] Interpretations Tovey's petition returns to the long-running feud with Gunner French recorded through the earlier consultations, now cast in terms of the bonds that bound him to keep the peace. He was tied by recognisances to the value of near three hundred pounds, and complained that the very man who had sworn the peace against him now provoked him with impunity, knowing that Tovey dared not retaliate for fear of forfeiting his bonds. This shows how a peace bond, meant to prevent violence, could be turned into a shield behind which an adversary might safely give offence. The mechanism of swearing the peace against another reveals a legal device by which one party could bind an enemy to good behaviour on oath of fear. French had sworn that he went in fear of Tovey, obliging Tovey to enter bonds to keep the peace, which Tovey now protested had been done by the real aggressor to disarm his victim. This shows how the swearing of the peace could be used offensively, the complainant securing his own freedom to provoke while the man bound over was left unable to respond without penalty. Tovey's grievance that his social inferior now insulted him with impunity discloses the wounded sense of rank that ran through the whole quarrel. He thought himself French's superior, and felt the insult the more keenly for coming from a man he considered beneath him, yet the peace bond left him powerless to answer. This reveals how questions of status sharpened the dispute, the humiliation lying not only in the provocation but in having to bear it from one Tovey regarded as his lesser.
69	63	May 1716. and Humbly prays your Protection or if through your Petitionrs folly he lies under Such disadvantage thus daily to be Insulted Damd and threatned by Such an Infamous Person as Mr John French is the Person your Petitioner Complains of, Humbly prays he may be sent Home by this Ship there to Answer to his Honble Masters the Discharge of that duty Intrusted him with. And Yr Petitionr as in duty bound shall ever pray &c May 3 1716 (Signed) Antip Tovey. The Said Tovey was calld and added by word of mouth as followeth 1 That on Tuesday night last after the Bonfire Mr French Sayed as he past by Mr Toveys Door Damn that fellow he has been by here two or three times I will Cutt of his Ears by God. 2 On Wednesday Evening French Stood at Richard Swallows Door and Swore and Curst many times in the Presences of Said Swallow and Francis Wrangham, and did Point at the Said Tovey and Swore he was a rogue and a Villain and he would See what he could doe. 3 And that last night French Said he had a hundred Pound to Spend as well as others had, and that he could goe home and Shew his face to the Company. 4 And Tovey doth beleve French Spoke this to provoke him to break the Peace now he was bound over that he might have the advantage of his Security.	Tovey asked for the Governor's protection, saying that if through his own folly he lay under such disadvantage as to be daily insulted, damned and threatened by so infamous a person as John French, then he asked that French be sent home by the ship, to answer to the Company's masters for the discharge of the duty entrusted to him. Tovey signed the petition, dated 3 May 1716. Tovey was called and added the following charges by word of mouth. 1: On the previous Tuesday night, after the bonfire, French said as he passed by Tovey's door, damn that fellow, that he had been by here two or three times and would cut off his ears, by God. 2: On Wednesday evening French stood at Richard Swallow's door and swore and cursed many times in the presence of Swallow and Francis Wrangham. He pointed at Tovey and swore he was a rogue and a villain, and that he would see what he could do. 3: On the previous night French said he had a hundred pounds to spend as well as others had, and that he could go home and show his face to the Company. 4: Tovey believed French spoke this to provoke him to break the peace, now that he was bound over, so that French might have the advantage of his security. Interpretations The charges Tovey laid against French expose the deliberate strategy of provocation behind the quarrel, aimed at making the bound man forfeit his security.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Mr For Margin Notes: further charge agst ffrench.	French repeatedly cursed, threatened and insulted Tovey before witnesses, and Tovey believed this was calculated to goad him into breaking the peace so that his bonds would be forfeited. This shows how a peace bond could become a trap, the adversary safe to provoke while the man bound over stood to lose his sureties if he retaliated, the provocation itself the weapon. The threat to cut off Tovey's ears reveals the violent character of the enmity beneath the legal manoeuvring. French's words, sworn to have been uttered after the bonfire, carried a threat of mutilation that shows the depth of the hatred between the two men. This reveals that the dispute, however it played out through petitions and bonds, rested on a real and dangerous animosity, the formal machinery of the peace overlaying a quarrel that threatened to erupt into bodily harm. French's boast that he had a hundred pounds to spend and could show his face to the Company discloses the confidence of a man who believed himself secure in his standing. He claimed the means and the character to face the Company's masters, asserting that he need fear no consequence from his conduct toward Tovey. This reveals the sense of impunity that emboldened one party in the feud, French presenting himself as a man of substance and good repute against whom Tovey's complaints would carry no weight. Speculations Tovey chose to ask that French be sent home to England to answer to the Company's masters, rather than seek some remedy against him on the island itself. He grounded this on his own helplessness, bound over to keep the peace and unable to defend himself against a man he believed was deliberately provoking him to forfeit his security. The obvious course for a man in fear of his life would have been to seek the protection of the island's own authority against his tormentor, yet Tovey preferred to have his enemy removed entirely from the settlement, judging that only French's departure across the ocean would end a persecution the local peace bonds had left him powerless to resist.
70	64	May 1716 5 For Mr Tovey Sayes about Sixteen months agoe he haveing been Grosely abused by Mr French and beyond what he could bear did goe to French next Day and Demanded Satisfaction for the Affronts French took his Sword & followed him and they did fight and the Gunner letting his Sword fell was thereby Disarmed Tovey then told him his Life was in his Power but yet Sayed I will do you no hurt and then both Shook hands agreeing to be friends and that Since then French had given a great Provocation and his Life was in his Power he thirsted not for his Blood and forbore doing him the least Injury And therefore Says he thinks that the Gunner keeps the Peace against him now more for revenge then fear because now he is bound over to the Peace French do's all he Can to make him break it. To the first Article Mr French Says he denies it but Acknowledges that he Sayes he would have Cutt off his (meaning Toveys) Eares if he had known his designe. To the Second he Says he did Say Tovey would Sweear any thing and that if he would doe one rogues Trick he would do another but did not Point at him. To the third Article he Says he owns it for he Can as well afford to goe Home as Tovey. To the forth Article he denies he Spake any thing with Such Intent. To the fifth Article Mr French Says he wholly denies it. Captain Margin Notes:	5: Tovey said that about sixteen months earlier, having been grossly abused by French and beyond what he could bear, he went to French the next day and demanded satisfaction for the insults. French took his sword and followed him, and they fought. When the gunner let his sword fall and was thereby disarmed, Tovey told him his life was in his power, but said he would do him no hurt, and then both shook hands and agreed to be friends. Since then French had given great provocation, and though his life had again been in Tovey's power, Tovey had not thirsted for his blood but forbore doing him the least injury. He therefore thought the gunner now swore the peace against him more for revenge than fear, because now that Tovey was bound over to keep the peace, French did all he could to make him break it. French made his reply to the charges. To the first article, French denied it, but acknowledged that he said he would have cut off Tovey's ears if he had known his design. To the second, he said he did say Tovey would swear anything, and that if he would do one rogue's trick he would do another, but he did not point at him. To the third article, he owned it, for he could as well afford to go home as Tovey. To the fourth article, he denied he spoke anything with such intent. To the fifth article, French wholly denied it. Interpretations The account of the earlier duel and reconciliation reveals the code of personal honour that governed disputes between men of standing on the island. Tovey had demanded satisfaction for an insult, the two had

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		ffrenchs reply.	fought with swords, and when Tovey disarmed French he spared his life and the two shook hands as friends. This shows how such quarrels were expected to be resolved by the forms of gentlemanly combat, the sparing of a beaten adversary and the handshake of reconciliation standing as the honourable close to an affair of insult. Tovey's emphasis on twice sparing French's life discloses the moral advantage he sought to claim in the dispute. By stressing that he had held French's life in his power and forborne to harm him, Tovey cast himself as the magnanimous party and French as the ingrate who repaid mercy with provocation. This reveals how the memory of the duel was pressed into service in the present quarrel, Tovey's restraint offered as proof that he was no aggressor and that French's oath of fear was a pretence covering revenge. French's partial admissions expose the mixture of denial and defiance with which an accused man met such charges. He denied the threats laid against him in general, yet acknowledged the words about cutting off Tovey's ears and about going home to the Company, unable or unwilling to disown what witnesses had heard. This reveals the difficulty of wholly denying words spoken before others, French forced to concede the substance of some charges while contesting the intent, his admissions confirming the reality of the enmity even as he resisted its worst construction.
71	65	May 1716. Capt Haswell Says to the first Article That Mr Tovey Came to Mr ffrancis and told him he did intend to goe off the Island in this Ship and he being one of his ffreedom's gave him an Item of it and bid him look out but beleives Mr Tovey came there on Prapose to hear what Mr French Said and did then heear French Say he did not know Toveys meaning for he had Shifted his Cloths two or three times that Evening and that when he Cutt his Ear he wisht he had Cutt it of when he was aboat it and that Mr French went after the Bonfire was over directly to Mr ffrancis House Upon the whole do's beleive that Mr French did not give Mr Tovey any Cause of Such Complaint as he has reprented Capt Bazett Sayes he do's not know whether Mr Tovey had any Cause of Complaint or not. Mr Byfeld Says that he thinks Mr Tovey has no Such Cause of Complaint as his by his Petition represented but that Mr French has in Some measure abused Mr Tovey. The Governr Says that tis his opinion that there is and has been for a long time, an Irreconcilable Differences between Mr Tovey and French. That he has Severall times heretofore Composed their Differences and Endeavoured to make them Friends but ffinding it not to have So good Effect as he Intended it he has Strictly forbid Each other Coming into one anothers Company which Order they both Promised to Observe. And the Governr is of Opinion that Mr Tovey getting drunk on board the Duke of Cambridge and the Gunner Coming afterwards into Toveys Comp was the Occasion of Hott words and Provocation and therefore Margin Notes: Capt Haswells Opinion Capt Bazett Mr Byfeld The Govern	Captain Haswell gave his opinion on the first article. He said Tovey had come to Mr Francis and told him he intended to leave the island by this ship, and being one of his sureties, gave him warning of it and bid him look out. Haswell believed Tovey came there on purpose to hear what French said, and did then hear French say he did not know Tovey's meaning, for he had changed his clothes two or three times that evening, and that when he cut his ear, if he had cut it, he was in drink. French had gone straight to Mr Francis's house directly after the bonfire was over. On the whole, Haswell believed French did not give Tovey any cause for the complaint he had made. Captain Bazett said he did not know whether Tovey had any cause of complaint or not. Mr Byfield said he thought Tovey had no such cause of complaint as he set out in his petition, but that French had in some measure abused him. The Governor said it was his opinion that there was, and had been for a long time, an irreconcilable difference between Tovey and French. He had several times before composed their differences and tried to make them friends, but finding this had not the good effect he intended, he had strictly forbidden each of them from coming into the other's company, which order they both promised to observe. The Governor was of the opinion that Tovey getting drunk aboard the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, and the gunner coming afterwards into Tovey's company, was the occasion of hot words and provocation [...] Interpretations The divergent opinions of the councillors reveal how a bitter personal quarrel divided the judgement of those called to settle it. Haswell believed French had given no real cause for complaint, Bazett professed uncertainty, and Byfield thought Tovey overstated his case yet allowed that French had abused him in some measure. This shows the difficulty of adjudicating a feud in which both parties bore fault, the Council unable to reach a clear view of who was the wronged and who the wrongdoer. The Governor's diagnosis of an irreconcilable difference discloses a long history of failed attempts to reconcile the two men. He had repeatedly composed their quarrels and tried to make them friends, and when that failed had forbidden them each other's company, an order both had promised to keep. This

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			reveals the administration's preferred remedy for such enmity, the enforced separation of the antagonists, resorted to only after persuasion and reconciliation had proved useless against a hatred that would not be healed. The Governor's attribution of the latest outburst to drink exposes the role of alcohol in igniting the quarrel afresh. He judged that Tovey's getting drunk aboard the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, followed by French coming into his company, had produced the hot words and provocation now complained of. This reveals how drink was seen as the immediate occasion of disorder, the standing enmity between the men needing only the loosening of restraint by alcohol and a chance encounter to break out once more into open conflict. The <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, a Company ship whose departure had earlier been saluted from the island's guns, appears here as the scene of Tovey's drunkenness that set off the renewed quarrel. Named as the vessel aboard which he drank, it ties the feud to the shipping that touched every part of island life, the ship serving on this occasion not as a lifeline but as the place where the trouble began.
72	66	May 1716. therefore for the breach of my Order I intirely blame the Gunner John French but for the wounding of Mr Wrangham I have Promised for the Law is open and Lett that have its Course I have Promised Mr Wrangham that when ever he is ready I will call a Court on Purpose and have bad him when ready to Come to me and name a day) and I think tis best to Rid the Country of both of them unless they behave themselves better their Squables having been the Occasion of abundance of Differences. As to the Petition I think Mr Tovey has great cause of Complaint but yet I doe not think it fitt that he Should Swear the Peace against French while he is as Gunner of the Garrison because if I cant Protect Tovey from ffrenches Insulting him I am not fitt to be Governr here any Longer. As to the Latter Part of the Petition about send ing Mr Tovey Home I think to Bannish a men without trying him is Illegall, and therefore tis better to Punnish him here for his faults if he be Guilty then to trouble Our Hon masters with him but if he has a mind to goe Home he may. However as I Sayd before Unless they both live Quiet, then they have done hitherto I beleive I must be forced to send them off together & I think Bencoolen is the Propreest Place for them and hope when they Come there they'l Provide for their Latter end which is a Meditation very Necessary for John ffrench. Edward Byfeld	The Governor therefore blamed the gunner John French entirely for the breach of his order. For the wounding of Mr Wrangham, the law was open and let it take its course, and the Governor had promised Wrangham that whenever he was ready, he would call a court on purpose, telling him to come when ready and name a day. He thought it best to rid the country of both Tovey and French, unless they behaved themselves better, their squabbles having been the occasion of a great deal of trouble. As to the petition, the Governor thought Tovey had great cause of complaint, but did not think it fit that he should swear the peace against French while French was gunner of the garrison, because if the Governor could not protect Tovey from French's insults, he was not fit to be governor there any longer. As to the latter part of the petition, about sending Tovey home, the Governor thought that to banish a man without trying him was illegal, and that it was better to punish him on the island for his faults if he were guilty than to trouble the Company's masters with him. But if he had a mind to go home, he might. As before, unless they both lived more quietly than they had done so far, the Governor believed he must be forced to send them off together, and thought Bencoolen the fittest place for them. He hoped that when they came there they would provide for their latter end, a meditation very necessary for John French. The opinion was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The Governor's refusal to let Tovey swear the peace against a serving officer discloses a concern for his own authority and its proper exercise. He held that while French was gunner of the garrison, it was for the Governor to protect Tovey from him, and that if he could not do so he was unfit to govern. This reveals how the dispute touched the Governor's sense of his office, the swearing of the peace by one subject against another treated as an admission that the Governor's own authority had failed to keep order. The Governor's insistence that banishment without trial was illegal reveals a principle of due process constraining even the removal of troublesome men. He would not send Tovey home unheard, holding that a man must be tried and punished on the island for his faults rather than banished by mere order. This shows the administration bound by legal forms even in dealing with a persistent nuisance, the Governor distinguishing lawful punishment after trial from the illegal expedient of banishment without it. The provision to let Wrangham bring his own action for the wounding discloses the separate track of

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			private legal remedy running beside the Council's disciplinary power. The Governor left the wounding of Wrangham to the open law, promising to call a court whenever Wrangham was ready to prosecute, so distinguishing the injured man's private suit from the Council's own handling of the feud. This reveals the coexistence of public discipline and private action, the Council dealing with the disorder while the individual harmed retained his right to seek redress through the courts. Speculations The Governor chose to refuse Tovey's request to swear the peace against French, even while holding that Tovey had great cause of complaint. He grounded this on his own standing, judging that so long as French was gunner of the garrison it fell to the Governor to protect Tovey, and that to allow the oath would be to confess himself unfit to govern. The natural course, faced with a man in genuine fear who sought the ordinary legal protection of a peace bond, would have been to grant it, yet the Governor preferred to withhold the remedy and stake his own authority on keeping the peace between them, treating the request as a challenge to his capacity to rule rather than a simple matter of protection.
73	67	Island St Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 8th day of May 1716. At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo Haswell Dpty Pres: Matthw Bazett 3 & Edwd Byfeld. On Sunday last the 6th Instant Arrived the Ship Discovery Capt Wotton Commander from the Coast & bay, and has brought for us the following Particulars. Vizd ffour half Legars of Batavia Arrack at Eighty Dollars a Legar or One Hundred & fifty Rupees. Ten bags Sugar at Eighty Six & a half Rupees. Forty bags Rice Containing 5 & 2, 18 at Sixty two Rupd One Bale Cont: One Hundred twenty Six Shirts at One Hundred and two Rupees. Mr Byfeld brought in the monthly Accot of the Generall Table Expence which amounts to the Same of One Hundred & twelve Pound Eleven Shillings one penny halfe Penny The Church Wardens for the year Past Messrs James Greentree and John Tovait According to an Advertizemt Issued out for that Purpose brought in an Acco of the Names of those Persons who were by a Majority of Votes Chosen for Church Wardens and Margin Notes: arrival of Ship Discovery Goods She brought. Dyett Expence. New Church Wardens & Overseers Chosen.	At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett third in council and Edward Byfield. On the previous Sunday, 6 May, the ship <i>Discovery</i> under Captain Wotton, commander, arrived from the coast and bay, and brought the following goods. 4 half leaguers of Batavia arrack at eighty dollars a leaguer, or one hundred and sixty rupees 10 bags sugar at eighty-six and a half rupees 40 bags rice, containing 5 lb 2 ounces 18 [...], at sixty-two rupees 1 bale containing 126 shirts at one hundred and two rupees Mr Byfield brought in the monthly account of the general table expense, which came to £112 11s 1.5d. The churchwardens for the past year, Mr James Greentree and John Twaits, according to a notice issued for that purpose, brought in an account of the names of those persons who were by a majority of votes chosen for churchwardens [...] Interpretations The arrival of the <i>Discovery</i> with a cargo priced in rupees discloses the eastern trade that supplied the island through the Company's shipping. The goods came from the coast and bay, meaning the Coromandel coast of India and the Bay of Bengal, and were valued in rupees, the currency of that trade. This reveals St Helena's place as a station on the Company's Indian route, its stores replenished with arrack, sugar, rice and cloth carried from the East and reckoned in the money of the country they came from. The naming of the arrack as from Batavia ties this cargo to the Dutch settlement in the East Indies and the wider network of the spirit trade. Batavia arrack, distilled at the Dutch headquarters on Java, was prized for its quality and carried widely by the trading companies, its appearance here showing the island supplied from the farther reaches of the eastern trade. This reveals how the drink that loomed so large in the island's economy came from distant sources, the <i>Discovery</i> bringing a spirit shipped from the Indonesian archipelago. The election of new churchwardens by majority vote returns to the parish government whose forms were set out in the earlier notices. The outgoing wardens brought in the names of those chosen by the freeholders' votes, completing the annual renewal of the parish offices ordered at Easter. This reveals the working of the island's local self-government, the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			propertied inhabitants electing their churchwardens in the English manner, the results reported to the Council which oversaw the process. The general table expense of £112 11s 1.5d recorded here shows the rising cost of maintaining the Company's establishment, notably higher than the figure of the preceding month. This was the charge of feeding the officers and household kept at the Company's table, a substantial standing expense that the administration tracked from month to month. Its regular entry alongside the shipping cargoes shows the Company weighing the cost of its own upkeep against the goods flowing through its stores.
74	68	May 1716. and Overseers of the high ways to Succeed the Old ones who are vizt James Vesey Church Wardens for the Wt devison John Goodwin Robert Bell Ditto for the Et Divis John Worrall Thomas Allis Overseers for Ditto Isaac Leech Robert Gurling Ditto for the Wt John Harding Ordered That Messrs John Goodwin and Robert Bell be Appointed Church Wardens for the Ensueing year And Thomas Allis and Robert Gurling Overseers of the high ways. And that they and the Old Church Wardens and Overseers be Sumoned to appear next Consultation day. Edward Byfield Margin Notes: who are apointd vizt Jno Goodwin CW Robt Bell Tho Allis Overseers Rob Gurling	The account named those chosen as churchwardens and overseers of the highways to succeed the old ones. James Vesey and John Goodwin, churchwardens for the west division Robert Bell and John Worrall, churchwardens for the east division Thomas Allis and Isaac Leech, overseers for the east division Robert Gurling and John Stading, overseers for the west division The Council ordered that Mr John Goodwin and Robert Bell be appointed churchwardens for the ensuing year, and Thomas Allis and Robert Gurling overseers of the highways. It further ordered that the old churchwardens and overseers be summoned to appear the next consultation day. The order was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The two-stage process of election and appointment reveals how the choice of parish officers was shared between the freeholders and the Council. The inhabitants elected four men for each pair of offices by majority vote, and the Council then appointed two of them, one for each division, so completing the selection set out in the earlier notices. This shows the balance struck in the island's local government, the freeholders nominating by popular vote while the Council made the final choice from among those named, authority divided between the community and the administration. The division of the parish offices between east and west discloses the geographical organisation of the island's local government. Separate churchwardens and overseers were chosen for each division, so that the duties of church and roads were shared across the two parts of the settlement. This reveals how the island was administered as a divided parish, the burden of local office spread between its districts so that each had its own officers responsible for its church affairs and the upkeep of its highways. The summoning of the outgoing officers to appear discloses the accounting that closed each year's tenure of a parish office. The old churchwardens and overseers were called before the Council, presumably to render account of their year's stewardship before their successors took over. This reveals the oversight the Council kept over the parish offices, the departing officers held to answer for their conduct and the handling of any funds, the annual renewal of office bound up with a reckoning of the year past.
75	69	Island St Helena. May 1716. At a Consultation held on ffryday the 11 of may 1716. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo Haswell Dpty Pres: Matthw Bazett 3 & Capt Thoms Wotton Comandr Edward Byfeld. of the Dis Bouverie Mr Henry Sheffeild Supra Cargo of Ship Nathaniell	At a consultation held on Friday 11 May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett third in council and Edward Byfield, together with Captain Thomas Wotton, commander of the <i>Discovery</i>, and Mr Henry Sheffield, supercargo of the ship <i>Nathaniel</i>. A ship had newly come into the road flying Ostend colours as her ensign, following another that had come in before her flying colours striped red,

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		There's a Ship Newly come into the road with Ostend Collours for her Ensign that had about came in before her with Collours that were Striped, Red white and Yellow, She was Summond at Mundens Point to bring to by firing a gun, but She takeing no Notice of that She was Sunmond again by another, of which Still She took no Notice and therefore ought to have been fired into from Mundens Point According to the Governr Order but She Persued her Course & Came Directly into the road Looking or Standing with the Ships Wherefore the Governr Ordered to fire from the Line She Still Standing in, the Governr fired from the Castle there was Severall Shotts placed in her (as they inform us) At last She Seeing the Sort firing So Hott at her She Struck her Collours, and lett goe an Anchor, then the Chiefe and 2d Capt Came on Shoar and they Report to us that the Ships Name is the St Matthew Comanded by Capt Xavier Scarsfeild who was born in Ireland as they tell us, The Ship Came from Ostend, fitted out by Mr John Ray Merchant and Burger there the Ship they Margin Notes: abt yr St Matthd Ostender	white and yellow. She had been summoned at Mundens Point to bring to by the firing of a gun, but took no notice. She was summoned again by another gun, of which she still took no notice, and therefore ought to have been fired into from Mundens Point according to the Governor's order. But she pursued her course and came directly into the road, looking or standing in among the ships. The Governor therefore ordered a shot fired from the line, and as she still stood in, he fired from the castle. Several shots were placed in her, as they informed the Council. At last, seeing the fort firing so many shots at her, she struck her colours and let go an anchor. The chief and second captain then came ashore, and reported that the ship was named the <i>St Matthew</i>, commanded by Captain Xavier Sarsfield, who was born in Ireland, as they said. The ship came from Ostend, fitted out by Mr John Ray, a merchant and burgher there [...] Interpretations The firing on the <i>St Matthew</i> reveals the strict control the island exercised over ships entering its road and the force behind it. A vessel was required to bring to when summoned by a gun from Mundens Point, and one that ignored the signal was to be fired into, the batteries opening on the <i>St Matthew</i> until she struck her colours and anchored. This shows the island's guns commanding the approach to its anchorage, the requirement to submit to summons enforced by cannon fire against any ship that failed to comply. The suspicion attaching to the Ostend colours discloses the particular distrust of ships from that port at this date. The Ostend traders, sailing under the flag of the Austrian Netherlands, were interlopers on the East India trade that the English and Dutch companies sought to monopolise, so a ship from Ostend approaching a Company island was met with hostility. This reveals the commercial rivalries that shaped the island's reception of foreign vessels, the Ostend flag marking the ship as a competitor to be treated with suspicion and force. The Irish birth of the ship's captain, commanding a vessel out of Ostend, discloses the international character of the interloping trade that challenged the companies. Sarsfield, an Irishman in the service of a Flemish merchant, sailing under Austrian colours, embodied the mixed and stateless quality of the Ostend enterprise, drawing men and money from across Europe. This reveals how the trade the Company sought to exclude was carried on by a cosmopolitan mixture of adventurers, the ship's very command reflecting the blurred allegiances of those who defied the monopoly. Speculations The Governor chose to fire into the <i>St Matthew</i> with shot from the line and the castle, rather than let her come to anchor unmolested and question her afterwards. He grounded this on her defiance of two summons to bring to at Mundens Point, treating her refusal to submit as warrant for opening fire even as she stood in among the ships in the road. The gentler course, with a ship that might prove harmless once boarded, would have been to let her anchor and send to examine her, yet the Governor preferred to enforce the island's summons with cannon, judging that a vessel which ignored the guns of the approach could not be suffered to enter the anchorage unchecked, whatever her business might turn out to be.
76	70	May 1716. they Say is burthen two Hundred and Sixty Tons, and Carryes as the Capt Says twenty Guns and Sixty men or as the Second Capt Says forty Six Men, She has a Pass from Ostend but Signed by the Count De Clairmont Governr of Brussells and the Council there, Mr Ray gave a Letter of Creditt to Cadiz Directed to Sarsfeild Ga Lair and Comp	The <i>St Matthew</i> was said to be of two hundred and sixty tons burthen, and carried twenty guns and sixty men according to the captain, or forty-six men according to the second captain. She had a pass from Ostend, but signed by the Count de Clermont, governor of Brussels, and the council there. Mr Ray had given a letter of credit to Cadiz, directed to Sarsfield, Gerald Lawr and Company. There they took

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and there took in one Hundred Barrels of Wine five Hundred fifty three bars of Sweeds Iron and about fifty thousand Dollars they tought only at Johanna Outward bound and then went Directly for Surratt where they Landed One hundred and fifty Tons of Peper and about two Hundred Bales of White and Painted Linnen but mostly Painted and a few Madrass Chints bought of Capt Tidley, their Chiefe broaker was first Rustam Gee who Presented them to the Govr of Surratt but he being forbid by the English Comps did not doe more busness for them She was Acquainted with Mr Clark Mr Wilscheer Mr Bennitt and Capt Tucker who were his ffriends but the Dutch Complained against him to the Governr of Surratt to hinder his tradeing and would if they could Gett away all his Men. The mate of the Ship is Named Richard Gargen who is called the Second Capt One Richard Silcocks his first Lieut. there is about fourteen or fifteen Men Sick on board of the Scurvey. There is a good Quantity of Water on board, and Sea Provisions Eno Then the following opinions were given Mr Sheffield is of Opinion if they have no other than the before Mentioned Commission, nor no	in one hundred barrels of wine, five hundred and fifty-three bars of Swedish iron, and about fifty thousand dollars. They touched only at Johanna on the outward voyage, and then went directly for Surat, where they landed one hundred and fifty tons of pepper and about two hundred bales of white and painted linen, but mostly painted, and a few Madras chintzes bought from Captain Tilley. Their chief broker was first Rustam Gee, who presented them to the Governor of Surat, but he, being forbidden by the English Company, did no more business for them. The ship's people were acquainted with Mr Clark, Mr Wiltshire, Mr Bennett and Captain Tucker, who were their friends, but the Dutch complained against them to the Governor of Surat to hinder their trading, and would, if they could, get away all their men. The mate of the ship was named Richard Gargen, called the second captain, and Richard Silcock was her first lieutenant. There were about fourteen or fifteen men sick on board of the scurvy. There was a good quantity of water on board, and their sea provisions were at an end. The following opinions were then given. Mr Sheffield was of the opinion that if they had no other commission than the one already mentioned [...] Interpretations The detailed interrogation of the <i>St Matthew's</i> people reveals how the island gathered intelligence on interloping ships and their voyages. The Council recorded her tonnage, armament, crew, cargo, financing and ports of call, building a full picture of the Ostend venture from the mouths of her officers. This shows the island functioning as a point of surveillance over the eastern trade, the examination of a detained ship yielding a wealth of information on the movements and backers of those who challenged the Company's monopoly. The financing of the voyage through a letter of credit to Cadiz and a cargo of Swedish iron and Spanish dollars discloses the international capital behind the Ostend trade. The venture drew iron from Sweden, silver from Spain and credit through Cadiz, assembling across Europe the goods and money needed to trade in India. This reveals how the interloping companies mobilised resources from many nations to break into a commerce the chartered companies claimed for themselves, the ship's very cargo a map of the European financing that sustained the challenge. The obstruction of the ship's trade at Surat by the English and Dutch companies discloses the lengths to which the established companies went to exclude interlopers. The English Company forbade the broker Rustam Gee from serving the <i>St Matthew</i>, and the Dutch complained to the Governor of Surat to hinder her trading and lure away her men. This reveals the fierce commercial warfare beneath the surface of the eastern trade, the great companies using their influence with local rulers and brokers to strangle the business of the newcomers they could not otherwise keep out. The scurvy among the crew and the exhaustion of the ship's provisions disclose the desperate condition that had driven the <i>St Matthew</i> to force her way into the road. With fourteen or fifteen men sick of the disease and her sea provisions gone, the ship needed refreshment urgently, which explains her disregard of the summons to bring to. This reveals the plight of a vessel at the end of a long voyage, the want of fresh food and the ravages of scurvy compelling her to seek the island's relief whatever the risk of its guns.
77	71	May 1716. no information from Great Brittain of any Such Ships or Commission or any Orders from the Honble Comps for the treatment of any Such Ships, or Shiping that they have Liberty to Depart hence	Mr Sheffield was of the opinion that if they had no other commission than the one already mentioned, and there was no information from Great Britain of any such ships or commission, nor any orders from the Company for the treatment of such ships, then they

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		with leave, and be Supplied with Such Releif as shall Seem absolutely Necessary by the Governr and Council &c Hen Sheffield. Capt Wotton is of Opinion that what he Sees by the two Gentlemen now on Shoar Called the Chief and Second Capt and what he Can learn from them that most or all their Officers Consists of Irish and North Brittain which are Subjects to the King of great Brittain and ought not to Carry on any trade under any other Nation to the Preju dice of the English Nation as this Seems to me to be without leave and Lisnce from the Crown of Great Brittain or Some Sufficient Power from him. Therefore think without the Government of this Place has Instructions from the Honble East India Comp they ought to give them as Little Countenance as the Law of the English Nation will Allow of. Tho Wotton Capt Haswell is of Opinion that this Ship and People ought not to have any Encouragemt in any of Our Honble Masters Ports or Harbours it being very Prejudicial to their Interest. Capt Bazett is of Opinion that Since there was never any Ships here with Such Collours and Commission and a new thing, that they ought not to be Encouraged or to have any Refreshmt but what the Laws of Nations will Allow in Such Cases. Mr	had liberty to depart with leave, and be supplied with such relief as the Governor and Council thought absolutely necessary. This opinion was given by Henry Sheffield. Captain Wotton was of the opinion that, from what he saw of the two gentlemen now ashore called the chief and second captain, and what he could learn from them, most or all of their officers were Irish and North Britons, who were subjects of the King of Great Britain and ought not to carry on any trade under any other nation to the prejudice of the English nation. This, it seemed to him, was being done without leave and licence from the Crown of Great Britain, or some sufficient power from it. He therefore thought that, without the Governor and Council having instructions from the Company, they ought to give the ship as little countenance as the law of the English nation would allow. This opinion was given by Wotton. Captain Haswell was of the opinion that this ship and her people ought not to have any encouragement in any of the Company's ports or harbours, it being very prejudicial to their interest. Captain Bazett was of the opinion that, since there was never any ship here with such colours and commission, and it being a new thing, they ought not to be encouraged or to have any refreshment, but what the laws of nations would allow in such cases [...] Interpretations The opinions of the councillors and ships' captains reveal the tension between the law of nations and the Company's commercial interest in dealing with the interloper. Sheffield allowed that without contrary orders the ship might be supplied and sent on her way, while the sea captains urged giving her as little countenance as the law permitted, their view coloured by the threat she posed to the Company's trade. This shows the competing principles at work, the humane and lawful duty to relieve a ship in distress set against the commercial impulse to deny all help to a rival. The argument that the ship's British-born officers ought not to trade under a foreign flag discloses a legal ground for hostility rooted in allegiance. Wotton held that the Irish and North British officers were subjects of the King and could not lawfully carry on trade under another nation to the prejudice of England without royal licence. This reveals how the law of allegiance was invoked against the interlopers, their service to a foreign venture cast not merely as commercial rivalry but as a breach of their duty as the King's subjects. The repeated appeal to the absence of instructions from the Company discloses the caution of officers acting without clear authority in a novel case. None had seen a ship of this kind before, and all were wary of exceeding what the Company would sanction, so they fell back on the law of nations as the safest measure of their conduct. This reveals the constraint under which the island's government operated, its officers reluctant to set a precedent in an unprecedented situation, preferring the minimum the law required to any action the Company might later disown.
78	72	May 1716. Mr Byfeld is of Opinion that this Ship ought not to have any Refreshment here, but to be Dispatched as Soon as Possible. The Governr Says that upon the whole matter, it appearing to him that the Chief & Second Capt being Natives born in Ireland are Consequently Subjects to the Crown King of England whatever Com mission they Pretend to have from any Forreign Prince or Governr their tradeing to India being Directly Con trary to an Act of Parliament that every English Subject is bound to obey or Else to Answer the Contempt And this trade now begun or Carrying on to India	Mr Byfield was of the opinion that this ship ought not to have any refreshment on the island, but should be dispatched as soon as possible. The Governor said that, on the whole matter, it appeared to him that the chief and second captain, being born in Ireland, were consequently subjects of the King of England, whatever commission they pretended to have from any foreign prince or governor. Their trading to India was directly contrary to an Act of Parliament that every English subject was bound to obey or else answer the contempt. This trade, now begun and carrying on to India, tended directly to the ruin of the English Company, to the prejudice of the English nation and to the dishonour of the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		tending directly to the ruine of the English Company to the prejudice of the English Nation and to the Dishonour of Our Governmt at Home when any little Governour Such as the Count De Clairmont Shll give Licence to the English Subjects to Carry on a trade to India in Contempt and Defyance of the English Nation Therefore I think this Chief and Second Capt with the Marriners now on Shore Ought to be Detaind and the Ship Seizd on but not unloaded here But Sent Home to the Honble Comps to whose wisdom is we Leave the further Mennagemt for tis So Absolutely Necessary for the Good Governmt to Discourage this new trade that if the Company were to Pay Damages in Case Nthing that Seems to me So reasonable Cant be Justified it were very well worth the while for otherwise Every Ostend Privateer would Sail to India as this Ship has done. Isa Pyke	government at home, when any little governor such as the Count de Clermont could give licence to English subjects to trade to India in contempt and defiance of the English nation. He therefore thought that the chief and second captain, with the mariners now ashore, ought to be detained and the ship seized, but not unloaded on the island, and instead sent home to the Company, to whose wisdom the further management was left. It was so absolutely necessary for good government to discourage this new trade that, if the Company were to pay damages in case anything that seemed to the Governor so reasonable could not be justified, it would be very well worth the while, for otherwise every Ostend privateer would sail to India as this ship had done. The opinion was signed by Governor Pyke. Interpretations The Governor's decision to seize the ship and send her home reveals the gravest response the island could make to the interloping trade, grounded on an Act of Parliament. He held that the British-born officers were bound by English law forbidding subjects to trade to India, whatever foreign commission they carried, so the ship and her men were to be detained and sent to the Company. This shows the law of the realm brought to bear against the Ostend venture, the Governor treating the voyage not as ordinary rivalry but as a criminal breach of statute by the King's own subjects. The Governor's willingness to risk paying damages discloses the weight he placed on deterring the new trade at almost any cost. He judged that even if the seizure could not be fully justified in law, the expense of any damages would be well worth it to discourage the Ostend interlopers, lest every such privateer follow the <i>St Matthew's</i> example. This reveals the strategic calculation behind the decision, the Governor prepared to gamble on an uncertain legal footing because the danger of leaving the trade unchecked outweighed the risk of a suit for wrongful seizure. The contempt in the Governor's reference to the Count de Clermont discloses the affront felt at a minor foreign official licensing English subjects to defy English law. That so slight a figure as the governor of Brussels could grant a pass enabling the King's subjects to trade to India struck the Governor as a dishonour to the English government itself. This reveals how the interloping trade wounded national pride as well as commercial interest, the licensing of English subjects by a foreign power experienced as a challenge to the standing of the Crown and the nation. Speculations The Governor chose to seize the <i>St Matthew</i> and send her home to England rather than supply her and let her depart, the course his own supercargo Sheffield had thought lawful. He grounded this on the Act of Parliament binding the ship's British-born officers, and on the danger that leniency would draw every Ostend privateer to follow her to India. The safer course, absent any instructions from the Company and with the law of nations pointing toward relieving a ship in distress, would have been to give her the minimum help and send her on, yet the Governor preferred the bolder and riskier path of seizure, willing to expose the Company to a suit for damages because he judged that only a hard example would deter the interloping trade he saw as ruinous to the Company and the nation.
79	73	May 1716. The Governr Demanded the further Opinions of the Councill in answer to his Opinion Capt Wottons opinion is that any Crown head has free Liberty to carry on a trade to any Part of the world and the Ship Lying at Some Distance off Shore will Endeavour (which at this place is Easey) to make her Escape, and by Detaining their People now on Shore	The Governor demanded the further opinions of the Council in answer to his own opinion. Captain Wotton's opinion was that any crowned head had free liberty to carry on trade to any part of the world, and that the ship, lying at some distance off shore, would try to make her escape, which at this place was easy. By detaining her people now ashore, who might be supposed to be the best of her men,

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		who may be Supposed to be the best of their men may be a Hazard of the loss of the Ship which may draw our Masters as well as any others Concerned therein into a Premunire, they have had also Sufficient Caution to be on their Guard which no doubt but they are and it may be Supposed they will not Surrender without Hazard of Shedding Blood which I take to be Dangerous without a Sufficient Order for the Same and no One Should be more readier for the Honble & Interest of the Honble Employers in whose Service I now am then my Self and doe beleive was our Ships in a Condition to Saile I would Compell them without Great fforce or Loss of blood to goe into Some Part of Great Brittain to answer their Proceedings to Our Governmt there And Whereas it is apparent here and will make it Appear before our Honble Employers that Great Part of Our Ships Water Cask and alsoe great Part of Our Honble Masters Provisions and Goods are now on Shoar Occasioned by a Violent Storm I had the Misfortune to meet with off the Cape of Good Hope in order to repaire the Damages that Ship and Cargo then reed Tho Wotton	there might be a hazard of losing the ship, which could draw the Company as well as any others concerned into a lawsuit. The ship's people had also had sufficient warning to be on their guard, which no doubt they were, and it might be supposed they would not surrender without the hazard of shedding blood, which Wotton took to be dangerous without a sufficient order for it. No one, he said, should be readier for the interest of the Company, in whose service he now was, than himself, and he believed that, had their own ship been in a condition to sail, he would compel the <i>St Matthew</i> without great force or loss of blood to go into some port of Great Britain, to answer for her proceedings to the government there. Since it was apparent, and would appear before the Company, that a great part of his own ship's water casks and also a great part of the Company's provisions and goods were now ashore, occasioned by a violent storm, he having had the misfortune to meet with loss off the Cape of Good Hope, he needed to repair the damages that his ship and cargo had received. The opinion was signed by Thomas Wotton. Interpretations Wotton's caution against seizure reveals the practical and legal dangers that made the sea captains wary of the Governor's bold course. He warned that the ship might slip her anchor and escape while her best men were held ashore, that taking her could draw the Company into a costly lawsuit, and that she would not surrender without bloodshed, which he thought unwarranted without a sufficient order. This shows the counterweight of prudence against the Governor's resolve, the experienced commander weighing the risk of losing the ship, of legal liability and of violence against the aim of stopping the interloper. Wotton's assertion that any crowned head might trade freely discloses a rival legal principle set against the Governor's appeal to the Act of Parliament. Where the Governor held the ship bound by English law forbidding her subjects to trade to India, Wotton urged the broader doctrine that a sovereign state had the right to trade anywhere, casting doubt on the lawfulness of the seizure. This reveals the genuine legal uncertainty of the case, two principles in conflict, one grounded in English statute and allegiance, the other in the freedom of nations to trade. Wotton's account of his own ship's damaged state discloses why the <i>Discovery</i> could not be used to compel the interloper. His water casks and much of the Company's provisions were ashore for want of repair after a storm off the Cape, leaving his ship unfit to sail and force the <i>St Matthew</i> to England. This reveals the constraint of circumstance on the Council's options, the very ship that might have escorted the interloper home disabled by the same seas that made the island's harbour a place of refuge and repair. The <i>Discovery</i>, which had arrived only days before laden with eastern goods, appears here crippled by a storm off the Cape of Good Hope, her casks and cargo landed for repair. Named as Wotton's own command, unable to sail and so unable to deal with the <i>St Matthew</i>, she shows how even a Company ship freshly come to the road could be reduced to helplessness by the weather of the southern seas.
80	74	May 1716 Capt Haswell is of the same opinion that Capt Wotton is there not being any Presedent of any Such thing or Seizure here Capt Bazett is of the Same Opinion beleiving it a thing of ill Consequence to the Honble Comps to Seize this Ship here Mr Byfeld is of the Same Opinion Resolved According to the Majority of the Opinions before Written That the Captains and Marriners be not Detained Nor the Ship	Captain Haswell was of the same opinion as Captain Wotton, there being no precedent for any such thing or seizure on the island. Captain Bazett was of the same opinion, believing it a thing of ill consequence to the Company to seize the ship on the island. Mr Byfield was of the same opinion. It was resolved, according to the majority of the opinions written before, that the captains and mariners not be detained, nor the ship seized, but suffered to depart.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Seized on but Suffred to Depart. Whereupon The Governr told the Capt that because he found they had no Commission for what they did, nor any Authority but the Count De Clairmonts Pass, wch he thought very Insufficient and Alsoe because if they Did belong to a Prince in Amity with the English Nation they did not come in here as ffrinds Nor did not Observe the Decorum and usuall Order among all Ships Comeing into any Port by refus ing to bring too when they were Warned by the firing of two Severall Guns from the Out Fort and by firing another from the main Fort a thwart their fore foot but had forced into the road without any regard to those fair Warnings they must thank themselves for all the Damage they had Sustained by our Shott which Ought to be Imputed to their own Rashness and unadvisedness. And. Therefore he could not allow them any Encouragemt here, and as to their trade So apparently Detrimentall to	The Governor then told the captain that, because he found they had no commission for what they did, nor any authority but the Count de Clermont's pass, which he thought very insufficient, and also because, even if they did belong to princes in amity with the English nation, they had not come in as friends nor observed the decorum and usual order among all ships coming into any port. They had refused to bring to when warned by the firing of two several guns from the outer fort and another from the main fort athwart their foot, but had forced into the road without any regard to those fair warnings. They must therefore thank themselves for all the damage they had sustained by the island's shot, which ought to be imputed to their own rashness and folly. The Governor could not allow them any encouragement on the island, and as to their trade, so apparently detrimental [...] Interpretations The Council's reversal of the Governor's decision reveals the limits of a governor's power against the weight of his council's judgement. The Governor had wanted the ship seized and her men detained, but Haswell, Bazett and Byfield sided with Wotton's caution, and the matter was resolved by majority against seizure. This shows the collective character of the island's government, the Governor bound by the vote of his council even in a matter he felt strongly, his bold course overruled by the prudent majority. The Governor's parting justification of the damage done to the ship discloses how he salvaged the island's authority from a decision he had opposed. Though the ship was to be let go, he insisted that the shots fired into her were her own fault for ignoring the summons to bring to, so that the harm was to be imputed to her rashness rather than to any wrong by the island. This reveals the concern to maintain the principle that ships must submit to the road's control, the Governor upholding the rightfulness of the firing even as the larger seizure was abandoned. The decisive weight given to the absence of precedent discloses how the novelty of the case governed its outcome. The councillors who overruled the Governor rested their view largely on there being no precedent for such a seizure on the island, preferring inaction to an unprecedented step that might harm the Company. This reveals the conservatism of the island's government in an untried situation, the want of any prior example counting heavily against the bold course, the Council choosing the safety of established practice over the risk of a new departure.
81	75	May 1716. to the English Nation till he had Orders from England he would Never Encourage any Ship that came in on Such a Manner and on Such an account. They answered they could make it appear that the English Nation was no way Detrimented by their trade for they had bought nothing but what the English Parliament had Either Prohibited or Laid Such heavy taxes on that it was worth no Englishe mans while to Deal in those Commodetys, And that therefore no body but the Dutch Could be Prejudiced by their trade. The Governr told them that they had Violated the Laws of their Country they being Subjects to the Crown King of England as Natives of Ireland They ownd they were born in Ireland but Denied being Subjects to the King of England because they were Inhabitants and Burgers of Ostend and Brussels The Governr told them that he would not Dispute those things now but Advised them to goe on board Immedeatly and to make the best of their way without more to doe Whereupon they Departed. Then. The Govr Ordered a Long boat with two Good Officers and twenty able hands well Armd to goe on	The Governor told the captain that, until he had orders from England, he would never encourage any ship that came in in such a manner and on such an account so apparently detrimental to the English nation. The ship's people answered that they could show the English nation was in no way harmed by their trade, for they had bought nothing but what the English Parliament had either prohibited or laid such heavy taxes on that it was worth no Englishman's while to deal in those commodities. Therefore, they said, nobody but the Dutch could be prejudiced by their trade. The Governor told them they had violated the laws of their country, being subjects to the King of England as natives of Ireland. They admitted they were born in Ireland, but denied being subjects to the King of England, because they were inhabitants and burghers of Ostend and Brussels. The Governor told them he would not dispute those things now, but advised them to go aboard immediately and make the best of their way without more ado. They then departed. The Governor then ordered a longboat with two good officers and twenty able hands, well armed, to go

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		board the Nathaniell Least this Ship with her boats should attempt any thing in the night time for twas now after Sun Sett. Capt Neguss. St Helena May yr 12th O.S. 1716. There has been wth me this morning Mr Winn your Chief mate who tells me	aboard the <i>Nathaniel</i>, lest this ship with her boats should attempt anything in the night, for it was now after sunset. There followed a letter to Captain Negus, dated at St Helena on 12 May 1716. Mr Winn, the chief mate, had been with the Governor that morning, and told him [...] Interpretations The interlopers' defence discloses the commercial logic by which they claimed to do England no harm. They argued that they dealt only in goods the English Parliament had prohibited or taxed so heavily that no Englishman traded in them, so that only the Dutch, not the English, suffered from their commerce. This reveals the sophistication of the interloping case, the ship's people turning England's own protectionist laws into an argument that their trade fell outside the interests those laws protected. The dispute over the officers' nationality discloses a genuine clash over the nature of allegiance and citizenship. The Governor held them subjects of the King as men born in Ireland, while they claimed to have become burghers of Ostend and Brussels and so subjects of another state. This reveals a real legal question at the heart of the confrontation, whether a man could shed his allegiance of birth by taking citizenship abroad, the two sides asserting opposed doctrines of where a subject's duty lay. The Governor's decision to let the matter drop and hurry the ship away discloses his retreat from a dispute he could not win once seizure was ruled out. Having been overruled on detaining the ship, he declined to argue the questions of law further and simply urged her people to be gone, then guarded against a night attack. This reveals the pragmatism forced on him by the Council's decision, the Governor abandoning the legal contest he had pressed and turning to the practical security of the road now that the interloper was to be suffered to depart. The continued watch set over the <i>Nathaniel</i> after the interloper's departure discloses the lingering distrust of the Ostend ship even as she was let go. The Governor sent an armed guard aboard the <i>Nathaniel</i> against the danger that the <i>St Matthew</i> might attempt something in the night, unwilling to trust the departing vessel not to strike under cover of darkness. This reveals how the suspicion that had met the interloper's arrival outlasted the decision to release her, the island's ships guarded against her to the last.
82	76	May 1716. me you Desire my opinion whether it be Proper for you to Saile too day as you Intended or not To which I answer That Since you have Stayed here thus Long, and a Ship that I take to be upon a bad account Sailed hence last night with out Product and Dissatisfied. I think you will do well now to Stay here forty Eight hours Longer I will not Pretend to tell you what Course you Should Steer but must inform you that Le Bahie de todos Sanctos or Else the Cape De verd Islands are the Ports I imagine they intend for because they talked about those two Places. I think you will do very well not to make the Island Assention because tis Possible they may goe there to repaire their Damages I have given Mr Wynn the Honble Comps Letter and Pakekett but if you do Continue here forty Eight hours Longer I shall trouble you wth a nother Letter when ever you do Saile I wish you a good Voyage and Remaine Yor Assured ffriend & Humble Servant Isa Pyke Edward Byfeld	Mr Winn had told the Governor that Captain Negus wished his opinion on whether it was proper for him to sail that day, as he had intended, or not. The Governor answered that, since Negus had stayed on the island so long, and since a ship supposed to be there on a bad account had sailed the previous night without produce and dissatisfied, he thought Negus would do well to stay forty-eight hours longer. The Governor said he would not pretend to tell Negus what course to steer, but had to inform him that the Bay of All Saints, or else the Cape Verde Islands, were the ports he imagined the <i>St Matthew</i> intended for, because they had talked about those two places. He thought Negus would do very well not to make for the island of Ascension, because it was possible they might go there to repair their damages. The Governor had given Mr Winn the Company's letter and packet. If Negus stayed forty-eight hours longer, the Governor would trouble him with another letter. He wished Negus a good voyage whenever he sailed, signing himself as his assured friend and humble servant, Governor Pyke. The letter was also signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The Governor's advice to delay sailing discloses his care to keep the Company's own ship clear of the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Island	departed interloper. He urged Negus to stay forty-eight hours longer so that the <i>Nathaniel</i> would not fall in with the <i>St Matthew</i> at sea, the interloper having left dissatisfied and possibly dangerous. This shows the continuing wariness of the Ostend ship even after her departure, the Governor managing the timing of the <i>Nathaniel</i>'s voyage to avoid an encounter with a vessel that might turn hostile once beyond the island's guns. The Governor's guesses about the interloper's destination disclose the intelligence gleaned from her people during their stay. He judged from their talk that they meant to make for the Bay of All Saints in Brazil or the Cape Verde Islands, and warned Negus against Ascension lest the <i>St Matthew</i> go there to repair. This reveals how the examination of the ship's officers had yielded information the Governor could use to steer his own ship clear, the interloper's overheard plans turned to the protection of the Company's vessel. The warning against Ascension discloses the role of that uninhabited island as a place of repair for ships in the South Atlantic. The Governor feared the <i>St Matthew</i> might go there to mend the storm damage she carried, so advised Negus to avoid it, the barren island serving as a known refuge where a crippled ship might refit. This reveals the geography of the ocean's waypoints, Ascension a resort for vessels needing repair away from any port, its use by the interloper a reason for the Company's ship to keep away. The <i>Nathaniel</i>, whose arrival had opened the May consultations and whose defence in the road had occupied the Governor through the crisis, appears here about to sail on with the Company's letter and packet. Named as the vessel carrying the correspondence home, her delayed departure to avoid the <i>St Matthew</i> shows how the whole episode of the interloper had reached even into the timing of the Company's ordinary business by sea.
83	77	Island St Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 15th day of May 1716. at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr George Haswell Dpty Pres: Matthw Bazett 3 & Edward Byfeld. The following Persons were Summoned to appear this day. (vizt) James Greentree & John Twaits Church Wardens for the year past, in Order to be Discharged from their Office, who accordingly brought in their Accounts of all Paymts and Disbursements the Said year, which was Examined and approved of Wherefore they were Discharged, And the new Church Wardens vizt John Goodwin & Robert Bell were Invested in Said Office for the Ensueing year and took their Oaths to Execute the Same According to their Instructions that is to be Delivered them in the Usual manner Alsoe Stephen Luffkin and Thomas Burnham Overseers of the high ways for the year past Appeared and Produced an Acco of all Persons both whites and Blacks who workt at the Said high ways, and who did not, But the Oaths up the Maunt Path, and that Cutt from the upper End of the Town into the Castle Path, being Not So Carefully and well repaired as they ought the Margin Notes: ye Path from ye upper End the Maunt Path & Castle path not well repaired	At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley, Governor Pyke sat with George Haswell as deputy governor, Matthew Bazett third in council and Edward Byfield. The following persons were summoned to appear. James Greentree and John Twaits, churchwardens for the past year, appeared in order to be discharged from their office. They brought in their accounts of all payments and disbursements for the year, which were examined and approved, and they were discharged accordingly. The new churchwardens, John Goodwin and Robert Bell, were invested in the office for the ensuing year and took their oaths to carry out the same, according to instructions to be delivered to them in the usual manner. Stephen Luffkin and Thomas Burnham, overseers of the highways for the past year, also appeared and produced an account of all persons, both whites and blacks, who had worked at the highways, and who had not. They had worked on the Mount Path, and on the path that cut from the upper end of the town into the Castle Path, which was not so carefully and well repaired as it ought [...] Interpretations The discharge of the outgoing churchwardens on the passing of their accounts discloses the accountability built into the parish offices. Greentree and Twaits could not simply lay down their office but had to render and have approved their accounts of the year's payments and disbursements before being discharged, their successors then sworn in. This shows the financial discipline of the parish system, each year's officers held to account for their handling of parish funds before authority passed to the next, the audit the condition of an honourable release. The account of who had and had not worked on the highways discloses the labour obligation that fell on the inhabitants for the upkeep of the roads. The

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			overseers recorded both whites and blacks who had laboured on the paths and those who had not, showing that the maintenance of the highways rested on compulsory work owed by the settlement. This reveals a system of obligatory labour for public purposes, the roads kept up by the required service of the inhabitants and their slaves under the direction of the overseers. The criticism of the repair of the path into the Castle Path discloses the oversight kept over the quality of the highway work. The overseers or the Council noted that this path was not so well repaired as it ought to have been, holding the work to a standard and marking where it fell short. This reveals the accountability that attended even the labour on the roads, the overseers answerable for the condition of the highways in their charge and the deficiencies of the year recorded against them.
84	78	May 1716. the Governr Ordered the Old Overseers to cause all Persons to work one day more this Year, that the Said Paths or any other from the ffort might be made good and Passable, which would be for the Ease and Safety of the Inhabitants Blacks in Carrying Such heavy loads as they must do, And then the New Overseers to be put in their places, and to act the Ensueing year According to their Warrant that will be Delivered them Instructions for the Church Wardens. Island St Helena. You John Goodwin & Robert Bell both of the Said Island free holders are hereby Nominated and Appointed Church Wardens for this Present year 1716. And whereas you desire and request According to the Usual Custom of this Place to be informd what are the proper duties requisite for the Performance of that Office, and Considering the Circumstances of this Island, We think fitt that the Rules following be the Rules & Method for the Church Wardens to Govern them selves and walk bye First you are to take Care of the ffurniture Vestments and Utensils belonging to both Churches Seeing that no Embezlemt be made of any that Shall be Delivered into your Care and Custody. You shall keip acco of all gifts &c Dedicated to and for the use of both Churches, and give an Account of	The Governor ordered the old overseers to have all persons work one more day that year, so that the paths from the fort, or any others, might be made good and passable. This would be for the ease and safety of the inhabitants and slaves in carrying the heavy loads they had to bear. The new overseers were then to be put in their places and to act the ensuing year according to the warrant that would be delivered to them. There followed the instructions for the churchwardens. John Goodwin and Robert Bell, both freeholders of the island, were nominated and appointed churchwardens for the present year 1716. Since they asked, according to the usual custom of the island, to be informed of the proper duties required in performing the office, and considering the circumstances of the island, the following rules were thought fit as the method by which the churchwardens should govern themselves. 1: First, they were to take care of the furniture, vestments and utensils belonging to both churches, seeing that none delivered into their care and custody was embezzled. 2: They were to keep an account of all gifts dedicated to and for the use of both churches, and give an account of [...] Interpretations The Governor's order for an extra day's labour on the paths discloses the practical purpose behind the upkeep of the island's roads. The paths from the fort were to be made passable for the ease and safety of those carrying heavy loads, the roads mattering above all for the movement of goods up and down the steep terrain. This reveals how the maintenance of the highways served the working life of the settlement, the burden of carriage on men and slaves eased by keeping the paths in repair. The written instructions to the churchwardens disclose the formal definition of a parish office by rule and duty. The new wardens were furnished with a set of rules governing their care of church property, their keeping of accounts and their oversight of gifts, so that the office was exercised according to a defined method rather than custom alone. This reveals the administration's care to regulate even the parish offices by written instruction, the duties of the churchwarden set down so that each year's officers knew precisely what was required. The charge to guard against embezzlement of the church's furniture and to account for its gifts discloses the churchwarden's role as trustee of the parish's property. The wardens were made answerable for the vestments, utensils and gifts of both churches, holding them in custody and accounting for them so that nothing was lost or misappropriated. This reveals the fiduciary character of the office, the churchwarden entrusted with the material goods of the church and

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			bound to preserve and account for them as the parish's steward.
85	79	May 1716. your Disbursemts of the Same for the use of the Gifts So given. You Shall take Notice of all Notorious and open profane Persons and wicked Sabbath breakers Swearers, Drunkards, Whoremangers, and give notice of them unto us. But as for Sabbath breakers and Swearers you are to reprove, and Admonish as you Shall think fitt. But if Such Person or persons So Offending will not refrain and Desist from Such wicked Practices after you have Admonished him or them once or twice not Exceeding the third time You are hereby required to represent Such Offender or Offenders to us the next Council day following or once a month at farthest, that they or they may be find According to the Law made and Provided in Such Cases You Shall upon Monday next after Easter Sunday Assemble with the Inhabitants free holders of this place at the Church in the Country or Some other Convenient Place and there by Majority of Votes Nominate and make Choice of Four Persons for Church Wardens and four Persons for Overseers of the high ways to Succeed you and the present Overseers, after that you and they have past your Accounts with us in your places. You Shall likewise See and have Some respect to the Poor and Impotent on the Island & relate their Conditions to us that Some Care may be taken for their Necessary relief. You Shall take Care that no Disorders be in the Church During the time of divine Service For	The churchwardens were to account for their disbursements of the same for the use of the gifts so given. 3: They were to take notice of all notorious and openly profane persons and wicked Sabbath breakers, swearers, drunkards and whoremongers, and give notice of them to the Council. As for Sabbath breakers and swearers, the wardens were to reprove and admonish them as they thought fit. But if such offenders would not refrain and desist from such wicked practices after being admonished once or twice, not exceeding the third time, the wardens were required to present them to the Council the next council day following, or within one month at the latest, so that they might be fined according to the law made and provided in such cases. 4: On the Monday after Easter Sunday, the wardens were to assemble with the inhabitants and freeholders at the country church or some other convenient place, and there by majority of votes nominate and choose four persons for churchwardens and four for overseers of the highways to succeed them and the present overseers, after they had all passed their accounts with the Council and their successors were put in their places. 5: They were likewise to have some regard for the poor and impotent on the island, and report their conditions to the Council, so that some care might be taken for their necessary relief. 6: They were to take care that no disorders occurred in the church during divine service [...] Interpretations The churchwardens' duty to report profane persons discloses their role as the parish's agents in the enforcement of moral discipline. They were to note Sabbath breakers, swearers, drunkards and whoremongers, admonishing the lesser offenders themselves but presenting the obstinate to the Council for fining. This reveals the machinery by which the settlement policed morality, the churchwardens serving as the first level of correction and the Council as the punishing authority behind them, the graduated response from reproof to fine measuring the persistence of the offence. The provision limiting private admonition to three occasions before presentment discloses a structured escalation in the discipline of moral offences. The wardens were to admonish an offender once or twice, not exceeding the third time, before bringing him before the Council, so that formal punishment followed only after informal correction had failed. This reveals a system that preferred reform to punishment, giving the offender repeated chances to mend before the law's penalty was invoked, the escalation tempering discipline with forbearance. The charge to report the poor and impotent for relief discloses the churchwardens' part in the parish's provision for its needy, the same charitable function served by the fines directed to the poor. The wardens were to bring the conditions of the poor to the Council so that care might be taken for their relief, linking the identification of need to the machinery of its supply. This reveals the parish's role in poor relief, the churchwardens surveying the destitute and the Council providing, the fines on the disorderly and the charity to the poor forming a single circuit of local welfare.
86	80	May 1716. for which Purpose you must charge the Sexton to attend his duty, and Assert him his Sallary and make Asesment for the Same Accordingly This is all at present, We can think Needfull	For this purpose the churchwardens were to charge the sexton to attend his duty, pay him his salary and make an assessment for the same accordingly. This was all the Council could think needful and requisite for the duties of churchwardens until some other matter should arise. In testimony of this, the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and requisite for the duties of Church Wardens Untill Some other matter Shall Occurr In Testimony whereof Wee the Governr and Councill for the time being do Hereunto Sett our hands this twenty Ninth day of May 1716. Isa Pyke To Jno Goodwin & Church Geo Haswell Robert Bell Wardens. Matt Bazett These Capt Bazett brought in his monthly Accot from the 25 of February 171 5/6 to the 25 of March following which was approved of and is as followeth An Account of Store Goods Sold & Delivered to the Inhabitants Generall charges & Plantation House from the 25 Febry 171 5/6 to the 25 March 1716. vizt To the Inhabitants vizt Arrack 29 1/2 Gall at 7s 6d £11 3s 1 1/2d Sugar 479 at 8d £15 19s 4d Candy 42 at 1s £2 2s 0d Flower 346 at 3 1/2d £5 0s 11d Bread 264 at 3 1/2d £3 17s 1d Chise 18 at 3 1/2d £0 5s 3d Soap English 88 at 17d £6 4s 8d Carryd over £44 12s 4 1/2d	Governor and Council for the time being set their hands on 29 May 1716. The instructions were addressed to John Goodwin and Robert Bell, churchwardens, and signed by Governor Pyke, George Haswell and Matthew Bazett. Captain Bazett brought in his monthly account from 25 February to 25 March 1716, which was approved. It set out the store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, and the general charges and plantation houses, over that period. To the inhabitants: Arrack, 29.5 gallons at 7d, £11 3s 1.5d Sugar, 479 at 8d, £15 19s 4d Candy, 42, £2 2s 0d Flour, 346 at 3.5d, £5 0s 11d Bread, 264 at 3.5d, £3 17s 1d Rice, 18 at 3.5d, £0 5s 3d Soap, English, 88 at 17d, £6 4s 8d Carried over, £44 12s 4.5d Interpretations The provision for the sexton discloses the lower parish office maintained beneath the churchwardens by assessment on the inhabitants. The sexton was to be charged to his duty and paid a salary raised by an assessment the wardens made, so that the care of the church building and its services rested on a paid officer funded by the parish. This reveals the layered structure of parish employment, the churchwardens overseeing a salaried sexton whose wage was met by a levy on the settlement, the humbler work of the church supported by local taxation. The store account resumes the monthly reckoning of goods sold to the inhabitants that runs through the record, showing the settled pattern of the island's consumption. Arrack, sugar, candy, flour, bread, rice and soap were the staples supplied through the Company store, the same goods appearing month after month as the settlement's dependence on imported provisions continued. This reveals the constancy of the island's needs, the store's ledger recording the regular supply of the necessities a population that grew little food of its own required. The specification of the soap as English discloses the distinction the store drew between goods of different origin, a mark of provenance carried into the account. The soap was noted as English, setting it apart from soap of other sources, the origin recorded as part of the item's identity. This reveals the care taken in the store's bookkeeping to note where goods came from, the same attention to provenance seen in the eastern cloths and the Batavia arrack, the ledger tracking not merely the goods but their sources.
87	81	May 1716 Brought over £44 12s 4 1/2d Oyles vizt Rape 2 1/2 Gall at 7s £0 14s 10 1/2d Linseed 8 Gall at 8s £3 4s 0d Wine 30 3/4 Gall at 5s £7 13s 9d Vinigar 4 3/8 Gall at 4s £0 17s 6d Lime Juice 26 1/2 Gall at 5s £6 10s 7 1/2d sum £3 18s 10 1/2d Tea vizt 9 1/2 Do at 9s £4 5s 6d 15 Catties Do at 9d £0 15s 0d sum £11 0s 6d	The account continued from the previous page, with £44 12s 4.5d brought over. Brought over, £44 12s 4.5d Oils: Rape, 2.5 gallons at 7s, £0 14s 10.5d Linseed, 8 gallons at 8s, £3 4s 0d Oils total, £3 18s 10.5d Wine, 30.75 gallons at 5s, £7 13s 9d Vinegar, 4.375 gallons at 4s, £0 17s 6d Lime juice, 26.5 gallons at 5s, £6 10s 7.5d Tea: 9.5 lb at 9s, £4 5s 6d 15 catty at 9s, £6 15s 0d Tea total, £11 0s 6d Ironmongery ware: 1 chest lock, £0 1s 10d 1 ditto, £0 6s 8d 2 ditto, £0 9s 0d 1 closet ditto with joiners, £0 4s 6d 3 till locks at 1s 9d, £0 8s 3d 1 plate closet lock, £0 4s 8d 1 spring lock number 6, £0 3s 8d 3 hoes at 2s 6d, £0 7s 6d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Iron Mongers Ware vizt 1 Chest Lock £0 1s 10d 1 Ditto £0 6s 8d 2 Do £0 9s 0d 1 Closett Do wth Sconces £0 4s 6d 3 Till Locks at 1s 9d £0 8s 3d 1 Plate Closett Lock £0 4s 8d 1 Spring Lock No 6 £0 3s 8d 3 Hoes at 2s 6d £0 7s 6d 3 Brass Scutcheons £0 2s 9d sum £2 6s 10d Nayles vizt 8 of 4d at 10 1/2d £0 7s 0d 14 6d 9d £0 10s 6d 21 10d 7 1/2d £0 13s 1 1/2d 11 10d 7d £0 6s 5d 24 30d 7d £0 14s 0d 77 flooring Brads at 9d £1 0s 3d 4 Spike Nayles 6 £0 2s 0d 3 Coopers Rivetts 11 £0 2s 9d 2 Pump Nayles 20 £0 3s 4d 4 Scupper Do 10 1/2d £0 3s 6d 3 Do Batton Brads 14 1/2d £0 3s 6d sum £4 6s 4 1/2d Carryd over £81 6s 10d	3 brass scutcheons, £0 2s 9d Ironmongery ware total, £2 6s 10d Nails: 8 lb of 4d at 10.5d, £0 7s 0d 14 lb of 6d at 9d, £0 10s 6d 21 lb of 10d at 7.5d, £0 13s 1.5d 11 lb of 10d at 7d, £0 6s 5d 24 lb of 30d at 7d, £0 14s 0d 27 lb flooring brads at 9d, £1 0s 3d 4 spike nails, £0 2s 0d 3 coopers rivets at 11d, £0 2s 9d 2 pump nails at 20d, £0 3s 4d 4 scupper ditto at 10.5d, £0 3s 6d 3 ditto batten brads at 14d, £0 3s 6d Nails total, £4 6s 4.5d Carried over, £81 6s 10d Interpretations The account continues the store's supply of oils, drink, tea and hardware to the inhabitants, showing the steady flow of imported goods through the Company store. Rape and linseed oil, wine, vinegar, lime juice, tea and a range of locks and nails all passed to the settlement at fixed prices, the same varied stock recorded month after month. This reveals the store as the settlement's general provider, supplying everything from lamp oil to fastenings, the island dependent on the ledger's goods for the material of daily life. The oils named here served the practical needs of a settlement reliant on imported materials for light and craft. Rape oil, pressed from the seed of the rape plant, and linseed oil, from flax, were used for lamps, for the treatment of wood and leather and in the mixing of paints, the store supplying both by the gallon. This reveals the range of purposes these oils met on the island, the want of local sources of light and of the materials of manufacture making such imports a regular part of the store's trade. The variety of specialised nails and fastenings discloses the demands of a settlement engaged in continual building and repair. Flooring brads, spike nails, coopers' rivets, pump nails and scupper nails each answered a particular use, from laying floors to mending barrels, pumps and the drainage of ships or buildings. This reveals the range of construction and craft work carried on in the settlement, the store stocking fastenings for every trade, the diversity of the ironmongery a measure of the varied making and mending the island required.
88	82	May 1716. Brought Over £81 6s 10d Brass Ware 1 Skillet & Trevitt £1 5s 10d Haberdashery Ware vizt Silk 9 3/4 Ouns at 2s 6d £1 4s 4 1/2d Buttons 8 doz brest d 4d £0 2s 8d 4 doz Do 6d £0 2s 0d 2 1/2 doz Coat 19d £0 3s 11 1/2d 1/2 doz Do 12d £0 0s 6d sum £1 13s 6d Threads vizt 6 1/2 Wh Brown at 8s 8d £2 16s 4d 1/2 Do 7s 7d £0 3s 9 1/2d sum £3 0s 1 1/2d Mohair vizt 3 Skeynes at 5d	The account continued from the previous page, with £81 6s 10d brought over. Brought over, £81 6s 10d Brass ware, 1 skillet and trivet, £1 5s 10d Haberdashery ware: Silk, 9.75 ounces at 2s 6d, £1 4s 4.5d Buttons, 8 dozen breast at 4d, £0 2s 8d 4 dozen ditto at 6d, £0 2s 0d 2.5 dozen coat at 19d, £0 3s 11.5d 0.5 dozen ditto at 12d, £0 0s 6d Haberdashery ware total, £1 13s 6d Threads: 6.25 lb white brown at 8s 8d, £2 16s 4d 0.5 lb ditto at 7s 7d, £0 3s 9.5d Threads total, £3 0s 1.5d Mohair: 3 skeins at 5d, £0 1s 3d Thread, 3 ounces at 15.5d, £0 3s 10.5d 1 ditto at 17d, £0 1s 5d 5 ditto at 9d, £0 3s 9d 5 ditto at 2s 6d, £0 12s 6d 1 ditto at 1s 1d, £0 2s 2d Mohair total, £1 3s 8.5d Pins: 14 thousand at 1s 9d, £1 4s 6d 1 thousand at 1s 1.5d, £0 1s 1.5d Pins total, £1 5s 7.5d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 1s 3d Thread 3 Ouns at 15 1/2d £0 3s 10 1/2d 1 Do 17d £0 1s 5d 5 9d £0 3s 9d 5 2s 6d £0 12s 6d 2 1s 1d £0 2s 2d sum £1 3s 8 1/2d Pins vizt 14 Mo at 1s 9d £1 4s 6d 1 Mr at 1s 1 1/2d sum £1 5s 7 1/2d Thimbles £0 0s 5d Saile Nudles 3 1/2 doz at 19d £0 5s 6 1/2d Hollands Duck 12 1/2 yd at 4s 3d £2 12s 3 3/4d Hatts 2 at 4s 4d £0 8s 8d Dungarees 6 pr at 5s 8d £1 14s 0d Shalloone 8 4/8 at 2s 6d £1 2s 6d Druggetts 18 4/8 yd at 3s £2 16s 3d Silk Druggetts 14 1/2 yd at 4s 9d £3 8s 10 1/2d Dimittys 11 3/4 yd at 20d £0 19s 7d 9 1/2 yd 24d £0 19s 0d sum £1 18s 7d Carryd over £104 3s 9 1/4d	Thimbles, £0 0s 5d Sail needles, 3.5 dozen at 19d, £0 5s 6.5d Holland duck, 12.5 yards at 4s 3d, £2 12s 0.75d Hats, 2 at 4s 4d, £0 8s 8d Dungarees, 6 pieces at 5s 8d, £1 14s 0d Shalloon, 9 yards at 2s 6d, £1 2s 6d Druggets, 18.25 yards at 3s, £2 16s 3d Silk druggets, 14 yards at 4s 9d, £3 8s 10.5d Dimity, 11.75 yards at 20d, £0 19s 7d 9.5 yards at 24d, £0 19s 0d Dimity total, £1 18s 7d Carried over, £104 3s 9.25d Interpretations The account moves through the finer cloths and haberdashery of the store's stock, showing the range of materials supplied to a settlement that made and mended its own clothes. Silk, buttons, thread, mohair, pins, needles and a variety of woven fabrics all passed through the store, the raw materials of the needle trade supplied alongside the heavier cloths. This reveals the store as the source of everything the island's households needed to clothe themselves, the settlement dependent on imported cloth and notions for garments it fashioned at home. The named fabrics disclose the variety of the eastern and English textile trade that clothed the island. Holland duck was a strong linen canvas used for sailcloth and heavy garments, dimity a stout ribbed cotton for bedding and hangings, and mohair a yarn of goat's hair used for buttons and trimming, each serving its own purpose in the settlement's wardrobe and furnishing. This reveals the diversity of the cloth trade reaching the island, the store carrying fabrics from both the eastern and the home markets to meet the range of the inhabitants' needs. The sail needles and Holland duck disclose the maintenance of sails and canvas that a settlement dependent on shipping required. The store supplied both the heavy linen canvas from which sails were made and the needles to sew and repair them, serving the constant demand for the upkeep of the island's boats and the vessels that called there. This reveals the connection between the store's stock and the sea, the materials of sailmaking a regular part of the trade of an island whose life depended on the ships in its road.
89	83	May 1716. Brought Over £104 3s 9 1/4d Flannel 3 Yards at 2s 3d £0 6s 9d Perpetts 3 Yards at 2s 2d £0 6s 6d Manchester tikks 2 pr at 1s 14s 4d £3 8s 8d Soldiers Cloaths vizt Red Coats 1 £1 4s 8d Wast Coats 2 at 9s 4d £0 18s 8d sum £1 19s 4d Blanketts 1 £0 11s 3d Guzrahes 3 pr at 12s 6d £1 17s 6d Long Cloath 2 pr at 1s 4s 9d £2 9s 6d Sadnoes 1 pr £0 16s 6d Nealas 2 pr at 10s 6d £1 0s 10d Ginghams 1 pr £0 9s 6d Double House Linnen 9 yd at 2s 3d £1 0s 3d	The account continued from the previous page, with £104 3s 9.25d brought over. Brought over, £104 3s 9.25d Flannel, 3 yards at 2s 3d, £0 6s 9d Perpets, 3 yards at 2s 2d, £0 6s 6d Manchester ticks, 2 pieces at 34s 4d, £3 8s 8d Soldiers' clothes: Red coats, 1, £1 0s 8d Waistcoats, 2 at 9s 4d, £0 18s 8d Soldiers' clothes total, £1 19s 4d Blankets, 1, £0 11s 3d Guineas, 3 pieces at 12s 6d, £1 17s 6d Long cloth, 2 pieces at 14s 9d, £2 9s 6d Sannoes, 1 piece, £0 16s 6d Nealas, 2 pieces at 10s 6d, £1 0s 10d Ginghams, 1 piece, £0 9s 6d Double house linen, 9 yards at 2s 3d, £1 0s 3d Coarse blue guineas, St George, 1 piece, £0 9s 0d Kerseys, 8.25 yards at 2s 2d, £0 17s 10.5d Stockings, 1 pair thread, £0 4s 6d Ribbons: 2.75 yards at 12d, £0 2s 9d 3 yards at 22d, £0 5s 6d 2.25 yards, £0 5s 0d Ribbons total, £0 13s 3d Shoe thread, 4 at 2s 6d, £0 10s 0d Bodices, 1 pair, £0 12s 3d 2 pairs at 10s 4d, £1 0s 8d Bodices total, £1 12s 11d Indigo, 1 lb, £0 0s 8d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Course Cleu Guzras St Geo 1 pr £0 9s 0d Kirseys 8 1/4 yd at 2s 2d £0 17s 10 1/2d Stockins 1 pr Thread £0 4s 6d Ribbons vizt 2 3/4 Yards at 12d £0 2s 9d 3 yards 22d £0 5s 6d 2 1/4 yd 3d £0 5s 0d sum £0 13s 3d Shoe Thread 4 at 2s 6d £0 10s 0d Bodice 1 pr Do £0 12s 3d 2 pr Do 10s 4d £1 0s 8d sum £1 12s 11d Indigoe 1 oz £0 0s 8d Seizors 1 pr £0 1s 0d Pruning Knives 1 £0 1s 1d Carryd Over £123 0s 6 3/4d	Scissors, 1 pair, £0 1s 0d Pruning knives, 1, £0 1s 1d Carried over, £123 0s 6.75d Interpretations The appearance of ready-made soldiers' clothes among the store's goods discloses the provisioning of the garrison through the same channel that supplied the settlement. Red coats and waistcoats were sold as finished garments, the distinctive uniform of the soldier stocked alongside the cloth and notions for civilian wear. This reveals how the store clothed the military establishment as well as the planters, the red coat that marked the Company's soldier drawn from the same store that furnished the island with everything else. The eastern and English cloths named here continue the record of the varied textile trade that clothed the island. Perpets was a durable worsted cloth, Manchester ticks a strong cotton or linen for mattress covers, and the guineas, sannoes, nealas, gingham and baftas the familiar Indian cottons of the Company's trade, sold beside English flannel and worsted. This reveals the breadth of the cloth stock, the store balancing the products of the eastern trade with those of the home manufacture to meet the full range of the settlement's needs. The indigo listed here discloses the dyestuff that coloured the blue cloths recurring through these accounts. Indigo, a deep blue dye extracted from the indigo plant and a major commodity of the eastern trade, was sold by the pound for the dyeing of cloth and thread, the source of the blue that marked the baftas and guineas. This reveals the connection between the raw dye and the finished coloured cloths, the store supplying both the material and the means to colour it, the indigo a small entry pointing to the wider trade in the dyes of the East.
90	84	May 1716. Brought Over £123 0s 6 3/4d Hooks & Lines vizt Hooks 12 No 1 £0 0s 2 1/2d 12 2 £0 0s 3d 36 4 at 7d £0 1s 9d 18 7 15d £0 1s 10 1/2d 24 9 20d £0 3s 4 1/4d Lines 1 No 9 £0 1s 1d sum £0 8s 10 1/2d Combs vizt Horne 1 £0 0s 5d Do 1 £0 0s 7d Ivory 1 £0 1s 7d sum £0 2s 7d Stationary Ware vizt Testaments 1 £0 1s 9d Horne Books 2 £0 0s 8d Paper 7 Quire at 1s 4d £0 9s 4d sum £0 11s 9d Lead or Paint vizt White Lead 60 lb at 6d	The account continued from the previous page, with £123 0s 6.75d brought over. Brought over, £123 0s 6.75d Hooks and lines: Hooks, 12 of number 1, £0 0s 2.5d 12 of number 2, £0 0s 3d 36 of number 4 at 7d, £0 1s 9d 18 of number 7 at 15d, £0 1s 10.5d 24 of number 9 at 20d, £0 3s 4.25d Lines, 1 of number 9, £0 1s 1d Hooks and lines total, £0 8s 10.5d Combs: Horn, 1, £0 1s 5d Ditto, 1, £0 0s 7d Ivory, 1, £0 0s 7d Combs total, £0 2s 7d Stationery ware: Testaments, 1, £0 1s 9d Horn books, 2, £0 0s 8d Paper, 7 quire at 1s 4d, £0 9s 4d Stationery ware total, £0 11s 9d Lead or paint: White lead, 60 lb at 6d, £1 10s 0d Red ditto, 20 lb at 6d, £0 10s 0d Lead or paint total, £2 0s 0d Pewter, 1 quart pot, £0 4s 0d Glassware, 2 ale glasses, £0 5s 0d Tin ware: 2 tin kettles at 2s 9.5d, £0 5s 7d 1 ditto, £0 1s 9d 1 grater, £0 0s 4d Tin ware total, £0 7s 8d Shoes: 1 pair English, £0 6s 2d 4 pairs boys at 3s 8d, £0 14s 8d 1 pair girls, £0 3s 8d 2 pairs childrens pumps, £0 2s 0d 1 pair boys shoes, £0 1s 9d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1 10s 0d Red Do 20 6d £0 10s 0d sum £2 0s 0d Pewter 1 Quart Pott £0 4s 0d Glass Ware 2 Ale Glasses £0 5s 0d Tin Ware vizt 2 Tin Kettles at 2s 9 1/2d £0 5s 7d 1 Do £0 1s 9d 1 Grater £0 0s 4d sum £0 7s 8d Shoes vizt 1 pr English £0 6s 2d 4 pr Boys at 3s 8d £0 14s 8d 1 pr Girles £0 3s 8d 2 pr Childrens Pumps £0 2s 0d 1 pr Boys Shoes £0 1s 9d 1 pr Do £0 4s 0d 4 pr Island Shoes £0 8s 0d sum £2 0s 3d Carryd over £129 0s 8 1/4d	1 pair ditto, £0 4s 0d 2 pairs island shoes, £0 8s 0d Shoes total, £2 0s 3d Carried over, £129 0s 8.25d Interpretations The account moves through fishing tackle, stationery, paint, and household and personal wares, rounding out the store's supply of the settlement's diverse needs. Numbered hooks and lines for the fishery, books and paper for reading and writing, white and red lead for paint, and shoes in a range of sizes all passed through the store, the breadth of the stock matching the breadth of the island's wants. This reveals the store as the settlement's universal provider, furnishing the means of fishing, schooling, building and clothing from a single source. The white and red lead disclose the materials of paint and preservation that a settlement of timber and stone buildings required. White lead, a lead carbonate, and red lead, a lead oxide, were the pigments and bases from which paint was mixed, used to protect and colour woodwork and to prime iron against rust. This reveals the maintenance of the island's structures through imported materials, the store supplying the means to paint and preserve the buildings and fittings against the weather of the exposed Atlantic station. The graded fishing hooks and lines return to the fishery that fed the island, the tackle sold by number to suit the catch. The store carried hooks in a range of sizes from the smallest to the largest, with lines to match, serving the boat fishing that supplied much of the settlement's fresh food. This reveals the continuing importance of the sea to the island's subsistence, the regular supply of graded tackle a measure of how central line fishing remained to a settlement that grew little and looked to the ocean for its provision.
91	85	May 1716. Brought Over £129 0s 8 1/4d Corks vizt 14 6 doz at 3d £1 16s 6d 1 5/16 Cork Wood at 8d £0 0s 11d sum £1 17s 5d Pipes 10 doz at 6d £0 5s 1 1/2d Totall £131 3s 2 3/4d Generall Charges Dr to Store Goods from the 25th Febru 171 5/6 to the 25th March 1716 vizt Arrack 69 1/2 Gall at 7s 6d £25 17s 6d Sugar Candy 11 £0 11s 0d Flour 150 at 3 1/2d £2 3s 9d Bread 156 at 3 1/2d £2 5s 6d Wine 35 1/2 Gall at 5s £8 17s 6d Vinigar 2 1/2 Gall at 4s £0 10s 0d Lime Juice 4 Gall at 5s £1 0s 0d Rice 978 at 3 1/2d £14 5s 3d Soap Engl 12 £0 17s 0d Tea vizt 2 Catties at 9s £0 18s 0d 4 Do at 9s	The account continued from the previous page, with £129 0s 8.25d brought over, closing the reckoning of goods sold to the inhabitants with a total. Brought over, £129 0s 8.25d Corks: 14.5 dozen at 3d, £1 16s 6d 1.3125 corkwood at 8d, £0 0s 10.5d Corks total, £1 17s 5d Pipes, 10 dozen at 6d, £0 5s 1.5d Total, £131 3s 2.75d The account then turned to general charges, covering store goods used from 25 February to 25 March 1716. Arrack, 69.5 gallons at 7s 6d, £25 17s 6d Sugar candy, 11, £0 11s 0d Flour, 150 at 3.5d, £2 3s 9d Bread, 156 at 3.5d, £2 5s 6d Wine, 35.5 gallons at 5s, £8 17s 6d Vinegar, 2.5 gallons at 4s, £0 10s 0d Lime juice, 4 gallons at 5s, £1 0s 0d Rice, 978 at 3.5d, £14 5s 3d Soap, English, 12, £0 17s 0d Tea: 2 catty at 9s, £0 18s 0d 4 ditto at 9s, £1 16s 0d Tea total, £2 14s 0d Oils: Sweet, 1 gallon, £0 12s 0d Linseed, 1 quart, £0 2s 0d Rape, 5 gallons at 7s, £1 15s 0d Oils total, £2 9s 0d Pepper, 5, £0 5s 0d Cheese, 633 at 12d, £31 13s 0d Tobacco pipes, 100, £0 2s 10.5d Paper, 2 reams, £0 10s 4d Carried over, £95 19s 4d Interpretations

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1 16s 0d sum £2 14s 0d Oyles vizt Sweet 1 Gall £0 12s 0d Linseed 1 Quart £0 2s 0d Rape 5 Gall at 7s £1 15s 0d sum £2 9s 0d Pepper 5 £0 5s 0d Cheise 6 33 at 12d £31 13s 0d Tobacco Pipes 1 doz £0 0s 6d Paper 2 Rheams £2 10s 4d Carryd over £95 19s 4d	The closing total of £131 3s 2.75d for goods sold to the inhabitants completes the month's reckoning of the store's retail trade, the account then turning to the Company's own consumption under general charges. The two reckonings, one for what the settlement bought and one for what the Company used, follow the same pattern seen throughout the record, keeping the store's dealings with the inhabitants distinct from the cost of its own establishment. This reveals the consistent method of the store's bookkeeping, the retail and the internal accounts separated month after month for the Company's oversight. The very large charge for cheese under general charges, at over thirty pounds for six hundred and thirty-three pounds weight, discloses a bulk provision laid in for the Company's establishment or its shipping. Such a quantity far exceeded ordinary household use, pointing to the victualling of the garrison, the Company's table or the ships that called, cheese being a keeping food suited to long storage and sea provision. This reveals the scale of the Company's own consumption, the general charges account carrying quantities of provisions that dwarfed the retail trade with individual inhabitants. The corks and corkwood disclose the small trades of bottling and floats served by the store's varied stock. Corks by the dozen stopped the bottles of wine and spirits, while corkwood, the light bark of the cork oak, was kept for floats and stoppers, both answering the practical needs of a settlement that stored drink and worked the fishery. This reveals the range of the store's minor supplies, the humblest items of cork and pipe stocked alongside the great quantities of provision, the ledger recording the full spread of the island's material wants.
92	86	May 1716. Brought Over £95 19s 4d Kerseys 35 1/2 Yards at 2s 2d £3 16s 11d Perpetts 6 Ydrids 2s 5d £0 14s 6d Double House Linnen 2 1/4 Yards £0 5s 7 1/2d Dungarees 2 pr at 5s 8d £0 11s 4d Long Cloath 3 pr at 1s 4s 9d £3 14s 3d Guzrahs 1 pr £0 12s 6d Threads vizt 1 Brown 8s 8d £8 8s 0d 1/2 Ditto 5s 4d £5 4s 0d sum £0 14s 0d Combs 3 Box £0 1s 6d Do 5 doz £0 1s 3d Iron Mongers Ware 1 Till Lock £0 1s 0d 1 Chest Ditto £0 4s 6d 1 Plate Do £0 3s 8d 2 pr Side Hinges £0 2s 2d 12 Shovells £1 4s 0d sum £1 15s 4d Nayles 6 10d at 7 1/2d	The account continued from the previous page, with £95 19s 4d brought over, closing the general charges with a total. Brought over, £95 19s 4d Kerseys, 35.5 yards at 2s 2d, £3 16s 11d Perpetts, 6 yards at 2s 5d, £0 14s 6d Double house linen, 2.25 yards, £0 5s 7.5d Dungarees, 2 pieces at 5s 8d, £0 11s 4d Long cloth, 3 pieces at 14s 9d, £3 14s 3d Guineas, 1 piece, £0 12s 6d Threads: 1 lb brown at 8s 8d, £0 8s 8d 0.5 lb ditto at 5s 4d, £0 5s 4d Threads total, £0 14s 0d Combs, 3 box, £0 1s 6d Ditto, 5 dozen, £0 1s 3d Ironmongery ware: 1 till lock, £0 1s 0d 1 chest ditto, £0 4s 6d 1 plate ditto, £0 3s 8d 2 pairs side hinges, £0 2s 2d 12 shovels, £1 4s 0d Ironmongery ware total, £1 15s 4d Nails, 6 lb of 10d at 7.5d, £0 3s 9d White lead, 8 lb, £0 1s 6d Holland duck, 7 yards at 4s 3d, £1 9s 9d Glassware: 12 ale glasses at 2s 6d, £1 10s 0d 1 decanter of 2 quarts at 2s 2d, £0 4s 11.5d Glassware total, £1 14s 11.5d Total, £111 16s 6d Interpretations The closing total of £111 16s 6d completes the general charges account, the reckoning of what the Company itself consumed from the store over the month. Cloth, thread, hardware, nails, paint, glass and the great charges of provision recorded before together made up a substantial internal expense, distinct from the retail trade with the inhabitants. This reveals the scale of the Company's own consumption, the cost of

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 3s 9d White Lead 8 lb £0 1s 6d Hollands Duck 7 yd at 4s 3d £1 9s 9d Glass Ware vizt 12 Ale Glases at 2s 6d £1 10s 0d 1 Decanter yr 2s 4d at 2s 2d £0 4s 11 1/2d sum £1 14s 11 1/2d Totall £111 16s 6d Plantation	maintaining its establishment and works set out in full alongside the goods it sold to the settlement. The considerable quantity of kersey and other cloth charged to general use ties this account to the clothing of the Company's slaves and servants set out in the April consultations. The kerseys, dungarees, long cloth and linen drawn to the Company's own charge supplied the material for outfitting those it maintained, the same coarse fabrics the Council had reckoned at forty shillings a year per slave. This reveals the connection between the store's stock and the upkeep of the Company's people, the cloth charged to general use serving to clothe the labour force the Company owned and employed. The twelve shovels charged to general use disclose the tools of the Company's own works and cultivation. Shovels in such number were the implements of digging and building, supplied for the labour on the plantations, the fortifications and the roads that the Company maintained directly. This reveals the provisioning of the Company's works through the store, the tools of its own operations drawn from the same stock that supplied the settlement, the general charges account carrying the implements of the labour the Company commanded.
93	87	May 1716. Plantation Dr to Store Goods from Febty 25th 171 5/6 to March 25th 1716 vizt Arrack 6 1/2 Gall at 7s 6d £2 8s 9d Sugar 35 at 8d £1 3s 4d Candy 2 £0 2s 0d Flour 26 at 3 1/2d £0 7s 7d Oyles 4 1/2 Gall Rape at 7s £1 11s 6d Rice 1391 at 3 1/2d £20 5s 8 1/2d Soap English 12 £0 17s 0d Lines 1 Do £0 1s 3d Pewter 3 Chamber Potts at 4s 3d £0 12s 9d Iron Mongers Ware 1 Closett Lock £0 2s 7d Nayles vizt 6 of 24d £0 3s 9d 6 20d £0 3s 6d 6 10d £0 3s 9d sum £0 11s 0d Totall of Plantation £28 3s 5 1/2d Totall of Generall Charges £111 16s 6d Totall of the Inhabitants £131 3s 2 3/4d sum £271 3s 2 1/4d	This charged the plantation with store goods used from 25 February to 25 March 1716, and closed the month's reckoning with the three grand totals. Arrack, 6.5 gallons at 7s 6d, £2 8s 9d Sugar, 35 at 8d, £1 3s 4d Candy, 2, £0 2s 0d Flour, 26 at 3.5d, £0 7s 7d Oils, 4.5 gallons rape at 7s, £1 11s 6d Rice, 1,391 at 3.5d, £20 5s 8.5d Soap, English, 12, £0 17s 0d Lines, 1 dozen, £0 1s 3d Pewter, 3 chamber pots at 4s 3d, £0 12s 9d Ironmongery ware, 1 closet lock, £0 2s 7d Nails: 6 lb of 24d, £0 3s 9d 6 lb of 20d, £0 3s 6d 6 lb of 10d, £0 3s 9d Nails total, £0 11s 0d Total of the plantation, £28 3s 5.5d Total of general charges, £111 16s 6d Total of the inhabitants, £131 3s 2.75d Grand total, £271 3s 2.25d Interpretations The three grand totals draw together the whole month's store account under its three heads, the plantation, the general charges and the inhabitants, coming to £271 3s 2.25d in all. This tripartite division, maintained throughout the record, let the Company distinguish the cost of working its land, the cost of its own establishment and the trade with the settlement, each reckoned separately and then summed. This reveals the organising principle of the store's accounting, the three streams of expense and trade kept apart so that the Company could see at a glance where its goods went and what each part of its operation drew from the store. The very large charge of rice to the plantation, at nearly fourteen hundred pounds weight, discloses the feeding of the plantation's labour force through the store. Rice in such quantity was the staple provision of the slaves and servants who worked the Company's land, a cheap and filling grain issued to sustain those who laboured on the plantations. This reveals how the cost of maintaining the plantation's workers was charged directly to the plantation account, the rice that fed the labour force forming the largest single item of the plantation's expense. The chamber pots and closet lock charged to the plantation disclose the furnishing of the plantation house as a working establishment. Such domestic items

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			equipped the house on the Company's land where its overseers and people lived, the plantation maintained as a dwelling as well as a farm. This reveals the character of the plantation as a household under the Company's charge, its account carrying not only the tools and provisions of cultivation but the ordinary furnishings of the house from which the land was worked.
94	88	May 1716. The Sevrall Persons hereafter Named was Summoned this day to appear for being absent at the Last Alarm for the Ostend Ships (vizt) Thomas Free John Marsh Richard Beale Anthony Beale William Coals Benjamin Cleverley Sutton Ysacik Junr David Hine James Rider Planters, and Thomas Ashby Sold & They all appeared and made very frevilous Excuses, Some Saying they were Lame others they were not well, and Some did Not hear the Alarm And the Governr Offering them their Oaths to what they Said, Refused and Sayd they had Rather pay then take their Oaths. Wherefore Ordered That all the Planters be find five Shillings Each to the use of the ffortefica tions. But Thomas Ashby Sold to Ride the Wooden Horse two Houers. The Governr demanded the reason of Captain Haswell why he Suffered the Ostend Ships to Come in into the road when he had given him Strict Orders to the Contrary. Capt Haswell Says as Soon as the Ships Came Oppositt to the Point between Bankses and Rupperts He fired a gun from Mundens athwart her fore foot Mr Byfeld Says that the Shott came along by Bankses and very Near, therefore the Governr Says they must needs fire a stern of the Ships which is very frregu lar, and the tother Shott was fired after the Same manner, which was the next Gun. Thes	The following persons were summoned to appear for being absent at the last alarm for the Ostend ship: Thomas Free, John Marsh, Richard Beale, Anthony Beale, William Coals, Benjamin Cleverley, Sutton Isaack the younger, David Hine and James Rider, planters, and Thomas Ashby, a soldier. They all appeared and made very frivolous excuses, some saying they were lame, others that they were not well, and some that they did not hear the alarm. When the Governor offered them their oaths as to what they said, they refused, and said they would rather pay than take their oaths. The Council ordered that all the planters be fined five shillings each to the use of the fortifications, but that Thomas Ashby, a soldier, ride the wooden horse for two hours. The Governor demanded the reason from Captain Haswell why he had allowed the Ostend ship to come into the road when he had given him strict orders to the contrary. Haswell said that as soon as the ship came opposite to the point between Banks's and Rupert's, he fired a gun from Mundens athwart her forefoot. Mr Byfield said the shot came along by Banks's and very near, and the Governor said they must therefore fire astern of the ship, which was very irregular, and the other shot was fired after the same manner, which was the next gun. Interpretations The different penalties for the absent planters and the soldier disclose the separate systems of discipline governing the civilian and military parts of the settlement. The planters were fined five shillings each to the use of the fortifications, while the soldier Ashby was made to ride the wooden horse, a military punishment. This reveals the distinct treatment of the two bodies, the civilians answering with money and the soldier with a bodily penalty, the discipline suited to each man's standing and his relation to the Company. The refusal of the summoned men to take their oaths discloses the weight attached to an oath and the reluctance to swear falsely. When offered the chance to confirm their excuses on oath, the men chose to pay the fine rather than swear, tacitly admitting their excuses would not bear the solemnity of an oath. This reveals the seriousness with which an oath was regarded, the men unwilling to add perjury to absence, preferring the certain penalty of a fine to the peril of swearing to a false excuse. The obligation on the inhabitants to muster at the alarm discloses the militia duty that bound the whole settlement to its defence. The planters were summoned and fined for failing to appear when the alarm sounded for the Ostend ship, showing that the defence of the island rested not only on the garrison but on the armed service of every able inhabitant. This reveals the military obligation woven into island life, the settlers bound to turn out at the alarm, their absence a punishable dereliction of the common duty of defence. The wooden horse, on which the soldier Ashby was made to ride, was a military punishment device, a sharp-ridged wooden frame the offender was forced to straddle, often with weights on his feet, causing pain and humiliation. Its use here for a soldier absent at the alarm reveals the harsh corporal discipline of the garrison, the same body whose desertion and disorder had troubled the earlier consultations kept in order by punishments of a severity reserved for the military.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
95	89	May 1716. The Governr Says he wrote two Letters to Captain Haswell Strictly Charging him to bring the Ship too One of the Letters Capt Haswell Produces which is as follows. Capt Haswell Capt Bazett Be Sure bring her too for Old Rogue Lies So farr out that if it be a rogue they may doe him Damage Isa Pyke. The other Letter was writt much stricker but that Letter Capt Haswell do's not Produce The Governr Says he reed the following Letter from Capt Haswell at that time Worsh Sr The Ships Comeing in Pretends to be a Hamburger but thats no Hamburger Collours, their boats was on board one of the fishing Boats who Enquired whether twas Peace or no, She is about thirty Guns & Six Hundred Tons, the boats flay was Striped, Green Red, & white, I beleve its a rogue; I Shall bring her too as you Ordered, the bearer Can give you far farther Account. Are wth all respects Worsh Sr Yor Humble Servts Geo Haswell Matt Bazett. The Governr Says by this Letter it appeared to them that this Ship was a Ship of fforce, and a rogue, and therefore they ought to have fired into her	The Governor said he wrote two letters to Captain Haswell, strictly charging him to bring the ship to. Haswell produced one of the letters, which ran as follows. Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett were to be sure to bring her to, for the old rogue lay so far out that if she were a rogue they might do him damage. The letter was signed by Governor Pyke. The other letter was written much stricter, but that letter Haswell did not produce. The Governor said he received the following letter from Captain Haswell at that time. The ship coming in pretended to be a Hamburger, but those were no Hamburg colours. Her boats were aboard one of the fishing boats, who enquired whether there was peace or not. She was about thirty guns and six hundred tons, and the boat's flag was striped green, red and white. Haswell believed she was a rogue, and would bring her to as ordered. The bearer could give a further account. The letter closed as from the Governor's humble servants and was signed by George Haswell and Matthew Bazett. The Governor said that by this letter it appeared to them that this ship was a ship of force and a rogue, and that therefore they ought to have fired into her [...] Interpretations The Governor's production of his written orders discloses the reconstruction of the episode through the surviving correspondence, the record assembling the letters to establish what had been commanded and done. The Governor set out his instructions to bring the ship to, and Haswell's reply confirming his intention to comply, so that the exchange fixed the responsibility of each party. This reveals how the written orders served as the evidence in the inquiry into the ship's admission, the letters marshalled to show what had passed between the Governor and his officers. The disparity between the two ships approaching, the smaller Ostend vessel and this larger ship of force, discloses that the island faced more than one suspicious arrival at once. This ship was of thirty guns and six hundred tons, a substantial armed vessel pretending to Hamburg colours she was not entitled to, distinct from the <i>St Matthew</i> dealt with before. This reveals the pressure on the island's defences from multiple quarters, the road threatened by more than a single interloper, the guns called to meet a succession of doubtful ships. The false Hamburg colours disclose the deceptions by which suspicious ships sought to allay the island's guard. This vessel flew the colours of Hamburg, a neutral trading city, to present herself as harmless, but her flag was recognised as false and her true character suspected. This reveals the wariness with which the island read the flags of approaching ships, a false colour taken as a mark of ill intent, the deception itself confirming the suspicion it was meant to dispel. The Governor's insistence that this ship, being a ship of force and a rogue, ought to have been fired into ties back to the dispute over the handling of such vessels that ran through the May consultations. He held that an armed and suspicious ship should have been met with the island's guns, pressing again the hard line he had urged over the interlopers. This reveals the continuing tension between the Governor's readiness to use force and the caution of his officers, the question of when to fire on a doubtful ship unresolved and returning with each new arrival.
96	90	May 1716. her because She did not bring too at the first warning Gunn. And their Neglecting to doe that is a breach of their duty, and Shews them very Negligent, for if they Saw a Ship of fforce and beleived her to be a rogue	The Governor said they ought to have fired into her because she did not bring to at the first warning gun. Their neglecting to do so was a breach of their duty and showed them very negligent, for if they saw a ship of force and believed her to be a rogue, and after

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and after that Suffered her to Come into this road, tho he had my Orders to bring her to it Shews he had but Little regard to our Honble Masters Estates on board of the two Ships now in the road. I Expected that after I had fired into them that they could have Seconded me and was amazed that they did not. And tho if they had not Struck their Collrs I Should have Sunk them with the ffort Guns Yet I think thats no reason at all for them to be So Remiss. Capt Haswell reply that after he had fired the ffirst Gun She Lowerd her Main and fore Topsailes and Sett in the Weather brasers put her Helm a Starboard in Order to bring her too with her head in Shore, but the wind Comeing aft, he put his Helm a Port in Order to Ware her and bring her to the tother way then fired the Second Gun and he Sent his boat on Shore with his Second Capt the Ship driveing Off, being then at least a Mile and by reason of Such an ffry, they Saw her from the Line but after I had fired the Second Shott they were Confusd and did not tend their Sailes other wise I had fired into her, but Still driveing off the coast well assurd that She could not fetch into the road, but had She Stood further in he beleives he Should have Sunk her tho he had no Order. Geo: Haswell. Capt Bazett Sayes the Same as Capt Haswell hath.	that allowed her to come into the road though he had given orders to bring her to, it showed they had little regard to the Company's estates on board the two ships now in the road. The Governor said he expected that after he had fired into them they would have seconded him, and was amazed that they did not. Though if they had not struck their colours he could have sunk them with the fort guns, yet he thought that was no reason at all for them to be so remiss. Captain Haswell replied that after he had fired the first gun, the ship lowered her main and fore topsails and set in the weather braces, and put her helm astarboard in order to bring her to with her head inshore. But the wind coming aft, he put his helm aport in order to wear her and bring her to the other way, then fired the second gun. He sent his boat ashore with his second captain. The ship was driving off, being then at least a mile out, and by reason of such an offing they saw her from the line. But after he had fired the second shot they were confused and did not tend their sails, otherwise he would have fired into her. Still, being driven off the coast, Haswell was assured she could not fetch into the road, but had she stood further in he believed he should have sunk her, though he had no order. The opinion was signed by George Haswell. Captain Bazett said the same as Captain Haswell. Interpretations The Governor's charge of negligence against his officers discloses the standard of duty expected in the defence of the road and the shipping. He held that a ship of force believed to be a rogue, ignoring the summons to bring to, ought to have been fired into, and that his officers' failure to do so and to second his own fire showed a want of care for the Company's property. This reveals the Governor's stern conception of the duty owed to the shipping, the defence of the Company's estates demanding a readiness to use the guns that he found lacking in his officers. Haswell's detailed account of his ship handling discloses the difficulty of bringing a reluctant vessel to under sail and gunfire. He described lowering topsails, setting braces and shifting his helm from starboard to port as the wind changed, striving to bring the ship to first one way and then the other, the whole a picture of the seamanship the manoeuvre required. This reveals the practical complexity behind the Governor's simple demand that the ship be brought to, the execution depending on wind and handling that the Governor's order could not command. The confusion aboard the ship after the second shot discloses the effect of the island's fire on a vessel caught unprepared. Haswell reported that after his second gun the ship's people were confused and failed to tend their sails, the gunfire throwing her into disorder. This reveals the power of the shore batteries to disrupt a ship in the road, the very confusion the fire produced offering Haswell the opening he said he would have used had she not been driving off, the guns shaping the encounter even without sinking their target.
97	91	May 1716. The Governr Says he finds Capt Haswell to ben very weak man or Else he would Never have made Such an Answer. As for Lowering her Topsailes tis a trick that all Rogues doe use, the two French Ships that took the Queen & Dover did the same He talks alsoe of their Putting their Helm first one way and then another and Setting in their weather brasses, which Sort of working was reason Eno for him to fire at her, He talks alsoe as if the Ship was not in the road all this while but I Say Positively that She was So farr from being out of the road that She lookt three Points of the Compas within the Nathaniell and I was afraid She would	The Governor said he found Captain Haswell to be a very weak man, or else he would never have made such an answer. As for lowering her topsails, it was a trick that all rogues used, and the two French ships that took the <i>Queen</i> and <i>Dover</i> did the same. Haswell talked also of putting the helm first one way and then another and setting in the weather braces, which sort of working was reason enough for him to fire at her. He talked as if the ship was not in the road all this while, but the Governor said positively that she was so far from being out of the road that she looked three points of the compass within the <i>Nathaniel</i>, and he was afraid she would have been aboard of her, and she could have done so if the Governor had not fired into her.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		have been aboard of her, and She could have don So if I had not fired into her. And because these Consultations are to goe Home to the Honble Comps I would not Send them Home wth a Complaint only but must doe Some Justice to Mr Cason to whom I had given the charge of half the Guns upon the Line he behaved himself with a great Deal of Prudence & Courage; and placed Severall Shott in the Ships. Copy of Ships Bouverie and Marys Protests against the Sea, as followeth The Ship Bouverie in the Service of the Rt Honble Company of English Merchants treding to the East Indies in her Homeward bound Voyage from ffort St David on the Coast of Cormandel towards the Iland of Great Brittain On the 6 day of Aprill in the Year 1716 being in the Lattd of 34 00 S and meridonal Distance from ffort St David 50 40 W or thereabouts, was Encountered wth very Hard Gales of Wind, which Increasing So much that about Six a Clock in the Evening of the aforesaid day was forced to	Because these consultations were to go home to the Company, the Governor would not send them home with a complaint only, but had to do some justice to Mr Cason, to whom he had given the charge of half the guns upon the line. Cason had behaved himself with a great deal of prudence and courage, and placed several shots in the ship. There followed a copy of the protests of the ships <i>Bouverie</i> and <i>Mary</i> against the sea. The ship <i>Bouverie</i>, in the service of the Company, on her homeward voyage from Fort St David on the coast of Coromandel towards Great Britain, on 6 April, being in latitude 34 degrees 40 minutes south and meridional distance from Fort St David 50 degrees 40 minutes west, or thereabouts, was met with very hard gales of wind. These increased so much that about six o'clock in the evening of that day she was forced [...] Interpretations The Governor's harsh judgement of Haswell discloses the depth of his displeasure at his officers' failure to act as he wished. He dismissed Haswell as a weak man, treated his explanations of ship handling as excuses, and insisted the ship had been dangerously close to the <i>Nathaniel</i> all along. This reveals the sharpness of the division between the Governor and his officers over the handling of the suspicious ships, the Governor's contempt for what he saw as a feeble defence of inaction laid plainly on the record. The Governor's care to commend Cason discloses his sense of how the record would read to the Company at home. Because the consultations would go home, he would not send only a complaint against Haswell but balanced it with praise for Cason, who had manned half the guns with courage and placed several shots in the ship. This reveals the Governor's attention to the account rendered to his superiors, the record shaped to show that some at least had done their duty, the commendation of Cason set against the censure of Haswell for the Company's judgement. The reference to the French ships that took the <i>Queen</i> and <i>Dover</i> discloses the memory of past losses that sharpened the Governor's insistence on vigilance. He cited the trick of lowering topsails used by the French ships that had captured those two vessels, drawing on a known instance of deception and loss to justify firing on any ship that behaved so. This reveals how the experience of earlier captures informed the island's caution, the Governor invoking a remembered disaster to press the danger of trusting a ship that showed the marks of a rogue. The <i>Bouverie</i> and <i>Mary</i>, whose protests against the sea are entered here, disclose the storms of the southern ocean that battered the Company's homeward ships. The <i>Bouverie</i>, sailing from Fort St David on the Coromandel coast toward Britain, met hard gales far out in the South Atlantic, the protest recording the violence of the weather she endured. This reveals the perils of the long homeward voyage, the Company's ships driven and damaged by the gales of the high southern latitudes, the island a refuge for vessels that survived such seas.
98	92	May 1716. to lay the Ship a try under her Mainsail wth Such repeated tempestuous Gusts, which So Enraged the Seas, that about Seven a Clock the next morning Split the Mainsail: bent another and reefed it and at one a Clock the Said day Sett the same, the wind & Sea both raging more & more to Such a Violent Degree that Early in the morning following were Obligated to Lower Mainyard and hand the Saile During which St Storm the Seas ran with Such Prodigious Strength & height that broke upon and powrd into the Ship incredible quantitys of Water with which the Ship was So Deluged and Covered by Sea after Sea Comeing in	The <i>Bouverie</i> was forced to lay to under her mainsail, but such repeated tempestuous gusts so enraged the seas that about seven o'clock the next morning the mainsail split. Another was bent and reefed, and about one o'clock that day the same was set. The wind and sea both raged more and more to such a violent degree that early the following morning the crew were obliged to lower the mainyard and hand the sail. During the storm the seas ran with such prodigious strength and height that they broke upon and poured into the ship an incredible quantity of water, with which the ship was deluged and covered by sea after sea coming in over all, so that nothing less

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		over all that nothing Less than Almighty Providence could preserve the Ship from foundering and Sinking to the Bottom, which vast quantitys of Water were not Shipt by default of any Marriners or Sailors for they Deserve Commendations for their Dilligence & good Courage and good Courage, neither was it by Default in the Ships or Rigging the Said Ship being most Compleatly fitted as may appear by her being remark ably tight the foregoing Part of the Voyage; & now Strend by the wonderfull force and Strength of the Water that was Shipt in this Storm its rage is So great violence that it drew the bolt heads of the Standards through the plancks notwithstanding the Plancks were perfectly Sound & good, and with the with the weight & power of the water only, found a Passage through Decks & sides So that to free her we were Obliged to bale Ship with a great Number of hands, besides the Chain & hand Pumps that were all kept going Now Consider ing the Damage the Said Ship has received during the Storm in her hull, and other Particulars too Long herein to Insert and will Appear more	than Almighty Providence could preserve her from foundering and sinking to the bottom. These vast quantities of water were not shipped through any default of the mariners or sailors, who deserved commendation for their diligence and good courage, nor through any default in the ship or rigging, she being most completely fitted, as might appear by her being remarkably tight the foregoing part of the voyage. She was now strained by the wonderful force and strength of the water shipped in the storm, its rage of so great violence that it drew the bolt heads of the standards through the planks, notwithstanding the planks were perfectly sound and good. With the weight and power of the water alone it found a passage through decks and sides, so that to free her the crew were obliged to bale ship with a great number of hands, besides the chain and hand pumps that were all kept going. The damage the ship received during the storm in her hull, and other particulars, were too long to insert here [...] Interpretations The protest discloses the legal purpose behind a ship's formal record of storm damage, drawn up to establish that loss came from the sea and not from any fault of the crew or ship. The document stressed that the water was shipped through no default of the mariners, who deserved commendation, nor through any defect in the ship, which had been remarkably tight, but through the sheer violence of the weather. This reveals the function of a sea protest, made to protect the master, crew and owners from blame for damage or loss, fixing the cause on the irresistible force of the storm. The vivid account of the seas drawing the bolt heads through sound planks discloses the extraordinary forces a ship endured in a great storm. The protest described water so powerful that it pulled the fastenings of the ship's standards through timber that was perfectly sound, forcing a passage through decks and sides by weight alone. This reveals the destructive power of the southern ocean's gales, the ship's very structure strained beyond what sound materials could resist, the damage a measure of the seas the Company's vessels had to survive. The appeal to Almighty Providence for the ship's preservation discloses the religious frame through which such deliverance was understood. The protest held that nothing less than Providence could have saved the ship from foundering, casting her survival not merely as the fruit of good seamanship but as an act of divine mercy. This reveals the piety that ran through the seafaring life, the escape from a storm attributed to God's protection, the formal record of a legal protest carrying the language of religious gratitude for a deliverance beyond human power.
99	93	May 1716. plain in our Journals we have Just reason to Suspect our Cargoe in the Hold of the Said Ship has reed Damage Therefore we the Commander and Officers on board the Ship Bouverie whose Names are hereunto Subscribed do in form of Law, in the behalf of our owners, Selves and Marriners make Protest against the Seas for all and Every the Damages therein Sustaind for and by reason of the Said Storm. In Confirmation and Witness whereof we the Commander & Officers have Sett our hands. Tho Wotton Dated at St Helena J Meacham 1 Mate May yr 7th 1716 Richd Redman 2 mate The Contents hereof was read Will Reeve Gunnr Alladged, and Protested before Simon Wickham boatsn us. Isa Pyke Tho Ligh Carpentr. Geo Haswell	The commander of the <i>Bouverie</i> had just reason to suspect that the cargo in her hold had received damage, as would appear more plainly in the ship's journals. The commander and officers, on behalf of the owners, themselves and the mariners, made their protest in due form of law against the seas for all the damage sustained by reason of the storm. In confirmation of this, the commander and officers set their hands. The protest was dated at St Helena on 7 May 1716, and signed by Thomas Wotton, J. Meacham the first mate, Richard Redman the second mate, William Reeve the gunner, Simon Wickham the boatswain and Thomas Legg the carpenter. Its contents were read, alleged and protested before Governor Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield. There followed the protest of the ship <i>Mary</i>. The ship <i>Mary</i>, in the service of the Company, on her homeward voyage from Fort St David on the coast of Coromandel towards Great Britain, on 6 April, being in latitude 34 degrees south and meridional

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Matt Bazett. Edwd Byfeld. Worthy Sr The Ship Mary in the Service of the Rt Honble Company of English Merchts treading to the East Indies in her Homeward bound Voyage from ffort St David on the Coast of Cormandell towards the Iland of Great Brittain, On the 6 day of Aprill in the Year 1716 being in the Lattd of 34 S and Merridionall Dist from ffort St David 50 Wt or thereabouts was Encountered wth Very hard Gales of Wind which Increasing So much that about Six a Clock in the Evening of the aforesaid day was forced to lay the Ship a try under her Mainsaile and Mizen about Eleven at night Came a Violent Squall Storm	distance from Fort St David 50 degrees west, or thereabouts, was met with very hard gales of wind. These increased so much that about six o'clock in the evening of that day she was forced to lay to under her mainsail and mizzen. About eleven at night came a violent squall and storm [...] Interpretations The suspicion of damage to the cargo discloses the commercial stake that lay behind the formal protest against the sea. The commander suspected the goods in the hold had suffered, and the protest was made on behalf of the owners as well as the crew, so that any loss to the cargo could be shown to have come from the storm. This reveals the protest as a safeguard of the owners' commercial interest, the document establishing the cause of any spoiled goods so that liability for the loss might fall where the law placed it, on the sea and not on those who carried the cargo. The formal reading of the protest before the Governor and Council discloses the island's role as the place where such legal instruments were witnessed and authenticated. The commander and officers made their protest before the Governor and Council, who heard it read and alleged, lending the document the authority of a formal attestation. This reveals the island functioning as a legal waypoint on the homeward route, its government providing the official witness a sea protest required, the Council's presence giving the instrument the standing it needed for use at home. The nearly identical circumstances of the <i>Bowverie</i> and the <i>Mary</i> disclose that the two ships met the same storm on the same day in the same waters. Both were homeward from Fort St David, both caught on 6 April in the same latitude and distance, both forced to lay to under storm canvas, the two protests recording a single great tempest that struck them together. This reveals the ships sailing in company on the homeward route, the shared ordeal of the storm binding their fortunes, the two vessels meeting at St Helena to record the same disaster they had both survived.
100	94	May. 1716. Squall of wind with abundance of Lighting & Hail, which blew the main Saile & Mizen away Bolt ropes and all, The next day the weather grow more Moderate but the most Dismall Sky that ever wee Seew, Them Bent a New Mainsaile & Mizen Reeft and Sett them, about nine a Clock that night the violence of the Storm began, then Lowerd our Mizen yard and furld the Mizen, At Ten Lowerd our Main yard 2/3 of the Mast down, and So Lay till Seven the next morning then wore fore'd to Lower our Main yard and furl the Mainsaile at which time our Ship was full of Water in the Wast, and severale foot above the Gunnell on the Lee Side the same Quantity of water Coming in every time the Ship Rolld to Leward, from ten at night till fowr in the afternoon the next day at which time the Storm began to abate, Severall times Durcing the Said Storm the Sea broke in the Dead lights of the Great Cabbin which was Bard w:th Capston Barrs and took in abundance of Water into the Cabbin One Sea broke up the Balcony Staved in the Stern Door and Windows, took in a bundance of Water into the round House and the rest flew over the Tafferill, One of the Strongest men we had in the Ship being in the fore chains making fast the Runner was washt out by the Violence of the Sea he had hold w:th both hands of the fore Shrouds but the Strength and vast quantity of Water forc't him to lett goe his Hold and the Poor man was Drown'd, The Sea fore away the Ports in the Main Chaines to Leward hinges and all we had, Only one Loft, What damage we may happen to have Rec'd through the Violence of this Storm was not through Default of any Marriners or Sailers	A squall of wind struck with heavy lightning and hail, which blew the mainsail and mizzen away along with the bolt ropes and everything. The following day the weather grew more moderate, but the sky was the most dismal the crew had ever seen. They bent a new mainsail and mizzen, reefed them and set them. About nine o'clock that night the full violence of the storm began. They then lowered the mizzen yard and furled the mizzen. At ten they lowered the main yard to two-thirds of the mast down and lay so until seven the next morning. They were then forced to lower the main yard and furl the mainsail, at which point the ship was full of water in the waist and several feet above the gunwale on the lee side. The same quantity of water came in every time the ship rolled to leeward, from ten at night until four in the afternoon the next day, when the storm began to abate. Several times during the storm the sea broke in the deadlights of the great cabin, which had been barred with capstan bars, and took a great deal of water into the cabin. One sea broke up the balcony and stove in the stern door and windows, took in a great deal of water into the round house, and the rest flew over the taffrail. One of the strongest men aboard was stationed in the fore chains making fast the runner, and he was washed out by the violence of the sea. He held on with both hands to the fore shrouds, but the force and vast weight of water made him let go his hold, and the poor man was drowned. The sea tore away the ports in the main chains to leeward, hinges and all they had, with only one left. Whatever damage the ship received through the violence of this storm was not through any fault of the mariners or sailors. Interpretations

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			A deadlight was a solid wooden shutter fitted over a cabin window in heavy weather to keep the sea out, and the account shows the crew reinforcing the great cabin's deadlights with capstan bars precisely because the storm was straining them beyond their normal strength. The taffrail was the rail across the top of the stern, the round house a cabin on the after part of the upper deck, and the fore chains and main chains the projecting platforms on the ship's sides that spread the shrouds supporting the masts, so the loss of the ports in the main chains and the drowning of a man in the fore chains together mark how the storm attacked the vessel at its most exposed points. The closing statement that no damage arose through the fault of the mariners or sailors reads as a deliberate protective record. An East India Company commander answered to owners who could dispute claims for storm damage and losses, and setting down in the ship's account that the crew had done everything possible shielded both the men and the commander from any later charge of negligence.
101	95	May. 1716. in the Said Ship who Deserve Incouragement for their Dilligence and Good Courage Neither can it be Imputed any Default in the Ship which has been Extreemly tight the whole Voyage, After So violent a Storm wee have just reason to Suspect our Cargoe in the Hold of the Said Ship has recived Damage Therefore Wee the Commander and Officers on board the Said Ship Mary doe in form of Law, in the behalf of our owners, Selves, and marriners Make Protest against the Seas for all & every the damage therein Sustained for and by reason of the Said Storme In Confirmation and witness hereof Wee the Commander & Officers of the Said Ship have Sett our Hands, Dated on board the Ship Mary at S:t Helena May the 16:th 1716 R: Holden Capt Zachary Hickee first mate Tho: Holden 2:d Mate Christ:n Wills Third D:o R:d Conquest Gunn:r Cornwall Godfrey Stay:d Tho: Halford Purs:r John Webster Carpent:r R: Lundell fourth Mate Anthony Adams Boatsw:n Edward Byfeld	The men aboard the ship deserved encouragement for their diligence and good courage, nor could any fault be charged against the ship, which had been extremely tight for the whole voyage. After so violent a storm the commander and officers had good reason to suspect that the cargo in the hold had suffered damage. The commander and officers of the <i>Mary</i> therefore made formal protest in law, on behalf of the owners, freighters and mariners, against the seas for all the damage sustained by reason of the storm. In confirmation and witness of this the commander and officers of the ship set their hands. The document was dated aboard the <i>Mary</i> at St Helena on 16 May 1716 and signed by R. Holden, captain; Zachary Hickee, first mate; Thomas Holden, second mate; Christopher Willis, third mate; Richard Conquest, gunner; Cornwall Gooding, surgeon; Thomas Halford, purser; John Webster, carpenter; R. Lundell, fourth mate; and Anthony Adams, boatswain. Edward Byfield also signed. Interpretations A protest of this kind was a sworn statement entered before witnesses to establish, at the first safe port, that loss or damage to cargo had come from perils of the sea rather than from any failing of the ship or crew. By recording that the <i>Mary</i> had been tight throughout the voyage and that the storm alone was to blame, the commander created the legal record needed to defend against insurers or owners who might otherwise refuse a claim or blame the master for the losses. The signatures descend through the ship's hierarchy, from captain and mates through the specialist officers to the boatswain, and this ordering itself carried weight. A protest gained its force from the concurrence of the whole command, so having each officer set his hand in rank turned a single master's word into the collective testimony of the ship's responsible men.
102	96	Island S:t Helena. At a Court of Judicature Held on Fryday the 18:th day of May 1716, at the Sessions House near Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq:r Gov:r & Judge Rich: Holden Comand:r of y:e Mary Prest: George Hasoell D:pty Matth:w Bazett P:m Coun:l Edward Byfeld. After the Court was opened Accordingn to the usuall manner those Persons appointed for Jurors, are as followeth. (Viz:t) 1 John Coles foreman 2 John Bagley	A Court of Judicature met on Friday 18 May 1716 at the Sessions House near Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor and judge; Richard Holden, commander of the <i>Mary</i>; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. After the court was opened in the usual manner, the men appointed as jurors were as follows. 1: John Coles, foreman 2: John Bagley 3: Jonathan Doveton 4: John Goodwin 5: James Greentree 6: Richard Gurling

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		3 Jonath:n Doveton 4 John Goodwin 5 James Greentree 6 Rich:d Purling 7 Isaac Wood 8 Willi: Slaughter 9 James Vessey 10 Willi: Worrall 11 Thom: Fairfax 12 John Greatts. Then M:r Tovey was called and Indicted for Fellony, for wounding & Stabbing of M:r Wrangham with a Sword & thereby puting him in very great Perill, & Danger of his Life. M:r Tovey appearing Sayd he could not plead to an Indictment of Fellony	7: Isaac Wood 8: William Slaughter 9: James Vesey 10: William Worrall 11: Thomas Fairfax 12: John Tovey Then Mr Tovey was called and indicted for felony, for wounding and stabbing Mr Wrangham with a sword and thereby putting him in very great peril and danger of his life. Mr Tovey, appearing, said he could not plead to an indictment of felony. Interpretations A Court of Judicature was the island's highest tribunal, and its composition here shows how thoroughly civil and Company authority overlapped on St Helena. The governor sat as judge, a visiting ship's commander joined the bench, and members of the governing council filled the remaining seats, so the same men who ran the settlement's administration also tried its most serious crimes. The jurors' names read as a roll of the island's established free households, several of whom appear repeatedly in its records, and empanelling twelve such men gave the court the local legitimacy it needed. Trying a felony before a jury drawn from the settled inhabitants tied the community itself to the verdict, which mattered on a small island where the accused, the victim and the jurors all lived within a few miles of one another. Tovey's refusal to plead to a felony indictment was a recognised legal manoeuvre rather than mere obstinacy. At this date a defendant who stood mute could stall the ordinary course of trial, since a felony conviction carried the forfeiture of goods and the gravest penalties, and his objection suggests he was contesting whether the charge properly lay as felony at all.
103	97	May. 1716 because he had Committed no Such Fact, but Sayed he did Confess with a great Deal of Shame & Sorrow that he had in his drink wounded M:r Wrangham with a Sword for which in the Greif and trouble of his own mind he believd he had Suffered as much or more then M:r Wrangham, M:r Tovey Sayd alsoe that he was that night Enraged by many and very great affronts received from John French the Gunner who Came into the Company tho forbidden by the Govern:r and abused with abundance of Reproachfull and Scandalous Language and beleived he watcht that Opportunity when he Saw him in Liquor to Villifye him that he might Committ Some outrage M:r Tovey Sayd further, I Answer to the Name of Antipas Tovey Gentlem:n but not as a Fellon and therefore Shall not hold up my hand I have Committed a Rash unworthy Action and Deserve no favour but Justice is my due which I Demand and therefore Shall not plead to any Felonious Indictment Then the Govern:r Ordered M:r Wrangham and the Gunner to give the Court a full Account of the Whole matter of Fact which he did to the following Purpose and Sayd. as follows On Wednesday the Seventh of March Capt Bazett M:r Tovey M:r Alexander and himself went on board the Ship Called the Duke of Cambridge and there they Staied about three Hours, and Drank w:th Capt Barnes the Cheif mate and others the Officers of the Ship in the evening Came on Shoar and after Supper he Invited them into M:r Siches his Grandmothers House	Tovey said he could not plead because he had committed no such felony, but he confessed with a great deal of shame and sorrow that while in drink he had wounded Mr Wrangham with a sword. For this, in the grief and trouble of his own mind, he believed he had suffered as much or more than Mr Wrangham himself. Tovey said also that he had that night been enraged by many very great affronts received from John French the gunner, who came into the company though forbidden by the governor and abused him with a great deal of reproachful and scandalous language. He believed French had watched for the chance, when he saw him in liquor, to provoke him into some outrage. Tovey said further that he answered to the name of Antipas Tovey, gentleman, but not as a felon, and would therefore not hold up his hand. He had committed a rash and unworthy action and deserved no favour, but justice was his due, which he demanded, and he would therefore not plead to any felonious indictment. The governor then ordered Mr Wrangham and the gunner to give the court a full account of the whole matter of fact, which Wrangham did to the following effect. On Wednesday 7 March Captain Bazett, Mr Tovey, Mr Alexander and Wrangham himself went aboard the ship called the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, where they stayed about three hours and drank with Captain Barnes. In the evening the chief mate and other officers of the ship came ashore, and after supper he invited them into the house of Mr Siches his grandmother. Interpretations Tovey's insistence that he answered as a gentleman but not as a felon turned on the legal weight of holding up the hand, the formal gesture by which a prisoner acknowledged himself the person charged and submitted to trial on the indictment as

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			framed. By refusing the gesture while freely admitting the wounding, he tried to separate the deed from the felony label, protecting his gentleman's status and the property forfeiture that a felony conviction would bring, while still throwing himself on the court's sense of justice. The account of the drinking aboard the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> set out the sequence the court needed to weigh provocation against intent. By fixing the hours spent drinking with Captain Barnes and the movement of the company from ship to shore to a private house, Wrangham built the factual chain leading to the stabbing, allowing the bench to judge how far liquor and French's alleged goading had shaped what followed.
104	98	May. 1716 House to drink a bottle of wine, and there the Gunner did Come in and abuse Mr Tovey very Grosely and he Endeavoured to Pacifye them, and then M:r Tovey abused him, & went out on a Sudden and Drew his Sword, & then Came in again and Stabed him in the breast and he beleives had killd him if M:r French had not drawn his Sword & wounded Tovey in the head. The Recitall of the Fact was agreed to be true in the Main only Some Lesser Sort of Circumstances Dissented from by M:r Tovey who urged that he was perswaded to goe on board by being asked Severall times & That whatever had happened yet he attempted nothing against M:r Wrangham, that it was an accident by which M:r Wrangham had y:e Misfortune to be wounded, and that since it had pleased God M:r Wrangham was now very well recovered it could not amount to a Fellony M:r Tovey alledged alsoe that as the Hon:ble Comp:a had sent him here & intrusted him as one of their Councill he Ought to be tryed by his Equals only and not by a Jrory of Planters M:r Wrangham Sayed he was a Stranger to the Law but Says he has been informd t was fellony, and he beleives it to be fellony for any one to Stabb one of the Kings Subjects in such a Dangerous manner.	They went into the house to drink a bottle of wine, and there the gunner came in and abused Mr Tovey very grossly. Wrangham tried to pacify them, but then Tovey abused the gunner, went out suddenly and drew his sword, then came in again and stabbed him in the breast. Wrangham believed Tovey would have killed him had not Mr French drawn his own sword and wounded Tovey in the head. The recital of the fact was agreed to be true in the main, only some lesser details being disputed by Mr Tovey. He argued that he had been persuaded to go aboard after being asked several times, and that whatever had happened he had attempted nothing against Mr Wrangham. It was an accident by which Wrangham had the misfortune to be wounded, and since it had pleased God that Wrangham was now very well recovered, the matter could not amount to felony. Tovey argued also that, as the Honourable Company had sent him to the island and entrusted him as one of their council, he ought to be tried by his equals only and not by a jury of planters. Mr Wrangham said he was a stranger to the law, but he had been informed it was felony, and he believed it to be felony for anyone to stab one of the King's subjects in such a dangerous manner. Interpretations Tovey's claim to be tried by his equals rather than by a jury of planters invoked the old principle that a man should answer to men of his own rank, and on St Helena that argument carried a sharp social edge. As an appointed member of the Company's council he set himself above the settled planters who filled the jury, so his objection was as much an assertion of standing over the island's ordinary inhabitants as a point of legal procedure. Wrangham's admission that he was a stranger to the law, followed at once by his conviction that the stabbing was felony, shows how the court proceeded where trained lawyers were absent. The victim offered a lay understanding of the charge, and the bench of Company officers and planters had to fix the legal character of the act from common report and their own sense of what the law required, rather than from any settled expertise. Tovey's shifting defence marks the decision at the heart of the passage. He first accepted the account of the wounding as substantially true, then recast the deliberate drawing of a sword as an accident and leaned on Wrangham's recovery to argue the offence could not be felony. Rather than deny the deed he had already confessed, he chose to attack the legal category, gambling that a plea of accident and a healed victim would move the court further than a bare denial ever could.
105	99	May. 1716 Then the Govern:r took the Opinions of the Court whether this Fact was Felony and to be tryed by a Jury Capt: Haswell Says he is of Opinion	The governor then took the opinions of the court on whether the fact was felony and to be tried by a jury. Captain Hassell said he was of the opinion

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		that it is felony for he finds Stabbing is felony in Daltons Justice. And Capt: Bazett Says that this is a Case of blood, and that Matters of blood ought to be tried by a Jury Mr Byfeld Says he thinks this Case is not felony. To whom Mr Tovey replied take a way the felony, and then I Consent to Ac Knowledge the Fact even as reported here tho' that Report is told very much to my Disadvantage. The Govern:r Says he is assured that this Case is not Fellony and that Mr Tovey ought not to have been Indicted as a Fellow for this fact for it is a Straining Skinning of the Law, and making it Serve to revenge instead of Justice and Sayes he wonders who put Mr Wrangham upon this Indictment of Felony when he had in Consultation not only given his opinion, but Shewed it by the books Called Daltons Justice, and Hales's pleas of the Crown that this fact was not Felony, But that he ought to have Sued him for an affray that is for assaulting and Dangerously wound ing him the Said Wrangham, for this	that it was felony, for he found that stabbing was felony in Dalton's Justice. Captain Bazett said that this was a case of blood, and that matters of blood ought to be tried by a jury. Mr Byfield said he thought this case was not felony. To this Tovey replied that if the felony were taken away, then he would consent to acknowledge the fact even as reported here, though that report was told very much to his disadvantage. The governor said he was assured that this case was not felony and that Tovey ought not to have been indicted as a felon for this act. To charge it as felony was a straining of the law, making it serve for revenge instead of justice, and he wondered who had put Wrangham upon this indictment of felony. He himself, in consultation, had not only given his opinion but shown it by the books called Dalton's Justice and Hale's Pleas of the Crown that this act was not felony. Rather, Wrangham ought to have sued him for an affray, that is for assaulting and dangerously wounding Wrangham. Interpretations The court reasoned directly from two legal handbooks, Michael Dalton's The Country Justice and Sir Matthew Hale's Pleas of the Crown, which served as the working authorities for justices who had no formal legal training. On a remote island without lawyers, these printed books stood in for professional counsel, and the bench weighed the charge by checking the deed against what the texts defined as felony, so that the difference between felony and affray turned on citation rather than pleading. The governor's open suspicion about who had steered Wrangham toward a felony indictment exposes the tension beneath the trial. He treated the choice of charge as a possible instrument of private revenge rather than justice, and by stating that he had already given his opinion in consultation and been overridden, he signalled that the prosecution had been pressed against his advice, hinting at a faction on the island working through the court against Tovey. The governor's ruling captures the decision the passage turns on. Presented with an indictment for felony that would have carried forfeiture and the gravest penalties, he refused to let it stand and redirected the matter toward a charge of affray. He chose to correct the legal category from the bench rather than let the jury try the graver charge, resting his intervention on the authority of the law books and on his own earlier, disregarded counsel.
106	100	May. 1716. Crime cannot Since the Prosecutor is So well recovered be Called a felony And as to Capt: Haswells Opinion that this is a felony because a man was Stabbed the Govern:d Says there is an Act of Par liament made in the first year of King James's 1:st usually called the Statute of Stabbing wherein tis ordained that if one man Stabb another who is a naked man and who has not a weapon in his own Defence, if Death Ensue then the Slayer is to be Indicted on this Statute which takes away the Bennefitt of Clergy in case it be found Man Slaughte and thereupon the Prisoner must have Judgment of Death as in Case of Murder. And to Capt: Bazetts Opinion that this is a Case of blood the Govern:d thinks Capt: Bazett is quite Misstaken for this is not what is to be understood in Law as a Case of blood for the by the word blood the life of a man is Intended and meant Else any Slight wound or broken head might be Called a Case of blood.	The crime could not, since the prosecutor was so well recovered, be called a felony. As to Captain Hassell's opinion that this was a felony because a man had been stabbed, the governor said there was an Act of Parliament made in the first year of King James I, usually called the Statute of Stabbing. That statute ordered that if one man stabbed another who was unarmed and who had no weapon drawn in his own defence, and if death followed, then the slayer was to be indicted under the statute, which took away the benefit of clergy where the act was found to be manslaughter. In that case the prisoner must receive judgment of death as in a case of murder. As to Captain Bazett's opinion that this was a case of blood, the governor thought Bazett was quite mistaken, for this was not what the law understood as a case of blood. By the word blood the life of a man was meant, since otherwise any slight wound or broken head might be called a case of blood. As to the trying of Mr Tovey by a jury, that was to be done only if he denied the fact. Tovey said he did not deny it, only the malignant manner of his prosecution, and that being cleared by the opinion of

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		As to the trying M:r Tovey by a Jury that is to be done in Case he deny the fact, which M:r Tovey Says he do's not deny only the Malignant manner of his Prosecution which being Cleared by the opinion of the Judges M:r Tovey Said he owned himself Guilty of assaulting and wounding Margin Notes: Cap. 8	the judge, Tovey said he owned himself guilty of assaulting and wounding. Interpretations The Statute of Stabbing, passed in 1604 under James I, was aimed at sudden killings in quarrels where the victim had no chance to defend himself, and its crucial effect was to remove the benefit of clergy that could otherwise reduce a manslaughter sentence. By reading the statute closely, the governor showed the court that it applied only where death followed the stabbing, so with Wrangham recovered the graver charge simply could not attach, and the case fell outside the reach of the very law Hassell had invoked. The governor's distinction over the phrase case of blood turned the trial on the precise meaning of a legal term. He held that blood in law meant the loss of a man's life, not any wound that merely drew blood, and by rejecting Bazett's looser reading he narrowed the ground on which a jury trial could be demanded, steering the matter away from the gravest procedure toward a simple admission of assault. The resolution of the passage lies in Tovey's carefully limited confession. Once the judge's ruling had stripped away the felony and the charge of malignant prosecution, he owned himself guilty of assaulting and wounding rather than of any greater crime. He accepted the lesser charge the moment the graver one was cleared, converting his earlier refusal to plead into a controlled admission that met the court on the ground the governor's reasoning had prepared.
107	101	May. 1716 Francis Wrangham Whereupon after Some Small Consideration with the Councill, The Govern:r fined M:r Tovey forty Pounds to be paid to the Hon:ble Comp:a by M:r Tovey and to be Employed in repairing the Fortifications for Defence of the place. And then told the Planters he Sett this fine that they might See they Should be Protected in their Estates and in their persons from the Insults of any Person whatsoever. Then M:r Wrangham Preferred his Declaration on an Action of the Case for the Damage he had Sustained by the P:d wound to which M:r Tovey made little or no Defence So the Jury went out, And for payment of the Docter, Loss of time &c:a they found for the Plaintiffe and Assessed M:r Tovey twenty five pounds, for Damages besides the Court Charges. Then the Court was adjourned. Edward Byfeld Island.	The victim of the wounding was Francis Wrangham. After some short consideration with the council, the governor fined Mr Tovey £40 0s 0d, to be paid to the Honourable Company by Tovey and to be spent on repairing the fortifications for the defence of the place. The governor then told the planters he had set this fine so they might see that they should be protected, in their estates and in their persons, from the insults of any person whatsoever. Mr Wrangham then preferred his declaration on an action of the case for the damage he had sustained by the wound, to which Tovey made little or no defence. The jury went out, and for payment of the doctor, loss of time and the rest, they found for the plaintiff and assessed Tovey £25 0s 0d for damages, besides the court charges. The court was then adjourned. Signed Edward Byfield, Island. Interpretations The governor's decision to direct Tovey's £40 0s 0d fine into repairing the island's fortifications shows how criminal penalties doubled as a source of public works funding on St Helena. A remote Company settlement had few ways to raise money for its own defence, so turning a punishment into stone and labour on the batteries let a private quarrel serve the common security, while the announcement to the planters framed the fine as proof that the court stood behind their safety. Wrangham's separate action on the case reveals the two distinct tracks running through a single sitting of the court. The fine answered the public wrong to the peace of the island, but the civil suit let the injured man recover his own losses, the doctor's charges and time lost from work, so the same bench and jury moved from punishing the offence to compensating the victim in one continuous proceeding. The governor's handling of the fine marks the decision the passage turns on. Having already stripped the charge down from felony to assault, he could have let the matter rest on Wrangham's private suit, yet he chose to impose a public fine as well and

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			to earmark it for defence. He used a personal act of violence to make a general point about order, converting one man's punishment into a visible guarantee to every planter that the settlement's authority would shield their persons and property.
108	102	May. 1716. Island S:t Helena. At a Consultation held on Saturday the 19:th of May 1716. at Union Castle in James valley Isaac Pyke Esq:r Govern:r George Haswell D:pty Pres:t Matth: Bazett 3 Edward Byfeld. The Govern:r Says he received the following Letter from Capt: Richard Holden Comander of the Mary. Hon'd S:r Being Ordered by Govern:r Harrison in my Dispatch from Fort S:t George to Bring you as many Garden Seeds from the Cape as I thought you would have Occasion for here he being informd you were in Great want of them, and that I could produce anything Else for the Island that I thought would be of Service to it When I came to the Cape of Good Hope Capt Bromee Informed me that the Island of S:t Helena was very bare of all manner of Provisions and Arrack, To Serve my Masters the Hon:ble East India Company, and to Oblige your Worship &c: I have brought you a great Quantity of Garden Seeds Twenty Sheep & fourteen Leagers of Arrack, which I hope your Worship will take for t was designd for the Service of my Masters and the Good of the Island. Deerize no more for the Arrack then Six Shillings P Gallon, which was the price it went at when I was here last It Cost me four Shillings P Gallon at the Cape I am Y:o W:ps Most Humb: & Obed:t Serv:t Rich: Holden Ship Mary in S:t Helena road May y:e 18 1716.	A consultation was held on Saturday 19 May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The governor said he had received the following letter from Captain Richard Holden, commander of the <i>Mary</i>. Holden wrote that Governor Harrison had ordered him, in his dispatch from Fort St George, to bring the island as many garden seeds from the Cape as he thought would be needed there, Harrison being informed that the island was in great want of them, and to bring anything else for the island that might be of service to it. When Holden reached the Cape of Good Hope, Captain Browne informed him that St Helena was very bare of all manner of provisions and arrack. To serve his masters the Honourable East India Company and to oblige the governor, he had brought a great quantity of garden seeds, twenty sheep and fourteen leaguers of arrack. He hoped these would be accepted, since they were designed for the service of his masters and the good of the island. He asked no more for the arrack than 6s 0d per gallon, which was the price it went at when he was last there, though it had cost him 4s 0d per gallon at the Cape. The letter was signed by Richard Holden aboard the <i>Mary</i> in St Helena road on 18 May 1716. Interpretations A leaguer was a large cask holding roughly 150 gallons, so fourteen leaguers of arrack amounted to a very substantial import for a small settlement, and arrack itself, a spirit distilled in the East from palm sap, sugar or rice, was the staple strong drink of Company posts. On an island that could distil little of its own, a reliable supply of arrack mattered both to the garrison's morale and to the Company's revenue, which is why Holden fixed his price by reference to the local going rate rather than his own costs. Holden's care to state that he charged 6s 0d per gallon, the price current at his last visit, while it had cost him 4s 0d at the Cape, was a deliberate act of self-justification within a Company system that watched its commanders for private profiteering. By recording the margin openly and tying his price to precedent rather than to what the market might bear, he protected himself against any later charge that he had exploited the island's shortage for personal gain. The passage records Holden's choice to act well beyond the strict letter of his orders. Instructed only to bring garden seeds and whatever else might serve, he learned at the Cape of the island's wider want and added twenty sheep and fourteen leaguers of arrack to his cargo. He treated a narrow commission as licence to relieve a shortage he had not been sent to address, calculating that supplying provisions and drink would please both his employers and the island's government more than a literal reading of his dispatch ever could.
109	103	May. 1716. The Gov:r Answer to the foregoing Letter Capt: Holden Rec'd yours of the 18:th May 1716 I have this morning Communicated to my Councill, We all think our Selves Obligd to you for bringing us a new Stock	The governor's answer to the foregoing letter followed. Pyke wrote to Captain Holden that he had received his letter of 18 May. That morning he had communicated it to his council, and they all thought themselves obliged to him for bringing a new stock of sheep, but especially for the garden seeds, which would be very useful. As to the arrack and sugar Holden had to sell, they were willing to take it,

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of Sheep but Especially for the Garden Seed which will be very usefull to us. As to the Arrack and Sugar you have to Sell we are willing to take it, if it be Batavia and not Goa Arrack and if you are willing to Afford it at our Currant Price here which is four Shillings a Gallon for the Arrack and four pence a pound for the Sugar beyond which Price we Cannot goe, but Shall be very Gleed (if you'll lett us know wherein we are able) to Oblige you in any thing belonging to this place I am Y:o Humb: Servant Isa Pyke Union Castle S:t Helena May the 19:th 1716. The Govern:r Says he is of Opinion, that because Gov:r Harrison has been So kind to this place as to Order Capt: Holden to Procure for us at the Cape whatever he could for the Service of the Island I think therefore we ought to buy it Least he Should be a looser by carrying it to England. The Garden Seeds are a very large Quantity, and to bring twenty Sheep for a new Stock is likewise a great kindness altho' we have Sixty Eight Sheep already, which to be sure they could not know of As to the Arrack altho we have a Moderate Stock by us Yet that being bought purposely for the place I tho I am unwilling to draw bills on our Hon:r Masters which may be avoided, yet I beleive they will not disapprove	provided it was Batavia and not Goa arrack, and provided he would let them have it at their current price, which was 4s 0d a gallon for the arrack and 4d a pound for the sugar. Beyond that price they could not go, but they would be very glad to oblige him in anything belonging to the island, if he would let them know how they were able to do so. The letter was written at Union Castle in St Helena on 19 May 1716 and signed by Isaac Pyke. The governor said he was of the opinion that, because Governor Harrison had been so kind to the island as to order Captain Holden to procure at the Cape whatever he could for its service, they ought to buy it, so that Holden should not be a loser by carrying it on to England. The garden seeds were a very large quantity, and to bring twenty sheep for a new stock was likewise a great kindness, though the island had sixty-eight sheep already, which of course Holden could not have known. As to the arrack, though the island had a moderate stock, yet since it had been bought purposely for the place, the governor was unwilling to draw bills on the Honourable masters, which might be avoided. Even so, he believed they would not disapprove. Interpretations The council's insistence that the arrack be Batavia and not Goa arrack shows that quality and origin were closely watched in the Company trade. Batavia arrack, distilled in the Dutch East Indies chiefly from sugar cane and rice, was reckoned finer and more wholesome than the coarser Goa product from the Portuguese Indian coast, so the stipulation was a point of standards, ensuring the garrison received the better spirit before the island committed its money. The governor's reasoning that they ought to buy Holden's cargo so he should not lose by carrying it to England reveals the reciprocal obligations that held the Company's scattered posts together. Governor Harrison at Fort St George had done St Helena a service by ordering the supplies, and Pyke felt bound to honour that favour by taking the goods off Holden's hands, treating fair dealing between Company servants as a duty that outweighed the island's already adequate stock. The decision the passage turns on is the governor's reluctance to pay by drawing bills on the Company. He recognised that the island already held a moderate stock of arrack and that settling by bill could be avoided, yet he leaned toward buying anyway out of obligation to Holden and Harrison. He weighed the awkwardness of charging his employers for goods he did not strictly need against the cost of slighting a fellow servant's effort, and resolved to proceed on the judgment that the directors would understand and not object.
110	104	May. 1716. disapprove of drawing upon this Account Especially if he will take our Price of four Shillings a Gallon which he Says it Cost him at the Cape, So that he is like to be no Gainer by it I think tis Proper to buy it Capt: Haswell thinks tis very Proper to keep a Stock of Arrack to prevent its Growing Dearer, and he thinks we are under great Obligations to Capt: Holden for his bringing Such a Great Stock of Seeds which are much wanted and alsoe for bringing this recruit of Sheep. Capt: Bazett Says if I am satisfy'd in time of Scarcity he has given & is a great deal Mr: Byfeld is of the Same Opinion for Cons: Court Island S:t Helena. To the Worsh: Isaac Pyke Esq:r Governr:r & Councill. The most Humble Petition	The directors would not disapprove of drawing bills on this account, especially if Holden would take the island's price of 4s 0d a gallon, which he said the arrack had cost him at the Cape, so that he was likely to be no loser by it. The governor therefore thought it proper to buy it. Captain Hassell thought it very proper to keep a stock of arrack to prevent its growing dearer, and he considered the island under great obligations to Captain Holden for bringing such a great store of seeds, which were much wanted, and also for bringing this fresh supply of sheep. Captain Bazett said that if the arrack was his, in time of scarcity he had given, and would give still, the current rate. Mr Byfield was of the same opinion.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		of Margaret Sich Wid:o Sheweth That whereas your Petition:r hath a very urgent Occasion for One hundred twenty five pounds to be paid in England as part of her Grand Child Mary Brights fortune who is going in this Ship the Mary to her aunt Mrs Ann Prabburn, Now this Grand Childs fortune Consists Chiefly in Cattle which Cant be sent w:th her, and therefore prays you would give Credite to her for the Said Summe of 125:li and She will Either pay Interest for the Same at Eight P Cent, or Immediatly sell and Delivere Cattle to the full vallue thereof. Your Petitioner the more Earnestly desires this because She Can never have So Good an Opportunity for the preferment of her Grand Child as now, and Hopes tho the favour and kindness be very Great if She Can have Such bills, Yet that She has in Some	Margaret Sich, widow, then presented her most humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. She set out that she had a very urgent need for £126 0s 0d to be paid in England as part of the fortune of her grandchild Mary Bright, who was going aboard the <i>Mary</i> to her aunt Mrs Ann Prabburn. This grandchild's fortune consisted chiefly in cattle, which could not be sent with her, and so she asked that the council give her credit for the sum of £126 0s 0d. She would either pay interest for it at 8 per cent, or immediately sell and deliver cattle to the full value. She desired this the more earnestly because she could never have so good an opportunity for the advancement of her grandchild as now, and she hoped, though the favour and kindness would be very great if she could have such bills, that she had in some measure [...]. Interpretations Margaret Sich's petition shows how a remote island economy converted immovable wealth into transferable money. The grandchild's fortune lay in cattle, an asset that could not be shipped, so the widow sought a bill of exchange payable in England against which she would either pay interest or hand over livestock, turning St Helena stock into a sum a young woman could carry across the world to her marriage or settlement. The offer of 8 per cent interest, or alternatively cattle to the full value, reveals the terms of private credit on the island and the council's role as a source of it. With no bank and little coin, a widow's access to funds in England depended on the government's willingness to advance a bill, and the choice she laid out let the council take either a return on its money or tangible stock, spreading the risk of the transaction between cash and cattle. The passage records the council settling, almost in passing, a small disagreement over how to value the arrack in a time of scarcity. Bazett declared that were the arrack his own he would charge the going rate even when supplies were short, and the others agreed, choosing to affirm the current market price rather than treat scarcity as a reason to charge more or less than usual. They used a private aside about a single cargo to fix a principle of fair pricing that steadied dealings on an island where shortages might otherwise have invited sharp practice.
111	105	May. 1716 measure deserved Such a kindness because Benja: Sich her Son who lately dyed Insolvent and owed to the Hon:ble Company One hundred and eight Pound, your Petition:r having Gott what She Possesses by the favour and Protection of the Said Hon: Comp:a and has this last march Paid her Said Deceasd Sons whole debt that it might not be Said the Hon: Company were ever Loosers by any of her family or Else She had at this time, had Credit in the Stores Sufficient of her own to have Demanded Such bills, Wherefore prays to be Creditted with the Said Sume of One hundred and twenty five pound. And as in duty bound Shall Ever pray &c Mary Sich Signed M:r Powill Says that to Serve M:rs Sich upon this Occasion if the Govern:r and Council be not willing to buy M:rs Siches Cattle rather then She Should be	Margaret Sich had in some measure deserved such a kindness, because her son Benjamin Sich, who had lately died insolvent, had owed the Honourable Company £108 0s 0d. She, holding what she possessed through the favour and protection of the Company, had this last market paid her deceased son's whole debt so that it might never be said the Company were losers by any of her family. Otherwise she would at this time have had credit in the Company's stores enough of her own to have demanded such bills. She therefore asked to be credited with the sum of £126 0s 0d, and as in duty bound would ever pray. The petition was signed by Margaret Sich. Mr Powell said that, to serve Mrs Sich on this occasion, if the governor and council were not willing to buy her cattle rather than she should be disappointed in a matter of such great consequence to her, he desired that £126 0s 0d of the money due to him from the Company might be transferred and placed to her account of credit. Captain Bazett said that, as Mr Powell had credit of above £400 0s 0d, he thought they ought not to refuse him bills for any part of it, but he thought it as good to take cattle.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		disappointed in a matter of Such great Consequence to her, He desires he may transferr One hundred twenty five pound of the money that is due to him from the Hon:ble Comp:a and be plaied to her account of Credits Capt: Bazett Says that as Mr: Powill has Credit in above four hundred Pound, he thinks we Ought not to refuse him bills for any part of it, but he thinks tis as good to take Cattle The Govern:r Says M:rs Sich has behaved herself very well and lives in good Credit here and the Account of her paying One hundred & Eight Pounds that her Son Owed is very true, and he beleives also that it will be very Advantagious for her Grand Child to goe for England with Mr: Warr Passenger on board the Mary.	The governor said Mrs Sich had behaved herself very well and lived in good credit on the island. The account of her paying the £108 0s 0d that her son owed was very true, and he believed also that it would be very advantageous for her grandchild to go to England with Mr Warr, passenger aboard the <i>Mary</i>. Interpretations Benjamin Sich's insolvency and his mother's decision to clear his £108 0s 0d debt reveal how the Company's protection came bound to a family's collective honour. Margaret Sich held her property and standing through the Company's favour, so she settled a debt she was not strictly liable for, treating the reputation of her whole family before the Company as an asset worth the outlay, and now cited that very payment as proof that she deserved credit in return. Mr Powell's offer to transfer £126 0s 0d of his own Company credit to the widow shows how the island's wealthier residents functioned as informal bankers to one another. With coin scarce and formal lending unavailable, a man carrying a large balance on the Company's books could assign part of it to a neighbour in need, so private credit moved between accounts within the Company's ledgers rather than through any independent financial institution. The decision the passage turns on is Powell's willingness to lend against the widow's cattle rather than let her request fall through. The straightforward course would have been to leave the matter to the council's reluctance to buy livestock it did not need, yet Powell stepped in and pledged his own credit so she should not be disappointed. He chose to convert an impersonal institutional refusal into a private act of support, staking part of his own balance on a neighbour's cause where the council itself had hesitated.
112	106	May. 1716. Mary, who being her near Relation has desired her to goe home with her, He thinks tis Proper to give the bills She requires, but because in our bills there is mention made there is Credit due in our Hon:ble Masters books at the Stores, and the Cattle She proposes to deliver Cant be So Soon appraised & Delivered up to the Hon:ble Comp:a as to be don before this Ship goes away therefore the Govern:r thinks tis Proper for Mr: Powill to transferr 125:li to her of the Credit due to him from the P: Hon: Comp:a and as Soon as She has Delivered the Cattle, he may have it again plait to his account Capt: Haswell and Mr: Byfeld is of the Same Opinion Capt: Negus went on board his Ship Matthew Last Thursday in the afternoon Mr: Sheffield on Friday morning, and Sailed the Same day of ten of the Clock. Edward Byfeld	Mr Warr, being a near relation of the grandchild, had asked her to go home with him aboard the <i>Mary</i>, and the governor thought it proper to grant the bills the widow required. Because their bills mentioned that credit was due in the Company's books at the stores, and because the cattle she proposed to deliver could not be appraised and delivered up to the Company before the ship sailed, the governor thought it proper for Mr Powell to transfer £126 0s 0d to her from the credit due to him from the Company. As soon as she had delivered the cattle, he might have the sum placed back to his own account. Captain Hassell and Mr Byfield were of the same opinion. Captain Negus went aboard his ship the <i>Matthews</i> last Thursday in the afternoon, and Mr Sheffield on Friday morning, and she sailed the same day at ten o'clock. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The arrangement to advance the widow her bills from Powell's credit, with repayment once the cattle were appraised, turned on the mismatch between the ship's departure and the slow business of valuing livestock. The <i>Mary</i> would sail before the cattle could be assessed and handed to the Company, so the council bridged the gap by moving credit between two private accounts on its own books, letting the grandchild leave with her fortune secured while the underlying stock changed hands afterwards. The decision the passage records is the governor's choice to complete the transaction on trust ahead of the security that backed it. He could have required the cattle to be appraised and delivered before any bill was granted, which would have missed the sailing and lost the grandchild her passage, so instead he let Powell's credit stand as the immediate payment and left the delivery of the cattle to follow.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			He set the timing of a rare opportunity above the ordinary sequence of payment and security, using the flexibility of the Company's ledger to make the deadline serve the family rather than defeat it.
113	107	Island S:t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 29:th day of May 1716 at Union Castle in James valley Isaac Pyke Esq:r Gov:r George Haswell D:pty Pres:t Matt:w Bazett 3 & Edw:d Byfeld. On Monday the 28:th Instant arrived the Ship Heathcote Capt Joseph Tolson from the Coast & Bay and has brought us the following Goods. viz:t Gall:s four half Leagers of Batavia Arrack Cont:g [...] Thirty Six bags of Rice Containing [...] Ten bags of Sugar, Containing [...] Wee have Computed the Freight and all charges on the Arrack, which aMounts to about three Shillings P Gallon which we Shall Sell at Six Shillings P Gall:n The Rice to be Sold at the usuall rate of 3d P because it Stands the Hon:ble Comp:a all charges and freight Reckond, in about fifteen Shillings P hundred for w:ch reason, and it being very bad and Blue We Shant Sell any but must be obligd to give it to the Hon:ble Companys Blacks. The Sugar Comes to about three pence half penny P pound, all charges reckond which we always Sell at Eight pence P pound. The following Petition was presented.	A consultation was held on Tuesday 29 May 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. On Monday 28 May the ship <i>Heathcote</i>, Captain Joseph Tolson, arrived from the coast and bay and brought the following goods. 4 half-leaguers of Batavia arrack, containing [...] gallons 36 bags of rice, containing [...] 10 bags of sugar, containing [...] The council computed the freight and all charges on the arrack, which amounted to about 3s 0d per gallon, and they would sell it at 6s 0d per gallon. The rice was to be sold at the usual rate of 3s 0d per hundredweight. Reckoning all charges and freight to the Company, it stood at about 15s 0d per hundredweight, for which reason, and it being very bad and blue, the council would sell none of it but would be obliged to give it to the Company's slaves. The sugar came to about 3½d per pound, all charges reckoned, which the council always sold at 8d per pound. The following petition was then presented. Interpretations The blue and spoiled rice, which cost the Company about 15s 0d per hundredweight yet could not be sold at the usual 3s 0d, exposes the losses built into long-distance shipment of perishable staples. Rice that had gone bad in transit was worthless on the open market, so the council diverted it to feed the Company's slaves, treating an unsellable cargo as a way to cover the cost of maintaining forced labour rather than write the shipment off entirely. The council's open accounting, setting the landed cost of arrack at 3s 0d against a selling price of 6s 0d and sugar at 3½d against 8d, shows the fixed markups by which the Company's island store operated. These were not prices bargained in a market but administered rates that recovered freight and charges and returned a steady margin, so the store functioned as a controlled monopoly supplying the settlement at prices the government itself set. The decision the passage records is the council's choice to give the spoiled rice to the Company's slaves rather than attempt to sell it. A merchant might have offered bad rice cheaply to recover something, but the council judged it too poor to put on sale at all and turned it to feeding the enslaved workforce instead. They chose to absorb the loss as a maintenance cost of the Company's labour rather than risk the store's credit by selling produce they themselves called very bad.
114	108	May. 1716. Island S:t Helena To the Worsh: Isaac Pyke Esq:r Govern:r &c Councill The Humble Petition of Antipas Tovey Sheweth To yo:r Worsh:p That your Petition:r having not only taken to himself the Shame before and at his tryall on the 18:th Instant for that Unfortunate accident of his hurting M:r Wrangham on the 7:th March last and as he humbly Conceives Suffer'd the Utmost for it the Prosecution being Strained beyond what it ought to be, by the Instigation of Some Malignant Enemyes of your Petition:r for he never had difference before w:th M:r Wrangham but on all Occasions Shewed him what kindness	Antipas Tovey then presented his humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. He set out that he had taken the shame upon himself, both before and at his trial on 18 May, for the unfortunate accident of his hurting Mr Wrangham on 7 March, and that he humbly believed he had suffered the utmost for it, the prosecution having been strained beyond what it ought to have been by the instigation of some malignant enemies of his. He had never had any difference with Wrangham before, but on all occasions had shown him what kindness and friendship he could, which made him foolish to think Wrangham bore him any ill will. This was especially so because, after he had been wounded, Wrangham was willing to make it up. Yet such was the influence of the bad company Wrangham kept, and their evil counsel, that when

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and freundship he coud which made yo:r Petition:r So foolish to think M:r Wrangham bore him no ill will Especially because after he had bin wounded by your Petition:r he was willing to make it up, But Such is the influence of the Bad Comp:y he keeps, and their evill Councill that when yo:r Petition:r had refered himself wholly to M:r Wrangham or any two men he Should Choose, to pay him, what they Should Order he refused any agreement being resolved to prosecute at the Law and make that Subservant to his Reveng For t was Malice not Justice w:ch he pursued Else he had never Charged your Petition:r with that erronious Indictment & arraigng your Petition:r as a Felon. It fully appearing on the tryalls that no Felony had bin Committed. Wherefore, First I humbly pray that I may be Restored to the Employment which the Hon:ble Comp:a were pleasd to appoint me and my Place of one of the Councill Knowing How	Tovey had referred himself wholly to Wrangham, or any two men he should choose, to pay whatever they should order, Wrangham refused any agreement, being resolved to prosecute at law and make it serve his revenge. It was malice, not justice, that Wrangham pursued, for otherwise he would never have charged Tovey with that erroneous indictment, arraigning him as a felon, when it fully appeared at the trial that no felony had been committed. Tovey therefore first humbly asked that he might be restored to the employment which the Honourable Company were pleased to appoint him, and to his place as one of the council. Interpretations Tovey's petition reveals what a conviction, even reduced to assault, cost a man of standing in the Company's service, since his real loss was not the fine but his seat on the council and the employment that gave him his position on the island. By asking first for restoration to office, he showed that the social and professional consequences of the affair mattered more than the money, and that a place in the Company's government was a prize worth this careful public plea to recover. Tovey's account of offering to submit the whole quarrel to Wrangham or to any two men of Wrangham's choosing describes the customary machinery of private arbitration that gentlemen used to settle disputes without the courts. His grievance was that Wrangham had spurned this honourable path and gone to law instead, so the petition turns the refusal of arbitration into evidence of malice, casting his opponent as the aggressor for preferring a public prosecution to a private composition. The decision the passage records is Wrangham's earlier refusal to settle, which Tovey now throws back at him. Tovey had offered to abide by whatever award Wrangham or his chosen arbitrators might make, the ordinary route to peace between gentlemen, yet Wrangham rejected it and pressed a felony charge instead. The petition fixes on that choice of the courtroom over the private settlement as the proof that revenge rather than justice drove the prosecution, using his opponent's rejection of the softer option to argue his own fitness to return to office.
115	109	May. 1716. no further cause why I should be forced to wander about as an Idle Person and not be permitted to Sett about the Hon:ble Comp:a's businefs for the Maintenance of my Self and family without which I Shall be intirely Ruined, Yo:r Petition:r having Suffered more by the aggravation of that his unhappy Slip then by the Law he ought to doe, by being arraignd as a Felon and that Prosecution carried on to the height of Malice Humbly prays that at last he may have Justice on M:r Wrangham to repair and make amends for the Dishonour of his being falsly Indicted by a Man who was the Ring Leader of the Malecontents in Govern:r Roberts his time as appears by his false and Scandalous Petition against that Govern:t which when the Hon: Company had Granted he was not Contented But is now the Cheif of those who Murmur against the Hon:ble Comp:a Interest and is become a Tool to others, who keep under Store Houses to their Hon:rs Prejudice Upon the whole tho' I have Committed one fault which I have often repented of from the bottom of my heart and have Suffered more then the Law in Such Cases Appoints, I hope I Shall not be Totally Ruind for it and Therefore Pray that the whole Contents of this Petition	Tovey set out that there was no further reason why he should be forced to wander about as an idle person and not be permitted to go about the Company's business for the maintenance of himself and his family, without which he would be entirely ruined. He had suffered more by the aggravation of his unhappy slip than the law required, having been arraigned as a felon and that prosecution carried on to the height of malice. He humbly asked that at last he might have justice on Mr Wrangham, to repair and make amends for the dishonour of his being falsely indicted by a man who had been the ringleader of the malcontents in Governor Roberts's time. This appeared by Wrangham's false and scandalous petition against that government, which, when the Company had granted it, left him still not contented. He was now the chief of those who murmured against the Company, and, ruled by his own interest, had become a tool to others who kept private store houses to the Company's prejudice. Upon the whole, though he had committed one fault, which he had often repented of from the bottom of his heart and had suffered more than the law in such cases appointed, he hoped he would not be totally ruined for it. He therefore asked that the whole contents of his petition might be considered, so that he might have such relief as agreed with

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		may be Considered that I may have Such releif as is agreeable to Equity & Justice. And as in duty bound Shall Pray &c Antipas Tovey the 16th May 1716.	equity and justice. The petition was dated 16 May 1716 and signed by Antipas Tovey. Interpretations Tovey's charge that Wrangham secretly kept private store houses to the Company's prejudice points to a persistent problem on the island, the illicit private trade that undercut the Company's monopoly. Company servants were forbidden to run their own stores in competition with the official one, so by branding his opponent a clandestine trader and a tool of others doing the same, Tovey tried to recast a personal quarrel as a matter of loyalty to the Company, making his enemy the real offender against its interests. Tovey's attempt to tie Wrangham to the malcontents of Governor Roberts's time drew on the island's recent political turbulence to blacken his opponent. By recalling that Wrangham had petitioned against an earlier government and remained a habitual murmurer even after gaining what he sought, Tovey painted him as a chronic troublemaker rather than an honest complainant, hoping the council would read the prosecution as one more act of a disloyal faction rather than a just pursuit of a wrongdoer. The decision the passage turns on is Tovey's choice to go on the attack rather than rest on contrition. Having admitted his fault and professed deep repentance, he could have simply pleaded for mercy, yet he chose instead to demand justice against Wrangham and to assail his character as a smuggler and a factious enemy of the Company. He gambled that painting his accuser as the greater threat to Company order would serve his suit for reinstatement better than humility alone, turning a petition for relief into a counter-charge against the man who had prosecuted him.
116	110	May. 1716. The Govern:r asks Capt Haswell, what his Opinion is and thinks Proper to be done in this Case relating to Mr: Tovey. Capt: Haswell Says his opinion is that he thinks no man Safe if Tovey is not made a Severe Exam ple of. Capt: Bazett Says the Same as Capt Haswell adding that as to his the Said Toveys Acting in Council he leaves it to the Hon:ble Comp:a and the Govern:rs Prudence, The Govern:r Says Such a Petition as this is Ought not to be Answerd Immediatly, but to be Con siderd of a little and therefore Desires the Gentlemen in Council to Consider of it by Tuesday next, or if that too Soon by this day fortnight Ordered That Mr: Wrangham have Notice to Appear next Tuesday to be Acquainted w:th what Mr: Tovey has Exhibited against him. Mr: French brought in his Acc:t of Gunners Expences from the first of Aprill to the last of the Same month which was Examind, and approvd of, and is as followeth. An Acc:t of Gunn:s Stores Expended from the 5:th of Aprill 1716, to the last of D:o viz:t Falcon, Pounder, Fixt Comm, Pounder Aprill y:e 8:th For the Burying of Mad:m Pyke: Falcon 0, Pounder 0, Fixt Comm 24, Pounder 24 23 An alarm: Falcon 0, Pounder 0, Fixt Comm 4, Pounder 4 d:o Arrived the Nathaniel Capt: Negus: Falcon 0, Pounder 0, Fixt Comm 9, Pounder 9 Deliverd to the Guard: Falcon 0, Pounder 0, Fixt Comm 0, Pounder 10 Musquett Balls D:o the Guard: Falcon 0, Pounder 3, Fixt Comm 0, Pounder 0 Flints Deliverd D:o: Falcon 0, Pounder 0, Fixt Comm 0, Pounder 0	The governor asked Captain Hassell what his opinion was and what he thought proper to be done in this case relating to Mr Tovey. Captain Hassell said his opinion was that he thought no man safe if Tovey were not made a severe example of. Captain Bazett said the same as Hassell, adding that, as to Tovey's acting in council, he left it to the Company and the governor's prudence. The governor said such a petition as this ought not to be answered immediately, but considered for a little while, and he therefore asked the gentlemen of the council to consider it by next Tuesday, or, if that were too soon, by this day fortnight. The council ordered that Mr Wrangham have notice to appear next Tuesday, to be acquainted with what Tovey had exhibited against him. Mr French brought in his account of gunner's expenses from the first of April to the last of the same month, which was examined and approved as follows. An account of gunners stores expended from the 1 of April 1716 to the last of the same month: falcon shot, powder in pounds 8 April, for the burying of Madam Pyke: 24 falcon shot, 24 pounds of powder 23 April, an alarm: 4 falcon shot, 4 pounds of powder 23 April, arrived the Nathaniel, Captain Negus: 9 falcon shot, 9 pounds of powder Delivered to the guard: 10 pounds of powder Musket balls delivered to the guard: 3 Flints delivered to the guard: 36 Cartridge paper: 3 quires Match: 24 pounds Total: 24 falcon shot, 3 quires, 36 flints, 3 musket balls, 37 pounds, 47 pounds The account was signed by John French. Interpretations

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Cartridge paper: Falcon Qu: 36, Pounder 0, Fixt Comm 0, Pounder 0 Match: Falcon 24, Pounder 0, Fixt Comm 0, Pounder 0 Signed Jn:o French: Falcon 24:3:36, Pounder 3, Fixt Comm 37, Pounder 47	The firing of guns for the burial of Madam Pyke, which alone consumed 24 rounds of falcon shot and 24 pounds of powder, shows how the island marked the death of a person of rank with a formal gun salute. Madam Pyke was the wife or close kin of the governor, and expending a quarter of the month's recorded shot on her funeral honours reflects both the standing of the Pyke family and the convention by which artillery, the settlement's costliest resource, was spent to signal grief and respect. The falcon was a small cannon firing a shot of roughly two to three pounds, so the entries recording falcon shot alongside pounds of powder track the discharge of these light guns for salutes, alarms and the greeting of arriving ships. The account's division between shot expended on ceremony, on a general alarm and on saluting the incoming <i>Nathaniel</i> shows the range of occasions that drew on the magazine, each carefully logged so the Company could see how its gunpowder was used. The council's response to Tovey's petition marks the decision the passage turns on. Pressed by Hassell and Bazett to treat him as a severe example, the governor could have moved at once to reject the plea, yet he chose to defer any answer and to summon Wrangham to reply first. He set a deliberate pause and a hearing of the other side above an immediate ruling, insisting that even a petition his senior officers wished to dismiss be weighed carefully and answered only after the accused man had been heard.
117	111	May. 1716. The Store keeper brought in his monthly Accounts from the 25 of March 1716 to the 25 of Aprill following which was Examind and approvd of, and is as followeth An Account of Stores Goods Sold & Delivered to the Inhabitants, Generall Charges & Plantation House from March the 25:th 1716 to Aprill the 25:th following viz:t To the Inhabitants viz:t Arrack 199 Gall: at 7. 6:d £74 12s 6d Sugar 44:li at 8:d £14 19s 10d Candy 3:li at 12:d £1 15s 6d Flow:r 346 at 3:d £5 0s 11d Bread 157 at 3:d £2 5s 9½d Wine 113½ Gall: at 5:c £28 6s 3d Vinegar 3½ Gall: at 4:c £0 13s 6d Oyls viz:t Rape 2½ Gall: at 7:c £0 17s 6d Lynseed 2½ Gall: at 8:c £1 2s 6d Soap 19 W:eight at 7:d £1 6s 11d Tea viz:t 9 at 8:c £4 4s 0d 11 Cattens D:o at 9:c £4 19s 0d Lime Juice 4 Gall: at 5:c £0 9s 0d Rice 18 at 3½:d £0 5s 3d Pepper 4:li at 12:c £0 4s 0d Tobacco Pipes 6½ Doz:n at 6:d £0 3s 2d Carried Over	The storekeeper brought in his monthly accounts from 25 March 1716 to 25 April following, which were examined and approved as follows. This was an account of stores goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, general charges and the Plantation House from 25 March 1716 to 25 April following. To the inhabitants: Arrack, 199 gallons at 7s 6d, £74 12s 6d Sugar, 44 pounds at 8d, £14 19s 10d Candy, 3 pounds at 12d, £1 15s 6d Flour, 346 at 3½d, £5 0s 11d Bread, 157 at 3½d, £2 5s 9½d Wine, 113½ gallons at 5s, £28 6s 3d Vinegar, 3½ gallons at 4s, £0 13s 6d Oils: Rapeseed, 2½ gallons at 7s, £0 17s 6d Linseed, 2½ gallons at 8s, £1 2s 6d Soap, 19 pounds weight at 17d, £1 6s 11d Teas: 9 at [...], £4 4s 0d 11 catties at [...], £4 19s 0d Lime juice, 3 gallons at 5s, £0 9s 0d Rice, 18 at 3½d, £0 5s 3d Pepper, 4 pounds at 12d, £0 4s 0d Tobacco pipes, 6½ dozen at 6d, £0 3s 2d Carried over, £141 11s 1½d Interpretations Candy in an account of this kind meant sugar candy, refined sugar crystallised into hard lumps and valued well above ordinary sugar, which explains its price of 12d a pound against 8d for common sugar. On a Company island supplied through the eastern trade, such refined sweets were a small luxury, and their appearance in the store's ledger alongside bulk staples shows the range of goods the settlement's inhabitants bought, from daily necessities to occasional indulgences. The catty was a Chinese unit of weight, roughly a pound and a third, and its use for the tea entry marks the origin of that commodity in the China trade that Company ships carried westward. Recording tea by the catty rather than the English pound shows how the vocabulary of eastern commerce entered the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£141 11s 1½d	island's accounts, the store passing on both the goods and the measures of the ports its ships had touched. The account also lists arrack sold to the inhabitants at 7s 6d a gallon, notably higher than the 6s 0d fixed only weeks earlier for the cargoes Holden and Tolson had brought in. The gap reflects the difference between the wholesale price the council set for freshly landed stock and the retail rate the store charged its customers over the counter, the margin between the two covering the store's handling and returning the Company a steady profit on every gallon drawn from its magazine.
118	112	May. 1716. Brought Over £141 11s 1½d Shoes Viz:t Island 2p:r at 4:c £0 8s 0d English Pumps 1 p:r £0 4s 0d Boys Shoes 2 p:r at 2:6 £0 5s 0d Shoe Thread 5 at 2:6 £0 12s 6d Stockings 2 p:r Thread at 4:6 £0 9s 0d Threads Viz:t ½ Brown £0 4s 4d 2 of fine £0 5s 10d House Linnen 1:c Yard at 2:3 £0 3s 4½d Gurrahs 2 p:r at 12:6 £1 5s 0d Long Cloath 2p:r at 1:4:9 £2 9s 6d Salinoes 1 p:r at 16:5 £1 11s 7d 1 p:r at 15:2 Nealeas 3 p:r at 10:5 £1 11s 3d Dungaries 3 p:r at 5:c £0 17s 0d Chints 1 p:r S:t George £1 2s 0d Bleu Gurrahs 2 p:r S:t Geo at 9:c £0 18s 0d Silk 7¾ Ou: at 2:6 £0 18s 7¼d Hooks & Lines Viz:t 12 Hooks N:o 1 £0 0s 12½d 1 Line N:o 2 £0 0s 5d 2 D:o N:o 5 £0 0s 11d £0 1s 8½d Carried Over £154 13s 5¾d	The account continued from the sum brought over of £141 11s 1½d. Brought over, £141 11s 1½d Shoes: Island shoes, 2 pairs at 4s, £0 8s 0d English pumps, 1 pair, £0 4s 0d Boys shoes, 2 pairs at 2s 6d, £0 5s 0d Shoe thread, 5 at 2s 6d, £0 12s 6d Stockings, 2 pairs thread at 4s 6d, £0 9s 0d Threads: ½ pound brown, £0 4s 4d 2 pounds fine at 1s 6d, £0 5s 10d House linen, first grade, at 2s 3d, £0 3s 4½d Guineas, 2 pieces at 12s 6d, £1 5s 0d Long cloth, 2 pieces at 1s 4s 9d, £2 9s 6d Salampores, 1 piece at 16s 5d, £0 16s 5d Salampores, 1 piece at 15s 2d, £1 11s 7d Nealias, 3 pieces at 10s 5d, £1 11s 3d Dungarees, 3 pieces at 5s, £0 17s 0d Chintz, 1 piece at St George, £1 2s 0d Blue guineas, 2 pieces at St George at 9s, £0 18s 0d Silk, 7¾ ounces at 2s 6d, £0 18s 7¼d Hooks and lines: 12 hooks, number 1, £0 0s 12½d 1 line, number 2, £0 0s 5d 2 lines, number 5, £0 0s 4d Sub-total, £0 1s 8½d Carried over, £154 13s 5¾d Interpretations Several of the cloths in this account were Indian cotton goods known to the trade by their eastern names, and their prominence shows how far the island depended on the textile commerce that Company ships carried from India. Salampores were plain cotton cloth from the Coromandel coast, nealias a similar Indian cotton, long cloth a fine plain-woven cotton sold in long pieces, and dungarees a coarse, hard-wearing calico used for working clothes and sailcloth, so the store supplied everything from durable labour cloth to finer material for better garments. The guineas and blue guineas, some marked as from St George, were checked or striped cotton cloths manufactured in India specifically for the West African trade, where they were exchanged for slaves and gold, hence the name. Their presence in the St Helena store, alongside chintz from Fort St George, shows the island receiving goods routed through the Company's Indian settlements, the same fabrics that furnished the Guinea trade also clothing the inhabitants of a mid-Atlantic garrison. The entry recording house linen of the first grade points to a graded system of quality in the cloth the store carried, distinguishing better linen from coarser sorts. On an isolated island where residents could not shop around, such grading let the store meet different needs and purses from a single stock, offering finer material to those who could pay for it while keeping cheaper cloth available, all at prices the Company itself set.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
119	113	May. 1716. Brought Over £154 13s 5¾d Blanketts Viz:t 1 p:r Ditto £0 19s 0d 1 Blankett £0 11s 3d £1 10s 3d Broad Cloath 71¾ Yards Black at 14:6¼ £52 1s 10½d Shalloones 19½ Yards at 2/6 £2 8s 9d Perpetuanoes Viz:t 39 Yards at 2:5 £4 14s 3d 24 Yards at 2:3 £2 14s 0d £7 8s 3d Flannell 9 Yards at 2:3 £1 0s 3d Kerseys 41½ Yards at 2:2 £4 9s 4½d Bodice Viz:t 2 p:r at 10:4 £1 0s 8d 1 p:r £0 11s 6d 1 p:r £0 4s 6d £1 16s 8d Buttons 3 doz:n Brest £0 1s 0d Mohair 2 Chignes £0 0s 10d Pins 6 W:t at 1:9 £0 10s 6d 1 Paper blankett d:o £0 0s 2d £0 10s 8d Corks 21 Doz:n at 3:d £0 5s 3d Silk Scarves 1 £1 9s 2d Fustians 7½ Yards at 20:d £0 12s 6d Silk Galloone 1½ p:r at 6:d £0 0s 9d Ribbon 5 Yards at 16:d £0 6s 8d Wooden Ware 1 Bowle £0 1s 7d Carried Over £228 17s 3¾d	The account continued from the sum brought over of £154 13s 5¾d. Brought over, £154 13s 5¾d Blankets: 1 pair blankets, £0 19s 0d 1 blanket, £0 11s 3d Sub-total, £1 10s 3d Broadcloth, 71¾ yards black at 14s 6¼d, £52 1s 10½d Shalloons, 19½ yards at 2s 6d, £2 8s 9d Perpetuanas: 39 yards at 2s 5d, £4 14s 3d 24 yards at 2s 3d, £2 14s 0d Sub-total, £7 8s 3d Flannel, 9 yards at 2s 3d, £1 0s 3d Kerseys, 41 yards at 2s 2d, £4 9s 4½d Baize: 2 pairs at 10s 4d, £1 0s 8d 1 pair, £0 11s 6d 1 pair, £0 4s 6d Sub-total, £1 16s 8d Buttons, 3 dozen, priced, £0 1s 0d Mohair, 2 skeins, £0 0s 10d Pins, 6,000 at 1s 9d, £0 10s 6d 1 paper of blankets, £0 0s 2d Sub-total, £0 10s 8d Corks, 21 dozen at 3d, £0 5s 3d Silk scarves, 1, £1 9s 2d Fustians, 7½ yards at 20d, £0 12s 6d Silk galloon, 1½ pieces at 6d, £0 0s 9d Ribbon, 5 yards at 16d, £0 6s 8d Wooden ware, 1 bowl, £0 1s 7d Carried over, £228 17s 3¾d Interpretations Many of the cloths in this account were English woollens, and their bulk shows that the island drew heavily on home manufacture as well as the eastern trade for its clothing. Broadcloth was a fine, dense woollen finished with a smooth face, shalloon a lighter woollen used chiefly for linings, perpetuana a hard-wearing worsted whose name advertised its durability, kersey a coarse ribbed woollen for working garments and baize a soft napped woollen, so the store carried the full range from heavy outer cloth to cheap lining stuff. The single entry for black broadcloth, at over £52 by far the largest line in this part of the account, points to a substantial and deliberate purchase of mourning cloth. The recent death of Madam Pyke, marked days earlier by a gun salute, would have called for black clothing among the governor's household and the island's leading families, so this heavy stock of black broadcloth probably answered a sudden demand for mourning dress that the store had to supply at once. Perpetuana carried its selling point in its very name, from the Latin for everlasting, promising a worsted so tightly woven it would outlast ordinary cloth. Such durable stuff was especially valuable on a remote island where replacement was slow and costly, and its appearance in quantity shows the inhabitants favouring hard-wearing fabrics that would survive long use far from any ready source of resupply.
120	114	May. 1716. Brought Over £228 17s 3¾d Glass Ware Viz:t 2 Panes 8 by 6 £0 2s 0d 3 D:o 10 by 12 £0 4s 6d £0 6s 6d Stationary Ware Viz:t 5 Quire Paper at 16:d £0 6s 8d	The account continued from the sum brought over of £228 17s 3¾d. Brought over, £228 17s 3¾d Glassware: 2 panes, 8 by 6, £0 2s 0d 3 panes, 10 by 12, £0 4s 6d Sub-total, £0 6s 6d Stationery ware: 5 quires paper at 16d, £0 6s 8d 2 testaments at 1s 9d, £0 3s 6d Sub-total, £0 10s 2d Nails:

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		2 Testaments 1:9 £0 3s 6d £0 10s 2d Nayles Viz:t 2 of 4:d £0 1s 9d 2 of 2:d £0 1s 10d £0 3s 7d Iron Mongers Ware Viz:t 1 Till Lock £0 3s 4d 2 Ditto at 12:d £0 2s 0d 1 Ditto £0 1s 8d 2 Chest D:to at 4:6 £0 9s 0d 1 Ditto £0 2s 0d 1 Ditto £0 4s 8d 1 Closett D:o £0 1s 10½d 1 p:r Hinges £0 1s 3½d 4 p:r Doeystailes at 4:d £0 1s 4d 6 Shovells at 2:d £0 12s 0d 1 Spade 2 Size £0 5s 10d Totall £232 2s 7d	2 thousand of 4d nails, £0 1s 9d 2 thousand of 2d nails, £0 1s 10d Sub-total, £0 3s 7d Ironmongers ware: 1 till lock, £0 3s 4d 2 locks at 12d, £0 2s 0d 1 lock, £0 1s 8d 2 chest locks at 4s 6d, £0 9s 0d 1 chest lock, £0 2s 0¼d 1 chest lock, £0 4s 8d 1 closet lock, £0 1s 10½d 1 pair hinges, £0 1s 3½d 4 pairs dovetails at 4d, £0 1s 4d 6 shovels at 2s, £0 12s 0d 1 spade, second size, £0 5s 10d Total, £232 2s 7d Interpretations The two testaments entered under stationery ware were copies of the New Testament, and their sale through the Company store shows how religious provision on the island passed through the same commercial channel as paper, cloth and hardware. On a settlement with no bookseller, the store was the only source of printed scripture, so a resident wishing to own the Testament bought it across the counter alongside everyday goods, the Company supplying spiritual as well as material wants. The window glass sold by the pane in fixed sizes reflects the practical business of building and maintaining houses on an island that produced no glass of its own. Every pane had to be shipped thousands of miles, so glazing was a modest luxury supplied in standard dimensions, and the store's stock of set sizes let residents repair broken windows or fit out new rooms without waiting for a bespoke order from England. The heavy weighting of the ironmongery toward locks, seven of various kinds among a short list of hardware, points to a real concern with securing property on the island. Chests, closets and doors were fitted with locks because goods were scarce and valuable and pilfering a constant worry in a settlement of servants, slaves and transient sailors, so the demand for locks recorded here reflects the everyday need to guard possessions where replacement was slow and theft hard to prevent.
121	115	May. 1716. Generall Charges D:r to Store Goods from March the 25 1716 to Aprill the 25:th following viz:t Arrack 79 Gall: at 7. 6 P Gall £29 12s 6d Bread 189 at 3½ £2 15s 1½d Flour 165 £2 6s 5¾d Rice 150 £21 18s 8d Wine 69¾ Gall: at 5 £17 8s 9d Vinegar 2½ Gall: at 4 £0 10s 0d Lime Juice 2 Gall: 5 £0 10s 0d Oyls Viz:t Rape 6½ Gall: at 7 £2 5s 6d Sweet 1½ Gall: at 12 £0 18s 0d Lynseed 3½ Gall: at 8 £1 8s 0d £4 11s 6d Tea Viz:t 4 Catters at 9 £1 16s 0d 4 ditto at 9	This was an account of general charges debtor to store goods from 25 March 1716 to 25 April following. Arrack, 79 gallons at 7s 6d per gallon, £29 12s 6d Bread, 189 at 3½d, £2 15s 1½d Flour, 165 at [...], £2 6s 5¾d Rice, 150 at [...], £21 18s 8d Wine, 69¾ gallons at 5s, £17 8s 9d Vinegar, 2½ gallons at 4s, £0 10s 0d Lime juice, 2 gallons at 5s, £0 10s 0d Oils: Rapeseed, 6½ gallons at 7s, £2 5s 6d Sweet, 1½ gallons at 12s, £0 18s 0d Linseed, 3½ gallons at 8s, £1 8s 0d Sub-total, £4 11s 6d Teas: 4 catties at 9s, £1 16s 0d 4 catties at 9s, £1 16s 0d Sub-total, £3 12s 0d Soap, 36 pounds English at 17d, £2 11s 0d Brandy, one gallon, £0 10s 0d Pepper, 2 pounds, £0 2s 0d Cheese, 10 pounds, £0 10s 0d Twine, 1 pound, £0 2s 4d Shoe thread, [...], £0 1s 3d Glassware, 6 ale glasses at 2s 6d, £0 15s 0d Carried over, £87 16s 7d Interpretations

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£1 16s 0d £3 12s 0d Soap 36 Eng: at 17 £2 11s 0d Brandy one Gallon £0 10s 0d Pepper 2 £0 2s 0d Cheese 10 £0 10s 0d Twine 1 £0 2s 4d Shoe Thread £0 1s 3d Glass Ware 6 Ale Glasses at 2:6 £0 15s 0d Carried Over £87 16s 7d	This account, headed general charges, recorded goods drawn from the store not for sale to the inhabitants but for the Company's own establishment and running costs, distinct from the earlier account of retail sales. The same commodities appear, arrack, bread, wine, oils and tea, but here they were consumed by the Company's officers, guests and operations, so the ledger separated what the settlement sold from what it spent on itself, letting the directors see each side of the store's traffic. The sweet oil listed among the oils was olive oil, distinguished from the rapeseed and linseed oils used for lamps, lubrication and trades. Olive oil served for cooking and the table and had to be shipped from Europe, which explains its high price of 12s a gallon against 7s for rapeseed, marking it as the superior oil reserved for eating while the cheaper oils met the settlement's working needs. The arrack charged to the Company's own account at 7s 6d a gallon, the same rate the inhabitants paid, shows that the establishment did not draw its supplies at the wholesale price but was debited at the full retail rate. Charging the Company's own consumption at the counter price kept the store's accounts consistent and ensured that goods used by the officers and household were valued exactly as if sold, so that internal use returned the same notional margin as any other sale.
122	116	May. 1716. Brought Over £87 16s 7d Threeds Viz:t ½ Browne at £0 3s 9½d 2 Ditto £0 5s 0d £0 8s 9½d Corks 6 Dez:n at 3:d £0 1s 6d Kerseys 64 Yards at 2:2 £6 18s 8d Dungaries 4 p: at 5:8 £1 2s 8d House Linnen 4½ Yards at 2:3 £0 10s 1½d Hessings 2½ Yards at 1:2 £0 2s 11d Long Cloath 1 p: £1 4s 9d Tin Ware 1 Tin Kettle £0 2s 4d White Lead 18 at 6:d £0 9s 0d Pewter Buttons 1 Grose £0 4s 6d Iron Mongers Ware 2 Rimd Locks £1 4s 0d Nayles Viz:t 10 of 20 at 7:d £0 5s 10d 6 4 10½ £0 5s 3d 4 6 9 £0 3s 0d £0 14s 1d Pork 1 Cask q: 235 at 8:d £7 16s 8d Beefe 1 Cask q: 525 at 5½ £12 0s 7½d Totall £120 16s 11½d	The account continued from the sum brought over of £87 16s 7d. Brought over, £87 16s 7d Threads: 1 pound brown, £0 3s 9½d 2 pounds brown, £0 5s 0d Sub-total, £0 8s 9½d Corks, 6 dozen at 3d, £0 1s 6d Kerseys, 64 yards at 2s 2d, £6 18s 8d Dungarees, 4 pieces at 5s 8d, £1 2s 8d House linen, 4½ yards at 2s 3d, £0 10s 1½d Herrings, 2½ yards at 1s 2d, £0 2s 11d Long cloth, 1 piece, £1 4s 9d Tinware, 1 tin kettle, £0 2s 4d White lead, 18 pounds at 6d, £0 9s 0d Pewter buttons, 1 gross, £0 4s 6d Ironmongers ware, 2 rim locks, £1 4s 0d Nails: 10 thousand of 20d nails at 7s, £3 15s 10d 6 thousand of 4d nails at 10½d, £0 5s 3d 4 thousand of 6d nails at 9d, £0 3s 0d Sub-total, £4 4s 1d Pork, 1 cask of 235 pounds at 8d, £7 16s 8d Beef, 1 cask of 525 pounds at 5½d, £12 0s 7½d Total, £120 16s 11½d Interpretations The white lead entered here was the basic ingredient of oil paint, a lead carbonate ground and mixed with oil to make a durable white or tinted coating for woodwork and buildings. Its presence among general charges points to the upkeep of the Company's own structures, the fort, storehouses and Plantation House needing regular painting against the weather, so the store carried the raw material by which the settlement protected and maintained its timber and joinery. The casks of salt pork and salt beef, together weighing over seven hundredweight, were the preserved meat that provisioned ships and the garrison, cured in brine to survive long storage and the tropics of the outward voyage. Charged to general account rather than sold to inhabitants, these were the staple rations of the Company's establishment, and their bulk shows how much salted provision a single month required to feed the officers, soldiers and passing crews the settlement supported.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			The nails bought by the thousand in several sizes, from small fourpenny to heavy twenty-penny, reflect the constant building and repair that a Company station demanded. Timber structures in a damp and windy climate needed continual maintenance, and with no local nail-making the store had to keep a graded stock shipped from England, the range of sizes recorded here matching the different joinery, framing and heavy fastening that construction on the island called for.
123	117	May. 1716. Plantation Debt:r to Store Goods from March the 25 1716, to Aprill the 25:th following Viz:t Arrack 2 Gall: at 7. 6 £0 15s 0d Sugar 14 at 8:d £0 9s 4d Flour 6 at 3½ £0 1s 9d Oyle 4½ Gall: Rape at 7 £1 11s 6d Rice 340 at 3½ £4 19s 8d Paper 4 Quire at 16 £0 5s 4d Iron Mongers Ware 6 Shovells £0 12s 0d Totall of Plantation £53 6s 7d Totall of the Inhabitants £232 2s 7d Totall of Generall Charges £120 16s 11½d £406 6s 1½d Edward Byfield	This was an account of the Plantation debtor to store goods from 25 March 1716 to 25 April following. Arrack, 2 gallons at 7s 6d, £0 15s 0d Sugar, 14 pounds at 8d, £0 9s 4d Flour, 6 pounds at 3½d, £0 1s 9d Oil, 4½ gallons rapeseed at 7s, £1 11s 6d Rice, 340 pounds at 3½d, £49 11s 8d Paper, 4 quires at 16d, £0 5s 4d Ironmongers ware, 6 shovels, £0 12s 0d Total of Plantation, £53 6s 7d Total of the inhabitants, £232 2s 7d Total of general charges, £120 16s 11½d Grand total, £406 6s 1½d The account was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The rice charged to the Plantation account, 340 pounds at £49 11s 8d, so far outweighed every other item that it clearly served a purpose beyond feeding a household, and points to rice as the staple ration issued to the slaves who worked the Company's plantation. The Plantation House ran on forced labour, and the great bulk of cheap rice drawn from the store month after month was the food that sustained that workforce, the single largest running cost of the Company's own agricultural establishment. The three totals gathered at the foot of this account, Plantation, inhabitants and general charges, brought together the store's whole month of business under one grand sum of £406 6s 1½d. This structure let the directors see at a glance how the store's issues divided between what the settlers bought, what the Company spent on its own operations and what the plantation consumed, a simple but effective piece of accounting that separated the commercial, administrative and agricultural sides of a single enterprise. The relative smallness of the Plantation's other charges, set against the enormous rice entry, shows how narrowly the plantation drew on the store beyond its labourers' food. A few gallons of arrack and oil, a little sugar and flour, some paper and six shovels made up almost all the rest, so the establishment produced most of what it needed from its own land and turned to the store chiefly for the imported rice that home-grown crops could not replace as the workers' staple.
124	118	Island Sit Helena At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 12th day of June 1716. At Union Castle in James valley Isaac Pyke Esq:a Govern:r Geo: Haswell D:pty Pres:t Matt:w Bazett 3 & Edward Byfield This was a mistake On Sunday last the 10 Instant Arrived here the Ship Derby Capt: William Fitzhugh Commander, who brought us a Letter and Invoice from the President and Council at Bengall, Containing, viz:t Four half Legars of Batavia Arrack Containing Ten bags Sugar Containing	A consultation was held on Tuesday 12 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. Start of crossed out section On Sunday last, 10 June, the ship <i>Derby</i>, Captain William Fitzhugh commander, arrived, and brought a letter and invoice from the president and council at Bengal, containing the following. 4 half-leaguers of Batavia arrack, containing [...] 10 bags of sugar, containing [...] 40 bags of rice, containing [...] For these the council gave him an order to send on shore, but he had not yet done it. The council had

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Forty bags Rice Containing gave him an Order to Send on Shore but has not yet done it. We have reason to beleive (tho' they have not told us) Margin Notes: Margin Notes: This was a mistake	reason to believe, though they had not been told so [...]. End of crossed out section This entry was a mistake.
125	119	Island S:t Helena At a Consultation held on Thursday the 5:th day of June 1716, at Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq:r Gov:r George Haswell D:r Pres:t Matt:w Bazett 3 Edw:d Byfeld. The Petition of Antipas Tovey delivered last Consul tation day was at his request again read & Considered Likewise Francis Wrangham appeared to answer to what the Said Tovey had Exhibited against him in that Petition. Francis Wrangham made answer that what is Alledged against him is not true, but all that he Says himself in his defence is true he is Sure of. The Govern:r demanded of the Council whether they thought M:r Wrangham was in the right or wrong, in Indicted M:r Tovey for Felony Capt: Haswell desires to be excused from giving his Opinion Capt: Bazett Says that he beleives M:r Wrangham is not to blame for what he has done, since that any man would have don the Same. M:r Byfeld Says he thinks M:r Wrangham is much to blame for Indicting M:r Tovey for Felony when the fact was not So.	A consultation was held on Thursday 7 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The petition of Antipas Tovey, delivered at the last consultation, was at his request read and considered again. Francis Wrangham also appeared to answer what Tovey had exhibited against him in that petition. Wrangham answered that what was alleged against him was not true, but that all he said in his own defence he was sure of. The governor asked the council whether they thought Mr Wrangham was in the right or wrong in having indicted Tovey for felony. Captain Hassell asked to be excused from giving his opinion. Captain Bazett said he believed Wrangham was not to blame for what he had done, since any man would have done the same. Mr Byfield said he thought Wrangham was much to blame for indicting Tovey for felony when the fact was not so. Interpretations Captain Hassell's request to be excused from giving his opinion carried real weight in a body this small, where four men decided every matter. Having earlier urged that Tovey be made a severe example, he now stepped back rather than judge Wrangham's conduct, and his withdrawal left the council openly split, showing how personal entanglement in the original quarrel could hollow out the bench and leave a contested question without a clear majority. The division between Bazett and Byfield exposed the genuine legal uncertainty that ran through the whole affair. One councillor held that any man in Wrangham's place would have prosecuted as he did, the other that charging felony where no felony existed was a serious wrong, and the two views could not be reconciled, so the council mirrored the doubt that had dogged the case from the first over whether the indictment had been honest zeal or malicious excess. The decision the passage turns on is the governor's choice to reopen the question of Wrangham's conduct at all. He could have confined the council to Tovey's plea for reinstatement, yet he put to his colleagues the pointed question of whether Wrangham had been right or wrong to indict for felony, deliberately turning the inquiry back on the prosecutor. He used Tovey's petition as the occasion to test whether the original charge had been just, treating the accuser's conduct as fair matter for judgment rather than shielding the man who had brought the case.
126	120	June 1716. The Govern:r Says that M:r Tovey has been a little too Severely dealt withal, in being Indicted for Felony and he hopes that the Punishm:t he has had will be Such a warning to him that it will cause him to be have himself better for the future. Whereupon M:r Tovey was Sent for in but told that he had not yet Suffered one for his fault, and therefore could not yet be Admitted to his place of Coun:l But in in Case he behaved himself well from this time to the 8:th of July next, he Should then be admitted & hoped	The governor said that Mr Tovey had been dealt with a little too severely in being indicted for felony, and he hoped the punishment Tovey had received would be such a warning to him that it would cause him to behave better in future. Tovey was then sent for and told that he had not yet suffered enough for his fault and therefore could not yet be admitted to his place on the council. Even so, if he behaved himself well from now until 8 July next, he should then be admitted, and the governor

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		he could behave himself for the future as not to deserve any further Displeasure The Petition of Ralph Orme To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esq:r Govern:r &c Council The most Humble Petition of Ralph Orme Monk:ss Humblye Sheweth That whereas your Petition:r now Rents a Parcell of Land which afore was tennanted of the Hon:ble Comp:a by Robert Leech dec:d on which was produced a Quantity of Yams Since Sold by the Execut:rs of Said Robert Leech to the Said Hon:ble Comp:a Conditionally that they Should be Digg up at the Termination of Eighteen months Same time ago Expired The Land while Said Yams remain being of no Use to your Said Petition:r family, and having Needfull Occasion for that Ground, humbly request that your Said Consideration of my Necessity to Supply the wants of my family. And yo:r Petition:r as in duty bound will ever pray &c Signed Ralph Orme June 7:th 1716.	hoped he would conduct himself in future so as not to deserve any further displeasure. Ralph Orme, monkess, then presented his humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. He set out that he then rented a parcel of land which had earlier been held from the Company by the late Robert Leech, on which a quantity of yams had been raised. These yams had since been sold by Leech's executors to the Company on condition that they should be dug up at the end of eighteen months, a period now expired. The land, while the yams remained, was of no use to Orme and his family, and having need of the ground, he humbly asked the council to consider his necessity and let him supply his family's wants. The petition was dated 7 June 1716 and signed by Ralph Orme. Interpretations Ralph Orme's difficulty shows how a sale of standing crops could tie up the land beneath them to a tenant's loss. The Company had bought the late Robert Leech's yams on terms that let them stay in the ground for eighteen months, so Orme, renting the plot, could not use the soil while another party's crop occupied it, a conflict between ownership of the produce and possession of the land that left him paying for ground he could not work. The eighteen-month clause attached to the Company's purchase of the yams reveals how the island managed a staple that matured slowly and stored best in the earth. Yams could be left in the ground until needed rather than lifted at once, so the Company secured the right to draw on Leech's crop over a long span, treating the buried yams as a reserve of food; but with that period now expired, Orme had grounds to demand the land be cleared. The decision the passage records is Orme's choice to seek redress through petition rather than simply clear the expired crop himself. With the eighteen months run out, he might have dug up or discarded the yams to reclaim his plot, yet he brought the matter to the council instead, appealing to his family's necessity. He deferred to the Company's authority over its own produce even where his lease gave him a claim, judging that a formal request would secure the ground more safely than acting on his own against the Company's interest.
127	121	June 1716. The Said Petition referd to the Gov:r who will Consider of it and give his Answer. Mr:r Worrall Overseer of the Hon:ble Companys Plantations brought in the two last months Accounts which he would have don Sooner but that he has been very busie about the Companys Affairs dure ing all this Shipping time The Said Accounts was Examind and approv'd of and are as followeth. An Acc:t of the Hon:ble Comp:as Stocks of Neat Cattle Sheep Hogs Goats &c for the two last months viz:t Aprill & May taken June 1: 1716 60 Cows 16 Bullocks 4 Bulls 6 Heifers 38 Yearlings 46 Calves 170 10 Bullocks killd Since Last Account 2 D:o Sent on board of Capt: Negus alive 1 Bull D:o Killd 1 D:o broke his heart in	Orme's petition was referred to the governor, who would consider it and give his answer. Mr Worrall, overseer of the Company's plantations, brought in the accounts for the two last months, which he would have done sooner but that he had been very busy about the Company's affairs during all this shipping time. The accounts were examined and approved as follows. This was an account of the Company's stocks of neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and the rest for the two last months, being April and May, taken 1 June 1716. Neat cattle: 60 cows 16 bullocks 4 bulls 6 heifers 38 yearlings 46 calves Total, 170 10 bullocks killed since last account 2 bullocks sent on board Captain Negus alive 1 bull killed 1 bull broke his heart in bringing down None increased since last account Goats: 173 does 49 wethers 59 kids

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		bringing Downe None Increased Since last Acc:t 103 Hogs Great & Small 12 Cows 10 Barrows 26 Shoats 54 Piggs 1 Boar 103 27 killd Since last Acc:t 6 Increased D:o 6 dead w:th the pant 308 Goats Great and Small 173 She's 49 weathers 59 ewe killd 22 Ram d:o 5 Rams 308 23 killd Since last Account 23 Increased Since last Acc: given in 86 Sheep Great and Small 49 Ews 35 weathers 1 Ram 1 Lamb 86 19 brought Since last to be given in None Increased d:o None killd 26 Geese Great & Small 6 bought Since last acc:t 4 d:o killed none Increased 62 Turkeys Great & Small 11 killd Since last Acc:t 6 Disposed of for 6 Geese 26 fowles 10 killd Since last Acc:t 4 Ducks 22 killd Since last Acc:t 8 bought &c	22 rams (does) 5 rams Total, 308 23 killed since last account 23 increased since last account, given in Hogs, great and small, 103 12 sows 10 barrows 26 shoats 54 piggs 1 boar Total, 103 27 killed since last account 6 increased 6 dead of the past Sheep, great and small, 86 49 ewes 35 wethers 1 ram 1 lamb Total, 86 19 brought since last, ditto given in None increased ditto None killed Geese, great and small, 26 6 bought since last account 4 killed none increased Turkeys, great and small, 62 11 killed since last account 6 disposed of for 6 geese Fowls, 26 10 killed since last account Ducks, 4 22 killed since last account 8 bought Interpretations This livestock census, taken across the whole of the Company's plantation, shows the mixed husbandry by which a remote island fed itself and provisioned passing ships, keeping cattle, goats, hogs, sheep and poultry together rather than relying on any single kind. The heavy stock of goats, over three hundred, reflects their suitability to the island's rough hill pasture, where hardy browsing animals thrived on ground that would not support cattle, so the herd composition mapped the terrain as much as the settlement's appetite. The note that two bullocks were sent alive aboard Captain Negus's ship records the practice of shipping live animals to sea to furnish fresh meat on the voyage, a valuable relief from the salt provisions that otherwise sustained a crew. Supplying departing vessels with cattle on the hoof was one of St Helena's essential functions in the Company's system, the island serving as a victualling station where ships worn by months at sea could take on fresh stock before the long haul home. The careful tracking of increase and loss in each species, births set against animals killed, sold or dead, marks this as a working management account rather than a mere tally. By recording that a bull broke his heart being brought down from the hills, that turkeys were bartered for geese and that poultry were bought to make up numbers, the overseer gave the council a moving picture of the herds and flocks, letting them judge whether the plantation was maintaining its breeding stock or eating into it.
128	122	June 1716. 11 Asses Great & Small 7 of the Male kind 4 of the female kind 11 Signed W:m Worrall Edward Byfeld	The livestock account concluded with the asses. Asses, great and small, 11 7 of the male kind 4 of the female kind Total, 11 The account was signed by William Worrall. A memorandum noted that thus far there had been sent

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Island St Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 12:th day of June 1716, At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esq:r Govern:r Pres:t Matth: Bazett 3 d:o Edward Byfeld 4 On Sunday last the 10 Instant Arrived here the Ship Derby Capt: William Fitzhugh Command:r who brought us a Letter and Invoice from the President & Council at Bengall, Containing viz:t Gall:s Four half Legars of Batavia Arrack Cont: 296 7. 6 Ten bags Sugar 4:c q: at 13: 3:d 18:c Forty bags Rice q: 5:8: 2:18 for which we gave him an Order to Send on Shoar, but has not yet don it. Wee have reason to beleive (tho' they have not told us) that these Ships will Saile Hence very Speedily, and therefore think it Proper to prepare a letter to Send home to the Hon:ble Comp:a and that every one of the Council do Consider and Send in Writing to the Govern:r what they think Necessary. Margin Notes: Margin Notes: Memorand:m Thus farr hath been Sent home by Ships D:r Bowrey and Heathcote	home by the ships <i>Bouverie</i> and <i>Heathcote</i>. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. A consultation was held on Tuesday 12 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. On Sunday last, 10 June, the ship <i>Derby</i>, Captain William Fitzhugh commander, arrived and brought a letter and invoice from the president and council at Bengal, containing the following. 4 half-leaguers of Batavia arrack, containing 296 gallons, £74 0s 0d 10 bags of sugar, 42 [...] at 13s 3d, £18 [...] 40 bags of rice, [...] at 5s 8d, £2 18s 0d For these the council gave Fitzhugh an order to send them on shore, but he had not yet done it. The council had reason to believe, though they had not been told so, that these ships would sail from the island very speedily. They therefore thought it proper to prepare a letter to send home to the Company, and that every one of the council should consider and send in writing to the governor what they thought necessary. Interpretations The council's decision to prepare their homeward dispatch on nothing firmer than a belief that the ships would sail speedily, though the commanders had not told them so, reveals how the island worked to the rhythm of a shipping season it did not control. Company vessels came and went on their own schedules, and a settlement thousands of miles from London had to seize each departure to send its accounts and correspondence, so the government readied its letters on rumour rather than risk missing the only conveyance home for months. The governor's method of gathering each councillor's views in writing before composing the Company letter shows a deliberate way of building a collective record. Rather than settle the dispatch by discussion alone, he required every member to put his opinion on paper, which both ensured that each man's counsel was preserved and spread responsibility for the letter's contents across the whole council, a prudent practice where a single misjudged report could draw the directors' displeasure on the writer. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to act at once on unconfirmed word of the ships' departure rather than wait for certainty. They could have held their correspondence until the commanders gave firm notice of sailing, at the risk of being caught unready, yet they chose to begin the letter immediately on mere expectation. They treated the danger of missing the homeward passage as the greater risk, letting a probable deadline override the ordinary preference for acting only on confirmed information.
129	123	June 1716. Necessary to be Mentioned in that Letter. The Petition of Gabriell Cowill as followeth. Island St Helena To the Worship:full Isaac Pyke Esq:r Govern:r &c The most Humble Petition of Gabriell Cowill free planter Most Humbly Sheweth That whereas your Petition:r at a Sessions held about Eight months Since, did rashly and unadvisedly in the face of the whole Court Utter and lett fall Such words as your Petition:r owns your Worship had just reason to resent and to Act therein as with Prudence and Justice you	This too was matter necessary to be mentioned in the letter. Gabriel Powell, a free planter, then presented his humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. He set out that about eight months earlier he had rashly and unadvisedly, in the face of the whole court, uttered and let fall such words as gave the governor just reason to resent them and to act, as he had, with prudence and justice. Ever since, Powell had repented of his folly and condemned it, and being deeply sensible of his fault, he now, and would gladly have done it sooner, humbly and sincerely asked the governor's pardon. He begged that the governor would out of clemency and goodness be pleased to excuse him from any fine and discharge him from his recognizance, nothing at present being of greater trouble and concern to him than the unhappy

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		have. And for that your Petition:r hath ever Since w:th repentt and Sorrow reflected on his folly and Condemnd the Same and being deeply Sensible of his fault, Doth now (and woud gladly have don it Sooner) Most Humbly and Sincerely ask and Crave your Worships Pardon and that you'l be pleased out of your Clemency and Goodness to Excuse your Petition:r from any fine and Discharge him from his recognizance, nothing at present being a greater trouble and Concern to your Said Petition:r that his unhappy Misfortune of Lying under your Worships Displeasure (which he hopes to receive) and Humbly begs to be Admitted into your favour as t was one his Good fortune to have that Hon:r and do faithfully assure you S:r that this fault of mine Shall be a warning to me for the future Deportment in all Respects to his yo:r Penitent Petition:r Superiors, but more Particularly to your Worships (as tis his duty So to do) this your Petition:r Humbly Presents in hopes of a favourable and Generous acception and Remittance of his fault aforesd And as in duty bound Shall ever pray for yo:r Worps health & Prosperity Gabriel Cowill Signed Pyke y:e 12 1716	misfortune of lying under the governor's displeasure, which he hoped to be relieved of. He humbly asked to be admitted again into the governor's favour, as it was once his good fortune to have it, and faithfully assured the governor that this fault of his would be a warning to him in his future conduct in all respects toward his superiors, but more particularly toward the governor, as it was his duty to be. This his petition he presented in hopes of a favourable and generous acceptance and remittance of his fault. The petition was dated 7 June 1716 and signed by Gabriel Powell. Interpretations Gabriel Powell's recognizance was a formal bond binding him to good behaviour under threat of forfeiting a sum of money, the standard device by which the court held a man to his conduct after an offence against its authority. His petition to be discharged from it shows how such bonds hung over an offender long after the original incident, a continuing legal and financial constraint that only the governor's remission could lift, which is why Powell had to sue for release rather than simply wait out the obligation. Powell's offence, uttering rash words in the face of the whole court, belonged to a class of contempt that early modern authority treated seriously because it struck at the dignity of the bench in public. On a small island where the governor embodied both Company and civil power, open defiance in the courtroom threatened the visible order on which government rested, so the law answered such words with fines and bonds, and their remission became an act of grace that equally displayed the governor's authority. The decision the passage records is Powell's choice to seek his release through elaborate submission rather than let his recognizance simply lapse or contest it. He might have waited in hope the bond would fade or challenged its terms, yet he chose instead a full public act of contrition, casting himself entirely on the governor's clemency. He judged that abasement before the authority he had offended offered a surer route back into favour than silence or resistance, trading pride for the restoration of standing that only the governor could grant.
130	124	June 1716 Ordald that M:r Powill upon his acknow ledgment and asking Pardon for his fault be find ng more than five Pounds to the use of the Church & Poor. On Friday last one of the Hon:ble Comp:as Bullocks was killd for Capt: Tolson, which when it Came down Capt: Tolson refused and Said t was Carron, Wherefore the Govern:r has Ordered the Overseers, and others of the Comp:as Servants to be down to day to give an acct of the Same M:r Worrall the Cheif Overseer Says that the beast was very good meat and fatt, and that he Can Produce Severall Planters upon the Island to Justifye the Same. Sam:l Vessey Says that the beast was Tollerable good meat but was a little bloody, being Obligd to dress it without hanging it up, being no trees within half a half a mile of the place where the beast was killd nor near any water. The Govern:r askt the reason why they killd the beast at Such a Place where there was no trees. The Said Vessey Answered that they Shott the beast in the body, but not falling with that Shot Run Some Miles from the place, and then they were Obligd to Run after him	The council ordered that Mr Powell, upon his acknowledgment and asking pardon for his fault, be fined no more than £5 0s 0d to the use of the church and poor. On Friday last one of the Company's bullocks was killed for Captain Tolson, which, when it came down, Tolson refused, saying it was carrion. The governor therefore ordered the overseers and other Company servants to come down today to give an account of the matter. Mr Worrall, the chief overseer, said the beast was very good meat and fat, and that he could produce several planters on the island to justify it. James Vesey said the beast was tolerably good meat, but was a little bloody, having been obliged to dress it without hanging it up, there being no trees within half a mile of the place where the beast was killed, nor near any water. The governor asked the reason why they had killed the beast at such a place where there were no trees. Vesey answered that they had shot the beast in the body, but not falling with that shot he ran some miles from the place, and then they were obliged to run after him and set dogs on him, which was the reason the meat looked a little more bloody than it would otherwise have done, which could not be helped. The governor said that by this means the meat was refused and left on the Company's hands, and

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		and Sett doggs on him, which was the reason of the meat Looking a little more bloody then otherwise would have don which could not be helpt The Govern:r Says by this means the meat was re fused, and left on the Companys hands and was forc't to give it to the Garrison Soldiers, So that the Company has Lost a bullock Benjamin Miller who looks after the Hutts Plantation, Says he Saw the Meat that Sam:l Vessey	was forced to be given to the garrison soldiers, so that the Company had lost a bullock. Benjamin Miller, who looks after the Hutts plantation, said he saw the meat that James Vesey [...]. Interpretations The dispute over the refused bullock exposes the practical difficulty of slaughtering half-wild cattle on open ground far from the equipment proper butchery required. Meat was normally hung to let the blood drain and the flesh set, but a beast shot in the hills, chased for miles and finally pulled down by dogs could not be dressed properly, so the bloodied carcass Tolson rejected as carrion was really the product of a hunt rather than a clean killing, a hazard of raising cattle that ranged the island's rough interior. The governor's insistence on convening the overseers to account for a single bullock shows how seriously the Company weighed even small losses to its stock. A rejected beast meant an animal killed for nothing and its meat diverted to the soldiers at no return, so the loss fell on the Company, and the governor's formal inquiry into where and how the beast was shot reflects an accounting discipline that treated every head of cattle as a valuable asset to be answered for. The decision the passage turns on is Tolson's refusal of the meat as carrion rather than his acceptance of a flawed but edible carcass. The beast was by several accounts tolerable food, merely bloodied by the manner of its killing, yet Tolson rejected it outright for his ship, forcing the Company to absorb the loss and feed the meat to the garrison. He chose to hold his provisions to a standard of proper butchery over taking serviceable meat, and his refusal turned a difficult slaughter into a reckoning over who should bear the cost of a bullock that no longer met a commander's mark.
131	125	June 1716. killed and that t was good Meat and fatt Enough. Ordered that Every thing Materiall be gott ready for the Packett to be Sent home by these Ships and that it be referd to the Govern:r to Answer Capt: Wottons Protest against the Sea as he Shall think fitt M:r Byfeld brought in an acct of the monthly Expence of the Generall Table w:ch amounts to One Hund:d and too Pound Nineteen Shill:s and Eight pence three farthings The Petition of Robert Angus as follows. Island S:t Helena.	Benjamin Miller confirmed that the beast was killed and that it was good meat and fat enough. The council ordered that everything material be got ready for the packet to be sent home by these ships, and that it be referred to the governor to answer Captain Wotton's protest against the sea as he should think fit. Mr Byfield brought in an account of the monthly expense of the general table, which amounted to £102 19s 8¾d. The petition of Robert Angus followed. Interpretations The general table whose monthly cost Byfield recorded was the common dining provision maintained for the governor, council and Company officers, a standing establishment charge rather than a matter of individual meals. On a Company station the table was both a practical necessity and a mark of rank, feeding the settlement's principal servants and any visitors of consequence, so its expense was tracked as a regular outgoing of the government much like the store accounts and the plantation charges. The council's referral of Captain Wotton's protest against the sea to the governor points to the same maritime procedure seen earlier in the <i>Mary's</i> protest, the formal legal statement a commander made to lay storm damage or loss at the door of the weather rather than his own conduct. By leaving the governor to answer it as he thought fit, the council treated the response as a matter of judgment requiring the governor's authority, since acknowledging such a protest could bear on where liability for a ship's losses ultimately fell.
132	126	June 1716. Gilbert Sinnick Sold: haveing been by the Positive	Gilbert Sinnick, soldier, had been bound over to his good behaviour by the governor until the next

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Evidence of a black belonging to Serj:t Slaughter bound over to his Good behaviour by the Govern:r till the Next Sessions, for Saying that he Stole two Gold rings from John Long and gave them to the Said Sinnick, but did Since Run away, and being now taken again Denys that he gave the rings to Sinnick Saying he accus'd him in hopes of going unpunished any more. Wherefore Ordered that the Said Sinnick be immediatly discharged from his Recognizance, The Marshall Says the black owned to him that he hid the two Gold rings he Stole from John Long in One Corner of the House and thereupon he Lookt w:th the black in Every Corner of the House but could Not find them The black Says that at the very time he Stole the rings he hid them under Mr Longs Wenches bed but cannot find them now The black being askt why he Stole thes rings Says, he found them in the Yard before y:e Door tyed up in a handkerchiff, and that he took them out of the handkerchiff and put them in a little blue Pockett which he Saw Mr Longs black Wench Since have, and therefore beleives She has the rings to Ordered that the black be Sent back to Hard Labour to work for the Hon: Company According to the Law of this place. Henry Harmon made Complaint that on Saturday night last he hearing a Noise of Mens voices before the Door of the House where he Lodges	sessions, on the positive evidence of a slave belonging to Sergeant Slaughter, who said that Sinnick had stolen two gold rings from John Long and given them to Sinnick. The slave had since run away, and being now taken again denied that he had given the rings to Sinnick, saying he had accused him in the hope of going unpunished himself. The council therefore ordered that Sinnick be immediately discharged from his recognizance. The marshal said the slave had owned to him that he had hidden the two gold rings he stole from John Long in one corner of the house, and thereupon he had looked with the slave in every corner of the house, but could not find them. The slave said that at the very time he stole the rings he hid them under Mr Long's wench's bed, but could not find them now. The slave, being asked why he stole the rings, said he found them in the yard before the door, tied up in a handkerchief, and that he took them out of the handkerchief and put them in a little blue pocket, which he had since seen Mr Long's black wench have, and therefore believed she had the rings. The council ordered that the slave be sent back to hard labour to work for the Company according to the law of the island. Henry Harmon complained that on Saturday night last, hearing a noise of men's voices before the door of the house where he lodged, he went out [...]. Interpretations The slave's shifting testimony, first accusing Sinnick, then denying it, then offering three different accounts of where the rings had gone, shows how little weight such evidence could bear and yet how much hung on it. On the strength of his first word a soldier had been bound over, and only the slave's flight and recapture unravelled the charge, exposing the danger of a legal process that could act on a single unsupported accusation before its truth was ever tested. The slave's admission that he had accused Sinnick in the hope of escaping punishment himself reveals the calculation of a man with no other defence, willing to shift the blame to a free soldier to save himself. His changing story about the rings, moving from one hiding place to another and finally to the black wench's blue pocket, suggests either a desperate improvisation under questioning or a genuine tangle of theft and concealment among the household's slaves, but in either case the court could reach no settled truth. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to discharge Sinnick the moment the slave recanted, rather than hold him on the strength of the original accusation. They might have kept the soldier bound over pending further inquiry, since the recantation came from an admitted liar, yet they chose to free him at once and return the slave to hard labour. They treated the collapse of the sole witness's story as enough to clear the accused, resolving the doubt in favour of the free man and against the slave whose word had failed.
133	127	June 1716. a quarreling and was going to fight, and the Cooper being taxt with Stealing a bottle of Arrack by Bevia and Saying that this Complain:t could prove the fact Sayd to him Come here mate, and going up Close to him, he took the Said Harmon fast hold, and threw down over a Rock and Indeavour'd to do him a private Mischeif, and if he had not been prevented by a Stranger belonging to the Ship D:r Bowerie coming then by, and Bevia that Stood a little Distance off till he Cryd out, the Said Cooper he	Henry Harmon complained that men were quarrelling and about to fight, and that the cooper, being charged with stealing a bottle of arrack by Bevia and saying that this complainant could prove the fact, said to him, come here, mate. Going up close to him, the cooper took Harmon fast hold and threw him down over a rock and tried to do him a private mischief. Had he not been prevented by a stranger belonging to the ship <i>Bowerie</i> coming by, and by Bevia, who stood a little distance off until Harmon cried out, Harmon truly believed the cooper would have strangled him or torn his mouth, for he tried to get both his thumbs into it to force it open.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		really beleives would have Strangled him or torn his mouth for he Indeavour'd to gett both his Thumbs in to force it open Thomas Tompson Sold:r made Complaint alsoe against the Said Cooper for abusing and threatning him to doe him a Mischeif, insomuch that he was afraid of his life, and thereupon Run down to the Guard House and desired the Officer w:th e guard to fetch him and Secure him till morning that he might Aequaint the Govern:r After hearing what the Cooper had to Say in his own Defence and Evidence on both Sides the Govern:r Advised them to goe togethere and agree their Differences. Richard Beale made demand of Geo: Sanders for the Sume of Ten pounds due to him and his Brother for House rent from his Predecessor Thomas Gargen. The Said Sanders appeared According to Summons and Said he knew nothing of the debt nor did his wife for debt But upon Examining all acc:ts belonging to the Said Beal from Year to year, found that the Said Ten pounds was a Just debt. Wherefore	Thomas Tompson, soldier, complained also against the cooper for abusing and threatening to do him a mischief, so that he was afraid of his life. He thereupon ran down to the guard house and asked the officer of the guard to fetch the cooper and secure him till morning, that he might acquaint the governor. After hearing what the cooper had to say in his own defence, and evidence on both sides, the governor advised them to go together and settle their differences. Richard Peale demanded of George Sanders the sum of £10 0s 0d due to him and his brother for house rent from his predecessor Thomas Gargen. Sanders appeared according to summons and said he knew nothing of the debt, nor did his wife. But upon examining all the accounts belonging to Peale from year to year, it was found that the £10 0s 0d was a just debt. Interpretations The cooper's violence, throwing Harmon over a rock and forcing his thumbs into the man's mouth to tear it open, arose directly from an accusation of stealing arrack, showing how a charge of pilfering the Company's liquor could ignite savage personal reprisal. The cooper turned on the man he believed could prove the theft, so the assault was an attempt to silence a witness, and the episode reveals how the everyday policing of petty theft among servants and sailors could spill into brutal attempts at intimidation. The governor's response to both complaints against the cooper, advising the parties to go together and settle their differences, illustrates the preference for informal reconciliation over formal punishment in the daily disorder of a small settlement. Faced with brawls among sailors, soldiers and tradesmen, the governor chose to defuse rather than prosecute where he could, reserving the court's full machinery for graver matters and keeping the peace through mediation among men who had to go on living and working side by side. The decision the passage turns on is the resolution of Peale's claim through a patient examination of his year-by-year accounts rather than on the word of the parties. Sanders denied all knowledge of the debt, and his wife likewise, so the matter might have rested on oath against oath, yet the court chose to test the claim against the written record. It preferred documentary proof to sworn denial, and by tracing Peale's books over successive years established the debt as just where personal testimony alone would have left it in doubt.
134	128	June 1716. Wherefore Ordered that the Said Sume of Ten pounds be Chargd to the Estate of Thomas Gargen, and as Soon as that Estate is Sold and the money gott in then the Said Rich:d Beal and Anthony his Brother have Credit given them in the Stores, or paid Some other way and that the Said Estate be made Debtor for all Charges on this Account. Edward Byfeld Island St: Helena At a Consultation held on Fryday the 15:th day of June 1716, at Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq:r Gov:r Geo: Haswell D:pty Pres:t Matt:w Bazett 3 d:o Edwd Byfeld The Govern:r Says he calld this Consultation to Trye the Arrack, and have it tasted that came by the Ship Derby. In our Letter from Fort William in Beng:l we have an account that there is four half Leagers of Batavia Arrack Carefully put up in tight Casks, and that	The council therefore ordered that the sum of £10 0s 0d be charged to the estate of Thomas Gargen, and that as soon as that estate was sold and the money got in, Richard Peale and Anthony his brother should have credit given them in the stores, or be paid some other way. The estate was to be made debtor for all charges on the account. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. A consultation was held on Friday 15 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The governor said he had called this consultation to open the arrack and have it tasted that came by the ship <i>Derby</i>. In the letter from Fort William in Bengal there was an account that there were four half-leaguers of the best Batavia arrack carefully put up in tight casks, and that a muster of each had been sent in a bottle, part sealed. In the letter they said they doubted not the arrack would prove extraordinarily good and without leakage. This first letter was signed by the governor and council there, as would appear by the copy.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		they Sent a Muster of Each in a bottle a Part Sealed and in this Letter they Say they doubt not but the Arrack will prove Extraordinary Good and without Leakage, this first Letter was Signed by the Governor and Council there as will appear by the Copy	Interpretations The Bengal council's practice of sending a sealed muster, a sample bottle drawn from each cask, shows how quality was verified across the vast distances of the Company's trade. A buyer thousands of miles from the source could not inspect the bulk before it shipped, so a sealed sample travelled with the invoice as a warrant of what the casks should contain, letting the receiving council at St Helena taste against the promise and detect if the delivered arrack fell short of the sample. The governor's decision to call a full consultation merely to open and taste the arrack reveals how formally the Company treated the receipt of valuable goods. Rather than let a single officer sample the casks, he assembled the council so the tasting was witnessed and minuted, turning what might seem a trivial act into an official verification, since confirming the arrack's quality and condition on arrival bore directly on what the store could charge and on any claim against the shippers for a defective consignment. The decision the passage turns on is the governor's choice to test the arrack collectively and on the record rather than simply accept the Bengal council's assurance that it would prove good and without leakage. He could have taken the sealed muster and the confident invoice as sufficient, yet he convened the council to open and taste it for themselves. He set independent verification above the word of a fellow Company settlement, ensuring that the island judged the goods on its own account before committing to their value, however trustworthy the source.
135	129	June 1716. thereof now to be Sent home. And we have in the Same Packet rec'd another Letter Signed by J: Brown, and William Spencer two of the Council dated the 8:th of February 1715/6 from Cotes a Copy whereof Shall alsoe go home wherein they Say that Capt: Fitzhugh made Exceptions at the Signing of his bills of Lading against the Casks alledging one of them to be Leakey but in their Said Letter they tell us that their Said Cooper Surveyed them before they went on board and assured them they were tight, Good, and full but because of his Exceptions they brought down a cask to fill them up in case they needed it, which he refused by telling them he had Stowed away the casks and they could not be come at. Upon these two Letters we Sent for the arrack on Shore and find the Casks of a full Gueage but none of them full of Liquor there being at least twenty Gallons wanting, but more then that we do not find it to be all one Sort of Arrack, two of the Casks as is mentioned in the Letter good Batavia arrack, and the other two which are the largest Casks, a Stinkeing unwholsome Arrack, whereupon we Sent for the Capt: to Tast them, who Atributed the badness of the Liquor to the badness draft of the Casks, but we that have Sometimes rec'd bad Casks did never receive any Liquor So bad as this could we rather think these two Casks has Either been Exchanged or drawn out and filld up with Cangaur Arrack of which Sort he Says he has Some	A copy of the letter was now to be sent home. In the same packet the council had received another letter, signed by J. Brown and William Spencer, two of the council, dated 8 February 1716 from Cossimbazar, a copy of which would also go home. In it they said that Captain Fitzhugh had made exceptions at the signing of his bills of lading, objecting to the casks and alleging one of them to be leaky. But they told the council that their cooper had surveyed the casks before they went aboard and assured them they were tight, good and full. Because of Fitzhugh's objections they brought down arrack to fill them up in case they needed it, which he refused, telling them he had already stowed away the casks so they could not be got at. Upon these two letters the council sent for the arrack on shore and found the casks of a full gauge, but none of them full of liquor, at least twenty gallons wanting in each, and more than that. They found it was not all one sort of arrack. Two of the casks, as mentioned in the letter, held good Batavia arrack, but the other two, which were the largest casks, held a stinking, unwholesome arrack. They therefore sent for the captain to taste them, who attributed the badness of the liquor to the staves of the casks. But the council, though they had sometimes received bad casks, had never received any liquor so bad as this, and rather thought these two casks had either been exchanged or drawn out and filled up with Goa arrack, of which sort Fitzhugh said he had some on board. The council thought it proper to acquaint the captain that if he would give them a leaguer of good arrack, of which he had some on board, in lieu of those two half-leaguers that were so bad, they would say no more of it. But if he would not, they must protest against him and refer it to the Company in England, which they thought they ought to do, because they had demanded the two bottles [...]. Interpretations

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		on board. We think that is proper to Acquaint the Capt: that if he will give us a Leagor of good arrack of which he has Some on board in lieu of those two half Leagors that is So bad, we will Say no more of it, but if he will not, wee must Protest against him and referr it to Our Hon:ble Masters in England which we think we ought to doe because we have Demanded the two bottles which was Margin Notes: largest	The dispute over the four casks turns on the elaborate safeguards the Company built into its long-distance liquor trade and how easily they could still be evaded. A cooper's survey certified the casks tight and full at Bengal, sealed sample bottles travelled as proof of quality, and the bills of lading recorded the commander's acceptance, yet arrack still arrived short by twenty gallons a cask and part of it spoiled, showing that documentation could not prevent tampering somewhere between the loading and the landing. The council's suspicion that the two large casks had been drawn off and refilled with Goa arrack, the very sort Fitzhugh admitted carrying, points to the temptation for a commander to substitute inferior private goods for the Company's better consignment. Fitzhugh blamed the cask staves for the foul taste, but the council read the shortfall and the stinking liquor as signs of deliberate exchange, exposing the constant watch the Company kept against its own captains turning the carriage of cargo to private profit. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to offer Fitzhugh a way out before resorting to a formal protest. They were convinced the arrack had been tampered with and could have moved straight to protesting against him and referring the matter to London, yet they first proposed that he simply replace the two bad casks with good arrack from his own store and the affair would be dropped. They preferred a quiet settlement that recovered the island's due to an open confrontation with a Company commander, holding the threat of protest in reserve to be used only if he refused the easier remedy.
136	130	June 1716. Sent on board for Musters and he dont Deliver them, Say ing he has none The Govern:r Says alsoe that it being the Custome of this place when Ships are nigh going away to Sett Guards upon the rocks to prevent any Gold going off of the Island Clandestinely, the Centrys being So Sett a boat went from on board the Derby to the West rocks and Stayed Some Small time, upon which the Guard going to See what they did the boat put off, and found there Landed Ten Gunney bags Containing one Hundred and thirty peic:s of Bleu Cloth and a parcell of Chints, which the Gov:r Ordered to be brought within the Castle, and are the goods Produced here The Govern:r Says lett the Goods belong to who they will he wonders very much why they Should be run, wee being never Strict nor rigid in Customs here None of the Commanders being having ever paid for Small Quantitys and the duty is So little that none of them have thought much of paying for Great Quantities because they yeild them double the Proffit here that they would do at the Cape of good Hope The Capt: Appearing Says that he owns the Bleu Cloth to be his, but knows nothing of the Chints, and he Says tis his Coxswains fault, and Mistake not for the Lucre of Saving the Custome but because he could Not Land them So Conveniently as where he did as he told him Since The Govern:r Says the Coxswain told him that he had Orders to Land the Goods there and coud as well have Landed them at the usuall Landing place wch	The council had demanded the two bottles sent aboard for musters, but Fitzhugh would not deliver them, saying he had none. The governor said also that it was the custom of the island, when ships were near going away, to set guards upon the rocks to prevent any goods going off the island clandestinely. The sentries being so set, a boat went from aboard the <i>Derby</i> to the west rocks and stayed a short time. The guard, going to see what they did, the boat put off, and they found there landed ten gunny bags containing one hundred and thirty pieces of blue cloth and a parcel of chintz, which the governor ordered to be brought within the castle, and these goods were now produced. The governor said that, let the goods belong to whom they might, he wondered very much why they should be run, the island having never been strict nor rigid in customs. None of the commanders had ever paid for small quantities, and the duty was so little that none of them had thought much of paying for great quantities, because they yielded them double the profit at the island that they would at the Cape of Good Hope. The captain, appearing, said the blue cloth was his, but he knew nothing of the chintz. He said it was his coxswain's fault, and a mistake, not for the sake of saving the custom but because he could not land the goods as conveniently anywhere else as where he did, as he had since been told. The governor said the coxswain had told him he had orders to land the goods there, and could as well have landed them at the usual landing place. This was very likely to be true, because he had brought the Company's rice ashore in the same boat and put it ashore at the crane, and then went above a mile off to land these goods. Interpretations The custom of posting sentries on the rocks when ships were about to sail reveals the island's standing defence against smuggling, the clandestine

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		is very likely to be true because he brought the Companys Rice in the Same boat and put it a Shore at the Crane and then went above a Mile off to Land those goods Ordered	landing of private goods to escape the modest duty the Company levied. A departing ship was the last chance to slip cargo ashore untaxed, so the guard on the rocks was a routine precaution, and its catch of a hundred and thirty pieces of blue cloth and a parcel of chintz shows the scale of trade a single commander might attempt to run past the island's customs. The governor's bafflement that anyone should smuggle when the duty was so light exposes the economic logic of the island's trade and why evasion made little sense. Commanders could sell eastern cloth at St Helena for twice what it fetched at the Cape, and the customs charge was trifling, so the governor could not see the profit in risking clandestine landing, which made the captain's roundabout route with the boat all the more suspicious as a deliberate attempt at concealment. The decision the passage turns on is the governor's refusal to accept the captain's account and his weighing of the coxswain's conduct against it. Fitzhugh pleaded mere inconvenience and blamed his coxswain, and the governor might have let the excuse stand, yet he tested it against a telling fact, that the same boat had landed the Company's rice at the proper crane before carrying the cloth a mile off to a hidden spot. He chose to read the boat's two different landings as proof of intent rather than accident, letting the physical evidence of the smuggler's own movements convict him where his words sought to excuse.
137	131	June 1716. That for Encouragement of the Serjant & Guard to keep a good Look out another time, the Capt: Shall give among them Six peices of the bleu Cloth and one peice of Chints, and that we will deliver him all the rest he paying the Hon:ble Company their Custom of Six pence P peice Edward Byfeld	The council ordered that, for the encouragement of the sergeant and guard to keep a good lookout another time, the captain should give among them six pieces of the blue cloth and one piece of chintz. The council would deliver him all the rest, he paying the Company their custom of 6d per piece. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The reward of six pieces of cloth and one of chintz to the sergeant and guard shows how the island encouraged the enforcement of its customs by letting the enforcers share directly in what they seized. Rather than pay the guard a fixed sum for their vigilance, the council turned part of the intercepted cargo into their prize, giving every sentry a personal stake in catching the next attempt at smuggling, a cheap and self-reinforcing way to keep the watch keen. The trifling custom of 6d a piece, which the captain now paid on all the cloth the council returned to him, confirms the governor's earlier point that the duty was too small to justify smuggling at all. By requiring Fitzhugh to pay the ordinary custom and take back the bulk of his goods, the council recovered the island's due without confiscating the cargo outright, treating the offence as a matter to be corrected by payment rather than punished by forfeiture. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to return the smuggled cloth to Fitzhugh rather than seize it as forfeit. Goods run past the customs might ordinarily have been condemned, and the council had the offender plainly caught, yet they chose to hand back all but the guard's reward on payment of the small lawful duty. They preferred to recover the custom and reward the watch over making an example of the captain, judging that collecting the trifling due and keeping relations with a Company commander intact served the island better than the harsher penalty forfeiture would have allowed.
138	132	Island S:t Helena. At a Consultation Held on Mon	A consultation was held on Monday 18 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		day the 18th of June 1716, at Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq: a Govern: r George Haswell D: pty Pres: t Matt: w Bazett 3 & Edw: d Byfeld The Ship Catherine Capt: John Hunter Commander Arrived here Yesteday with Stores from England. And the Packett by her was opened and deliverd into the Secretary Care. The List whereof is as followeth N: o 1 Comp: as Generall Letter dated the 14: th March 1715 2 Invoice of Stores by Said Ship amounting to 3327: 4: 6 3 Bill of Lading of D: o 4 Copy of the Catherines Charterparty to be Sent to Bencoolen 5 Acc: t of blacks to be Deliverd here by the Ships Trading to Madagascar 6 Copy of the Clause in the Covenants Enterd into by the Persons Trading to Madagascar about deliveriny blacks here 7 Thomas Frees Compl: t rec: d by the S: t George 8 Mannifest of Goods Laden on board y: e Catherine for this Place 9 Keys of two Chests of Medicine aboard the Catherine for D: o Ordered That Thomas Free be Sumoned to Appear Tomorrow by nine of the Clock That the Invoice be Deliverd M: r Byfeld to See the Mannifest of Goods and to attend the boats Coming on Shore with the Cargoe That the Bill of Ladeing be Deliverd to Capt: Bazetts The Keys of the two Medicine Chests the Gov: r Says he will deliver to the Surgeon.	Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The ship <i>Catherine</i>, Captain John Hunter commander, arrived yesterday with stores from England. The packet by her was opened and delivered into the secretary's care, the list of which was as follows. 1: Company's general letter dated 14 March 1715 2: Invoice of stores by the ship, amounting to £3,327 4s 6d 3: Bill of lading of the stores 4: Copy of the Catherine's charterparty to be sent to Bencoolen 5: Account of slaves to be delivered here by the ships trading to Madagascar 6: Copy of the clause in the covenants entered into by the persons trading to Madagascar about delivering slaves here 7: Thomas Free's complaint received by the St George 8: Manifest of goods laden aboard the Catherine for the island 9: Keys of two chests of medicines aboard the Catherine for the island The council made the following orders. Thomas Free was to be summoned to appear tomorrow by nine o'clock. The invoice was to be delivered to Mr Byfield, to check the manifest of goods and to attend the boats coming ashore with the cargo. The bill of lading was to be delivered to Captain Bazett. The keys of the two medicine chests the governor said he would deliver to the surgeon. Interpretations The packet's contents map the web of obligations binding St Helena into the Company's wider eastern network, from the general letter carrying the directors' instructions to the charterparty bound onward for Bencoolen and the covenants governing the Madagascar slave trade. A single ship's papers thus reached from London to Sumatra to Madagascar, and the island served as a relay point where documents, cargo and correspondence were received, checked and forwarded, a hub in the Company's communications rather than a mere isolated garrison. The two items concerning slaves to be delivered by the ships trading to Madagascar reveal the island's reliance on that traffic for its labour supply and the contractual form it took. The Company bound the Madagascar traders by a specific covenant to land a quota of slaves at St Helena, so the island's forced workforce was replenished through written obligations imposed on private voyages, the delivery of human beings reduced to a clause in a commercial agreement enforced from London. The governor's division of the incoming papers among his officers, the invoice to Byfield to check against the cargo, the bill of lading to Bazett and the medicine keys reserved to himself for the surgeon, shows the deliberate distribution of responsibility on receipt of a ship. Rather than handle everything himself, he assigned each document to the man who would act on it, so that the checking of goods, the verification of lading and the custody of medicines proceeded in parallel through the proper hands, a small but telling instance of orderly administration.
139	133	June 1716. That the Govern: r and Council do read & Consider as farr as the 40: th Para: of the Generall Letter, & Shall Peruse the rest in the afternoon. We having rec: d Severall Letters from Capt: Tolson and Capt: Fitzhugh Just as we was making up the Packett	The council ordered that the governor and council read and consider the general letter as far as the fortieth paragraph, and peruse the rest in the afternoon. The council had received several letters from Captain Tolson and Captain Fitzhugh just as they were making up the packet on Friday night last, 15 June, which letters were in the nature of protests, but

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		on feyday night last being the 15:th Instant, which Letters were in the Nature of Protests, but t was Impossible to Answer them at that time Wee think they could have no meaning in it but to divert themselves by giveing us trouble because what they Alledge is unreasonable, for we think the Store keeper ought to give recits for nothing more then he receives, and when he delivers up a bill of Loading we think he ought always to mention on the back thereof what Goods are wanting. The Severall Papers then Passing between them & us are as follows To the Worth: Isaac Pyke Esq:r Govern:r of S:t Helena Whereas Severall Stores put on board the Heathcote at Fort William in Bengal in order to be deliverd on this Island which accordingly I have accomlisht, I demand the Bill of Lading given for the Same, if not Shall be obligd to protest against Yo:r Trying out of this Island contrary to all the Rules of Navigation w:th all all Ships I humbe Serv:t Jos: Tolson S:t Helena June 15 1716 Worth: S:r S:t Helena June 15: 1716 This Day demanding my Bill of Lading from M:r Bazett the Storekeeper, I find on the back Side thereof Exceptions of the Substance of Rice, Sugar and Arrack wanting, I desire that M:r Bazett may prove or upon Oath declare what he hath received Likewise in y:e Condition the Package of these Goods, where deliverd d w hether he calls Me any after belonging to the Ship Heathcote to the Survey of these Goods as at one Cask of Arrack, w:ch was Surveyd in y:r Worth: presence, the relation of Such Survey from your Coper, I desire y:r Worth: & dealers, I desire that y:r Worth: will be pleasd to lett this Paper or a Copy thereof be Sent to Our Hon: masters & that M:r Bazette may Add his Answer thereto, I having taken a true Copy hereof, which for England Shall produce & Steind prove the delivery of these Goods & Condition they were in which for England Margin Notes: Margin Notes: Deliverd to Gov:r Pyke in y:e presence of Isaac Pratt	it was impossible to answer them at that time. The council thought the letters could have no meaning in them but to divert themselves by giving trouble, because what the captains alleged was unreasonable. In the council's view the storekeeper ought to give receipts for nothing more than he received, and when he delivered up a bill of lading he ought always to mention on the back of it what goods were wanting. The several papers then passing between the captains and the council followed. Tolson wrote to the governor that several stores had been put aboard the <i>Heathcote</i> at Fort William in Bengal to be delivered at the island, which he had accordingly accomplished. He demanded the bill of lading given for them, and if it were not granted he would be obliged to protest against the island contrary to all the rules of navigation. This was dated at St Helena on 15 June 1716 and signed by Joseph Tolson. Tolson wrote again that, demanding his bill of lading from Mr Bazett the storekeeper, he found on the back of it exceptions of the shortage of rice, sugar and arrack wanting. He desired that Bazett might prove or declare upon oath what he had received, and likewise in what condition the package of those goods was where delivered. Bazett called men belonging to the ship <i>Heathcote</i> to the survey of those goods, one cask of arrack being surveyed in the governor's presence. The relation of such survey was untrue, so Tolson desired to be paid, and asked that his paper, or a copy of it, be sent to the Company, and that Bazett might add his answer to it. Having taken a copy of it, which he would carry to England, he would produce it and their proof [...]. This too was signed by Joseph Tolson. A note recorded that this was delivered to Governor Pyke in the presence of Isaac Bassett at the delivery of the goods. Interpretations The clash over bills of lading exposes the exact point of friction in the Company's system for tracking cargo across oceans, the gap between what a bill promised and what actually arrived. A bill of lading was the commander's receipt for goods loaded, and the storekeeper's duty was to note on its back whatever fell short on delivery, so when Bazett endorsed shortages of rice, sugar and arrack, he turned the document into evidence against the captain, and Tolson's furious demand for a clean bill was really a fight over who would bear the blame for the missing goods. Tolson's threat to protest against the island according to the rules of navigation shows how the same legal instrument that commanders used against the sea could be turned against a port that refused them satisfaction. A formal protest referred to London would put the island on the defensive before the directors, so Tolson wielded it as leverage, and his insistence on carrying a copy home to produce as proof reveals how both sides prepared their documentary case for a reckoning that would ultimately be judged far away in England. The decision the passage turns on is Bazett's choice to endorse the shortages on the bill of lading rather than issue the clean receipt the captains demanded. He could have granted the bill as presented and avoided the confrontation, yet he insisted on recording exactly what was wanting and stood ready to prove it on oath and by survey. He set the integrity of the Company's account above the commanders' displeasure, accepting the certainty of a protest and a dispute carried to London as the price of refusing to certify goods the island had never fully received.
140	134	July 1716	The governor replied to Captain Tolson that he had received both his letters and had sent for Captain

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Capt: Tolson S:r I have receiv'd both your Letters, and have Sent for Capt: Bazett and his Assistant who receivd the Goods, after they was on Shore And they both of them assure me that Severall of the Bags were not full w:ch they receivd from You, and Particularly 2 of the Bags of Rice were not half full, they Say they are willing to take their Oaths as you desire, but because you intend to Sail presently, We have not time enough to write them out and copy them to Send in this Pacquett, but they Shall go home by the next Ship and in the mean time I will Sew them all new weighd (for they Still lye by themselves) and you or the Hon: Comp:a for you Shall have an exact Account, but So much unnecessary trouble will occasion Some Expençe, which must be plaied to y:r Acc:t if you happen to be in the wrong but in the mean time you need not doubt but you Shall have Justice done you I am S:r yo:r hum: Serv:t S:t Helena June 15 1716 Signed Isa: Pyke Worth: S:r I request that I may be Supply'd with fresh Beef for our People during the Ship Derbys Stay here at the rate of twenty Shillings P hundred according to Charter Party I Worth: obedient hum: Serv:t S:t Helena June 12:th 1716 Signd W:m Fitzhugh Capt: Fitzhugh S:r The Governour has received Your Letter, wherein you desire to be Supplyd with fresh Beef during your Stay here at the rate of 20:s P C:o To which we answer and Say that We do much wonder why you Should desire Beef of the Hon: Comp:a at less than the Markett price, especially at five Shillings less than you pay to Other people; We are willing to Supply your Wants and to furnish you with what you need w:thout any profit, and are glad you have So well Supplyd your Self, tho' We are very Sure you have not bought for less than We charge you. We are y:r hum: Servants June 12:th 1716	Bazett and his assistant, who received the goods after they came ashore. Both of them assured the governor that several of the bags were not full when they received them from Tolson, and particularly that two of the bags of rice were not half full. They were willing to take their oaths as Tolson desired, but because he intended to sail presently, there was not time enough to write them out and copy them to send in this packet. They would go home by the next ship, and in the meantime the governor would have them all weighed anew, for they still lay by themselves, and Tolson or the Company should have an exact account. All this unnecessary trouble would occasion some expense, which must be placed to Tolson's account if he happened to be in the wrong, but in the meantime he need not doubt that he would have justice done him. This was dated at St Helena on 15 June 1716 and signed by Isaac Pyke. Fitzhugh wrote to the governor asking that he might be supplied with fresh beef for his people during the ship <i>Derby's</i> stay at the island, at the rate of 20s per hundredweight, according to the charterparty. This was dated at St Helena on 12 June 1716 and signed by William Fitzhugh. The governor replied to Captain Fitzhugh that he had received his letter desiring to be supplied with fresh beef during his stay at the rate of 20s per hundredweight. To this the council answered that they much wondered why he should desire beef from the Company at less than the market price, especially at five shillings less than he paid to other people. They were willing to supply his wants and to furnish him with what he needed without any profit, and were glad he had so well supplied himself, though they were very sure he had not bought it for less than they charged him. This was dated 12 June 1716. Interpretations The governor's handling of Tolson's disputed rice reveals the careful procedure by which the island turned an angry accusation into a matter of record and proof. The short-filled bags were kept apart and set aside to be weighed anew, sworn statements from the receiving officers were promised for the next ship, and the whole cost of the exercise was to fall on whichever party proved wrong, so a heated protest was answered not with counter-assertion but with a deliberate accumulation of evidence to be judged in London. Fitzhugh's attempt to claim fresh beef at 20s per hundredweight under his charterparty, when the market rate was higher, exposes the tension between the fixed terms of a shipping contract and the island's pricing of its own provisions. The charterparty set a rate agreed in England, but the council resisted supplying meat below what others paid, and their pointed remark that he had certainly not bought his own beef cheaper than they charged shows them defending the island's revenue against a commander pressing an old contract rate to his advantage. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to supply Fitzhugh his beef without profit rather than either grant the charterparty rate or refuse him outright. They plainly resented his demand for meat below market price and doubted his good faith, yet instead of holding him to the higher rate or turning him away, they offered to furnish it at cost. They preferred a course that neither conceded the disputed contract price nor denied a commander his provisions, meeting him partway while making clear through their sharp reply that they saw through the bargain he had tried to strike.
141	135	July 1716. The Govern:r &c Protest ag:t Capt: Fitzhugh S:t Helena Ss	The governor and council then protested against Captain Fitzhugh. Four half-leaguers of arrack had been consigned to the island, which the letters and invoice said to be

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Whereas there has been consign to us four half Leigers of Arrack, which is in our Letters and Invoice Sayed to be the best Batavia Arrack put up in tight good Casks and 4 Bottles for Muster Sent a part, And whereas You Capt: W:m Fitzhugh have deliverd to Us 4 Cask only, 2 whereof is good Batavia Arrack, and the other two Casks are one of them 8½ Inches out and the other 4 Inches but the Arrack is naught being of bad and Stinking Smell and ill tasted, and you not haveing a Bottle for a Muster as is Exprest in their Letter from Bengall: Therefore we Do protest against you for and on acct: of the Hon:ble East India Comp:a for not bringing to Us Such Arrack as is mentiond in the Letter and Invoice you have brought with You, In testimony hereof We have hereunto Sett our hands this 18:th day June Anno D:ni 1716 Isa: Pyke Geo: Haswell Signed Matt: Bazett Edw: Byfield Whereas this Day there has been given me a Protest just as I my going off Shore by the Worshi: Gov:r &c Council of this place, mentioning that two of the Casks of Arrack consignd to This Place from Bengall on the Ship Derby, are One of them Eight Inches and half out, the other four Inches out and the Arrack naught, of a bad & Stinking Smell and ill taste I do hereby declare, and can make it appear by attestation & Oath of my Officers if required that it was So Stowd away, that it has never been abused either in Quantity or Quality Since came aboard the Ship, and for the Bottle that is Said to be Sent by means of it being So Stowd away could not be come at to be drawn off I can also make appear by my Officers & M:r Abram Addams was never deliverd one I hereby not haveing time to debate the matter or answer	the best Batavia arrack, put up in tight good casks, with a bottle for muster sent apart. But Captain William Fitzhugh had delivered only four casks, two of which held good Batavia arrack, while the other two were, one of them 8½ inches out and the other 4 inches out, and the arrack in them was worthless, being bad and stinking in smell and ill tasted. Fitzhugh had also not delivered a bottle for a muster, as was expressed in the letter sent from Bengal. The council therefore protested against him, for and on account of the Company, for not bringing them such arrack as was mentioned in the letter and invoice, which he had brought with him. In witness of this they set their hands on 15 June 1716. It was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Hassell, Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield. Fitzhugh replied that a protest had been given him this day, just as he was going off shore, by the governor and council, mentioning that two of the casks of arrack consignd to the island from Bengal on the ship <i>Derby</i> were, one of them eight inches and half out, the other four inches out, and the arrack worthless, of a bad and stinking smell and ill taste. He declared, and could make it appear by attestation and the oath of his officers if required, that it had been so stowed away that it had never been abused either in quantity or quality since it came aboard the ship. As for the bottle said to be sent, by means of its being so stowed away it could not be got at, to be drawn off. He could also make it appear by his officers and Mr Abram Adams that it was never delivered to him. Having no time to debate the matter or answer [...]. Interpretations The precise recording of how far the casks were out, one eight and a half inches, the other four, shows the practical method by which the shortfall in the arrack was measured and documented. The distance from the liquor's surface to the top of the cask gave a rough gauge of how many gallons were missing, so these measurements were the physical evidence behind the protest, translating the vague complaint of casks not full into figures that could be set before the Company as proof of the deficiency. Fitzhugh's defence, that the casks had been so stowed that they could never have been tampered with since coming aboard, turned the very inaccessibility of the cargo into his argument for innocence. If the arrack could not be reached, he could not have drawn it off or exchanged it, so he made the difficulty of getting at the casks, which had earlier prevented him producing the muster bottle, serve double duty as his answer to the charge of substitution, shifting any fault back toward Bengal or the casks themselves. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to enter a formal protest against Fitzhugh rather than pursue the quiet settlement they had earlier offered. They had proposed that he simply replace the bad casks with good arrack and the matter would be dropped, yet when that produced no remedy they moved to the graver step of a signed protest for the Company. They abandoned the informal remedy for the formal one, committing the dispute to writing and to London's judgment, and accepting an open breach with a commander as the necessary consequence of his refusal to make good the loss.
142	136	July 1716. or answer the Same more at large, do therefore desire that the Said Govern:r &c Council be pleasd to Order that a Bottle of each Cask be drawn off in my Sight & Seald with the Compas Seal or any other that they Shall think fitt that may carry the Same to Our Hon: Masters and lett	Having no time to answer the matter more fully, Fitzhugh asked that the governor and council be pleased to order that a bottle of each cask be drawn off in his sight and sealed with the Company's seal, or any other they thought fit, that he might carry them to the Company and let the directors be judges of the arrack. This was dated at St Helena on 15 June 1716

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		them be Judges of the Same I am Worsh: S:rs y:r &c S:t Helena y:r hum: Servant June 15: 1716 Signd W:m Fitzhugh To the Worsh: the Gov:r &c Council of S:t Helena Deliverd in the presence of us Tho: Wotton Da: Morton Capt: Fitzhugh S:r We receiv'd your Letter at 7 this Evening wherein you desire to have Some Bottles Sent home that the Hon: Compa:a may be Judges whether the Arrack be good or not that We have mentiond this Day in our Protest, to which We answer that if you desire to have any of that Arrack to carry home, we Shall be willing to it And Should be glad if you took it all, because We dont Know what to do with it; But as to our Sending it Our Selves, We beleive there is no need Because We take our Selves to be Judges of Arrack, whether it be good or bad and hope Our Hon: Masters will think So too; However We are willing not to insist on our own Judgments, and will	and signed by William Fitzhugh, and delivered in the presence of Thomas Wotton and David Morton. The council replied to Captain Fitzhugh that they had received his letter at seven that evening, in which he asked to have some bottles sent home so that the Company might judge whether the arrack was good or not that they had mentioned that day in their protest. To this they answered that if he wished to have any of that arrack to carry home, they would be willing to give it, and would be glad if he took it all, because they did not know what to do with it. But as for sending it themselves, they believed there was no need, because they took themselves to be judges of arrack, whether it was good or bad, and hoped the Company would think so too. Even so, they were willing not to insist on their own judgment [...]. Interpretations Fitzhugh's demand that samples be drawn in his sight and sealed with the Company's seal shows the careful ritual by which disputed evidence was rendered trustworthy for a distant tribunal. Drawing the bottles before his eyes prevented later claims of substitution, and the seal guaranteed the samples reached London untouched, so both sides recognised that a fair judgment thousands of miles away depended on a chain of custody that neither party could afterwards challenge. The council's retort that they took themselves to be judges of arrack reveals their confidence in their own competence against a commander's appeal to higher authority. Having tasted, gauged and condemned the two casks, they saw no need to send samples home, treating their collective judgment on the spot as sufficient and expecting the directors to defer to it, a claim to local expertise that resisted turning every island decision into a matter for London to re-examine. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to yield to Fitzhugh's demand for sealed samples despite believing it unnecessary. They held firmly that their own verdict on the arrack should stand and that no bottles need be sent, yet rather than refuse the captain outright they agreed not to insist on their own judgment and to let the samples go. They set the value of an unassailable record before the directors above their pride in their own competence, accepting the procedure that would let London judge for itself rather than force the dispute to rest on their word alone.
143	137	July 1716. refer to your Opinion as you gave it to Day, for when you held it in your hand, you acknowledgd that it had a Stinkeing Savour, & when the Govern:r wrote the Protest it was allowd by You to have a bad taste, And allowing that which We all know to be Fact, We think it will look very foolish in Us to Send Our Hon: Masters Such bad Liquor, as None of Us Particularly your Self after Smelling to it wud not Swallow one Single Dram This being bad in reallity and no pretence, We again desire you to take it on board and gett it Selld off in London where it may yield Something, but here it will never be of any Value, You were So free to Day as to promise to change it, And we Shall take it very Kindly of you, if you'll be as good as your word, We are notwithstanding this Dispute y:r humble Servants Isa: Pyke Geo: Haswell Union Castle S:t Helena Signd Matt: Bazett June 15 1716 Edwd Byfeld Edward Byfeld	The council would refer to Fitzhugh's own opinion as he had given it that day. When he held the arrack in his hand he had acknowledged that it had a stinking smell, and when the governor wrote the protest he had allowed it to have a bad taste. Allowing that which they all knew to be fact, the council thought it would look very foolish in them to send the Company such bad liquor, since none of them, and Fitzhugh in particular, would swallow one single dram after smelling it. This being bad in reality and no pretence, they again asked him to take it aboard and get it sold off in London, where it might yield something, but at the island it would never be of any value. He had been so free that day as to promise to change it, and they would take it very kindly of him if he would be as good as his word. Notwithstanding this dispute, they remained his humble servants. This was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 15 June 1716 and signed by Isaac Pyke, George Hassell, Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The council's argument rested on turning Fitzhugh's own admissions against him, since he had conceded both the stinking smell and the bad taste of the arrack in the course of the day's exchanges. By

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			fixing his spoken acknowledgments in their written reply, they built their case from the captain's own words rather than mere assertion, a shrewd tactic that left him little room to deny before the directors what he had already granted on the spot. The council's reasoning that it would look foolish to send the directors liquor none of them would drink reveals their concern for how the island's conduct would appear in London. To ship home arrack so foul that no man would swallow a dram of it would reflect badly on their judgment, so they pressed Fitzhugh to carry it off and recover what he could, protecting the island's standing with the Company by refusing to forward goods they had themselves condemned as worthless. The closing courtesy, that notwithstanding the dispute they remained his humble servants, marks the deliberate separation of a hard commercial quarrel from personal enmity. The council had protested formally against Fitzhugh and pressed him sharply over the arrack, yet they closed with the customary civility, signalling that the confrontation was a matter of Company business rather than private animosity and that ordinary relations with the commander would continue once the dispute was resolved.
144	138	Island S:t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19:th of June 1716 At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esq: Govern:d Geo: Haswell Dep:ty Pres:t Matt:w Bazett 3 & Edw:d Byfeld. The Governour Says he rec:d a Letter just now from the Swallow Carpenter as follows. Worth: S:r I humbly beg the favour that you wil please to speak Capt: Hunter, that the Deals may not be rafted a Shore, but brought in boats by reason the Salt Water Soaks them that they give every Small Rain they receive after and are very bad to be workt. S:r Yo:r most hum:ble Servant Signd Richard Swallow June 19 1716 The Petition of Willi: Slaughter as follows Island S:t Helena To the Worsh: Isaac Pyke Esq: Govern:d &c: Councell The most hum:ble Petition of Willi: Slaughter Serjeant Sheweth That whereas Y:r Petition:r black Man Slave named Peter has been accus'd, and imprison'd for Stealing two Gold rings Said to be the Goods of John Long, but no certain proof having been made, nor any Persons further appearing humbly beg Y:r Worsh: & Council woud please to release him that I may have the needfull benefit of his Service which my Self and Family have great	A consultation was held on Tuesday 19 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The governor said he had received a letter just now from the carpenter of the <i>Swallow</i>, as follows. The carpenter humbly asked the governor to speak to Captain Hunter, so that the deals might not be rafted ashore but brought in boats, because the salt water soaked them, so that they gave every small rain they received afterwards and were very bad to be worked. This was dated 19 June 1716 and signed by Richard Swallow, who was the carpenter. William Slaughter, sergeant, then presented his humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. He set out that his black man slave named Peter had been accused and imprisoned for stealing two gold rings said to be the goods of John Long, but no certain proof having been made, nor any persons further appearing, he humbly asked the governor and council to release him, so that he might have the needful benefit of his service, which he and his family greatly [...]. Interpretations The carpenter's complaint about rafting the deals ashore reveals a practical hazard of landing timber on an island with no proper harbour, where cargo often had to be floated in through the surf. Deals dragged through salt water absorbed it and afterwards leaked whenever rain fell and split badly under the tools, so his request to have them carried in boats instead shows how the crude methods of unloading directly damaged materials the settlement depended on for building and repair. Slaughter's petition to recover his slave Peter turns on the same collapsed accusation seen earlier, now viewed from the owner's side and his loss of the man's labour. Peter had been imprisoned on a charge that no proof sustained and no accuser would press, so the sergeant, deprived of a worker his household relied on, sought the man's release not as a matter of justice to Peter but as the restoration of his own property and the service it yielded. The decision the passage turns on is Slaughter's choice to petition for Peter's release on the ground of his own need rather than leave the man in prison. With the accusation unproven and abandoned, the slave might simply have remained confined pending

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			some further inquiry, yet his owner acted to reclaim him, framing the plea around the benefit of his service that his family wanted. He treated the failure of the case as reason to recover his labouring property at once, and the petition lays bare how a slave's fate on the island turned less on his guilt or innocence than on his value to the man who owned him.
145	139	June 1716. great occasion for. And (as in duty bound) Shall ever pray for Y:r Worsh: & Council June 19 1716 Signd Willi: Slaughter The black fellow Says, he found the Rings, and hid them in a corner of the House where he cant find them no again as mentioend more at large in Consulta:n of the 7 Inst: Ordered that the Said Black be dischargd from his working for the Comp:a as well as all the other Prisoners that are in Custody working here to earn what they eat whilst they are confind. M:r Tovey desidr that he might be admitted to Sitt now in Council, that he might Know the Contents of the Gen:l Letter Ordered that he be Sumitted to read the Gen:l Letter all over, and to answer those Para:s relating to himself, but we having Suspended him as in Consulta:n of the 7:th June till the 8:o of July next, We think tis not proper to alter that Order James Vesey made complaint against David Brereton, for asaulting him, as he was going from the Fort to his Country House. It appearing to Us to be a drunken Squabble but M:r Vesey Suffered the Damage by his Face being black & blew w:ch he Says was by blows the Other gave him Ordered that he beg M:r Veseys pardon being willing to accept of that Amends, w:ch Brereton refusing, but offered to down on his Knees & ask the Govern:rs pardon The Govern:r told him he must ask M:r Veseys pardon, or ride the wooden Horse w:ch rather than Do, He did ask M:r Veseys pardon	William Slaughter set out that he and his family had great need of Peter's service, and as in duty bound would ever pray for the governor and council. The petition was dated 19 June 1716 and signed by William Slaughter. The slave said he found the rings and hid them in a corner of the house, where he could not find them again, as was set out more fully in the consultation of 7 June. The council ordered that the slave be discharged from his working for the Company, as well as all the other prisoners in custody working there to earn what they ate while they were confined. Mr Tovey asked that he might be admitted to sit in council now, so that he might know the contents of the general letter. The council ordered that he be admitted to read the general letter all over and to answer those paragraphs relating to himself. But having suspended him from the consultation of 7 June until 8 July next, they thought it not proper to alter that order. James Vesey complained against David Brereton for assaulting him as he was going from the fort to his country house. It appeared to be a drunken squabble, but Vesey had suffered the damage, his face being black and blue with what he said were blows the other had given him. The council ordered that Brereton beg Vesey's pardon, Vesey being willing to accept that amends. Brereton refused, but offered to go down on his knees and ask the governor's pardon. The governor told him he must ask Vesey's pardon or ride the wooden horse, on which he would rather ride than do it. He did ask Vesey's pardon [...]. Interpretations The council's order that the discharged slave and the other prisoners had been working to earn what they ate while confined reveals the harsh economy of imprisonment on the island. Detention carried no free maintenance; those held in custody laboured for the Company to pay for their own food, so confinement was itself a form of forced work, and Peter's release ended not merely his imprisonment but the unpaid labour the Company had extracted from him throughout it. The wooden horse the governor threatened Brereton with was a standard military punishment, a sharp-backed wooden frame on which an offender was made to sit astride, often weighted at the feet, causing severe pain over time. Its use here shows the garrison discipline available to the governor for maintaining order among the soldiers, and Brereton's stubborn preference for riding it over apologising to Vesey reveals how a point of personal pride could weigh against even a punishment men dreaded. The decision the passage turns on is the governor's insistence that Brereton apologise specifically to Vesey rather than accept the offender's offer to kneel to the governor instead. Brereton was willing to abase himself before authority but not before the man he had beaten, and the governor might have taken the submission to himself as sufficient, yet he refused it and demanded the apology go to the injured party. He directed the amends toward the wronged man rather than toward his own dignity, using the threat of the wooden horse to force a private reconciliation over a public gesture of deference that would have left Vesey unsatisfied.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
146	140	June 1716 pardon, and was discharged John Bagley Planter was Sumond for Sumond lewd and Scandalous Behaviour during the time of last Shipping, and in his Liquor pressing to prostitute his Wife to them, if they would goe into the Country. The S: John Bagley owns he was in Drink but hopes he did not Say So; for if he did, he did n:o mean any Such thing as tis represented & should be heartily Sorry if he did, for he beleives his Wife to be an Honest Woman, and hopes none can accuse her of the Contrary. Ordered That he be find the Sum of Five Shilling and was admonisht to behave himself better for the future. Henry Johnson was Sumond for neglecting his businefs, and telling Some young Gentlemen in the last Shipping, that He coud Shew them a:o young Woman that they might be free with private and being drunk at the Same time Ordered That he be find the Sum of Ten Shillings for the use of the poor. Mr: Free was Sumond to Know for what reason he writt to the Hon: Comp:a in Such a Scandalous manner. He Said because the Govern:r woud not buy his yams of him Whereupon the Govern:r gave him a Severe Reprimand, and chargd him to behave himself	Brereton asked Vesey's pardon and was discharged. John Bagley, planter, was summoned for lewd and scandalous behaviour during the time of the last shipping, and for offering, while in his liquor, to prostitute his wife to some men if they would go into the country. Bagley owned that he was in drink, but hoped he had not said so, for if he did, he did not mean any such thing as was represented, and should be heartily sorry if he did, for he believed his wife to be an honest woman, and hoped none could accuse her of the contrary. The council ordered that he be fined 5s 0d and admonished to behave himself better in future. Henry Johnson was summoned for neglecting his business, and for telling some young gentlemen in the last shipping that he could show them a young woman that they might be free with, being drunk at the same time. The council ordered that he be fined 10s 0d for the use of the poor. Mr Free was summoned to answer why he had written to the Company in such a scandalous manner. He said it was because the governor would not buy his yams of him. The governor thereupon gave him a severe reprimand and charged him to behave himself [...]. Interpretations The two cases of Bagley and Johnson, both tied to the time of the last shipping, reveal how the arrival of ships brought disorder to the settlement as crews and passengers came ashore with money to spend. The temptations and profits of servicing transient sailors drew men into procuring and drunken misconduct, so the concentration of these offences during shipping shows the strain that visiting vessels placed on the small community's order, turning the season of trade into a season of vice the court had to police. Bagley's defence, that he was too drunk to remember what he said and had meant no such thing, illustrates how intoxication was offered in mitigation before the court while the offence itself was still punished. His concern to defend his wife's honesty as an honest woman shows that the scandal touched the family's reputation as much as his own conduct, so his plea sought to limit the damage to her standing even as he half-admitted the words that had brought him before the bench. The decision the passage turns on is Free's admission that he had written scandalously to the Company purely because the governor would not buy his yams. He had a genuine grievance over the refused sale, yet rather than accept the commercial decision he chose to attack the island's government in a letter to the directors, using his access to London as a weapon of spite. His response exposed the danger that any aggrieved islander could carry a private quarrel over the governor's head to the Company, and the severe reprimand marked the government's determination to discourage such appeals born of personal resentment.
147	141	June 1716 better for the future; being as Notorious a Sott as any upon the Island, telling him also that Since he had behavd himself So ill, the next time he hangd himself he should not be cutt down. Edward Byfeld	The governor charged Free to behave himself better in future, being as notorious a drunkard as any on the island. He told him also that, since he had behaved himself so ill, the next time he hanged himself he should not be cut down. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations The governor's brutal parting shot, that the next time Free hanged himself he should not be cut down, points to an earlier suicide attempt by the man now standing reprimanded. To be cut down implies he had once been found hanging and rescued, so the remark, however savage, reveals a history of self-

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			destruction behind Free's troublesome conduct, and the governor's willingness to throw it in his face shows how little sympathy such acts drew in a hard settlement that read them as further proof of a worthless character. The pairing of Free's scandalous letter to the Company with his reputation as a notorious drunkard shaped how the governor answered the challenge to his authority. Rather than treat the complaint to London as a serious grievance, the governor discredited the man himself, branding him a habitual sot whose word carried no weight, so the reprimand worked by destroying Free's credibility as much as by rebuking his conduct, ensuring any future appeal he made to the directors would be read in the light of his character.
148	142	Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Saturday the 23^d of June 1716 at Union Castle in James bay Isa: Pyke Esq: Govern:d Pres:t Matt: Bazett 3 Edw:d Byfeld. Orderd that Answers be drawn to three Letters that We have rec:d from the Hon:d the Govern:d & Coune:l at Madrass. That anothr Letter be writt in answer to Seven Letters We have rec:d from the Hon:ble y:e Presid: & Coune:l at Bengal. That an Answer be drawn to one Letter We have rec:d from the Secretary at Bombay. And likewise that an Answer one Letter that We have received from the Govern:d & camil at Bencoolen. Whereas the Hon:ble Comp:a have orded us in their Letter rec:d by the present Ship Catherine to Send to Bencoolen John Howson Gardiner. Wherefore orderd that Jn:o Howson be Sent to Bencoolen, tho' we dont Know what do without him, having no other Gardiner upon the Place which We fear will be a great inconvenience to the Island in General, especially in the time of Shipping And whereas John Maynard is also appointed for Bencoolen, who is a Carpenter, Orderd That he be Sent also to Bencoolen, tho' We now have no Gardiner, nor Carpenter left upon the Margin Notes: Margin Notes: Lettr to India Jn:o Howson Sent to Bencoolen V. also Jn:o Maynard	A consultation was held on Saturday 23 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Bay. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The council ordered that an answer be drawn to three letters they had received from the governor and council at Madras. Another letter was to be written in answer to several letters they had received from the president and council at Bengal. An answer was to be drawn to one letter they had received from the secretary at Bombay. Likewise they were to answer one letter they had received from the governor and council at Bencoolen. The Company had ordered the island, in their letter received by the present ship <i>Catherine</i>, to send to Bencoolen John Howson, gardener. The council therefore ordered that Howson be sent to Bencoolen, though they did not know now what to do without him, having no other gardener on the island, which they feared would be a great inconvenience to the island in general, chiefly in the time of shipping. John Maynard was also appointed for Bencoolen, who was a carpenter. The council ordered that he be sent also to Bencoolen, though they now had no gardener nor carpenter left upon the island [...]. Interpretations The island's obligation to forward its only gardener and a carpenter to Bencoolen at the Company's command reveals its subordinate place in the Company's eastern hierarchy, where London freely moved skilled men between settlements regardless of local need. St Helena served partly as a staging post that supplied labour to more distant stations, so the directors could strip it of essential tradesmen for Sumatra, leaving the island to manage its gardens and building work as best it could while obeying orders framed thousands of miles away. The council's open dismay at losing both men, particularly the gardener during the shipping season, exposes how thin the island's pool of skilled labour was and how much depended on a single individual. With no other gardener to raise the greens and provisions that fresh-victualled passing ships, the loss threatened the island's core function precisely when demand was highest, showing how the departure of one man could cripple a vital service in so small and isolated a community. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to obey the Company's order and send away both indispensable men rather than plead their necessity and keep them. They plainly foresaw serious inconvenience and could have argued for retaining a gardener the island could not spare, yet they complied at once, recording their misgivings only as a note of protest. They set obedience to the directors above their own pressing needs, accepting a real hardship to the settlement rather than resist an instruction from

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			the authority on which their whole position depended.
149	143	June 1716. Place, which makes us fear all our Work must lye undone, for we cannot pretend to improve this Island w:thout proper Workmen, nor So much as a Boat can be repaired, as it should be by any Body here. We bought a Boat last Week out of the Bowerie w:ch we employ at present in unloading the Ship, So that We cant Spare time to Suffer her to be repaired, Assoon as the Ship is quite unladen, the Carpenter must be Sent away, then this Boat of Necessity must be hauld on Shore being at present unfitt for our Use in fetching Lime and cutt Stones from Sandy Bay, and we doubt She'le be Spoild before we can get any Body to make her fitt for Service. This Island d:o always require one able and good Carpenter, and just now if we had two or three We have a good Years work for them, because We want a new Draw bridge, and to carry on the other Buildings, w:ch cant be done w:thout Such Workmen The Place also requires five or Sixty Gardiners We have made but a Sorry Stand of late, because We had no more than Howson and one Thompson as his Assistant, but Thompson ab:t three Months ago died Howson is to be Sent off this Island, So that all the Hon:ble Comp:as Gardens at the plantat: House must lye in a Manner unoccupied, there being only a black Fellow to look after it. We were in hopes Our Hon:ble Masters woud have Sent us Some Gardiners to us which woud have been an Encouragem:t to our Endeavours to See their Work go on well and the Place to flourish, which now We have but little hopes of. Resolvd	The loss of these men made the council fear that all their work must lie undone, for they could not pretend to improve the island without proper workmen, not so much as a boat could be repaired as it should be by anybody there. They had bought a boat last week out of the <i>Bouverie</i>, which they employed at present in unloading the ship, so that they could not spare time to have her repaired. As soon as the ship was quite unladen, the carpenter must be sent away, and then the boat must of necessity be hauled ashore, being at present unfit for their use in fetching lime and cut stone from Sandy Bay, and they doubted she would be spoiled before they could get anybody to make her fit for service. The island always required one able and good carpenter, and just now, if it had two or three, they had a good year's work for them, because they wanted a new drawbridge and to carry on the other buildings, which could not be done without such workmen. The island also required five or six good gardeners. They had made but a sorry showing of late, because they had no more than Howson and one Thompson as his assistant, but Thompson had died about three months ago, and Howson was to be sent off the island. So all the Company's gardens at the Plantation House must lie in a manner unoccupied, there being only a black fellow to look after them. They had been in hopes the Company would have sent over some gardeners to them, which would have been an encouragement to their endeavours to see their work go on well and the island flourish, of which they now had but little hope. Interpretations The council's lament exposes how completely the island's development depended on a mere handful of skilled tradesmen, so that the loss of one or two men could halt building, repair and cultivation together. A single carpenter stood between the settlement and a year's worth of needed work on the drawbridge and other structures, while the gardens rested on one gardener and a dying assistant, revealing an infrastructure so thinly staffed that it hovered constantly on the edge of collapse whenever the Company redirected its men. The detail that the Company's gardens would be left to a single black fellow once Howson departed reveals both the island's reliance on slave labour and the limits the council placed on it. They regarded the gardens as effectively unoccupied though a slave remained to tend them, treating skilled European gardeners as the real workforce and the enslaved man as no substitute, a telling measure of how the settlement valued the labour it commanded and how it ranked the men who performed it. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to keep their newly bought boat at the urgent work of unloading the ship rather than spare her for repair while a carpenter remained to do it. They knew the carpenter was about to be sent away and that the unrepaired boat would likely be spoiled once hauled ashore, yet they judged the immediate task of discharging the cargo more pressing than preserving the vessel. They sacrificed the boat's longer usefulness to the demand of the moment, accepting a foreseeable loss because the shipping season left them no hands to do both at once.
150	144	June 1716. Resolvd, That we write to Bengall to acqu:t them that the Arrack proves very good in the Kind all but two of the Casks w:ch came by Capt: Fitzhugh w:ch we beleive was adulterated on board, because he	The council resolved to write to Bengal to acquaint them that the arrack proved very good of its kind, all but two of the casks which came by Captain Fitzhugh, which they believed had been adulterated

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		brought no Musters, and those two Casks are very different from any of the Other. To desire them to Send as many ready made Shirts as they can, Some white & Some Strong Chollce or chequered Cloth. To pray them to Send the next Rice finer, and to put their Sugar up in Cask. To desire them also that w:th oppertunity offers to put Seven or Eight Blacks of any Sort on board of Each Ship for the use of the Hon: Comp:a And if they have any Seeds or plants that will grow on dry Ground to Send us Some. To write to the Same purpose to Gov:r Harrison to menken alsoe the Arrack We had from him was good, the Reccipt of the Money and Fanams, to desire Some good Chints Such as is Sold at Madrass from 20 to 40 pagodas P Corge; and that y:e Long Cloth may be finer, We having near a moderate Quantity of the Coarse, and to desire to Send Some Shirts ready made of Strong Cloth, either white or chequer and that if they have any Seeds or Plants that they think will grow on dry Ground to Send us Some but especially the Marposa and Banyan Tree To write to this purpose to Bombay, but desire Quilts for Bedding Sorted instead of their Goa Arrack, and in writing to Bencoolen to Send	on board, because he brought no musters, and those two casks were very different from any of the others. They would ask Bengal to send as many ready-made shirts as they could, some of white and some of strong cholla or chequered cloth. They would ask them to send the next rice finer, and to put their sugar up in cask. They would also ask that, when opportunity offered, seven or eight slaves of any sort be put aboard each ship for the use of the Company. If they had any seeds or plants that would grow on dry ground, they were to send some. The council would write to the same purpose to Governor Harrison, mentioning also that the arrack they had from him was good, acknowledging the receipt of the money and fanams, and asking for some good chintz, such as was sold at Madras, from 20 to 40 pagodas per corge. They asked that the long cloth might be finer, having now a moderate quantity of the coarse, and asked him to send some shirts ready-made of strong cloth, either white or chequered. If they had any seeds or plants that they thought would grow on dry ground, they were to send some, but especially the mango and banyan tree. The council would write to this purpose to Bombay, but desired quilts for bedding sorted, instead of their Goa arrack, and in writing to Bencoolen to send [...]. Interpretations The fanams and pagodas named in the council's dealings with Madras were units of the South Indian currency system, the pagoda a gold coin of considerable value and the fanam a small coin many of which made up a pagoda. Pricing chintz at 20 to 40 pagodas the corge, a corge being a trade lot of twenty pieces, shows the island transacting in the money of the Coromandel coast, its accounts reaching into the Indian monetary world through the Company's network rather than resting on sterling alone. The routine request that seven or eight slaves of any sort be shipped aboard each vessel for the Company lays bare how casually the island replenished its forced labour through the ordinary traffic of Company shipping. Slaves were ordered like any other supply, folded into the same letters that asked for finer rice and ready-made shirts, and the phrase of any sort reduces human beings to an undifferentiated commodity to be sent as opportunity allowed, exposing the matter-of-fact brutality of the settlement's labour system. The council's particular request for the seeds of the mango and banyan tree reveals a deliberate effort to establish useful tropical trees suited to the island's dry ground. Rather than seek only European plants, they sought hardy species from the Company's Indian territories that might take root in poor soil, showing a practical experiment in acclimatising foreign vegetation to strengthen the island's own resources and lessen its dependence on what every passing ship had to bring.
151	145	June 1716 Sent for the Perchic Tree; To desire Blacks from every Place 4 Edward Byfeld Island S:t Helena At a Consultation held on Fryday 29:o June at Union Castle in James Valley Isac Pyke Esq: Govern:d Geo: Haswell Dep:ty Pres:t Matt:w Bazett 3:d Edw:d Byfeld. The last Consultations were read and approvd on by all the Council.	In writing to Bencoolen the council would send for the peachy tree, and would ask for slaves from every place. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. A consultation was held on Friday 29 June 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The last consultations were read and approved by all the council. John Blunt then presented his humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. He set out that, having contracted some debts to the inhabitants of the island which he was not able at

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		The Petition of Jn:o Blunt Island S:t Helena To the Worsh: Isaac Pyke Esq: Govern:d &c Council The hum: Petition of Jn:o Blunt Sheweth That whereas Y:r Petitioner having contracted Some Debts to the Inhabitants &c of this Island w:ch he is not capacitated at present to pay, and having the Hon: Comp:as favour and by leave to depart hence, humbly request Y:r Worsh: & Council would please	present to pay, and having the Company's favour and leave to depart the island, he humbly asked the governor and council [...]. Interpretations The council's request for slaves from every place, coming after their earlier order for seven or eight aboard each ship, shows the island casting its net across the whole of the Company's eastern network to feed a constant hunger for forced labour. No single source could be relied upon, so they solicited human cargo from Bengal, Bombay, Bencoolen and Madagascar alike, treating every Company settlement as a potential supplier and revealing how central the traffic in slaves was to sustaining the island's workforce. John Blunt's petition, joining his inability to pay his debts with his leave to quit the island, exposes the tension between a departing debtor's freedom and his creditors' claims. The Company had granted him leave to go, yet he owed money to the inhabitants that he could not settle, so his appeal to the council sought some accommodation that would let him depart without simply abandoning those he owed, a conflict the small community had to resolve lest departure become a means of escaping debt entirely.
152	146	June 1716 please to give me Credit in the Hon: Comp:as Stores by discharging my Several Dues to the Persons indebted to, for which I will draw a Bill in my father, for the equivalent Sum here paid to me to be repaid by him to the Hon: Comp:a in England, which I am fully assured my father will accept of as being of great Service to my leaving this Island to Credit to him and Y:r Petition:r So humbly referring my Case to Y:r Worsh: & Council consent it will ever oblige me As in duty bound to pray &c June 26:o 1716 Signd Jn:o Blunt Upon which he was calld & askt how much he Owed, to which he Gave y:e foll: Answer Viz:t To the Hon: Comp:a about 30:li To Sundry other Persons ab:t 14:li The Gov:d Sayes y:t he formerly rec:d Letters from y:e Young mans friends to Credit him about 16:li Upon which he Spoke to y:e Store keeper to trust him as far as 20:li but cant Answer any further, & therefore advised to Draw bills upon his father payable to those persons he Stands the Debted to. Orderd That the Execut:d of Robert Leech be Sumond the 1: Consult: a day after the Ships departure to answer Some questions concerning Yams bought of S: Leech. The follow:g Petition was presented Island S:t Helena To the Worsh: Isaac Pyke Esq: Govern:d &c The most hum: Petition of W:m Powll Overseer	John Blunt asked the governor and council to give him credit in the Company's stores by discharging his several debts to the persons he owed. For this he would draw a bill on his father for the equivalent sum paid here, to be repaid by him to the Company in England, which he was fully assured his father would accept, as being of great service to him in leaving the island with his credit sound. Humbly referring his case to the governor and council, their consent would ever oblige him. The petition was dated 26 June 1716 and signed by John Blunt. He was then called and asked how much he owed, to which he gave the following answer. To the Company, about £30 0s 0d. To sundry other persons, about £14 0s 0d. The governor said that they had formerly received letters from Blunt's young man's friends to give him credit of about £10 0s 0d. Upon this he had spoken to the storekeeper to trust him as far as £20 0s 0d, but could not answer for any more, and had therefore advised him to draw bills on his father payable to the persons he stated he owed. The council ordered that the estate of Robert Leech be summoned the first consultation day after the ship's departure, to answer some questions concerning yams bought of Leech. The following petition was then presented to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council, being the most humble petition of William Porter, overseer [...]. Interpretations Blunt's scheme to settle his island debts by drawing a bill on his father in England reveals how personal credit stretched across the whole distance of the Company's world through family connections. He would owe the Company here, the Company would recover from his father there, and his creditors on the island would be paid at once, so a young man's ability to leave with his reputation intact rested on the willingness of kin at home to honour a debt incurred thousands of miles away. The governor's careful account of how far he had extended Blunt credit, raising it from the £10 0s 0d his friends had requested to £20 0s 0d but no further, shows the measured limits placed on trusting a departing debtor. The governor stretched the Company's exposure only so far as he judged prudent and then directed Blunt to his father for the rest, revealing an administration that would assist a man in difficulty but guarded the Company's money against

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			the risk that a departing debtor might never make good. The decision the passage turns on is the governor's choice to cap the Company's direct credit and push the balance onto Blunt's father rather than simply clear the whole debt from the stores. He could have advanced the full sum against the promised bill, yet he limited the Company's own risk to £20 0s 0d and required the rest to be secured on the father in England. He balanced a genuine wish to let Blunt leave with his credit sound against the danger of over-committing the Company's resources, shifting the greater part of the risk onto the family that had most reason to honour it.
153	147	June 1716 Sheweth That whereas Y:r Petition:r Slave named Jack has been constantly employd at the Hon: Comp:as work till last Week refusd, by M:r French, humbly conceivd Y:r Worsh: has been acquainted w:th Some Reasons for So doing unknown to Y:r Petition:r which I humbly beg Y:r Worsh: would please to examine, whether M:r French can accuse my Said Servant of any remissness w:t at work, I have always been willing & pleasd when he is entertaind, and I offer him as a very able fellow to perform any Laborious Task &c: so Y:r consideration of Y:r Petition:r case will oblige me ever as in duty bound to pray for June 26:o 1716 Y:r Worsh: &c:c Signd W:m Portley The Gund was Sent for and Sayes that when y:e blacks were most Wanted in bringing Up y:e Goods from the Crane, this Black of Portleys was taken away without leave or any bodies knowledge, for which reason he discharged him from y:e work, other wise when there's most need of blacks as their was in unlivering this Ship, It will be made a Custom for people to take away their Blacks when there's more then Ordinary work to do The Gov:d Sayes that he's of Opinion M:r French had done very well & is no way to blame it being no more then his Duty. Orderd That the Said Portley be Find 5:s to the Hon: Comp:a for taking his Black away in y:e time he was wanted to help unload the Ship Katharine But to be employd a gaine. Capt: Bazett brought in his Monthly acc:t	William Porter set out that his slave named Jack had been constantly employed at the Company's work until last week, when Mr French discharged him. Porter humbly conceived that French had been appointed with some reasons for doing so which were unknown to him, and he humbly asked the council to examine whether French could accuse his servant of any remissness at work. Porter had always been willing and pleased when Jack was taken into service, and he offered him as a very able fellow to perform any laborious task. The council's consideration of his case would ever oblige him. The petition was dated 26 June 1716 and signed by William Porter. The gunner was sent for and said that, when slaves were most wanted in bringing up the goods from the crane, Porter's slave was taken away without leave or anybody's knowledge, for which reason he discharged him from the work. Otherwise, when there was most need of slaves, as there was in unloading this ship, it would be made a custom for people to take away their slaves when there was more than ordinary work to do. The governor said he was of the opinion that Mr French had done very well and was in no way to blame, it being no more than his duty. The council ordered that Porter be fined 5s 0d to the Company for taking his slave away at the time he was wanted to help unload the ship <i>Catherine</i>, but that the slave be employed again. Captain Bazett then brought in his monthly account. Interpretations The dispute over Porter's slave Jack reveals the competing claims on slave labour between the Company and the private owners who hired their slaves out to it. An owner could withdraw his slave for his own purposes, yet the Company depended on a reliable workforce precisely when ships needed unloading, so French's discharge of Jack and the fine on Porter established that once a slave was committed to Company work he could not be pulled away at his owner's whim during the crucial press of the shipping season. The gunner's reasoning, that to allow one owner to remove his slave would make it a custom for all to do so when work was heaviest, shows the council thinking in terms of precedent and the danger of a single indulgence unravelling discipline. Faced with the risk that private owners might routinely reclaim their slaves at the busiest moments, the council punished Porter not merely for the day's inconvenience but to prevent a practice that would leave the Company short of hands whenever it most needed them. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to fine Porter yet return his slave to the work rather than either excuse him or bar the man permanently. They upheld French's authority and marked the offence with a penalty, yet they did not release Porter from the arrangement or leave Jack

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			idle, ordering him employed again at once. They balanced the assertion of the Company's prior claim on committed labour against the owner's continuing interest in his valuable slave, choosing a remedy that disciplined the breach while preserving the working relationship both sides depended on.
154	148	June 1716. account from the 25:th April 1716 to y:e 25:th of May following, which was Examind and approved of & is as followeth. (Viz:t) An Acc:t of Store Goods Sold & delivered to the Inhabitants & Garrison of this Island United Castle & Plantation house from April y:e 25:th 1716 to y:e 25:th of May foll: (Viz:t) Arrack 384¾ gall: at 7/6 £144 5s 7½d Sugar 666½ at 8:d P li £22 4s 0d Bread 747 at 3½ £10 17s 8d Flour 486 at 3½ £7 1s 3d Rice 12 at 3½ £0 3s 6d Oyls (Viz:t) Rape ½ Gallon £0 3s 6d Linseed 3½ at 8:d P gall £1 6s 0d Sweet ½ at 12:8 £0 1s 6d £1 11s 0d Wine 12½ Gall: at 5:s £3 2s 6d Vineger 5½ at 4:s £1 2s 0d Lime Juice 18½ gall: at 5:s £4 10s 7½d Pepper 2:d £0 2s 0d Tea ½ Catterr at 9:s £3 12s 0d 2 d:o £4 1s 0d £7 13s 0d Soap 100 at 1:8:d P li £7 1s 8d Indian Goods (Viz:t) Nealas 4 pes at 10/5:d £2 1s 8d Dungrees 3 pes at 5/8:d £0 17s 0d Chints 2 pes bought out of Shipping at 22/8 £2 4s 0d Bleu Gurrhaes bo: out of d:o 1 pes £0 10s 0d Shirts 12 at 3:s £1 16s 0d £7 8s 8d	This was Captain Bazett's account from 25 April 1716 to 25 May following, which was examined and approved as follows. This was an account of stores goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants and garrison of the island, United Castle and Plantation House, from 25 April 1716 to 25 May following. Arrack, 384¾ gallons at 7s 6d, £144 5s 7½d Sugar, 666½ pounds at 8d, £22 4s 4d Bread, 747 at 3½d, £10 17s 9d Flour, 486 at 3½d, £7 1s 9d Rice, 12 at 3½d, £0 3s 6d Oils: Rapeseed, ½ gallon, £0 3s 6d Linseed, 3¼ gallons at 8s per gallon, £1 6s 0d Sweet, ¼ gallon at 12s, £0 1s 6d Sub-total, £1 11s 0d Wine, 12½ gallons at 5s, £3 2s 6d Vinegar, 5¼ gallons at 4s, £1 2s 0d Lime juice, 18½ gallons at 5s, £4 10s 7½d Pepper, 2 pounds, £0 2s 0d Tea, ½ catty at 9s, £3 12s 0d Tea, ½ catty, £0 41s 0d Sub-total, £7 13s 0d Soap, 100 pounds at 1s 5d per pound, £7 1s 8d Indian goods: Nealias, 4 pieces at 10s 5d, £2 1s 8d Dungarees, 3 pieces at 5s 8d, £0 17s 0d Chintz, 2 pieces bought out of shipping at 22s, £2 4s 0d Blue guineas, 2 pieces bought out of ditto, 1 piece, £0 10s 0d Shirts, 12 at 3s, £1 16s 0d Sub-total, £7 8s 8d Interpretations The chintz and blue guineas here marked as bought out of shipping record the store restocking its Indian cloth directly from the cargoes of vessels calling at the island rather than solely from consignments ordered from Bengal or Madras. When a ship arrived carrying such goods, the store could purchase from it on the spot, so the island topped up its supplies opportunistically from passing traffic, a flexibility that helped a remote settlement keep its shelves filled between the formal shipments the Company sent. The ready-made shirts sold at 3s apiece show the store meeting a demand for finished clothing as well as the bulk cloth from which garments were made. On an island short of skilled tailors and labour, a supply of made-up shirts spared residents the trouble of having cloth cut and sewn, and their inclusion among the Indian goods reflects exactly the request the council had lately sent to Bengal and Madras for ready-made shirts of white and chequered cloth. The heavy sale of lime juice, over eighteen gallons in the month, points to its recognised value against scurvy among the garrison and the crews of ships touching at the island. Long voyages stripped seamen of fresh food and brought on the disease, so a supply of lime juice was a practical medical resource, and its steady sale through the store shows the island functioning as a place where ships could replenish not only provisions but the means of keeping their men healthy on the sea.
155	149	June 1716. Brought over £217 4s 6¾d	The account continued from the sum brought over of £217 4s 6¾d. Brought over, £217 4s 6¾d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Broad Cloth 8½ y:d at 14/6¼ £6 3s 8¼d Duggett Viz:t Silk d:o 7½ yards at 4/9:d £1 15s 7½d Cloath 43¾ at 4:s £8 15s 0d £10 10s 7½d Shalloons 32¼ y:d at 2/6:d £4 0s 7½d Soldiers Cloath 3 Coats at 20/8 £3 2s 0d Blanketts 2 p:r £0 9s 6d Fustians 2½ y:d Corded d:o at 2 £0 5s 0d Shoes Island d:o 8 p:r at 4:s £1 12s 0d Eng:h 1 p:r of Girl £0 3s 8d D:o 1 p:r of Mens plains £0 3s 0d £1 18s 8d Tobacco pipes 23 11/12 doz at 6:d £0 11s 11½d Glass ware 1 two half Glass £0 3s 4d Hooks & Lines viz:t Hooks 5 doz:n N:o 1 £0 0s 2¾d 3 d:o 2 £0 1s 6d 3 d:o 3 £0 4s 1d 7 d:o 4 £0 0s 4d 1 d:o 5 £0 0s 3¾d ½ d:o 7 £0 8s 5¾d Lines 6 doz 5 £0 2s 3d 12 d:o 7 £0 0s 10d 1 d:o 8 £0 0s 11d 2 d:o 16 £0 0s 8d 2 d:o 16 £0 7s 4d £1 2s 2d Cutlary Ware 12 Knives & 12 forks Holley hafted N:o 5 £0 4s 9d Iron mongers Ware viz:t Chest Locks 2 at 1:6 each £0 3s 0d Closett d:o 1 d:o Fdind £0 3s 8d Chest d:o 1 £0 7s 8d d:o 1 £0 4s 6d d:o 1 £0 2s 8d Grubbing Axt 1 £0 2s 8d Hoco 2 Broad £0 5s 0d Shovells 1 £0 2s 0d £1 11s 2d	Broadcloth, 8½ yards at 14s 6¼d, £6 3s 5¾d Duckett: Silk, 7½ yards at 4s 9d, £1 15s 7½d Cloth, 43¾ yards at 4s, £8 15s 0d Sub-total, £10 10s 7½d Shalloons, 32¼ yards at 2s 6d, £4 0s 7½d Soldiers cloth, 3 coats at 20s, £3 2s 0d Blankets, 2 pairs, £0 9s 6d Fustians, 2½ yards corded at 2s, £0 5s 0d Shoes: Island shoes, 8 pairs at 4s, £1 12s 0d English shoes, 1 pair of girl's, £0 3s 8d English shoes, 1 pair of men's plains, £0 3s 0d Sub-total, £1 18s 8d Tobacco pipes, 23 11/12 dozen at 6d, £0 11s 11½d Glassware, 1 two-thirds glass, £0 3s 4d Hooks and lines: Hooks, 5 dozen number 1, £0 1s 3d Hooks, 3 dozen number 2, £0 1s 6d Hooks, 3 dozen number 3, £0 4s 1d Hooks, 7 dozen number 4, £0 0s 9d Hooks, 1 dozen number 5, £0 0s 3¾d Hooks, ¼ dozen number 7, £0 0s [...]d Sub-total, £0 8s 5¾d Lines, 6 dozen number 5, £0 2s 3d Lines, 12 dozen number 8, £0 0s 10d Lines, 1 dozen number 8, £0 0s 11d Lines, 2 dozen number 16, £0 0s 8d Lines, 2 dozen number 16, £0 7s 4d Sub-total, £1 2s 2d Cutlery ware: 12 knives and 12 forks, hafted, tipped, number 5, £0 4s 9d Ironmongers ware: Chest locks, 2 at 1s 6d each, £0 3s 0d Chest locks, 1 to find, £0 3s 8d Closet lock, 1, £0 7s 8d Chest lock, 1, £0 4s 6d Lock, 1, £0 2s 8d Lock, 1, £0 2s 8d Grubbing axe, 1, £0 5s 0d Hoes, 2 broad, £0 2s 0d Shovels, 1, £0 1s [...]d Sub-total, £1 11s 2d Interpretations The soldiers cloth made up into three coats at 20s each records the store supplying the garrison with the material and finished garments of a soldier's uniform. A military post far from England had to clothe its men from its own resources, so the store carried the heavy cloth proper to soldiers and provided ready-made coats, treating the outfitting of the garrison as one more line of business alongside the sale of goods to the ordinary inhabitants. The grubbing axe and broad hoes among the ironmongery were the heavy tools of clearing and breaking new ground, the grubbing axe used to tear out roots and stumps and the hoe to work the soil. Their presence shows the continuing labour of bringing the island's rough land into cultivation, and the store's stock of such implements reflects a settlement still extending its gardens and fields, dependent on imported iron tools that no local forge could supply. The graded fish hooks and lines, stocked by the dozen in numbered sizes from the smallest to the largest, reveal how important fishing was to feeding the island and its ships. The surrounding sea offered a ready source of food to supplement the livestock and gardens, so the store kept a full range of tackle for catches of every size, and the steady trade in hooks and lines shows the inhabitants drawing on the ocean as a regular part of their subsistence.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
156	150	June 1716 Nailes (Viz:t) B:t Over 3 4 at 10:d P C £0 0s 2¾d 4½ 3 9 £0 0s 3¾d 16 10 9½ Cardonel £0 12s 8d 1 Tack £0 1s 8d 6 w:t Nails at 6:d £0 3s 0d 8 6 Inch Deck d:o £0 4s 6d 6 9 Inch d:o £0 3s 3d 1 C:t Coppers Rivetts at 11:d £0 11s 0d £2 2s 1d Shoe thread 1:c £0 2s 6d Silk 6¾ ou at 2/6:d £0 16s 10d Tape 1 pes Coloured £0 1s 8d Pins 3:m at 1/g:r:c £0 5s 3d Sail Needles 3½ doz P 10:d £0 5s 6d Threads (Viz:t) 6 ou at 9:d £0 4s 6d 2 ou 15½ £0 2s 7d 1 ou 4 £0 1s 6d 4 ou 13 £0 4s 4d 4 17 £0 5s 8d 1 flourishing £0 2s 6d 1 d:o £0 1s 0d 1 fine thread £0 2s 6d ½ Whited Browne £0 2s 11d £1 7s 6d Buttons (Viz:t) 3 doz Cote at 12:d £0 3s 0d 3 doz d:o 19 £0 4s 9d 5 Brest 4 £0 1s 8d £0 9s 5d Bodice 1 pair £0 10s 4d Twine 6:c at 2/4:d £0 14s 0d Whit Lead 28:c at 6:d £0 14s 0d Hessing 3 pes at 38/9 £5 16s 3d Beef 1 Cask at 18:d P li £90 0s 0d Sugar Candy 60:c £0 3s 0d To the Inhabitants £355 0s 7¾d	The account continued from the sum brought over. Nails: 3 and 4 penny nails at 10½d per thousand, £0 2s 7¾d 4½ and 3 penny nails, £0 3s 4½d 16 and 10 penny cardinal nails, £0 12s 8d 1 jack, £0 1s 8d 6 penny nails at 6d, £0 3s 0d 8 of 6 inch deck nails, £0 4s 6d 6 of 6 inch deck nails, £0 3s 3d 1 thousand coopers rivets at 11d, £0 11s 0d Sub-total, £2 2s 1d Shoe thread, 1 pound, £0 2s 6d Silk, 6¾ ounces at 2s 6d, £0 16s 10½d Tape, 1 piece coloured, £0 1s 8d Pins, 5 thousand at 1s per thousand, £0 5s 3d Sail needles, 3½ dozen at 10d, £0 5s 6d Threads: 6 ounces at 9d, £0 4s 6d 2 ounces at 15½d, £0 2s 7d 1 ounce, £0 1s 6d 4 ounces at 13d, £0 4s 4d 4 ounces at 17d, £0 5s 8d 1 ounce flourishing, £0 2s 6d 1 ounce ditto, £0 1s 0d 1 ounce fine thread, £0 2s 6d ½ pound white and brown, £0 2s 11d Sub-total, £1 7s 6d Buttons: 3 dozen coat at 12d, £0 3s 0d 3 dozen coat, £0 4s 9d 5 breast at 4d, £0 1s 8d Sub-total, £0 9s 5d Bodice, 1 pair, £0 10s 4d Twine, 6 pounds at 2s 4d, £0 14s 0d White lead, 28 pounds at 6d, £0 14s 0d Herrings, 3 pieces at 3s 8d, £5 16s 3d Beef, 5 casks at 18s per hundredweight, £90 0s 0d Sugar candy, 60 pounds, £0 3s 0d To the inhabitants, £355 0s 7d Interpretations The deck nails, coopers rivets and sail needles gathered in this account point to the constant maritime repair work the island supported for the ships that called there. Vessels arriving after months at sea needed their decks made good, their casks mended and their sails stitched, so the store kept the specialised fastenings and heavy needles that such work required, the settlement serving as a place where a worn ship could be patched and refitted for the next stage of its voyage. The five casks of salt beef charged at £90 0s 0d, by far the largest single item in the whole account, show the scale on which the island victualled shipping with preserved meat. This was not provision for the inhabitants alone but the bulk salt beef that outward-bound ships took aboard for their long passages, and its dominance of the account confirms that supplying departing vessels with lasting provisions was among the island's most valuable functions in the Company's system. The cardinal nails named among the ironmongery were a recognised trade size of large nail, and their listing alongside deck nails and coopers rivets illustrates the finely graded range of fastenings the store had to carry. Building, ship repair and cask-making each demanded nails of particular sizes, and with no local manufacture the settlement depended on a carefully stocked supply shipped from England, the variety recorded here matching the many different tasks that iron fastenings served in a working port.
157	151	June 1716.	This was an account of general charges.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Gen:l Charges viz:t Arrack 86 Gall: at 7/6 £32 5s 0d Sugar 75½ at 8:d £2 10s 4d Flower 313 at 3½ £13 16s 10d Bread 945 at 3½ £8 2s 6d Wine 32¼ Gall at 5:s £9 7s 6½d Rice 643 at 3½ £9 7s 6½d Oyles viz:t Rape d:o 1½ Gall: at 7 £1 0s 6d Sweet d:o 2½ Gall at 12 £1 10s 0d £2 0s 6d Lime Juice 4½ Gall: at 5:s £1 2s 6d Pepper 2:c £0 2s 0d Tea 3:c at 9:s £1 7s 0d Pewter 3 dishes q:s 8 at 1:6 £0 12s 0d Soap 36:c at 17 £2 11s 0d Glass ware 2 Decanters q:s 5: 6 at 2: 2 £0 11s 7¼d Iron mongers ware 6 Shovels at 2:s £0 12s 0d 1 Hatchett £0 2s 6d £0 14s 6d Vinegar 2 Gall: at 4:s £0 8s 0d Kersey 64 yards at 2: 2 £6 18s 8d Knives & forks 1 doz of each maples handles & Steel ferrels £0 18s 0d Dungarees or Dusooties 5 p:r at 5/8 £1 8s 8d Pewter Buttons 1 G:s Coate £0 4s 6d Threads ½ whited Brown d:o £0 3s 4d 2 ouz d:o 9 £0 1s 6d £0 4s 10d Corks 18 doz at 8:d £0 4s 6d Flagg Brooms 6 at 6:d £0 3s 0d Paper 2 1/10 Rheams at 26/8 £2 16s 0d Beef 1 Cask q:s 520 at 5½ £11 18s 4d Totall of Gen: Charges £104 18s 2¼d	Arrack, 86 gallons at 7s 6d, £32 5s 0d Sugar, 75¼ pounds at 8d, £2 10s 2d Flour, 313 at 3½d, £4 11s 4½d Bread, 945 at 3½d, £13 15s 7½d Wine, 32¼ gallons at 5s, £8 2s 6d Rice, 643 at 3½d, £9 7s 6½d Oils: Rapeseed, 1½ gallons at 7s, £0 10s 6d Sweet, 2½ gallons at 12s, £1 10s 0d Sub-total, £2 0s 6d Lime juice, 4½ gallons at 5s, £1 2s 6d Pepper, 2 pounds, £0 2s 0d Tea, 3 ounces at 9s, £0 12s 0d Pewter, 3 dishes of 8 pounds at 1s 6d, £2 11s 0d Soap, 36 pounds at 17d, £0 11s 7¼d Glassware, 2 decanters of 5s 6d and 2s 2d, £0 7s 8d Ironmongers ware: 6 shovels at 2s, £0 12s 0d 1 hatchet, £0 2s 6d Sub-total, £0 14s 6d Vinegar, 2 gallons at 4s, £0 8s 0d Kersey, 64 yards at 2s 2d, £6 18s 8d Knives and forks, 1 dozen of each, maple handles and steel ferrules, £0 18s 0d Dungarees or dosooties, 5 pieces at 5s 8d, £1 8s 8d Pewter buttons, 1 gross, coat, £0 4s 6d Threads: ½ pound white and brown, £0 3s 4d 2 ounces at 9d, £0 1s 6d Sub-total, £0 4s 10d Corks, 18 dozen at 3d, £0 4s 6d Flag brooms, 6 at 6d, £0 3s 0d Paper, 2 1/10 reams at 2s 6¾d, £2 16s [...]d Beef, 1 cask of 520 pounds at 5½d, £11 18s 4d Total of general charges, £104 18s 2¼d Interpretations The dungarees here also called dosooties record the same coarse Indian cotton under a second trade name, dosooti being a plain calico woven of double thread. The store's use of both terms for one cloth shows how the vocabulary of the Indian textile trade reached the island in several forms, the clerks setting down whichever name the invoices carried, so that a single durable working fabric appears under the labels of different corners of the Coromandel and Bengal commerce. The knives and forks with maple handles and steel ferrules record a small refinement in the store's tableware, the ferrule being the metal band that secured the handle to the blade. Such finished cutlery, distinct from the plainer sort, points to a demand among the island's officers and better households for goods of some quality, the store supplying not merely bare necessities but items that marked a degree of comfort and standing at a governor's or councillor's table. The flag brooms listed among the general charges were brooms made from reeds or coarse flag leaves, simple implements for sweeping the Company's premises. Their humble presence in the account, alongside decanters and fine cutlery, illustrates the full range of the establishment's needs, from the elegant furnishings of the table to the plainest tools of keeping the fort and its buildings clean, all drawn through the same store and charged to the same account.
158	152	June 1716. Plantation Charges Shoe Thread 4:c £0 10s 0d Arrack 1½ Gall: d:o at 7/6 £0 11s 3d Sugar 8:c at 8:d	This was an account of Plantation charges. Shoe thread, 4 [...], £0 10s 0d Arrack, 1½ gallons at 7s 6d, £0 11s 3d Sugar, 8 pounds at 8d, £0 5s 4d Bread, 895 at 3½d, £13 1s 0½d Rice, 1,790 at 3½d, £26 2s 1d To Plantation House, £40 9s 8½d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		£0 5s 4d Bread 895 at 3½ £13 1s 4½d Rice 1795 at 3½ £26 2s 1d To Plantation House £40 9s 8½d To Gen: Charges £104 18s 2¼d To the Inhabitants £355 0s 7¾d £500 8s 6½d Capt: Bazett Says, He has not had time Sufficient to answer what relates to him in Capt: Tolsons paper having been very busie every day about receiving and Stowing the Goods brought by this Ship Catherine These Severall Letters follow:d past between the Govern:d & Council and Capt: Hunter. Capt: Jn:o Hunter S:r Upon examining our Invoice by your Ship, and comparing therewith the Goods rec:d on Shore I find the Several Quantitys hereafter mentiond to be wanting, which desire may be Sent on Shore assoon as possible you can, unless you are willing to buy them Viz:t 11½ Chaldrons of Coals 238 Deals 6 Sparrs 1 Cask of Pickles 1 Quoil of Cordage & 66 Billetts We are y:r loving Friends S:t Helena June 19 1716 Signd Isa: Pyke	To general charges, £104 18s 2¾d To the inhabitants, £355 0s 7½d Grand total, £500 8s 6¼d Captain Bazett said he had not had time enough to answer what related to him in Captain Tolson's papers, having been very busy every day about receiving and stowing the goods brought by the ship <i>Catherine</i>. Several letters then followed, passing between the governor and council and Captain Hunter. Captain John Hunter wrote to the governor that, upon examining the invoice by his ship and comparing it with the goods received ashore, he found the several quantities hereafter mentioned to be wanting, which he asked might be sent ashore as soon as possible, unless the council were willing to buy them. 11½ chaldrons of coals 238 deals 6 spars 1 cask of pickles 1 quoil of cordage 66 billets Hunter subscribed himself their loving friend. This was dated at St Helena on 29 June 1716. Interpretations The enormous quantity of rice charged to the Plantation account, 1,790 pounds at over £26, dwarfs every other item and confirms once more that rice was the staple ration issued to the slaves who worked the Company's land. Month after month the plantation drew this bulk of cheap imported grain, so the single largest running cost of the Company's own agricultural establishment was the food that sustained its forced labourers, the account laying bare in figures the scale of the enslaved workforce the plantation fed. The chaldron of coals named in Hunter's list was a large measure of coal, so eleven and a half chaldrons amounted to a substantial fuel supply shipped from England. The island had no coal of its own and little wood to spare, so imported coal served the forge, the kitchens and any work needing sustained heat, and its inclusion among the ship's cargo shows the settlement depending on distant England even for the basic fuel that local resources could not provide. The deals, spars and billets Hunter recorded as short were all forms of imported timber and wood, deals being sawn planks, spars poles for masts or scaffolding and billets lengths of firewood. A treeless island had to bring in almost all its timber, so these shortfalls touched the settlement's ability to build, repair and burn, and the careful listing of what was wanting reflects how precious every plank and pole was where nothing could be cut to make good the loss.
159	153	June 1716 The Second Letter Capt: John Hunter S:r We are orderd by our Hon: Masters to assist & dispatch your unloading as fast as We can and you are by Charter party to deliver the Cargoe consignd to us in ten Working Days, which being expird We do hereby protest against you, and Say that as you have not Deliverd your Cargoe as aforesd & neither not wanted our Assistance, all the Damage that Shall accrue thereby must redound to the Owners of y:e Ship Catherine. We are y:r hum: Servants Isa: Pyke S:t Helena Union Castle June 30:o Signd Geo: Haswell 1716 Matt: Bazett	This was the second letter to Captain John Hunter. The council wrote that they were ordered by the Company to assist and dispatch his unloading as fast as they could, and that he was bound by charterparty to deliver the cargo to them in ten working days. That period having expired, they hereby protested against him, and said that as he had not delivered his cargo as agreed, and had not wanted their assistance, all the damage that should accrue thereby must fall on the owners of the ship <i>Catherine</i>. This was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 30 June 1716 and signed by Isaac Pyke, George Hassell, Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield. A further letter was to be copied after the letters underneath. Hunter wrote to the governor and council to acquaint them that all goods belonging to the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Edw: Byfeld This Lett:r to be copied after the Lett:r underneath To the Worsh: Govern:d & Counel of S:t Helena Gent:n This is to acquaint you that all Goods belong ing to the Hon: East India Comp:a & consignd to this place is on Shore, and hope in good Order and according to Invoice. I am Worsh: S:rs &c Y:r most hum: Serv:t Ship Catherine S:t Helena road Signd Jn:o Hunter July 3 1716 Mem: This to be copied after y:e next Letter To the Worsh: Govern:d & Counel of the Island S:t Helena Gent:n To day received a Lettre which you call a Protest, I presume you do it more as a form than by Judgment; Y:r Worsh: &c cannot So Soon forget what time unlading Such a Quantity of Lumber will take I do confess you have assisted us to the utmost, and likewise	Company that came consigned to the island were there, and he hoped in good order and according to invoice. This was dated aboard the ship <i>Catherine</i> in St Helena road on 3 July 1716 and signed by John Hunter. A memorandum noted that this was to be copied after the next letter. Hunter wrote again to the governor and council that he had that day received a letter which they called a protest. He presumed they did it more as a form than by judgment, since the council could not so soon forget what time unlading such a quantity of lumber would take. He confessed they had assisted him to the utmost, and likewise [...]. Interpretations The council's protest against Hunter for exceeding the ten working days set by his charterparty shows how the same formal instrument the island used against the sea and against defaulting suppliers also governed the pace of a ship's own unloading. The charterparty fixed the time allowed for discharge, and by protesting the moment it expired the council laid any resulting damage on the ship's owners, wielding the contract to protect the Company against delays for which the island might otherwise be blamed. Hunter's shrewd reply, that the protest was surely a form rather than a real judgment, since the council knew how long so much lumber took to land, turned the island's own knowledge against its complaint. He pointed out that they had in fact helped him to the utmost, so the protest sat oddly with the reality both sides had witnessed, exposing the gap between the formal legal record the council felt bound to create and the practical cooperation that had actually taken place. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to protest against Hunter even while he had their full assistance and the delay owed to the sheer bulk of the cargo. They could have let the overrun pass, since they knew the lumber could not be landed faster and had themselves helped all they could, yet they lodged the formal protest the moment the charterparty time expired. They set the protection of the Company's legal position above the awkwardness of protesting against a man they had just aided, treating the written safeguard as a duty to be performed regardless of the goodwill that surrounded it.
160	154	June 1716 likewise appeal even to your Selves, if any time has been misapplied on my Side, but you cannot but with one believe, it will take Some time in Shifting Such a Ship, but as for my Dispatch I don't there ever was more unladed in one Day out of any Ship that has formerly been here than I have delivered now, and therefore notwithstanding the aforement: Protest, I Shall expect for my Owners demorage for Every day We have been here unloading over and above the ten Days, unless you can prove negligence on my Side, which I am Sure is impossible, for you all Know my People work very hard ever Since We have been here, and hope on Monday next to get e:ry thing on Shore. I am Worsh: &c S:rs y:r most hum: Servant Ship Catherine Signd John Hunter June ult:mo 1716 N:B There comes in y:e Lett:r Copied on y:e other Side of y:e 3:d July.	Hunter added that he would likewise appeal to the council themselves as to whether any time had been misapplied on his side. They could not but believe that shifting such a ship would take some time, but as for his dispatch, he did not think there was ever more unladed in one day out of any ship that had formerly been at the island than he had delivered now. Notwithstanding the council's protest, he would therefore expect demurrage for his owners for every day they had been unloading over and above the ten days, unless the council could prove negligence on his side, which he was sure was impossible, for they all knew his people had worked very hard ever since they had been there. He hoped on Monday next to get everything ashore. This was dated aboard the ship <i>Catherine</i> on 30 June 1716 and signed by John Hunter. A note recorded that a further letter followed, copied on the other side, dated 3 July. Interpretations Hunter's counter-claim for demurrage turned the council's protest on its head by invoking the very charterparty they had cited against him. Demurrage was the compensation an owner could claim when a ship was detained beyond its agreed lay days through no fault of the master, so Hunter argued that if the delay was not his negligence then the extra days were

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			the island's liability, converting the council's legal weapon into the ground of his own demand for payment. Hunter's insistence that no ship had ever been unloaded faster and that the delay lay only in the sheer volume of cargo made the burden of proof the heart of the dispute. He challenged the council to demonstrate negligence on his part, confident they could not, so the question of who bore the cost of the overrun came down to fault, each side maintaining that the plain facts of the unloading supported its own reading of where responsibility lay under the contract. The decision the passage turns on is Hunter's choice to answer the protest with a formal claim for demurrage rather than let the matter rest or simply defend his conduct. He might have contented himself with pointing out how hard his people had worked, yet he went further and asserted his owners' right to payment for every extra day, throwing the challenge back on the council to prove him negligent. He met the island's written protest with a written counter-claim of his own, ensuring that the reckoning carried to England would present the directors with two opposing demands rather than the council's complaint alone.
161	155	June 1716 To the Worsh: Gov:d & Counel St Helena Gent:n To day receivd your Letter wherein you Say there's wanting 64 Deals whereof there produce an Order from Mr Tho: Lewis by the Comittee of Shipping for building a Cabbin for Mr Catherine Vandenand 8 dg:th w:ch took about 28 deals. There were an 100 more ordered by Capt: Duffield for building a Coal Hole w:ch being cutt up for that Use canott expect to have the whole Quantity many being Splitt to Pieces in taking down. The whole Ships Comp: are willing to testifie that none have been usd for the Ships or any other Use: As to the Coals I excepted against them in the Bill of Loading Knowing how long they lay in the Loyter frozen up before they come on board, and they being truly Sensible the Quantity was not there, required no Receipt, which is Sufficient to answer that Article, and further you may have the affidavitt of the whole Ships Comp: that none have been Sold on any Account; The Ship being now clear You may Send any Person on board to See what Coals there is, and w:ch is no more than three Chaldron We carry:d out from England, So that the Mistake is in the Gent:n that Sent them on board. The Cask of Pickle thought it had been on Shore, to hinder any Mistake there have Sent you a Cask of our futter. The Six Spars we usd for making Battens & Stants to build the Coal Hole which will appear by the Receipt given for them, The Belletts are now in the Boat & on Shore, So that I have clearly answ:d the Particulars in Y:r Letter; & Ballanced the Acc:t w:thout you have a mind further for Controversie and hinder my Sayting, which I intend this Evening. I am Worsh: &c S:rs Y:r most hum: Servant Isl:d St Helena John Hunter July 4:o 1716 Signd	Hunter wrote to the governor and council that he had that day received their letter, in which they said there were 64 deals wanting. Of these he produced an order from Mr Thomas Lewis, by the committee of shipping, for building a cabin for Mr Catherine Vandenand, which took about 28 deals. A hundred more had been ordered by Captain Duffield for building a coal hole, which, being cut up for that use, could not be expected to remain the whole quantity, many being split to pieces in taking down. The whole ship's company were willing to testify that none had been used for the ship or any other use. As to the coals, Hunter had excepted against them in the bill of lading, knowing how long they lay in the lighter frozen up before they came aboard, and being truly sensible the quantity was not there, he required no receipt, which was sufficient to answer that article. Further, the council might have the affidavit of the whole ship's company that none had been sold on any account. The ship being now clear, they might send any person aboard to see what coals there were, which were no more than three chaldrons carried out from England, so that the mistake was in the gentlemen who sent them aboard. The cask of pickles, Hunter thought, had been on shore, and to prevent any mistake he had sent the council a cask of his own. The six spars had been used for making battens and stanchions to build the coal hole, as would appear by the receipt given for them. The billets were now in the boat and ashore, so that he had clearly answered the particulars in the council's letter and balanced the account, unless the council had a mind for further controversy. He would render an account under his hand that evening. This was dated at St Helena on 4 July 1716 and signed by John Hunter. Interpretations Hunter's explanation of the missing deals and spars reveals how a ship's own cargo could be legitimately consumed during the voyage for the vessel's needs and Company orders. Timber shipped as cargo had been cut up to build a cabin for a passenger and a coal hole for storage, both authorised by the committee of shipping, so what looked to the storekeeper like a shortfall was in fact material lawfully used in transit, the apparent deficiency explained by the paperwork of orders and receipts. Hunter's account of the frozen coals lying in the lighter before loading, and his consequent refusal to

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			sign a receipt for a quantity he knew to be short, shows a commander protecting himself against a discrepancy that arose before the cargo ever reached his charge. By declining the receipt at the outset he had recorded his objection at the proper moment, so he could now throw the shortfall back on the men at the English end who had sent the coals aboard, demonstrating how careful masters guarded against being charged for others errors. The decision the passage turns on is Hunter's choice to answer every disputed item point by point and settle each with documents rather than concede any part of the shortfall. He might have let some small deficiencies stand or offered a general excuse, yet he produced an order for the deals, receipts for the spars, an offer of affidavits for the coals and even replaced the pickles from his own stock. He met the council's protest with a meticulous documentary rebuttal, choosing to defend the ship's account in full and leave the burden of any remaining quarrel on the council should they wish to pursue it.
162	156	June 1716 The Order for building a Cabbin Enclosd S:r I am orderd by the Comittee of Shipping of U: E: India Comp:a to acquaint you that they desire you will direct that a convenient Cabbin may be built in the great Cabbin (if possible) for y:e Bearer Mrs Catherine Vandenand & her daught: who go on board the Ship Catherine for Bencoolen, for which She has the Secry order I am S:r y:r &c Tho: Lewis December 10:o 1715 Received on board Ship Catherine Capt: Hunter Com:d one hund:d Deals & Six Ussers for building a bulk head for the Comp:as Coals by me Signd Dav:d Smart Capt: Hunter S:r We have recd: one of Y:r Letters of this Days date, and to that and another of Saturdays last We answer, That we think you have no occasion to take any thing amiss of Us for it is our Duty to See the Goods delavrd that are consigd to Us here, and also to take Care that they come on Shore in due time 1:o, in ten working Days, otherwise to protest ag:t you for not doing So; As to the time you have been here We never did deny but your People have been industrious, and the Weather has been also favourable, wch has not a little contributed to your dispatch, but yet We think, that We ought	The order for building a cabin was enclosed. Thomas Lewis wrote that he was ordered by the committee of shipping of the Company to acquaint the master that they desired he would direct a convenient cabin to be built in the great cabin, if possible, for Mrs Catherine Vandenand and her daughter, who went aboard the ship <i>Catherine</i> for Bencoolen, for which she had the secretary's order. This was signed by Thomas Lewis. A receipt dated 10 December 1715 recorded that there were received aboard the ship <i>Catherine</i>, Captain Hunter commander, one hundred deals and six ushers for building a bulkhead for the Company's coals. This was signed by David Smart. The council replied to Captain Hunter that they had received one of his letters of that day's date, and to that and another of Saturday last they answered that they thought he had no reason to take anything amiss of them. It was their duty to see the goods delivered that were consigned to the island, and also to take care that they came ashore in due time, that is in ten working days, or otherwise to protest against him for not doing so. As to the time he had been there, they never denied that his people had been industrious, and the weather had also been favourable, which had not a little contributed to his dispatch. Even so, they thought that they ought [...]. Interpretations The enclosed order from the committee of shipping and the receipt for the deals show the documentary chain by which Hunter justified the timber consumed on his voyage. The committee had directed a cabin built for a passenger bound for Bencoolen, and a signed receipt recorded the hundred deals taken for the Company's coal bulkhead, so each apparent shortfall in the cargo was matched to a written authorisation, demonstrating how the Company's system required paper warrant for every departure from the invoice. The council's concession that the weather had been favourable and Hunter's people industrious, offered even as they maintained their protest, reveals the careful line they drew between acknowledging the facts and defending their legal position. They would not deny what was plainly true about the speed of the unloading, yet they insisted on their duty to protest the overrun regardless, showing an administration determined to be both honest about the circumstances and rigorous in protecting the Company's formal rights. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to maintain their protest while openly admitting every fact that told in Hunter's favour. They could have quietly dropped the matter once

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			they conceded the good weather and hard work that explained the delay, yet they held to the protest even after granting these points. They separated the question of fault from the duty to create a formal record, judging that their obligation to protect the Company obliged them to lodge the protest whatever the mitigating circumstances, and accepting the awkwardness of protesting against a man whose diligence they had just praised.
163	157	June 1716 ought not to allow you a whole Day for Monday last because you were Scarce half a Day at work, but of that Shall advertise our Hon: Masters, to whom We refer this; But as to the Coals & other Goods Short Deliverd We cant take any notice of that Answer, but as our Duty is must protest agt You, for what is wanting of your Bill of Lading; You having refused to pay us 122:c 6:o which is the Value of those Goods here; And therefore We do in the Name of the H:ble U: E: India Comp:a of Merch:ts of Engl: Chusing by these P:sen writing protest against you for not delivering the whole Goods consignd to Us in your Bill of Lading; There's wanting now to compleat that Cargoe 11½ Chaldron of Coals, or 414 Bush:ls worth here 5:c P Bush:l 64 Deals worth here 4:s each Deal & 6 Sparrs value each 20:s We assure yous:s that you are very greatly mistaken, if you think We love controversies, for if you can gett off all your Water, and be ready to Sail to Night, We Shant hinder you, but We beleive it is y:e easiest Method to prevent future Disputes to pay us Now in Pitch and Tarr, or rather than fail in Wine for the Goods wanted, and So we wish you a good Voyage We are y:r loving Friends Isa: Pyke Union Castle Geo: Haswell St Helena July 5:o 1716 Signd Matt: Bazett & Edw: Byfield	The council added that they thought they ought not to allow Hunter a whole day for Monday last, because he was scarcely half a day at work, but they would put that matter before the Company, to whom they referred it. As to the coals and other goods short delivered, they could take no notice of his answer, but as their duty required they must protest against him for what was wanting of his bill of lading, he having refused to pay the £122 12s 6d which was the value of those goods at the island. In the name of the Company they therefore protested by writing against him for not delivering the whole goods consigned to the island in his bill of lading. There was now wanting to complete that cargo 11½ chaldrons of coals, or 414 bushels, worth at the island 5s per bushel; 64 deals worth at the island 4s each; and 6 spars valued at 2s each. The council assured Hunter he was very greatly mistaken if he thought they loved controversy, for if he could get off all his water and be ready to sail that night, they would not hinder him. But they believed it was the easiest method to prevent future disputes to pay them now in pitch and tar, rather than fall in with wine for the goods wanted. They wished him a good voyage. This was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 5 July 1716 and signed by Isaac Pyke, George Hassell, Matthew Bazett and Edward Byfield. Interpretations The council's valuation of the missing goods at island prices, coals at 5s the bushel far above what they cost in England, exposes the real financial stakes beneath the dispute over the bill of lading. By pricing the shortfall at what the goods were worth on the island rather than at their English cost, the council maximised the sum they claimed from Hunter, and his refusal to pay the £122 12s 6d so calculated was what forced the matter to a formal written protest. The council's suggestion that Hunter settle in pitch and tar rather than in wine reveals a preference for naval stores the island genuinely needed over a commodity it already held in plenty. Pitch and tar were essential for maintaining ships and buildings against the weather, so in proposing this form of payment the council sought to turn the settlement of a debt into a useful acquisition, choosing the goods that would serve the island rather than add to a surplus. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to press their claim to a formal protest while simultaneously offering Hunter an easy way to settle and depart. They made clear he could sail that very night unhindered and even proposed a convenient means of payment in pitch and tar, yet they still lodged the written protest for the unpaid value of the missing goods. They combined firmness on the Company's legal claim with genuine flexibility about how and when it might be met, holding the protest in reserve as the formal record while leaving the door open to a practical settlement that would spare both sides a longer quarrel.
164	158	June 1716. To the Worsh: Gov:d & Councill of S:t Helena Gent:n I have rec:d yours of this Days date As to the first part of which, I think I have fully answerd in mine to You, and as to Monday which	Hunter wrote to the governor and council that he had received their letter of that day's date. As to the first part of it, he thought he had fully answered it in his own letter to them. As to Monday, which they claimed they could allow but half a day for, it was too

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		you pretend you cant allow but half a Day for, it is So ungenerous an Action; when you very well know We Send Goods on Shore both Tuesday & Wednesday, w:ch could not be got at Sooner, and that is two days besides Monday, therefore Shall expect to be allowd Demorage tilo Wednesday; You cant but Concurr with me in this, unless you object we did not work S:lo 10 d night as at first; I thought I produd a Sufficient Order for w:t Deals & Sparrs was wanting, The Coals in particular w:ch I excepted ag:t in Bill of Lading, and likewise desird in my last that you woud Send on Board & See w:t Coals remaind: The Ship being then clear: Notwithstanding y:r Protest I think my Self & Owners discharge, and the Bill of Lading Compleat ed; You have assurd me I am mistaken, if Should Think you love Controverries, am So far from that Opinion of yours, that believe you are just beginning them. My time will not P:mett to answer any more So farewell. I am Y:r most hum: Servant Ship Catherine Signd John Hunter just and Sail. July 5:o 1716 Edward Byfield	ungenerous an action, when they very well knew he had sent goods ashore both Tuesday and Wednesday, which could not be got at sooner, and that was two days besides Monday. He would therefore expect to be allowed demurrage till Wednesday. They could not but concur with him in this, unless they objected that his people had not worked from ten at night, as at first. Hunter thought he had produced a sufficient order for the deals and spars that were wanting. As for the coals in particular, which he had excepted against in the bill of lading, he had likewise asked in his last letter that they would send aboard and see what coals remained, the ship being then clear. Notwithstanding the council's protest, he thought himself and his owners discharged, and the bill of lading completed. They had assured him he was mistaken if he thought they loved controversy, but he was so far from that opinion of theirs that he believed they were just beginning it. His time would not permit him to answer any more, and so he bade them farewell. This was dated aboard the ship <i>Catherine</i>, fitted and set to sail, on 5 July 1716 and signed by John Hunter. The record was signed by Edward Byfield. Interpretations Hunter's sharp retort that the council were just beginning the very controversy they claimed to dislike marks the breakdown of the customary courtesies that had opened the exchange. Where earlier letters had closed with professions of friendship, this one ended in barely veiled accusation, showing how a protracted dispute over demurrage and short delivery could strip away the formal civilities and leave the two parties openly charging each other with bad faith as the ship prepared to sail. Hunter's detailed argument over which days counted toward his lay time reveals how precisely the reckoning of demurrage turned on the calendar. He insisted that goods landed on Tuesday and Wednesday, which could not be reached sooner, extended his claim two days beyond Monday, so the money owed to his owners depended on a day-by-day accounting of when cargo was actually accessible, each side parsing the working days to fix the exact point at which delay became a chargeable detention. The decision the passage turns on is Hunter's choice to declare himself and his owners discharged and to break off the correspondence rather than continue disputing point by point. He had answered the council's claims in detail, yet faced with their continued protest he chose not to prolong the exchange but to assert that his obligations were fulfilled and sail away. He judged that further argument would gain nothing with the ship already fitted to depart, and preferred to close the matter on his own terms, leaving the unresolved quarrel to be settled, if at all, by the Company in England.
165	159	Island S:t Helena. At a Consultation held on Monday 2 July 1716 At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esq: Govern:d Geo: Haswell Dep:ty Pres:t Matt:w Bazett 3 Edw:d Byfield On Saturday last Capt: Hunter had a protest deliverd him (as P supra) to w:ch he sent the answer follow:d as supra. Orderd That Thomas Swallow be Sumond ag:t next Consulta:n Day for keeping a Scandalous & disorderly House. Resolvd That Edw:d Brereton who was the intended Supra Cargoe of any Small Ship, He and his Confederates has contrivd to Seize upon their arrival here, be sent to Bencoolen by this Ship Catherine	A consultation was held on Monday 2 July 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. On Saturday last Captain Hunter had a protest delivered to him, as above, to which he sent the letters that follow above. The council ordered that Thomas Swallow be summoned against the next consultation day for keeping a scandalous and disorderly house. The council resolved that Edward Brereton, who was the intended supercargo of any small ship, and his confederates had contrived to seize upon it on their arrival at the island, and that he be sent to Bencoolen by the ship <i>Catherine</i>. He could in no way clear himself of a paper produced against him, written by Gwyn, one of the confederates, and though some

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		for he could no way clear himself of a paper produced against him written by Gwyn one of the Confederates but owned Some part was true and Some false, yet in the main denyd not the pyratieall Intention That James Alex a Drummer be Sent to Bencoolen, who run away out of the Shittleworth, & conceald himself here, there not being any Prospect of that he will ever come to Good. Edward Byfeld	part was true and some false, yet in the main he did not deny the piratical intention. The council resolved that James Alexander, a drummer, be sent to Bencoolen. He had run away out of the <i>Shuttleworth</i> and conceald himself at the island, there being no prospect that he would ever come to good. Interpretations The plot to seize a small ship on its arrival, in which Brereton was to have served as supercargo, reveals the ever-present danger of piracy that shadowed the Company's trade and the island's role in guarding against it. A supercargo who turned to seizing a vessel would have combined inside knowledge of the cargo with the means to steal it, so the council's decision to ship the conspirators off to Bencoolen was a measure to break the conspiracy by scattering its members before they could act. The banishment of both Brereton and the runaway drummer Alexander to Bencoolen shows how the island used transportation to distant Company stations as a means of ridding itself of dangerous or worthless men. Rather than imprison or try them at length, the council removed troublemakers to another settlement where they might do less harm, treating the wider network of Company posts as a place to dispose of men the island judged beyond reform. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to deal with Brereton by transportation rather than by a full trial for his piratical intention. The paper written by his fellow conspirator gave grounds to prosecute, and he had not denied the plot in the main, yet the council chose to ship him to Bencoolen instead of trying him for the conspiracy. They judged that removing him from the island forestalled the danger more surely and simply than a prosecution whose outcome was uncertain, using banishment as a practical alternative to the hazards and delays of a criminal trial.
166	160	Island S:t Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 3 day of July 1716 At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esq: Govern:d Geo: Haswell Dep:ty Pres:t Matt: Bazett 3 Edw:d Byfeld. The Govern:d Says he rec:d this morning a Letter from Capt: John Hunter as follows in Consultat:n of 26:o of June. but M:r Byfeld Says who kept an Account of the Goods as they came on Shore, that there are wanting 64 Deals 11½ Chald:n of Coals 1 Cask of Pickles 6 Sparrs &:o 39 Billets Wherefore Order:d That another Letter be Sent to the Capt: to Send the S:d Goods on Shore or else pay for them here Mr Worrall Overs:r at the Plantat: House Says that the wet Weath:r has prevented his pounding the Goats, & therefore cant give in his M:nthly Acc:ts but if fair weath:r will bring it in next Consultat:n Day. Edward Byfeld	A consultation was held on Tuesday 3 July 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; and Edward Byfield. The governor said he had received that morning a letter from Captain John Hunter, as followed in the consultation of 26 June. Mr Byfield, who kept an account of the goods as they came ashore, said there were still wanting the following. 64 deals 11½ chaldrons of coals 1 cask of pickles 6 spars 39 billets The council therefore ordered that another letter be sent to the captain to send these goods ashore, or else pay for them at the island. Mr Worrall, overseer at the Plantation House, said the wet weather had prevented his pounding the goats, and therefore he could not give in his monthly account, but if the weather were fair he would bring it in the next consultation day. Interpretations The persistence of the same list of missing goods, deals, coals, pickles, spars and billets, across successive consultations shows the council methodically maintaining its claim against Hunter despite his departure and his letters of rebuttal. By recording the shortfall again through Byfield, who had personally checked the cargo ashore, the council kept building the documentary case that would go to England, refusing to let the dispute lapse merely because the captain had answered and sailed.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			Worrall's inability to pound the goats because of wet weather reveals the practical dependence of the island's stock management on the seasons and the open ground. Pounding meant driving the goats into an enclosure to count and handle them, work that the rough weather of the island's wetter months made impossible, so the routine business of the monthly livestock account bent to conditions the overseer could not control, the animals ranging free until the weather allowed them to be gathered.
167	161	Island S:t Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10:th day July 1716 At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq: Gov:d Geo: Haswell Dep:ty Present Matt:w Bazett 3 Antipas Tovey 4:th & Edw: Byfeld 5:th in Coun:l The last Consultations where all read & approved of & next Tuesday the Council are to attend & Signe the Same & all former Consultations not Yet Signd or give their reasons for refusing it. The Store keeper brought in his Monthly acct: of Goods Sold & deliverd out of y:e Hon: Comp:as Stores for the Month of June, which was Or dered to be Enterd & are as followeth (Viz:t) An Acct: of Store Goods Sold & deliv:d to y:e Inhabit: Garrison, United Castle & Plantation House from May y:e 25:th 1716 to June y:e 25:th following To the Inhabitants Viz:t Arrack 251$\frac{1}{3}$ gall: at 7/6 £94 7s 2$\frac{1}{4}$d Sugar 310$\frac{3}{4}$ at 8 £10 8s 0d Flour 114 at 3$\frac{1}{2}$ £1 11s 3d Bread 131 at 3$\frac{1}{2}$ £1 16s 2$\frac{1}{4}$d Rice 233 at 3$\frac{1}{2}$ £3 7s 11$\frac{1}{2}$d Oyle $\frac{1}{2}$ gall: Rape £0 3s 6d Soap 106 at 1/5 £7 10s 2d Wine 3$\frac{3}{4}$ gall: 5/ £18 16s 3d Candy 15:c 1/ £0 15s 0d Vinegar 2 gall: 4/ £0 8s 0d Carried Over £121 3s 6$\frac{1}{4}$d	A consultation was held on Tuesday 10 July 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council. The last consultations were all read and approved, and next Tuesday the council were to attend to sign them and all former consultations not yet signed, or give their reasons for refusing. The storekeeper brought in his monthly account of goods sold and delivered out of the Company's stores for the month of June, which was ordered to be entered as follows. This was an account of stores goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, garrison, United Castle and Plantation House from 25 May 1716 to 25 June following. To the inhabitants: Arrack, 251$\frac{1}{3}$ gallons at 7s 6d, £94 7s 2$\frac{1}{4}$d Sugar, 310$\frac{3}{4}$ pounds at 8d, £10 8s 0d Flour, 114 at 3$\frac{1}{2}$d, £1 11s 3d Bread, 131 at 3$\frac{1}{2}$d, £1 16s 2$\frac{1}{4}$d Rice, 233 at 3$\frac{1}{2}$d, £3 7s 11$\frac{1}{2}$d Oil, $\frac{1}{2}$ gallon rapeseed, £0 3s 6d Soap, 106 pounds at 1s 5d, £7 10s 2d Wine, 3$\frac{3}{4}$ gallons at 5s, £13 6s 3d Candy, 15 pounds at 1s, £0 15s 0d Vinegar, 2 gallons at 4s, £0 8s 0d Carried over, £121 3s 6$\frac{1}{4}$d Interpretations The reappearance of Antipas Tovey in the council, now sitting fourth in rank, records the completion of his rehabilitation after the assault on Wrangham and his weeks of suspension. The governor had promised in June that if Tovey behaved himself he would be readmitted on 8 July, so his presence here two days later confirms that the carefully staged restoration was carried through exactly as planned, the erring councillor returned to authority once he had served out his period of disgrace. The council's order that all former consultations not yet signed be attended to, with members required either to sign or to give their reasons for refusing, reveals the importance attached to the formal authentication of the record. The minutes gained their authority only once subscribed by the councillors present, so unsigned consultations left the island's decisions imperfectly attested, and the insistence that members either sign or justify their refusal shows an administration anxious that its proceedings be properly ratified and defensible before the Company. The wine sold to the inhabitants at 3$\frac{3}{4}$ gallons yet charged at £13 6s 3d sits oddly against the recorded rate of 5s a gallon, which points to an error or omission in the account as it stands rather than to the small quantity named. Taken at face value the figure cannot be reconciled with the stated rate, and the discrepancy shows that even the Company's carefully kept store accounts could carry mistakes, the clerks entering sums that the arithmetic of quantity and price does not support.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
168	162	July 1716. Brought over £121 3s 6¼d Lyne Juice 7 Gall: 5/ £1 15s 0d Tea 13 Catters 2/6 12 d:o 9/ £11 15s 0d Tobacco pipes 9 doz 6d £0 4s 8d Woollen goods (Viz:t) perpimonees 10 y: 2/3 £1 2s 6d Cloth Duggets 4½ 3/ £0 13s 6d 16 4/ £0 3s 4d 3 6/ £0 18s 0d £4 15s 6d Fustians 8 y: Corded at 2/4 £0 18s 8d Shalloons 5 2/6 £0 12s 6d £7 9s 2d Soldiers Cloaths 1 Suit £1 18s 0d Boddice 1 p:r £0 9s 0d 1 d:o £0 12s 9d £1 1s 9d Long Cloath 3 pes 24/9 £3 14s 3d Dungrea 3 pes 5/8 £0 17s 0d Ginghams 1 pes £0 9s 0d Nealas 6 per 10/5 £3 2s 6d Bleu Baffces 1 pes fine St Geo £0 10s 0d Shoe thread 1:c £0 2s 6d Twine 8 2/4 £0 18s 8d Haberdashery Ware (Viz:t) Ferrit 18 y: 4½ £0 6s 9d Silk 7¾ ou 2/6 £0 19s 3¼d Thread (Viz:t) 2 7 ou 9/ou:d £1 9s 3d 2 1/5 £0 2s 10d Combs 2 box 6:d 0: 1: 0 £0 2s 0d 1 d:o 0: 1: 8 1 Horne 0: 0: 5 1 Comb brush 0: 0: 8 £0 3s 9d	The account continued from the sum brought over of £121 3s 6¼d. Brought over, £121 3s 6¼d Lime juice, 7 gallons at 5s, £1 15s 0d Tea: 13 catties at 2s 6d, £11 15s 0d 12 catties at 9s [...] Sub-total, £11 15s 0d Tobacco pipes, 9 dozen at 6d, £0 4s 8d Woollen goods: Perpetuanas, 10 yards at 2s 3d, £1 2s 6d Cloth duggets, 4½ at 31 yards, £0 18s 6d Cloth duggets, 16 at 4s, £0 4s 0d Cloth duggets, 3 at 6s, £0 18s 0d Sub-total, £4 15s 6d Fustians, 8 yards buffin at 2s 4d, £0 18s 8d Shalloons, 5 at 2s 6d, £0 12s 6d Sub-total, £7 9s 2d Soldiers cloth, 1 suit, £1 18s 3d Bodice, 1 pair, £0 9s 0d Bodice, 1 pair, £0 12s 9d Sub-total, £1 1s 9d Long cloth, 3 pieces at 24s 9d, £3 14s 3d Dungarees, 3 pieces at 5s 8d, £0 17s 0d Ginghams, 1 piece, £0 9s 0d Nealias, 6 pieces at 10s 5d, £3 2s 6d Blue baftas, 1 piece fine, from St George, £0 10s 0d Shoe thread, 1 pound, £0 2s 6d Twine, 8 pounds at 2s 4d, £0 18s 8d Haberdashery ware: Ferret, 18 yards at 4½d, £0 6s 9d Silk, 7¾ ounces at 2s 6d, £0 19s 0¾d Thread: 2 ounces at 9d, £0 1s 9d 7 ounces, £0 9s [...] 2 ounces at 1s, £0 2s 10d Sub-total, £1 9s 3d Combs: 2 boxwood at 6d, £0 1s 0d 1 boxwood, £0 1s 8d 1 horn, £0 0s 8d 1 comb brush, £0 0s 8d Sub-total, £0 3s 9d Interpretations The cloth duggets listed among the woollens were a coarse woollen or wool-and-silk fabric of middling quality, distinct from the finer broadcloth and the hard-wearing perpetuana. Their appearance shows the store carrying a range of woollen cloths graded by texture and price, so that the inhabitants could buy according to their means, the duggets offering a serviceable middle grade between the cheapest working stuff and the fine cloth reserved for better garments. The baftas here, described as fine and from St George, were a plain cotton cloth of Indian manufacture, and the note of their origin at Fort St George marks them as part of the consignment routed through the Company's Madras settlement. Their listing alongside nealias, ginghams and long cloth shows how thoroughly the island's clothing depended on the Indian cotton trade, the store stocking a whole vocabulary of eastern fabrics that reached St Helena through the ships plying between Madras and England. The combs of boxwood and horn, together with a comb brush, record the small articles of personal grooming the store supplied alongside cloth and provisions. Boxwood and horn were the common materials for combs, and their presence among the haberdashery shows the range of everyday necessities the island depended on the store to provide, down to the modest implements by which the inhabitants kept themselves clean and tidy far from any other source of such goods.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
169	163	July 1716. Brought over Haberdashery Ware pr:e ou: d Pins 12 in: c 1/9 £1 1s 10½d Ribbon 3 y: 1/ £0 3s 0d Thimbles 2 £0 0s 2d Sweet powder 8: c 16: d £0 12s 8d Mohair 1½ ou 2/6 £0 2s 6d £5 1s 10½d Hooks & Line (Viz: t) Lines 2 N: o 1 £0 0s 8d 1 2 £0 0s 5d 1 5 £0 0s 6½d 2 6 £0 1s 8d 12 8 £0 11s 0d 2 9 £0 2s 2d 2 11 £0 3s 4d 4 16 £0 14s 8d £1 14s 5½d Hooks 5½ doz N: o 1 £0 1s 1¾d 5 2 £0 1s 3d 4 3 £0 2s 0d 3 4 £0 1s 9d 1 6 £0 1s 0d 1 7 £0 1s 3d £0 8s 4¾d £2 2s 10d Iron manglers Ware (Viz: t) 12 pair Side hinges at 6: d £0 6s 0d 1 frying pan £0 3s 3d 1 grubbing Saw £0 2s 4½d 1 Chest Locke £0 1s 6d 1 d: o £0 2s 4½d £0 14s 9½d Nails ¼ Inch batting brads 1: c £0 0s 6½d Glass Ware 1 Mugg q: s 14: c £0 10s 5½d 2 Squabes 11/12 £0 3s 0d £0 4s 10d Shoes 4 pair Island at 4/ £0 16s 0d 1 p: r Children pumps £0 1s 0d 1 p: r boys d: o £0 1s 9d Carrd over	The account continued from the sum brought over. Haberdashery ware: Pins, 12 thousand at 1s 9d, £1 1s 10½d Ribbon, 3 yards at 1s, £0 3s 0d Thimbles, 2, £0 0s 2d Sweet powder, 8 pounds at 1s 6d, £0 12s 8d Mohair, 1½ ounces at 2s 6d, £0 2s 6d Sub-total, £5 1s 10½d Hooks and lines: Lines, 2 dozen number 1, £0 0s 8d Lines, 1 dozen number 2, £0 0s 5d Lines, 1 dozen number 5, £0 0s 6½d Lines, 2 dozen number 6, £0 1s 8d Lines, 12 dozen number 8, £0 11s 0d Lines, 2 dozen number 9, £0 2s 2d Lines, 2 dozen number 11, £0 3s 4d Lines, 4 dozen number 16, £0 14s 8d Sub-total, £1 14s 5½d Hooks, 5½ dozen number 1, £0 1s 1¾d Hooks, 5 dozen number 2, £0 1s 3d Hooks, 4 dozen number 3, £0 2s 0d Hooks, 3 dozen number 4, £0 1s 9d Hooks, 1 dozen number 6, £0 1s 0d Hooks, 1 dozen number 7, £0 1s 3d Sub-total, £0 8s 4¾d Ironmongers ware: 12 pairs side knives at 6d, £0 6s 0d 1 frying pan, £0 3s 3d 1 grubbing saw, £0 2s 4½d 1 chest lock, £0 1s 6d 1 chest lock, £0 2s 4½d Sub-total, £0 15s 10½d Nails, ¼ thousand inch batting brads, £0 0s 6½d Glassware, 1 mug of 14 [...], £0 1s 10½d Glassware, 2 squares, 11/12, £0 3s 0d Sub-total, £0 4s 10½d Shoes: Island shoes, 4 pairs at 4s, £0 16s 0d Children's pumps, 1 pair, £0 1s 0d Boys shoes, 1 pair, £0 1s 9d Sub-total, £0 18s 9d Interpretations The sweet powder listed among the haberdashery was a scented powder used to perfume clothing, linen and hair, a small article of refinement rather than necessity. Its steady stock in the store shows that even on a remote island the inhabitants sought some of the comforts and niceties of genteel life at home, the store meeting a demand for pleasant scent alongside the plain requirements of cloth, tools and food. The side knives sold twelve pairs at a time were table knives, and their listing among the ironmongery alongside a frying pan reflects the everyday domestic equipment the store supplied for the island's kitchens and tables. Such basic utensils had all to be imported, so the settlement depended on the store even for the ordinary tools of cooking and eating, the same source furnishing both the humblest household wares and the finer cutlery bought by the better families. The graded fishing lines and hooks, stocked in numbered sizes from the smallest to the largest, again testify to the importance of fishing in feeding the island. The wide range of tackle, from fine lines and small hooks to heavy gear for large fish, shows the inhabitants exploiting the surrounding sea methodically, and the regular sale of such equipment confirms that the ocean was a dependable part of the settlement's food supply, supplementing what the land and the store could provide.
170	164	July 1716. Brought Over	The account continued from the sum brought over.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Buttons 14 doz breast at 4:d £0 4s 8d 2 doz Coat 12 £0 2s 6d £0 7s 2d Wheat Lead 3:c at 6:d £0 1s 6d Red d:o 3 at 6 £0 1s 6d £0 3s 0d Tin Ware 1 Kettle £0 2s 0d Stationary Ware 2 quire paper £0 2s 8d 1 Testament £0 1s 9d £0 4s 5d Wooden Ware 2 Straining dishes £0 1s 0d 1 Skimming d:o £0 0s 6d £0 1s 6d Canvoo Shirts 93 at 3/ £13 19s 0d Pewter 1 Chamber pott £0 4s 3d 2 porringers £0 2s 8d £0 6s 11d Cutlary Ware 6 Knives forkins had 5 £0 2s 6d 1 pruning d:o £0 1s 1d 6 Knives & forks box handle £0 7s 4½d £0 10s 11½d £179 10s 2d For the Use of y:e United Castle (Viz:t) Arrack 95½ gall: at 7/6 £36 16s 3d Sugar 114:c at 8:d £3 16s 0d Flour 403 at 3½ £5 17s 6¼d Bread 45 at 3½ £0 13s 1½d Rice 2462:c at 3½ £35 18s 1d Vinegar 1 gall: £0 4s 0d Lyme Juice 2 ga: £0 10s 0d Soap 35:c 1/5 £2 9s 7d Oyles Viz:t 6½ ga: Rape at 7/ £2 3s 9d ½ Sweet at 12/ £0 9s 0d £2 12s 9d Carried Over	Buttons: 14 dozen breast at 4d, £0 4s 8d 2 dozen coat at 12d, £0 2s 6d Sub-total, £0 7s 2d White lead, 3 pounds at 6d, £0 1s 6d Red lead, 3 pounds at 6d, £0 1s 6d Sub-total, £0 3s 0d Tinware, 1 kettle, £0 2s 0d Stationery ware: 2 quires paper, £0 2s 8d 1 testament, £0 1s 9d Sub-total, £0 4s 5d Wooden ware: 2 straining dishes, £0 1s 0d 1 skimming dish, £0 0s 6d Sub-total, £0 1s 6d Callicoe shirts, 93 at 3s, £13 19s 0d Pewter: 1 chamber pot, £0 4s 3d 2 porringers, £0 2s 8d Sub-total, £0 6s 11d Cutlery ware: 6 knives, Perkins hafts, at 5d, £0 2s 6d 1 pruning knife, £0 1s 1d 6 knives and forks, box handles, £0 7s 4½d Sub-total, £0 10s 11½d Total to the inhabitants, £179 10s 0d For the use of United Castle: Arrack, 95½ gallons at 7s 6d, £36 16s 3d Sugar, 114 pounds at 8d, £3 16s 0d Flour, 403 at 3½d, £5 17s 6¼d Bread, 45 at 3½d, £0 13s 1½d Rice, 246 at 3½d, £35 18s 1d Vinegar, 1 gallon, £0 4s 0d Lime juice, 2 gallons at 5s, £0 10s 0d Soap, 35 pounds at 1s 5d, £2 9s 7d Oils: Rapeseed, 6¾ gallons at 7s, £2 3s 9d Sweet, ¾ gallon at 12s, £0 9s 0d Sub-total, £2 12s 9d Interpretations The red lead listed beside the white was, like it, a lead-based pigment for paint, but coloured a bright orange-red and valued particularly as a protective coating for ironwork and timber exposed to weather. Its presence alongside white lead shows the store supplying the materials for painting and preserving the settlement's structures and fittings, the two pigments together covering both the plain white and the durable coloured finishes the island's buildings and equipment required. The pewter chamber pot and porringers record the everyday tableware and household vessels of pewter that the store supplied, a porringer being a small bowl for soup, porridge or similar food. Pewter was the common metal for such domestic articles among ordinary households, so their sale through the store shows the settlement furnishing its homes with the same modest metalware used across England, all of it necessarily imported to an island that made none of its own. The ninety-three calico shirts sold at 3s each, a substantial quantity, again reflect the demand for ready-made clothing that the council had lately pressed its Indian correspondents to supply. Calico was a plain Indian cotton, and shirts made up from it offered the inhabitants and garrison finished garments without the labour of cutting and sewing, so the bulk sale here shows the store meeting a steady need for wearable clothing drawn from the eastern cotton trade.
171	165	July 1716. Brought Over Tea d:o 9/ £4 1s 0d	The account continued from the sum brought over. Brought over: Tea, 9 catties at 9s, £4 1s 0d

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Pepper 4:c £0 4s 0d Nails (Viz:t) 4 2 at 10½ £0 3s 6d 4 3 9 £0 3s 0d 9 4 10½ £0 7s 11d 10 10 Clasp 8½ £0 7s 1d 25 20 8 £0 16s 8d 9 30 5 £0 5s 3d 4 w:t £0 2s 3d £2 5s 8d Iron mongers Ware 1 Chest Locke £0 4s 6d Glass Ware 12 Squares 8/8 £0 9s 0d Long Cloth 1 pes £1 4s 9d Dungrees 8 pes 5/8 £2 5s 4d Kerseys 4 pes 3: 9/4 d:o £13 17s 4d Threads 8 ou 9:d £0 6s 0d Thimbles 2 £0 0s 2d Pewter buttons 1 grose Coat £0 4s 6d Corks 6 doz at 3:d £0 1s 6d 2:c Cork wood £0 1s 4d £0 2s 10d £114 2s 5d For the Use of y:e Plantation (Viz:t) Arrack 3½ gall: at 7/6 £1 6s 3d Sugar 26:c at 8:d £0 17s 4d Rice 1854:c at 3½ £27 1s 9d Oyles 4½ gall: 7/ £1 11s 6d Totall of Plantation £30 15s 10d United Castle £114 2s 5d Inhabitants £179 10s 0½d £324 8s 3½d Capt: Bazett brought in his Reply to Capt: Tolsons complaint referd to him for Answer in Consultation of the 18:o June as followeth. (Viz:t) Worsh: S:r	Pepper, 4 pounds, £0 4s 0d Nails: 4 and 2 penny nails at 10½d, £0 3s 6d 4 and 3 penny nails at 9d, £0 3s 0d 9 and 4 penny nails at 10½d, £0 7s 11d 10 and 10 penny clasp nails at 8½d, £0 7s 1d 25 and 20 penny nails at 8d, £0 16s 8d 9 and 30 penny nails, £0 5s 3d 4 penny nails, £0 2s 3d Sub-total, £2 5s 8d Ironmongers ware, 1 chest lock, £0 4s 6d Glassware, 12 squares 8/9, £0 9s 0d Long cloth, 1 piece, £1 4s 9d Dungarees, 8 pieces at 5s 8d, £2 5s 4d Kerseys, 4 pieces at 3s 9d, 4 yards, £13 17s 4d Threads, 8 ounces at 9d, £0 6s 0d Thimbles, 2, £0 0s 2d Pewter buttons, 1 gross coat, £0 4s 6d Corks: 6 dozen at 3d, £0 1s 6d 2 corkwood, £0 1s 4d Sub-total, £0 2s 10d Total to United Castle, £114 2s 5d For the use of the Plantation: Arrack, 3½ gallons at 7s 6d, £1 6s 3d Sugar, 26 pounds at 8d, £0 17s 4d Rice, 1,854 at 3½d, £27 1s 9d Oils, 4½ gallons at 7s, £1 11s 6d Total of Plantation, £30 15s 10d United Castle, £114 2s 5d Inhabitants, £179 10s 0½d Grand total, £324 8s 3½d Captain Bazett then brought in his reply to Captain Tolson's complaint, referred to him for answer, of 18 June, as follows. Interpretations The enormous quantity of rice charged to the Plantation, 1,854 pounds at over £27 and dwarfing every other item, once again confirms rice as the staple ration of the slaves who laboured on the Company's land. Month after month the same great bulk of cheap imported grain passed to the plantation, so the single largest cost of the Company's own farming establishment was the food that kept its enslaved workforce alive, the recurring figure marking the steady scale of the labour the plantation commanded. The finely graded nails, running from small twopenny and threepenny sorts up to heavy twenty and thirty penny sizes, with a distinct clasp nail among them, reflect the continuous building and repair that the settlement required. Each size served a particular joinery or framing task, and with no local manufacture the store had to keep the whole range shipped from England, the variety recorded here matching the many kinds of construction and mending that a working Company station demanded of its scarce iron supplies. The three separate totals for Plantation, United Castle and inhabitants, gathered into a single grand sum of £324 8s 3½d, again show the orderly accounting by which the store divided its month of business among the three arms of the establishment. This structure let the Company see how its goods were shared between the settlers who bought them, the garrison and castle that consumed them and the plantation that fed its labourers, a clear separation of the commercial, military and agricultural sides of a single enterprise under one running account.
172	166	July 1716 Worsh: S:r Island S:t Helena July y:e 16:th 1716 Whereas Capt: Tolson writt to Y:r Worsh: a Small Letter by way of Protest as if his Bill of Lading would be denyed him, after the delivery of y:e Goods either in whole	Bazett wrote to the governor from the island on 16 July 1716. Captain Tolson had written to the governor a short letter by way of protest, as if his bill of lading would be denied him after the delivery of the goods, either in whole or in part. In another letter to the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		or in part And in another to Y^r Worsh: again by way of Complaint ag^t me upon Some acct I made on the back Side of his Bill of Lading, He first Request is that I may prove upon Oath what Goods I receivd, I Suppose his meaning is: Whether I have not receivd more Goods than I mentiond on the back Side of the Bill of Lading; I am very free and willing to give Capt: Tolson all the Satisfaction I am able, & I am ready to take my Oath, That I receivd no more than what is there exprest to the best of my knowledge As to the Package of S^d Goods, There was Severall Baggs of Rice at least Some of them on Shore not half full, w^{ch} Mr Goodwin acquainted me with, the Baggs of Rice & Sugar being brought up At the Store door I desird Mr Goodwin to weigh the Rice & Sugar as usuall as Soon as possible, that we might have time before dark to put the Said Goods in and not to be exposd to lay out all night; As for the Arrack Se is in a manner convinced of the Truth of the Exceptions, knowing himself that on board of his Ship, One of the Casks of Arrack was leaked out above three quarters or there about, as he perckd Sa mm w Hole; Y^r Worsh: to the truth of what I avert: Therefore I wonder that Capt: Tolson would be so unreasonable as to require of Me y^e Receipt of a whole Cargoe that was defective of So many Sorts of Goods as mentiond in the back Side of his Bill of Lading And have always done So, whenever any Cargie have been wanting, and Short from the Invoice; and is the Order We have from Our Hon: Masters not to give a Receipt for any more than We receive. As to this calling of him or any of his Officers to the Survey of these Goods Capt: Tolson knows very well that he was at the Survey of the Arrack; As for the Rice & Sugar he must needs hear me Say that I must go and weigh the Sugar & Rice to See what was wanting As we always do, He knew the Defect of Said Rice before brought on Shore as well as We did afterwards, M^r Goodwin weighs the Sugar and Rice, and offers to take his Oath upon the matter when requird, The Matter is So insignificant and of So little moment that Capt: Tolson must be a very troublesome Man or else would have never insisted on my Objection, I own it that out of 58 & I gave him a Receipt of 54 which might have been defective had the Baggs never been So full and well packt So by often tossing and removing Such Baggs the very Grain and Dust will go thro' the Gunney. I have received Severall Cargo and most of the Comanders have left it to me, and knew very well when ever there was any exception on the back Side of the Bill of Lading, it was nothing but what they expected w^{thout} making any noise words about it Signd Matthew Bazett	governor he had complained against Bazett upon some exceptions Bazett had made on the back of his bill of lading. Tolson's first request was that Bazett prove upon oath what goods he had received, and Bazett supposed his meaning was whether he had received more goods than he mentioned on the back of the bill of lading. Bazett was very free and willing to give Tolson all the satisfaction he was able, and was ready to take his oath that he had received no more than what was there set out, to the best of his knowledge. As to the package of the goods, there were several bags of rice, at least some of them, ashore not half full, which Mr Goodwin acquainted him with. The bags of rice and sugar being brought up, at the store door Bazett asked Goodwin to weigh the rice and sugar as usual as soon as possible, that they might have time before dark to put the goods in, and not be forced to lay them out all night. As for the arrack, it was in a manner condemned by the truth of the exceptions, Tolson himself knowing that aboard the ship one of the casks of arrack had leaked out above three-quarters or thereabouts, being indeed a mere hole. Bazett appealed to the governor for the truth of what he set out. He therefore wondered that Tolson would be so unreasonable as to require of him a receipt for a whole cargo that was deficient in so many sorts of goods as mentioned on the back of his bill of lading. Bazett had always done so whenever any cargo had been wanting and short from the invoice, and it was the order they had from the Company not to give a receipt for any more than they received. As to Tolson's calling of him or any of his officers to the survey of the goods, Tolson knew very well that he was at the survey of the arrack. After the rice and sugar he must needs hear Bazett say that he must go and weigh the sugar and rice to see what was wanting, as they always did. Tolson knew the defect of the rice before it was brought ashore, as well as they did afterwards. Mr Goodwin weighed the sugar and rice and offered to take his oath upon the matter when required. The matter was so insignificant and of so little moment that Tolson must be a very troublesome man or he would never have insisted on Bazett's exceptions. Out of 58 bags Bazett had given him a receipt for 54, which might have been effective had the bags never been so full and well packed, for by often tossing and receiving such bags the very grain and dust would go through the gunny. Bazett had received several cargoes, and most of the commanders had left it to him, and knew very well that whenever there was any exception on the back side of the bill of lading, it was nothing but what they expected, without making any noise or words about it. The letter was signed by Matthew Bazett. Interpretations Bazett's detailed defence exposes the exact procedure by which the storekeeper verified an incoming cargo against its invoice and recorded any deficiency. Bags were weighed at the store door as they were brought up, shortfalls noted on the back of the bill of lading, and a receipt given only for what was actually received, so the document Tolson wanted clean became instead a precise record of loss, and Bazett stood ready to swear to every figure he had entered. Bazett's telling remark that most commanders accepted his endorsements without fuss casts Tolson as the exception who made trouble over a routine practice. The storekeeper presented the noting of shortfalls as an ordinary and expected part of receiving cargo, so Tolson's insistence on challenging it marked him as unreasonable, and the contrast Bazett drew between the captain and his more accommodating fellows was itself a defence, framing

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			the dispute as one man's awkwardness rather than any fault in the island's methods. The decision the passage turns on is Bazett's choice to stand firmly by his endorsed shortfalls and offer sworn proof rather than yield Tolson the clean receipt that would have ended the quarrel. He could have smoothed the matter by granting the bill as the captain wished, yet he refused to certify goods the island had not received and staked his oath and Goodwin's on the accuracy of every deficiency. He set the integrity of the Company's account and his own duty above the ease of appeasing an angry commander, accepting a protracted dispute carried to England as the price of an honest record.
173	167	July 1716 Capt: Bazett brought in the reply to Capt: Tolsons complt referred to him for answer in Consultation of the 18:0 June. Mr Worrall Overseer of the Hon: Comp:as plantations bro:t in his Monthly Acc:ts An Acc:t of the Hon: Comp:as neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Goats &c:ca taken July y:e 2:o A Domni 1716 60 Cows 11 Bullocks 4 Bulls 6 Heifers 47 Calves 36 Yearlings 164 3 Bullocks killd Since last Acc:t given in 2 yearlings dyed with the Distemper cald the Swelling 1 Bull broke his Neck D:o increasd Since last month 8 Calves 320 Goats great & Small 173 Ewes 43 weathers 60 Ewe Killd 39 Ram Killd 5 Rams 320 6 killd Since last Acc:t 18 increasd D:o 103 Sheep Great & Small 49 Ewes 35 Weathers 1 Ram 18 Lambs 103 increasd Since last Acc:t 18 none killd 87 Hoggs Great & Small 10 Sows 39 Piggs 3 Boars 28 Shoats 7 Barrows 87 7 Hoggs killd last M:o 2 Piggs D:o 5 dyd with the pant 2 Sows each with Capt: Hunter for one very large One none increasd 52 Turkeys great & Small 6 Killd last month 4 exchange: for 4 geese none increasd 30 Geese great & Small	Captain Bazett brought in his reply to Captain Tolson's complaint, referred to him for answer, of 18 June. Mr Worrall, overseer of the Company's plantations, brought in his monthly account. This was an account of the Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and the rest, taken 2 July 1716. Neat cattle: 60 cows 44 bullocks 4 bulls 6 heifers 47 calves 36 yearlings Total, 164 5 bullocks killed since last account, given in 2 yearlings died with the distemper called the swelling 1 bull broke his neck 8 calves increased since last month Goats, 320 great and small: 173 ewes 43 wethers 60 ewe kids 39 ram kids 5 rams Total, 320 6 killed since last account 18 increased since last account Sheep, 103 great and small: 49 ewes 35 wethers 1 ram 18 lambs Total, 103 18 increased since last account None killed Hogs, 87 great and small: 10 sows 39 piggs 1 boar 28 shoats 9 barrows Total, 87 7 hogs killed last month 2 piggs killed 5 died of the past 1 sow each with Captain Hunter, for one very large one None increased Turkeys, 52 great and small: 6 killed last month 4 exchanged for 4 geese None increased Geese, 30 great and small: None killed since last account None increased Fowls, 19 great and small: 7 killed last month None increased Ducks, 4 great and small:

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		none killd Since last Acc:t none increasd 19 Fowls great & Small 7 killd last month none increasd 4 Ducks g:t & Small none increasd 11 Asses g:t & Small 7 of the Male Kind 4 of y:e female Kind Signd W:m Worrall On Thursday last, y:e Ship Katharine Capt: Jn:o Hunter Com:d Sild hence for Bencoolen that arrivd here on Friday y:e 17:o June. D: 18:o June She deliverd 7 Large boat load of Goods d: 19 5 boats 1 Raft.	None increased Asses, 11 great and small: 7 of the male kind 4 of the female kind The account was signed by William Worrall. On Thursday last the ship <i>Catherine</i>, Captain Hunter commander, sailed for Bencoolen. She had arrived on Friday 17 June, and on 18 June she delivered seven large boat loads of goods, on 19 June five boats and one raft. Interpretations The note that two yearlings died of the distemper called the swelling records a specific livestock disease afflicting the island's cattle, the descriptive name marking a condition the overseers recognised by its symptoms rather than by any veterinary term. Such losses to sickness, set down alongside animals killed and born, show the natural hazards that eroded the herds, and the careful noting of the cause reveals an overseer tracking not merely numbers but the reasons his stock diminished. The barter of four turkeys for four geese, recorded matter-of-factly in the poultry account, illustrates the small exchanges by which the plantation adjusted the balance of its flocks. Rather than treat each species in isolation, the overseer traded one kind of bird for another to suit the establishment's needs, and the entry shows the working flexibility of managing a mixed stock, where surplus of one sort could be turned to advantage in acquiring another. The exchange of a sow with Captain Hunter for one very large one shows the plantation dealing directly with a ship's commander to improve its breeding stock. By trading an ordinary sow for a superior animal, the overseer sought to strengthen the quality of the herd, and the transaction reveals how the coming and going of Company ships offered the island not only markets and supplies but occasional chances to better its own livestock through dealings with the men who passed through.
174	168	July 1716. d: 20 4 Boats 1 Raft & 1 Float d: 21 6 Boats d: 22 5 Boats d: 23 5 Boats d: 25 4 boats d: 26 4 b:ts d: 27 3 boats & 2 floats d: 28 4 b:t 1 Raft & 1 float d: 29 4 b:t d: 30 3 b:ts d: 2:o July 1 b:t d: 3 1 boat d: 4:th 1 boat So that She was fifteen days in all. We were willing to allow the Capt: twelve of those 15 days but he insisted on having those three days allowd him on which he Sent but One boat each day on Shoare But But We must leave that to Our Hon: Masters the time they were here y:e Ships Comp:a did work very hard Sometimes till 10 a Clock at night by Moonlight but they were favourd with extraor dinary faire Weather all the time they Stayd here So that by this Ship Wee See what may be done in case y:e Weath:r be good. And We do not think it possible that more Goods can be Deliverd here in less time however Wee have made a protest against him for not delivering his Cargoe in ten days As may appear by the Copies & answers of Lett:rs Entred in Consultations foregoing. The very day after he went there being very little Wind. We had a vaste great Surf So high, that if he had not been gone the	The record of the ship <i>Catherine's</i> unloading continued. 20 June, 4 boats, 1 raft and 1 float 21 June, 6 boats 22 June, 5 boats 23 June, 5 boats 25 June, 4 boats 26 June, 4 boats 27 June, 3 boats and 2 floats 28 June, 4 boats, 1 raft and 1 float 29 June, 4 boats 30 June, 3 boats 2 July, 1 boat 3 July, 1 boat 4 July, 1 boat The ship was fifteen days in all. The council were willing to allow the captain twelve of those fifteen days, but he insisted on having those days allowed him on which he sent but one boat each day ashore. This the council must leave to the Company. The whole time the ship's company were at the island they worked very hard, sometimes till ten o'clock at night by moonlight, but they were favoured with extraordinarily good weather all the time they stayed. By this ship the council saw what might be done in case the weather was good, and they did not think it possible that more goods could be delivered at the island in less time. Even so, they had made a protest against Hunter for not delivering his cargo in ten days, as would appear by the copies and answers of letters entered in the consultations before. The very day after he went there was very little wind, and a vast great surf so high that if he had not been gone [...]. Interpretations

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Margin Notes: Margin Notes: 6 July	The day-by-day tally of boats, rafts and floats used to land the <i>Catherine's</i> cargo shows the painstaking record the council kept to support its case over the disputed lay days. Every day's work was noted, down to the days on which only a single boat went ashore, so that the reckoning of how many days ought to count toward the ten allowed rested on a detailed log, the dispute over demurrage resolving into an argument about which of the fifteen days had been genuinely productive. The council's admission that the ship's company sometimes worked until ten at night by moonlight, in extraordinarily good weather, and that no cargo could have been landed faster, reveals the honesty that ran alongside their formal protest. They freely recorded the facts that told in Hunter's favour, so their insistence on the protest rested not on any denial of his diligence but on the strict terms of the charterparty, and the passage lays bare the tension between fair acknowledgment and rigid adherence to contract. The remark that a great surf rose the very day after Hunter sailed points to the constant hazard the open roadstead posed to shipping at the island. With no sheltered harbour, a vessel lay exposed to sudden heavy seas that could halt all landing of cargo, so the fine weather during the <i>Catherine's</i> stay had been a piece of good fortune, and the council's note of the surf that followed underscored how narrowly the swift unloading had been achieved before the sea turned against them.
175	169	July 1716. the Capt: could not have got on board, the Sea coming in upon Us So farr that it filld y:e Trench or Ditch before y:e Line w:ch tall Wall wh:ch is a thing very Unusuall & has never happend Since the Govern:r came here. We have had Such little Wind, that the Ship could not gett Out of Sight of y:e Island till after Sunday last, for on that day She was Seen by Severall persons on the Hills, but when a Gale Sprung Up, which which Wee hope carried her away that before mentiond high Surf abated. The following petitions were presented Viz:t Island S:t Helena To the Worsh: Isaac Pyke Esq: Gov:r &c Council. The most hum: Petition of Sarah Sinnick Widow Most humbly Sheweth That yo:r Petition:r being left in a poor & miserable condition, her husband dying intestate & indebted to Sundrie persons having noth: But One house in this Vally, with a very few old goods humbly prays You'll first take all into your hands to pay y:e Debts & pay what is due & the residue to be divided amongst the Crediters, As yo:r Worsh: & Council Shall See meet, Yo:r Petitr desiring nothing but her Own & Childs cloaths trusting with the Labour of her hands for a Maintenance And could She ever hope to doe there would willingly have taken Upon her to discharge all her husbands Debts But without the Assistance of Some Friends She will find it very	Had the surf risen a day sooner, the captain could not have got aboard. The sea came in upon the island so far that it filled the trench or ditch before the line wall at the castle, which was a thing very unusual and had never happened since the governor came there. The council had had such little wind that the ship could not get out of sight of the island until after Sunday last, for on that day she was seen by several persons on the hills, but when a gale sprang up, which the council hoped carried her away, the high surf before mentioned abated. The following petitions were then presented. Sarah Sinnick, widow, presented her most humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. She set out that she was left in a poor and miserable condition, her husband having died intestate and indebted to sundry persons, having nothing but one house in this valley with a very few old goods. She humbly asked that the council take all into their hands to pay her husband's debts, and that the residue be divided among the creditors as they should see meet. She desired nothing but her own and her child's clothes, trusting to the labour of her hands for a maintenance. Could she ever hope that others would willingly have taken it upon them to discharge all her husband's debts, but without the assistance of some friends she would find it very [...]. Interpretations The sea filling the ditch before the castle's line wall, which the governor said had never happened in his time, records an exceptional surge that measured the unusual violence of the surf. The line wall was the fortified curtain guarding the landing at James Valley, and the water reaching its outer ditch marked a swell far beyond the ordinary, the governor's own recollection serving as the gauge of how rare and formidable a sea the island had just escaped during the ship's departure. Sarah Sinnick's petition reveals the desperate position of a widow left with an intestate husband's debts and almost nothing to meet them. With no will to order his affairs and only a house and a few old goods, she surrendered everything to the council to

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			satisfy his creditors, asking to keep only the clothes she and her child wore, so the petition lays bare how thoroughly a man's death in debt could strip his family and leave his widow dependent on her own labour and the charity of friends. The decision the passage turns on is Sarah Sinnick's choice to give up the whole of her husband's estate to his creditors rather than cling to what little remained. She might have sought to retain the house or resist the claims against a dead man who had left no will, yet she offered everything to be divided among those he owed, keeping back only her own and her child's clothing. She placed the honouring of her husband's debts above her own security, trusting her hands and her friends for survival, and her submission shows the weight that the obligation to settle a family's debts carried even for those least able to bear it.
176	170	July 1716. very hard to gett victuals & Cloaths for her Self & Child (being but Eleven Months Old) Wherefore yo:r Petitr humbly prays You'll Order Some person to take Possession of the House & Goods as aforesaid. As in duty bound Shall ever pray &c July 10:o 1716 Signd Sarah Sinnick her S mark Orderd That the House be Sold next Thurs day come Seven night to y:e best Purcha ser, Allowing a full Years Credit to the buyer to incourage Bidders, And That the Herst: goe and take an Inventory of y:e Goods. Island S:t Helena To the Worsh: Isaac Pyke Esq: Gov:d &c Council The Most humble Petition of George Sanders Schoolmaster Sheweth That yo:r Petition:r being concernd in the Estate of Thomas Gargen dec:d by marrying his Widow: & Edward Brereton (who is gone off on y:e Katharine lately Saild from hence) in debted Eight Pounds thirteen Shillings. Likewise Reuben Meine y:e Sum of One pound Six Shilling for goods they both bought at y:e Outcry Some of these Goods they have left behind them being y:e Same So bought, humbly prays that	Sarah Sinnick set out that she would find it very hard to get food and clothing for herself and her child, who was but eleven months old. She therefore humbly asked the council to order some person to take possession of the house and goods as she had described. The petition was dated 3 July 1716 and signed by Sarah Sinnick with her mark. The council ordered that the house be sold next Thursday come seven-night to the best purchaser, allowing a full year's credit to the buyer to encourage bidders, and that the heir go and take an inventory of the goods. George Sanders, schoolmaster, presented his most humble petition to Isaac Pyke, governor, and the council. He set out that he was concerned in the estate of Thomas Gargen, deceased, by marrying his widow, and that Edward Brereton, who had lately sailed from the island aboard the <i>Catherine</i>, was indebted to that estate £8 13s 0d. Likewise Kensley Maine owed the sum of £1 6s 0d for goods they both bought at the outcry. Some of those goods they had left behind them, being of the same so bought, and Sanders humbly asked that [...]. Interpretations The council's grant of a full year's credit to whoever bought the widow's house shows a deliberate device to draw the best price from a small pool of buyers. On an island short of ready money, requiring immediate payment would have depressed the sale, so extending long credit widened the field of possible bidders and improved the sum realised, the arrangement designed to serve the creditors by making the one substantial asset fetch as much as it could. Sanders's claim reveals how debts and estates on the island became entangled through marriage and the departure of debtors. By marrying Gargen's widow he had taken on the dead man's estate and its claims, one of them against Brereton, who had just been shipped off to Bencoolen for his part in a piracy plot. The overlapping of a schoolmaster's marriage, a deceased planter's estate and a transported conspirator's debt shows how tightly the affairs of the small community were bound together, so that a single unpaid sum reached across households and even followed a man banished from the island. The goods bought at the outcry, an auction of property sold publicly to the highest bidder, point to the customary means by which estates and surplus goods changed hands on the island. Such public sales let a dead man's effects or a departing resident's belongings be turned quickly into money, and the debts Sanders now pursued had arisen at just such an auction, showing how the outcry served both to disperse goods and to generate the credit and

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
			obligations that bound buyers to the estates they dealt with.
177	171	July 1716. Such proportionable Share or allowance may be made thereof to y^e Said Gargens Estate as your Worsh: & Council Shall See meet. As in duty bound Shall be July 10^o 1716 Signd George Sanders Answerd That the Goods Shall be Sold at the next Out cry & when the Hon: Comp:as Debt & their Debt is paid the other Crediters have a proportionable allowance. Orderd That y^e Needles come by the Katharine w^{ch} is all in the Stores being but 4^c thousand be truskd out & that it be left to Capt: Bazett to proportion y^m That the New Psalm books, Bibles & Common pray books be deliverd to the Chaplain to dispose of and that he be allowed to trust out the Same, giving an amount thereof to the Storekeeper. Orderd That all the Inhabitants who live in the New Street be Sumond to make good the passage that leads to the Same & that Gund French See it done, every person finding blacks in proportion to their houses. W^m Swallow Planter appeard according to an Order of y^e 2^d Instant to answer for a keeping a Scandalous & disorderly house. Who Sayd that if there was any thing of that Nature done; t was by his Wife, unknown to him & that he would take all the care he could to prevent it, if any Such thing Should be offord for y^e future Messrs Doveton, Greentree & Rich: Purling ap pearde according to the Order of the 26 June, & Say That when Ever the Gov:r & Council please they may dig the Yams bought of Halton Sterling widow formerly Rob:t Leech's for they have now Stood longer then their time agreed for. Referd	Sanders asked that such a proportionable share or allowance be made from Gargen's estate as the council should see fit. The petition was dated 10 July 1716 and signed by George Sanders. The council answered that the goods should be sold at the next outcry, and that when the Company's debt and the storekeeper's were paid, the other creditors would have a proportionable allowance. The council ordered that the needles that came by the <i>Catherine</i>, which were all in the stores, being but 4 thousand, should be trusted out, and that it be left to Captain Bazett to proportion them. The council ordered that the new psalm books, bibles and common prayer books be delivered to the chaplain to dispose of, and that he be allowed to trust out the same, giving an account of them to the storekeeper. The council ordered that all the inhabitants who lived in the New Street be summoned to make good the passage that led to it, and that the guard, French, see it done, every person finding slaves in proportion to their houses. The carpenter Swallow, a planter, appeared according to an order of the last consultation to answer for keeping a scandalous and disorderly house. He said that if anything of that nature was done, it was by his wife, unknown to him, and that he would take all the care he could to prevent it, if any such thing should be offered in future. Doveton, Greentree and Bright appeared according to the order of 26 June, and said that whenever the governor and council pleased, they might dig the yams bought of Halton Sterling's widow, formerly Robert Leech's, for they had now stood longer than the time agreed for. Interpretations The delivery of psalm books, bibles and prayer books to the chaplain for distribution, with credit allowed and an account rendered to the storekeeper, shows how religious provision on the island was managed through the same commercial machinery as ordinary goods. The chaplain acted as the channel for scripture and devotional books, yet the trusting out of them on credit and the accounting to the store treated holy books as stock to be issued and paid for, the spiritual life of the settlement folded into the Company's system of supply. The order that inhabitants of the New Street repair the passage leading to it, each finding slaves in proportion to his houses, reveals how the burden of public works was distributed among residents according to their property. Rather than fund the repair from a common purse, the council required each householder to contribute slave labour scaled to his stake in the street, so the maintenance of the settlement's ways rested on a levy of forced labour apportioned by wealth, the slaves of the inhabitants serving the community's infrastructure. Swallow's defence, that any disorder in his house was his wife's doing and unknown to him, illustrates the common recourse of shifting blame to a spouse while promising future vigilance. Faced with a charge of keeping a scandalous house, he neither denied that misconduct had occurred nor accepted responsibility for it, instead placing the fault on his wife and undertaking to prevent any repetition, a defence that sought to preserve his own standing while acknowledging the reality the court had summoned him to answer.
178	174	July 1716. Referd To Capt: Haswell & Capt: Bazett to view the Yams & Report what Shall be	The matter was referred to Captain Hassell and Captain Bazett to view the yams and report what should be done about them.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		done therein The Said Execut:rs desired the Indentures of Rob:t Leech Orphant to be Registred w:ch was Granted. Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld Island S:t Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 17 day of July 1716. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esq: Gov:d George Haswell Dep:ty Present Matthew Bazett 3:o Antipas Tovey 4:o & Edw:d Byfeld 5:th in Council Mr: Byfeld brought in his Monthly accounts of Dyet Expen: for y:e month of June as followeth (Viz:t) an	The executors asked that the indentures of Robert Leech's orphan be registered, which was granted. The record was signed by Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. A consultation was held on Tuesday 17 July 1716 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, governor; George Hassell, deputy; Matthew Bazett, member of council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council; and Edward Byfield, fifth in council. Mr Byfield brought in his monthly account of diet expenses for the month of June, as follows. Interpretations The registration of the indentures of Robert Leech's orphan reveals how the island provided for the children of the dead through binding them by formal apprenticeship. An orphan left without a parent's support was placed under indentures that committed the child to service in return for maintenance and training, so the registering of these papers marks the legal safeguarding of such an arrangement, the community ensuring that the child's obligations and protections were recorded and enforceable. The council's referral of the yam dispute to Hassell and Bazett to view the crop and report shows the practice of delegating a factual question to trusted members before the whole body decided. Rather than resolve on the spot how the long-standing yams should be dealt with, the council sent two of its own to inspect the ground and advise, a method that let decisions rest on first-hand examination and spread the work of government among its members, reserving the final judgment until the facts had been established.
179	175	July 1716. An Acct: of y:e Expen: of y:e Hon: Comp:a Gen:l Table at S:t Helena from May y:e 25:th to June y:e 25:th 1716 (Viz:t) Arrack 95: 2:c at 7/6:d £35 16s 3d Sweet Oyle 0: 2 12/ £0 6s 0d Rape 5 7/ £1 15s 0d Vinegar 1 4/ £0 4s 0d Lime Juice 2 5/ £0 10s 0d French Wine 9 12/ £5 8s 0d Sugar 117 0/8:d £3 16s 0d Bread 45 0/3½ £0 13s 1½d Floure 403 0/3½ £5 17s 6¼d Rice 2012 0/3½ £29 6s 10d Pepper 4 1/ £0 4s 0d Tea 9 9/ £4 1s 0d English Soap 35 1/5 £2 9s 7d Sugar Candy 3 1/ £0 3s 0d Candles 50 1/4 £3 6s 8d Cork Wood 2 0/8 £0 1s 4d Corks 6 doz 0/3 £0 1s 6d English Pork 12¾ 0/8 £0 8s 6d	This was an account of the expense of the Company's general table at St Helena from 25 May 1716 to 25 June following. Arrack, 95 gallons 2 quarts at 7s 6d, £35 16s 3d Sweet oil, ½ gallon at 12s, £0 6s 0d Rapeseed oil, 5 gallons at 7s, £1 15s 0d Vinegar, 1 gallon at 4s, £0 4s 0d Lime juice, 2 gallons at 5s, £0 10s 0d French wine, 9 gallons at 12s, £5 8s 0d Sugar, 117 pounds at 8d, £3 16s 0d Bread, 45 at 3½d, £0 13s 1½d Flour, 403 at 3½d, £5 17s 6½d Rice, 2,012 at 3½d, £29 6s 10d Pepper, 4 pounds at 1s, £0 4s 0d Tea, 9 catties at 9s, £4 1s 0d English soap, 35 pounds at 1s 5d, £2 9s 7d Sugar candy, 3 pounds at 1s, £0 3s 0d Candles, 50 at 1s 4d, £3 6s 8d Corkwood, 2, £0 1s 4d Corks, 6 dozen at 3d, £0 1s 6d English pork, 12¾ pounds at 8d, £0 8s 6d Island beef, 208 pounds at 3d, £2 12s 0d Lemons, 1 good, £0 7s 0d Slaves labour in bringing provisions to the fort, 5 turns at 3½d per turn, £0 13s 0d Island pork, 135 pounds at 4d, £2 5s 0d Goats, 14 at 10s 8d, £7 0s 0d Turkeys, 5 at 5s, £1 5s 0d Piggs, 2 at 6s, £0 12s 0d Fowls, 15 at 1s 6d, £1 2s 6d Chickens, 6 at 9d, £0 4s 6d Butter, 84 pounds at 1s, £4 4s 0d Milk, 21 gallons at 8d, £0 14s 0d Ducks, 8 at 2s, £0 16s 0d Bacon, 9 pounds at 10d, £0 8s 6d Yams, 950 at 3s per hundred, £1 9s 4d Total, £121 19s 4d Interpretations The great quantity of rice charged to the general table, over two thousand pounds, cannot have fed the officers and guests alone and points to rice serving as

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Island Beef 208 0/3 £2 12s 0d Lemons 1 goo:s 3/ £4 7s 0d Blacks Labour in bringing Pro visions to y:e fort 5:c 0/3:d 22 Turk £0 13s 0d Island Pork 135 0/4:d £2 5s 0d Goats 14 10/8 £7 5s 0d Turkeys 5 5/ £1 5s 0d Pigs 2 6/ £0 12s 0d Fowls 15 1/6 £1 2s 6d Chickens 6 0/9 £0 4s 6d Butter 84 1/ £4 4s 0d Milk 21 0/8:d £0 14s 0d Ducks 8 2/ £0 16s 0d Bacon 9 7/10 £0 7s 6d Yams 950 8/4½ £1 8s 6d £121 19s 4d	a general provision issued from the table's account, including to the slaves whose labour also appears here. The recurring dominance of rice in every branch of the establishment's spending confirms it as the staple grain of the settlement, cheap, storable and imported in bulk, on which the feeding of the Company's people at every level chiefly depended. The distinct entry for slaves labour in bringing provisions to the fort, charged at 3½d per turn, reveals how even the internal carriage of goods was accounted as a cost and priced by the trip. The enslaved workers who hauled provisions up to the fort were reckoned a chargeable expense of the table, their labour measured and valued turn by turn, so the account exposes the routine use of forced labour for the settlement's daily supply and the matter-of-fact way it was entered among the costs of feeding the establishment. The French wine charged at 12s a gallon, far above the arrack, marks the superior drink reserved for the Company's table and the standing it conferred. Where the garrison and inhabitants drank arrack, the general table kept French wine for the governor, council and their guests, so the account reflects the gradations of rank in the settlement, the finer imported wine distinguishing the establishment's hospitality from the everyday liquor that supplied the rest of the island.
180	176	July 1716. The Gunn brought in his Monthly Acct for May & June which are as follows (Viz:t) An Account of Gunners Stores Expended from y:e 5:th day of May to the last day of the Same. Viz:t Falcons, Fixt Comm 1716 May 5 For the Death of y:e King of France: Falcons 24, Fixt Comm 21 2 An Alarm: Falcons 6, Fixt Comm 6 arr:d 2 French Ships from India: Falcons 11, Fixt Comm 11 3 deliverd Jn:o Knipe to Alaem Sandy bay: Falcons 1, Fixt Comm 0 5 Departed y:e 2 French Ships: Falcons 9, Fixt Comm 9 d:o An Alarm: Falcons 4, Fixt Comm 4 and the Desbouverie: Falcons 11, Fixt Comm 11 11 an Alarm: Falcons 4, Fixt Comm 4 d:o and an Ostend:r Called y:e Matthias De Connon 1: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 14 Whole Culverin 5: 0: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 50 Demy Culverin 5: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 35 Sacers 6: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 24 16 An Alarm: Falcons 4, Fixt Comm 4 d:o arr:d the Mary from India: Falcons 15, Fixt Comm 15 18 Departed y:e Nath:l for England: Falcons 9, Fixt Comm 9 22 Saild y:e Desbow: Mary for d:o: Falcons 22, Fixt Comm 22 28 An Alarm: Falcons 4, Fixt Comm 4 d:o arr:d the Heathcot from India: Falcons 11, Fixt Comm 11 d:o Sent to Plantation house: Falcons 1, Fixt Comm 0 at Bankes Small Arms for Alarms: Falcons 2, Fixt Comm 0 at ditto Muskett Balls: Falcons 2, Fixt Comm 0 at ditto Match: Falcons 7, Fixt Comm 0 at Mundens Point for Alarms: Falcons 6, Fixt Comm 0 at Ditto Muskett balls: Falcons 5, Fixt Comm 0 at ditto Match: Falcons 14, Fixt Comm 0 Powder for mounting & dismounting y:e Guard: Falcons 12, Fixt Comm 0 Muskett balls for ditto: Falcons 6, Fixt Comm 0	The gunner brought in his monthly account for May and June, as follows. This was an account of gunner's stores expended from the fourth day of May to the last day of the same, in falcon shot and powder. 4 May, for the death of the King of France, 24 falcon shot, 21 pounds of powder An alarm, 6 falcon shot, 6 pounds of powder Arrived 2 French ships from India, 11 falcon shot, 11 pounds of powder 5 May, delivered to John Knipe to alarm Sandy Bay, 1 pound of powder 5 May, departed the 2 French ships, 9 falcon shot, 9 pounds of powder 5 May, an alarm, 4 falcon shot, 4 pounds of powder 5 May, arrived the Bouverie, 11 falcon shot, 11 pounds of powder 11 May, an alarm, 4 falcon shot, 4 pounds of powder 11 May, and an Ostender called the Matthias, De Cannon, 14s 0d of powder Whole culverin, 5 fired, 50 pounds of powder Demi-culverin, 5 fired, 35 pounds of powder Sakers, 6 fired, 24 pounds of powder 16 May, an alarm, 4 falcon shot, 4 pounds of powder 16 May, arrived the Mary from India, 15 falcon shot, 15 pounds of powder 18 May, departed the Nathaniel for England, 9 falcon shot, 9 pounds of powder 22 May, sailed the Bouverie and Mary for England, 22 falcon shot, 22 pounds of powder 28 May, an alarm, 4 falcon shot, 4 pounds of powder 28 May, arrived the Heathcote from India, 11 falcon shot, 11 pounds of powder 28 May, sent to Plantation House, 1 [...] At Banks small arms for alarms, 2 [...] At Banks musket balls, 2 [...] At Banks match, 7 [...] At Munden's Point for alarms, 6 [...] At Munden's Point musket balls, 5 [...] At Munden's Point match, 14 [...]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		Match for ditto: Falcons 49, Fixt Comm 0 Spunge Staves: Falcons 6, Fixt Comm 0 Hand Spikes broke: Falcons 10, Fixt Comm 0 Ramming heads: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 0 Axel Trees: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 0 Trucks: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 0 Sheep Skins: Falcons 45, Fixt Comm 0 Flints: Falcons 0, Fixt Comm 0 Signd Jn:o French	Powder for mounting and dismounting the guard, 12 [...] Musket balls for the guard, 6 Match for the guard, 49 Sponge staves, [...] Hand spikes, broke, 6 Rammer heads, 10 Axletrees, [...] Trucks, [...] Sheepskins, 45 Flints, [...] The account was signed by John French. Interpretations The firing of twenty-four falcon shot for the death of the King of France records the island marking the passing of a foreign monarch with a formal gun salute, a striking instance of ceremony reaching a remote Company outpost. Louis XIV had died in September 1715, and news of it, arriving by the ships of May 1716, prompted the garrison to expend a substantial charge of powder and shot in his honour, showing how the conventions of European diplomacy and mourning were observed even at so distant a station. The account distinguishes several classes of cannon, the whole culverin, demi-culverin and saker, each a gun of different bore and range, fired to salute the Ostend ship the <i>Matthias</i>. A culverin was a long heavy piece throwing a large ball, a demi-culverin a smaller version and a saker smaller still, so the record of which guns were fired reveals the graded artillery the fort maintained, the choice of pieces for a salute reflecting both the occasion and the range of ordnance available for the island's defence and ceremony. The steady expenditure of powder and shot on alarms, salutes and the greeting and speeding of ships shows how much of the fort's ordnance served signalling and ceremony rather than battle. Each arrival and departure, each alarm and notable visitor, drew its measured charge from the magazine, so the account functions as a record of the island's ceremonial and communicative life as much as its defence, the guns speaking constantly to passing ships and marking the events that punctuated the settlement's months.
181	177	July 1716. An Account of Gunns Stores Expended from y:e First day of June 1716 to the Last d:o A:o (Viz:t) Falcons, Fixt Comm June 2 For the Gov:ds Use: Falcons 1, Fixt Comm 0 8 an Alarm: Falcons 4, Fixt Comm 4 d:o arrd y:e Darby from India: Falcons 9, Fixt Comm 9 15 Sailed y:e Desbowery, Heathcot & Darby: Falcons 25, Fixt Comm 25 17 An Alarm: Falcons 4, Fixt Comm 4 d:o arrived y:e Kath: from Engl:d: Falcons 11, Fixt Comm 11 Powder for Mounting & dismounting y:e Guard: Falcons 5, Fixt Comm 0 for fixing 26 Granadeer Pouches Muskett balls: Falcons 18, Fixt Comm 0 Sheep Skins: Falcons 6, Fixt Comm 0 Rammer heads: Falcons 2, Fixt Comm 0 Match: Falcons 28, Fixt Comm 0 at Banks: an Alarm: Falcons 0½, Fixt Comm 0 Ditto Muskett balls: Falcons 1, Fixt Comm 0 at Munden's point an Alarm: Falcons 1½, Fixt Comm 0 D:o Muskett balls: Falcons 5, Fixt Comm 0 D:o Match: Falcons 7, Fixt Comm 0 Signd Jn:o French: Falcons 35: 2: 6, Fixt Comm 24: 59: 6 The Charles Galley of Ostend came in here on the 11:o of	This was an account of gunner's stores expended from the first day of June 1716 to the last day of the same. 2 June, for the Company's use, 1 [...] 8 June, an alarm, 4 falcon shot, 4 pounds of powder 8 June, arrived the Derby from India, 9 falcon shot, 9 pounds of powder 15 June, sailed the Bouverie, Heathcote and Derby, 25 falcon shot, 25 pounds of powder 17 June, an alarm, 4 falcon shot, 4 pounds of powder 17 June, arrived the Catherine from England, 11 falcon shot, 11 pounds of powder Powder for mounting and dismounting the guard, 5 For fixing 26 grenadier pouches, musket balls, 18 Sheepskins, 6 Rammer heads, 2 Match, 28 At Banks an alarm, ½ At Banks musket balls, 1 At Munden's Point an alarm, 1½ At Munden's Point musket balls, 5 At Munden's Point match, 7 Total, 35 falcon shot, 2 [...], 6 [...], 24 [...], 59 [...], 6 [...] The account was signed by John French.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		July inst: wearing Ostend Colours, There being no Ship in the Road the Governour orderd they Should nothing her to an Anchor before She came into this Roade, where She anchored about 10 A:m & Saluted the Fort with 11 Guns, we ret:d 9; After w:ch Matthaues Gorrebrant, the Comander came on Shore to give Acc:t of his Ship Which he Says was built at Ostend for the Spanish Trade, She is 89 foot by the Keil & 24 foot broad Loading water to Engh measure when above 400 Tons flitanded, has 20 tond at 07 tond & hade the Govern:d P:mission to come to India. The Owners of his Ship he Said were Mess:rs Charles Maltranas, of which & Tho: Cd Merch:t two of which were the Same Said to be Owners of S:t Matthew the last Ostender aforementond We askt him why he came for y:e Indias, he answered that they could not live by trade in Europe, Therefore they were Sent out to See if they cou'd trade in India, and now finding they can have Goods for money any where, they Stood their out the trade, and Said they had two Ships of 50 Guns that had each of them a Stock of	The <i>Charles Galley</i> of Ostend came in on 11 July, wearing Ostend colours. There being no ship in the road, the governor ordered they should bring her to an anchor before she came into the road, where she anchored about ten o'clock and saluted the fort with eleven guns, which were returned with nine. Afterwards the <i>Matthias</i> Gorrebrant, the commander, came ashore to give an account of his ship, which he said was built at Ostend for the Spanish trade. She was 89 feet on the keel and carried 80 great beasts, laden with above four hundred, going out to England for a mission, above four hundred going ashore. He had been at Ostend and had the governor's permission to come to India. The owners of the ship, he said, were Messrs Charles Maltranas, of which Thomas Cay was merchant, the same said to be owners of the <i>Matthias</i>, the last Ostender mentioned. Being asked why they came toward India, he answered that they could not live by trade in Europe, and therefore they were sent out to see if they could trade in India, and now, seeing they could have goods for many anywhere, they should find out the trade. He said they had two ships of 50 guns that had each of them a stock [...]. Interpretations The arrival of the <i>Charles Galley</i> wearing Ostend colours reflects the emergence of the Ostend Company, a rival East India venture from the Austrian Netherlands that challenged the English and Dutch monopolies in the early eighteenth century. The English Company regarded such interlopers with deep suspicion, so the governor's wary reception and careful interrogation of the commander show the island alert to competitors probing the eastern trade, the questioning designed to learn the strength and intentions of a company the directors feared. The exchange of salutes, the visitor's eleven guns answered by the fort's nine, illustrates the diplomatic protocol observed even between commercial rivals meeting at a neutral anchorage. The number of guns fired carried precise meaning about respect and status, so the careful giving and returning of the salute maintained the courtesies of the sea, allowing a potentially unwelcome foreign ship to be received with correct ceremony while the governor took the measure of her purpose. The decision the passage turns on is the governor's order that the <i>Charles Galley</i> anchor outside the road before entering, rather than admitting her freely as he would a friendly ship. He could have let the Ostender come straight in, yet he held her off and required an account of herself first, treating a rival company's vessel with guarded caution. He chose to control the terms of her reception and extract information about her owners, armament and intentions before granting her the ordinary freedom of the anchorage, using the encounter to gather intelligence on a competitor the Company had every reason to watch.
182	178	July 1716 of fifty thousand Dollars besides Goods th:t were taken gone for India where he thought now that Trade was Open & that there would be always Ostend Ships Sent thither (But Sayd farther as followeth Viz:t) Wee at Ostend cant live at home now tis Peace But there theres likely to be a Warr between the Emperor of Ger many & that the Turks, And if the Emperor will Grant Comissions for Privateers or Letters of Marque, then i had rather goe Up the Streights than these Long Voyages. Wee askt him when he left Europe He Sayd in y:e Month of September A:o 1714 & lay five months at Cadiz before they could get their mony & Goods, &c because of Some New Order from	The commander said the two ships had a stock of fifty thousand dollars besides goods, and were now gone for India, where he thought that trade was now open and that there would always be Ostend ships going thither. He said further that at Ostend they could not live at home now there was peace, but that there was likely to be war between the Emperor of Germany and the Turks, and that if the Emperor would grant commissions for privateers or letters of marque, they had rather go up the Straits than make these long voyages. Being asked when he left Europe, he said it was in the month of September 1714, and that they lay five months at Cadiz before they could get their money and goods, because of some new order from the king which gave them trouble. At length he took

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		the King w:ch gave them trouble, at length he took in Sixteen thousand Dollars & the Value of four thousand in Wine & Brandy, But Sayd his Wines & Brandy did not turn to Account they bought at St: Jago Outward bound & then passed the Cape of Good Hope, standing between the Island of Madagascar & the Main & went to Mosambique on y:e East of Africa. At Mosambique they where well Received & went in behind the Island where they found a good harbour & Water and, this Ship drawing now eightn foot At Mosambique they lay two Months & bought Gold, Ivory & Ambergreens they paid for Gold of Eleven Mad:d 350 Pardoes a Mark weight w:ch is 8 ou Troy (making near 3:c 6 ounce English) at 18:d for a Pardoe They bought Ivory of w:ch there is plenty at 35 Crusadoes a Maund w:ch Maund is equal to Dutch or 28 English pounds. And Teeth between 55:li & 70:li were at this rate, those above 70:li were from 40 to 50 Crusadoes P maund & those Under 50:li w:t they Sold at 2 Maund for One, or half price and by this Ivory tis he Sold at Goa they made good proffit, by Turning every Pardoe into Rupers, But they understood that at Surat they might have made a great deal more of that Ivory There plenty of Slaves to be bought from 10 to 25 Crusadoes a peice	in sixteen thousand dollars and the value of four thousand in wine and brandy, but said his wine and brandy did not turn to account. They bought at St Jago outward bound and then passed the Cape of Good Hope, standing between the island of Madagascar and the main, and went to Mozambique on the east of Africa. At Mozambique they were well received and went in behind the island, where they found a good harbour and water, though the ship, drawing nine and eight feet, took the ground. At Mozambique they lay two months and bought gold, ivory and ambergris. They paid for gold at eleven mace, 350 pardoes a mark weight, which is 8 ounces Troy, making near 3 ounces 6 [...] ounces English, at 18d for a pardoe. They bought ivory, of which there was plenty, at 35 crusadoes a maund, a maund being equal to 28 English pounds. Teeth between 55 and 70 pounds were at this rate, those above 70 pounds were from 40 to 50 crusadoes per maund, and those under 50 pounds they sold at 2 maunds for one, or half price. By this ivory, when he should sell it at Goa, they made good profit by turning every pardoe into rupees, but they understood that at Surat they might have made a great deal more of that ivory. There was plenty of slaves to be bought there, from 10 to 25 crusadoes apiece. Interpretations The commander's account of the Ostend venture reveals the precarious economics that drove these interlopers to distant seas, unable to live by trade at home in peacetime and ready to turn privateer if war offered easier gains. His frank admission that they would rather cruise the Mediterranean under letters of marque than make the long India voyage exposes the thin margin between legitimate trade and privateering in this world, and the political calculation, resting on a possible war between the Emperor and the Turks, that shaped where such men sought their fortune. The detailed prices the commander gave for gold, ivory and slaves at Mozambique, reckoned in mace, pardoes, crusadoes and maunds, show the intricate web of eastern and Portuguese currencies and weights through which the India trade was conducted. His careful note that ivory turned to greater profit at Surat than at Goa, and that every pardoe could be converted into rupees, reveals the sharp arbitrage between markets on which such traders depended, their profit lying as much in the movement of goods between ports as in the original purchase. The commander's matter-of-fact mention that slaves could be bought at Mozambique for ten to twenty-five crusadoes apiece, set among the prices of gold and ivory, exposes the traffic in human beings as one commodity among others in the East African trade. The Portuguese station at Mozambique dealt in slaves alongside precious goods, and the ease with which the commander priced them reveals how thoroughly the buying and selling of people was woven into the ordinary commerce of the Indian Ocean, indistinguishable in his account from the trade in ivory or gold.
183	179	July 1716 They bought Ambergreese y:e finest bit at 9 Crusadoes P bit Troy, the Second Sort at 7 & the Lowest at 4:c which also turned to good Acc:t at Goa, where they Sold part of their Wines & Brandies They went next to the Port at Callicut where they bought 400 Candy of Pepper at 70 Rupees P Candy thence to Cochine & Anjengo, where they put	The Ostend commander said they bought ambergris of the finest sort at 9 crusadoes an ounce Troy, the second sort at 7 and the lowest at 4½, which also turned to good account at Goa, where they sold part of their wines and brandies. They went next to the port at Calicut, where they bought 400 candy of pepper at 70 rupees per candy, then to Cochin and Anjengo, where they put off more of their wine and brandy, but said they bought nothing there worth speaking of. He said he had left Captain Pitt in the <i>Stanhope</i> at Goa, and Governor Bohune, and that on 26 February last, when he came from

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		off more of their Wine & Brandy, But Sayd they bought nothing there to speak of. He Sayd he Saw Capt: Pitt in the Stanhope at Goa & Govern:r Bohune, And on y:e 26 feby: lest when he came from Callicut he left Capt: Macklin there in y:e Queen of Peace begining to take in her Loading & t was Sayd there She would goe to Madrass The East Lest wise at Callicut a Large English Ship called y:e Oxford & a Country Ship named the Dolben: He arrivd 44 men, has buried Many, but having Ships Some has now 96 on board, He made the Cape Land on the 1:o of May, N:o m 40:o Apr:l 05 but coud not gett about it till 40 Days after, He lay 20 Days at the Cape brode out Severall hard Gorms & had like to have lost the Ship She having Struck in 3 fat: water, It is 20 Days Since he left the Cape In the 7:o of June N:o Capt: The: Collett in the Grantham arrivd at the Cape from England & Stayed there 9 Days Since they came near this Island they mett wth great Calms the Capt: Says, they had fresh Water and & bought Sunday Provision w:t they wanted at the Cape, but the Weather was So bad there that they coud not fitt the Ship for their Voyage home And therefore desird Sibeth here to lift his Shrouds & refitt his Ship, He told him that Wee neither Knew the Ships or Clowes, nor Upon what Acc:t they had been in India, He having had Clothes & those Ships who had Leave to trade thither, but we rest none:s of this Ship, but as the Island S:t Helena was kept at a very great Charge by the Hon: E: India Comp:a of England, if he coud produce any Licence, pass or Letter from them He wou'd afsist him in any thing We coud, but not otherwise He referd for tay here 3 Days, which We told him, We coud not allow, He said w:th the Gov:d & Council affair:s he went on board first telling us he would Sail before it became dark As he went off he told Comand:r y:e:t that there was an English Gent: passenger on board, but did not mention her Name A little before Sun sett a boat came on Shore w:h an Margin Notes: Margin Notes: the Grantham	Calicut, he had left Captain Machin there in the <i>Queen of Peace</i>, beginning to take in her lading, and it was said there she would go to Madras. He had left at Calicut a large English ship called the <i>Oxford</i> and a country ship named the <i>Dolben</i>. The <i>Charles Galley</i> had buried many of her men, but having shipped some she now had 96 aboard. She made the Cape land on 1 May, north northeast to northeast of April, but could not get about it for 40 days after. She lay 20 days at the Cape, and blew out several of her sails and had nearly been lost, having struck in shoal water. She was 20 days since she left the Cape. On 7 June there arrived at the Cape from England Captain Collett in the <i>Grantham</i>, who stayed there 9 days. Since they came near the island they met with great calms, though the commander said they had fresh water and bought Sunday provisions, which they wanted at the Cape. But the weather was so bad there that they could not fit the ship for their voyage home, and therefore he asked the governor for leave to lay off his shrouds and refit his ship. He was told that the council neither knew the ship nor the commander, nor upon what account they had been in India, she having had clothing and other things aboard who had leave to trade thither, but the council would render him no manner of assistance, this ship being a great change by the Company of England. If he could produce any licence, pass or letter from the Company, the council would afford him anything, but not otherwise. He asked for leave to lay his horse three days, which the council would not allow. He told them he would sail before it became dark, and as he went off he told the council he had an English passenger aboard, but did not mention her name. A little before sunset a boat came ashore [...]. Interpretations The commander's detailed intelligence about English and other ships along the Indian coast, Captain Pitt in the <i>Stanhope</i> at Goa, Captain Machin in the <i>Queen of Peace</i>, and the <i>Oxford</i> and <i>Dolben</i> at Calicut, shows how such encounters at St Helena served as clearing-houses for maritime information. News of who was where, what they carried and where they were bound passed between ships meeting at the island, so the governor learned the disposition of shipping across the eastern seas from a rival commander, the anchorage functioning as a node where the scattered movements of the trade were pieced together. The council's firm refusal to help refit the <i>Charles Galley</i> without a licence from the Company reveals how the island guarded the English monopoly against interloping rivals even in matters of ordinary seamanship. A ship in distress might expect assistance, yet the council would render none to an Ostender they suspected of trading in defiance of the Company's privileges, making their aid conditional on proof of legitimate authority and treating the withholding of help as a weapon in the wider commercial rivalry. The decision the passage turns on is the council's choice to deny the Ostend commander the refitting he sought rather than extend the customary help to a ship in need. He asked only to lay off his shrouds and repair his storm-damaged vessel, a request that common humanity at sea might have granted, yet the council refused because they could not verify his right to trade in the East. They put the defence of the Company's monopoly above the ordinary courtesies owed to a distressed ship, making clear that a suspected interloper would receive nothing without the Company's own warrant, however genuine his need.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
184	180	July 1716 an Officer who desired to Speak with the Govern:d and being admitted told him, The people on board were resolv'd not to weigh Anchor as to go without Provisions, not having time for one Nights on board Th:o Govern:d told him, We could not assist his Wants for the E: India Comp:a were not oblig'd to find Provisions for all the Ships that Whereupon he desired We would entertain the Men of the Ship as followers and they would allow their keep and remain here, but we were told him We had Enough Soldiers and could take none but English Men if we wanted for D:miss'd and Sent him off again Then We Sent Guards to the Landing places to prevent any Boats coming on Shore in the Night & Sentls up the Drawbridge to prevent any private Correspondence with the Valley: Between 8 & 9 in the Even: The Ship drove out of the Road not making any Sail while in our View Mr Worrall Overseer of the Hon: Comp:as Plantat: complains That at their Hutt at the high Peak Plantat:d he found a Hogg of Edm:d Nicholls Mark, The 2 Blacks belonging to the E: Comp: being brought here to be examind how they came by y:e Hogg Old Antony confeses that Seeing as poor Hog belonging to Edm:d Nicholls desired him to give it him That he gave him five Fowls for it Durgo Says that Edm:d Nicholls brought the Hogg there himself last Fryday, Old Antony giving five fowls for it It appearing that Edmund Nicholls did barter & traffick with the Said Blacks, Orderd That he be Sumond to appear here the next Consulta:n day This Family of Old Nicholls & his Sons are continually complained of by Some or other of the Inhabitants for holding a Secret Correspondence with Blacks and Other bad People, So that they have the Character Margin Notes: Margin Notes: the Matthaues &c d:o y:e went out of Survey as this Ship had done	An officer, Maltronus, came ashore to speak with the governor. Being admitted, he said the people aboard the <i>Charles Galley</i> were resolved not to weigh anchor until they had bought provisions, having none for one meal. The governor told him the council could not fit his wants for the India trade, and were not obliged to find provisions for all the ships that came. He then asked whether they would entertain the men of the ship as followers, and they would leave their ship and remain there, but he was told they had enough soldiers, and could take none but Englishmen if they wanted them. The governor dismissed him and sent him off again. The council then sent guards to the landing places to prevent any boat coming ashore in the night, and posted guards up the drawbridge to prevent any private correspondence with the valley. Between eight and nine o'clock in the evening the ship drove out of the road, not making any sail while in the council's view. Mr Worrall, overseer of the Company's plantations, complained that at their hut at the High Peak plantation he found a hog with Edmund Nicholls's mark. Two slaves belonging to the Company, being brought to be examined how they came by it, one Antony confessed that, seeing it was a poor hog belonging to Edmund Nicholls, he decided to give it him, and that he gave them five fowls for it. Durgo said that Edmund Nicholls brought the hog there himself last Friday, old Antony giving five fowls for it. It appearing that Edmund Nicholls did barter and traffic with the slaves, the council ordered that he be summoned to appear the next consultation day. The family of old Nicholls and his sons were continually complained of by some or other of the inhabitants for holding a secret correspondence with slaves and other bad people, so that they had the character [...]. Interpretations The council's posting of guards at the landing places and the drawbridge to prevent any night boat or private correspondence with the valley reveals the strict control kept over contact between a suspect foreign ship and the shore. Fearing the Ostenders might slip men or messages ashore under cover of darkness, the council sealed the approaches, treating the interloper as a source of possible smuggling, desertion or intrigue, and the elaborate watch shows how a single unwelcome vessel could put the whole settlement on its guard. The case of Edmund Nicholls bartering a hog with the Company's slaves exposes the persistent problem of illicit trade between islanders and the enslaved workforce. Such dealing let slaves dispose of goods and animals outside any lawful channel and gave disreputable residents a hidden source of supply, so the council treated Nicholls's traffic as a serious matter, the exchange of a hog for five fowls revealing an underground economy that undermined both the Company's control of its slaves and the order of the settlement. The observation that the whole Nicholls family bore a standing reputation for secret dealings with slaves and other bad people shows how a household could acquire a collective character that shaped the community's response to it. The repeated complaints against old Nicholls and his sons meant that a fresh accusation fell on ears already prejudiced, so the family's ill fame became a kind of evidence in itself, the settlement judging the individual act in the light of a reputation built up over many such incidents.
185	181	July 1716. Character of Comon thieves & pilferers, The Hon: Comp:d very often Lose their Small Cattle that goe that way	The Nicholls family had the character of common thieves and pilferers. The Company very often lost their small cattle that went that way, and these slaves were therefore placed at the Peak

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation and analysis
		These Blacks where therefore placed at the Peak plantation to look after it & the Cattle that goe thereabouts This is a Good Shoate Now & therefore could not be very poor last Friday. Which makes Us Suspect that his Selling the Hon: Comp:a Blacks So good a Bargain, Tis in Order for them to connive at Some Greater Roguery. N:B There was that way a Bullock Hamshingd two or three Days agoe, Said to belonging to Tho: Swallow, & a Hogg of John Coles, w:ch had lately both the four A feet Cutt off. Antipas Tovey Edward Byfeld	plantation to look after them and the cattle that ranged thereabouts. This was a good shoat now, and therefore could not have been very poor last Friday, which made the council suspect that his selling the Company's slaves so good a bargain was done in order for them to connive at some greater roguery. There was also that way a bullock hamstrung two or three days ago, said to belong to Thomas Swallow, and a hog of John Coles, which had lately had all four feet cut off. The record was signed by Antipas Tovey and Edward Byfield. Interpretations The placing of slaves at the Peak plantation specifically to guard the Company's small cattle against theft reveals how the settlement used its enslaved workforce to protect property in the very district where thieving was worst. The frequent loss of cattle that strayed toward the Nicholls household had prompted this posting, so the slaves served as keepers set to watch the herds, and the council's suspicion that Nicholls had bribed them with a cheap hog exposes the fear that the very guards might be turned against their charge. The council's reasoning that the hog was too good an animal to have been sold so cheaply innocently shows how they read the terms of a transaction as evidence of a hidden purpose. A poor beast changing hands at a low price would have raised no alarm, but a sound shoat sold for a bargain suggested a bribe, so the council inferred from the mismatch between the animal's quality and its price that Nicholls sought to buy the slaves connivance at some larger scheme of theft. The maiming of livestock, a bullock hamstrung and a hog with all four feet cut off, records a disturbing pattern of deliberate cruelty to animals that the council set alongside the thieving. Such mutilation, crippling beasts rather than simply stealing them, points to malice or to some method of marking or disabling animals for later theft, and its mention among the complaints against the district shows the council confronting not merely pilfering but a violent disorder in the countryside that threatened the settlement's stock.
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190	186	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1716 Dimensions (l x h x depth) (cm) 26cm x 37.5cm x 3cm No. written pages: 181 No. blank pages: - Spine and cover Good Condition. Inside pages A few pages are Splitting Additional comments Odd / Even Method of Photography. * Pgs 40, 41 - Two Sets of original pages. * All original pages present, Pgs 175 & 176, omitted from Page numbering. Time taken to photograph (hours) 2 hours	