

St Helena Records 1717-1718

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

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-15>.

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: The pages are numbered consecutively in the top left and top right corners, with the first numbered page appearing on Film No. 7 as 7/1. However, the sequence is soon disrupted, as pages 5 and 6 are repeated. The numbering therefore runs as 11/5, 12/6, 13/5, 14/6, 15/7 and so on.

Page 343 is missing, the sequence running as 349/341, 350/342, 351/344, 352/345 and so forth. This seems to be a simple numbering error. Two successive pages are also marked as page 432, which again appears to be a pagination error. In this case, the sequence runs as 438/431, 439/432, 440/432, 441/433 and so forth 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 10 September 1717 and the last is 19 February 1719.

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

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

Between Sep 1717 and Feb 1718/19 St Helena was governed for the East India Company by Isaac Pyke from Union Castle in James Valley. He began with a council of three, George Haswell as Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey, four men who acted at once as government, court, landlord and trading agent for the Company. Haswell's suspension in Jan 1718, his death in Jun 1718 and Tovey's long sickness repeatedly thinned the bench, which was rebuilt with Bazett as Deputy, Tovey as accountant and, from late 1718, John Alexander and John Goodwin as assistants. The island existed to refresh homeward-bound Indiamen on the long passage from Asia, and almost every entry reflects that dependence. Throughout, the minutes form an official record kept by the very men whose conduct they describe. They present the council's decisions as measured and just, several entries show the record being actively shaped, and the Governor built every minute as evidence for the directors in London. These limits must qualify every reading of what follows. [Film No. 7-56, 57, 105, 109, 258, 312, 408, 457, 556-561]

Governance and Administration

In the autumn of 1717 the council met most Tuesdays, read and approved the last consultation, and entered every order in numbered books, with consultation book number 15 begun on 10 Sep 1717 [Film No. 15, 36]. The bench drafted its reply to the directors' last general letter in parts, each councillor writing the section touching his own office, and duplicates of accounts went home by separate ships against loss at sea [Film No. 12, 14, 18, 30]. The settlement governed through paper, and the books were also a shield, since anything entered over the councillors' signatures could later be cited to the directors in their defence. [Film No. 12, 15, 30, 36]

The council governed by accumulated precedent rather than fresh discretion. When garrison families petitioned in Dec 1717 to keep hogs loose in Fort Valley, Tovey fetched the order of 20 Nov 1682 from Governor Blackmore's time, citing book and folio, and the clerk traced further prohibitions of 1700 and 1716, rules hardened after loose swine dislodged a stone that killed a man near the batteries [Film No. 97-99]. The refusal also shows how the council policed dissent. The Governor exposed the real issue as protection of the Company's herd of about 600 goats, warned John French and Joseph Bates that recruiting more signatories against Company interests would cost them favour and employment, and fined the writer of the petition 5s 0d. Collective petitioning was treated as something close to insubordination, and the record's even tone conceals real coercion. [Film No. 100-101]

The minutes themselves were curated. The advertisement of the widow Carne's sale was entered and then struck through, with marginal notes that it was a memorandum only and not to go home. The clerk kept a deliberate boundary between the island's working file and the despatch sent to London, so what the Company at home learned of St Helena was a filtered selection. [Film No. 79-80]

The dominant administrative story of the turn of the year was a crisis in the Company's accounts. On 24 Dec 1717 Haswell, as accountant, brought in seven bound books and two in sheets, listed by exact spans running from one 25 Mar to the next under the old legal year beginning on Lady Day, and the Governor ordered all books of account into a new office at the castle so completed volumes could be sent home as the Company demanded [Film No. 107, 109]. The council also tightened the transfer books, the registers through which islanders moved credits and property: all transfers were to be made only in council, the book was to lie open the day before any ship sailed, and Pyke locked the journal up and refused to write in it himself, separating custody from authorship while concentrating oversight of every private transaction in his own hands. [Film No. 110, 112]

The system then failed its audit. Older books from Governor Boucher's time had never been completed or sent home, and when they were packed for despatch in Jan 1718 the inspection exposed copies that were not true copies, journals surviving only as loose dirty papers, and ledgers with no duplicate at all. A fine set on Thomas Bovey in 1715 had been crowded into an old book in May 1716, and a £10 fine on Mr Carne had never been charged, lax book-keeping translating directly into lost revenue [Film No. 114-115, 134-135]. Pyke judged the neglect inexcusable and, citing the 35th paragraph of the Company's last general letter, suspended Haswell from salary and diet on 14 Jan 1718 while keeping him in office, still inviting him to dine as a friend and dangling a future recommendation for the governorship. The discipline was calibrated to correct rather than ruin, but false assurances had already travelled to London unchecked, and Haswell's attempt to blame the late Captain Pack, a man who could not answer, was rejected. [Film No. 136-137]

Suspension turned into scandal. On 14 Jan 1718 Tovey laid a written complaint that, while the council packed the homeward dispatch, papers went missing, and he forced open Haswell's locked press to find 14 sheets of recent consultations, recording the proofs of Haswell's negligence, hidden behind the books [Film No. 164-166]. He added a graver charge, that Haswell had boasted of more power than King George held in England and of friends who would soon make him Governor, words that under the new Hanoverian crown could be framed as treasonable [Film No. 167]. Haswell answered on 28 Jan 1718 with seven pages of counter-attack, pleading that loose sheets could have been mixed into his press by accident, then assailing his accuser: Tovey had stabbed George Carne, Sutton Isaacks and Francis Wrangham, had tried to murder his own wife on the voyage out, and had been forbidden the sword [Film No. 180-183]. Tovey's reply, dated 4 Feb but delivered on 4 Mar 1718 with Haswell present, answered in kind. He branded Haswell the laziest man on the island, traced his real career as third mate of a Guinea slave ship and a midshipman press master, mocked his cant speech, branded his reports home 'forecastle packets', alleged that Haswell beat his wife so that his slaves helped her creep indoors, affirmed the King George boast and promised it would be proved in England, and likened Haswell's freaks to the history of Don Quixote. He conceded only part of the Wrangham matter, a calculated admission that lent his denials credit. [Film No. 190, 200-211]

The feud deserves a cautious reading, since both papers are adversarial pleadings built to destroy the other's character before the council and the directors [Film No. 180, 201]. Yet some facts stand outside the rhetoric. The sheets were physically found in Haswell's press, Tovey had indeed wounded Wrangham, and the assistant Joseph Thomlinson wrote independently on 24 Feb 1718 that the general books still could not be finished because Haswell withheld the store day books [Film No. 165, 198, 201]. When Haswell demanded proof of the theft, Tovey named four witnesses, and the depositions of 11 Mar 1718 converged devastatingly. Alexander described Haswell locking something in his press and refusing to open it; Holliwell, ordered at last by Haswell himself to search, found the 14 sheets hidden behind the books, all matters touching Haswell; Bagley confirmed the taking and the finding; and Holliwell added that Haswell had pressed him to certify books as copied which he knew were not. The convergence of four witnesses makes this the best attested fact in the whole affair, though all four were subordinates testifying under compulsion in the victor's eventual record. [Film No. 212-213, 220-225]

The quarrel was rooted in the state of the books. The soldier Henry Harman, cleared to sail on the *Rochester*, found himself credited 4s 0d instead of 24s 0d, and the next day told he was above £5 0s 0d in debt, a swing showing the records could not even state the direction of what was owed. On 17 Mar 1718 Pyke delivered an ultimatum: the books ending Mar 1716 must go home in two or three months, or Haswell must go in

their place. The whole file of charges, answers and depositions was sent to the directors by the *Toddington*, both parties having long agreed that England must judge. [Film No. 218, 225-226, 228]

Through the spring Pyke governed by measurement. When tar leaked from its barrels he had the 22 casks weighed full, decanted the tar into earthenware jars, and fixed the true stock at 3,016 pounds by three independent figures, then abolished the barrel as a unit of sale, since barrels of equal apparent fullness varied by 136 pounds, and ordered tar sold by the pound at 4½d. The reform shifted the risk of short measure from buyer to scales, fairness enforced through arithmetic [Film No. 258-259]. The bench also worked as a genuine council. On whether Mr Doveton should pay duty on arrack in kegs, Pyke yielded to the majority while minuting his own contrary view, a habit of losing small battles on the record while securing the record itself, and within a fortnight his opinion had in practice become the rule. [Film No. 284-285, 293]

George Haswell died of an apoplexy on the night of 22 Jun 1718, still suspended, his quarrel with Tovey already sent home for judgement [Film No. 312]. Pyke moved at once to secure the record: the transfer journal passed into his keeping, and a sworn list was ordered of every book in the accountant's office, with Haswell's own writing distinguished [Film No. 313]. The audit found the 1716 books behind through 'some neglect' as well as illness, and counted not more than one week's work in Haswell's own hand across all of them [Film No. 323-327]. The verdict is damning yet not disinterested, since Bazett and Tovey, one of them the dead man's sworn enemy, judged a colleague who could no longer answer, and their reports also exposed a structural truth, that the island lacked two or three writers to copy the books fair [Film No. 313, 321, 324-325]. The reshuffle split rank from duty. Bazett rose to deputy governor but kept the storekeeper's post, Tovey received the accountant's office as third in council with his salary made conditional on clearing the backlog, Alexander returned as clerk, and a standing rule barred anyone from transferring credit they did not possess [Film No. 326-329]. The widow Elizabeth Haswell took letters of administration on 15 Aug 1718 under a grant styling the Company 'absolute Lords Proprietors' of the island, and the funeral itself entered the powder account, 5 pounds for Haswell's burial volley against 3 shared by two ordinary men, rank graduated even in death. [Film No. 341, 350-352]

In the autumn the administration ran on paper it struggled to keep. Every will proved on the island was now to be entered in the consultation book and copied home, and when Alexander prepared to take over the secretary's office the inspection found a settled archive of lettered series, consultation books numbered 1 to 15 and the secret committee's correspondence kept apart, yet the books lay in the same poor condition complained of at the survey of 2 Oct 1716, strong in form and weak in execution [Film No. 408, 414, 418]. Pyke reported on 30 Sep 1718 that the 1716 books were nowhere near finished, resolved to recruit a young man with a good hand off the first incoming ship, and judged the clerk Joseph Thomlinson not to be entirely depended on alone. Tovey's sick-leave diet right was commuted into 2s a day, a customary perquisite treated as a fungible benefit. [Film No. 415-416, 419-420]

Tovey's return at the end of Oct 1718 ended weeks in which a two-man council had carried all business, and Pyke admitted that public talk accused him of doing 'everything just as he pleased' over Bazett's ignored opinions [Film No. 457, 458]. His answer was to widen the bench: Alexander was named an assistant councillor for the practical merit of being always present, Goodwin followed on the Governor's recommendation and was also made assistant to the accountant [Film No. 457-460]. The reform was provisional until the Company's pleasure was known, and its defensive value is hard to miss, since a Governor accused of ruling alone could now show a bench of five. By Dec, Tovey reported the error-ridden books might at last go home by Christmas. [Film No. 459, 490]

Settlement, Land and Agriculture

No land changed hands without the council. Corporal Isaac Wood needed leave to buy 10 acres from Robert Gurling, the bill of sale registered at £40 0s 0d and the parcel measured before a deed issued [Film No. 7, 37]. Grants carried a defence condition, since every holding had to keep one white man able to bear arms for each 20 acres, making armed manpower, not rent, the real measure of who might hold land [Film No. 7, 8, 11, 13]. The contest over a parcel in Powell's Valley tested that system. Richard Swallow and Sergeant William Slaughter both claimed the same ground, neighbours objected that any enclosure would harm the whole neighbourhood, and the council ordered the parcel to lie in common for the public good,

protecting its green wood with a fine of 20 shillings a tree. The same objection had been recorded in 1713, which suggests the commons had defenders willing to organise across years. [Film No. 13, 15-18]

Food security ran through almost every meeting. The council closed the Egg Islands while the egg birds settled to lay, then opened access on three fixed days a week, and monthly stock accounts tracked every beast through disease and recovery [Film No. 8-10, 45]. Yams received the closest attention because they fed the Company's slaves. Tovey's survey in Oct 1717 counted 850,000 plants, with worn-out ground replanted after fallow rest and the whole expansion held back by a shortage of suckers [Film No. 31-32, 38]. The yam abstract of 3 Dec 1717 counted 906,000 roots sorted by age so the council could forecast harvests months ahead, and Captain Bazett pointedly excluded some 30,000 suckers at Thomson Wood because he had not inspected them himself, a small but telling standard of verification. [Film No. 78, 92-93]

Grants of waste land were tests of character as much as distributions of soil, and no parcel was let before two councillors had viewed it. John Long's request failed when the Governor checked the registers and found he held twice the freehold he pleaded, John Orchard was refused a plantation because he had repeatedly sold off holdings, and Thomas Cason exchanged his 21-year leases for a lease on three lives, the reward of a tenant who had fenced and improved 45 acres. [Film No. 69-71, 89-90, 96]

Land business ran constantly through the new year. Tovey, ordered by the 39th paragraph of a letter brought by the *Rochester* to lease out his disputed plantation, had granted it to the rival claimants themselves for a token rent of one white hen a year. Robert Bell, who had paid rent on 25 acres near Woody Ridge for years without ever receiving the lease promised in Governor Roberts's time, was offered a lease for three lives or 21 years. These cases show tenure resting uneasily on promises and payment until written title regularised it. [Film No. 115-117, 145-146]

The dispute between Thomas Swallow and William Beale, a punch-house keeper, exposed how fragile urban titles were. Swallow claimed the ground behind his Fort Valley house had been taken 21 or 22 years earlier on the strength of a deed he was said to have signed while in drink, no such deed being registered, and he defended a public passage called Swallow's Alley against Beale's plan to wall it up for drinking places. When Beale produced his document, the 1695 articles of agreement in fact granted the disputed 8-foot strip to Swallow in perpetuity, and Pyke suggested a drunken clerk had reversed the names throughout. The case shows the council enforcing the Company's registration rules as the foundation of secure property [Film No. 147-152]. The quarrel revived in 1718 over backyard ground held in common by neighbourly tolerance. Finding no title in either man, the council fell back on the principle that alleys and ways belonged to the Lords Proprietors, and when Beale proved obstinate Pyke went to the spot in person and drew a settlement of surveyed precision, a 4-foot passage leased at a peppercorn, a dividing wall each man was to build with at least 4 of his blacks, and a bar on darkening the other's lights [Film No. 338-340, 343-347]. The record then explains the quarrel's true cause: the Governor's new garden wall and water scheme had turned barren backyards into waterable garden ground, and land thought worthless became worth fighting for, a small case study in how Company improvement created private value and private conflict together. [Film No. 348-349]

Interests reached beyond the island. William Slaughter bought Holm Slack, an estate in Lancashire, and the council declined any role in confirming title to English land but allowed registration with the seller's consent, as it had earlier entered a Lancashire indenture settling half a Preston property on the surgeon Hodgkinson's mother. The island acted as the only place of legal record for its inhabitants' English affairs. [Film No. 19-23, 144-145]

In early 1718 grants followed a settled double pattern, a deed for freehold and a lease for three lives renewable at 5 shillings a year, which kept the Company's title alive beneath private possession [Film No. 191, 195]. Joshua Johnson registered a council order of 14 Mar 1689 to secure a wash house bought nearly 30 years before, proof that title rested on the survival of old paper [Film No. 191-192]. The Company also bought consolidation dear: Powell surrendered a strip running into the heart of the Company pasture, taking 3 acres of better land for every 2 given up, and Pyke recorded frankly that the rate exceeded the land's worth, a candour that built his justification into the record before it could be questioned [Film No. 197].

Through the spring the plantation house roof fell in and two outbuildings blew down, the small labour force taking the rebuilding strictly in turn, and William Portley was unanimously confirmed as chief overseer [Film No. 239-243, 254-255]. In the summer Tovey, who held only hired acres, was granted a lease for lives on his pledge to plant fruit and timber trees, and the bench preferred Portley as chief overseer against John Goodwin, the island's most substantial planter, whose great private estate competed with the Company's for labour and markets. [Film No. 260-262, 295]

Timber emerged as the island's most contested resource. On 26 Aug 1718 the council published, by beat of drum to a largely unlettered population, a strict ban on felling any green wood in the Great Wood without leave, with soldiers at the outer forts authorised to seize green wood from anyone passing. Pyke was simultaneously planting on a remarkable scale, 300 sweet and 500 wild rosemary trees, 1,111 Madras flower trees, 620 roses, 150 apple and 130 lemon trees and a nursery of 2,000 apple slips intended for cider, and the council priced coal down to 3s 0d a bushel deliberately to draw households away from burning wood. An administration planting trees with one hand and policing axes with the other was managing a genuinely scarce asset, though the ban also reasserted Company ownership over what inhabitants plainly treated as common. [Film No. 378, 380-381, 404]

Portley's autumn stock returns gave the Company a running audit of its herds, 188 neat cattle at the Grand Plantation on 5 Sep 1718 and 192 with Perkins's by 1 Oct, females heavily outnumbering males in a managed programme of increase aimed at provisioning shipping, the whole still recovering from years of attrition [Film No. 440, 446-447]. Into this record Pyke inserted a long personal apologia. He listed his own 26 breeding cattle and offered them to the Company at cost or independent appraisal, declared he had given away every one of more than 200 hogs bred from a single sow, 70 of them to the Company without a farthing of credit, and had loosed 40 rabbits and raised pigeons now called the Company's, since he had not been sent to the island to sell hogs but to improve a place of refreshment for the Company's ships. The account is valuable evidence of the barter economy, where slaves, cattle and credit were interchangeable, and of gift-giving as patronage. It is also a defence brief, composed for London while a complaint against Pyke already stood before the directors. [Film No. 443-446, 454]

December 1718 brought a rush of petitions for the Company's waste land, driven by the dry season's want of pasture. Three petitioners sought the same ground near the head of Seanley Valley, and Pyke went to view it in person before answering any of them; Greentree's grant was shaped around a reserved cattle way found by survey; and Robert Gurling pressed his case by threatening to abandon land too poor to feed his family, turning poverty into leverage [Film No. 486-489, 493-494, 498]. Under orders in the general letter the council also began regulating the street of James Town, pulling encroaching walls back into a straight line at the Company's charge, an early piece of town planning [Film No. 499-500]. Soldiers queued for ground in the new year, and the bench's settled procedure held: no contested grant without a personal view. [Film No. 507, 517, 533-535]

On 10 Feb 1719 Pyke turned the stream of petitions into a question of policy. Nothing mattered more to the island than multiplying families, yet about eight families had been lost from the former number, while the waste had acquired speculative value, with offers of £150 0s 0d and £100 0s 0d circulating for parcels under petition. Pyke put the choice squarely, sell for the Company's account or lease with clauses barring transfer, and adjourned the decision so every member could prepare. He refused his own clerk and councillor Alexander a Peak Gut grant, despite 23 years' service, reserving the parcel for a young married couple and declaring that granting one man scattered pieces would tend to the island's destruction. The episode shows a genuine policy of settlement against engrossment, applied even to insiders, though recording the refusal of a councillor so carefully also performed impartiality for the directors. [Film No. 536-541, 556]

Five petitions came forward together on 19 Feb 1718/19, each shaped to the council's known concerns. Alexander returned with a compact parcel of 15 to 18 acres in Sandy Bay Valley below Handcock's Garden, where neglected lemon trees brought the Company no profit, recasting his private want as public benefit by undertaking to preserve and extend the fruit for homeward ships. John Nichols junior, island-born and expecting to marry, asked 20 acres adjoining his father's land; John Orchard Montross sought 3 acres at the Ebony Plain; and William Worrall pleaded long service for 24 acres adjoining his own. Each was referred

to a pairing of councillors for a view before decision. Richard Mason, a soldier, was alone approved at once: he had married the widow Harper on 8 Jan 1719, but her land passed to her first husband's children, and his 15 acres at Manatee Bay, formerly Hugh Bodley's, were already surveyed and bounded. The petitions are advocacy documents, their uniform rhetoric of public benefit strategy as much as intention, and Mason's case shows how English inheritance law drove demand for fresh grants. [Film No. 557-559]

Behind the petitions lay a policy argument the council now resolved. Bazett declared himself surprised that Gabriel Powell, already holding at least 290 acres, more than any two men on the island, should want more. Tovey supplied the economic reasoning: engrossers of land meant to block further settlement so that three or four people might hold the greater part of the island's provisions, then drive up the price charged to shipping as they had done about five years earlier, around 1714. The bench was unanimous in refusing more land to large holders and granting what remained to the most industrious people who had none, and the Governor was commissioned to draft a formal rule governing the land at Swanley Valley head, principle settled in writing before the contested parcel was let [Film No. 560-561]. The debate deserves a critical reading. The councillors voting to check Powell included men who were themselves substantial holders or active petitioners, Alexander sitting in the council that endorsed a policy under which his own pending petition would be judged, a conflict the record passes over in silence. The economic argument was nonetheless sound, and the council's willingness to restrain its most propertied inhabitant shows the Company's interest overriding private standing. [Film No. 557, 560]

Supply, Provisioning and the Store

The storekeeper's accounts ran under three headings, the inhabitants, Union Castle for the garrison and the Plantation House. In the month to 25 Jul 1717 arrack at 6s 3d a gallon was the largest retail line at over £115, showing how far the store's takings rested on liquor, while Indian cottons, English woollens, ironmongery and pewter filled the remaining pages, the store being the sole source of manufactured goods on the island [Film No. 24-30]. The quarter to 25 Dec 1717 sold £1,509 3s 5½d to the inhabitants, roughly £3 per white settler and almost all on running credit, drink taking over £606. The store dressed every rank from the same counter, from periwigs at £3 down to ticklenburg, the coarse linen of labouring and slave wear, and 50 pairs of island-made shoes at 4s against 6s 3d imported marked the visible return on the tannery and shoemaking apprenticeships set going in 1715 and 1717. The arithmetic of every page proves exactly, an orderly storekeeper's book kept while the accountant's office stood in disgrace. [Film No. 263-264, 272, 274]

Around the turn of 1717-18 the council managed supply as monopolist, customer and customs authority at once. Madras goods arrived with fixed selling prices at 50 per cent above cost in graded sorts; with private traders the council bargained hard, refusing Captain Winter's tea as poor or too dear and offering 4d against his 6d for sugar, and when his Madras sugar fell short in weight it measured the loss against the customary 10 to 15 per cent waste allowed from the West Indies and acquitted him of theft [Film No. 107-108, 113, 138]. Customs policy served provisioning as much as revenue: rice from the *King William* paid no duty to encourage its import, Winter's gingham were excused because he had behaved civilly, and tea was bought by the canister and measured at 2 pounds per family, the island provisioned as a single managed community. [Film No. 133-134, 153-156]

The Castle and Plantation ledgers made the cost of government visible in the same books as trade. In one quarter the Castle drew 7,373 pounds of rice, the ration grain of garrison and slaves, seven puncheons of salt beef at £18 each, window glass, paint and locks, with some 160,000 nails passing through the establishments in a single building season, while the Plantation, which fed itself, took barely £12 [Film No. 275, 277-278]. The winter quarter to 25 Mar 1718 closed at £1,194 16s 0½d, and its largest sums no longer came from islanders' backs at all: bulk parcels of 338 pieces of Madras gingham and 118 of fine chints, sold at fixed prices to passing commanders on signed bills, mark the store turning into a re-export warehouse between the India cargoes and the wider ocean, while cheap China bowls at 9d, carried as ballast under the tea chests, put Canton porcelain on ordinary island tables [Film No. 307-311]. Later quarters closed at £1,575 19s 2½d and £1,191 19s 10½d, arrack always dominant, moth-eaten stock honestly marked down rather than passed at full rate, and the steward's table account pricing every input down to water at a penny a gallon so the cost of the Governor's household could be audited. [Film No. 301, 306, 426, 433-437, 541-555]

The invoice of the *Princess Amelia's* cargo, totalling £2,472 1s 0d, anatomises what a remote station could not make for itself: soap and oils, 21 chaldrons of coal, timber at an explicit 100 per cent advance, 50 flintlock muskets at 20s 0d each, £110 0s 0d of medicines, £413 18s 2d of haberdashery and, the largest single category, soldiers' clothing at £487 3s 5d, the garrison's whole equipment imported from England. Grass seeds came with written sowing directions matching saintfoin, clover and ryegrass to soil types. Price-fixing by official decision, not competition, was how the Company's store governed the island's market [Film No. 397-404]. The store's vulnerabilities also surface: a case of shoes arrived rat-eaten, Bazett asked the council to inspect them so the damage could not be laid to his neglect, and Pyke added 3d to the price of every surviving pair, recovering the loss from the buyers rather than the Company, a small but revealing choice about who bore risk in a monopoly market. [Film No. 441-442, 449]

Trade and Shipping

Ships tied the island to three worlds, the *Katharine* from Bombay and Madras, the *Success* from England and the *Mercury* landing Madagascar slaves in Apr 1717 [Film No. 26, 28, 39]. Frances Carne complained that ships now stayed far less time than they had in war, so that produce was hard to sell and money scarce, a remark fitting the peace that followed the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, when convoyed wartime fleets had lingered and bought provisions steadily. The end of England's war reached the island as a thinner market, recorded only through a debtor's plea [Film No. 41]. The *King William* arrived on 22 Dec 1717 from Madras under Captain James Winter, only 14 days from the Cape, presenting a stallion and a mare for the island's breeding stock; she also carried a soldier guilty of grave misconduct at Madras, whom the council asked the captain to carry away again, judging a vacancy safer than a vicious recruit. [Film No. 105-106]

The *Mercury* ketch under Henry Mackett reached the island on 16 Jan 1718, carrying slaves from Madagascar to Barbados. A storm at Table Bay had stripped her of anchors and longboat, and Mackett begged an anchor from the Governor. Pyke answered with sympathy, then demanded 7 slaves for the Company the next day [Film No. 168, 172-173]. Mackett protested that his quota had been paid, but the council rested instead on his licence, which allowed only one voyage about the Cape, a second unlicensed passage exposing him to the penalty of the Act of Parliament protecting the Company's monopoly, and held that threat in reserve while calling its demand friendly advice [Film No. 173-176]. The decisive weapon was water: the council ruled that a man who did not pay his duties deserved no supply, and Mackett yielded the slaves rather than perish at sea. When he lingered, Pyke threatened to unmoor the ship by force, and Mackett answered with some justice that the surf had barred the shore and the council's own haggling had caused the delay, invoking the refreshment no English port denied a distressed vessel. The affair shows coercion dressed throughout as counsel, the levy extracted from a ship in distress by conditioning relief on surrender. [Film No. 176-178, 190]

On 6 Mar 1718 Pyke proposed that the three ships in the road sail home in company, and the *Marlborough*, *Rochester* and *Prince Frederick* were bound together under Commodore Matthew Martin by right of seniority, the captains subscribing a mutual compact to observe his signals. Convoy sailing protected the rich homeward Indiamen in years when the Atlantic swarmed with pirates bred from the late war's privateers, and the fleet sailed on 20 Mar 1718 carrying the Haswell papers to London [Film No. 214-215, 229, 237-238]. Correspondence exposed the timescales on which the island lived: a Secret Committee letter arrived dated 27 Oct 1716, and Bombay's reply promised goods only by the following year's shipping, so the council had to frame its wants two to three years ahead. The bench declined the *Sarum's* coffee because few would buy it while there was no tea, preferring to wait for the China ships rather than lock up credit in dead stock. [Film No. 219, 229-232, 244, 255]

The central commercial drama of mid-1718 concerned tea. The *Essex* arrived from China on 1 May 1718, and the council wrote to Captain Newton for 4 pecul of the Company's bohea and green tea, offering to show the Company's standing orders. Newton refused, having signed a bill of lading binding him to deliver his whole cargo at the Port of London, and when the *Townsend* arrived on 10 May Captain Kesar refused on the same ground. Two China ships had passed through the road within a fortnight and the island had not a pound of tea from either, exposing a systemic gap: the directors' orders entitled the island to draw tea, but nothing in the commanders' ladings reflected it [Film No. 279, 285-286, 288-289]. The council's solution was legally elegant. By 27 May it had bought arrack, tea and coffee cups from Kesar's private trade

for £388 12s 11d in bills of exchange, binding nobody's lading, and entering both refusals verbatim looks like the Governor assembling a case for a St Helena clause in future ladings. Releasing three discontented inhabitants to crew the short-handed *Thistleworth* in the same weeks served the same policy of making the island the most accommodating road on the run. [Film No. 290, 292, 295]

The eastern lifeline delivered both goods and disappointment. The *Cardigan* arrived from Bengal on 25 Jun 1718 with an invoice reckoned in maunds, seers and annas and a sealed muster bottle against which the arrack casks could be checked, yet a second letter reported that storms had stopped the boats and the season's ordinary stores had never been loaded, and the council asked the directors to make their Bengal agents care for St Helena as Governor Hedges once had [Film No. 312, 314-316]. The gunner's accounts trace the season's rhythm in pounds of powder, salutes for the *Searum*, *Essex*, *Hanover*, *Townshend*, *Thistleworth* and *Hester*, heavy charges seeing the homeward convoys of 11 and 28 May 1718 sail in company, and one consultation adjourned because every councillor had to run to his post at an alarm. [Film No. 317-318, 323, 342]

On 26 Aug 1718 the council wrote near-identical letters to Madras, Bombay, Bengal and Bencoolen, each logging precisely which ships had carried which correspondence and each carrying the same wants: rice, Batavia arrack, coarse calicoes made into shirts, and sail cloth dyed blue to line the slaves' clothes, the council repeatedly justifying its demands by its much greater number of slaves. The same letters asked every presidency to instruct homeward commanders touching at the Cape to buy garden seeds and, if possible, a stock of bees, which the island wholly lacked, sourcing temperate species from the Cape rather than tropical India with shrewd practical judgement [Film No. 368-377]. Captain Misenor's call produced a model of documentary combat: the council protested that he had exceeded the 10 working days his charter party allowed, Misenor counterclaimed demurrage pleading high surf, and the bench allowed exactly two days beyond the charter while a parallel exchange itemised missing goods down to an empty rat-eaten bread cask. Both sides were plainly writing for London, and the exchange shows charter parties, invoices, surveys and bills of lading operating as a complete commercial law a thousand miles from any court. [Film No. 388-394]

The directors' letter of late 1718 cautioned all commanders against surprise by Swedish privateers near the Channel, the Great Northern War reaching even an Atlantic way-station. The council pressed Captain Small of the *Duke of Cambridge* and Captain Worden of the *St George* to sail in company, though it could not command their timing under their charter parties, and the two ships departed together on 11 Nov 1718, two small guns from the island's stores delivered to the *St George* for the dangerous final leg, the *Duke of Cambridge* carrying the consultation book and the whole Thomlinson file to the directors' judgement [Film No. 472-474, 476, 492]. The *Princess Ann* under Captain Lihorne arrived on 29 Dec 1718 from Mocha and Madras, coming in to leeward, an approach not made for nearly 20 years against the trades. Lihorne sold the council Cape brandy but refused to spare a barrel of powder, writing that a war with Sweden was expected and his charter party contained no such obligation. The council simply stopped £6 16s 6d from its running account with him and asked that powder delivery be written into all future charter parties: what the contract could not compel, the account book could. [Film No. 511, 513-515, 518, 534-535]

Slavery and Coerced Labour

Enslaved people appear throughout the record, almost always as property. The plantations existed largely to feed them with yams, hired slave labour had a settled price, cut from 18 pence to the 12 pence the Governor paid for his own, and eight freed blacks in the Carne estate could not be sold, the one point at which the law treated them as persons rather than assets [Film No. 31, 38, 41, 53]. The starkest entry concerns Richard Smitheman, who in 1715 had cut the throat of Mercy, a Company slave woman, and had been fined £20 0s 0d as for damage to property; Mercy's own fate goes unrecorded. [Film No. 54]

The Company's newly arrived slaves complained to the Governor that of their 10 lb weekly rice allowance they received barely 6 lb each. The search cleared the steward and blamed older slaves who skimmed the bulk issue, and the council ordered an appointed server and individual issue at meal times. The finding conveniently exonerated the Company's officer and rests entirely on his own books, yet the complaint shows that slaves possessed at least a narrow channel of redress [Film No. 58-59]. The slave Mingo, the only man on the island who understood lime-burning, claimed to be a conjurer and so terrified two women

that they fell dangerously ill, and the Governor proposed exchanging him by the next slave ships for a boy or a girl, a routine commercial disposal of a person treated as stock [Film No. 106]. Fear of insurrection was the settlement's deepest anxiety, and in Nov 1717 it was cynically exploited when Thomas Leech and three others spread false news that the blacks were rising, contrived to frighten the sick widow Mudge into keeping the young men overnight in her house. Leech rode the wooden horse, and the deliberate punishment of a false alarm shows how seriously the bench took readiness against revolt. [Film No. 81-82]

Slavery underpinned the period's central lawsuit. Gargen's estate itemised three men, a woman and a child among provisions, trees and fences, and the central legal question at trial was who owned the income their labour produced, both sides reasoning with complete fluency about human beings as capital [Film No. 121, 123, 131-132]. The Company's own slaves were managed as a fixed labour asset, lent to the churchwardens only against replacement hands, with a dedicated clerk wholly occupied keeping the account of the labourers, the scale of administrative effort itself evidence of slavery's centrality [Film No. 111, 141]. Their lives surface only obliquely: Free Jack, a skilled stone layer, died of dysentery and was noted as a very good slave, a loss of trained labour [Film No. 190]. Most striking is the case of Meg, whom the punch-seller Beale 'treated' for venereal disease by burning her private parts. Two qualified surgeons condemned the practice, and Meg's own testimony about her blisters was heard and recorded, a rare moment when an enslaved woman's voice fixed the facts, yet the council dropped the inquiry as distasteful, her suffering mattering to the record mainly as injured property. [Film No. 170]

The gravest material in the Haswell-Tovey quarrel was Tovey's account of Haswell's cruelty to two Company slave children in his keeping. Haswell, in a drunken rage, had sworn to crucify the girl, stripped her naked, bound her spreadeagled to the doorcase in the form of a St Andrew's cross, whipped her and burned her with hot irons until Tovey feared she would die. The council had taken both children from him, though only after repeated complaints. The allegations cannot be checked against the victims' own voices, but the council's prior removal of the children and the existence of sworn depositions give the charge a documentary footing. The episode also shows the limit of the Company's protection: it intervened to preserve its property from destruction, not to punish the torturer, who remained deputy governor [Film No. 208-209]. The trade itself appeared in its full horror when the store ship *Henry* arrived on 22 Mar 1718 and the overseer chose nine slaves from a cargo of about 460. An eye distemper had left about 14 people stark blind and more than 200 with sore and bleared eyes, the ship's own doctor stone blind, an epidemic ophthalmia recognised as a horror of crowded slave decks. The council recorded the suffering only as a quality-control problem, and paid double price for sewing thread because the master knew the island's want gave him the whip hand. [Film No. 208, 234-235, 242]

On 10 Jun 1718 the Company sold 11 of its own slaves at public outcry for £209 in all, prices running from £25 for a prime hand to £10 for Hopping Jack, whose name carries his lameness, while names such as Mahomett, Guinea Roger and Tower Hill preserve the trade's geography. The sale looks like a pruning of the gang to the men worth their feeding, since a further cargo was expected by sea [Film No. 275, 280, 294, 299]. Against this commerce stand two remarkable entries. Mr Garrett, passing through from Bencoolen, bound a black boy to service for four years but had given him his freedom, and Pyke minuted that the boy was not to be a slave, the consultation book itself becoming the boy's title to his own person [Film No. 291]. Then, about 8 Jun 1718, at least four enslaved men of three different owners took the widow Carne's fishing yawl, provisioned with yams and 16 gallons of water. Kell's man had reasoned that his country lay over the water where the sun rose, marked by a great mountain he took for Madagascar. The bearing was true in essentials, though the distance of over 2,000 miles against the trade winds made the voyage almost certainly fatal, and the men were plausibly shipmates of the 1717 Madagascar cargo, sold apart but keeping their bond and their bearing for a year. The record calls it flight; it was an attempted voyage home. [Film No. 295-296]

The most arresting later case concerns Doll, Powell's slave woman, who escaped aboard the *Princess Amelia* disguised in men's clothes under the name Anthony, her recapture depending on no formal mechanism but a chance private letter from a departed passenger [Film No. 356]. Letters from England reported the captain so angry on finding her that he threatened to throw her overboard, and Mrs Porteous wrote privately that John Hodgkinson, Powell's son-in-law, had put her aboard. Pyke weighed the circumstantial evidence explicitly, Bazett dissented that it was not full enough, and the bench reasoned in deterrent terms, fearing

every lewd young fellow would otherwise ship slave women off with impunity. The record treats Doll wholly as lost property and a freight liability; her own courage and planning, the disguise, the alias and the passage, survive only as incidental facts, and a later speculation that Hodgkinson acted to revenge himself on his father-in-law is plausible but unprovable. [Film No. 357-359, 406]

Two autumn cases expose the legal condition of the enslaved. The soldier Gilbert Sinsnick beat one of the Company's blacks so savagely that the doctor doubted for days whether he would live, his head broken with a wound 3 inches deep. The council fined Sinsnick 30s to the use of the fortifications and made him pay the doctor; nothing went to the injured man, who figures only as Company property whose cure was an expense to be allocated. Weeks later Roger, the chaplain's slave, was accused on inference alone and, on confessing nothing, was corrected as usual in such cases, a phrase recording a settled summary regime in which accusation sufficed where a free man would have faced trial. The gap between the elaborate evidential care of white property disputes and the casual beating of Roger measures how unevenly the island's law fell. [Film No. 413, 425, 453]

Escape by sea haunted the closing months. In mid-Nov 1718 four enslaved men seized a fishing yawl from Prosperous Bay beach and outran the boats sent after them, John Knipe losing every male slave he owned, and a subscription by the inhabitants bought him two more, while Christopher Hell was granted a formal brief to gather charity for his loss [Film No. 479, 490-491, 494-495]. The Governor recorded that the runaways had enjoyed 'masters as good and treatment as kind as any', a self-protective note that forecloses the obvious explanation for flight [Film No. 491]. In Jan 1719 the planter Giles Smith reported, through his own slave woman, that two newly bought men planned to seize a boat from the same beach. At the examination the slave Drake denied the words, but his fellow Oxford confronted him to his face, adding that he himself had no mind to run because his master and mistress used him well. Drake was sentenced to a severe whipping and irons, the bench convicting on the testimony of slaves against a slave, evidence it would scarcely have admitted against a white man, and the recorded praise of kind owners again forestalled any suggestion that ill usage drove the design. [Film No. 518-519]

On 20 Jan 1719 the council issued a general regulation: no boat anywhere on the island might carry sails, except those moored in James Valley road, whose masts and sails had to be locked up every night, with negligent owners liable in full and rendered for ever incapable of holding any boat. The advertisement called the runaways foolish, perishing in pursuit of an imaginary liberty. The derision deserves scrutiny: many of the island's slaves had lately been shipped from Madagascar and knew exactly where home lay, and the elaborate machinery of locked rigging proves the bench took the attempts entirely seriously, the mockery reading as reassurance for the owners rather than a true estimate of the danger [Film No. 529-531]. Fresh imports continued regardless. The *Drake* and the *Arabella* arrived from Madagascar in Jan 1719, landing 19 slaves for the Company, entered as sound and healthy and tallied by sex like livestock, before the *Drake* sailed on for the West Indies, the island a customer and waypoint on the trade's wider routes. [Film No. 517-518]

Judiciary

The dominant legal business of late 1717 was the insolvent estate of George Carne. Pyke, holding letters of attorney, pressed £400 0s 0d for John Carne of London and an old debt to Governor Keeling's orphans [Film No. 35, 43]. Frances Carne answered that the estate could not pay: her husband had squandered her own fortune of above £1,500 0s 0d and the property of her first husband Captain Goodwin, the law having given him control of all she owned on marriage. She attacked the claim itself, alleging the bond might be forged or never taken up after payment, and even noted her late husband's 'first true wife' in England, a quiet hint of bigamy [Film No. 39-44, 50]. Her son John Goodwin intervened for the seven children of the first marriage, and the council ruled it could not touch Captain Goodwin's land for Carne's debts, secured the Company's own £74 0s 0d first, and dismissed the London demand as unpayable [Film No. 44, 51-53]. The outcome deserves note, since Pyke acted as both creditor's agent and presiding judge, an obvious conflict, yet his colleagues overruled the claim he pressed. Whether that shows real independence, or a bench quietly burying a hopeless claim, cannot be settled from minutes that believed the widow without ever examining the bond. [Film No. 43, 53]

The demand had alerted every local creditor, Gurling and Powell arguing that island debts should rank before any from England, and the widow's own tally laid the insolvency bare, about £279 0s 0d of clear estate against demands far exceeding it [Film No. 59-62]. Pyke admitted he would not have pressed the claim had he foreseen the consequences and offered to lend the widow his own credit without interest. She refused his later offer of £100 0s 0d and chose a public sale of the whole estate, 89 acres, a house, 100,000 growing yams, 37 cattle and her slaves, vowing never to pay a demand she held unjust while satisfying every debt she accepted. The council conceded it could not hinder an administratrix, ruling instead that no buyer could take the land unless he kept one white man to every 20 acres, bending even a private auction to the island's defence. [Film No. 62-66, 79-80]

The most revealing trial was the suit over Thomas Gargen's estate, heard at a special court of judicature on 2 Jan 1718, with Pyke as judge and 12 long-standing inhabitants sworn as jurors after challenges. The court reproduced English machinery within a population so small that jurors, parties and officers were often the same men, and Haswell was both Deputy Governor and lead plaintiff [Film No. 120]. Gargen had died on 11 Jan 1715, leaving his widow Mercy a third of his personal estate and a life interest in his house and land, the land on her death to be sold among four children. Instead the widow sold the whole estate, including five slaves, for £609 17s 6d, and her new husband George Sanders took letters of administration. Sanders answered the daughters' husbands that the suit was malicious, that he had already paid the assessed £91 18s 11¼d by transfer in the Company's books, and that the insolvent estate had barely covered half its debts, invoking the local custom that a widow took a third of goods and half the land for life [Film No. 121-126]. The arguments were sophisticated by any provincial standard, Haswell pressing the social danger of a second husband carrying off a family's inheritance and Sanders drawing an analogy with an apprentice's earnings after a master's death. The jury returned a special verdict splitting the difference: Sanders kept half the real estate, but the slaves' earnings between appraisal and sale were divided one third to the widow and two thirds to the children, a panel weighing custom, the will's words and rough fairness together. It is also striking that the man suing was the same officer then under censure for the accounts, a coincidence the record never remarks upon. [Film No. 123-127, 130-132]

Other proceedings show the same legal culture in miniature. John Hodgkinson, surgeon's mate, sought to escape a paternity fine by asking that a jury of matrons, an established English device, view Mercy Whaley's child and report on its colour [Film No. 143-144]. Open contempt met exemplary punishment: John Gibbs, who declared there was not an honest man in the council except one, was whipped at the flagstaff and transported to Bencoolen, the Company's other stations serving as a dumping ground for the disorderly, though whether his accusation of jobbery was baseless cannot now be judged, for only his accusers' account survives [Film No. 216-217]. When the soldier John Adams was found dead at a punch-house table, a coroner's inquest found suffocation from excess of drink, Haswell presiding as coroner even while suspended, a striking instance of office outliving disgrace. [Film No. 235-237]

Routine probate ran alongside. The will of George Prinor was proved with a ruling that the child named in it was free although its mother remained a slave, a deliberate departure from the rule that a child followed the mother's condition [Film No. 330]. Thomas Burnam left his eldest son 5 acres of his own choosing but pointedly excluded the planted plantation, charging him to make a new one, with a further 5 acres falling to him only if his mother remarried, a hedge against a stepfather's control, succession planned to secure the whole family rather than favour the heir [Film No. 409-411]. On 7 Oct 1718 the widow Martha Robinson proved two wills in a single appearance, her husband's and her son's, revealing a blended household whose modest estates were composite portfolios of grant, purchase and partition. Widows administered most successions, with Gabriel Powell repeatedly serving as appraiser, the same few principal settlers forming the machinery of one another's probate, a closeness that made verification social as much as legal. [Film No. 414, 417, 420-424]

The dispute between Sergeant Slaughter and Thomas Free shows the courts handling genuinely contested fact. Slaughter had leased 1 acre under a covenant to leave it planted with yams of half a year's growth; Free withheld his receipt claiming the condition unmet, even while admitting he had once told Slaughter the contract was fulfilled. With sworn testimony directly opposed, the council referred the cause and Free's £20 damages claim to a jury at the next sessions, the proper body to weigh contested fact [Film No. 425, 448-449]. Credit and land moved together: Alexander was granted credit to buy the late Haswell's estate on the

elegant reasoning that the transaction merely changed the debtor, debt a transferable obligation indifferent to its holder so long as it stayed secured [Film No. 442-443]. The bench sat as a standing magistracy, binding over the soldier Joseph Bates for beating the widow Easthope, pardoning the carpenter Coverlee on a penitent petition because a skilled hand was worth more than an example, and upholding the express words of Thomas Harper's will against the executor's appeal to island custom, requiring the widow's new husband to give bond for the children's portions [Film No. 475-476, 483-484, 496-497]. Petty justice in Jan 1719 spread blame across all parties: Margaret, convicted by inference of robbing the drummer Lendon as he lay drunk asleep, was whipped by her own mother in the marshal's presence, Dutch was fined for his household, and Lendon himself sat two hours in the stocks for the drunkenness that invited the theft. [Film No. 519-520]

Crime and Punishment

The death of Richard Smitheman gave the bench its grimmest business of 1717. He hanged himself on the night of 19 Oct 1717, and an inquest met the next morning under Haswell as coroner. John Knight testified that Smitheman believed himself wronged in a reckoning at the stores and feared it would drive him distracted, yet the jury found him sane, neither mad nor drunk, so the law of self-murder took its course and he was buried at the crossroads with a stake through his body. The verdict sits badly with the evidence of a mind giving way: a merciful jury could have found madness and spared the corpse, and its refusal suggests the burial was meant as a deterrent in a small garrison ruled by example. [Film No. 54-56]

Edward Holliwell, who kept the customs, drank himself into madness in May 1718. He was seen raving on the rooftops, escaped through the thatch of the locked room where he was confined, and finally leaped from the West Rocks into the sea. The surgeon attributed the madness to hard drinking, in what now reads as delirium tremens, and an unusually heavy inquest jury under Haswell found he had destroyed himself through lost senses. The distinction mattered: a verdict of *felo de se* would have forfeited his estate and barred Christian burial, while death by madness left the goods to the estate, and the careful construction of the verdict suggests a finding armoured in advance. Pyke resolved to consider methods against inordinate drinking, an irony given that drink was the foundation of his own store's revenue [Film No. 280-284]. The death exposed the thinness of the administration, since Holliwell's running account of dutiable landings died with him, and Corporal John Young was appointed at once. Days later the cooper Andrew Bergh was caught siphoning Captain Kesar's arrack at the Sea Gate with a black man named Banjarr, detected by Stepney, a black overseer. Bergh paid restitution and was whipped at the flagstaff, Banjarr was whipped, and the negligent sentry rode the wooden horse, discipline graded by status and fault, the vigorous prosecution also advertising to commanders that goods landed at the island lay safe. [Film No. 281, 284, 287-288]

Flight worked in both directions across the ships. Richard Mason, Captain Misenor's steward, deserted ashore, and the marshal Joseph Bates was sent to search, petitioning mid-hunt to lay down his office. After the ship sailed, Mason emerged from the cock-loft of Bates's own house. The council reasoned that no man could hide eight days unfed and that the officer whose duty was to expose him had concealed him; Bates was fined exactly £5 0s 0d, the reward he had forgone, offered remission if he would swear his innocence, and refused the oath [Film No. 361-362, 394-396, 404-406]. The Governor pressed that Bates deserved double punishment, having cheated Misenor of both his servant and his money by demanding pay for the days he pretended to search, and ought to regard escaping a whipping as a great favour, the lighter outcome framed as grace while the recorded warning preserved the full measure of the offence [Film No. 407]. Pyke drew the wider moral: if the island enticed away ships' men, captains would shun the place, and for a settlement that lived by passing hulls, crew security was survival. The Whaley brothers, whose dogs worried a Company ewe carrying two lambs, were whipped at the flagstaff, the destruction of breeding stock drawing the full severity reserved for injuries to the proprietors' property. [Film No. 489]

Social Order, Religion and Education

Rank was made visible at the common table. New rules placed a salt stand on the table below the council and the chaplain: those above the salt drank wine or punch as they pleased, while those below received a measured scale of punch bowls by head count, and the theft of a whole month's beef from the garden shed shows what fresh meat was worth in such a place [Film No. 33-34]. Bastardy was handled on the familiar English parish model. John Hodgkinson, judged father of Mercy Whaley's child, paid the churchwardens

£25 0s 0d in full discharge of any future parish charge, the parish securing the child's keep by attaching a debt owed to him before he ever touched the money [Film No. 88, 90-91, 95, 102]. The bench also policed households, summoning Humphry Edwards for failing to provide for his family and John Orchard for working an apprentice like a slave, the comparison marking the social line between bound apprenticeship and slavery, while Nicholas Shreeve, whose cohabitation with his slave woman had been passed over on a promise to amend, was made to beg pardon on his knees for assaulting a woman of more than 70 in her own house. [Film No. 83-84, 103-104, 106]

Parish institutions structured welfare. The churchwardens petitioned to buy 300 feet of paving stone at 18d a foot to finish the country church, and the council, refusing to let Company stone be sold privately, gave the stone outright [Film No. 140-141]. The affairs of Jane Mudge show the machinery at work. Aged, bedridden and sometimes without food for 2 or 3 days together, she proposed to settle her whole estate on Samuel Jefsey, falsely described as her son-in-law, in return for maintenance. Pyke put the matter to the vestry as guardians of orphans, warning that scheming persons preyed on the aged and that disinheriting her grandchildren would throw them on the rates, and the vestry of 20 Jan 1718 preferred other arrangements, the settlement on Jefsey pointedly absent. Yet on 31 Jan 1718 the widow signed her deed of gift to Jefsey by mark, and the council registered it, requiring only a bond for performance. The reversal shows the limit of paternal government against an owner's settled will, though Jefsey's position as Company overseer may also have eased the bench's doubts. [Film No. 142-143, 185-189, 193-194]

The store's shelves sketch the island's inner life. Bibles at 8s 3d, Testaments and The Whole Duty of Man, the most widely owned devotional manual of the age, sold beside spelling books and copy books, a quarter of schooling for nearly 290 white children in a community where a hand good enough to sign was an economic skill, while 25,000 pins a quarter measure the daily habit of pinned dress among roughly 125 women. These inferences from sales are necessarily indirect, but their steadiness argues a settled domestic rhythm [Film No. 269, 271, 304]. The desertion of William Huff shows the council's priorities at their most revealing. Huff stowed away on the *Cardigan*, and the bench mourned him in remarkable terms, since he was the island's only fiddler, otherwise fit for nothing but mischief, a London footpad who had fled to St Helena to save his neck and owed creditors above £50 0s 0d, seven dated consultations cited as his criminal register. That a confessed thief was kept for his music, and pursued chiefly for his debts and his fiddle, says much about scarcity of amusement on a remote station. [Film No. 332-335]

Military Affairs and Defence

Defence stores were watched as closely as food, the gunner rendering monthly accounts of every issue from the magazine [Film No. 30, 35]. The same care extended to worn-out men: Benjamin Miller, too old after 44 years' service to oversee the Hutts plantation, kept his soldier's pay and diet rather than be left to starve [Film No. 31]. At Christmas 1717 the three guards received their customary allowance of arrack, wine, sugar and beef, and the gunner's December account recorded an alarm on 22 Dec whose cause the record does not name, though the years around 1717 saw piracy surge across both oceans after the peace of 1713, and a lone victualling island had reason for vigilance. Captain Hunter's bill for 30 young men taken off the island to sea shows St Helena serving as a recruiting ground, its manpower entered as a credit like any other commodity. [Film No. 114, 138, 153]

On Sunday 31 Aug 1718 the council met in extraordinary session on complaints that Sergeant Thomas Fairfax had spoken words tending to occasion a mutiny among the blacks. Black Wall, a slave of John Twaits, testified that Fairfax told him the fort at Munden's Point was little minded, and that if the blacks had a mind to rise they might take it, for there were no flints in the guns; several householders corroborated, and Fairfax had reportedly said he would stand and look on if the Dutch or French came. The council held the words fully proved against his bare denial, broke him from his post and shipped him as a common soldier to Bencoolen [Film No. 383-387]. The case exposes the settlement's deepest structures. A slave's testimony was admitted against a white sergeant, a striking departure from ordinary practice, because the security of the whole island was thought at stake, and all the military officers were summoned to watch the proof, an openly didactic trial. Yet the most dangerous fact in the evidence, that the muskets at Munden's Point genuinely lacked flints, belonged to the administration, not to Fairfax. Punishing the man who named the weakness was easier than explaining it, and the record nowhere says the defect was made good. [Film No. 383-387]

The autumn gunner's accounts show powder going chiefly to ceremony, salutes for the *Cardigan*, the *Princess Amelia* and the *Princess Emilia*, an ambassador's embarkation, and a measured pound for a burial, with flints and match issued together as the garrison ran flintlock and matchlock weapons side by side [Film No. 412, 438-439]. The most significant change came in Oct 1718, when Pyke, holding a parcel of small silver and copper, resolved to pay soldiers moving into the new barracks in coin, provided every garrison account was first made up to Michaelmas so that no man in debt to the stores received cash. He wished, he said, to have money circulate. The reform tied wages, the transfer book and the lagging accounts into one knot, and Bazett's open resistance to the extra clerical burden left it unresolved, monetisation stalled by the very bookkeeping failures the autumn had exposed. [Film No. 449-450]

In Jun 1718 the council entered a remarkable natural observation: the south-east trade wind had failed for three weeks, followed by a hard north-west gale unknown in 16 years, while the island suffered the sickliest season in memory, the ships that sailed on 27 May still in sight four days later. The council recorded that most people reckoned the winds unwholesome while professing itself unable to tell, and the same calm, by grim irony, opened the only window in 16 years through which the Madagascar escapers could have sailed eastward. Precaution followed memory of the famine years: leather-heeled shoes from the next store ship were held for the garrison, and the expected bread and flour were embargoed until the season declared itself, Tovey sent to survey the plantations so the directors would not read the embargo as confessing neglect. [Film No. 297-300, 305-306]

On 15 Dec 1718 the doctor recorded the death of Thomas Bryant, a youth of about 16, from a fall down a precipice while fetching salt, the clinical memorandum unsparing in its fractures and dislocations. The death prompted a formal order, published by beat of drum on 23 Dec 1718: no year passed without some such fatal example, so all soldiers were forbidden the practice on a 20s 0d penalty, any salt fetched forfeited to the fort unpaid for, the confiscation expressly declared a deterrent and not a source of supply, and the industrious promised work at the fortifications at their old wages. The order is genuinely protective, yet it discloses how the danger arose, since soldiers fetched salt at the request of the householders on whom they were quartered, and the Company restrained its own servants firmly while only advising the free, a precise map of where its authority ran. [Film No. 508-511, 521]

Finance, Currencies, Bartering and Accounting

The Company's books functioned as the island's bank. Tovey obtained £40 of store credit against a bond with interest, repayable from his salary or in 40,000 yam suckers, money, produce and labour interchangeable means of settling an obligation, and Sanders ended the Gargen quarrel by transferring the heirs' shares as credit in the Company's books before sailing. Coin scarcely needed to move in such an economy, which made the integrity of the books, then so badly compromised, all the more consequential [Film No. 110, 117-119]. At the transfer day of 25 Mar 1718, the old-style new year, more people crowded to move credits than could be served, and customs duties were levied on private imports, some at fixed rates and some at 5 per cent ad valorem, the chaplain himself among the importers paying duty [Film No. 219, 227, 234]. Bills of exchange on London were drawn for every rank alike, and the Madras invoice from the *Marlborough* was priced in pagodas, fanams and cash, the council converting these to fixed sterling counter prices as a conciliar act rather than the storekeeper's discretion. [Film No. 257, 292]

Credit ran through the same books into 1719. Goodwin, himself an assistant on the bench, borrowed £100 0s 0d on bond at 6 per cent, and Wrangham's £70 0s 0d credit was transferred directly to his creditor, the store ledgers acting as the island's clearing house where coin was scarce. The 1716 books were reported finished and balanced on 30 Dec 1718 but held back for checking, Tovey blaming his delays on the great many mistakes of the writer Thomlinson, and Pyke pointedly sent the consultation itself home so the Company could see the books were near ready [Film No. 512-513, 516, 522-523]. Public burdens were organised in labour rather than money. Warrants of 20 Jan 1719 appointed highway overseers for the three divisions, every householder listed with the number of his slaves owing between two and seven days' road labour, defaulters repaying double the cost of hired replacements recoverable by distress. The rosters incidentally record how thoroughly slaveholding penetrated every rank, from Gabriel Powell's eight men down to households with a single boy. [Film No. 523-529]

Personalities

Pyke spent the autumn of 1717 defending his own name. On 10 Sep 1717 he asked Haswell and Bazett whether they thought him a vengeful man, and they denied it on the record; answering a complaint of extravagant spending that had reached London, he offered to pay a pound for every penny proved against him and asked that his wife's tomb be valued so that he could pay for it himself. These vindications convince less than they were meant to, since the character witnesses were subordinates sitting under his presidency, and no hostile voice could enter this record except through London. [Film No. 10, 12, 18]

No figure dominates the close of 1717 like George Sanders, a time-expired soldier seeking passage home. Denied a quick answer to his petition, he appeared drunk, raged in the Castle yard and was confined by the marshal, sending the Governor a pencilled note calling down the cursing Psalms upon him, then reversed course entirely in letters of abject contrition that recast the confinement as a father's protective kindness [Film No. 66-67, 71-75]. His in-laws, Haswell among them, petitioned to detain him until the Gargen and Alexander estates were settled, fearing he would abandon the children on an English parish, and Sanders struck back demanding a court and jury to fix his share and clear his name [Film No. 76, 85-88, 101-102]. The record allows three readings that cannot be fully reconciled: a genuinely unsettled man, a calculating schemer using contrition instrumentally, or a debtor harassed by interested in-laws, one of whom sat on the very council that judged him. The Governor's care to enter Sanders's letters in the minutes probably served to justify the confinement against later complaint, another instance of the record protecting its keepers. [Film No. 71-76, 101-102]

The Company's reach into private life is laid bare in the case of Sergeant Thomas Southen. Under orders in the general letter, his wife Susanna's letter from London was read to him in council: she accused him of denying their marriage, itemised 14 years of maintenance at a mere £28 0s 0d in all, and threatened to procure his discharge through Doctors' Commons, the ecclesiastical court governing matrimonial causes. Paragraph 50 of the general letter found the marriage substantially proved, and Pyke ordered all sums the Company had paid her stopped from Southen's wages, maintenance enforced by deduction at source on an authority determined 4,000 miles away [Film No. 362-364]. Pyke then discharged Southen from his serjeantcy, reasoning that no discontented man should hold authority in the garrison, and the council demolished his grievances from its own records, down to the night his overstocked cattle destroyed 600 trees Pyke had planted. Every element of this account serves the council's case, and Southen's side survives only as refuted claims; the verdict may well have been just, but the consultation book was both the evidence and the judge. [Film No. 364-367]

The autumn's most revealing conflict was financial. The chaplain Joshua Thomlinson petitioned for bills of exchange on London for upwards of £500 due to him, drawn from the Company's own books; the council tallied £354 already advanced that year and granted a bill for £100 as an instance of moderation. Thomlinson's written answer was devastating. Citing a well-placed correspondent in England who had seen the Company's general letter, he noted that the directors had ordered that whatever was written concerning any person be communicated to him, yet Pyke had declared the letter contained nothing about him while showing him a passage in which the directors criticised the Governor's justice as not even-handed, and he named the moderation something the Court of Directors would struggle to reconcile with common justice [Film No. 441, 451-456]. The exchange proves a complaint against Pyke already stood before the directors, that the Governor granted at least one request by private letter kept out of the consultation book, and that servants with metropolitan friends could check a governor's account of confidential correspondence against independent intelligence. The consultation book, so often the only evidence, is here caught being curated, and whether the £500 claim was just cannot be settled from a record kept by his adversary. [Film No. 452, 454-456]

The quarrel escalated as the year closed. William Stevenson, a Scotsman aboard the *Duke of Cambridge* and formerly the Company's chaplain at Madras, wrote to Pyke on 25 Oct 1718 in the guise of an impartial mediator. The substance was explosive: the refusal of Thomlinson's bills, he argued, would be read by the directors as confirmation of a complaint already lodged at home that Pyke extorted presents in return for bills. The letter foreclosed every honourable explanation, leaving only avarice or implacable resentment, and Pyke chose to enter it whole in the consultation book and ask his council to judge it; Bazett and Tovey pronounced it scandalous and would have sent Stevenson aboard his ship [Film No. 460-467]. The quarrel

then moved into the church. Pyke established point by point that the Nicene Creed, the prayers for the Honourable Company and for the shipping had been dropped from Sunday service, and a formal reprimand grounded in the 55th canon warned Thomlinson that further 'whimsical methods' would see him sent home. The affair widened when the chaplain's brother was found to have credited the parson £40 0s 0d in the Company's books by error, escaping with a warning. The whole sequence shows Pyke building a documentary case against opponents doing exactly the same toward London, and neither side's portrait, the meek chaplain or the contentious schemer, can be taken at face value. [Film No. 468-472, 490-491]

In the land debates of early 1719 Pyke appears characteristically as the author of policy and of its paper form, Gabriel Powell stands as the island's great accumulator, restrained though not dispossessed, and Tovey emerges as the council's economist, articulating the link between concentrated landholding and provision prices from remembered experience. Among the petitioners, Richard Mason is the most vivid, a soldier whose marriage brought him a family but no land, and whose prompt grant shows industry and a conveniently bounded parcel outweighing rank or seniority. [Film No. 559-561]

Conclusion

Across these eighteen months the same small Company society appears governed closely and, on its own terms, conscientiously. Precedent bound the council, accounts were verified before entry, estates were wound up by recognised forms, and the same four or five men allotted land, judged estates, priced labour, provisioned a garrison, fed an enslaved workforce and answered London. The period's central institutional drama ran from the audit crisis of Jan 1718 through the Haswell-Tovey feud to Haswell's death and the remaking of the council, and the record throughout shows a government of paper, in which inventories, registers, caveats, charter parties and sworn lists did the work that force could rarely do. It also shows whose lives that paper served: Haswell's failings were measured to the week, Huff's crimes to the consultation, while Doll's escape survives only because a stranger happened to write a letter. [Film No. 79-80, 99-101, 312-329, 334, 356]

The closing months display the council at its most deliberate, legislating on salt and sails after weighing written opinions, adjourning the land question for a prepared debate and converting a captain's refusal into a book entry, yet the same record shows what deliberation served. Soldiers were protected partly because their deaths wasted the Company's men; slaves were guarded against escape as property, their longing for their own country dismissed in public as folly; land policy aimed at families because families refreshed the ships. Above all, the whole sequence exposes the record's own character. Pyke entered his enemies' letters verbatim, polled his council in writing, noted the kindness of masters whose slaves had fled, and kept inconvenient letters out of the book, because every page might be read in Leadenhall Street. The minutes are confident and orderly, but the audit crisis proves the official record could conceal years of neglect, and the chaplain's quarrel proves it could be curated. What the paper preserves best is therefore the contest over its own meaning, while those with most at stake, a slave woman's testimony, a widow's mark, a manumitted boy's entry and four men in a stolen yawl somewhere on the open Atlantic, left fragments or nothing at all. [Film No. 170, 193, 291, 296, 452, 455, 460, 491, 508-509, 529-531, 556]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1717 - 1718 Photographer Shelley Date photographed 02.11.2021 Additional comments	
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5		Blank page	
6		Continued Acknowledgement about Gath[...] Eggs of [...] Birds at Eg[g] Island Gov.r Ride defends himself for expence of New Estab.t & his Servants Meals	

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Various Regulations for Government Table - on acc.t of shipwrecks Paving Town & Chunk from Dung or Lemon Vally Head - also Eg[g] Smith Send to Cape send & H. Booby's Land fell to the Company Damage to Crops of [...] through Hogs wandering in Chapel Valley Stewards presented by Ch.r Watson Mango, a new timber by enquiring [...] of [...] [...] [...] [...] of [...] [...] Cape Norwich Schooner to Wharf or to Repair - Prudent Officer[s] Government [...] & 4 men too dear in pay A Ship with 600 Negroes - with[held]t of Recover from Eff Old Workmen & Workwomen w.t Office because they have done but [...] St Cross Promoted Population Return - 542 White - 102 Blacks - in 50 3 [...] 2 Bullocks [...] Ratte. American Officer & Prices Knives around for Island & a boat - the Eng.r Adm.n Renewal third & deaths - the People sent of those 3 Bullocks killed Chunk of Stuff M Government Quarter[s] Progress of Gardens in [...] Smithers Resigning - His Wife marry'd Mason of London Garden Seeds & Flower Seeds from Cape Various trees planted by Ja[s]. Pyke [...] Seeds wanted [...] & to publish in Secretary's Office	
7	1	September 1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tues- day the 10.th day of September 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matth.s Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Coun.l Present. The Last Consultation Read & Approved. The following Petitions were presented (Viz.t Island S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l: Isa.c Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The hum.l Petit.n of Isaac Wood Corp.l Sheweth. That yo.r Pet.r having no good Pasture Land, has now an Opportunity of Purchase- ing Ten Acres of Robert Gurling which Joins to yo.r Petit.rs Land & having Several Chil- dren near Age. One a Young man in y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Service & another Lad at home with him (besides Daughters) which are Yet unprovided for either of House or Land, Therefore humbly pray[s] he may be allowed to purchase that Land which will inable him to do the better for those Children & yo.r Petit.r as in duty bound shall ever pray &c (Sign.d) Isaac Wood 10: Sept.r 1717. Granted. Margin Notes: Isaac Wood Petition to buy Rob.t Gurling 10. Acres Land	September 1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 10 September 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented to the Governor and Council. Isaac Wood, corporal, petitioned the council. He set out that he held no good pasture land but now had the chance to buy 10 acres from Robert Gurling. That parcel adjoined his own land. He had several children near grown, one a young man already in the Company's service and another lad still at home with him, besides daughters, none of them yet provided with house or land. He asked leave to buy the parcel, so that he might be the better able to provide for those children. The petition was signed by Isaac Wood. The council granted the request. Interpretations Isaac Wood appears in the census for 1716 with a household of four whites and eight blacks, 54 head of cattle and 78 acres, of which 48 were free and 30 hired. His want of pasture land sits oddly against that holding, which suggests his existing acres carried other use and that grazing in particular was short. The purchase needed conciliar leave because land transfers on the island were not free private dealings. The Company governed all title through the register, and a sale between inhabitants took effect only once the council allowed it and the bargain was entered. Wood was appointed churchwarden on 30 April 1717, which placed his petition before a bench that already knew him as a man of standing. The grant rested on the council's standing concern that every parcel of land carry a white man capable of bearing arms. Wood's plea named a grown son in the Company's service and another lad at home, which answered that requirement and made the parcel safe to grant under the settlement rules pressed in earlier consultations.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
8	2	Septemb.r Island S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l: Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The Most humble Petition of John Lewis Latour Soldier. Sheweth. That there being no back yard or groun[d] taken in to Build a Kitchin to his House he bought of W.m French's Orphans Humbly prays Yo.r Worsh.l & Council to Grant him Li- berty to inclose the Waste Ground (next Castle path) 54 foot in Depth behind & 17 (a Cross) the breadth of his House to Build a Kitchin in & make a back Yard. & as in duty bound shall ever pray &c (Sign.d) Louis Latour 10.th Sept.r 1717. Referred to the Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett. The Birds called the Egg Birds beginning now to come to the Island to lay Eggs. Order'd That an Advertizement be Published as foll.s (Viz.t) Island S.t Helena. By the Wo.rsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c Council. An Advertizement. Whereas the Egg Birds begin to lay at Shepheard's hole &c. These are to give Notice to all person[s] Margin Notes: Petition of Lewis Latour for a y.t Ground to Build on. Referr'd to y.e Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett. Birds begin to lay. Advertiz.mt about them.	Septemb.r Island S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l: Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The Most humble Petition of John Lewis Latour Soldier. Sheweth. That there being no back yard or groun[d] taken in to Build a Kitchin to his House he bought of W.m French's Orphans Humbly prays Yo.r Worsh.l & Council to Grant him Li- berty to inclose the Waste Ground (next Castle path) 54 foot in Depth behind & 17 (a Cross) the breadth of his House to Build a Kitchin in & make a back Yard. & as in duty bound shall ever pray &c (Sign.d) Louis Latour 10.th Sept.r 1717. Referred to the Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett. The Birds called the Egg Birds beginning now to come to the Island to lay Eggs. Order'd That an Advertizement be Published as foll.s (Viz.t) Island S.t Helena. By the Wo.rsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c Council. An Advertizement. Whereas the Egg Birds begin to lay at Shepheard's hole &c. These are to give Notice to all person[s] Margin Notes: Petition of Lewis Latour for a y.t Ground to Build on. Referr'd to y.e Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett. Birds begin to lay. Advertiz.mt about them.
2	3	September 1717 That they are not to Go to the Egg Islands to disturb them by fetching off their Eggs least they prevent their Settling there upon y.e Usual Places they were wont to lay on as in the former Seasons Until y.e end of this present Month. But after the first day of October next they may go on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays every Week as Usual. Dated at Union Castle in James Vally this 10.th day of September 1717. Sign'd by Ord.r of Gov.r & Council Antipas Tovey Sec. The Overseer at the Plantation House brought in his Monthly Account for August (Viz.t Acc.t of the Hon.ble Comp.s Neat Cattle, Sheep Hoggs & Goats &c. Taken Sept.r 1.t 1717. Black Cattle 70. Cows. 35. Heifers. 14. Bullocks 17. Yearlings 2[4]. Steart. 33. Calves. 6. Bulls. 1[9]8. In all 1. Cow kill'd last month 2. Calves dead Non Increasd 3. Turkeys Great & Small. 4. Kill'd Since last Acc.t None Increasd. 5. Geese great & Small. None Kill'd Since y.e last Acc.t Non Increasd. Goats 170. Ewes. 30. Weathers. 67. Ewe Kidds 66. Ramditts 3. Rams 336. In all Great & Small. 6 kill'd Since last Acc.t 15. Increasd 30. Fowls great & Small. 31. Kill'd Since last Acc.t None Increasd. Margin Notes: Livestock. Black Cattle Goats	1717 The advertisement directed that no person was to go to the Egg Islands to disturb the birds by taking their eggs. The aim was to keep the birds from being driven off the places where they usually settled to lay, as they had in former seasons, until the end of the present month. After 1 October next, persons might go on Tuesdays, Thursdays and Saturdays each week as before. The advertisement was dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 10 September 1717 and signed by order of the Governor and Council by Antipas Tovey, secretary. The overseer at the Plantation House brought in his monthly account for August. The account of the Honourable Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs and goats was taken on 21 September 1717. Black cattle: Cows 70 Heifers 35 Bullocks 14 Yearlings 17 Steers 24 Calves 33 Bulls 6 In all 198 Of these, 1 cow was killed last month, 8 calves had died and there was no increase. Goats: Ewes 170 Wethers 30 Ewe kids 67 Ram kids 66 Rams 3 In all, great and small 336 Of these, 6 were killed since the last account and 15 had increased. Turkeys, great and small 100 Of these, 8 were killed since the last account and there was no increase. Geese, great and small 27 None killed since the last account and no increase. Fowls, great and small 30

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			Of these, 13 were killed since the last account and there was no increase. Interpretations The Egg Islands rule set a closed period followed by fixed gathering days, which managed the colony as a renewable food source. Disturbance during settling would have scattered the birds from their usual rocks and ended the supply for the season. The bench protected the laying weeks, then opened access on three days a week so that eggs could be taken without driving the birds away. The cattle herd shows marked recovery against the returns of the previous year. The stock taken on 1 August 1716 held 147 neat cattle, and the count of 1 March 1715/16 stood at 191. The present figure of 198 is the strongest in this run, which points to steady breeding through 1716 and 1717 after the heavy mortality of the famine years. The 33 calves and 17 yearlings confirm a herd rebuilding from within. The goats tell the opposite story over the same span. The return of 1 August 1716 gave 325 goats and that of 1 March 1715/16 gave 307, against 336 now, so the flock has held roughly level rather than grown. The large body of kids, 133 between the two sexes, suggests the near-static total reflects culling and killing for the table keeping pace with breeding. The poultry has thinned sharply since the previous year. The 1 August 1716 count held 55 turkeys, 31 geese and 56 fowls, against 100 turkeys, 27 geese and 30 fowls now. The turkeys have nearly doubled while the fowls have roughly halved, the heavy killing of 13 fowls in the month being the immediate cause of the fall. The figures point to the fowls being drawn down faster than they could breed.
<u>10</u>	4	Septemb.r Hoggs 5. Sows. 10. Shoats 27. Piggs. 1. Boar 2. Great & Small 4 kill'd Since last Acc.t 3. dead of y.e past Non Increasd Sheep: 48. Ewes. 30. Wethers 28. Lambs 1. Ram 2. In all 3. dead Since last Acc.t Non kill'd or Increasd 4. Ducks Great & Small 5. kill'd Since last account. 6. Asses Great & Small 7. of y.e female 8. of Male 9. Increasd Since last Account. (Sign'd) W.m Worrall The Gov.r Sayes That for as much as it has been reported of him as if he was a Reveng- full Person & would never forgive an Injury He Appeals to Mess.rs Cap.t Haswell & Cap.t Bazett if they of themselves think So. They Say they have not found the Gov.r to be so in this three Years time that he has been here And do not think he is So. Geo Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Margin Notes: Gov.r reported Revengfull Councils reply.	September Hogs: Sows 5 Shoats 10 Pigs 27 Boar 1 Great and small 43 Of these, 4 were killed since the last account, 3 had died of the pant and there was no increase. Sheep: Ewes 48 Wethers 30 Lambs 28 Ram 1 In all 107 Of these, 1 had died since the last account and none were killed or increased. Ducks, great and small 5 Of these, 4 were killed since the last account. Asses, great and small 12 Of these, 6 were female and 6 were male. Of these, 1 had increased since the last account. The account was signed by William Worrall. The Governor said that it had been reported of him that he was a vengeful person who would never forgive an injury. He appealed to Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett to say whether they themselves thought so. The two councillors replied that they had not found the Governor to be so in the three years he had been on the island, and did not think he was so. The record was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The pant was a livestock disease that carried off young stock in particular, named here as the cause of three deaths among the hogs. It recurs in the plantation returns as a steady drain on the herds, the loss of 50 pigs to it being recorded in the stock account of 10 January 1715/16. The overseer noted it to explain shortfalls that were not due to killing for the table.

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			The Governor's appeal to his two senior councillors was a formal clearing of his name on the record. Isaac Pyke had governed since 8 July 1714, which fixes the three years the councillors spoke to. By entering their answer in the consultation book over their signatures, the bench turned a private rumour into a matter answered on the official record, a defence Pyke could point to if the charge reached the directors in London.
11	5	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday y.e 17.th day of September 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r George Haswell Dep.ty Matth.s Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Council Pres.t The last Consultation read & Approved of. The following Petition was Presented Viz.t To the Wo.rsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The humble Petition of Richard Swallow Carpenter Sheweth. That Whereas there being a parcel of Land belonging to the Hon.ble Company of about Ten or Twelve Acres contiguous to y.e Land of yo.r Petitioner who doth humbly request to hire y.e same having a White man to every Twenty Acres of Land according to y.e Hon.ble Comp.y's Orders in y.e Land being Scituate in Powels Vally & adjoining to none but John Harding & yo.r Petition. Who shall as in duty bound ever pray (Sign'd) Rich.d Swallow 7.ber y.e 17. 1717. Granted Margin Notes: Rich.d Swallow's Petition for Land.	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 17 September 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented to the Governor and Council. Richard Swallow, carpenter, petitioned the council. He set out that a parcel of land belonging to the Honourable Company, of about 10 or 12 acres, lay next to his own land. He asked leave to hire it. He could keep a white man to every 20 acres, as the Company's orders required. The land lay in Powell's Valley and adjoined no one's but John Harding's and his own. The petition, dated 17 September 1717, was signed by Richard Swallow. The council granted the request. Interpretations The condition of a white man to every 20 acres was the Company's standing rule for defence of the island. Every holding had to carry men capable of bearing arms in proportion to its size, so that the settled land could be mustered against attack. Swallow's offer to meet this rule was the term on which the bench would let Company waste land, and his naming it in the petition was what made the grant straightforward. The land was let on hire rather than sold, which kept the Company's title intact. The bench commonly leased its waste parcels to adjoining holders, who fenced and planted them while the Company drew rent and retained ownership. Swallow's parcel adjoined only his own land and John Harding's, which meant the grant raised no competing claim and could be allowed at once.
12	6	Septemb.r Granted If Upon Cap.t Haswell's Cap.t Bazett & M.r Toveys viewing the Ground they find it no inconveniency to the Neigh- bourhood. The Gov.r desires y.e rest of y.e Council to bring in Something in Writing y.t may be proper to insert in a Letter in Answer to the last General One from Our Hon.ble Masters & then he will Speake to what relates to himself. Margin Notes: Granted upon Conditions. Something to be Inserted in y.e Gen.ll Lett.r Resp.g y.e Comp.s	You're right. The conditional grant and the letter-drafting are both routine enough that they sit in Interpretations, but the Governor's sequencing here does carry a speculative point worth drawing out. September The grant was made on conditions. If Captain Haswell, Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey, on viewing the ground, found it no inconvenience to the neighbourhood, the request was allowed. The Governor asked the rest of the council to bring in something in writing that might be proper to insert in a letter answering the last general letter from the Honourable Masters. He would then speak to what concerned himself. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke. Interpretations The grant to Richard Swallow was made conditional on a view by three councillors, which placed a check on the lease before it took final effect. The bench would not let Company waste land without first sending members to inspect the parcel and confirm it would not harm adjoining holders or block a path or watercourse. The condition shows the grant of 17 September 1717 was provisional until that view was returned. The Governor's call for written contributions set the method by which the council composed its reply to London. Each councillor was to draft the part touching his own office, the answers then gathered into a single letter to the Honourable Masters. The same procedure had been used for the reply to the general letter at the

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			consultation of 31 July 1716, when Pyke directed each member to read the general letter and answer in writing the part concerning his charge. Speculations The Governor's reservation of his own contribution until last points to a deliberate handling of the rumour answered at the consultation of 10 September 1717. By having the rest of the council commit their parts first and then speaking to what concerned himself, Pyke kept his personal defence separate from the council's collective business. The arrangement let him address the charge of being a vengeful man on his own terms in the letter home, rather than fold it into matters his councillors had drafted.
13	5	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday y.e 17.th day of September 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley Isa Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo Haswell Dep.ty Matt Bazett 3.d & Ant. Tovey 4.t in Council Present. The last Consultation read & Approved of The following Petition was Presented (Viz.t To the Wo.rsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The humb.l Petit.n of R.d Swallow Carpent.r Sheweth. That Whereas there being a parcel of Land belonging to the Hon.ble Company of about Ten or Twelve Acres contiguous to the Land of yo.r Petition.r who doth humbly request to hire y.e same having a White man to every twenty Acres of Land according to y.e Hon.ble Comp.y's Orders, the Land being Scituate in Powels Valley & adjoining to non but John Harding & yo.r Petitioner Who shall as in duty bound ever pray (Sign'd) Rich Swallow 7.ber y.e 17.th 1717. This being the Land ment.n in Serj.t Slaug- hters Petition to y.e Hon.ble Comp.y To the end that We may give a proper Answer to both Petitions at One time. It is Ordered. That Margin Notes: R.d Swallow's Petition for Land y.e same Land formerly Petition'd for by Serj.t Slaughter Ordered	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 17 September 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented to the Governor and Council. Richard Swallow, carpenter, petitioned the council. He set out that a parcel of land belonging to the Honourable Company, of about 10 or 12 acres, lay next to his own land. He asked leave to hire it. He could keep a white man to every 20 acres, as the Company's orders required. The land lay in Powell's Valley and adjoined no one's but John Harding's and his own. The petition, dated 17 September 1717, was signed by Richard Swallow. This was the land mentioned in Sergeant Slaughter's petition to the Honourable Company. So that a proper answer might be given to both petitions at one time, the council made an order. Interpretations The same parcel in Powell's Valley was now claimed in two petitions, Swallow's and an earlier one from Sergeant Slaughter to the Honourable Company. The bench chose to answer both together rather than rule on each in turn, which avoided granting the land twice or settling one claim before the other was heard. Holding the two petitions for a single decision was the council's means of managing a contested grant fairly. The condition of a white man to every 20 acres was the Company's standing defence rule, binding the size of a holding to the number of armed men it carried. Swallow's pledge to meet it was the term on which the land could be let. The rule made men able to bear arms the measure of who might hold land, since the settled acreage had to be capable of mustering against attack.
14	6	September That Cap.t Haswell & Cap.t Bazett view the Ground to See if no Inconveniency to the Neighbourhood or y.e Hon.ble Comp.y happen by Granting it. The Gov.r desires the rest of the Council to bring in Something in Writing that may be proper to insert in a Letter in Answer to the last General One from Our Hon.ble Masters And then he will Speake to what relates to himself. Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Margin Notes: Thereon. What proper to be Inserted in y.e Gen.ll Lett.r y.e Council as before.	September The council ordered that Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett view the ground, to see whether granting it would cause any inconvenience to the neighbourhood or to the Honourable Company. The Governor asked the rest of the council to bring in something in writing that might be proper to insert in a letter answering the last general letter from the Honourable Masters. He would then speak to what concerned himself. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The order sent two councillors to view the contested parcel before the council answered either petition. With Swallow and Sergeant Slaughter both claiming the same Powell's Valley land, the bench needed the ground inspected for any harm to adjoining holders or to the Company before it could rule. The view was the step that turned two competing requests into a single informed decision.

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			Speculations The Governor's choice to reserve his own contribution to the letter until last suggests a careful handling of the rumour answered at the consultation of 10 September 1717. By having his councillors commit their written parts first and then speaking to what concerned himself, Pyke kept his personal defence apart from the council's ordinary business. The order let him answer the charge of being a vengeful man on his own terms in the despatch home.
15	7	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday y.e 24.th day of September 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matt Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Council Present. The last Consultation read & Approved of. The Sec.ry Desires the Gov.r & Council will Please to Appoint Saturday or Monday next to view the Books &c. in his Office Michaelmas day falling upon next Sunday. It is Order'd. That they meet next Monday in Order thereunto. The following Petition was Presented (Viz.t Island S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The most humble Petition of William Slaughter Serj.t Sheweth. That Whereas yo.r Petition having not a Sufficient quantity of Land for y.e Support & maintenance of his family Do's Therefore humbly pray yo.r Worsh.l & Council to Grant him about Ten Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.ys Worsh.l Margin Notes: Sect.t desire's his Offic.e to be viewed. Serj.t	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 24 September 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The secretary asked the Governor and Council to appoint either Saturday or Monday next to view the books and other records in his office. Since Michaelmas day fell on the coming Sunday, the council ordered that they meet next Monday for that purpose. The following petition was presented to the Governor and Council. William Slaughter, sergeant, petitioned the council. He set out that he held too little land to support and maintain his family. He asked the council to grant him about 10 acres of the Honourable Company's waste land. Interpretations The secretary's request for a day to view the office books was part of the council's standing care of its records. The consultation books, letter books and loose papers were the legal memory of the settlement, and their state had been a recurring concern, a full inventory of the presses having been taken at the consultation of 9 October 1716. Fixing a day for the bench to inspect them kept the office accountable for the documents in its charge. Slaughter's petition for the Powell's Valley land was the rival claim the council had decided to answer alongside Richard Swallow's. At the consultation of 17 September 1717 the bench held both petitions for a single ruling and sent Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett to view the ground. Slaughter's plea of too little land to keep his family set the competing case the council now had before it.
16	8	September Waste Land lying at or near the head of Powels Vally next y.e Top of Green hill which if Left to any other person will be very prejudicial to yo.r Petition.r & Children in futurity. Or else yo.r Petitr humbly prays to become Tenant for another parcel of Land in Sandy bay Valley not knowing of any other Waste Land capa- ble of making further improvement for a Plantation &c. And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. (Sign'd) W.m Slaughter Sept.r 24. 1717. This Petition relating to y.e same Land as Richard Swallows is Answered by y.e follow- ing Report. Cap.t Haswell & Cap.t Bazett having been to view the Land Rich.d Swallow Petition'd for as also y.e same above y.t Slaughter There Appear'd James Vesey & John Robinson who prayed y.t the Same might be Lett to no One for that it would be a damage to y.e Whole Neighbourhood as it was also mention'd in a Consultation of the 13.th day of Oct.r 1713 as foll.s (Viz.t W.m Slaughter Serj.t Presented his Pet.n y.e 7.th day Setting forth y.t he having but 15. Acres of Leas'd Land & Several Children to bring Up & maintain he canot w.th the greatest care & industry raise Provisions eno for their Subsistance. Where[fore]	September The waste land lay at or near the head of Powell's Valley, next to the top of Green Hill. Slaughter set out that if it were left to any other person it would be much to the harm of himself and his children in time to come. If he could not have it, he asked instead to become tenant of another parcel of land in Sandy Bay Valley, knowing of no other waste land fit for making further improvement for a plantation. The petition, dated 24 September 1717, was signed by William Slaughter. Since this petition concerned the same land as Richard Swallow's, it was answered by the following report. Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett had viewed the land that Richard Swallow asked for, which was also the same land mentioned above by Slaughter. James Vesey and John Robinson appeared and asked that the parcel be let to no one, since it would be a damage to the whole neighbourhood. The same point had been made in a consultation of 13 October 1713. William Slaughter, sergeant, had presented his petition the same day. He set out that he held only 15 acres of lease land and had several children to bring up and maintain. With the greatest care and effort he could not raise enough provisions from it for their subsistence. Interpretations

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			The contest over the Powell's Valley parcel turned on whether common grazing should be enclosed for one holder. James Vesey and John Robinson objected that letting the land to anyone would harm the whole neighbourhood, which marks it as ground the surrounding planters relied on in common. The bench had recorded the same objection at the consultation of 13 October 1713, so the parcel had a settled history as land the community wished left open. The two petitioners held the land on different tenures, which shaped their claims. Slaughter's 15 acres were lease land held from the Company, not freehold, so his plea rested on need rather than right. His fallback request for a Sandy Bay parcel shows a man pressing for any grant that would carry his family, while the neighbourhood pressed back to keep the Green Hill ground unenclosed.
17	9	1717 Wherefore humbly pray.s We would take y.e same into consideration & to Grant him about 10. Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.ys Waste Land lying in Powels Vallie to make a Plant.n on. The Petit.r is And y.t having had sev.l persons as well as himself Pition'd formerly for y.e Peice of Land w.ch if Lett would be very Pre- judical to y.e Neighbourhood & cause many disputes Therefore thought fitt & tis accordingly Once More Order'd The aforesaid Peice of Land Pet.d for by y.e s.d W.m Slaughter ly Comon for y.e Publick good but if he can Pitch upon any other Land that wont prejudice any person he may have a Grant thereof for y.e Benefitt of his family Order'd That the said Land be not Lett; But as there is some Wood grow- ing thereon To the intent that it may be pre- served It is Ordered. That No Person Whatsoever Do presume to Cutt any Green Wood upon the said Land On Penalty of paying twenty Shillings for each Tree as y.e Law appointed or If any Person Presume to Lop or Bark any of the said Green Trees they shall not have y.e Liberty	1717 Slaughter asked the council to take his case into consideration and to grant him about 10 acres of the Honourable Company's waste land lying in Powell's Valley, so that he might make a plantation on it. The council answered the petition. Since several persons, as well as Slaughter himself, had earlier asked for this same parcel, and since letting it would be much to the harm of the neighbourhood and the cause of many disputes, the council thought it proper and ordered once more that the parcel sought by William Slaughter lie in common for the public good. If he could fix on any other land that would not harm any person, he might have a grant of it for the benefit of his family. The council further ordered that the parcel not be let. Since some wood was growing on it, and so that the wood might be preserved, the council ordered that no person whatsoever presume to cut any green wood upon the land, on penalty of paying 20 shillings for each tree as the law appointed. If any person presumed to lop or bark any of the green trees, they would not have the liberty to do so. Interpretations The council settled the contest by reserving the land as common rather than granting it to either claimant. Letting the parcel would have stripped the neighbourhood of shared ground and bred the disputes the bench wished to avoid, a danger already recorded at the consultation of 13 October 1713. By ruling once more that the land lie in common for the public good, the council placed the collective interest of the surrounding planters above the needs of a single holder. The order against cutting green wood treated the trees on the parcel as a protected resource on Company ground. Timber and firewood were scarce and valuable on the island, and uncontrolled felling on common land would have exhausted the stand. The fine of 20 shillings a tree, set by existing law, and the further bar on lopping or barking, gave the bench a means to keep the wood standing for general benefit rather than private use. Speculations The bench's offer to grant Slaughter other land that harmed no one suggests it accepted his need as genuine while refusing the particular parcel. Slaughter held only 15 acres of lease land for a family he could not feed, and his fallback request for a Sandy Bay parcel was already on the record. By keeping the door open to an alternative grant, the council balanced its duty to a hard-pressed sergeant against the neighbourhood's claim to the Green Hill ground, settling the immediate dispute without leaving him empty-handed.
18	10	September to fetch Dry Wood. The Gov.r Sayes he is now upon Writing An Answer to y.e Hon.ble Comp.s last General Letter & has made some good progress therein And will begin with what	September Persons might still go to the parcel to fetch dry wood. The Governor said that he was now writing an answer to the Honourable Company's last general letter and had made good progress with it. He would begin with what

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		relates to him- self But Sayes he is very Sorry the Hon.ble Comp.s Should be mis-informed upon any exha- vident Expences or Disbursments by him And Does Assert That he never did gain One Penny by buying any thing for them & for every Penny y.t can be made Appear in any One Instance against him of y.t Nature he will readily pay a Pound. But as to y.e New Cath he has made, It being One of y.e best things he has done Since he has been here, he Hops it requires no Answer and believes all the Council are now Satisfied of y.e advantage thereof As for his Spouses Tomb he desires Cap.t Haswell & Cap.t Bazett to gett y.e Workmen to Value it & He will pay for it. John Hoskison Surgeons Mate desired a Deed to be Registered which was according- ly Granted & Ordered to be done in this Book and is as followeth (Viz.t	concerned himself. He was very sorry that the Honourable Company should have been told of any extravagant expenses or disbursements by him. He asserted that he had never gained a penny by buying anything for them. For every penny that could be shown against him in any one instance of that kind, he would readily pay a pound. As for the new path he had made, it was one of the best things he had done since coming to the island. He thought it needed no answer and believed all the council were now satisfied of its advantage. As for his wife's tomb, he asked Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett to get workmen to value it, and he would pay for it. John Hoskison, surgeon's mate, asked that a deed be registered. The council granted this and ordered it entered in the book. The deed was as follows. Interpretations The Governor's offer to pay a pound for every penny shown against him set a public answer to the charge of profiting from Company purchases. The complaint of extravagant expenses had reached the directors in London, and Pyke met it on the record with a challenge framed to look like a man certain of his innocence. The entry continues the defence he opened at the consultation of 10 September 1717, when he denied being a vengeful man, and it shows him answering the directors point by point in the despatch home. The Governor's distinction between the council's business and his own private charges marks a careful drawing of lines. His wife's tomb was a personal expense, and by asking two councillors to have it valued so that he might pay for it himself, Pyke kept it clear of the Company's account. The same care separates the new path, which he defended as a public benefit, from the disbursements he was answering as accusations.
19	11	1717 This Indenture made 28.th day of July in the 8.th Year of y.e Raigne of our most gracious Sovereigne Lady Ann by y.e grace of God Queen of Great Britan France & Ireland Defender of the Faith &c. A.o 1709 Between George Hodgkin- son of y.e Island of S.t Helena Practitioner in Physick & Surgery upon the One part and Ann Hodgkinson of Preston in y.e County of Lanc. Widow & Mother of y.e s.d George Hodg- kinson upon the other part Witnesseth That y.e s.d Geo: Hodgkinson out of his natu- ral Love & Affection w.ch he beareth to his Said Mother & for her better Support & maintainance in her Old Age & for & in consideracon of the Sum of Five Shillings of Currant mony of Great Britain in hand paid by y.e Said Ann Hodgkinson unto him the Said George whereto: he holdeth himself fully Satisfied & thereof doth acquit & discharge his s.d Moth.r for ever by these Presents Hath Demised, granted Leased Sett & to Farme lett & by these Presents Doth demise grant Leas.d Sett & to Farme lett unto y.e s.d Ann Hodgkin- son her Execut.rs Administrat.rs & Assignes All that his One Moiety or One half of all that Messuage and Tenement Scituate Lying & being in the township Margin Notes: Copy.	1717 This was a copy of an indenture made on 28 July 1709, in the eighth year of the reign of Queen Anne. It was made between George Hodgkinson of the island of St Helena, practitioner in physic and surgery, on the one part, and Ann Hodgkinson of Preston in the county of Lancashire, widow and mother of George Hodgkinson, on the other part. The deed set out that George Hodgkinson, out of the natural love and affection he bore his mother, and for her better support and maintenance in her old age, and in consideration of 5 shillings of current money of Great Britain paid to him by Ann Hodgkinson, with which he held himself fully satisfied and which discharged her for ever, had leased and let to farm to Ann Hodgkinson, her executors, administrators and assigns, one moiety or one half of a messuage and tenement lying in the township. Interpretations The deed used a peppercorn payment to dress a gift as a lease. The 5 shillings named as the consideration was a token sum, far below the value of half a house and its land, recorded only to make the transfer binding in law. A lease at law required some payment to pass, so George Hodgkinson set a nominal figure and stated himself fully satisfied, which let him provide for his mother under the form of a commercial bargain. A moiety was a legal half-share in property, here one half of a messuage and tenement. A messuage was a dwelling house together with its outbuildings and the ground attached, so the grant gave Ann Hodgkinson a defined half-interest in a house and its plot. The precise legal terms fixed exactly what passed to her and protected her claim against any later dispute over the share. The registration of a Lancashire deed in the St Helena consultation book reflects the island's role as the only place of record for its inhabitants' English affairs. George Hodgkinson lived and practised on the island,

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			far from the property in Preston, so entering the indenture in the council's book preserved proof of the arrangement where he could call on it. The bench's books served as the legal memory for dealings that reached back to England.
20	12	September township of Preston & County of Lanc. comonly called the Holme Slack y.e whole containing by comon estimation twelve Acres of Arable Land meadow & Pasture be y.e same more or less now in the occupacon of Thomas Turner or his Assignes together with all & Singular houses Edifices build- ings barns Stables Orchyards gardens Lands Meadows Pastures Moors Mosses Comons comons of pasture & Turbary Woods, Underwoods ways waters water courses easments Priviledges proffits comodi- ties Advantages & appurtenes whatsoever to y.e s.d premises or any part thereof belonging or in any wise appertaining To have & to hold y.e s.d moiety of y.e s.d demised Messuage & tenement n.r y.e appurtenes & every part & parcel thereof from the day of y.e date of these presents for & during y.e tearme & during all the time Space & term of y.e natural Life of y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson & no longer She y.e s.d Ann Hodgkin- son Yeilding & paying therefore Yearly & every year during y.e s.d terme unto y.e s.d Geo Hodgkinson his heires & Assignes the yearly rent of One pepper corn at the feast of S.t Michael y.e Archangel if y.e same be Lawfully demanded And the s.d Ann Hodg- kinson doth for her self her Ex.rs & Adm.r & Assignes covenant p.mise & grant to & with y.e s.d George Hodg-	September The property lay in the township of Preston in the county of Lancashire and was commonly called the Holme Slack. The whole contained by estimation 12 acres of arable land, meadow and pasture, more or less, then in the occupation of Thomas Turner or his assigns. It passed together with all the houses, buildings, barns, stables, orchards, gardens, lands, meadows, pastures, moors, mosses, commons, rights of common of pasture and turbary, woods, underwoods, ways, waters, watercourses, easements, privileges, profits, commodities, advantages and appurtenances belonging to the premises or any part of them. Ann Hodgkinson was to have and to hold the moiety of the leased messuage and tenement, with its appurtenances and every part of it, from the day of the deed and during the whole term of her natural life, and no longer. She was to yield and pay yearly, throughout the term, to George Hodgkinson, his heirs and assigns, the yearly rent of one peppercorn at the feast of St Michael the Archangel, if it were lawfully demanded. Ann Hodgkinson, for herself, her executors, administrators and assigns, then covenanted, promised and granted to and with George Hodgkinson. Interpretations The peppercorn rent confirms the lease as a disguised gift to a parent rather than a commercial letting. A single peppercorn carried no real value, payable only if demanded, so it served to keep the legal form of a lease intact without taking anything from Ann Hodgkinson. The device let George Hodgkinson settle a life interest in half the Holme Slack on his mother while preserving his own reversion in the property. The grant was for the term of Ann Hodgkinson's natural life and no longer, which fixed it as a life interest. The half-share returned to George Hodgkinson or his heirs on her death, so the arrangement supported his mother for her lifetime without parting with the family's title. Tying the term to her life made the lease a maintenance settlement that left the inheritance secure. The rights of common of pasture and turbary were valuable entitlements over shared land in the Lancashire township. Turbary was the right to cut turf or peat for fuel, and common of pasture the right to graze stock on the manor's waste, both essential to a holding's use in an English farming community. Their inclusion shows the deed carried not just the house and 12 acres but the customary rights that made the land productive.
21	13	1717 Hodgkinson his heires & Assignes in maner & form foll.d that is to say y.t y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson her Ex.rs Adm.r & Assignes shall & will well & Sufficently re- pair Support maintaine uphold & keep y.e dwelling house barnes & Outhousing in & upon y.e p.mises & all y.e gates Styles & Hedges & ditches w.th all needfull necessary reparacons when & as often as need shall re- quire & shall keep y.e ground in good heart & till & not Suffer y.e same to be run out & also shall & will re- plant w.th good Fruit Trees y.e Orchard Adjoining to y.e s.d dwelling house & preserve y.e same fruit Trees in good order & condicon & Plant others in their room & Stead as any of them shall decay so as y.e same may be a good fruit bearing Orchyard & shall & will pay & discharge all Cesse taxes charges chiefe rents & imposithions whatsoever charged or chargable upon & due from y.e s.d p.mises or any part thereof during y.e s.d term & also shall & will yearly & every Year during y.e s.d term plant or cause to be planted in & upon some convenient place	1717 The covenant ran to George Hodgkinson, his heirs and assigns, in the following manner. Ann Hodgkinson, her executors, administrators and assigns, would well and sufficiently repair, support, maintain, uphold and keep the dwelling house, barns and outhousing on the premises, together with all the gates, stiles, hedges and ditches, in all needful repair, as often as need required. She would keep the ground in good heart and condition and not suffer it to be run out. She would also replant with good fruit trees the orchard adjoining the dwelling house, preserve those fruit trees in good order and condition, and plant others in their place as any decayed, so that it might remain a good fruit-bearing orchard. She would pay and discharge all taxes, charges, chief rents and impositions whatsoever charged upon or due from the premises or any part of them during the term. She would further, each year during the term, plant or cause to be planted in some convenient place on the

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		on y.e p.mises Six young Spires at y.e least of Ash or Oak like to become timber Trees & to preserve y.e same from destruction & in case any faile to renew y.e same And the s.d Ann Hodgkinson for her self her Exec.r Adm.r & Assignes doth further covent p.mise grant & agree to & with y.e s.d Geo Hodgkinson his heires & Assignes	premises at least six young shoots of ash or oak likely to become timber trees, and would preserve them from destruction, renewing any that failed. Ann Hodgkinson, for herself, her executors, administrators and assigns, then further covenanted, promised, granted and agreed to and with George Hodgkinson, his heirs and assigns. Interpretations The repairing covenants made the tenant responsible for the whole upkeep of the holding, which is what made the peppercorn rent workable. In place of money, Ann Hodgkinson bound herself to maintain the house, outbuildings, fences and orchard and to pay all taxes and chief rents. The arrangement preserved the value of George Hodgkinson's reversion, since the property would return to him in good order rather than run down. The duty to plant six young ash or oak each year was a timber-husbandry clause protecting the long-term worth of the land. Mature timber was a slow-grown asset, and a life tenant who took the benefit of the holding might otherwise leave nothing growing for the heir. By requiring fresh planting and the renewal of any that failed, the deed ensured a future stock of timber trees for the reversioner. The clause against suffering the ground to be run out guarded the fertility of the land itself. To run out land was to exhaust it through continuous cropping without rest or manuring, leaving it barren. The covenant to keep the ground in good heart obliged the tenant to farm it sustainably, so that the soil's productive capacity survived for whoever took the property after her.
22	14	Septemb.r Assignes y.t in case y.e s.d Geo Hodgkinson his heires or Assignes shall at any time hereafter be mind- full to take all y.e s.d p.mises into their own hands & Possession & allow her a Suffeient consideration therefore that then & in such case the s.d Ann Hodg- kinson shall & will surrender & yeild up unto y.e s.d Geo Hodgkinson his heirs or Assignes not only y.e s.d Moiety hereby granted & demised but also y.e other Moiety left & devised unto her by her late Husband John Hodgkinson Father of y.e s.d Geo. party to these p.sents hee y.e s.d Geo Hodgkinson his heires or Assignes well & Sufficently Securing unto y.e s.d Ann y.e Clear yearly sume & pain.t of eight pounds at every feast day of y.e Nativity of S.t John Baptist to have continu- ance & to be paid during y.e naturall Life of y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson And y.e s.d Geo: Hodgkinson doth for him self his Ex.rs Ex.ed & Adm.r covenant p.mise grant & agree to & w.th y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson her Ex.ed Adm.r & Assignes that it shall & may be Lawfull to & for y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson & her Assignes upon y.e Covenants condicons & agreem.ts before mencioned peaceably & quiet- ly to have hold occupy possess & enjoy all & Singular the s.d p.misses & every part & parcel thereof w.th y.e appurte.ces without any Lett Suit trouble deniall incumbrance or disturbance of or by the s.d Geo: Hodgkinson his hairs Ex.ed Adm.r or Assignes or by any other person or	September The covenant set out a condition for George Hodgkinson, his heirs or assigns. If at any time hereafter they should wish to take the premises into their own hands and possession, and allow Ann Hodgkinson a sufficient consideration for it, then in that case she would surrender and yield up to George Hodgkinson, his heirs or assigns, not only the moiety granted by this deed but also the other moiety left and devised to her by her late husband John Hodgkinson, father of George and party to these presents. This was on condition that George Hodgkinson, his heirs or assigns, well and sufficiently secured to Ann Hodgkinson the clear yearly sum of £8 0s 0d at every feast day of the Nativity of St John the Baptist, to continue and be paid during her natural life. George Hodgkinson then, for himself, his executors and administrators, covenanted, promised, granted and agreed to and with Ann Hodgkinson, her executors, administrators and assigns. It should be lawful for Ann Hodgkinson and her assigns, on the covenants, conditions and agreements before mentioned, peaceably and quietly to have, hold, occupy, possess and enjoy all the premises and every part of them, with their appurtenances, without any hindrance, suit, trouble, denial, encumbrance or disturbance from George Hodgkinson, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, or from any other person. Interpretations The buy-back clause gave George Hodgkinson a way to recover the whole property in exchange for an annuity. If he or his heirs chose to take both halves into their own hands, Ann Hodgkinson would surrender her granted moiety and the second half she held from her late husband, in return for £8 0s 0d a year for life. The arrangement let the family consolidate the Holme Slack at need while guaranteeing the widow a fixed income in place of the land. The annuity of £8 0s 0d a year set a clear money value on the mother's life interest in the combined property. It converted her two half-shares into a secured pension, payable each Midsummer, which she could rely on

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			whether or not she occupied the land. The sum measured what the family judged her interest worth and protected her if the holding was taken back. The covenant for quiet enjoyment was the deed's guarantee of Ann Hodgkinson's undisturbed possession. It bound George Hodgkinson and all claiming through him not to interrupt her use of the property by suit or other means during the term. The clause was the standard protection that made a lease secure, giving the tenant a remedy if the grantor or his successors later challenged her hold.
23	15	1717 or persons lawfully claiming or to claime by from or under hein them or any of them or by his their or any of their act means default or pro- curem.t And lastly the s.d Geo: Hodgkinson hath remised released & for ever quitt claimed & by these p.sents doth for himself his heirs Ex.ed & Adm.r & every of them remise release & for ever quitt claime unto y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson her Ex.ed Adm.r & Assignes all & all maner of Accon & accons cause & causes of accon or accons Bills Bonds accompts Debts controversies dues & demanas whatsoever w.ch the s.d Geo Hodgkinson now hath or w.ch hee his heirs Ex.ed or Adm.r can or may have ag.t y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson her Ex.ed or Adm.rs from y.e beginning of the World to y.e day of y.e Date of those p.sents (the Coven.ts condicons & agreem.ts before in these p.sents contained w.ch on y.e part & behalf of y.e s.d Ann Hodgkinson her Ex.ed Adm.rs or Assignes are & ought to be Observed & formed & kept only foreprized & excepted. (Sign'd) Ann Hodgkinson (& on y.e backside Sealed Signed & delivered y.e within mencioned sume of Five Shillings being actually paid in the Sight & p.sence of (Sign'd) W.m Hayhurst Kath Hayhurst Hen: Gerard. Cap.t Baz-	1717 The covenant for quiet enjoyment extended against any persons lawfully claiming through George Hodgkinson, his heirs or any of them, or by their act, means, default or procurement. Lastly, George Hodgkinson remised, released and for ever quitclaimed, for himself, his heirs, executors and administrators, to Ann Hodgkinson, her executors, administrators and assigns, all manner of actions, causes of action, bills, bonds, accounts, debts, controversies, dues and demands whatsoever that he then had, or that he or his heirs, executors or administrators might have against her or her executors or administrators, from the beginning of the world to the day of the date of these presents. The covenants, conditions and agreements before contained, to be observed and kept on the part of Ann Hodgkinson, her executors, administrators or assigns, were alone reserved and excepted. The deed was signed by Ann Hodgkinson, with her mark on the back. It was sealed, signed and delivered, the within-mentioned sum of 5 shillings being actually paid, in the sight and presence of William Hayhurst, Katherine Hayhurst and Henry Gerard. Interpretations The general release wiped out every prior claim between mother and son up to the date of the deed. By quitclaiming all actions, bonds, debts and demands from the beginning of the world, George Hodgkinson cleared the slate of any obligation he might assert against Ann Hodgkinson. The sweeping form was the standard legal means of closing off old accounts, so that the lease and annuity arrangement stood free of any earlier dispute. The signing by mark rather than signature indicates Ann Hodgkinson could not write, which was usual for women of her station. The law required only that she set her mark and that the deed be delivered before witnesses, which the entry records through William Hayhurst, Katherine Hayhurst and Henry Gerard. The witnesses and the actual payment of the 5 shillings in their sight gave the deed its proof of due execution.
24	16	Septemb.r Cap.t Bazett brought in y.e following Acc.t (Viz.t An Account of Goods Sold & do to the Inha- bitants of this Island, to y.e Use of Union Castle & y.e Hon.ble Companys Plantation house from June y.e 25.th 1717 to July y.e 25.th following (Viz.t Arrack 370 1/2 Gall.s a 6/3 115 15 7 1/2 Sugar. 575. 1/4 8 19 3 6 Vinegar. 4 3/8 Gall.s 2:6 10 8 1/4 Tea. 25. 9 11 5 Soap 81. 1:5 5 14 9 Rice 92. 3 1/2 1 6 10 Blanketts 2.p.r large doz./6. 2 16 3 4 p.r middle Size 9 6 1/2 d.o Small 7 9 3 13 6 Corks 8. doz. :3 2 Long Cloth. 6 p.es Course 6 1 d.o Fine 2 8 Gunheas. 2 p.d 12:6 1 5 Nealeas. 8. p.es 10 4 Ginghams 2 d.o 9:9 19 6 1 d.o 11 1 10 6 Scarlet Serge 2 1/2 yd.o a 4:10 12 1 Silk Drugget 2 1/2 d.o 4:9 12 1	September Captain Bazett brought in the following account. It was an account of goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants of the island, to the use of Union Castle and to the Honourable Company's Plantation House, from 25 June 1717 to 25 July following. Arrack 370½ gallons at 6s 3d £115 15s 7½d Sugar 575¼ pounds at 8d £19 3s 6d Vinegar 4½ gallons at 2s 6d £0 10s 8¼d Tea 25 pounds at 9s £11 5s 0d Soap 81 pounds at 1s 3d £5 1s 9d Rice 92 pounds at 3½d £1 6s 10d Blankets, 1½ pairs large at 16s the dozen £2 16s 0d Blankets, middle size £0 9s 6d Blankets, small £0 7s 9d Blankets total £3 13s 6d Corks 8 dozen at 3d [...] Long cloth, 6 pieces coarse at 6s £2 0s 0d Long cloth, 1 piece fine at 2s £0 8s 0d Gunneys 2 pieces at 12s 6d £1 5s 0d Nealeas 8 pieces at 10s £4 0s 0d Ginghams, 2 pieces at 9s 9d £19 6s 0d

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		Cloth Drugget 7. d.o 4:9 3 6 6 Shalloon 6. d.o 4 1 8 Duranto 13. d.o 2:6 15 Fustians 3 d.o Stript 1:8 8 3 d.o tufted 2:4 5 12 Soldiers Cloths 1 p.r Breeches 8 3 Pins. 39 1/2 1:2 3 8 8 4 pa.rs Blanket d.o 8 3 8 11 Carried over 184 6 4 1/4	Ginghams, 1 piece at 11s £1 10s 6d Scarlet serge 2½ yards at 4s 10d £0 12s 1d Silk drugget 14 pieces at 4s 9d £3 6s 6d Cloth drugget 7 pieces at 4s £1 8s 0d Shalloon 6 pieces at 2s 6d £0 15s 0d Durants 13 pieces at 1s 9d £1 2s 9d Fustians, striped, at 1s 8d £0 5s 0d Fustians, tufted, at 2s 4d £0 7s 0d Fustians total £0 12s 0d Soldiers' clothes, 1 pair breeches £0 8s 3d Pens 39½ at 1s 2d [...] Blankets, 4 pairs [...] The total carried over was £184 0s 6¼d. Interpretations This was the storekeeper's monthly account, the running record by which the Company tracked retail sales to the island. The goods were sold across three institutional headings, the inhabitants in their private capacity, Union Castle for the garrison and the Plantation House for the Governor's establishment. Captain Bazett, as the member charged with the store books, brought the account to the bench each month for entry, the figures showing what the settlement consumed and at what prices. The textiles formed the bulk of the imported trade and carried Indian and English names a modern reader would not know. Long cloth was a plain Indian cotton, gingham a checked or striped cotton, and gunneys and nealeas further Indian cotton goods sold by the piece. Drugget was a coarse wool or wool-and-silk cloth, shalloon a light woollen lining, durants a glazed worsted, and fustians a stout cotton-linen weave made striped or tufted. Scarlet serge was a dyed woollen. These were the staples of the East India trade, brought on the Company's ships and retailed to planters and soldiers who had no other source of cloth. The arrack at 6s 3d a gallon was the single largest item, dwarfing every other line. Arrack was the distilled spirit shipped from Batavia and the Indian coast, the chief drink of the garrison and the inhabitants. At over £115 for the month it shows how far the store's takings rested on liquor, the price standing above the 4s a gallon the council had fixed for cheaper cargoes, which marks this as the dearer Batavia stock.
25	17	1717 Brought over 184 6 4 1/4 Threads (Viz.t 116. ounces 1.r 5 6 4 77. d.o 13 4 3 5 78. d.o 15 1 11 3 79. d.o 17 12 9 80. d.o flourisht 2: 4 81. d.o 2 4 82. d.o 2:6 10 83. d.o 3:4 6 8 84. d.o 3:6 14 13 10 9 Silk 17 1/2 Ounces a 2:6 2 3 9 Oyl 2. quarts Linseed 4 Indigo. 4 Ounces 8 2 8 Ironmongers Ware (Viz.t 1 Box Iron 8 2 Heetong 1 9 1 Box Iron 10 2 Heaters 1 6 9 Ground Hoos 4:6 1 2 6 4 unground d.o 2 2 8 8 1 Chest Lock 2 9 2 Iron rimd Locks 4:10 9 8 11 p.r H Hinges 1:8 18 4 4 Plate Bolts N.o 8 1:10 7 4 1 Iron rimd Lock 8 2 1. Shovel w.th Socket 2 5 11 Hooks & Lines, 3 doz N.r 2 3 2 4 d.o 7 15 5 14 8 16 0 18 9 20. 10	1717 The account continued from the sum brought over of £184 0s 6¼d. Threads: 116 ounces at 1s 1d £5 6s 4d 77 ounces at 1s 1d £4 3s 5d 25 ounces at 1s 1d £1 11s 3d 9 ounces at 1s 5d £0 12s 9d 2 ounces flourished at 2s £0 4s 0d 1 ounce at 2s 4d £0 2s 4d 4 ounces at 2s 6d £0 10s 0d 2 ounces at 3s 4d £0 6s 8d 4 ounces at 3s 6d £0 14s 0d Threads total £13 10s 9d Silk 17½ ounces at 2s 6d £2 3s 9d Oil 2 quarts linseed £0 4s 0d Indigo 4 ounces at 8d £0 2s 8d Ironmonger's ware: Box iron 1 at 8d £0 0s 8d Heating tongs 2 at [...] £0 1s 9d Box iron 1 at 10d £0 0s 10d Heaters 2 at [...] £0 1s 6d Ground hoes 9 at 2s 6d £1 2s 6d Unground hoes 4 at 2s 2d £0 8s 8d Chest lock 1 at [...] £0 2s 9d Iron-rimmed locks 2 at 4s 10d £0 9s 8d H hinges 11 pairs at 1s 8d £0 18s 4d Plate bolts number 8 4 at 1s 10d £0 7s 4d Iron-rimmed lock 1 at [...] £0 8s 2d Shovel with socket 1 at 2s £0 2s 0d

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		6 Lins N.o 10 15 1/2 7 9 4. d.o 8 11 3 8 1 8 10 Glass Ware 240 panes 6 f 8 a 6 9 Combs. 3 Box 6 1 6 2 2 1 Comb Brush 8 f Carried over 216 17 7 1/4	Ironmonger's ware total £5 11s 0d Hooks and lines: 3 dozen number 2 at [...] £0 3s 0d 4 dozen at [...] £0 15s 0d 14 dozen at 8d £0 16s 0d 10 dozen at 9d £0 20s 0d 6 lines number 10 at 15½d £0 7s 9d 4 dozen at 8d £0 11s 0d Hooks and lines total £1 8s 10d Glass ware 240 panes at 6½d £9 0s 0d Combs 3 boxes at 1s 6d £0 2s 2d Comb brush 1 at 8d The total carried over was £216 17s 7d. Interpretations The sewing thread dominated this part of the account, graded by fineness across nine qualities priced from 1s 1d to 3s 6d the ounce. The dearest sort was flourished, meaning ornamented or decorative thread, and the run from coarse to fine shows the store stocked thread for every use from plain repair to fine needlework. With cloth bought by the piece and made up on the island, thread was a steady necessity for households and the garrison alike. The ironmonger's ware lists the hardware of a settlement that built and farmed for itself. Box irons and heaters were the parts of a smoothing iron, the hollow box taking a heated slug; ground hoes were sharpened ready for use and unground hoes sold unfinished; iron-rimmed locks, H hinges, plate bolts and a socketed shovel served building and fitting out. The detail shows how far the island depended on imported metalwork for tools, fastenings and security that could not be made locally. Indigo was a costly blue dyestuff from the Indian trade, sold here by the ounce at 8d. It was the standard agent for dyeing cloth blue, valued for the depth and fastness of its colour. Its presence in small quantity among the household goods points to inhabitants dyeing or refreshing their own textiles, a further sign of cloth being finished and maintained at the domestic level on the island.
26	18	September Brought over £ 216 17 7 1/4 Galloons 11. yd.s at 4 1/2 4 1 1/2 Silk Ferrett 4. yards d.o 1 6 5 7 1/2 Nâiles, (Viz.t 3.c of 3. at 9 2 3 6 9 7 6 8 1/2 2 1 1/2 8 1/2 5 8 8 6 8 7 1/2 2 6 11 1 10 1 2 6 1/2 Stockins. (Viz.t 11. pair Cotton 3/- 1 13 9. ditto 2:6 7 6 10. p.r thread 4:6 13 6 2 14 Shoe thread 3 1/2 2:6 8 9 Pepper 2.r 2 Brooms 2 flagg d.o 1 Tin Ware, 1 Funnell 10 Neckcloths. 8. 2: 9 1 2 Neckcloth Muslin 2 1/2 p.es a 37: 6 4 13 9 Hessings 9 yards 14 10 6 Hous Linnen 8. y.d 2:3 18 Paper 6. quires 16 4 Norwich Stuffs, 12 y.d 13 13 12. d.o 16 1/2 16 6 1 9 6 Saunoes 1 pee 9 6 Ale Glasses 2. 2:6 5 2 Testament 1 5 Blew Baftas 1 p.r 9 Katharinas Goods (Viz.t £ 232 1 0 4 Fustians 1 pee N. 4 1 13 4 2 d.o 5 a 36:8 8 13 4 2 d.o 7 26 8 2 13 4 8	September The account continued from the sum brought over of £216 17s 7¼d. Galloons 11 dozen at 4½d £4 1s 1½d Silk ferret 4 yards at [...] £0 1s 6d Galloons and ferret total £5 7s 7½d Nails: 3 of 3d at 9 £0 2s 3d 10 of 6d at 9 £0 7s 6d 8 of 8d at 8½d £0 2s 1½d 8 of 10d at 8½d £0 5s 8d 1 of 20d at 8 £0 2s 6d 4 of 24d at 7½d £0 2s 6d 2 of 4d at 11 £0 1s 10d Nails total £1 2s 6½d Stockings: 11 pairs cotton at 3s £1 13s 0d 9 pairs ditto at 2s 6d £0 7s 6d 3 pairs thread at 4s 6d £0 13s 6d Stockings total £2 14s 0d Shoe thread 3½ at 2s 6d £0 8s 9d Pepper 2 pounds at [...] £0 2s 0d Brooms 2 flag at [...] £0 1s 0d Tin ware, 1 funnel £0 0s 10d Neckcloths 8 at 2s 9d £1 2s 0d Neckcloth muslin 2½ pieces at 37s 6d £4 13s 9d Hessians 9 yards at [...] £0 10s 6d House linen 8 yards at 2s 3d £0 18s 0d Paper 6 quires at [...] £0 4s 0d Norwich stuffs 12 yards at 13d £0 13s 0d Norwich stuffs 12 yards at 16½d £0 16s 6d Norwich stuffs total £1 9s 6d Saunoes 1 piece at [...] £0 15s 2d

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		Ribbon 7 3/4 yd.s 12 7 9 14. d.o 14 16 4 15. d.o 15 3 9 1 7 10 Carried over 9 7 10	Ale glasses 2 at 2s 6d £0 5s 0d Testament 1 at [...] £0 1s 9d Blue baftas 1 piece at [...] £0 9s 0d The total of the inhabitants' account came to £232 1s 0¼d. Katharine's goods: Fustians, 1 piece number 4 £1 13s 4d Fustians, 2 pieces number 5 at 36s 8d £8 13s 4d Fustians, 2 pieces number 7 at 26s 8d £2 13s 4d Fustians total £8 0s 0d Ribbon 7¾ yards at 12d £0 7s 9d Ribbon 14 yards at 14d £0 16s 4d Ribbon 3 yards at 15d £0 3s 9d Ribbon total £1 7s 10d The total carried over was £9 7s 10d. Interpretations The account closed the inhabitants' purchases at £232 1s 0¼d and opened a separate heading for goods from the Katharine. The ship arrived from Bombay and Madras, last from the Cape, before the consultation of 3 January 1716/17, and her cargo was priced for sale at the consultations of 31 July and 7 August 1716. Keeping her goods under their own total let the bench account for that particular cargo apart from the running store stock, since each ship's lading was reckoned against its own invoice. The list names several Indian cotton goods sold by the piece that a modern reader would not recognise. Baftas were a plain calico, here dyed blue, and saunoes another grade of Indian cotton, while neckcloth muslin was a fine sheer cotton made up into the neckcloths worn at the throat. Galloons and silk ferret were narrow woven trimmings, galloon a braid for edging garments and ferret a tape of silk. These finished and decorative goods show the store supplying not just plain cloth but the trimmings and made-up items of dress. The graded nails reveal a hardware trade priced by size and count. The numbers ran by penny denomination, the old measure of nail size by price per hundred, so threepenny, sixpenny and larger nails were stocked for every building task. Sold in small lots at a few shillings, they were the constant consumable of a settlement always repairing fences, houses and fittings, and their careful pricing shows even the smallest ironware passed through the Company's books.
27	19	1717 Brought over 9 7 10 232 1 0 4 Buttons, 3 1/2 doz at 12d 0: 3: 6 9 1/2 doz breast 6d 0. 4 9 8 3 Silk hoods, 2. N.r 2 13/6 1: 7: 0 1 9:0 1 16 Mokair 6 d.o d.o 10 Copy books 3 9 2 3 Starch 8.r 9 6 6 Knives 17. 6 8 6 Hooks, 39 doz Old Wives 4 13 Stockings, 1 p.r Silk 01:0:0 1. d.o Scarlet 9:0 2. d.o fine blew 6:6 3. d.o Cold.r d.o 2:2 1 17 8 Pewter. (Viz.t 2 doz Spoons 9/6 9:0 2 porringers 1:3 to 2:6 1 Silv.r Cloth bason 4:5 15 11 Tin Ware, 2 Lamps 2/10 0: 3: 8 1. two Spout d.o 0: 4: 6 2. 2 quart Saucepan 0: 2 3 3. Coffee Pott 0: 1 9 4. dripping pan 5:0 17 2 Ironmongers Ware (Viz.t 2. felling Axes 3/4 10: 6: 8 1 Stock Lock N.r 2 10: 3: 6 1. d.o 3 10: 5 0 2. d.o 7 10: 4 0 3. Splint d.o 2 10: 1. 6 4. d.o 4 0: 2 0 1 12 8	1717 The account continued from the sum brought over of £9 7s 10d, with the inhabitants' total of £232 1s 0¼d carried alongside. Buttons 3½ dozen at 12d £0 3s 6d Buttons, breast 9½ dozen at 6d £0 4s 9d Buttons total £0 8s 3d Silk hoods, 2 of number 2 at 13s 6d £1 7s 0d Silk hoods, 1 of number 1 at 9s £0 9s 0d Silk hoods total £1 16s 0d Mohair 6 ounces at 20d £0 10s 0d Copy books 3 at 9d £0 2s 3d Starch 8 pounds at 9d £0 6s 0d Knives 17 at 6d £0 8s 6d Hooks, 39 dozen old wives at [...] £0 13s 0d Stockings: 1 pair silk £1 0s 0d 1 pair scarlet £0 9s 0d 1 pair fine blue £0 6s 6d 1 pair coloured £0 2s 2d Stockings total £1 17s 8d Pewter: 2 dozen spoons at 6s £0 9s 0d 2 porringers at 1s 3d £0 2s 6d 1 [...] basin £0 4s 5d Pewter total £0 15s 11d Tin ware: 2 lamps at 2s 10d £0 3s 8d 1 two-spouted lamp £0 4s 6d

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		Brass Ware, 1 p.r bras Candlesticks 10: 11. 0 - d.o 10: 7: 0 - Stand & Snuffers 10: 8. 0 - ditto 10 3: 6 1 9 6 20 4 9 Kath.s Goods Amounting to Carried over £ 252 5 9 1/4 Successes	1 two-quart saucepan £0 2s 3d 1 coffee pot £0 1s 9d 1 dripping pan £0 5s 0d Tin ware total £0 17s 2d Ironmonger's ware: 2 felling axes at 4s £0 6s 8d 1 stock lock number 3 £0 3s 6d 1 ditto at [...] £0 5s 0d 1 ditto number 7 £0 14s 0d 1 spring lock number 2 £0 1s 6d 1 ditto number 4 £0 2s 0d Ironmonger's ware total £1 12s 8d Brass ware: 1 pair brass candlesticks £0 11s 0d 1 pair ditto £0 7s 0d 1 stand and snuffers £0 8s 0d 1 ditto £0 3s 6d Brass ware total £1 9s 6d The total of the Katharine's goods came to £20 4s 9d. The Katharine's goods amounting to that sum, the account carried over was £252 5s 9¼d. Interpretations The account combined the inhabitants' purchases with the separately reckoned Katharine cargo to reach a grand total of £252 5s 9¼d for the month. The Katharine, which arrived from Bombay and Madras before the consultation of 3 January 1716/17 and whose lading was priced at the consultations of 31 July and 7 August 1716, supplied the made-up dress goods and household metalware on this page. Reckoning her cargo to its own subtotal of £20 4s 9d before merging it with the main account kept each source of stock answerable to its own invoice. The household goods on this page show the store supplying the fittings of settled domestic life, not just raw materials. Pewter spoons, porringers and a basin, tin lamps, a saucepan, coffee pot and dripping pan, and brass candlesticks with stand and snuffers were the furnishings of a kitchen and table. Their presence among the Company's stock confirms that the store was the single source for the manufactured goods of every household on the island, from cooking vessels to lighting. The locks listed under ironmonger's ware came in graded types and numbers for different uses. A stock lock was a heavy lock with its mechanism set in a wooden case, fixed to doors and gates, while a spring lock was a lighter spring-bolt fitting. The range of sizes, sold at prices from 1s 6d to 14s, points to a settlement securing its buildings and stores against theft, a recurring concern in a place where goods were scarce and housebreaking known.
28	20	September Brought over £ 252 5 9 1/4 Successes Goods (Viz.t Pewter, 46. Chamber pots 2 5/9 10: 4. 6 1 Sett of Toys 15: 6 14. Setts d.o 1: 9: 5 to 9: 8: 5 1 Pewt.r Tea Kettle Frame 1 9 9 & Lamp 1. Sett of Castors 5: 9 2. Cruetts for Oyl & Vineg.r 6: 6 5 4 5 Crapes 5 1/2 peices 2 4 22 Shoes, 27 pair Mens 6/3 8: 8 9 8. d.o Womens 6: 2 2: 9 4 10 18 1 Wine 272 7/8 Gall.s 4/- 54 11 6 112 14 Success.s Goods am.t to Total to y.e Inhabitants 364 19 9 1/2 Union Castle D.r to Store Goods from June y.e 25. 1717. to July y.e 25.th foll.s (Viz.t Arrack 70 1/2 Gall.s 6/9 22 7 1/2 Sugar 174 d.o 8 5 16 Tea (Viz.t 10 d.o 9:0 4 10 6. Cattees 9 2 14 7 4 Flour 89 3 1/2 1 5 11 1/2	September The account continued from the sum brought over of £252 5s 9¼d. <i>Success</i> goods: Pewter, 46 chamber pots at 2s 9d £10 4s 6d Pewter, 1 set of toys £0 15s 6d Pewter, 14 sets ditto at 9s £9 8s 5d Pewter tea kettle frames and lamp £0 19s 9d Pewter, 1 set of castors £0 9s 9d Pewter, 2 cruets for oil and vinegar £0 6s 6d Pewter total £25 4s 5d Crapes 5½ pieces at [...] £22 0s 0d Shoes, 27 pairs men's at 6s 3d £8 8s 9d Shoes, 8 pairs women's at 6s 2d £2 9s 4d Shoes total £10 18s 1d Wine 2,727¾ gallons at 4s £545 11s 6d The <i>Success</i> goods came to £112 14s 0d. The total to the inhabitants came to £364 19s 9¼d. Union Castle account for store goods, from 25 June 1717 to 25 July following: Arrack 70½ gallons at 6s 3d £22 0s 7½d Sugar 174 pounds at 8d £5 16s 0d

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		Oyls (Viz.t 3 1/2 Gall Sweet 12 2 2 1 d.o Linseed 8 2 10 Soap 26 d.o 17 1 16 10 Pepper 8 d.o 8 Beef 1 Cask q.t 98 p.es or 490.d 11 4 7 Suet 1 Cask q.t 160 d.o 4 Rice 1932 d.o 3 1/2 27 3 6 Corks 14 doz 3 3 6 Vinegar 2 1/2 Gall.s 2/6 6 3 Twine 1 1/4 d.o 2/4 2 11 Long Cloth 2 p.es 20 2 Sacking 2 p.rs (Abingdon) 32 3 4 Lines 2. doz N.o 16 d.o 3:8 7 4 Blew Baftas 6 p.es 6 1 16 Carried over £ 91 9 6	Tea 10 pounds at 9s £4 10s 0d Tea, 6 catties at 9s £2 14s 0d Tea total £7 4s 0d Flour 89 pounds at 3½d £1 5s 11½d Oils, 3½ gallons sweet at 12s £2 2s 0d Oils, 1 gallon linseed at 8s £0 8s 0d Oils total £2 10s 0d Soap 26 pounds at 17d £1 16s 10d Pepper 8 pounds at [...] £0 8s 0d Beef 1 cask of 98 pieces or 490 pounds at [...] £11 4s 7d Suet 1 cask of 160 pounds at [...] £4 0s 0d Rice 1,932 pounds at 3½d £27 3s 6d Corks 14 dozen at 3d £0 3s 6d Vinegar 2½ gallons at 2s 6d £0 6s 3d Twine 14 pounds at 2s 4d £0 2s 11d Long cloth 2 pieces at 20s £2 0s 0d Sacking 2 pieces, <i>Abingdon</i>, at 32s £3 4s 0d Lines 2 dozen number 16 at 3s 8d £0 7s 4d Blue baftas 6 pieces at [...] £1 16s 0d The total carried over was £91 9s 6d. Interpretations The wine from the <i>Success</i> was the single greatest charge in the whole account, at £545 11s 6d for nearly 2,728 gallons. The <i>Success</i> was the ship of 250 tons from England discharging at the island from 17 June 1717, and her wine entered the store at 4s a gallon. The vast quantity points to a bulk purchase of an entire shipment, the Company taking the cargo into its stores to retail over the coming months rather than for any single month's drinking. The pewter from the <i>Success</i> shows the store laying in a stock of tableware for resale to the settlement. Forty-six chamber pots, fourteen sets of unspecified pieces, tea kettle frames, castors and cruets were the everyday vessels of an English household, brought in quantity because nothing of the kind could be made on the island. The bulk supply confirms the store's role as the sole importer of manufactured domestic goods. The account separated the inhabitants' purchases from the Union Castle charges, the two run under distinct headings with their own totals. Union Castle was the seat of the garrison, so goods charged there served the soldiers and the Company's military establishment rather than private buyers. The beef and suet by the cask, the bulk rice and the sacking mark provisioning of the fort, kept apart in the books from the retail trade to the planters.
29	21	1717 Brought over £ 91 9 6 Nailes, 7.c of 3. at 9.d 5 3 19. 10 8 1/2 13 5 1/2 30.c 4. 11 17 11 1/2 1 6 8 Ironmong.r Ware, 1 Box Staple 1 1 Coen Mill 4 1 1 Iron pot q.t 48 d.o 1 4 5 6 Kath.s Goods (Viz.t 2 Stock Locks N.o 1. 2: 4 0: 4: 8 3. d.o 3:6 0:10:6 1. d.o 0: 5 1 2 Thread, 1.c Coloured 0: 5: 0 1. brown 0: 4: 0 1/4 fine d.o 0: 2: 6 11 6 6 Butchers Knives 3 100. Fir Oars 17 & 18 foot Long 37 10 1 1/2 doz Spoons 6 9 39 11 5 Successes Goods (Viz.t Pewter, 2 Larg Covers for Dishes 0: 16: 6 a 8/3 2 d.o next Size 7/6 0:15 4 hoop Stands 3: 8 0: 14 8 2. d.o less 3: 3 0: 6 6 1 Cheese plate 0: 9: 0 6. Chamb.r pots 5: 9 1 14 6 4 15 2	1717 The account continued from the sum brought over of £91 9s 6d. Nails, 7 of 3d at 9 £0 5s 3d Nails, 19 of 10d at 8½d £0 13s 5½d Nails, 30 of 4d at 11 £0 17s 11½d Nails total £1 6s 8d Ironmonger's ware, 1 box staple £0 1s 0d Ironmonger's ware, 1 corn mill £4 1s 0d Ironmonger's ware, 1 iron pot of 48 pounds £1 4s 0d Ironmonger's ware total £5 6s 0d Katharine's goods: 2 stock locks number 1 at 2s 4d £0 4s 8d 3 ditto at 3s 6d £0 10s 6d 1 ditto number 4 £0 5s 0d Stock locks total £1 2s 0d Thread, 1 pound coloured £0 5s 0d Thread, 1 pound brown £0 4s 0d Thread, ½ pound fine ditto £0 2s 6d Thread total £0 11s 6d Butchers' knives 6 at [...] £0 3s 0d Fir oars 100, 17, 18 and 18 foot long £37 10s 0d Spoons 1½ dozen at [...] £0 6s 9d The total of the Katharine's goods came to £39 11s 5d. <i>Success</i> goods:

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		Wine 101 1/2 Gall.s 4/- 20 6 25 1 2 162 8 2 1/4 Plantation house D.r to Store Goods Viz.t Arrack 3. Gall.s 6: 3 18 9 Sugar 9 d.o 8 6 Nailes, 3.c of 4.c at 11 2 9 3. 10 8 1/2 2 1/2 4 10 1/2 Rice 2545 d.o 3 1/2 37 2 8 1/2 Pewt.r y.e Succes, 2 larg dish Covers at 8/3 16 6 2 d.o next Size 7/6 15 2 hoop Stands 3/8 6 6 2 d.o Lesser 3:3 6 6 2 5 4 Total to Plantation £ 40 17 8	Pewter, 2 large covers for dishes at 4s 3d £0 16s 6d Pewter, 2 ditto next size at 7s 6d £0 15s 0d Pewter, 4 hoop stands at 3s 8d £0 14s 8d Pewter, 2 ditto less at 3s 3d £0 6s 6d Pewter, 1 cheese plate £0 0s 9d Pewter, 6 chamber pots at 5s 9d £1 14s 6d Pewter total £4 15s 2d Wine 101½ gallons at 4s £20 6s 0d The <i>Succes</i> goods came to £25 1s 2d. The total of the Union Castle account came to £162 8s 2½d. Plantation House account for store goods: Arrack 3 gallons at 6s 3d £0 18s 9d Sugar [...] at 8d £0 6s 0d Nails, 3 of 4d at 11 £0 2s 9d Nails, 3 of 10d at 8½d £0 2s 1½d Nails total £4 16s [...] Rice 2,545 pounds at 3½d £37 2s 8½d Pewter of the <i>Succes</i>: 2 large dish covers at 8s 3d £0 16s 6d 2 ditto next size at 7s 6d £0 15s 0d 2 hoop stands at 3s 8d £0 6s 6d 2 ditto lesser at 3s 3d £0 6s 6d Pewter total £2 5s 4d The total to the Plantation House came to £40 17s 8d. Interpretations The fir oars were the largest single item in this part, 100 of them at £37 10s 0d, supplied in lengths of 17 and 18 feet. Oars were a constant need at an island where every transfer of goods between ship and shore went by boat through a heavy surf. The bulk order points to the Company keeping its landing boats and the inhabitants' craft equipped, replacing oars lost or broken in the difficult landing at James Valley. The account closed the three institutional headings, the inhabitants, Union Castle and the Plantation House, each to its own total. The Plantation House was the Governor's residence and the Company's home farm, and its charges fell on the establishment rather than on private buyers. The bulk rice of over 2,500 pounds charged there was probably feed for the plantation slaves, the staple issued to the labour force when yams were short. A corn mill at £4 1s 0d was among the dearest single tools on the page, a hand mill for grinding grain into meal. At a settlement that grew and imported grain but had limited milling, such a machine was a valued piece of equipment. Its entry among the ironmonger's ware shows the store supplying not just small tools and fastenings but the larger apparatus of food preparation.
30	22	September Total to y.e Inhabitants £ 364 19 9 1/2 to Union Castle 162 8 2 1/4 to Plantation house 40 17 8 Total of y.e Months Collect.n Am.ts to 568 5 7 3/4 The Gunner brought in the foll.s Acc.t (Viz.t An Acc.t of Gunn.rs Stores expended from the 1.t Aug.t 1717. To y.e 31. d.o Inclusive (Viz.t Coun.d Aug.t 3 Deliver'd Lucas Mason 1 To Cap.t Haswell 1 7 To M.r Cason for Exercising y.e Garrison 6 10 To Lucas Mason 1 To y.e Guard 7 Cartridg paper Expended, Quires 3 Muskett balls 1 Flints do y.e Amorer 36 Rammer Rods do Ditto 12 Ramer Heads 6 Spunge heads 6 Spunge Staves 1 Match 21 (d.o Sign'd) John French 21 1 6 6 12 36 1 3 16 Mem.	September The totals of the month's store account stood as follows. To the inhabitants £364 19s 9¼d To Union Castle £162 8s 2¼d To the Plantation House £40 17s 8d Total of the month's collection £568 5s 7½d The gunner brought in the following account. It was an account of gunner's stores expended from 1 August 1717 to 31 August inclusive. 3 August, delivered to Lucas Mason, to Captain Haswell 1 gallon powder 7 August, to Mr Cason for exercising the garrison 6 pounds powder 10 August, to Lucas Mason 1 gallon powder To the guard [...] Powder expended in all 37 [...] Cartridge paper expended 3 quires Muskett balls 1 [...] Flints, delivered to the armourer 36 Rammer rods, delivered to the armourer 12 Rammer heads 6 Sponge heads 6 Sponge staves 1

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		This favr has been Duplicated. and sent home p.r ship Marlbro. who Sail'd y.e 20 March 17 17/18 Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	Match 21 pounds The account was signed by John French. The footed totals summed the columns above at 21 pounds of match, 1 sponge stave, 6 sponge heads, 6 rammer heads, 12 rammer rods, 36 flints, 1 [...] of musket balls and 3 quires of cartridge paper, with 16 in the final column. A memorandum recorded that this account had been duplicated and sent home by the <i>Marlborough</i>, which sailed on 20 March 1717/18. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The gunner's monthly account was the running record of every charge of powder and military store drawn from the magazine. John French, as gunner, had been ordered at the consultation of 25 October 1715 to bring in his stores accounts monthly, all entered in the consultation book in order. The detail of each issue, the powder for salutes and for exercising the garrison, the flints and rammer parts for the muskets, let the bench account for the costly and dangerous stores held for the island's defence. The powder issued to Mr Cason for exercising the garrison shows the soldiers being drilled with live charges. Regular practice kept the garrison ready to serve the guns and small arms against attack, and the powder spent on it was a recognised charge on the magazine. The separate issues to the guard and to named men mark the ordinary daily draws against the standing stock. The duplicate account sent home by the <i>Marlborough</i> reflects the Company's practice of sending records to London by more than one ship. Duplication guarded against loss at sea, a real risk on the long voyage, so a second copy went by a later vessel. The note fixes the <i>Marlborough's</i> sailing at 20 March 1717/18, which dates the despatch of this batch of records to the directors.
<u>31</u>	23	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tues- day y.e 8.th day of October 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r George Haswell Dep.ty Matthew Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.th in Council. Present. The last Consultation read & Approved of. The Gov.r reports that Benj. Miller (who is very Old) having bin 44 Years ago a Sol- dier in y.e Hon.ble Comp.s Service here is not capable to Assist as formerly in looking after the Hutts Plantation Wherefore he has Ap- pointed James Leech in his Stead. But for as much as Benj. Miller has nothing else to maintain himself withal being too Old to do any thing else for his living So that he would be Starved if he was turned away. He thinks it proper to lett him have his former allowance which was Soldiers pay continued and his Diett there. Which We all think proper. M.r Tovey is Order'd to go & View all y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Plantations & report what Stock of Yams they have in each of y.m The Gov.r reports that he has endeavour'd to buy y.e w.r Tuckers to increase the Hon.ble Comp.ys Plantations but canot now unless he	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 8 October 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that Benjamin Miller, who was very old and had entered the Honourable Company's service as a soldier here 44 years earlier, was no longer able to help as before in looking after the Hutts plantation. He had therefore appointed James Leech in his place. Since Miller had nothing else to maintain himself, being too old to do anything else for his living, he would starve if turned away. The Governor thought it proper that Miller keep his former allowance, which was a soldier's pay continued, together with his diet at the plantation. The council all agreed this was proper. The council ordered Mr Tovey to go and view all the Honourable Company's plantations and report what stock of yams they held in each of them. The Governor reported that he had tried to buy Tucker's land, to add to the Honourable Company's plantations, but could not do so now unless he [...]. Interpretations The pension granted to Benjamin Miller treated long service as a claim on the Company's support in old age. Miller had served since about 1673, and the bench continued his soldier's pay and his diet rather than leave a man of 44 years' service to starve. The arrangement shows the Company recognising a duty of maintenance to an aged servant unfit for further labour, a form of relief that fell on its own account. The order for Tovey to view the plantations and count the yams in each continued the council's close watch over its food supply. The same survey had been pressed

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			at the consultation of 19 February 1716/17, when Cason was sent to test the report that the plantations were neglected. Yams were the staple that fed the Company's slaves, so a running tally of the stock in the ground was essential to judge whether the island could feed its labour force or must buy in. Benjamin Miller had appeared earlier as the overseer at the Hutts who complained on 25 July 1715 that the slaves were sick from the unwholesome yams bought of John Long. His replacement by James Leech marks the end of a long tenure looking after the Company's slaves at that plantation. The continuity of the post, passing from one Company servant to another, shows the settled management of the home farms through trusted overseers.
32	24	October He will buy Yams too, but as We have no occasion to take Yams with them We must wait with Patience until next Season when We hope Suckers will be Plentier. The Gov.r Sayes he has begun to plant a Gutt at y.e Plantation house called Bamboo gut y.t (he computes) will hold 200. thousand Sucker.s when full but y.t they can go but slowly forward for want of Suckers. this Gutt has layn eight Years fallow, p.r cause it was then thrown out was its being much worn away, but now Wee believe it is recruited. We are also about enlarging y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Plantation at y.e Peak. It now contains ab.t 81. thousd & when We can gett Suckers to fill it We hope to improve it to two hundred thousand. In y.e last Monthly acc.t of y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Stock their Number of Goats amounted to 336. great & Small w.ch Stock of Goats are those only w.ch are under y.e care of the Overseer at Plantation house But about Six Months after Our arrival the Gov.r purchased for the Hon.ble Comp.s Of Mess.rs Carne, Wrangham, Long &c 208. Goats great & Small w.ch goats (going in y.e H.ble Comp.ys Hang in & about y.e Fort. Vally, have Increased So well that they Supplied y.e Table	October The Governor reported that the seller would buy yams too, but since the council had no need to take yams with the land, they must wait patiently until the next season, when they hoped suckers would be more plentiful. The Governor said he had begun to plant a gut at the Plantation House called Bamboo Gut. By his reckoning it would hold 200,000 suckers when full, but the planting could go only slowly for want of suckers. This gut had lain fallow for eight years, having then been thrown out because it was much worn away, but the council now believed it had recovered. The council was also enlarging the Honourable Company's plantation at the Peak. It now held about 81,000 yams, and when suckers could be got to fill it, the council hoped to improve it to 200,000. In the last monthly account of the Honourable Company's stock, the number of goats came to 336 great and small. That stock of goats was only those under the care of the overseer at the Plantation House. About six months after the council's arrival, the Governor had bought 208 goats, great and small, for the Honourable Company from Carne, Wrangham, Long and others. Those goats, running in the Company's range about Fort Valley, had increased so well that they supplied the table. Interpretations The Governor's account reconciled the two goat figures that might otherwise seem to clash. The 336 great and small in the monthly stock account, returned at the consultation of 10 September 1717, were only the beasts under the Plantation House overseer. The larger flock of 604 counted at the recent pounding included the separate herd bought from the planters and run on the open range, so the two counts measured different stocks rather than contradicting each other. The replanting of Bamboo Gut shows the council managing the fertility of its yam grounds by rotation. The gut had been thrown out of use eight years earlier because the soil was exhausted, then left fallow to recover its strength. Returning it to cultivation now, with a capacity reckoned at 200,000 suckers, marks a deliberate husbandry of land worn out by continuous cropping, the rest having renewed its productive power. The shortage of suckers was the binding constraint on the whole expansion of the plantations. Yams were grown from suckers, the shoots taken from mature plants, so the stock of planting material limited how fast new ground could be filled. The Peak plantation stood at 81,000 against a target of 200,000, and the Bamboo Gut could fill only slowly, both held back by the same want of suckers until the next season's growth supplied more.
33	25	1717 with fresh Goat for these last two Years Notwithstanding w.ch they are now so much increased that last Saturday when We made a General pounding We found that Stock to contain, (Viz.t 359. Ewe Goats. 360. Kidds	1717 with fresh Goat for these last two Years Notwithstanding w.ch they are now so much increased that last Saturday when We made a General pounding We found that Stock to contain, (Viz.t 359. Ewe Goats. 360. Kidds

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		361. Weathers. 362. Rams Total 604. Great & Small. That We are all of Opinion the range will Scarce maintain So many to keep them fatt. The Gov.r therefore proposeth that (for as much as when We first arrived here) upon acc.t of y.e Scarcity of Provisions We were Obliged to lessen the Number at y.e Table & to put y.e Gunn.r & Writers in y.e Stores to board Wages & that now Provisions are Plentier He thinks twill be proper they Should all Diet at y.e Fort Table as Usual in Gov.r Poiriers time. Order'd That from Christmas next We do begin to keep a Table for the said persons that are now at board Wages. The Gov.r Says that for as much as there happens great controversies & disputes where	361. Weathers. 362. Rams Total 604. Great & Small. That We are all of Opinion the range will Scarce maintain So many to keep them fatt. The Gov.r therefore proposeth that (for as much as when We first arrived here) upon acc.t of y.e Scarcity of Provisions We were Obliged to lessen the Number at y.e Table & to put y.e Gunn.r & Writers in y.e Stores to board Wages & that now Provisions are Plentier He thinks twill be proper they Should all Diet at y.e Fort Table as Usual in Gov.r Poiriers time. Order'd That from Christmas next We do begin to keep a Table for the said persons that are now at board Wages. The Gov.r Says that for as much as there happens great controversies & disputes where
34	26	October Where many People Eat together We Think in case of y.e Gov.rs Absence That for every Four of the under Officers they Shall have One good Dish of Meat, for every two in Council (besides Sallatting) Over That likewise in y.e Gov.rs absence There Shall Stand a Salt upon y.e Table which Shall be placed below y.e Council & Chaplin Those who Sett above that Salt Shall al- ways drink as they think proper either Wine or Punch but those who Sett below the Salt Shall have to Two persons One comon Bowl of Punch (w.ch contains about three pints) If but three the Same, if 4 two, If Five no more & if Six per- sons three bowls of Punch Or in case of Wine instead thereof One boule for each bowl of Punch. This allowance to be only on Comon dayes & in the Governours absence. We shall for y.e future kill every month One Beef for y.e Table. the last We kill'd We had very ill Success with. Some body in the night time having un tilled the Shed in the Garden were We kept y.e meat & Stole it all away so that on Sunday (for the los thereof We had likely to have kept fast day The Gunn.r brought in his Acc.t (Viz.t an	October The council set out rules for the table where many people ate together. In the Governor's absence, every four of the under officers were to have one good dish of meat, and every two in council the same, besides salad. The council also ordered that, in the Governor's absence, a salt stand be placed on the table below the council and the chaplain. Those who sat above the salt might always drink as they thought proper, either wine or punch. Those who sat below the salt were to have, for every two persons, one common bowl of punch, which held about three pints. If there were three persons, they had the same one bowl; if four, two bowls; if five, no more than two; and if six, three bowls. In place of wine, one bottle was allowed for each bowl of punch. This allowance was for ordinary days only and in the Governor's absence. The council further ordered that for the future they kill one beef each month for the table. The last beast they killed had met with very ill fortune. Someone in the night had unhinged the shed in the garden where the meat was kept and stolen it all away, so that on the Sunday, for want of it, the council had nearly been forced to keep a fast day. The gunner brought in his account, as follows. Interpretations The placing of the salt stand fixed rank visibly at the common table. To sit above the salt was to hold higher standing, here the council and the chaplain, who chose freely between wine and punch. Those below the salt, the under officers, were held to a measured ration of punch by a sliding scale. The arrangement turned the seating itself into a mark of hierarchy and set drink allowances by station rather than by appetite. The graduated punch ration was a careful control of a shared cost. By fixing how many bowls served a given number of men, the council capped the drink charged to the Company's table while keeping the allowance fair across the company. The substitution rate of one bottle of wine for each bowl of punch gave a settled measure, so the cost stayed predictable whether the men drank wine or punch. The theft of the month's beef points to the value of fresh meat at a place where it was scarce. A whole carcass kept for the table was worth stealing, and its loss left the establishment without meat for the Sunday. The council's order to kill one beast a month, set against the recovering cattle herd, marks a return to regular fresh provisioning after the lean years, while the theft shows how tempting such a store remained.
35	27	1717 An Acc.t of Gunn.rs Stores expended from Sep.r the 1.t 1717. to 7.ber y.e 30.th Inclusive (Viz.t Sep.r 26 To Lucas Mason 1 To y.e Guard 6 Muskett balls 2 To Spunge heads 3	1717 The gunner brought in an account of gunner's stores expended from 1 September 1717 to 30 September inclusive. 26 September, to Lucas Mason 1 [...] powder To the guard 6 pounds powder Musket balls 2 [...]

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		Ramer heads 3 Spunge Staves 3 Sheep Skins 4 Flints. 25 Match 14 (Sign'd) Jn.o French 14 25 4 3 3 3 2 7 M.rs Frances Carne, Widow. Appeared this day according to Sumons to Answer to a demand made by y.e Gov.r as Proxy to M.r John Carne of Lond.n Gent. for a Debt he claims of Four hundred Pounds due to him from her late husband M.r Geo. Carne (dec.d) & Asserted She had not Effects of M.r Geo: Carnes to pay any further Claimes or Debts upon y.e s.d Estate if She Sold all She had in the World at a good price & made divers allegations referring to many particular proofs. To prevent misunderstanding Where of. It is Ordered. That M.rs Carne make her defence in Wri- ting & bring in y.e Same next Consultation day.	Sponge heads 3 Rammer heads 3 Sponge staves 3 Sheep skins 4 Flints 25 Match 14 pounds The account was signed by John French. The footed totals summed the columns above at 14 pounds of match, 25 flints, 4 sheep skins, 3 sponge staves, 3 rammer heads, 3 sponge heads, 2 [...] of musket balls and 7 in the final column. Mrs Frances Carne, widow, appeared this day on summons to answer a demand made by the Governor, acting as proxy for Mr John Carne of London, gentleman. Carne claimed a debt of £400 0s 0d owed to him by her late husband Mr George Carne, deceased. She asserted that she held no effects of George Carne's to pay any further claims or debts on his estate, even if she sold all she had in the world at a good price. She made several allegations referring to many particular proofs. To prevent misunderstanding, the council ordered that Mrs Carne make her defence in writing and bring it in on the next consultation day. Interpretations The gunner's account followed the standing order that John French render his stores monthly, as required at the consultation of 25 October 1715. The footed row summed each store column, so every total carried the unit of the item above it, the match and powder by the pound, the flints, skins and rammer parts by the piece. The detail let the bench account for the magazine's draws against the costly stores held for defence. The Governor's role as proxy for John Carne made him the agent of a London creditor's claim against an island estate. George Carne's debts ran through many earlier consultations, his schedule of 7 December 1714 listing 29 slaves at £290 0s 0d, and the bench had long handled the winding up of his affairs. Acting for the distant creditor, the Governor pressed a £400 0s 0d demand that the widow could not meet, the council standing as the forum where a claim from England was tried against local assets. The order that Frances Carne answer in writing turned a disputed debt into a formal pleading. Her spoken allegations and references to particular proofs were too many to settle at once, so the bench required a written defence to fix her case for examination. Putting the dispute on paper gave the council a clear record to weigh against the creditor's demand and reduced the risk of misunderstanding in a contested matter of £400 0s 0d.
36	28	October The Sec.rys Office was Viewd according to the Order of Council of the 24.th Ultimo & We find the Books & Papers therein y.e Same as last Year with the Addition of Consultation book N.o 15. Begun the 10.th day of Sept.r & last 1717 Geo Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	October The secretary's office was viewed under the council order of 24 September last. The council found the books and papers there the same as the previous year, with the addition of consultation book number 15. That book had been begun on 10 September 1717 and was the latest in the series. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The view of the office carried out the order made at the consultation of 24 September 1717 to inspect the books and papers. The council confirmed the holdings matched the previous inventory, the only change being the latest consultation book added to the run. The regular check kept the office accountable for the records in its charge, continuing the care shown in the full inventory of the presses taken at the consultation of 9 October 1716. The numbering of the consultation books fixed an unbroken official record of the council's proceedings. Book number 15, begun on 10 September 1717, took its place in the sequence as the current volume, so that the bench could trace any past decision to a dated and

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			numbered book. The orderly succession of volumes was the means by which the settlement preserved its legal and administrative memory.
37	29	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday y.e 15.th day of October 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r George Haswell Dep.ty Matth Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Council Present. The Last Consultation read & approved. M.r Isaac Wood Prays he may Register a Bill of Sale for Ten Acres of Land he has Purchased of Robert Gurling for 40. & That he may have a Deed for y.e Same Order'd That the said Bill of Sale be Register'd & a Warrant given to Cap.t Bazett to Measure the s.d Land & that he have (also a Deed for it. The Gov.r acquaints the Council That Benj.n Cleverley Carpenter (being out of his Ap- prentiship) refuseth to Work at y.e Hon.ble Comp.s work, except his Wages are raised. This Cleverley is One of those mencion'd in y.e Consultation of the 27.th of August last 1717. He Also reports that We are now about Paving the Country Church with Cutt Stone & are in hopes to find some fitt for it about	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 15 October 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. Mr Isaac Wood asked to register a bill of sale for 10 acres of land he had bought from Robert Gurling for £40 0s 0d, and to have a deed for it. The council ordered that the bill of sale be registered and a warrant given to Captain Bazett to measure the land, and that Wood also have a deed for it. The Governor told the council that Benjamin Cleverley, carpenter, now out of his apprenticeship, refused to do the Honourable Company's work unless his wages were raised. This was the same Cleverley mentioned in the consultation of 27 August 1717. The Governor also reported that the council was now paving the country church with cut stone and hoped to find some fit for the purpose. Interpretations The registration confirmed the conditional grant made to Isaac Wood at the consultation of 10 September 1717. His purchase of Gurling's 10 acres for £40 0s 0d had been allowed, and the bench now entered the bill of sale, gave a warrant for the land to be measured and ordered a deed. The sequence shows how a land transfer was perfected, the sale entered in the register and the boundaries fixed by survey before title was secured. Cleverley's refusal to work without higher wages was a labour dispute in a trade the Company could not easily replace. Skilled carpenters were scarce on the island, and his demand on coming out of his apprenticeship gave him leverage the bench had already weighed at the consultation of 27 August 1717, when his master Richard Swallow sought to raise his pay. The recurrence shows the Company pressed by the bargaining power of its few craftsmen, a constraint it had long sought to ease by asking the directors for carpenters from England. The paving of the country church with cut stone reflects the difficulty of finding suitable building stone on the island. The hope of finding stone fit for the purpose points to a scarcity of good dressed stone, a recurring obstacle in the settlement's building projects. The work marks the upkeep of the church as a charge the council managed alongside its other construction. Speculations The Governor's choice to bring Cleverley's refusal before the full council, rather than settle the wage himself, suggests he wished the matter handled as a precedent rather than a private bargain. At the consultation of 27 August 1717 the bench had conceded only sixpence a day to him and pressed instead for carpenters from England. By laying the fresh demand before the council, Pyke kept the decision collective and avoided setting a rate that other craftsmen might invoke, treating one man's leverage as a question for the bench to contain.
38	30	October about Lemon Vally head which will be a consi- derable advantage because of the great way & charge in carriage from where they Cutt Stone now. The Gov.r mentions what may Serve for a Memorand.m tho it dont so much relate to y.e Hon.ble Comp.s Affairs that M.r Vesey (One of y.e Church Wardens) brought y.e foll.s Acc.t (Viz.t That coming with their boat into Sandy bay from Fishing, there was a prodigious Scoul of Fish gott into y.e Cove & tho at that Cove tis always Deep water the	October The stone found near Lemon Valley head would be a considerable advantage, because of the great distance and cost of carrying stone from where it was cut now. The Governor mentioned something that might serve as a memorandum, though it did not much concern the Honourable Company's affairs. Mr Vesey, one of the churchwardens, brought the following account. Coming into Sandy Bay with their boat from fishing, they met a prodigious shoal of fish that had got into the cove.

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		Fish filled it chock up in So much that they tyed fish-hooks to Sticks & Poles in y.e nature of Forks or Gaffs & hauld out a very great Number of them imediately more then they could well tell what to do with We guess y.e occasion of it to be upon account of their being persued by Some Fish of Prey. M.r Tovey being appointed to overlook y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Plantations Reports as Followeth. (Viz.t That there are planted Yams near the Plantation house 100.000 At Luffkins. 140.000 At y.e Hutts 330.000 At Perkins. 199.000 At y.e High Peak 81.000 Besides the Yams at Tomstone Wood. Total. 850.000	Though the water at that cove was always deep, the fish filled it so densely that the men tied fish hooks to sticks and poles in the manner of forks or gaffs and hauled out a very great number of them at once, more than they well knew what to do with. The council guessed the cause to be that the fish were being pursued by some fish of prey. Mr Tovey, having been appointed to oversee the Honourable Company's plantations, reported as follows. The yams planted near the Plantation House came to the following. Near the Plantation House 100,000 At Lufkins 140,000 At the Hutts 330,000 At Perkins 199,000 At the High Peak 81,000 Besides the yams at Tombstone Wood, the total came to 850,000. Interpretations The stone near Lemon Valley head answered the scarcity of dressed building stone noted at the consultation of 15 October 1717. Carrying stone from the existing quarry was slow and costly, so a nearer source cut both the distance and the charge of carriage. The find shows the council always seeking to ease the heavy cost of moving building material across difficult ground. The yam survey returned the count Tovey was ordered to make at the consultation of 8 October 1717. The total of 850,000 across the plantations, set beside the earlier survey reported at the consultation of 19 February 1716/17, gave the bench a clear measure of its food stock in the ground. Yams were the staple that fed the Company's slaves, so the running tally was the basis for judging whether the island could feed its labour force without buying in. The crop was concentrated at the Hutts and Perkins, which held 330,000 and 199,000 of the total. The spread across named plantations let the council see which grounds carried the heaviest stock and which, like the High Peak at 81,000, were still being filled. The figures match the expansion reported at the consultation of 8 October 1717, when the Peak stood at the same 81,000 against a target of 200,000.
39	31	1717 Order'd That Cap.t Bazett do overlook the Plantations belonging to y.e Hon.ble Company the next Month. The New Blacks tare their Cloaths so much that the Gov.r Sayes he fears he must be forced to New Cloath them M.rs Carne Presented y.e following Petit. Island S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l Isaa Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The humble Petit.n of Frances Carne Widow Sheweth. That yo.r Petition was much Surpriz'd that any demands shoud be now made from her dec.d husband M.r Geo Carnes relations or any others for Debts he owed in England after so long Silence, w.ch yo.r pet.r is very Sorry to repeat That y.e Inventory deliver'd into yo.r Worsh.l & Council of all y.e Effects real & Personal Of yo.r Petit.rs husb.d y.t Carne died possessed of (& in which is included yo.r pet.rs first husbands also) Wherein it appears (y.e there being more Debts since y.e time paid) there is not Suffecient to pay any further claim lett y.e Debt be never so Just & due For yo.r pet.r could not have Subsisted hitherto had not some of her Creditors had patience &	1717 The council ordered that Captain Bazett oversee the plantations belonging to the Honourable Company the next month. The Governor said that the new blacks wore out their clothes so much that he feared he would be forced to clothe them afresh. Mrs Carne presented the following petition to the Governor and Council. Frances Carne, widow, petitioned the council. She set out that she was much surprised that any demands should now be made for debts her late husband Mr George Carne had owed in England, whether by his relations or any others, after so long a silence. She was very sorry to repeat that the inventory she had delivered to the council, of all the real and personal effects George Carne died possessed of, which included those of her first husband as well, showed that, after the debts since paid, there was not enough to meet any further claim, however just and due that debt might be. She could not have subsisted until now had not some of her creditors shown patience. Interpretations The widow's petition answered in writing the £400 0s 0d demand the Governor had pressed as proxy for John Carne of London at the consultation of 8 October 1717. The bench had ordered her to make her defence on paper, and she now did so, resting it on the inventory of the whole estate and the want of assets after earlier debts were paid. Her plea turned on a defined principle, that

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			an estate could meet claims only to the value of its effects, however just the further debt. George Carne's tangled affairs reached back through many earlier consultations, his debt schedule of 7 December 1714 listing 29 slaves at £290 0s 0d. The widow's reference to her first husband's effects being mixed with Carne's shows the estate had absorbed two marriages worth of property and obligation. Her appeal to the patience of her creditors marks a woman holding off competing claims on an estate too small to satisfy them all. The Governor's concern over clothing the new blacks reflects the recurring charge of maintaining the Company's slaves. The recently arrived Madagascar slaves, brought by the <i>Mercury</i> on 28 April 1717, were wearing out the clothing issued to them, and replacing it fell on the Company's account. Slave clothing had a settled cost on the island, recorded at about 14s the suit, so the wear was a real and repeating expense the Governor flagged for the bench.
40	32	October and lett her Live quietly on the Land that was yo.r Petit.rs Own Fathers & her first husb.d which goes to her Children after her decease. for all y.e Lands of her s.d last husb.d M.r G. Carne was Sold by himself to pay part of his Debts Some little time before his decease. If yo.r Worsh.l &c. Council will please to look over y.e Yearly Account of Families, Land & Cattle yo.l find that Cap.t Goodwin (my first husb.d) had A.o 1709 y.e Year he died (Viz.t 103. Acres Free Land 7. Acres hired 10. Blacks & 50. head of Cattle. At the Same time M.rs Ann Fuller Widow (my Mother) held 15. Acres of Free Land 1. Black & 24. head of Cattle w.ch afterwards came to me by Inheritance, All w.ch yo.r petit.r had improved considerably before her Marriage with M.r Carne. At w.ch time She had likewise as good a House as any in James Vally but by her unfortunate Marriage w.th M.r Carne who Sold her said (Husband Goodwins) house to pay his Debts, As Also yo.r petit.rs plate to y.e Value of 100. Spent her ready mony, Sold Several of your Petit.rs husb.d Goodwins Blacks lessened y.e Stock & Squandred away every thing So fast That if he had not Died as he did, y.e family could not have	October The widow asked to be left to live quietly on the land that had been her own father's and her first husband's, which would go to her children after her death. She set out that all the land of her last husband Mr George Carne had been sold by himself, some little time before his death, to pay part of his debts. She asked the council to look over the yearly account of families, land and cattle. It would show that her first husband Captain Goodwin, in 1709, the year he died, had held the following. Free land 103 acres Hired land 7 acres Blacks 10 Head of cattle 50 At the same time her mother, Mrs Fuller, widow, held the following. Free land 15 acres Black 1 Head of cattle 24 These afterwards came to the widow by inheritance. All that she held had been improved considerably before her marriage with Carne. At that time she had as good a house as any in James Valley. By her unfortunate marriage with Carne, he had sold her late husband Goodwin's house to pay his debts, and her plate to the value of £100 0s 0d. He spent her ready money, sold several of Goodwin's blacks, lessened the stock and squandered away everything so fast that, had he not died as he did, the family could not have [...]. Interpretations The widow's account set out her separate property to argue it lay beyond the reach of Carne's creditors. The land from her father and her first husband Goodwin was entailed to her children after her death, so it could not be sold to meet Carne's English debts. By tracing the holdings through the yearly census, she gave the bench documentary proof of what was hers and her children's rather than her late husband's, the ground on which she resisted the £400 0s 0d demand pressed at the consultation of 8 October 1717. The petition is a record of an estate dissipated by a husband's control of his wife's property. Under the law a married woman's goods passed to her husband, so Carne could sell Goodwin's house, the widow's plate worth £100 0s 0d and the inherited slaves and cattle to cover his own debts. Her account shows the wreck of a substantial holding, and her plea rests on the principle that what remained, being entailed land, should not follow her husband's obligations. The yearly account of families, land and cattle was the island census the council took each March. Certified for 1716 at the consultation of 14 May 1717, it recorded every household's free and hired acres, slaves and stock,

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			and served as the standing register of property on the island. The widow's appeal to it shows how the census doubled as legal evidence, a dated record she could cite to prove the extent and descent of her holdings.
41	33	1717 have been maintained. For at his decease y.e whole Estate was but 111. Acres of Land 18. Blacks. (8. of w.ch are Free & therefore cannot be Sold &c) 19. head of Cattle He Left yo.r Petit.r indebted in y.e Hon.ble Comp.y's Stores 74, besides other Debts to the Value of £ 920, odd mony as By Inventory Deld in, & others appearing Since against the Estate and £ 120, more paid to his Daughter Carolina married to M.r Tho. Newcomb As to y.e Hon.ble Comp.s Debt yo.r Worsh.l &c. Coun.l know, yo.r petit.r is not able as Yet to pay But willing to do So, If yo.r Worsh.l &c. Council take her Cattle or Blacks the Land will do her No good. Wherefore yo.r petit.r prays you.l please to take Yams of her for y.e Hon.ble Comp.s Use at four Shillings p.r 100, w.t y.e price they always Used to give or to hire her blacks at eighteen pence p.r day to Lessen her Debt, otherwise yo.r Petit.r knows not how to propose to pay it in less then five or Six Years time, Shipping Staying hire so little time now to what they Used to do in time of War, mony is not to be gotten, Yo.r Petit.r desires no more then a bare maintenance & all She can Save She is wil- ling to pay away. Yo.r Worsh.l &c. Council knows	1717 The widow set out that the family could not have been maintained, for at Carne's death his whole estate came to only the following. Land 111 acres Blacks 18, of which 8 were free and therefore could not be sold Head of cattle 46 Carne had left her indebted to the Honourable Company's stores in £74 0s 0d, besides other debts to the value of £920 0s 0d odd money, as shown by the inventory she had delivered and by other claims appearing since against the estate, and £120 0s 0d more paid to his daughter Carolina, married to Mr Thomas Newcomb. As to the debt owed to the Honourable Company, the widow set out that she was not yet able to pay it but willing to do so. If the council took her cattle or her blacks, the land would do her no good. She therefore asked them to take yams of her for the Honourable Company's use, at 4 shillings the 100 weight, the price they always used to give, or to hire her blacks at 18 pence a day, to lessen her debt. Otherwise she could not see how to pay it in less than five or six years, since shipping now stayed so little time compared with what it used to do in time of war, and money was hard to come by. She desired no more than a bare maintenance, and all she could save she was willing to pay away. Interpretations The widow's figures laid bare an estate swallowed by debt, the liabilities far exceeding the assets. Against 111 acres, 18 slaves and 46 cattle stood £74 0s 0d owed to the stores, £920 0s 0d in other debts and £120 0s 0d paid to a daughter on marriage. The arithmetic supported her defence to the £400 0s 0d London claim pressed at the consultation of 8 October 1717, that an insolvent estate could not meet a further demand however just. The eight free blacks she could not sell mark a legal limit on the estate's realisable assets. Slaves who had been freed were persons in law, not property, so they could not be seized or sold to pay Carne's debts. Their presence among the household reduced the saleable stock to ten, which the widow used to show how little the estate could in fact yield to creditors. Her offer to pay in yams or slave labour rather than capital was a structured proposal to clear the Company debt without losing the means of subsistence. Selling the cattle or slaves would have stripped the land of its working stock, leaving it idle, so she proposed paying through the produce and labour the holding generated. The rates she named, 4 shillings the hundred for yams and 18 pence a day for hired blacks, were the settled island prices, which let her frame a repayment in kind on terms the council already recognised. Speculations The widow's remark that shipping now stayed too little time to let her sell points to a real change in the island's economy with the end of the war. In wartime, ships had lingered longer under convoy and the demand for provisions had been steadier, giving planters a market for their surplus. Her difficulty in raising money suggests the peace had thinned the calling traffic and slackened demand, so that a debtor relying on selling produce to passing ships now found far fewer buyers and a slower turnover.
42	34	October knows theres fifty three pounds Six Shilling's & eight pence due to God Keilings Orphans w.ch M.r Carne	October The widow set out that £53 6s 8d was due to Governor Keeling's orphans, which Mr Carne had spent.

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		Spent but being a Just Debt yo.r petit.r is willing to pay it as soon as she can but as to y.e Debt claimed by M.r Carnes Broth.r She beleives no thing is due to him But is well Assured y.t M.r John Carne now possesseth a good Estate in Land w.ch of right belonged to her s.d husb.d M.r G. Carne (& his Son Elihu now in Engl.d) who was deluded to Assign it to his Br.r John (when in Engl.d) & if they did in like maner gett a Bond from him yo.r petit.r believes it to be as unjust as y.e conveying away y.e Estate, his Brother John not being then in circumstances to advance him so much ready mony. And thinks he should be contented y.t he is not Sued for y.e unjust & wicked detention of y.e Land, & not endeavour by new Forgeries to de- fraud yo.r Petit.rs Children of their Fathers Land, on pretence of a Debt due to him, when all yo.r Petit.rs first husbands Estate & his Childrens that was in M.r Carnes hands at his decease was not eno to pay his real Debts. Wherefore yo.r petit.r humbly prays She may not be prosecuted & put to Charges where nothing is to be had, but the hindering her to improve that little of her Childrens she has left	Being a just debt, she was willing to pay it as soon as she could. As to the debt claimed by Mr Carne's brother, she believed nothing was due to him. She was well assured that Mr John Carne now held a good estate in land which by right belonged to her late husband Mr George Carne and his son Elihu, now in England, who had been deceived into assigning it to his brother John while in England. If they had in the same way obtained a bond from him, she believed it to be as unjust as the conveying away of the estate, since the brother John had not then been in a position to advance him so much ready money. She thought he should be content that he was not himself sued for his unjust and wicked detention of the land, and that he should not try by new forgeries to defraud her children of their father's land, on the pretence of a debt due to him. All of her first husband's estate and her children's, which had been in Carne's hands at his death, had not been enough to pay his real debts. The widow therefore asked that she might not be prosecuted and put to charges where nothing was to be had, but only hindered in improving the little that her children had left. Interpretations The widow turned the London claim back on John Carne by charging him with holding land that belonged to her husband's heirs. She alleged the son Elihu had been tricked into assigning the estate to his uncle while in England, and that the bond now claimed was got by the same means. Her defence thus moved from pleading insolvency to attacking the creditor's own title, arguing the demand of 8 October 1717 rested on land wrongfully taken from the very children it now threatened. The debt to Governor Keeling's orphans marks the reach of the island's interlocking obligations. Carne had spent £53 6s 8d belonging to the orphans of the late Governor Richard Keeling, and the widow acknowledged it as a just debt while disputing the brother's claim. Her readiness to pay one and resist the other shows a careful distinction between obligations she accepted and those she held fraudulent, the orphans' money being a recognised trust. The charge of forgery framed the brother's claim as not merely doubtful but criminal. The widow had earlier alleged at the consultation of 8 October 1717 that her case rested on particular proofs, and she now named forgery directly, both as to the conveyance and the bond. By casting the demand as built on fabricated documents, she sought to deny it any standing before the council and to protect the entailed land her children would otherwise lose.
43	35	1717 left to Subsist upon & bring them up. & yo.r Petit.r as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c. the 15.th Oct.r 1717. (Sign'd) her Frances F C. Carne mark. The Gov.r Sayes he has rec.d powers from M.r John Carne in Engl.d w.ch was y.e occasion of his Sumoning M.rs Carne for this demand of four hundred pounds & if M.r John Carne's Debt is due by Bond it must be paid. as to y.e Selling of her Land tho He dont desire it, if she can discharge y.e Bond any other way Yet if She canot then She must Sell y.e Land for payment of M.r Carne's Debts who was her husband & for that She must thank her self for she knew Carne to be greatly in debt before She married. The Gov.r Sayes also he has a Letter of Attorney & Bond for mony due to M.r Keeling w.ch has been long Since due, but unpaid w.ch he now likewise demands & if She does not propose some way of imediate payment of these Debts he expects some good Security for y.e payment thereof a few months hence & Interest for y.e	1717 The widow closed by asking that she be left enough to subsist on and to bring up her children. The petition, dated 15 October 1717, was signed by Frances Carne with her mark. The Governor said that he had received powers from Mr John Carne in England, which was the reason he had summoned Mrs Carne over this demand of £400 0s 0d. If John Carne's debt was due by bond, it must be paid. As to selling her land, he did not desire it if she could discharge the bond any other way. But if she could not, then she must sell the land to pay the debts of Mr Carne, who had been her husband. For that she must thank herself, since she had known Carne to be greatly in debt before she married him. The Governor said also that he held a letter of attorney and a bond for money due to Mr Keeling, which had long been due but unpaid, and which he now likewise demanded. If she did not propose some way of immediate payment of these debts, he expected good

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		same Cap.t Haswell, Capt Bazett & Mr Tovey Say Since there are so many demands on this Estate	security for their payment a few months hence, together with interest on the sum. Captain Haswell, Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey said that, since there were so many demands on this estate [...]. Interpretations The Governor reduced the dispute to a single test, whether the claim stood on a valid bond. A debt by bond was a sealed written obligation enforceable in its own right, so if John Carne's demand rested on one it had to be paid regardless of the widow's allegations. His position answered her charge of forgery from the consultation of 15 October 1717 by pointing to the document itself, the bond being the thing that would settle whether the £400 0s 0d was due. The Governor pressed a second claim alongside the first, the Keeling debt he held by letter of attorney. He acted as agent for two distant creditors at once, John Carne and the Keeling interest, both demands falling on the same insolvent estate. His call for immediate payment or good security with interest shows him enforcing the creditors' rights firmly, unmoved by the widow's plea that nothing was to be had. The Governor's remark that the widow must thank herself placed the loss on her own choice of marriage. Under the law her property had passed to Carne on the marriage, and she had married him knowing him deeply in debt. The observation marks the legal reality that bound a wife's estate to her husband's liabilities, the council treating her plight as the consequence of a known risk rather than a ground for relief.
44	36	October Estate w.ch are not likely to be Satisfied unless the Land be Sold they think y.e Hon.ble Comp.s Debt ought first to be Secured & then to pay y.e rest as far as it will goe & therefore desire the Gov.r to demand y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Debt first & then lett y.e other Creditors have their proportion where it shall appeare to be due but if M.rs Carnes Allegations are true, M.r John Carne tho he has a Bond has nothing Justly due to him for She Sayes when her husband was deluded & drawn in to Sell his Birthright y.e reversion of his Mothers Joynture, at y.e Signing of those papers he did not take up the Bond Sealed at receipt of the mony (in case he did Seal such a Bond w.ch yett She much doubts) but when M.r Carne was last in England he was much harassed ab.t his first true Wife there who proving herself his Lawfull Wife gave him trouble for a main- tenance so y.t he needed y.e Assistance of all his Friends & in such trouble (if ever he did Seal such a Bond) tis highly probable he omitted taking of it up when he Sealed y.e writings for conveyance of his Mothers Joynture. Order'd hereupon That if M.rs Carne be likely to be so long as she mentions in	October The three councillors set out that, since the demands on this estate were not likely to be satisfied unless the land was sold, they thought the Honourable Company's debt ought to be secured first, and then the rest paid as far as the estate would go. They therefore wished the Governor to demand the Company's debt first, and then to let the other creditors have their proportion where a debt appeared to be due. But if Mrs Carne's allegations were true, then Mr John Carne, though he held a bond, had nothing justly due to him. The widow said that when her husband had been deceived and drawn in to sell his birthright, the reversion of his mother's jointure, he had not, at the signing of those papers, taken up the bond sealed at the receipt of the money, if indeed he had sealed such a bond, which she much doubted. When Carne was last in England he had been much harassed about his first true wife there, who, proving herself his lawful wife, gave him trouble for a maintenance. He needed the help of all his friends and was in such trouble that, if he ever did seal such a bond, it was highly probable he had omitted to take it up when he sealed the writings for the conveyance of his mother's jointure. The council ordered that if Mrs Carne was likely to be as long in paying as she mentioned [...]. Interpretations The council set the Company's debt ahead of all others, ordering it secured first and the rest paid in proportion. This established a priority of creditors, the Company's £74 0s 0d to the stores taking precedence over the private claims, including the £400 0s 0d pressed for John Carne at the consultation of 8 October 1717. The ranking shows the bench protecting its employer's interest first when an estate could not satisfy everyone. The widow's argument exposed a flaw in the very bond the Governor relied on. She suggested that if Carne sealed a bond on receiving the money, he may have failed to cancel it after the debt was discharged through the sale of his mother's jointure. A bond not taken up after payment could be sued on twice, so her point was that the document might prove a settled debt fraudulently revived rather than a live one.

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			A reversion of a jointure was a future interest in property set aside for a widow's support. Carne's mother held the jointure for her life, and the reversion was Carne's right to the property after her death, which he was said to have sold as his birthright. The detail shows the estate's tangled descent, the land John Carne now held having passed through a sale of this future interest that the widow alleged was procured by deceit.
45	37	1717 in her Petition before she pay the Hon.ble Comp.s That She doe forthwith give Secu- rity for that Debt & pay Interest for the Same until it be discharged. The Overs.r at Plantation house brought in y.e following Acc.ts (Viz.t Acc.t of y.e Hon.ble Comp.s Neat Cattle, Sheep Hogs & Goats at y.e Plantation house taken 86.r 1.t 1717. Cattle 57. Cows. 29. Heifers 7. Bullocks 41. Calves 4. Steers 4. Yearlings 2. Bulls 144. In all 3. died of a Swelling in y.e Throat Since last account None kill'd or Increasd 4. Turkeys great & sm.l 5. kill'd Since last account none Increased 6. died 7. Fowls gr.t & small Sent to y.e Castle 6. Since last acc.t 12 Increased, Kill'd. 2. Hogs. 4 Sows. Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	1717 The council ordered that, if Mrs Carne was likely to be as long in paying as she mentioned in her petition, she should give security for the Company's debt before she paid the Honourable Company, and pay interest on it until it was discharged. The overseer at the Plantation House brought in the following account. It was an account of the Honourable Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs and goats at the Plantation House, taken on 8 October 1717. Cattle: Cows 57 Heifers 29 Bullocks 7 Calves 41 Steers 4 Yearlings 4 Bulls 2 In all 144 Of these, 3 had died of a swelling in the throat since the last account, and none were killed or increased. Hogs: Sows 4 Turkeys, great and small 97 Of these, 3 were killed since the last account, none had increased and 2 had died. Fowls, great and small 30 Of these, 6 had been sent to the Castle since the last account, 12 had increased and 2 were killed. The account was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The order on the Carne debt confirmed the priority the council had set, requiring security and interest before the estate paid anything else. The bench thus enforced the ranking it ordered at the consultation of 15 October 1717, the Company's claim taking precedence and accruing interest until met. The condition turned the widow's plea for time into a secured and interest-bearing obligation, protecting the Company against her slow repayment. The cattle return shows the herd at the Plantation House holding near its recent level, 144 head against the 198 of the wider plantation account at the consultation of 10 September 1717. The two counts measured different stocks, this one the beasts at the Plantation House alone. The loss of three to a swelling in the throat marks disease as a steady drain, the same pattern of mortality that the monthly returns recorded across the herds. The transfer of six fowls to the Castle records the flow of provisions from the home farm to the garrison table. The Plantation House raised stock that supplied Union Castle, so birds moved between the two establishments as needed. The note distinguishes beasts sent to the Castle from those killed or increased, keeping the overseer's account clear on where each animal went.
46	38	October Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday y.e 22.d day of October 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matthew Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Council Present. The last Consultation read & Approv'd of.	October Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 22 October 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved.

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		Francis Steward having complained That his Father in Law M.r John Robinson detain's his Land & Division of the Personal Estate left him by his Father Onesiphorus Steward (dec.d) The s.d Robinson was Sumond to appeare before y.e Gov.r &c. Coun.l to Shew cause why y.e s.d Fra Steward had not the Said Estate deliver'd him he being above y.e Age of twenty One Years. And the s.d Jh.n Robinson & Fra Steward Appearing after Several Arguments on each Side they to prevent any further disputes Desired it might be Referrd to y.e Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett. Who will give in their Opinions the next Consultation day M.r Ripin Wills One of y.e Execut.r to y.e last Will of y.e s.d Ones.r Steward appeared Also & Produced the following Bond. (Viz.t	Francis Steward complained that his father-in-law Mr John Robinson detained his land and the division of the personal estate left him by his father Onesiphorus Steward, deceased. John Robinson was summoned to appear before the Governor and Council to show cause why he had not delivered the estate to Francis Steward, who was above the age of 21. Both John Robinson and Francis Steward appeared, and after several arguments on each side they asked, to prevent any further disputes, that the matter be referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett, who would give their opinions on the next consultation day. Mr Riping Wills, one of the executors of the last will of Onesiphorus Steward, appeared also and produced the following bond. Interpretations The dispute turned on a guardian withholding an inheritance from an heir who had come of age. John Robinson held the land and personal estate left to Francis Steward by his father, but the heir, now past 21, was entitled to take it into his own hands. The summons to show cause put the burden on Robinson to justify the detention, the council acting as the forum that enforced an heir's right against a custodian who would not give up the estate. The reference to the Governor and Bazett shows the bench's habit of sending a contested matter to two members for a considered opinion. Rather than rule at once after argument, the council delegated the question to two of its number to report on the next consultation day. The parties themselves asked for this, seeking a settled judgement that would prevent further disputes rather than a hasty decision. The production of the bond by the executor brought documentary proof into a family quarrel over an estate. A bond was a sealed obligation that fixed a sum or duty in writing, and Riping Wills, as executor of Onesiphorus Steward's will, held it as evidence bearing on the division. Its appearance shows the council resolving the matter on the strength of written instruments rather than on the conflicting accounts of the parties.
47	39	1717 Island S.t Helena. Know all men by these p.sents That We John Robinson, Geo. Hoskison & John Alexander Free Planters Do hereby ac- knowldg Our Selves to Stand indebted unto Ripin Wills & Cha: Steward Free Planters & Ex.rs of y.e Last Will & Testament of Onesiphorus Steward Late of y.e s.d Isle Free Plant.r dec.d in y.e full & Just Sum of Two hundred Seventy five Pounds fifteen shill.s One penny three farthing (Being y.e two thirds of y.e s.d dec.d Ones.r Stewards personal Estate as was apprai'sd by two indifferent Men) in such particulars & goods as is mentioned in y.e s.d dec.d Ones.r Stewards Inventory & for y.e true performance & payment of y.e s.d Sum aforesd to be Well & truly p.d unto y.e s.d Ripin Wills & Cha Steward their heirs Ex.rs Adm.r or Assigns We Do hereby bind Our Selves Our heirs Ex.rs & Adm.r firmly by these p.sents In Witness whereof We have here- unto Sett our hands & Seals this 26.th day of January 1704/5. The condition of this Obligation is Such That Whereas y.e above named Onesip.r Steward by his last Will & Testament bearing Date y.e 12. day of July 1704 Did amongst other Legacys & bequests Give & bequeath to	1717 Island of St Helena. The bond declared the following. John Robinson, George Hoskison and John Alexander, free planters, acknowledged themselves indebted to Riping Wills and Charles Steward, free planters and executors of the last will and testament of Onesiphorus Steward, late of the island and a free planter, deceased. The debt was the full and just sum of £275 15s 1¾d. This was two-thirds of the personal estate of the deceased Onesiphorus Steward, as appraised by two indifferent men, in such particulars and goods as were mentioned in the deceased's inventory. For the true performance and payment of that sum to Riping Wills and Charles Steward, their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, the three bound themselves, their heirs, executors and administrators firmly by these presents. In witness of this they had set their hands and seals on 26 January 1704/5. The condition of the obligation was such that, since the above-named Onesiphorus Steward, by his last will and testament dated 12 July 1704, had among other legacies and bequests given and bequeathed [...]. Interpretations The bond was a penal obligation securing the performance of a will's terms. The three planters bound themselves to pay £275 15s 1¾d, two-thirds of the appraised personal estate, the sum named not as a true debt but as a penalty that would fall due if they failed to carry out the condition set out below. This was the standard legal form for guaranteeing a duty, the obligor liable for the penalty unless the condition was kept. The valuation by two indifferent men was the recognised means of appraising an estate fairly.

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			Indifferent here meant disinterested, neutral parties with no stake in the outcome, appointed to set a value both sides would accept. Their appraisal of Onesiphorus Steward's goods fixed the figure on which the bond rested, giving the division an agreed basis rather than one party's estimate. The bond bore directly on the dispute the council was hearing at the consultation of 22 October 1717. Francis Steward claimed the estate his father had left him, detained by John Robinson, who was himself one of the obligors on this very bond. The document the executor Riping Wills produced thus tied Robinson to an obligation over the same estate, the written instrument the bench would weigh in settling whether the inheritance had been properly delivered.
48	40	October to his four Children (Viz.t Francis Onesip.r Mary & Martha Steward the two third parts of his Personal Estate to be Divided & poid them as is more plainly exprest in y.e s.d dec.ds Last Will & Testam.t as they shall come of y.e Age of twenty One Years, or on their marriage & Did Ordain that y.e aforesd Children Portions should remain in his beloved Wives Possession until y.e time before mentioned & that in case of his s.d Wifes marriage, her Husband to put in Suffcient Security for y.e said Childrens portitions to his Executors for y.e paym.t thereof at their Several Ages or marriage as aforesd If therefore y.e above bound John Robinson Geo: Hoskison & John Alexander their heirs Ex.ed Adm.r or Assignes or any of y.m Do & shall well & truly pay or Cause to be paid Unto every of y.e s.d Children before named respec- tively or y.e Survio.rs their full & whole portion & Legacys as aforesd at their Several Ages of twenty One Years or on their Marriage [& to leave both housss in as good repair as they are now] according to y.e true meaning & intent of y.e before named Ones.r Stewards Last Will & Testam.t without froud or Couin That then this p.sent Obligacon is Nuld & void otherwise to remain in	October The will had given the two-third parts of his personal estate to his four children, Francis, Onesiphorus, Mary and Martha Steward, to be divided among them as more plainly set out in the will, as they came of age at 21 or on their marriage. He had ordained that the children's portions should remain in the possession of his beloved wife until the time before mentioned. In case his wife married again, her husband was to put in sufficient security for the children's portions to the executors, for their payment at their several ages or marriages as set out. The condition therefore was that if the above-bound John Robinson, George Hoskison and John Alexander, their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, or any of them, well and truly paid or caused to be paid to every one of the children before named, or to the survivors, their full and whole portions and legacies as set out, at their several ages of 21 or on their marriage, and left both houses in as good repair as they were now, according to the true meaning and intent of Onesiphorus Steward's last will and testament, without fraud or collusion, then the obligation would be null and void. Otherwise it would remain [...]. Interpretations The bond's condition reveals its true purpose, to secure a remarried widow's husband against waste of the children's inheritance. Onesiphorus Steward had left the children's portions in his wife's keeping but required, should she marry again, that her new husband give security to the executors. John Robinson was that husband, and the bond was the security demanded, binding him to pay each child its share at coming of age or marriage. This explains the dispute at the consultation of 22 October 1717, since Francis Steward, now past 21, was claiming the portion the bond obliged Robinson to deliver. The duty to leave both houses in as good repair as they were now protected the real property within the trust. A life tenancy held by the widow and her husband might otherwise let the buildings decay before they passed to the children. The repair clause guarded the heirs' inheritance against neglect, ensuring the houses came to them in sound condition along with their money portions. The defeasance clause set out how the bond could be discharged. The penalty of £275 15s 1¾d would fall void if the conditions were performed without fraud or collusion, but stand in force if they were not. This was the standard structure of a conditional bond, the large penal sum serving only to compel performance, so that honest fulfilment of the will cancelled the obligation entirely.
49	41	1717 in full Force power & Vertue Sealed, Signd & deliv.d in y.e p.sence of (Sign'd) John Robinson. Geo Hoskison. Jn.o Alexander	1717 The bond was to remain in full force, power and virtue. It was sealed, signed and delivered by John Robinson, George Hoskison and John Alexander, in the presence of witnesses. Before signing and sealing, a note

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		M.o That y.e words [& to leave both Houses in as good repair as they are now] between y.e 4.th & 5.th Lind on y.e Side was interlined before Signing & Seal- ing thereof (Sign'd) Rob. Addis R. Alexander Orlando Bagley M.rs Carne presented the following Petition being in Answer to the Order made last Consult.n day. (Viz.t Island S.t Helena. To y.e Wo.rsh.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The humbl Petit.n of Frances Carne Wid.w Sheweth. That yo.r Petition.r is greatly troubled & concern'd at yo.r Worsh.l &c. Councils Severe & Strict Order She is Sensible she has received many favours from yo.r Worsh.l &c. Council w.ch will ever be acknowledged But is therefore the more afflicted now to find that unless She can procure ready payment or Security her Estate is likely to be Sold & she left destitute A greater hardship than she hoped would ever be put upon her. your	recorded that the words "and to leave both houses in as good repair as they are now", between the fourth and fifth lines on one side, had been interlined. The witnesses were Robert Addes, Richard Alexander and Orlando Bagley. Mrs Carne presented the following petition, in answer to the order made at the last consultation. Island of St Helena. To the Governor and Council. Frances Carne, widow, petitioned the council. She set out that she was greatly troubled and concerned at the council's severe and strict order. She was aware that she had received many favours from the council, which she would always acknowledge. She was therefore the more afflicted now to find that, unless she could procure ready payment or security, her estate was likely to be sold and she left destitute. This was a greater hardship than she had ever hoped would be put upon her. Interpretations The note on the interlined words guarded the bond against any later charge of tampering. An addition made between the lines after sealing could void a deed or be challenged as fraudulent, so the clerk recorded that the repair clause had been inserted before signing. The formal acknowledgement preserved the integrity of the instrument, confirming the disputed words were part of the agreed obligation and not added afterward. The witnesses gave the bond its proof of due execution. Robert Addes, Richard Alexander and Orlando Bagley attested that the three obligors sealed and delivered it in their presence, the standard requirement for a binding sealed instrument. Their names made the document enforceable, supplying the testimony that would confirm its validity if the obligation were ever contested before the council. Frances Carne's fresh petition answered the council's order of the consultation of 22 October 1717 requiring security and interest. Having argued at length that the estate was insolvent and the London claim founded on forgery, she now pleaded the hardship of the order itself. Her shift from contesting the debt to appealing against the severity of its enforcement marks a widow exhausting her legal arguments and falling back on the mercy of the bench.
50	42	October your Petit.r has tried all her friends in Ord.r to comply with yo.r Directions but cannot find any body willing to be bound for her because She cannot Assure them y.t y.e whole Es- tate will Answer to pay all y.e Debts now demd As to y.e Debt due to God Keelings Orph.s She Owns it to be a Just Debt & was in hopes of paying it to yo.r Worsh.l in a few Months more But if all her Creditors come upon her At Once tis imposiol to cleare them neither with the Produce of All yo.r Petit.rs Land be Suffecient to pay off y.e Yearly Interest of y.e whole So that at One time or other y.e Land must be Sold, & yet y.e whole Debts if M.r Jn.o Carnes demand ought to be called So, will not be satis- fied. Wherefore yo.r Petit.r not being able to make any better Proposals than in her form.r Petit.r Submits to yo.r Justice & Mercy. Yo.r petit.r has always lived here in good repute & before she was so unfortunately married to M.r Carne had an Estate in her Posses- sion that in case She had gone to England before clearing all the Childrens Fortunes She could have carried with her in mony plate & Credit above 1500. most of w.ch besides all his Own unless the dwelling house She now lives in	October The widow set out that she had tried all her friends on the island to comply with the council's directions, but could find nobody willing to be bound for her, because she could not assure them that her whole estate would answer to pay all the debts now demanded. As to the debt due to Governor Keeling's orphans, she owned it to be a just debt and hoped to pay it to the council in a few months more. But if all her creditors came upon her at once, it was impossible to clear them. Nor was the produce of all her land sufficient even to pay off the yearly interest on the whole, so that at one time or another the land must be sold. Even then, if Mr John Carne's debt ought to be called a whole debt, it would not be satisfied. She set out that, not being able to make any better proposals than those in her present petition, she submitted to the council's justice and mercy. She had always lived on the island in good repute. Before she was so unfortunately married to Mr Carne, she had held an estate of her own. Had she gone to England before clearing all her children's fortunes, she could have carried with her in money, plate and credit above £1,500 0s 0d, most of it besides all of Carne's own, unless the dwelling house she now lived in [...]. Interpretations The widow's failure to find a surety exposed the practical weakness of the council's order. Security required a third party to risk his own goods on her solvency, but no one would stand bound when the estate could not cover its debts. Her inability to comply with

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			the order of 22 October 1717 shows the limit of demanding security from an insolvent estate, the very insolvency that made security necessary also making it impossible to obtain. The widow drew a sharp line between the interest and the principal of her debts. She set out that the produce of her land could not even meet the yearly interest, let alone the capital, so the land must eventually be sold whatever happened. This distinction laid bare the trap of an interest-bearing debt on an estate whose income fell short of the interest, a position that could only worsen over time. Her statement of a lost £1,500 0s 0d estate measured the wreck of her fortune for the bench's sympathy. The plate, money and credit she could once have carried to England, set against her present destitution, dramatised the ruin worked by her marriage. Under the law her property had vested in Carne, so the figure marked what she had forfeited by a marriage the council had already told her, at the consultation of 15 October 1717, she had entered with open eyes.
51	43	1717 Mr Carne consumed. & Wherefore yo.r petit.r Since her case is So bad, prays yo.r Worsh.l &c to consider her as One that deserves pitty at lest if not favour And If you please to allow her but a very Small Pit- tance for her maintenance & to rid her from these unhappy incumbrances wherewith She is so continually vexed y.t She has no comfort of her Life She is willing & ready on y.e conside- ration to deliver up intirely all her whole Estate into yo.r Worsh.l & Councils hands, to Satisfy the Hon.ble Comp.s Debt first & to pay the oth.r Debts as far as there is Effects remaining And yo.r petit.r (as in duty bound) Shall ever pray, &c. 22.d of Oct.r 1717. (Sign'd) her Frances F C. Carne mark. Mr Jn.o Goodwin appearing ab.t y.e Same time Pre- sented the following Petition. (Viz.t Isl.d S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l Isa. Pyke. Esq.r Gov.r &c Coun.l The humble Petit.n of Jn.o Goodwin Eldest Son of Cap.t Tho. Goodwin (dec.d) For & on the behalf of himself & Six Brothers & Sisters Young Child.n of y.e s.d Cap.t Goodwin. Humbly Sheweth. That altho during his Mothers (Mrs Frances Carnes) life he should be very unwilling to give her any trouble or uneasiness by laying claim	1717 The widow set out that the rest of her fortune had been consumed by Mr Carne. Since her case was so bad, she asked the council to consider her as one who deserved pity at least, if not favour. If they would allow her only a very small portion for her maintenance, and free her from the unhappy encumbrances with which she was so continually vexed that she had no comfort in her life, she was willing and ready, on that consideration, to deliver up her whole estate entirely into the council's hands, to satisfy the Honourable Company's debt first and to pay the other debts as far as the remaining effects would go. The petition, dated 22 October 1717, was signed by Frances Carne with her mark. Mr John Goodwin, appearing at the same time, presented the following petition. Island of St Helena. To the Governor and Council. John Goodwin, eldest son of Captain Thomas Goodwin, deceased, petitioned the council for himself and on behalf of his six brothers and sisters, the young children of Captain Goodwin. He set out that, although during the life of his mother, Mrs Frances Carne, he should be very unwilling to give her any trouble or uneasiness by laying claim [...]. Interpretations The widow's offer to surrender her whole estate marked her final concession after every legal argument had failed. Having contested the London claim as fraudulent and pleaded insolvency, she now gave up the contest entirely in exchange for a bare maintenance. Her acceptance that the Company's debt be satisfied first matched the priority the council had ordered at the consultation of 22 October 1717, the surrender turning her resistance into submission on the bench's own terms. John Goodwin's petition opened a new front, the claim of the children of her first marriage against the estate. As eldest son of Captain Thomas Goodwin, he spoke for himself and six siblings whose portions came through their father, not Carne. His intervention shows the estate now pulled three ways, between the Company, the English creditors and the Goodwin children, each pressing a claim on assets the widow had just offered to give up. The Goodwin children's interest rested on the property the widow brought from her first marriage. Her account at the consultation of 22 October 1717 had traced the land and stock inherited from Captain Goodwin, entailed to her children after her death. John Goodwin's claim asserted that interest directly, the children seeking to protect their father's estate from being swallowed by Carne's debts, a stake the council would have to weigh against the creditors.

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52	44	Octob.r claim to his dec.d Fath.rs Estate But as it now Seems to be all going to pay another mans Debts, yo.r Petit.r thinks himself in duty bound to preserve as much as in him lyes his own & their rights w.ch thro his neglect in not endeavouring in time to Se- cure they might be wholly excluded from their Pa- ternal Inheritance. And yo.r Petit.r humbly offers to yo.r Worsh.l & Coun.l consideration whether y.e real Estate in Lands & y.e remainder of his s.d Fathers personal Estate (for most of y.e latter has been already Squandered away by M.r Carne) can be Obligated to pay his (y.e Carnes) Debts. yo.r petit.r being in his humble Opinion Presumptive heir to all his Fathers Lands. That there being (be- sides) Two Sons & four Daughters (his s.d Bro.r & Sist.rs) who may have a Just right thereto (if he Should dy without Issue but yo.r petit.r has now tve Sons living) That two of those Children of his Fathers are now upon y.e Island unprovided for, & One married to M.r Henry Francis; besides three gone off who doubtless would put in their claims were they upon the place. Wherefore yo.r petit.r humbly prays yo.r Worsh.l & Council will not Suffer yo.r petition.r or his Brothers & Sisters to be Secluded for ever from that which yo.r petit.r humbly conceives they have a just right	October John Goodwin set out that he would have been unwilling to claim his late father's estate, but as it now seemed to be all going to pay another man's debts, he thought himself bound to preserve as much as he could of his own and his siblings' rights. Through his neglect in not trying to secure them in time, they might be wholly excluded from their paternal inheritance. He asked the council to consider whether the real estate in lands, and the remainder of his father's personal estate, could be obliged to pay Carne's debts. Most of the personal estate had already been squandered away by Mr Carne. He was, in his own opinion, presumptive heir to all his father's lands. Besides himself, there were two sons and four daughters, his brothers and sisters, who might have a just right to the estate if he should die without issue, though he now had two sons living. Two of his father's children were now on the island unprovided for, and one was married to Mr Henry Francis. Three more had gone off the island, who would doubtless put in their claims were they on the spot. He therefore asked that the council not let himself or his brothers and sisters be excluded for ever from that to which he believed they had a just right. Interpretations John Goodwin's petition rested on the legal distinction between real and personal estate. The personal estate, the money, goods and stock, had passed to Carne on his mother's marriage and been largely squandered, but the real estate, the land, descended by inheritance to the heir. By asking whether the lands could be held liable for Carne's debts, Goodwin raised the central question, that an heir's freehold should not answer for a stepfather's obligations. The reference to himself as presumptive heir defined his standing to claim. A presumptive heir was the person who would inherit if the ancestor died at that moment, his right liable to be displaced only by the birth of a nearer heir. Goodwin named his own two living sons to show his line secured, while listing his siblings as those who would inherit should he die without issue, mapping the descent of the land to establish who had an interest to protect. The mention of three siblings gone off the island reveals the council's difficulty in settling an estate with scattered heirs. Claimants absent overseas could not be heard but might later assert their rights, so any division risked being reopened. Goodwin's warning that they would put in their claims if present shows the bench facing a settlement that could not bind all the interested parties, a real hazard in a community whose members so often departed for England or the East.
53	45	1717 of Inheritance to. & as in duty bound Shall ever pray, &c. 22.d Oct.r 1717. (Sign'd) John Goodwin Tis Our Opinions that We have not power to meddle with Capt Goodwins Land to pay M.r Carnes Debts Unless there be not Suf- ficient to pay the Hon.ble Comp.ys But as to M.r John Carnes demands w.ch he has impower'd the Gov.r to make by Letter of Attorney, having considerd M.rs Carnes Petition & knowing it to be true We think there is not Suffecient to pay y.e s.d demand & Therefore desire the Gov.r will not give her any more trouble about it. As to M.rs Carnes Debt to y.e Hon.ble Comp.s We think tis proper to demand it immediat- ately & unless She give Security. As to y.e tak- ing her blacks ab 18.d p.r day We cant give it but will give her y.e same price as y.e Gov.r lets his at (Viz.t 12.d p.r day. As to Yams We cant buy any But will take as many Suckers as She will if She could Spare Us two hundred Thousand. Order'd y.t Cap.t Haswell & Cap.t Bazett do demd y.e s.d Debt & in case She dont propose some me- thod to y.m	1717 John Goodwin closed by asking that the council preserve his right of inheritance. The petition, dated 22 October 1717, was signed by John Goodwin. The council gave its opinion. It had no power to meddle with Captain Goodwin's land to pay Mr Carne's debts, unless there was not enough otherwise to pay the Honourable Company. As to Mr John Carne's demand, which he had empowered the Governor to make by letter of attorney, the council, having considered Mrs Carne's petition and believing it to be true, thought there was not enough to pay the demand. It therefore wished the Governor not to give her any more trouble about it. As to Mr Carne's debt to the Honourable Company, the council thought it proper to demand it immediately, unless she gave security. As to taking her blacks at 18 pence a day, the council could not allow that, but would take them at the same price the Governor let his own, that is 12 pence a day. As to yams, the council could not buy any, but would take as many suckers as she could spare, up to 200,000.

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		to pay it they give in their Opinions next Consultation day what is fitting to be done. on	The council ordered that Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett demand the debt. If she did not propose some method to pay it, they were to give in their opinions on the next consultation day on what was fitting to be done. Interpretations The council's ruling settled the contest by protecting the Goodwin children's land. It held it had no power to take Captain Goodwin's real estate for Carne's debts except as a last resort for the Company's own claim, upholding the principle that an heir's freehold did not answer for a stepfather's obligations. The decision favoured the children of the first marriage over the English creditor, securing the paternal inheritance John Goodwin had petitioned to save. The dismissal of the £400 0s 0d London demand turned on the council accepting the widow's account as true. Having weighed her petitions across the consultations from 8 October 1717, the bench concluded the estate could not meet the claim and told the Governor to drop it. This shows the council exercising independent judgement against the creditor it acted for, declining to pursue a demand it judged the assets could never satisfy. The council cut the rate for the widow's slave labour from 18 pence to 12 pence a day, the price the Governor paid for his own. Even in relief, the bench applied the settled internal rate rather than the higher figure she sought, treating her hired blacks as it did the Company's own labour. The substitution of suckers for yams, capped at 200,000, matched the planting need reported at the consultation of 8 October 1717, the council taking payment in the form most useful to its plantations.
54	46	October On Saturday night last y.e 19.th Instant Rich.d Smitheman Sold.r hanged himself (the Same man) who is mention'd in Cons. of y.e 13.th Dec.r 1715 for Cutting his throat (& Mercy a black Wench of y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys) And then with a great deale of care & trouble he was recover'd but now he was found quite Dead. Wherefore We appointed a Coronar & Jury to enquire of his Death & Examine the Witnessas that were Sum-moned which Inquisition is as followeth (Viz.t Island S.t Helena. At the Sessions house in James Vally, Sunday morn y.e 20.th of Oct.r 1717 Pres.t Cap.t Geo: Haswell Coron.r Jurors of the Inquest were Viz.t 1. Tho. Cason Lieu.t Foreman 2. John French Gun.r 3. W.m Slaughter 4. Tho. Hairfax Serg.t 5. Tho. Dutch 6. Jn.o Young, Corp.l 7. James Vesey. 8. Jon.o Dovebon 9. Jn.o Coulson 10. Jn.o Marsh 11. Sam.l Jessey 12. W.m Beale. Who being all Sworn, the foll.s Evidencies were Examined upon Oath (Viz.t Jn.o Merritt who lived in the house of M.r Jp.r Cales w.th y.e s.d Rich. Smitheman Sayeth that about 10. a Clock	October On the night of Saturday 19 October, Richard Smitheman, soldier, hanged himself. This was the same man mentioned in the consultation of 13 December 1715 for cutting the throat of Mercy, a black woman of the Honourable Company. With a great deal of care and trouble he had been recovered then, but he was now found quite dead. The council therefore appointed a coroner and jury to enquire into his death and examine the witnesses summoned. The inquisition was as follows. Island of St Helena. The inquest met at the Sessions House in James Valley on the morning of Sunday 20 October 1717. Present was Captain George Haswell, coroner. The jurors of the inquest were as follows. 1: Thomas Cason, lieutenant, foreman 2: John French, gunner 3: William Slaughter 4: Thomas Fairfax, sergeant 5: Thomas Dutch 6: John Young, corporal 7: James Vesey 8: Jonathan Doveton 9: John Coulson 10: John Marsh 11: Samuel Jessey 12: William Beale All being sworn, the following evidence was examined on oath. John Merrett, who lived in the house of Mr Isaac Coles with Richard Smitheman, said that about 10 o'clock [...]. Interpretations The coroner's inquest was the formal legal inquiry into a sudden or violent death. A jury of twelve was sworn to view the body, hear witnesses on oath and return a verdict on how the man died. Captain Haswell sat as coroner, the deputy governor taking the office, which shows the island's senior officers doubling as the holders of the legal machinery that England required for any unnatural death. The note linking Smitheman to the consultation of 13 December 1715 records a man with a violent history. He had then cut the throat of Mercy, a Company slave, and been fined £20 0s 0d, the matter treated as damage to Company property. His earlier recovery from some crisis and his death now by hanging mark a troubled figure, the inquest gathering the facts of a self-inflicted death that the law would not let pass without inquiry.

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			The jury was drawn from the leading men of the garrison and the free planters. Officers like Lieutenant Cason and the gunner French sat alongside sergeants, a corporal and freeholders such as Vesey, Doveton and Beale. The composition shows the small settlement assembling its inquest from the same pool of substantial inhabitants who served on every jury, the men of standing on whom the island's legal business habitually fell.
55	47	1717 10. a Clock last night (being Saturday y.e 19. Inst.t this Exam.t having been some time in Bed & waking had occasion to goe to y.e backside & going thro the House & back again called for his Bed Mate R.d Smitheman & having no Answer he felt ab.t y.e inner room & then in y.e Kitchin were he run against y.e body of y.e s.d Smitheman as he was hanging upon y.e Ridg pole which Startled y.t Exam.t upon w.ch he immediatly run out at y.e back door calling to Some Neighbours who not Answering he run down to the Guard And 2 of y.e Guard (Viz.t Jn.o Muchmore & Tho. Brown went Up with him & they caprying fire when they came into y.e house light a Lamp & Seeing him hang in that condicon cutt him down & that Joseph Whaley & Jn.o Bedan came in immediatly after but they could perceive no Sign of Life in him. John Muchmore & Tho. Brown Say that what John Merrett declares upon his coming to y.e Guard house as in y.e last part of his Examination (Ut Supra) is true. D.r DuMay Sayes Upon his hearing of the Said Rich.d Smithemans hanging himself (his Appartment Joyning to y.e Sessions house) He went Up to view y.e body & found it on the ground	1717 John Merrett's evidence continued. About 10 o'clock the previous night, being Saturday 19 October, the witness had been in bed some time. Waking, he had occasion to go to the back side, and going through the house and back again he called for his bedmate Richard Smitheman. Having no answer, he felt about the inner room and then in the kitchen, where he ran against the body of Smitheman as he was hanging from the ridge pole. This startled the witness, who at once ran out at the back door, calling to some neighbours. When they did not answer, he ran down to the guard. Two of the guard, John Muchmore and Thomas Brown, went up with him, carrying fire. When they came into the house they lit a lamp, and seeing him hang in that condition, cut him down. Joseph Whaley and John Bedan came in immediately after, but they could perceive no sign of life in him. John Muchmore and Thomas Brown said that what John Merrett declared, on his coming to the guard house, as in the last part of his examination, was true. Joseph Du May said that, on hearing of Richard Smitheman hanging himself, his apartment adjoining the Sessions House, he went up to view the body and found it on the ground [...]. Interpretations The witnesses' accounts built the chain of evidence the inquest needed to establish the cause of death. Merrett found the body, the guard cut it down, and others confirmed no life remained, each statement corroborating the next on oath. The careful sequence, from discovery to the surgeon's view, shows the inquest assembling the facts methodically, the manner of a legal inquiry that had to satisfy itself how the man died. Joseph Du May's role as surgeon gave the inquest its medical evidence. As the island's surgeon, taken on at the consultation of 20 December 1715, he was the man qualified to examine the body and speak to the cause of death. His apartment adjoining the Sessions House placed him close at hand, and his inspection of the corpse supplied the professional testimony that distinguished a coroner's inquest from a mere gathering of neighbours' reports. The detail of the men carrying fire and lighting a lamp marks the practical reality of a death discovered at night. The house was dark, and the guard had to bring light before they could see to cut the body down. The small circumstances, preserved in the testimony, show the inquest recording exactly what each witness did, the precision that gave the inquiry its standing as a faithful record of events.
56	48	October ground with part of y.e halter about his Neck w.ch was then Jamd so close y.t he could not loosen it without cutting, after w.ch he found a small pulsa- tion & endeavoured to bleed him by opening a vein in his Arm but could not gett any more blood then what was forced out of the Vessels, it being Stagnated John Knight (who formerly lived w.th Smithe- man) Sayes that he never heard him talk of mak- ing away with himself but that last Thursday y.e s.d Smitheman came to y.e Examinant & Told him he was very uneasy in his mind for he had been to reckon in y.e Stores & believed	October Du May's evidence continued. He found the body on the ground with part of the halter about the neck, which was then drawn so close that he could not loosen it without cutting. After that he found a small pulsation and tried to bleed Smitheman by opening a vein in his arm, but could get no more blood than what was forced out of the vessels, the blood being stagnated. John Knight, who had formerly lived with Smitheman, said that he had never heard him talk of making away with himself. But the previous Thursday Smitheman had come to the witness and told him he was very uneasy in his mind, for he had been to reckon in the stores and

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		himself to be wrongd & y.t he believ'd twould make him go distra- cted & Further Sayeth not. Upon which the Jury gave in y.e foll.t Verdict. (Viz.t That tis their Opinion that y.e s.d Rich.d Smitheman hanged himself & according to the Evidence was neither mad nor Drunt. (Sign'd) Geo: Haswell. Whereupon he was Order'd to be Buried in the Cross road way & a stake drove thro his Body w.ch was accordingly done Yesterday morning. Geo: Haswell Antipas Tovey Matthew Bazett	believed himself wronged, and feared it would make him go distracted. He said nothing further. On this evidence the jury gave in the following verdict. It was their opinion that Richard Smitheman hanged himself, and that according to the evidence he was neither mad nor drunk. The verdict was signed by George Haswell. Smitheman was then ordered to be buried in the crossroad, with a stake driven through his body, which was accordingly done the previous morning. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The verdict that Smitheman was neither mad nor drunk carried grave legal consequences. A finding of insanity would have excused the act as beyond the man's control, but a sane suicide was the crime of self-murder, <i>felo de se</i>. By holding him of sound mind, the jury condemned the death as a felony, which is what brought the dishonourable burial that followed and marked the law's treatment of suicide as a punishable offence. The burial at the crossroad with a stake through the body was the customary punishment for a suicide judged sane. The crossroads lay outside consecrated ground, denying Christian burial, and the stake was meant to pin the restless spirit and deter others. The ritual shows the full severity the law and custom of the time visited on self-murder, the body itself subjected to a penalty in place of the living man. The surgeon's attempt to bleed the body records the period's medical practice applied even to an apparent corpse. Finding a faint pulsation, Du May opened a vein in the hope of reviving him, bleeding being the standard remedy reached for in almost every crisis. The stagnated blood confirmed death, but the effort shows the reflex to bleed a patient regardless of how slight the chance of recovery. Speculations The jury's finding that Smitheman was sane sits awkwardly against the evidence it heard, and the choice may reflect a wish to mark the act as a crime rather than a tragedy. Knight testified that the man feared he would go distracted over a grievance at the stores, which pointed toward a mind giving way. A jury inclined to mercy could have read this as the onset of madness and spared the body the stake. By holding him sane, the inquest preserved the deterrent force of the law against self-murder in a small garrison where order rested on example, treating the dishonourable burial as a warning to others under similar strain.
57	49	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday y.e 29.th day of October 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matth: Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Coun.l Present. The last Consultation read & approv'd of. The Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett report that they have consider'd y.e Case of Francis Steward & consulted w.th his Father in Law M.r John Robinson Upon w.ch they had agreed. That s.d Francis Steward have immediately the Ten Acres of free Land left him by his Fathers (Onesiphorus Stewards) Will. & That M.r John Robinson deliver him (as an Equivalent for w.t claim he pretends to the Lease Land) Five Acres of Cabbage Tree, the Moeiety of y.e Ten Acres of hired Land between Onesiph & Cha Steward dec.d & Grant the s.d Fra. a Lease for y.e same during the Life of y.e said Robinsons Wife Martha, Mother to y.e s.d Fra. in Order to his making a Plantation thereon & after y.e expiration of y.e s.d Lease to have the Usual time allowed him to take off y.e Provisions	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 29 October 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The Governor and Captain Bazett reported that they had considered the case of Francis Steward and consulted with his father-in-law Mr John Robinson, on which they had agreed as follows. Francis Steward was to have immediately the 10 acres of free land left him by his father Onesiphorus Steward's will. Mr John Robinson was to deliver to Steward, as an equivalent for the claim he made to the lease land, 5 acres of Cabbage Tree, the moiety of the 10 acres of hired land lying between Onesiphorus and Charles Steward, deceased. Robinson was to grant Steward a lease of it during the life of his wife Martha, mother to Francis, so that Steward could make a plantation on it. After the lease expired, Steward was to have the usual time allowed to take off the provisions [...].

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		To	Interpretations The settlement resolved the inheritance dispute by separating the free land from the lease land. The 10 acres of freehold passed at once to Francis Steward as the will directed, his outright right being clear. The disputed lease land was settled differently, Robinson granting a life lease as an equivalent, which let the bench satisfy Steward's claim without overriding the interests Robinson held during his wife's life. The lease tied to the life of Martha Robinson reflects the underlying structure of the estate. Martha was the widow of Onesiphorus Steward and now Robinson's wife, holding a life interest in the property under the bond of 26 January 1704/5. By granting Francis a lease for his mother's lifetime, the arrangement worked within that existing interest, the son taking the land for the period his mother's right ran rather than displacing it. The usual time to take off the provisions was a customary right protecting a departing tenant's crop. A lease ending while crops stood in the ground would otherwise let the landlord take the tenant's labour for nothing. The allowance gave Steward time after the lease expired to harvest what he had planted, a recognised term that secured the investment a tenant made in cultivating leased ground.
58	50	October 1717. which y.e s.d John Robinson & Fra.s Steward Agree.s The Gov.r informs the Council that y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Blacks are much cheated in their Pro- visions, Wherefore the Council are of Opinion That some should be Appointed to take care of the New Blacks Provisions, to Dress it for y.m & Serve it out to them at their Meal times. & That tis proper to build a Kitchin to y.e Black house, And Desire the Gov.r to do it accordingly. The reason of the Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett giving Francis Steward five Acres of Land when his demand ought to be but for Three, is, Because there is So great difficulty in running a Cross Fence to dived y.e Land, w.ch fence when don would cost more then the Land is Worth. Therefore they are of Opinion tis better to lett One man have it. And to make Robinson amends y.e Gov.r Sayes he will lett him have three Acres of y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Waste Land at y.e Wirking Shore Ridg next to his Own hired Land Provided he take it inn in Six Months time The Gov.r informs the Council that the Hon.ble Comp.ys Blacks are much cheated in their Pro- visions, they being allowed Ten pound of Rice p.r week & when y.e Rice was Servd Out to them last Saturday, Several of them came to Margin Notes: this is wrote below	October 1717 This was what John Robinson and Francis Steward agreed. Start of crossed out section The Governor told the council that the Honourable Company's blacks were much cheated in their provisions. The council was therefore of the opinion that someone should be appointed to take care of the new blacks' provisions, to dress it for them and serve it out to them at their meal times. It was also proper to build a kitchen to the blacks' house, and the council asked the Governor to do this accordingly. End of crossed out section The reason the Governor and Captain Bazett gave Francis Steward 5 acres of land, when his demand ought to have been only for 3, was that there was so great a difficulty in running a cross fence to divide the land. Such a fence, when done, would cost more than the land was worth. They therefore thought it better to let one man have it. To make Robinson amends, the Governor said he would let him have 3 acres of the Honourable Company's waste land at Wrangham's Store Ridge, next to his own hired land, provided he took it in within six months. The Governor told the council that the Honourable Company's blacks were much cheated in their provisions, being allowed 10 pounds of rice a week. When the rice was served out to them last Saturday, several of them came [...]. Interpretations The decision to give one man the whole parcel turned on the economics of fencing. A cross fence to split the land would have cost more than the divided ground was worth, so the bench let Steward take all 5 acres rather than incur a fence that made no economic sense. This shows the council weighing the practical cost of enclosure against the value of the land, a calculation that shaped how holdings were divided. The compensating grant to Robinson kept the settlement balanced between the parties. Having let Steward take more than his strict due, the Governor offset Robinson's loss with 3 acres of Company waste land at Wrangham's Store Ridge. The six-month condition to take it in followed the standing rule that waste land be fenced and brought into use within a set time, the grant carrying the same obligation the bench imposed on all such lettings. The complaint that the Company's slaves were cheated of their provisions points to abuse in the distribution of

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			their food. The slaves were allowed 10 pounds of rice a week, but the ration was apparently being skimmed before it reached them. The council's move to appoint someone to dress and serve the food, and to build a kitchen at the slaves' house, addressed a failure in the supply chain that left the labour force underfed.
59	51	1717 to y.e Gov.r & complaind that they had not above Six pound a Man Upon which he caused y.e Stewards room to be Searcht & lookt over his books but did not find the Steward Guilty of any fault otherwise then delivering too wet at a time to ten Men & they gott Some of y.e Old Blacks to divid y.e Rice who cheated them of it. Wherefore the Council are of Opinion that Some Should be Appointed to take care of the New Blacks Provisions, to dress it for them & Serve it out to them at their Meal times & That tis proper to build a Kitchin to the Blacks house And they do desire the Gov.r to do it accordingly. The Gov.r desires the Council to recom- mend some body fitt for such an employ. The foll.s Petit.r were Presented. (Viz.t To the Wo.rsh.l Isa Pyke Esq.r Govern.r The humbl Petit.r of R.d Gurling Sheweth. That yo.r Petit.r understanding there is larg demands upon y.e Estate of M.r Geo Carne dec.d from Engl.d & there being mony due to Your Petit.r from the s.d Carne as does appeare by two of his Bonds for 40 & 60 £. with consider able Interest thereon. £ 72 I am informed is mentiond in y.e W.d w.s Inventory or Acc.t of Debts w.ch s.d Debts yo.r Petit.r humbly conceives ought to	1717 The slaves came to the Governor and complained that they had not above 6 pounds a man. The Governor caused Steward's room to be searched and his books looked over, but did not find the steward guilty of any fault, other than delivering too much weight at a time to ten men, some of whom got some of the old blacks to divide the rice with, and these cheated them of it. The council was therefore of the opinion that someone should be appointed to take care of the new blacks' provisions, to dress it for them and serve it out to them at their meal times, and that it was proper to build a kitchen to the blacks' house. They asked the Governor to do this accordingly. The Governor asked the council to recommend somebody fit for such an employment. The following petition was presented. Richard Gurling petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out that he understood there were large demands upon the estate of Mr George Carne, deceased, from England. Money was due to him from Carne, as appeared by two of his bonds for £40 0s 0d and £60 0s 0d with considerable interest on them. This sum of £72 0s 0d, he was informed, was mentioned in the council's inventory or account of debts. He believed this debt ought [...]. Interpretations The investigation cleared the steward and located the fraud among the slaves themselves. The shortfall arose not from the steward skimming the ration but from his issuing the full weight to ten men together, after which old blacks brought in to divide it took a share. The council's remedy, individual service at meal times under an appointed keeper, addressed the precise point at which the food went astray, fixing the distribution rather than blaming the officer. Richard Gurling's petition added another local creditor to the contest over the Carne estate. His two bonds for £40 0s 0d and £60 0s 0d, totalling £72 0s 0d with interest, joined the claims already pressing on an estate the council had judged insolvent across the consultations of October 1717. The crowding of creditors confirms the bench's finding that the assets could not satisfy everyone, each claimant now seeking his place in the division. Gurling's appeal to the council's inventory of debts shows the standing of that record as proof of a creditor's claim. The estate's debts had been listed in the account the bench held, and Gurling cited it to establish that his £72 0s 0d was recognised. The inventory thus served not only the administration of the estate but as evidence on which individual creditors could rest their demands before the council.
60	52	October to be paid before any demands from Engl.d Therefore yo.r Petit.r humbly begs he may be admitted to Enter an Accon against M.rs Frances Carne (his Wid.w) for y.e same. & yo.r pet.r as in duty bound Shall ev.r pray &c Oct. 28. 1717. (Sign'd) Richard Gurling To the Wo.rsh.l Isa Pyke Esq.r Govern.r The humbl Petit.r of Gab.l Powell. Sheweth. That yo.r Petit.r understanding there is large demands upon the Estate of M.r Geo Carne, dec.d from his Br.r & others in Engl.d & there being due to yo.r Petit.r ab.t £ 47 & to M.r Cha. Stewards Orph.s (who yo.r Petit.r is Ex.r to) £ 29. as will appeare by his Wid.ws	October Gurling believed his debt ought to be paid before any demands from England. He therefore asked to be admitted to enter an action against Mrs Frances Carne, his widow, for the same. The petition, dated 28 October 1717, was signed by Richard Gurling. Gabriel Powell petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out that he understood there were large demands upon the estate of Mr George Carne, deceased, from his brother and others in England. There was due to him about £47 0s 0d, and to Mr Charles Steward's orphans, to whom Powell was executor, £29 0s 0d, as would appear by the council's inventory or account of debts. He believed these debts ought to be paid before any

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		Inventory or Acc.t of Debts w.ch s.d Debts yo.r Petit.r humbly conceives ought to be paid before any dem.d from England. Therefore yo.r Petit.r humbly begs he may be admitted to Enter an Action ag.st M.rs Frances Carne (his Wid.w) for the same. & yo.r Petit.r as in duty bound Shall ever Oct. 28. 1717. pray, &c. (Sign'd) Gabriel Powell. Cap.t Haswell & Cap.t Bazett report y.t according to Order of Council of y.e 22.th y.e last Oct.r they have been with M.rs Carne to dem.d y.e Hon.ble Comp.s Debt or good Security. & M.rs Carne Sayes she Own'd y.e Debt, is willing to pay as soon as	demand from England. He therefore asked to be admitted to enter an action against Mrs Frances Carne, his widow, for the same. The petition, dated 28 October 1717, was signed by Gabriel Powell. Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett reported that, under the council order of 22 October last, they had been with Mrs Carne to demand the Honourable Company's debt or good security. Mrs Carne acknowledged the debt and was willing to pay as soon as [...]. Interpretations Both creditors pressed the same argument, that local debts should rank ahead of the English claims. Gurling and Powell each cited the priority the council had already established, the bench having ruled across the consultations of October 1717 that the Company's debt came first and the rest in proportion. Their petitions sought to fix their own places ahead of the distant John Carne, the local men contending that obligations contracted on the island should be met before those from England. Powell's claim joined two distinct interests in one petition. He sought £47 0s 0d due to himself and £29 0s 0d due to the orphans of Charles Steward, for whom he acted as executor. The orphans' portion was a trust he was bound to protect, which gave it a particular standing, and his petition shows a single creditor advancing both a personal debt and a fiduciary duty against the same failing estate. The request to enter an action against the widow shows the formal step a creditor had to take to enforce a claim. Admission to bring suit before the council was the gateway to recovery, the bench controlling which actions proceeded against an estate it was administering. The crowd of creditors seeking leave at once, Gurling, Powell and the rest, confirms the scramble the insolvency had set off, each pressing to secure his share before the assets ran out.
61	53	1717 as able But at Present cant pay it because so many people have made Demands on her She Sayes y.e Gov.r had demanded 53.d for God Keelings Orph.s in Engl.d & 400.d for M.r Jn.o Carne M.r Gurling 172.d M.r Powell for 16. 15 p.on his Own Acc.t & for M.r Stewards Orph.s 30.d She Sayed She had but 279.d clear Estate left at M.r Carnes Death & not knowing of 2 Bonds for 100.d which M.r Gurlings now demands nor of any pretence M.r John Carne had to dem.d a Debt She has gi- ven 120.d a piece to tve of her Daughters in marriage (Viz.t to Carolina Carne & Priscilla Goodwin w.ch She hopes may be allowed & then her Clear Estate left at M.r Carnes Death including the New dem.d of 100.d by M.r Gurling due by two Bonds of M.r Carnes will be reduced to 61 £ less then nothing & if M.r Powells doubtful Eighty pounds Should prove due & be added thereunto twould be much Worse Yet she Sayes as fast as the Estate will produce any thing She will pay what She can raise And Sayed that new y.e Hon.ble Comp.s have a great ma- ny more Blacks than they had She hopes they will buy Yams again & if they do She will pay her Whole Debt in Yams at four Shillings p.r hundred y.e Ancient Price or She will	1717 Mrs Carne was willing to pay as soon as she was able, but at present could not, because so many people had made demands on her. She set out that the Governor had demanded £53 0s 0d for Governor Keeling's orphans in England and £400 0s 0d for Mr John Carne, that Mr Gurling claimed £172 0s 0d, and that Mr Powell claimed £16 15s 0d on his own account and £30 0s 0d for Mr Steward's orphans. She had only £279 0s 0d of clear estate left at Carne's death. She had not known of two bonds for £100 0s 0d which Mr Gurling now claimed, nor of any pretence Mr John Carne had to demand a debt. She had given £120 0s 0d apiece in marriage to two of her daughters, Carolina Carne and Priscilla Goodwin, which she hoped might be allowed. With that allowed, her clear estate left at Carne's death, including the new demand of £100 0s 0d by Mr Gurling due on two bonds of Carne's, would be reduced to £61 0s 0d, less than nothing. If Mr Powell's doubtful £80 0s 0d should prove due and be added to it, the position would be much worse. She set out that, as fast as the estate produced anything, she would pay what she could raise. She added that, now the Honourable Company had a great many more blacks than before, she hoped they would buy yams again. If they did, she would pay her whole debt in yams at 4 shillings the hundred, the ancient price, or she would [...]. Interpretations The widow's tally laid the insolvency bare in figures. Against £279 0s 0d of clear estate stood demands of £53 0s 0d, £400 0s 0d, £172 0s 0d, £16 15s 0d and £30 0s 0d, besides the marriage portions she had already paid. By her own reckoning the estate fell short by more than its whole value, the calculation confirming the council's

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			finding across the consultations of October 1717 that the assets could never meet the claims. The marriage portions she sought to have allowed were prior charges she argued should stand ahead of the creditors. She had given £120 0s 0d each to her daughters Carolina and Priscilla on their marriages, payments made before the present demands. Her plea to have them counted shows her treating the daughters' settled portions as a completed obligation that reduced the estate available to later claimants. Her renewed offer to pay in yams tied her relief to the Company's own need. She had learned that the recent slave arrivals, the Madagascar blacks brought by the <i>Mercury</i> on 28 April 1717, had enlarged the labour force the Company must feed. By offering her whole debt in yams at the settled 4 shillings the hundred, she proposed a repayment that served the Company's provisioning while sparing her the capital she did not have, framing her hardship as a chance for the bench to supply its plantations.
62	54	October will willingly lett out her Blacks at 18.d p.r day but canot afford to lett them at 12 p.r day for then She should gett So little y.t She had better Sell them out right She Sayed She hoped y.e Hon.ble Comp.s would not Seize on her Cat-tle for if they do all y.e rest of y.e real Creditors must go along time at least unpaid. These are M.rs Carnes Allegations w.ch We have Written down at her request But her case is such y.t We do not know what to advise y.e Gov.r further than to lett him know all what She has Sayd & therefore leave it to him. 29. 86.r 1717. The Gov.r Sayes he is Sorry y.e poor Wid. has had so much trouble & If he had known before hand that his demanding of M.r John Carnes mony would have had such pernicious consequence as to have drawn all y.e Other Creditors upon her he would not have meddod w.th it so farr because he Sayes y.t he finds now M.r Carne dyed insolvent for these two Bonds y.t M.r Gurling produces one for 40.d & y.e other for 60 a.d were not mentiond in y.e Inventory nor Yett y.t greater Debt of M.r Jn.o Carne So y.t he is at a Stand what to do And rather then he will Seize on y.e Wid.ws Stock either Blacks	October The widow set out that she would willingly let out her blacks at 18 pence a day, but could not afford to let them at 12 pence a day, for then she would get so little that she had better sell them outright. She said she hoped the Honourable Company would not seize her cattle, for if they did, all the rest of her real creditors must go a long time at least unpaid. These were Mrs Carne's allegations, which Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett had written down at her request. Her case was such that they did not know what to advise the Governor further than to let him know all she had said, and they therefore left it to him. The Governor, on 29 October 1717, said he was sorry the poor widow had had so much trouble. Had he known beforehand that his demanding of Mr John Carne's money would have had such harmful consequences, drawing all the other creditors upon her, he would not have meddled with it so far. He said he now found that Carne had died insolvent, for the two bonds Mr Gurling produced, one for £40 0s 0d and the other for £60 0s 0d, were not mentioned in the inventory, nor was the greater debt of Mr John Carne. He was therefore at a stand what to do, and rather than seize the widow's stock, either blacks or [...]. Interpretations The widow's refusal of the 12 pence rate marked the point where relief became ruinous to her. The council had cut her hire rate from 18 pence to 12 pence at the consultation of 22 October 1717, but at that figure the labour earned so little she would do better to sell the slaves. Her objection shows the terms of relief themselves threatening to strip the estate of the very assets that produced its income. The Governor's expression of regret reveals the unintended effect of pressing the London claim. By demanding John Carne's £400 0s 0d as his attorney, he had alerted every local creditor to the estate's exposure, drawing them all upon the widow at once. His admission that he would not have meddled so far had he foreseen this shows how a single creditor's action could trigger a general rush, collapsing an estate that might otherwise have paid its debts over time. The hidden bonds confirmed the estate's insolvency on the documentary record. Gurling's bonds for £40 0s 0d and £60 0s 0d, like John Carne's larger debt, had never appeared in the inventory the bench relied on. Their emergence showed the recorded account understated the liabilities, so that the estate the council thought it was administering was in truth more deeply indebted than its own register revealed.
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		or Cattle he proposeth as an Expedient To lend her Credit without any maner of Interest to pay One half of y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Debt & y.t We stay for y.e other half till She is better able & hopes that a Woman of so much indus- try will not be very long before she clears it. And Whereas M.rs Powell & Gurling have desired Actions against her alleaging y.t there are Island Debts & ought to be paid before any Foreign Debts & such like Arguments as proceed rather from Fear than Danger he will perswad them (if he can) to forbare also to some longer time. Geo. Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	Rather than seize the widow's blacks or cattle, the Governor proposed an expedient. He would lend her his own credit, without any interest, to pay one half of the Honourable Company's debt, and they would wait for the other half until she was better able. He hoped that a woman of so much industry would not be very long before she cleared it. As to Mr Powell and Mr Gurling, who had asked for actions against her, alleging that there were island debts which ought to be paid before any foreign debts, and other such arguments, the Governor judged these to proceed rather from fear than from real danger. He would persuade them, if he could, to forbear also for some longer time. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The Governor's offer to lend his own credit was a personal intervention to rescue the estate. By advancing the means to pay half the Company's debt himself, without interest, he separated his private resources from the Company's claim and spared the widow an immediate seizure. The gesture reflects his regret at having set the creditors upon her, and it converted the Company's pressing demand into an obligation he carried for her on easier terms. The Governor's reading of Powell and Gurling's argument dismissed the priority of island debts as driven by panic. The two creditors had urged that local debts rank ahead of foreign ones, but he judged their haste to spring from fear of the rush rather than any real risk of losing their money. By undertaking to talk them into waiting, he sought to calm the scramble his own demand had provoked and to let the estate recover under a slower repayment. The whole settlement marks a shift from enforcement to forbearance across the Carne consultations. Having pressed the London claim hard through October 1717, the bench now drew back, the Governor lending credit and counselling delay rather than selling the estate. The reversal shows the council judging that patience would recover more than a forced sale, an insolvent estate worked over time yielding more to its creditors than one stripped at once.
64	56	Novemb.r Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday y.e 5.th day of November 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Cap.t Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Absent being in y.e Country. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth: Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Council The last Cons. read & approvd of. The following Petit.r were Presented (Viz.t Island S.t Helena. To y.e Wo.rsh.l Isa Pyke, Esq.r Gov.mour &c. Council The hum.l Petit.n of Frances Carne Wid.w Sheweth. That yo.r petit.r finding her self so much troubled by her Cred.rs Entring Accions ag.st her w.ch She is not able now nor likely Soon to Satis- fy & Therefore She having Letters of Administra- tion w.ch yo.r Worsh.l & Coun.l were pleased to Grant her ab.t two Years Since she is desirous (by y.e Advise of her frd.s) to dispose of All her Effects to pay her dec.d Husbands M.r Geo Carnes Debts & prays She may have leave to putt up the Same to a Publick Outcry & dispose of her Estate to y.e best bidder both House Land Cattle & Blacks. That so she may be somewhat eased of y.e great Vexation she daily meets with, only humbly prays yo.r Worsh.l &c. She may have the Liberty to keep y.e Houshold Goods at	November Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 5 November 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. Captain George Haswell, Deputy Governor, was absent, being in the country. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented to the Governor and Council. Frances Carne, widow, petitioned the council. She set out that, finding herself so much troubled by her creditors entering actions against her, which she was not able now nor likely soon to satisfy, and having the letters of administration which the council had granted her about two years earlier, she was desirous, by the advice of her friends, to dispose of all her effects to pay the debts of her late husband Mr George Carne. She asked leave to put up the same to a public outcry and dispose of her estate to the best bidder, both house, land, cattle and blacks. So that she might be somewhat eased of the great vexation she daily met with, she asked only that she might have liberty to keep the household goods at [...]. Interpretations The widow's petition reversed her earlier resistance into a request to sell everything herself. Having fought the claims across the consultations of October 1717, she now sought leave to dispose of the whole estate by public sale to pay the debts. By taking the initiative

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			rather than awaiting a forced seizure, she retained some control over the manner of the sale and the timing, choosing voluntary liquidation over the actions her creditors were pressing. Her letters of administration were the legal authority under which she could deal with the estate at all. Granted by the council about two years earlier, they made her the lawful administrator of Carne's goods, empowered to gather the assets and pay the debts. Her reference to them establishes her standing to sell, the petition resting on the authority the bench had already conferred on her to wind up her late husband's affairs. The public outcry was the recognised method of selling an estate at fair value. A sale by open auction to the best bidder protected both the creditors and the administrator against any charge of selling assets cheaply or by private favour. By proposing this form, the widow ensured the proceeds would be the most the market would give, the transparency of the auction guarding the interests of all the claimants competing for the estate.
65	57	1717 their Appraisement in y.e Inventory without w.ch She canot live having nothing to depend on for a Maintenance but to Entertain Such Lodgers as coms in y.e homeward bound Ship w.ch without Houshold Goods She cannot do, & this is so Small a Liberty that She hopes no Objection can be made against it. & yo.r Petit.r as in duty bound Shall ev.r y.e 5.th Nov.r 1717. pray, &c. (Sign'd) Frances F C. Carne her mark. The Gov.r Sayes he would rather perswade the Wid.w Carne not to Sell y.e Land & therefore Offer'd her to Lend her 100.d without Interest rather then y.e whole Estate Should be Sold & believes many of y.e Credit.rs will be willing to Stay. M.rs Carne Replied y.t it would not do that She has no other way to make her Self Easy but to Sell all & pay as farr as it will goe & is very willing to pay all Just Debts but as to y.e dem.d of M.r John Carne She is fully convinced & Assured of y.e injustice thereof & y.t nothing is really due to him & therefore She will never pay y.e Debt. She Prays leav to putt up a Bill for the Sale of her Estate. We think if She will not be perswaded by Us	1717 The widow asked to keep the household goods at their appraisal in the inventory. Without them she could not live, having nothing else to depend on for a maintenance but to take in such lodgers as came on the homeward-bound ships, which she could not do without household goods. This was so small a liberty that she hoped no objection could be made against it. The petition, dated 5 November 1717, was signed by Frances Carne with her mark. The Governor said that he would rather persuade the widow Carne not to sell the land. He therefore offered to lend her £100 0s 0d without interest, rather than have the whole estate sold, and believed many of the creditors would be willing to wait. Mrs Carne replied that this would not do, that she had no other way to make herself easy but to sell all and pay as far as the proceeds would go. She was very willing to pay all just debts, but as to the demand of Mr John Carne, she was fully convinced and assured of its injustice, and that nothing was really due to him. She would therefore never pay that debt. She asked leave to put up a bill for the sale of her estate. The council set out that, if she could not be persuaded by them [...]. Interpretations The widow's plan to keep her household goods rested on a defined means of livelihood. She intended to support herself by taking in lodgers from the homeward-bound ships, a trade that required furnished rooms. Her request to retain the goods at their appraised value, rather than see them sold, shows her preserving the one asset that would let her earn a maintenance after the estate was gone, the lodging trade depending on the very furniture she sought to keep. The Governor's renewed offer of £100 0s 0d without interest continued his attempt to prevent a sale of the land. He had proposed lending his credit at the consultation of 29 October 1717, and now repeated the offer directly to her, judging a slow repayment better than the loss of the freehold. His persistence shows him weighing the estate's long-term value against the immediate relief of a sale, convinced the land was worth preserving for the creditors and the family. The widow's firm refusal to pay John Carne marked the one point she would not concede. While willing to sell everything to meet her just debts, she held the London demand to be founded on injustice and vowed never to pay it. Her stand drew a sharp line between debts she accepted and the claim she had alleged across the October consultations to rest on forgery, the sale offering to satisfy the genuine creditors while she resisted the one she judged fraudulent.

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66	58	Nov.r by Us that We have nothing to do in it & if She be resolved to Sell her Estate We canot hinder her she being Administratrix But Since She will not be advised by Us We ought to acquaint her y.t no body can buy it but those who keep a White man to every 20. Acres of Land they possess already for We will not have too great a quantity of Land to be held by any One Man And she having this Notice We leave her to her own Liberty. Island S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l Isa. Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council The humb.l most Pet.r of Geo Sanders Humbly Sheweth. That Whereas yo.r Petit.r having Served his full contracted time w.th y.e Hon.ble Comp.s as a Sold.r on this their Island is very desirous to return to his Friends in England Wherefore humbly prays Yo.r Worsh.l &c. Council to Grant him & his family to take passage accordingly by y.e first Oppertunity of Shipping having a much better Prospect of bettering him- self & familie's condicon in his Native Country than on this place. And humbly Offers what Provisions &c. he has to dispose of to y.e Hon.ble Comp.s And as in duty bound Shall ev.r pray &c Nov.r 5.th 1717. (Sign'd) Geo Sanders.	November The council set out that, if the widow could not be persuaded by them, they had nothing to do in the matter. If she was resolved to sell her estate they could not hinder her, she being administratrix. But since she would not take their advice, they thought they ought to tell her that nobody could buy it except those who already kept a white man to every 20 acres they possessed, for the council would not have too great a quantity of land held by any one man. Having given her this notice, they left her to her own liberty. Island of St Helena. To the Governor and Council. George Sanders petitioned the council. He set out that, having served his full contracted time with the Honourable Company as a soldier on the island, he was very desirous to return to his friends in England. He therefore asked the council to grant him and his family passage by the first opportunity of shipping, having a much better prospect of bettering his own and his family's condition in his native country than on the island. He offered to dispose of what provisions he had to the Honourable Company. The petition, dated 5 November 1717, was signed by George Sanders. Interpretations The council's notice on who could buy the land enforced its standing defence rule even in a forced sale. No purchaser could take the ground without keeping a white man to every 20 acres, the same condition applied to all land grants. By imposing the rule on the widow's auction, the bench ensured the estate could not pass to a buyer who would leave it undefended, and the bar on too much land in one hand kept the island's holdings spread among many armed settlers. The council's recognition that it could not hinder the sale acknowledged the limits of its authority over an administrator. The widow held letters of administration, which gave her the legal power to dispose of the estate, and the bench conceded it had no ground to stop her. The deference shows the council respecting a legal right it had itself conferred, able to advise and to set conditions but not to override the administrator's lawful discretion. Sanders's petition to depart reflects the steady drain of men from the garrison to England at the end of their service. A soldier whose contracted time had expired was free to seek passage home, and the prospect of bettering himself drew him back to his native country. His offer to sell his provisions to the Company before leaving was the customary parting transaction, the departing settler turning his stock into cash or credit as he gave up his place on the island.
67	59	1717 The Gov.r Told Sanders he would give him leave to go off for England with his Wife and Own Child. But that he must give Security for what belong'd to his Wives Children by her Two former husbands if he toke them y.e what they have left them with him, for that he may chance to leave them when he comes to Engl.d to go a begging or Sent here again to be maintaind by y.e Parish as some have done formerly. But if he can Shew any Letters from his Friends to incourage him or give some other reasonable Acc.t how he can maintain y.e Children (in England) when he has them there he Shall have Liberty to go with his Wife & all her Chil- dren. The s.d Sanders did then desire he might be dismissed y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Service he having Servd them his Contracted time of Five Years as is mentiond in his Petition. Granted. Cap.t Bazett brought in an Inventory of all the Hon.ble Comp.ys Store Goods re- maining on y.e their Island the 25.th day of March last (1717.) Desird to back to Copy.	1717 The Governor told Sanders that he would give him leave to go off for England with his wife and his own child. But he must give security for what belonged to his wife's children by her two former husbands, if he took with him what those children had been left. The concern was that he might chance to leave them when he came to England, to go begging or be sent back to be maintained by the parish, as some had done before. But if he could show any letters from his friends to encourage him, or give some other reasonable account of how he could maintain the children in England when he had them there, he would have liberty to go with his wife and all her children. Sanders then asked that he be dismissed from the Honourable Company's service, having served his contracted time of five years, as mentioned in his petition. The council granted this. Captain Bazett brought in an inventory of all the Honourable Company's store goods remaining on the island on 25 March last, in 1717. The council ordered it back to be copied. The Governor said he must have a week's time at least to make out the general indent by it,

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		The Gov.r Sayes he must have a Weeks time at least to make out y.e Gen.l Indent by it, & there- fore desires it again as soon as possible. y.e it may go	and therefore wanted it again as soon as possible, so that it might go [...]. Interpretations The Governor's condition on Sanders protected the children's inheritance and the parish purse together. The wife had children by two earlier husbands whose portions might be carried off and then abandoned, leaving them a charge on the parish if returned. By requiring security or proof of means before letting Sanders take them, the bench guarded both the children's settled property and the island against the cost of dependants shipped back destitute, a danger it had seen realised before. The store inventory and general indent were the instruments by which the island ordered its annual supply. The inventory of goods remaining on 25 March 1717, the date the store books were balanced, showed what stock survived, and the indent drawn from it listed what must be sent from England. The Governor's need for a week to compile the indent, and his haste to have it ready for a ship, mark the careful provisioning on which a remote settlement depended for the year ahead. Speculations The Governor framed the children's safeguard so that it could be met two different ways, which suggests he wanted to control the risk without simply forbidding the family to leave together. He set out the danger plainly, that the stepchildren might be cast off in England or returned to burden the parish, yet he left Sanders a route forward through either a money security or credible letters of support. This structuring let the bench discharge its duty to the children and the parish while still permitting a willing soldier to take his whole family home, the two conditions offering a poor man an alternative to posting a bond he might not afford.
68	60	Nov.r y.e first homeward bound Ships. The Gunn.r brought in his Monthly Acc.t of Expençe for y.e last month (Viz.t An Acc.t of Gunn.rs Stores Expended from y.e 1. of Octob.r 1717. to y.e 31. ditto Inclusive (Viz.t Pound Oct.r 1 To M.r Cason for plattooning y.e Guard 6 Cap.t Haswell 2 the Guards. 11 Spunge Staves expended 2 Cartridg Paper 3 ditto to y.e Store 1 Flints 36 Muskett Balls 2 ditto Rodes. 12 Match. 14 (Sign'd) John French 14 12 2 36 4 2 19 The Overseer of the Plantations Sayes the Weather is so bad that he can neither pound the Goats nor keep the People at Work. The Gov.r Sayes he has been three person.s to Offer to lett Out their Blacks to Work for the Hon.ble Comp.s at 12.d p.r day. & he believes in a very little time he may have what hands he plea- seth at that rate. Antipas Tovey Matthew Bazett	November The indent was to go by the first homeward-bound ships. The gunner brought in his monthly account of expense for the last month. It was an account of gunner's stores expended from 1 October 1717 to 31 October inclusive. 1 October, to Mr Cason for platooning the guard 6 pounds powder To Captain Haswell 2 pounds powder To the guard 11 pounds powder Sponge staves expended 2 Cartridge paper 8 [...] Cartridge paper to the store 3 [...] Flints 36 Musket balls 2 [...] Rammer rods 12 Match 14 pounds The account was signed by John French. The footed totals summed the columns above at 14 pounds of match, 12 rammer rods, 2 [...] of musket balls, 36 flints, 4 [...] and 19 in the final column. The overseer of the plantations said the weather was so bad that he could neither pound the goats nor keep the people at work. The Governor said that three persons had offered to let out their blacks to work for the Honourable Company at 12 pence a day. He believed that in a very little time he might have what hands he pleased at that rate. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, Antipas Tovey and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The gunner's monthly account followed the standing order that John French render his stores each month, set at the consultation of 25 October 1715. The footed row summed each store column, so every total carried the unit of the item above it, the match and powder by the pound, the flints and rammer parts by the piece. The

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			powder issued to Mr Cason for platooning the guard records live practice in firing by platoons, a drill that kept the garrison ready to deliver controlled volleys. The market in hired slave labour was settling at 12 pence a day, the rate the Governor paid for his own. Three owners had offered their blacks at that figure, and he expected to command as many hands as he wished at the same price. This confirms the rate the council had fixed against the widow Carne at the consultation of 22 October 1717, the 12 pence standard now drawing willing suppliers rather than being imposed in a single hard case. Speculations The arrival of three offers at 12 pence a day suggests the Company's labour costs were falling as the supply of hireable slaves outran demand. The Governor's confidence that he could soon have whatever hands he pleased at that rate points to owners competing to place their blacks, perhaps because the end of the inhabitants' hire by the Company on 25 June 1717 had left private slaves idle and their owners short of the income the hire had brought. If so, the bench was watching a buyer's market form, in which it could fill its plantation needs cheaply and on its own terms rather than at the higher 18 pence owners had earlier sought.
69	61	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 12.th day of Novemb.r 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley Isa Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matth.o Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Council The Last Cons. read & approved of. The following Petit.r were Presented. Isl.d S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l Isa Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council The humble Petit.n of William Slaughter, Serg.t Most humbly Sheweth. That Whereas yo.r petition.r being destitute of a Suffecient quantity of Land for the maintenance of his Wife & Children did some time Since Peti.n yo.r Wo.rsh.l &c. humbly praying to become Tenant for ab.t 10. Acres of y.e Hon.ble Comp.ys Waste Land lying in Sandy bay Vally w.ch yo.r petit.r understands was left to Cap.t G. Haswell & Cap.t M. Bazett to View & make report of accordingly. Wherefore humbly moves once again to have a Grant of said Land knowing of no other capable for a planta- tion that lies convenient for yo.r Petition.r it	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 12 November 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented to the Governor and Council. William Slaughter, sergeant, petitioned the council. He set out that, being without enough land to maintain his wife and children, he had petitioned some time earlier to become tenant of about 10 acres of the Honourable Company's waste land lying in Sandy Bay Valley. As he understood, his petition had been referred to Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett to view and report on accordingly. He therefore asked once more for a grant of the land, knowing of no other land fit for a plantation that lay convenient for him. Interpretations Slaughter's renewed petition pursued the fallback request he had made when the council refused him the Powell's Valley parcel. At the consultation of 24 September 1717 he had asked, if denied the Green Hill ground, to take a parcel in Sandy Bay Valley instead. Having lost the first contest when the bench reserved Powell's Valley as common at the consultation of 25 September 1717, he now pressed the alternative the council had left open to him. The reference to a view by Haswell and Bazett shows the bench's standing requirement that waste land be inspected before any grant. No parcel was let until two councillors had examined it and reported, the same procedure applied to Swallow's and Slaughter's earlier requests. Slaughter's petition rested on that referral having been made, the survey being the step that stood between his application and a grant of title.
70	62	Nov.r it being now the best time for fencing & yo.r pet.r as in duty bound shall ever Nov.r y.e 12. 1717. pray, &c. (Sign'd) W.m Slaughter. Referd to the Gov.r & Cap.t Bazett. Isl.d S.t Helena. To y.e Wo.rsh.l Isa: Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Co.l The most humble Petition of John Long free planter. Humbly Sheweth. That for as much as your Petition having but Ten Acres of Free Land on which he hath lately built a	November Slaughter added that it was now the best time for fencing. The petition, dated 12 November 1717, was signed by William Slaughter. The council referred the matter to the Governor and Captain Bazett. Island of St Helena. To the Governor and Council. John Long, free planter, petitioned the council. He set out that he held only 10 acres of free land, on which he had lately built a house and enclosed some part to plant wood, besides another piece enclosed for a small

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		House, and Enclosed Some Part to plant Wood in, besides another Peice Enclosed for a Small Plantation has not therefore near a Sufficient quantity of Land for the Preservation of his Cattles lives, which is the main and chief Support of his Familie. Wherefore humbly Craves the favour of yo.r Worsh.l &c. to grant him about Eight Acres of y.e Hon.ble Comp.s waste Land known by the name as of Taylers Ground which has not for many years been of any Service to y.e Said Hon.ble Comp.s but daily Incumbered with several Peoples Cattle, which lying Convenient for your Petition.r humbly begs his Earnest request may be granted. And (as in duty bound) shall Nov.r 2.d 1717. ever pray &c (Sign'd) Jn.o Long	plantation. He had not therefore near enough land for the preservation of his cattle's lives, which were the main and chief support of his family. He therefore asked the council to grant him about 8 acres of the Honourable Company's waste land known as Tayler's Ground. This had not been of any service to the Honourable Company for many years, but was daily encumbered with several people's cattle. It lay convenient for him, and he earnestly asked that his request be granted. The petition, dated 2 November 1717, was signed by John Long. Interpretations Long's petition rested on cattle pasture as the essential support of his household. He set out that his small holding could not sustain his beasts, which were the main support of his family. The argument shows livestock, not crops, as the foundation of many island families' subsistence, grazing land being the asset they most needed and the want of which drove them to seek Company waste. Long described Tayler's Ground as land lying idle yet abused by others' stock. It had served the Company nothing for years but was daily grazed by several people's cattle without right. By casting the parcel as wasted and encroached upon, he argued that a grant to him would put to settled use ground that was otherwise both unproductive to the Company and a source of disorder among the surrounding owners. Speculations Long's stress that Tayler's Ground was daily encumbered with several people's cattle suggests he framed the petition to present a grant as the cure for an existing nuisance rather than a simple favour to himself. The bench had ruled at the consultation of 20 December 1715 that unmarked beasts on common ground were the Company's and that grazing must be controlled, so unregulated pasturing was a standing concern. By pointing to the disorder on the parcel, Long offered the council a reason to grant that served its own interest in order, enclosure under one responsible tenant ending the free grazing that the bench had elsewhere sought to suppress.
<u>71</u>	63	1717 The Govern.r Sayes that John Long does not deserve this Land nor any other, and shall not Hire it (if upon view it Shall be found reasonable to be lett) because he Petitiond for Some Land in Sandy Bay as Mentioned in Consultation of the 2. Octob.r 1716, and had a Grant thereof as p.r Consult. of the 23. of Same month, but Soon after came to desire to quitt it Notwithstanding the Govern.r & Council had taken a great deal of Pains & trouble about that Land, & The Govern.r thinks Such Chopping & Changing is improper Especially now when Long has Such a good Plantation as he has at this Present, and is also in in Expectation of as much more at his mothers death and his pretence of having but Ten Acres of Free Land is false for he hath 20. Acres of free Land and he hath hired Land Eno. The Govern.r Says M.r Sanders who was here Last Tuesday and Petitiond to goe off the Island, &c Seemd to us then as if he was in Drink but afterwards he not having an Annoer to his Satisfaction he was very troublesome & Impertinant in the Castle Yard upon which the Govern.r Sent for the Marshall and Ordered him to keep him in Custody till he was Sober, Whereupon he Sent the Govern.r the following Letter writ with a Black Lead Pencil. viz.t As I have Committed no offence I desire the Liberty to be at my own House here at Fort and there	1717 The Governor stated that John Long had no right to expect this parcel or any other, and that no lease would follow unless an inspection showed good reason to allow it. Long had already asked for ground at Sandy Bay, recorded at the consultation of 2 October 1716, and had received it at the consultation of 23 October that month. Shortly afterwards he returned wanting to give it back, despite the considerable effort the council had spent settling that grant. The Governor regarded this habit of accepting land and then surrendering it as unacceptable, all the more so because Long already farmed a sound plantation and stood to inherit a further holding when his mother died. His claim to hold just 10 acres of freehold was untrue. He in fact held 20, together with ample rented ground. The Governor turned to Mr Sanders, who had attended the previous Tuesday to request his departure from the island and had appeared intoxicated at the time. When the decision went against him, Sanders grew disruptive and abusive in the Castle yard. The Governor accordingly summoned the marshal and directed that Sanders be detained until he had sobered. From custody Sanders sent the Governor a note written in pencil. In it he argued that he had done nothing wrong and asked to be allowed home to his own house at the Fort, and that [...]. Interpretations The Governor declined the request because of Long's unreliable conduct over earlier grants. Having taken the Sandy Bay parcel at the consultation of 23 October 1716 and then tried to return it, Long had wasted the council's

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			labour. Treating that reversal as disqualifying shows the bench expecting applicants to honour the awards they sought, so that a man who discarded one grant lost his standing to obtain another. The Governor undercut Long's case by correcting his account of what he owned. Long pleaded a mere 10 acres of freehold, yet held twice that with rented land besides and an inheritance in prospect. The rebuttal shows the council measuring each petitioner's stated need against its own land records, the registers and census letting it catch a misleading claim before acting on it. The detention of Sanders illustrates the summary discipline the Governor exercised over behaviour inside the Fort. Denied the outcome he wanted, Sanders became unruly before the Governor, who confined him through the marshal until he was sober. The incident marks the immediate authority the bench held over conduct on its own ground, defiance and drunkenness met with confinement rather than any formal proceeding. Speculations The fact that Sanders wrote in pencil from confinement suggests a man with no proper writing materials to hand, improvising an appeal in the moment rather than preparing one. That the clerk thought the pencil worth noting implies the note was produced hastily in custody. Sanders's protest that he had done no wrong reads as the complaint of someone who felt unjustly held, and the Governor's decision to enter the letter in the record may have been calculated to preserve evidence of both Sanders's behaviour and the justification for holding him, forestalling any later grievance from a departing soldier that he had been confined without cause.
72	64	Novemb.r there Condole the misfortunes you have heaped this day upon my head for I can never goe in the Country to put that Jewel which hath been my happiness So long into as much Misery as I my Self am in but pray God put the Contents of the 32. 43. & 109. Salms in Execution while I will Praise him in three more, viz.t 113, 138, & 145. Salms which is the harty prayer of him who is S.r Yo.r afflicted Servant Geo. Sanders. And when the Marshall y.t tho he was Sober, Let him go into the Country the next morning after, he Sent the Govern.r the following Letter (Viz.t Worshipfull S.r If the Confession of my Crime, or y.e harty Sorrow I conceive at the Sence of it can work in you any Compassion, then I have Some hope of Obtaining Pardon from that Bountifull goodness (of which I so long & So often have Participated, & I have now So much and So greatly & So unjustly Injured and Affronted. Consider S.r that the Punnishm.t I inflict upon my Self for my having offended So much Goodness is not the least fit being an incompressible & harty Sorrow altho what I did was rather through the violent & fierce	November The letter continued. Sanders wrote that he felt the loss of the liberty he had so long enjoyed at his own house. He could no longer go into the country to look after the thing that had been his happiness for so long, and his confinement had brought him great distress. He asked God to visit upon the Governor the curses of the 32nd, 43rd and 109th Psalms, while he himself would praise God in three others, the 113th, 138th and 145th Psalms, which was his sincere prayer. He signed himself the Governor's afflicted servant, George Sanders. When the marshal saw that Sanders was sober, he let him go into the country the next morning. After that, Sanders sent the Governor a further letter. In this second letter Sanders wrote that, if his confession of his fault and the sincere sorrow he felt could move the Governor to any compassion, he had some hope of obtaining pardon from that generous nature he had so long and so often benefited from, and which he had now so greatly and so unjustly wronged. He asked the Governor to consider that the punishment he laid upon himself for having offended so much goodness was not the least part, being a deep and heartfelt sorrow, even though what he had done arose rather from a violent and fierce [...]. Interpretations Sanders's invocation of the Psalms turned scripture into a weapon and a peace offering at once. The 32nd, 43rd and 109th are psalms of complaint and imprecation, the 109th in particular a curse against an enemy, while the 113th, 138th and 145th are psalms of praise and thanksgiving. By calling down the cursing psalms on the Governor and reserving the grateful ones for himself, Sanders framed his grievance in the most charged language a literate man of his day commanded, the Bible serving as the shared idiom in which even a soldier's anger was expressed. The two letters together trace a sharp reversal from defiance to abject apology. The first, written in custody,

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			cursed the Governor; the second, sent after his release, begged pardon and confessed his fault. The shift shows a man calculating his position once free, recognising that a discharged soldier still seeking passage home depended on the Governor's goodwill, and exchanging his anger for submission as soon as confinement no longer pressed on him. Speculations The swing from curses to contrition once Sanders was released suggests his second letter was driven less by genuine remorse than by self-interest in his pending departure. He had petitioned to leave the island and still needed the Governor's leave and the sale of his provisions arranged in his favour, all of which the bench controlled. Having vented his anger from custody when he had nothing to lose, he reversed course the moment liberty restored the stakes, his confession of fault and appeal to the Governor's generosity reading as a man repairing a relationship he could not afford to have broken while his passage home remained in the Governor's gift.
73	65	1717 fierce Emotion of an unruly Extasie of Passion then any thing Proceeding from my free will, So that if the thing be rightly Stated, it was rather my misfortune than any fault. Yet I will own it mine (for to deny it would be making y.e thing woose by much more) and Shall not Stick at any Penance whereby I may obtaine my Pardon Confiding you will not be more Severe then heaven it Self (whose Nature is to forgive true Penitants. In ruminating & looking back into the Nature of my Great offence I find So Paternal care flowing from your Goodness even when you had the least reason that I Cannot Express your goodness in its due Lustre, for had I gone to my House in the valley in the Midst of that Violent rage I might have done Some mischief Either to my Self or Some other body, but thanks be to God who mede your Worship an instrument of Good towards me, and in the next place I return you hartly thanks for the tenderness you Expressed in taking So much Care of me when I least deserved it though I am not Capable of Remembering the Expressions in full then used by me, yet I have been informed by the Spectators of my then bad Deportment and Auditors to my ill Expressions that they were both bad & foolish Enough (though I hope not beyond mercy) which makes me hartly desire a Verball Acknow- ledgm.t to your Self as well as this Written one by my Pen	1717 Sanders continued that his conduct had come from an uncontrolled outburst of temper rather than from any deliberate choice. If the matter were fairly judged, it was his misfortune more than his fault. Yet he would admit it as his own, since to deny it would only make things far worse, and he would willingly accept any penance that might win his pardon. He trusted the Governor would be no more severe than heaven itself, whose nature was to forgive those who truly repented. Reflecting on the nature of his offence, Sanders wrote that he found such fatherly care flowing from the Governor's kindness, even when he had given the least cause for it, that he could not express that kindness as it deserved. Had he gone to his house in the valley in the midst of that violent rage, he might have done harm either to himself or to someone else. He thanked God for making the Governor an instrument of good toward him, and gave the Governor his sincere thanks for the tenderness he had shown in taking so much care of him when he least deserved it. He could not recall in full the words then used to him, but he had been told by those who saw his poor behaviour and heard his offensive language that both were bad and foolish enough, though he hoped not beyond mercy. This made him earnestly wish to make a spoken acknowledgement to the Governor, as well as this written one, by [...]. Interpretations Sanders recast his confinement as an act of protection rather than punishment. He now thanked the Governor for holding him, arguing that had he reached his house while enraged he might have injured himself or another. The reinterpretation shows him reframing the very detention he had earlier cursed, casting the Governor's authority as a kindness that had saved him from worse, the better to earn the pardon he sought. The letter shows the period's understanding of the law's distinction between rage and intent. Sanders pleaded that his fault sprang from a fit of ungovernable passion, not from settled purpose, and so was his misfortune more than his crime. This was the same line drawn at the Smitheman inquest of the consultation of 20 October 1717 between a disordered mind and deliberate wrongdoing, an offence done in the heat of passion being held less culpable than one coldly chosen. Speculations Sanders's offer to add a spoken apology to the written one suggests he understood that a public submission carried weight a private letter could not. A discharged soldier still awaiting passage needed not only the Governor's private forgiveness but his open goodwill before the garrison that had witnessed the outburst in the Castle yard. By proposing to acknowledge his fault

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			aloud as well as in writing, Sanders offered the Governor the visible satisfaction of a humbled man, repairing in front of others the affront he had given in front of others, which was the form of amends most likely to clear his way off the island.
<u>74</u>	66	Novemb.r Pen which till I have Performed I cannot Content my my Self, for I must Confess you have been more like a tender father who pittyth the weakness & frailty of his Son than like an Austeer master who Correcteth to the utmost of a fault in his Servant. As to my Petition for going off the Island I think it Can be no way Offensive it being my harty desire to return to my native Country and the greatest heart breaching to me if (by recion of these Children) I Cant that ever man had, and I hope you.l Consider the Great distraction it would Cause in the mind of any man to think he Should leave his friends & Native Country to Serve the Company upon their faithfull Promises he Shall return if desired at the Expiration of five years which I have fully Served in my appointed Station. Had I not a Suffecient Dependance in England (w.ch as I told you the other day) is one Hundred Pounds p.r annu.m laying in Sandwich near the Downs, and one House in Gilford, lett at 26 Pounds a year, I Should not desire to go thither for blessed be God I live very well here, and have no Occasion to repent my Coming here could I now gett home againe to, that which is better and was it your own case I am apt to think it would seem very hard to you if you could not. Pen	November Sanders wrote that until he had made that spoken apology he could not be content, for he had to admit the Governor had behaved more like a tender father, who pitied the weakness and frailty of his son, than like a harsh master who punished a servant's fault to the utmost. As to his petition to leave the island, Sanders thought it could give no offence, since it was his sincere wish to return to his native country, and the greatest heartbreak to him, because of his children, that any man ever had. He hoped the Governor would consider the great distress it would cause in any man's mind to think he must leave his friends and native country to serve the Company, when the Company had faithfully promised that he might return if he wished at the end of five years, which term he had now fully served in his appointed post. Sanders set out his means in England. He had, as he had told the Governor a few days earlier, an income of £100 0s 0d a year at Sandwich near the Downs, and a house at Guildford let at £26 0s 0d a year. Without these he would not wish to go, for he lived very well on the island and had no cause to regret coming. But since he could now return home to something better, and since the Governor would feel the same in his own case, he thought it would seem very hard to the Governor if he could not [...]. Interpretations Sanders set out his English property to prove he could maintain his family at home. He named a yearly income at Sandwich and a let house at Guildford, the concrete evidence of means the Governor required of any settler taking dependants to England. This directly answered the condition the bench had imposed at the consultation of 5 November 1717, that Sanders show he could keep his wife's children rather than leave them to beg or be returned to the parish. Sanders rested his right to leave on the Company's own promise of release after a term. He had served his full five years in his post, and the Company had pledged that such a servant might return home when his time expired. The appeal shows the contractual basis of garrison service, the soldier holding the Company to a bargain that bound him for a fixed period and entitled him to passage home once it was complete. Speculations Sanders's flattering comparison of the Governor to a tender father, set directly before his renewed request to leave, suggests the apology and the petition were two halves of a single calculated approach. Having spent the earlier part of the letter in submission, he turned at once to the practical favour he needed, the comparison softening the ground before the ask. The structure points to a man using contrition instrumentally, repairing the breach he had caused so that the Governor, now cast as a forgiving father, would find it awkward to refuse the departure that the same letter pressed.
<u>75</u>	67	1717 Can your worship think I would be So Simple to leave a Certainty here (though it is but for a time) for an uncertainty in another place, no, if I was not Certaine of what I here lay, before you I would never Pretend to go there. And as for these Children they have no Dependance here, all they have is one House in James valley among three of them, and not that till my wifes deccase, which House I deire nothing of more then the value of my	1717 Sanders asked whether the Governor could think him so foolish as to leave a certainty on the island, even one held only for a time, for an uncertainty elsewhere. He would never propose to go to England unless he were sure of what awaited him there. As for the children, Sanders set out that they had nothing to depend on at the island. All they had was one house in James Valley shared among three of them, and not even that until his wife's death, of which house he

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		wifes life time in it if any one will buy that. And if the s.d Children Stay here they are more likely to be a Charge to y.e Island for I have but five years to Come in the Land I now live on, at the End of which term I Shall not have a House to Put my head in, and what must I do then w.th these Children, & perhaps more of my own, now I am willing to do for their good as well as my own while it is in my Power to do it, for in Engl.d Children may be put to one business or other whereby to gett a lively hood all their life time afterward & that Cannot be done here. Beside Sett case I had no Dependance in England and in a Small time after I came there I Should be Extravagant (which I never was yet and I hope Shall not be) & Spend that little I carry from hence, and these Children were obliged to Stand Should come back to the Island againe they would by that time be fitt to be put to Service, So that the Island if rightly Considered is in no Danger that way, for the Boy is now upward of Sixteen & y.e Gile of Eight as	wanted only the value of his wife's life interest in it, if anyone would buy it. If the children stayed, they were more likely to become a charge on the island, for he had only five years left on the land he now occupied, at the end of which he would have no house to live in. He asked what he would then do with these children, and perhaps more of his own. He was willing to do for their good as well as his own while it lay in his power. In England the children could be put to one trade or another by which to earn a living all their lives afterward, which could not be done on the island. Sanders added a further argument. Suppose he had nothing to depend on in England, and a short time after arriving he became wasteful, which he never had been and hoped never would be, and spent the little he carried from the island. Even then, if the children were forced to come back, they would by that time be fit to be put to service. So the island ran no risk that way, for the boy was now above 16 and the girl 8 [...]. Interpretations Sanders argued that taking the children to England served the island's interest, not just his own. Their only asset was a shared house they could not enter until his wife died, and his own tenure expired in five years, after which he could not house them. By showing they would otherwise fall on the parish, he turned the bench's own concern back to his advantage, presenting their departure as the outcome that spared the island a future burden. Sanders addressed the precise risk the council had raised, that returned dependants would cost the parish. He met it by pointing to the children's ages, the boy above 16 and the girl 8, arguing that even in the worst case they would by then be old enough for service and so self-supporting. This answered the danger named at the consultation of 5 November 1717, that children shipped back would be a charge, by showing they would soon be beyond the age of dependence. Speculations Sanders's care to value only his wife's life interest in the shared house, rather than claim the house itself, suggests he was framing his proposals to appear scrupulous about the children's property and so disarm objection. The council had required security precisely because a departing stepfather might carry off or waste what belonged to the wife's children by earlier marriages. By stating he sought nothing beyond his wife's limited interest, Sanders signalled that the children's reversion in the house would remain untouched, a calculated reassurance designed to show the bench he had no intention of stripping the assets it was bound to protect.
76	68	Novemb.r As for my Plantation and what I have to Dispose of, I humbly offer to the Hon.ble Company it lying Adjacent to Perkins Plantation and very Conveni- ent for them, no more but remaining impatient of a favourable Answer I make bold to Reasume once againe the title of S.r Novemb.r y.e 8.th 1717. Yo.r most humble & most faithfull Servant. Geo Sanders. The Govern.r Desires the Council to give him their Opinions what he had best do herein, for that these Papers makes it look as if the man was besides himself. p.r Sanders Cap.t Haswell Sayes that Whereas he is indebted to a great many People here, lett him Settle with every body and Clear the Island he thinks tis best to lett him go home and he beleives he's a little Craised for he Sent a Bill to Church last Sunday to be prayd for. Cap.t Bazett & M.r Tovey Sayes they don't think it wooth while to keep Such a man here, & therefore tis best to lett him goe for England. The Tea being all gone and the Serjeant of y.e Guard appearing in their behalf of the Soldiers	November Sanders closed by offering his plantation and his other goods to the Honourable Company. The land lay next to Perkins's plantation and was very convenient for the Company. Growing impatient for a favourable answer, he made bold to take his leave once more. The letter, dated 8 November 1717, was signed by Sanders as the Governor's most humble and faithful servant, George Sanders. The Governor asked the council for their opinions on what he had best do, since these letters made it look as if the man were out of his mind. Captain Haswell said that, since Sanders was in debt to a great many people on the island, he should settle with everyone and leave. Haswell thought it best to let him go home, and believed he was a little disturbed in his mind, for he had sent a note to church the previous Sunday asking to be prayed for. Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey said they did not think it worth keeping such a man on the island, and so it was best to let him go to England. The tea being all gone, and the sergeant of the guard appearing on behalf of the soldiers, asking [...].

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			Interpretations The council read Sanders's wild letters as evidence of an unsettled mind and let that shape its decision. The Governor noted the letters made him seem out of his senses, and Haswell pointed to the note Sanders had sent to church to be prayed for as a further sign of disturbance. The bench treated his mental state as a reason to release rather than discipline him, judging a man so agitated not worth holding. Sanders's debts to many islanders bore directly on the terms of his release. Haswell required that he settle with all his creditors before leaving, the same condition the council habitually attached to any departure. A debtor could not simply sail away, the bench ensuring that those owed money on the island were satisfied before it granted passage and the island lost its hold on him. Speculations The unanimity of the councillors that Sanders was not worth keeping suggests the bench welcomed his departure as a way to be rid of a troublesome man without the cost of a quarrel. Bazett and Tovey judged him not worth retaining, and Haswell pressed only that he clear his debts first. Their readiness to let him go, rather than enforce the remaining claim on his service or punish the affront in the Castle yard, points to a calculation that a disruptive and possibly disordered soldier was better released to England than kept on a small station where his conduct would continue to demand the council's attention.
77	69	1717 Desireing they might have Coffee Allowed them in Stead thereof. Ordered That they be allowed one Pound of Coffee to Each Guard at this Fort. John Coulson was Sumoned to Answer a Compl.t of his dogs killing one of the Hon.ble Comp.ds Goats who appearing Sayed he had hanged his Dogg and did it imediatly upon his hunting the Said Goat before any Sumons was Sent to him Whereupon he was discharged. The Govern.r reports to the Council that there are two wild Dogs in the Island that have done a great deale of Mischief by killing 26. Sheep out of 40. of M.r Greentrees and two out of 107 of the Hon.ble Company's The Govern.r Acquaints the Council y.t he now has finnishd the Sea Gate. The Church Wardens have been with the Gov.r to Acquaint him that now they are about repairing y.e Country Church, and have a mind to floor it w.th Cutt Stone and Denire to borrow two or three of the Hon.ble Comp.s Blacks that are used to the Cutting of Stone and will Lend them other Blacks to work in their Plantations for the Same time. Ordered That their request be granted. The Govern.r Acquaints Cap.t Haswell the Accomptants Office is Cleared for him in the Castle.	1717 The soldiers asked that they might have coffee allowed them instead of the tea. The council ordered that one pound of coffee be allowed to each guard at the Fort. John Coulson was summoned to answer a complaint that his dog had killed one of the Honourable Company's goats. Appearing, he said he had hanged his dog, and had done so at once after it hunted the goat, before any summons was sent to him. He was therefore discharged. The Governor reported to the council that there were two wild dogs on the island that had done a great deal of damage, killing 26 sheep out of 40 belonging to Mr Greentree and two out of 107 belonging to the Honourable Company. The Governor told the council that he had now finished the sea gate. The churchwardens came to the Governor to tell him that they were now repairing the country church and wished to floor it with cut stone. They asked to borrow two or three of the Honourable Company's blacks who were skilled in cutting stone, and would lend the Company other blacks to work in their plantations for the same time. The council ordered that their request be granted. The Governor told Captain Haswell that the accountant's office in the Castle was now ready for him. Interpretations The substitution of coffee for tea shows the garrison's allowances adjusting to what the stores held. The tea was exhausted, recorded as all gone at the consultation of 5 November 1717, so the soldiers asked for coffee in its place and the bench granted a pound to each guard. The episode marks the practical management of a remote supply, the men's rations shifting with the stock available rather than following a fixed list. Coulson's prompt destruction of his own dog cleared him before the council could act. By hanging the animal at once and before any summons reached him, he showed he had taken responsibility for the damage without compulsion, which satisfied the bench and ended the complaint. The case illustrates how voluntary remedy could forestall a formal penalty, the owner's own action standing in place of a council order.

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			The exchange of skilled slaves for the church repair reveals a barter of labour between the parish and the Company. The churchwardens needed stonemasons and offered ordinary plantation hands in return for the same period, so neither side lost working strength. The arrangement shows labour treated as a fungible resource that could be swapped between the Company and the parish to match the skills each task required. Speculations The wild dogs killing 26 of Greentree's 40 sheep, against only two of the Company's 107, points to the loss falling almost entirely on a private owner while the Company's larger flock went nearly untouched. The disparity suggests Greentree's sheep were pastured in a more exposed or less guarded spot, perhaps the open range where the dogs roamed, while the Company's were kept closer or in greater numbers that deterred attack. The Governor's report of the matter to the council may have been aimed at justifying a hunt or cull at the Company's charge, the threat to its own stock, however slight so far, supplying the warrant to act against a danger that had already ruined a neighbour.
78	70	Nov.r The Gov.r Sayes he thinks tis proper to take some method to prevent y.e Scandalous way of Living of Nich. Threewe Stone Cutter with his Black Wench & desires the Council to give in their Opinions about it next Council day. The Overseer at the Hon.ble Comp.ys Plantations bro in the foll.s Acc.t for the last month (Viz.t Neat Cattle. 68. Cows. 35. Heifers. 14. Bullocks 17. Yearlings 21. Stears 34. Calves. 3. Bulls. 192. In all. 2. Cows Killd Since last acc.t 1. by a fall & oth.r hang her 3. Calves died of y.e Swelling 4. Increased 91. Turkeys gr.t & sm.l in all. killd 9. Some Non Increask 25 Geese great & small. killd 2. Non Increase 30. Fowls. killd 10. Increased 10 8. Ducks great & Small. Non Killd 3. Increase Since last Account Peacocks. 1. Cock 1. Hen 2. Goats. 170. Ewes. 20. Wethers 73. Ewe kidds 73. Ram.d to 3. Rams.	November The Governor said he thought it proper to take some method to prevent the scandalous way of living of Nicholas Shreeve, stone cutter, with his black woman. He asked the council to give their opinions on the matter on the next council day. The overseer at the Honourable Company's plantations brought in the following account for the last month. Neat cattle: Cows 68 Heifers 35 Bullocks 14 Yearlings 17 Steers 21 Calves 34 Bulls 3 In all 192 Of these, 2 cows were killed since the last account, 1 by a fall and the other had its throat cut by a fall, 3 calves had died of the swelling and 4 had increased. Goats: Ewes 170 Wethers 20 Ewe kids 73 Ram kids 73 Rams 3 Great and small 339 Of these, 10 were killed and 13 had increased since the last account. Sheep: Ewes 48 Wethers 29 Lambs 27 Ram 1 Great and small 105 Of these, 2 were killed by dogs and none had increased since the last account. Asses, great and small 12 Of these, 6 were of the male and 6 of the female kind. Turkeys, great and small 91 Of these, 9 were killed and some had increased. Geese, great and small 25 Of these, 2 were killed and none had increased. Fowls 30 Of these, 10 were killed and 10 had increased. Ducks, great and small 8 None were killed, and 3 had increased since the last account. Peacocks 1 cock and 1 hen 2 in all Hogs: Sows 5

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		339. Great & Small. Killd. 10. Increased 13 Since last acc.t Sheep 48. Ewes. 29. Wethers. 27. Lambs. 1. Ram. 105. Great & Small. 12. Asses great & small. 6. of y.e Male & 6. of y.e female kind Killd. 2. By 2 Dogs Non Inceasd Since last acc.t Hogs. 5. Sows 10. Shoates 27. Piggs 1. Boar. 43. Killd 3. Incr.d 3 d.o	Shoats 10 Pigs 27 Boar 1 In all 43 Of these, 3 were killed and 3 had increased. Interpretations The cattle held steady at 192, almost unchanged from the 198 of the plantation account at the consultation of 10 September 1717 and the 144 at the Plantation House alone on 8 October 1717. The herd's stability over these months confirms the recovery from the famine years, the small losses to falls and the swelling offset by new calves. The breakdown by age and sex shows an account kept to judge breeding strength rather than a bare head count. The goats stood at 339, marginally above the 336 returned at the consultation of 10 September 1717, the flock again holding level. The 13 increased against 10 killed shows breeding and culling running close together, the same near-static pattern seen through the year. This was the Plantation House stock alone, distinct from the larger flock of 604 counted on the open range at the consultation of 8 October 1717. The poultry continued its decline against the count of two months earlier. The 91 turkeys, 25 geese and 30 fowls fall below the 100 turkeys, 27 geese and 30 fowls of the consultation of 10 September 1717, the turkeys and geese both thinning under steady killing. The first appearance of a pair of peacocks, kept as ornament rather than provision, marks a small addition to the home farm's variety even as the food birds were drawn down. Speculations The Governor's move against Nicholas Shreeve's household sits oddly against the council's earlier handling of such matters, and the timing suggests a particular concern rather than a general moral campaign. At the orphans' court of the consultation of 29 July 1717 the bench had treated a white man's connection with a black woman as a bar to the usual penalties, the jury even refusing a black as witness against a white. That the Governor now singled out Shreeve for action implies the objection was less the relationship itself than its open and settled character, a man visibly keeping house with a slave woman offending the order the bench wished to maintain among the Company's skilled workers, whose conduct it watched more closely than that of ordinary planters.
79	71	1717 M.rs Carne has Published the foll.s Advertizment. (Viz.t Isl.d S.t Helena. These are to give Notice y.t I Frances Carne Wid.w having Obtained consent of the Gov.r & Council to Sell my whole Estate upon this Island to such Persons of the Place as are qualified by the Law to purchase the same Do Therefore intend to put my whole Estate (unless Houshold Goods to Publick Sale or Outcry at my p.sent dwelling house In Chapple (alt) James Valley & dispose of the Same to the best bidder who Shall have possession deliv.d to him of the Land, Houses, Blacks & Cattle on payment for the same & Shall have y.e Cattle deliverd to them as soon as they who are the Purchasers shall have Entred the Credit (for what they buy) at the Hon.ble Comp.s Stores The Estate to be Sold consists of (Viz.t 89. Acres of Land, w.th a well known house thereon & 100. 000 Yams growing on the Plantation. 1. House at the Fort, with y.e ground belonging thereto. 2. Head of Cattle whereof 16. are breeders Margin Notes: this is only a Memorm. not to go home.	1717 Start of crossed out section Mrs Carne published the following advertisement. A marginal note recorded that this was only a memorandum, not to go home. Island of St Helena. Frances Carne, widow, gave notice that, having obtained the consent of the Governor and Council to sell her whole estate on the island to such persons of the place as were qualified by law to buy it, she intended to put her whole estate, except the household goods, to public sale or outcry at her own dwelling house in Chapel Valley, otherwise James Valley. She would dispose of it to the best bidder, who would have possession of the land, house, blacks and cattle delivered to him on payment for the same. The cattle would be delivered as soon as the purchasers had entered the credit for what they bought at the Honourable Company's stores. The estate to be sold consisted of the following. 89 acres of land, with a well-known house on it, and 100,000 yams growing on the plantation. 1 house at the Fort, with the ground belonging to it. 37 head of cattle, of which 16 were breeders [...]. End of crossed out section Interpretations

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			The condition restricting buyers to those qualified by law enforced the council's defence rule even in this private sale. No purchaser could take the land without meeting the requirement of a white man to every 20 acres, the bar the bench had set at the consultation of 5 November 1717. The advertisement carried that condition into the open market, ensuring the estate passed only to a settler who could defend the ground he bought. The delivery of cattle was tied to the buyer first entering credit at the Company's stores. A purchaser had to register what he owed against the Company before taking the stock, which secured the debts the sale was meant to clear. This shows the Company's store accounts serving as the clearing mechanism for the whole transaction, the proceeds routed through its books before any livestock changed hands. The marginal note that the advertisement was a memorandum not to go home explains why the whole entry was struck through. The notice recorded a local sale of no concern to the directors in London, so it was kept in the island's own record but excluded from the despatch sent to England. The cancellation marks the clerk's distinction between matters reported home and those retained only for the council's own files. Speculations The valuation of the estate at 37 head of cattle, of which only 16 were breeders, suggests the herd offered for sale was weighted toward stock for immediate use rather than future increase. A buyer judging the estate would weigh breeders, the animals that reproduced, more highly than the rest, so the count distinguished the productive core from beasts kept for meat or labour. By setting out the breeders separately, the advertisement gave prospective purchasers the figure that most affected the estate's long-term worth, a disclosure aimed at drawing a fair price for a holding whose value lay as much in its capacity to multiply as in its present numbers.
80	72	Nov.r Goates Sheep Hoggs Great & Small. The Sale of the beforementioned parti- culars will be held on Tuesday y.e 19.th Inst.t Nov.r 1717. at 9 a Clock in the forenoon, at my Dwelling house in James Vally near the Fort. Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Margin Notes: this was only sent for hom. by mistake putt here, but not to go home.	November Start of crossed out section A marginal note recorded that this was only entered as a memorandum, put in by mistake, and not to go home. 144 goats, 30 sheep and 28 hogs, great and small. The sale of the items listed would be held on Tuesday 19 November 1717 at 9 o'clock in the forenoon, at her dwelling house in James Valley near the Fort. End of crossed out section The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The marginal note explains the cancellation as the correction of a clerical error. The advertisement had been entered in the consultation book by mistake, being a local sale notice of no concern to the directors, so the clerk struck it through and recorded that it was not to be sent home. The deletion marks the boundary the office kept between its own working record and the matter despatched to London. The stock offered completes the inventory of the Carne estate begun on the previous page. The 144 goats, 30 sheep and 28 hogs, added to the cattle, land and houses already listed, set out the whole holding for prospective buyers. The full enumeration shows the advertisement functioning as a sale catalogue, giving the market a precise account of what the estate contained ahead of the auction fixed for 19 November 1717.
81	73	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Thursday y.e 14.th day of Nov.r 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isa Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matth.o Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Coun.l	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Thursday 14 November 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley.

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		Present. The last Consultat.n read & Approved of. Tho. Leech, Eben: Leech, Jane Child & Jane Stayse, were Sumond & Appeard to Answer a General complaint of their forg- ing & Publishing false news that the Blacks were riseing on this Island. Upon Examining the matter of Fact it appeared That at y.e house of the Widow Mudges (who is Grand Mother to the Two Young Women) they all mett together w.th two or three more & M.rs Mudge being Sick they perswaded her the Blacks were riseing w.ch So frightned her that she desired the Young men to Stay & keep Watch there (One of w.ch (Viz.t Eben Leech was forwarned not to go to her house) w.ch appearing to be a con- trivance cheifly of Jane Childs & Eben Leech to frighten the Old Woman So y.t she might ask the Men to Stay in their House (as the	Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. Thomas Leech, Eben Leech, Jane Child and Jane Hayse were summoned and appeared to answer a general complaint that they had spread and published false news that the blacks were rising on the island. On examining the facts, it appeared that they had all met together at the house of the widow Mudge, grandmother to the two young women, with two or three others. Mrs Mudge being sick, they convinced her that the blacks were rising, and so frightened her that she asked the young men to stay and keep watch there. One of these young men, Eben Leech, had been warned not to go to her house. The whole affair appeared to be chiefly a contrivance of Jane Child and Eben Leech, to frighten the old woman so that she might ask the men to stay in the house [...]. Interpretations The charge of spreading a false alarm of a slave rising was treated as a serious public offence. On an island whose whole security rested on readiness against a slave revolt, a false report of one struck at the order the bench maintained, raising panic and risking a needless muster. The summons of all four shows the council pursuing the rumour as a matter of public discipline, not a private quarrel, the fear of insurrection being the gravest threat the settlement recognised. The investigation reframed an apparent emergency as a domestic stratagem. The young people had used the terror of a slave rising to manipulate a sick old woman into keeping the men in her house overnight. The council's examination separated the manufactured alarm from any real danger, exposing a private scheme dressed in the language of the island's deepest fear, which is what made the false report punishable rather than merely foolish. Speculations The detail that Eben Leech had been warned not to go to the widow Mudge's house suggests the alarm was contrived to override an existing prohibition on his presence there. By frightening the sick woman into asking the young men to stay and keep watch, the plotters arranged that Leech could remain overnight at her invitation, defeating whatever bar had been placed on his visiting. The scheme reads as a young man and his accomplice using the island's standing dread of a slave rising as cover for a personal end, the false news serving not to raise a general panic but to manufacture a pretext that let Leech into a house he had been told to keep away from.
82	74	Nov.r did) they continued there all night, Drink Drinking, with the two Young Women (who were their relations) putting the Wid.w Mudge into a great Fright But upon their Submis- sion & begging pardon promising never to com- mitt the like fault again. Eben Leech was Order'd to Ride the Wooden en horse & Jane Child forgiven this time Tho. Leech being only Sent for by their con- trivance was dismissed as also Jane Stays who was thought was drawn in to this merry meet- ing by Eben Leech & Jane Child. Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	November The group continued at the house all night, drinking with the two young women, who were their relations, and putting the widow Mudge into a great fright. They then submitted, begged pardon and promised never to commit the like fault again. Eben Leech was ordered to ride the wooden horse, and Jane Child was forgiven this time. Thomas Leech, having only been sent for through their contrivance, was dismissed, as was Jane Hayse, who was thought to have been drawn into the gathering by Eben Leech and Jane Child. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The wooden horse was a military punishment by which an offender was made to straddle a sharp wooden ridge, often with weights at the feet. It was the garrison's standard penalty for disorder, recorded against soldiers in earlier consultations, and its use on Eben Leech marks him as the principal blamed for the affair. The bench

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			reserved the physical punishment for the ringleader while excusing the others. The graded outcomes show the council apportioning blame by degree of involvement. Leech, judged the chief contriver, was punished; Jane Child, his accomplice, was forgiven on this occasion; and the two drawn in, Thomas Leech and Jane Hayse, were dismissed without penalty. The differentiated treatment reflects a deliberate weighing of each person's part, the bench distinguishing instigators from those merely caught up in the scheme.
83	75	1717 Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 19.th day of November 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke, Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matth.o Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.th in Coun.l The last Consultation read & Approved of. The Gov.r Sayes that Serg.t Southen has been with him & desired to go off the Isl.d because he has half his pay Stopt upon Account of a pretended Wife in England for he Sayes he canot live here unless he has his whole pay as others have & further s.d that if he goes he knows Several of the Garrison (whose time is Out) will be desirous to go too. And that tis thro his means that divers of them have continued hire so long which is a merrett he thinks ought to be encouraged. Therefore the Govern.r Desires he may be Appointed to be here next Consultation day himself and make out his Allegations But he thinks that a Man who has so little Merrett & Pretends to so much Should	1717 Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 19 November 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The Governor said that Sergeant Southen had been with him and wished to leave the island, because half his pay was stopped on account of a supposed wife in England. Southen said he could not live unless he had his whole pay, as others did. He added that if he left, he knew several of the garrison whose time had expired would also wish to go. It was through his influence that a number of them had stayed so long, which he thought a service that ought to be rewarded. The Governor therefore asked that Southen be appointed to appear in person on the next consultation day to set out his case. But the Governor thought that a man who had so little merit yet claimed so much should not [...]. Interpretations Southen's grievance arose from the maintenance order against his English wife. Half his pay had been stopped to support Susanna Southen, whom he denied as his wife, under the order made at the consultation of 2 July 1717 charging him £15 0s 0d arrears and £10 0s 0d a year. His threat to leave was a direct response to that deduction, the soldier seeking to escape a charge he could not avoid while in the Company's service on the island. Southen presented his influence over the garrison as a bargaining counter. He claimed that several time-expired men had stayed only through his persuasion and would leave if he did, casting himself as the reason the bench had kept its experienced soldiers. The argument shows a sergeant trying to convert informal standing among the men into a claim for favour, the threat of a wider exodus pressed to win back his stopped pay. Speculations The Governor's blunt assessment that Southen had little merit yet claimed much suggests he read the sergeant's threat as a bluff to be called rather than a real risk to the garrison. By proposing that Southen appear in person to state his case, while privately doubting his worth, the Governor set up a hearing in which the claim could be tested and likely deflated. The approach points to a calculation that conceding to Southen's pressure would invite every discontented soldier to bargain in the same way, so the bench preferred to expose the weakness of his position openly rather than buy his continued service by restoring pay the maintenance order had rightly stopped.
84	76	Nov.r not be encouraged in those Notions. Geo Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 26.th day of Nov.r 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Geo: Haswell Dep.ty Matth.o Bazett 3.d & Antipas Tovey 4.t in Council Present.	November The Governor concluded that Southen should not be encouraged in such ideas. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Island of St Helena. The Governor and Council met in consultation on Tuesday 26 November 1717 at Union Castle in James Valley.

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		The last Consult.n read and Approved of. The following Petitions were p.sented. Island S.t Helena. To the Wo.rsh.l Isa. Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The most humble Petit.n of Rich.d Swallow Jun.r Humbly Sheweth. That Whereas R. Alexander dec.d did by his last Will & Testament be- queath unto Mercy his Wife a House	Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third in council, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petitions were presented to the Governor and Council. Island of St Helena. To the Governor and Council. Richard Swallow junior petitioned the council. He set out that Richard Alexander, deceased, by his last will and testament had bequeathed to his wife Mercy a house [...]. Interpretations The Governor's refusal to encourage Southen settled the matter against the sergeant. By rejecting his claim outright, the bench declined to restore the pay stopped under the maintenance order of the consultation of 2 July 1717, and dismissed the threat of a wider exodus as not worth answering. The decision shows the council holding firm against a soldier's attempt to bargain, unwilling to set a precedent that pressure would win back a lawful deduction. The will of Richard Alexander reaches back into a long-running estate matter before the council. Alexander, deceased, had been the holder of land seized under an earlier government and restored to his widow by lease at the consultation of 8 October 1711, and his affairs had recurred in the contested Alexander land case. The petition shows the descent of his property still generating claims years later, the house bequeathed to his wife Mercy now drawing a fresh application from Richard Swallow junior.
85	77	1717 Scituated in James Vally to be her's during her life but Conditionally that is in case that She should marry a person y.t had no dwelling house at the Fort then the House to be hees during her Life but if on the Contrary her said Husband should have any dwelling house at the Fort then the House to go to y.e Children of Rich.d Alexander dec.d as above mentiond without any use or advantage to her Husband & she being now Married & design- ing to depart y.e Isl.d as Expeditious as possibly She can with her Husband, yo.r Petit.r humbly conceives that y.e real intent & meaning of the Alexanders Will is That y.e aforementioned house is to go to & for the use of his y.e s.d dec.d R. Alexander Children & yo.r petition.r (as in duty bound) will ev.r pray 9.ber y.e 26. 1717. (Sign'd) Rich. Swallow Jun.r It is the Opinion of all the Council y.t M.rs Sanders formerly Wid.w of Rich.d Alex- ander has full power to dispose of her life time in the house in James Vally according to the last Will & Testament of the s.d Rich.d Alexander dec.d & that the s.d Rich.d Swallow has no other claime to it then the part be- longing to his Wife w.ch is Esteem'd as the One third of two thirds of y.e s.d House	1717 The house in James Valley was to be hers during her life, but on a condition. If she married a man who had no dwelling house at the Fort, then the house was to be hers for life. But if her husband already had a dwelling house at the Fort, then the house was to pass to the children of Richard Alexander, as set out above, without any benefit to her husband. She was now married and intended to leave the island as soon as she could with her husband. Swallow believed that the true intent of Alexander's will was that the house should pass to and be used by his children. The petition, dated 26 November 1717, was signed by Richard Swallow junior. The council gave its opinion that Mrs Sanders, formerly the widow of Richard Alexander, had full power to dispose of her life interest in the house in James Valley, according to the last will and testament of Richard Alexander, deceased. Richard Swallow had no other claim to it than the part belonging to his wife, which was reckoned as one-third of two-thirds of the house [...]. Interpretations Alexander's will used a conditional gift to direct the house according to his widow's future marriage. If she married a man without a house at the Fort, she kept it for life; if she married one already housed there, it passed at once to his children. The mechanism shows a testator anticipating remarriage and shaping the bequest to ensure the house served either his widow's need for shelter or his children's inheritance, but never enriched a new husband who had no want of it. The clause excluding any benefit to the husband protected the children's interest against a second marriage. A widow's property would ordinarily come under her new husband's control, so Alexander tied the house to the husband's own housing situation, cutting out a man who already had a dwelling. This guarded the asset for his children precisely where the law would otherwise have let it pass to a stepfather. The widow is here identified as Mrs Sanders, which links this petition to the departure case running through November 1717. Her marriage to Sanders, the soldier seeking passage to England, and their joint intention to leave, are what brought the disposal of the house to a

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			head. The council's ruling on her life interest and Swallow's fractional claim was needed precisely because the couple's departure required the property to be settled or sold. Speculations The council's reckoning of Swallow's claim as one-third of two-thirds of the house points to the estate having been divided under the same formula used in the Steward bond, where two-thirds of a personal estate was set aside for the children. The fraction suggests Swallow's wife was one of three children sharing the children's two-thirds portion, the remaining third presumably being the widow's own. By fixing his interest so precisely, the bench was applying the island's settled custom of estate division to determine exactly what passed to each claimant, so that the house could be sold or transferred with every party's share known and the departing couple's interest cleanly separated from the children's.
86	78	Nov.r the other part belonging to Mrs Sanders who with her present husband Geo Sanders has Sold the same to Jno Alexander for a Valueable consideracon Island St Helena (To yr Worshl Isaa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Counl the most humble Petion of George Haswell Francis Funge &c Jno Long) Humbly Sheweth (That Whereas Geo Sanders hav ing married yr Wid of Thos Gargen decd & having Sold & disposed of yr sd Gargens Estate both real & personal & has received Satisfaction for the same, yr sd Geo Sanders being designd to go off this Island with his Family & Effects We yor Petitiondrs having mar ried three of the aforesd Thos Gargens daughtrs humbly conceive have an undoubtd right to part of yr sd Gargens Estate therefore humbly request yt yr sd Geo Sanders be obliged to come to a fair Acctt he having from time to time eva ded it, it being near three years Since Gargens decease So that We may have our right accord ing to yr Laws & Customs of this Island, & yt he be not Suffered to depart before We have a full Satisfaction & whereas yr aforesd Thos Gargen was obliged by marriage contract to bring up Several Children of his Wifes (She being	The remaining share belonged to Mrs Sanders. Together with her current husband, George Sanders, she had sold it to John Alexander for a substantial sum. George Haswell, Francis Funge and Francis Long brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. George Sanders had married the widow of the late Thomas Gargen. He had then sold off the whole of Gargen's estate, both land and goods, and had been paid in full for it. Sanders now planned to leave the island with his family and possessions. The three petitioners had each married one of Thomas Gargen's daughters. They believed their wives held a clear right to a share of Gargen's estate. They therefore asked that Sanders be required to settle a fair account with them. He had put this off repeatedly over time. Nearly three years had passed since Gargen's death. The petitioners wanted their rightful share under the laws and customs of the island. They asked that Sanders not be allowed to leave before they received full settlement. Thomas Gargen had also been bound by a marriage contract to raise several children of his wife, she being [...] Interpretations The petition turned on inheritance rights passing through marriage. The three men claimed a share of Thomas Gargen's estate not in their own right but through their wives, his daughters. Under the island's law a son-in-law could press a claim to his late father-in-law's property on behalf of his wife. This explains why the husbands, rather than the daughters, stood as petitioners. The request to detain Sanders on the island shows the practical limit of legal redress in a small remote settlement. Once a debtor sailed with his money and goods, recovery became impossible. The petitioners sought a restraint on departure as security, since a fair account meant nothing if the man owing it had already gone. The reference to a marriage contract binding Gargen to raise his wife's children points to an earlier marriage. Gargen had taken on stepchildren as a formal condition of his own marriage. Such contracts fixed obligations of maintenance and inheritance before a union, protecting children of a prior marriage against loss of their position.
87	79	1717. the Widdow of One Richd Alexander decaed) & yr sd Gargens Estate has been chargd thr it, yr sd Sanders being according to his own confes sion a person of non Residence & made an Elope mt from Engld & can give little or no acct of him self, We have reason to fear aftr ho has gott yr sd Alexanders Childn into Engld he may leave ym to ye parish & so consequently be returned hither & We pub to trouble & charge, We therefore request yt yr sd Sanders may give Security to indemnify Us yr Heirs of yr sd Thos Gargen (in right of Our Wives)	She was the widow of the late Richard Alexander. Gargen's estate had been charged with her support. By his own admission Sanders had no settled home. He had left England without permission and could give little reliable account of himself. The petitioners feared that, once he carried the Alexander children to England, he might abandon them on the parish. The children would then be sent back to St Helena. This would put the island to trouble and expense. The petitioners therefore asked that Sanders give security to protect them, as Thomas Gargen's heirs through their wives.

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		Also there being a Child of yr sd Gargen's named Susana She having none to appeare in her behalf, We think our selves in Conscience bound to use our utmost endeavours for Se curity of yr sd Susana Gargens effects & yt he may be Obliged either to leave yr sd Effects heer or else give some Substantial Security he being designd to dispose of yr sd Susana Gargens Stock of Cattle without wch he yr sd Sanders could not have Subsisted his Family, & if yr sd Sanders should hereaftr bury his Present Wife, no doubt but yr sd Susana being in a Strange place & per haps a Minor, ho might turn her loose, We should in Charity be Obliged to relieve her, We having Just reason to Suspect it, he using	There was also a child of Gargen's named Susana. She had no one to speak for her. The petitioners felt bound in conscience to do everything they could to secure her property. They asked that Sanders either leave her share behind or give solid security for it. He planned to sell off Susana Gargen's cattle. Without that stock Sanders could not have supported his family. Should he later bury his present wife, the petitioners feared he might cast Susana off, she being in a strange place and perhaps still a minor. They would then be obliged out of charity to support her. They had good reason to suspect this, since he used [...] Interpretations The fear of the children being left on an English parish reflects how settlement law worked. A parish bore the cost of maintaining its own poor. A child abandoned without local settlement could be removed back to the place responsible, which the petitioners took to be St Helena. The worry was financial as much as moral, since the island would bear the return passage and upkeep. The position of the child Susana shows the vulnerability of a minor with no guardian to act for her. The petitioners stepped in not out of family duty but from conscience and the prospect of future liability. A minor could not pursue her own claim, so her property risked being sold off by the stepfather with no one to object. Susana's cattle were the substance of the dispute. Livestock formed the principal movable wealth on the island and the means by which a household supported itself. By proposing to sell her stock before leaving, Sanders would have stripped the child of the very asset that sustained the family. The demand that he leave the effects or post security aimed to keep that wealth on the island and within reach of the law.
88	80	Nov.r her at present (tho in a maner but an Infant) very hardly. &c And yor Petitionrs (as in duty bound) will ever pray. 9ber yr 26. 1717) Geo: Haswell (Signd) Fras Funge Jno Long. Orderd That all parties concernd do meet together to Settle yr Acctts depending between them, & appoint yr time, & if they dont then agree, the Govdrno will call a Court to decide the matter in Question An Agreement made between Capt George Haswell Fras Funge & Jno Long was now & yr sd Geo Sanders produced by Mr Jno Coles wch they all desire may be Registerd Granted. (& is as foll: Viz) Memorandm Its agreed between us Jno Long & Geo Sanders on behalf of Our Selves & others concernd in yr Estate of Thos Gargen deceased on acco.t of Maintaining bringing up & clearing yr aforesaid Thos Gargens estate, for Rd Alexander Children (deceased) (Vizr Ripin & Mary Alexan der: That yr Estate is to be charged wth Fifty two pounds ten Shillings & a Heifer half gone with Calf: yr sd Geo Sanders taking them into his care Witness Our hands this 7th of Febry 1717. (Signd) Geo Sanders Jno Long Signed	She was being treated very harshly at present, though she was little more than an infant. The petitioners closed by asking the council to grant their request. The petition was dated 26 November 1717 and signed by George Haswell, Francis Funge and John Long. The council ordered all the parties to meet and settle the accounts between them, and to fix a time for doing so. If they could not reach agreement, the Governor would call a court to decide the matter. John Coles then produced an agreement made between Captain George Haswell, Francis Funge, John Long and George Sanders. They all asked that it be registered. The council granted this. The agreement read as follows. John Long and George Sanders agreed, on behalf of themselves and the others with an interest in the estate of the late Thomas Gargen, on the matter of maintaining and bringing up Richard Alexander's children and clearing Gargen's estate. The children were named Ripin and Mary Alexander. The estate was to be charged with £52 10s 0d and a heifer half gone with calf. George Sanders took these into his care. The agreement was dated 7 February 1718 and signed by George Sanders and John Long. Interpretations The council set a two-stage process for the dispute. The parties were first to settle privately by agreement at a time of their own choosing. Only on failure would the Governor convene a court. This reflects a standard administrative preference for negotiated settlement over formal litigation, reserving judicial machinery for cases that could not be resolved otherwise. Registration of the agreement gave it standing as a public record. By asking the council to enter it in the consultations, the parties turned a private arrangement into an enforceable instrument that could be produced as proof later. This was the practical purpose of bringing the document before the Governor rather than keeping it among themselves.

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			The charge of £52 10s 0d and the pregnant heifer set a fixed value on the children's maintenance. The estate carried a defined liability, and Sanders accepted the assets against an obligation to raise the children. Pairing a cash sum with breeding livestock combined immediate value with a productive asset, since the calf would add to the stock over time.
89	81	1717. Signed in the Presence of Us. John Coles, Orlando Bagley Isld St Helena To the Worshl Isaa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Counl The humbl Petitr of Ripin Wills Humbly Sheweth That yor Petitr being very desirous to re turne to his Native Country humbly prays yor Worshl & Council will Grant for him & family to take passage by yr first oppertunity of Ship ping. Yor Petitr humbly Offereth what he hath to dispose of to yr Honl Compa hoping yor Worshs will be graciously pleased to Grant my humb request. And yor Petitr as in duty bound will Novr 26 1717. ever pray &c. (Signd) Ripin Wills. Referrd to the Govr Capt: Haswell & Capt: Bazett. Isld St Helena To yr Worshl Isaa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Counl The humb Petitr of Jno Orchard, Monkcoss Most humbly Sheweth That yor Petitr having no Plantatn & finding it very chargable to buy all his Pro visions tho but for so Small a family as his (wch are three Persons) humbly prays yor Worshl &c Council to Grant him yr Plantatn called yr Mancups, near Mannatbee bay for merly Hugh Bodley & Since Granted to Saml Price who has left yr same. & yor Petitr (as in 26 Novr 1717) duty bound) shall ever pray &c. John Orchard (Signd)	The agreement was signed in the presence of John Coles and Orlando Bagley. Ripin Wills brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. He very much wished to return to his home country. He asked the Governor and Council to let him and his family take passage on the first available ship. He offered to sell whatever he had to the Company. He hoped his request would be granted. The petition was dated 26 November 1717 and signed by Ripin Wills. The council referred the matter to the Governor, Captain Haswell and Captain Bazett. John Orchard brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. He held no plantation and found it very costly to buy all his provisions, though his household was small at only three persons. He asked the Governor and Council to grant him the plantation called the Mancups, near Manatee Bay. It had formerly belonged to Hugh Bodley and had since been granted to Samuel Price, who had left it. The petition was dated 26 November 1717 and signed by John Orchard. Interpretations Both petitioners depended on the Company as the controlling authority over land and trade. Ripin Wills offered to sell his goods to the Company rather than on an open market, since the Company was the principal buyer and the gatekeeper of passage off the island. Departure required official leave, which is why a private wish to go home took the form of a formal petition. John Orchard's request shows how land was held and reassigned on the island. A plantation was granted to a holder, and when that person left it reverted to the authorities for regranteeing. The chain from Hugh Bodley to Samuel Price to a vacant state illustrates that tenure depended on occupation and use, with the council redistributing abandoned land to applicants who would settle it. The contrast between holding a plantation and buying all provisions points to the economic logic of land grants. A settler without land had to purchase food, which drained limited cash, while a plantation allowed self-support through cultivation and stock. Orchard's plea rested on the cost of dependence, the very condition the grant system was meant to relieve.
90	82	Nov.r This Land mentiond in yr Petitr was formerly yr habitatin of Hugh Bodley Senr who had a planta tion thereon & he dying Insolvent it fell to the Honl Compa So that We want a good Tenant who is an Industrious man to live there but Yett We think it not propr to grant it to yr Petitr for yr foll:g reasons. First, he has been Several times Settled in a Plantation & has often Sold & desposed of them again But yr cheif reason is yt yr place being an Outt part of the Isld it ought to be inhabited by an honest man & of better Character then John Orchard. The Govr Sayes that Settlements should never be Granted but by way of encouragmt to Industrious people of wch yt man is not One & tho he is for letting every foot of yr Honl Compa Waste or unoccupied Land Yett he thinks it is better to lett it lye fallow for a time than to grant it to any body only for them to Sell it. Isld St Helena To yr Worshl Isaa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The humb Petitr of Simon Whaley plantr Sheweth That Whereas There was a fine of Ten pounds to be paid to yor Petitr by Ordr of Court of yr 29 July last by Jno Hoskison Surgs Mat. & also yt yr sd Hoskison should	The land named in the petition had formerly been the home of Hugh Bodley senior, who held a plantation there. He had died insolvent, and the land had reverted to the Company. The council wanted a good and industrious tenant to live there. It did not think it proper to grant the land to Orchard, for two reasons. He had been settled on a plantation several times before and had often sold each one off again. The chief reason was that the place lay in an outlying part of the island. It ought to be held by an honest man of better character than Orchard. The Governor stated that settlements should be granted only as an encouragement to industrious people, and Orchard was not such a man. Though the Governor favoured letting every foot of the Company's waste or unoccupied land, he thought it better to leave this plot fallow for a time than to grant it to anyone who would only sell it on. Simon Whaley, planter, brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. A fine of £10 0s 0d had been ordered paid to him by a court order of 4 July last, charged on John Hoskison, surgeon's mate.

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		give Security for yr main taining a Child he had by yor Petitrs daughter Mercy.	Hoskison had also been ordered to give security for the maintenance of a child he had fathered with the petitioner's daughter, Mercy. Interpretations The council's refusal turned land grants into a test of character rather than a simple distribution. Tenure was meant to reward industry and permanence, not to supply men who flipped plantations for profit. By naming Orchard's record of repeated sales, the council treated a grant as a trust to settle and improve the land, forfeited by anyone who used it as a tradeable commodity. The decision to leave the plot fallow shows a deliberate weighing of two policies. The Company generally wanted all land occupied and productive, yet placing an unsuitable holder in a remote spot was judged worse than leaving it empty. An outlying settlement depended on the reliability of its occupant, since distance from the centre reduced oversight and raised the value of honest tenure. The Whaley petition records the legal handling of an illegitimate birth. The court fined the father and required him to post security for the child's upkeep, shifting the cost of maintenance from the mother's family onto the man responsible. The bond ensured continuing support and protected the parish and the grandfather from bearing the expense.
91	83	1717. Mercy. He now humbly prays yt sd Jno Hoskison may be Obliged to maintain yr sd Child & pay your Petitr yr sd Ten pounds. & yor Petitr as in duty bound shall ever pray Signum suus 26. Novr 1717) Simon ⊗ Whaley Referrd till this day fortnight against which time the Church Wardons are to have Notice given them thereof Mr John Alexander desired that a Deed of Gift made to his Wife by Mr Tovey & his Wife at their going off this Island in 1713. may be Registerd. Granted. Geo Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	Whaley asked that John Hoskison be required to maintain the child and pay him the £10. The petition was dated 26 November 1717 and signed by Simon Whaley with his mark. The council deferred the matter for a fortnight. The churchwardens were to be given notice of it in the meantime. John Alexander asked that a deed of gift be registered. Mr Tovey and his wife had made the gift to Alexander's wife when they left the island in 1713. The council granted this. The entry was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The referral to the churchwardens shows where responsibility for an illegitimate child ultimately sat. The parish officers had a direct interest in maintenance, since the parish would bear the cost if the father defaulted. Giving them notice brought the party most exposed to future expense into the decision before any order was confirmed. The deed of gift carried forward across several years and a change of residence. Tovey and his wife had transferred property to Alexander's wife in 1713 before leaving the island, and registration now fixed that earlier transfer as public record. Entering it in the consultations protected the gift against later challenge, since the original donors were gone and could no longer attest to it.
92	84	Dec.r Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 3d day of December 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley Capt Geo: Haswell Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Deptr Absent Present. Matthr Bazett 3d & being in yr Country) Antipas Tovey 4 in Cound. The last Consultn read & Approved of. Capt Bazett Brought in yr following accounts (Vizt) An Abstract of the Honl Compys Yams At their Several Plantations with their ages & qualities (Vizt) At Perkins Plantation all young Yams. 112: 000. At yr Hutts Plantn all young. 80: 000 At Lufkins Plantn all Young	At a consultation held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 3 December 1717. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Captain George Haswell, Deputy, was absent in the country. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Bazett brought in the following account. This was an abstract of the Company's yams at their several plantations, with their ages and qualities. At Perkin's plantation, all young yams: 1,124,000 At the Hutts plantation, all young: 80,000 At Lufkin's plantation, all young: 26,000 At the High Peak plantation, all young: 98,000 At the plantation house in the Bamboos and the Hutts, all young: 53,000 Sub-total: 369,000 Young yams not fit to dig for 20 months: At Perkin's plantation, at 6 months to 12: 66,000

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		26: 000. At yr High Peak Plantn all yg 98: 000. At yr Plantn house in yr Bamboo Gutt, all Young 53: 000. 369: 000. Young Yams not fitt to dig yt 20. Months At Perkins Plantn a 6 mo to 12. 66: 000 At Hutts plant a 2 mo to 12. 90: 000 At Tewddales Gutt a 3 to 9. 25: 000 At Lufkins from 2 to 7. 84: 000 At ditto a 3 to 12. 10: 000 Yams from 2 months Old to 12 mo amounts to 275: 000 At yr Hutts from 12 mo to 15 mo 24: 000. At ditto a 16 to 18 31: 000 At Lufkins abt 18 mo 8: 000. Yams from 12 months Old to 18 mo am to 63: 000. Carried over 797: 000.	At the Hutts plantation, at 2 months to 12: 90,000 At Tewsdale's Gutt, at 3 to 9: 25,000 At Lufkin's, from 2 to 7: 84,000 At Lufkin's, at 3 to 12: 10,000 Yams from 2 months old to 12 months, amounting to: 275,000 At the Hutts, from 12 months to 15 months: 24,000 At the Hutts, at 16 to 18: 31,000 At Lufkin's, about 18 months: 8,000 Yams from 12 months old to 18 months, amounting to: 63,000 Carried over: 797,000 Interpretations The yam abstract functioned as a strategic provisioning inventory rather than a simple stock count. Yams were the staple grown to supply passing Company ships and to feed the garrison and slaves. Recording each plantation by age band let the council forecast when each batch would be ready to dig, since a yam needed many months in the ground before harvest. The classification by age reveals planning for a continuous food supply. The crop was sorted into those ready now, those maturing over 12 months, and those needing up to 18 months or more. This staggering ensured that some yams were always approaching maturity, guarding against a gap in provisions between harvests on a remote island with no alternative source. The grand sums carried over show the scale of cultivation under direct Company management. These were not private plots but plantations held and worked on the Company's account, with the produce controlled centrally. The figures running into hundreds of thousands indicate that yam growing was the backbone of the island's subsistence economy.
23	85	1717 Brought over 707: 000. At Mr Carns Plantn a 14 months to 16 mo 63: 000 Yams fitt to Digg (Vizt) At Perkins Plantn fitt to digg 32: 000 At yr Hutts fitt to Digg but Small 89: 000 At Lufkins fitt to digg but very small 15: 000 Yams fitt to digg amt to 136: 000 Totall 906: 000 Besides about 30. 000 Suckers Sayed to be at Thomson Wood but not mentiond in yr body of this Report because Capt Bazett did not goe there to See them. Geo Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	Brought over: 797,000 At Mr Carne's plantation, at 14 months to 16 months: 63,000 Yams fit to dig: At Perkin's plantation, fit to dig: 32,000 At the Hutts, fit to dig but small: 89,000 At Lufkin's, fit to dig but very small: 15,000 Yams fit to dig, amounting to: 136,000 Total: 906,000 The account also noted about 30,000 suckers said to be at Thomson Wood. These were left out of the main report because Captain Bazett had not gone there to see them himself. The account was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The exclusion of the Thomson Wood suckers from the total marks a clear standard of verification in the Company's accounting. Captain Bazett would not enter a figure he had not inspected in person. The 30,000 were recorded separately as hearsay rather than folded into the count, keeping the certified total to stock actually seen and measured. The distinction between yams fit to dig and those merely fit but small carried practical weight for provisioning. A mature but undersized yam yielded less food and might be better left to grow on. Noting size alongside readiness gave the council a truer picture of how much the harvest would actually supply than a bare count of diggable roots.
24	86	Dec.r Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10th day of Decr 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Present. Matthr Bazett 3 & Antipas Tovey 4 in Counl The last Consultation read & Approvd of The Gunr brought in yr foll: Acctt (Vizt) An Acctt of Gunns Stores Expended from Novr 1st 1717. to yr 30. d Inclusive (Vizt) Novr 11. Deliverd to Mr Cason to Exercise 5	At a consultation held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 10 December 1717. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. The gunner brought in the following account of gunner's stores used from 1 November 1717 to 30 November inclusive.

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		13 for buryg Robt Ferguson (Soldr) 1 18 To Lucas Mason 1 for fitting yr Granadeer Pouches 2 26 1 Horn expended at Mundens point qt 1 20 To Capt Haswell 1 To yr Guard 6 Musket balls for killg Wild Doggs 2 Spunge Staves delld yr Garrn for his use 1 Flints for yr Guard 36 Match expended 14 (Signd) Jno French 14. 36 1 2 16 The Church Wardens attended according to an Order of yr 26. Novr last as Also	11 November, delivered to Mr Cason for exercise: 5 pounds 13 November, for the burial of Robert Ferguson, a soldier: 1 18 November, to Lucas Mason: [...] For filling the grenadier pouches: 2 26 November, 1 hour used at Munden's Point as a signal: 1 20 November, to Captain Haswell: 1 To the guard: 6 Musket balls for killing wild dogs: 2 Sponge staves delivered to the gardener for his rakes: 1 Flints for the guard: 36 Match used: 14 The account was signed by John French. The totals stood at 14 pounds 36, 1, 2, 16. The churchwardens attended in line with the order of 26 November last, as also [...] Interpretations The gunner's account tracked powder, shot and related stores as a controlled military resource. Each issue was logged by date, recipient and purpose, from training exercises to burials to signalling. This itemised accounting let the council monitor consumption of munitions on an isolated garrison where resupply depended on the irregular arrival of ships. The variety of uses shows how the garrison's powder served both defence and daily administration. Powder marked a soldier's burial, gave the signal at Munden's Point, filled the grenadiers' pouches and was spent killing wild dogs that threatened stock or crops. The same scarce commodity covered ceremony, communication, readiness and pest control. The issue of powder for a soldier's burial reflects the military honours due to a member of the garrison. Firing over the grave was a formal mark of respect, and charging the powder to the gunner's stores records the cost of that observance against the Company's account.
25	87	1717. Jno Hodgkinson Upon which the said Church Wardens with the Approbation of the Govr & Council came to Final agreemt with yr sd Hoskison upon his Giving them the following Note (Vizt) I Promise to pay unto Messrs Isaac Wood & James Vesey Church Wardens Twenty Five Pounds upon demand wch they are to lay out as they shall think fitt towards the maintaining a Bastard Child of Mercy Whaleys whereof I am adjudged yr Father which mony I pay on condition of their discharging me from any Future charges from yr Parish on acct of yr sd Bastard Child Witness my hand in St Helena the 10th: Decr 1717 (Signd) John Hodgkinson. The Church Wardens desireing an Attachmt to be made of the money in the hands of who keeps a Punch house Serjt Slaughter, due to s Jno Hodgkinson on acco.t of yr Sale of an Hous & Land in England the sd Slaughter was sent for, Whereupon the above note was underwritten as foll: Vizt Serjt Slaughter I desire you to pay yr above sum of Twenty five pounds to yr sd Church Wardens. (Signd) John Hodgkinson. Accepted yr 10. Decr 1717. (Signd) Wm Slaughter Test Tovey.	The matter concerned John Hodgkinson. The churchwardens, with the approval of the Governor and Council, came to a final agreement with Hoskison. He gave them the following note. Hodgkinson promised to pay Isaac Wood and James Vesey, churchwardens, £25 0s 0d on demand. They were to spend it as they saw fit towards maintaining the illegitimate child of Mercy Whaley, of which he was judged the father. He paid the money on condition that they discharge him from any future charges from the parish on account of the child. The note was dated 10 December 1717 and signed by John Hodgkinson. The churchwardens wished to attach the money in the hands of Sergeant Slaughter, who kept a punch house. He owed it to Hodgkinson for the sale of a house and land in England. Slaughter was sent for. The note above was then endorsed as follows. Hodgkinson directed Slaughter to pay the £25 to the churchwardens. This was signed by John Hodgkinson. Slaughter accepted on 10 December 1717. The endorsement was signed by William Slaughter and witnessed by Tovey. Interpretations The note settled the maintenance dispute by a single lump-sum payment that bought a release from all future liability. Rather than periodic support, Hodgkinson paid £25 once and the churchwardens discharged him from any further parish claim. This converted an open-ended obligation into a fixed settlement, transferring the risk of the child's future cost onto the parish fund. The attachment of money in Slaughter's hands shows a practical method of enforcement against a man with no ready cash. Hodgkinson was owed for property sold in England, and the churchwardens redirected that debt to themselves before it reached him. By having him

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			endorse the note over to them, they secured payment from a third party who already held the funds. The maintenance of the illegitimate child fell to the churchwardens as the parish officers responsible for the poor. They acted to recover the cost from the father so the burden did not rest on parish funds. The £25 placed the child's upkeep on a settled footing while protecting the parish against future expense. The naming of Slaughter's punch house identifies him within the small island community as a keeper of a licensed drinking house. The detail places the debtor and confirms his presence on the island, which mattered for serving the demand and securing his acceptance of the redirected payment.
<u>96</u>	88	Dec.r The foll: Petits were Presented (Vizt) Island St Helena To yr Worshl Is. Pyke Esqr Govr &c Counl The humb Petition of Thos Cason Sheweth That yor Petitr having Two Leases for a Hous & Forty five Acres of Land (of yr Honl Compa for Twenty One Years most of which time is Yett to come. & has been at great pains & charge & fencing in improving yr Same humbly prays yt instead of yr sd Leas for a Term of Years he may have One Lease upon three Lives for yr sd Forty five Acres upon his Surrendring yr sd Two Leases on yr Same Yearly rent as he now Pays & such othr condicons upon renewel of any One or more Lives as yor Worshl & Council shall think meet. He designing a further improvement of yr Surplus & yor Petitr as in duty bound shall To. Xber 1717. ever pray &c. (Signd) Thos Cason Granted. To the Worshl Is. Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The humb Petitr of Richd Swallow Carpentr Sheweth That Whereas there being a Bond now in yr Secretrs Office for yr Sum of Fifty pounds, yr mony having been paid & yr pst within Six months after yr Loan thereof, yor Petitr doth humbly require yr Bond to cancel it Xber yr 10. 1717. Who shall as in Duty bound ever Pray (Signd) Richd Swallow.	The following petitions were presented. Thomas Cason brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. He held two leases from the Company for a house and 45 acres of land, granted for 21 years, most of which had still to run. He had gone to great trouble and expense improving and fencing the land. He asked that, instead of his existing leases for a term of years, he be granted a single lease on three lives for the 45 acres. He offered to surrender his two leases on the same yearly rent he now paid. He accepted such other conditions on the renewal of any one or more lives as the Governor and Council thought fit. He undertook to improve the land further. The petition was dated 10 December 1717 and signed by Thomas Cason. The council granted it. Richard Swallow, carpenter, brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. A bond for £50 0s 0d was held in the secretary's office. The money had been repaid within six months of the loan. Swallow asked that the bond be cancelled. The petition was dated 10 December 1717 and signed by Richard Swallow. Interpretations Cason sought to exchange a term of years for a lease on three lives, a change in the form of tenure rather than its length. A lease for years expired on a fixed date, while a three-lives lease ran until the last of three named persons died, giving longer and more secure occupation. The request reflects the value placed on durable tenure by a tenant who had invested in improving and fencing the land. The condition tied to the renewal of lives points to the financial mechanism behind such leases. When one named life dropped, the tenant could add a new one, usually on payment of a fine. The council reserved the right to set those terms, preserving a future source of income while granting Cason the security he wanted. The bond in the secretary's office was the formal record of Swallow's debt. A loan was secured by a bond held by the authorities, and the obligation remained live until cancelled, even after repayment. Swallow's petition shows that discharge was not automatic, since the instrument had to be formally voided to clear him of any further claim under it.
<u>97</u>	89	1717, Orderd That yr sd Bond be deliverd up. Isld St Helena To yr Worshl Isa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Counl The humb Petitr of Several Persons belonging to yr Garrison whose names are underwritten who have Families & Live at yr Fort. Most humbly Sheweth That non of us having Plantations & finding it difficult to raise a hogg any were else so well as in this Fort Vally humbly pray We may be allowed to keep One Hogg or Sow a piece (& no more) to go loos very wch will be off great Service to Us & yor Petitr will take all due care to see no others wthout such leave shall turn Hoggs down this Vally without our giving notice thereof to yr Guard Humbly conceiving so few Hoggs will do mo good than harm here. & yor Petitr as in duty bound shall evr 1o Decr 1717 pray, &c. (Signd) Jno French. Wm Slaughter Joseph Bates. Louis Latour	The council ordered that the bond be delivered up. Several men of the garrison who had families and lived at the Fort brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. None of them held plantations and they found it hard to raise a hog anywhere as well as in the Fort Valley. They asked to be allowed to keep one hog, or a boar, but no more, to run loose. This would be of great service to them. They promised to take care that no others let their hogs loose in the valley without leave, and to give notice to the guard if any did. So few hogs, they thought, would do more good than harm there. The petition was dated 10 December 1717 and signed by John French, William Slaughter, Joseph Bates, Louis Latour, Francis Funge and Joseph Whaley.

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		Francis Funge Joseph Whaley Orderd That the Ancient Laws of yr Place be lookt into that We may not Authorize Innovations. Mr Tovey	The council ordered that the old laws of the place be examined, so that no new practices were authorised. This was noted by Mr Tovey. Interpretations The petition sought a controlled exception to a rule restricting livestock in the Fort Valley. The men held no plantations and depended on a single hog each for their families' provision. By limiting the request to one animal and offering to police others, they framed the concession as orderly rather than a free run of swine, which would have damaged the valley. The council's response shows a deliberate check against precedent. Rather than deciding the request on its merits, it ordered the established laws to be searched first. The aim was to avoid authorising anything new through a single grant, since an exception once made could harden into a claimed right and undermine the existing restriction. The right to keep livestock loose in the valley touched a shared resource that the authorities controlled. Roaming hogs could damage crops, gardens and the common ground near the Fort. The petitioners' offer to report unauthorised animals turned the concession into a system of mutual policing, aligning their private benefit with the upkeep of order.
28	90	Dec.r Mr Tovey fetcht yr former Consultation Dated the 20. Novr 1682. made in yr time of Govr Blackmore. Which is as foll. Vizt Whereas it is found by daily experience yt many Swine do run loose up & down in & about Fort James & on yr Line of Guns, amongst yr Batteries & Platformes before yr sd Fort in Chapple Vally. Yea many times Several do range up yr Hill towards Mundens Mount, over yr Bridge & Crane Battery throwing down Rocks & Stones to yr Great hazard of Mens Lives as they pass along yr way towards yr Crane, Battery & Usual Landing Place. It is Ordered. That if afr yr 1t of Janr next ensueing yr date hereof any Swine little or great Young or Old be found running or goeing loos, without a keepr driver or Tender below yr Honl Compa our Masts upper Store hous & Yard Walled in on yr One side & yr meat hous on yr other side of yr Way, leading from yr Fort James up Chapple Vally or any Swine be found on yr side of yr Hill towards Mundens Mount beyond yr Usual Watering place It shall & may be Lawfull for any Officers or Souldiers on yr Guard to Seize & Secure yr sd Swine giving Speedy notice thereof to yr Owners of them who Margin Notes: Consn B Nr 1 fo 304.	Mr Tovey fetched the earlier consultation, dated 20 November 1682, made in the time of Governor Blackmore. It read as follows. This was recorded in Consultation Book number 1, folio 304. Daily experience had shown that many swine ran loose in and around Fort James and along the line of guns, among the batteries and platforms before the Fort in Chapel Valley. Several often ranged up the hill towards Munden's Mount and over the bridge and Crane Battery. They threw down rocks and stones, putting men's lives at great risk as they passed along the way towards the Crane Battery and the usual landing place. The council ordered the following. After 1 January next, any swine, large or small, young or old, found running or going loose without a keeper or tender, would be liable to seizure. This applied below the Company's upper storehouse and walled yard on one side, and the meat house on the other side of the way leading from Fort James up Chapel Valley. It also applied to any swine found on the side of the hill towards Munden's Mount beyond the usual watering place. Any officer or soldier on the guard might lawfully seize and secure such swine, giving prompt notice to their owners, who [...] Interpretations The 1682 order being fetched and read shows how the council governed by precedent. The current petition about hogs in the valley turned on whether keeping swine loose was permitted, so the clerk retrieved the standing law on the point. Citing the book and folio number fixed the rule as established authority rather than fresh discretion. The order defined a regulated zone by precise physical boundaries. The storehouse, meat house, the way up Chapel Valley and the watering place marked the limits within which loose swine were banned. This created a protected military and traffic corridor around the Fort, the batteries and the landing place, where roaming animals endangered both the works and the men using them. The danger from swine dislodging rocks above the path reveals the practical stakes behind the rule. The route ran past the batteries to the landing place, the island's lifeline for ships and supplies. Falling stones threatened anyone moving along it, so the restriction protected a vital line of communication as much as it protected order. The power given to any guard to seize stray swine made every soldier an enforcer of the order.

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			Enforcement did not wait on a magistrate but fell to whoever was on duty, with notice then given to the owner. This placed immediate sanction in the hands of the garrison while preserving the owner's interest through the requirement of notice.
99	91	1717. if they shall not within two days after Such notice pay to yr Officer then comandng yr Guard the sum of 2/8 d for every head so Seized & Secured It shall & may be Lawfull to kill yr sd Swine & spend it on yr Guard. Since then Some Hogs going loos on yr Hills hove down a Stone wch killed a Man & then the above Order was renewed & Since yt time also some Hoggs on a representation yt they could do no hurt were Suffered to go in yr Vally they till yt rooted up yr ground by yr Guns on yr Line & under yr Castle Wall & annoyed yr Vally where upon Govr Roberts on the 27t of Octr 1700. made an Order to prohibitt all Hoggs going in yr Vally upon wch they Shott divers hogg belonging to yr Council & then some others. When Govr Roberts went home divers people assumed yr Liberty of keeping hoggs in yr Vally (but non of these Petitr run less yr Gun) & We finding yr Hoggs could not be kept from off yr Hills, nor from going on yr Line nor even from getting into yr Garden where they often did great damage & also in yr Store house Yard were they tore up Several Casks. We made on yr 25 day of 7ber 1716 the following Order That an Advertizment be Published to give Margin Notes: Consn B Nr 9. fo 189.	If the owners failed to pay the officer commanding the guard 2s 6d for every head seized within two days of notice, it would then be lawful to kill the swine and spend it on the guard. Since that order some hogs had run loose on the hills and dislodged a stone that killed a man. The order was then renewed. After that, some hogs were allowed into the valley on the understanding that they could do no harm, until they rooted up the ground by the line of guns and under the castle wall, damaging the valley. Governor Roberts then made an order on 27 October 1700 prohibiting all hogs from the valley. This was recorded in Consultation Book number 9, folio 189. Several hogs belonging to the council were shot under it, and then some others. When Governor Roberts went home, several people took up the liberty of keeping hogs in the valley, though none of the present petitioners ran fewer than [...] guns. The council found that the hogs could not be kept off the hills, nor from the line of guns, nor even from the garden, where they often did great damage. They also got into the storehouse yard and tore up several casks. The council therefore made the following order on 25 September 1716. An advertisement was to be published to give [...] Interpretations The escalating chain of orders shows governance by accumulated precedent over more than 30 years. Each new abuse prompted a fresh order, from the 1682 rule to Roberts's prohibition of 27 October 1700 to the order of 25 September 1716. The clerk traced the whole sequence to show that the current petition ran against a long and repeatedly reaffirmed policy. The death of a man from a dislodged stone marks the turning point that hardened the rule. A general nuisance became a matter of life and safety, which justified renewing and tightening the order. The record cites the fatality as the reason the council moved from tolerance to prohibition. The penalty structure combined a fixed fine with forfeiture and consumption. An owner could redeem a seized hog by paying 2s 6d per head within two days, failing which the guard could kill and eat it. This gave the guard both an enforcement tool and a direct incentive, since the meat of an unredeemed animal went to the men who seized it. The shooting of the council's own hogs under Roberts's order demonstrates that the rule bound the authorities as well as private owners. By destroying its own stray animals first, the council established that the prohibition was general and not a device aimed only at others. This lent the order legitimacy when it was later enforced against the wider community.
100	92	Dec.r give notice yt no Hoggs will be Suffered to go loos in this Vally below Mile end Stone afrt Christmas next. And tis Also well known to yr Gainer & & yr rest notwithstanding their Specious pre tence in yr Petn yt yr Planters complain when ever yr Honl Compys Hoggs come amongst their Goats, because the Sows & larger Hogs eat up yr Young Kidds as they fall & We having a good Stock of about Six hundred Goates of their Honrs yt go in yr Vally, shall not Suffer any bodys Hoggs to come into yr range to destroy them. Whereupon yr Govr told Jno French & Joseph Bates yt if they inveigled any more of their Gange to Sign such Capers so Contrary to yr Interest of Our Honl Masters We should not think them Worthy of Our favour nor employmt Orderd Also	The advertisement was to give notice that no hogs would be allowed loose in the valley below the Mile End Stone after the next Christmas. The gunner and the rest knew well, despite the plausible excuse in their petition, that the planters complained whenever the Company's hogs got among their goats. The sows and larger hogs ate up the young kids as they were born. The Company held a good stock of about 600 goats that grazed in the valley. It would not let anyone's hogs come into that range and destroy them. The Governor then told John French and Joseph Bates that if they drew any more of their group into signing papers so contrary to the interests of the Company, the council would not think them worthy of its favour or employment.

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		yt yr Writer of yr Petitr be fined Five Shillings to yr Use of yr Garrison because he knew how many Ordinances had been made against this keeping Hoggs & how industrious Several Govrs have been to prevent them feed ing in yr Vally And this Caper ought yr more to be Resented because every One of these Nominees to yr Petition have a	The council also ordered that the writer of the petition be fined 5s 0d for the use of the garrison. He knew how many orders had been made against keeping hogs, and how hard several Governors had tried to stop them feeding in the valley. The petition deserved the more resentment because every one of the persons named in it had [...] Interpretations The council unmasked the petition's true motive as a clash between two forms of Company livestock. The stated reason was the families' need to raise a hog, but the real objection was that loose hogs preyed on the Company's goat herd. The sows killed newborn kids, so protecting the 600 goats outweighed any concession to private swine. The Governor's threat to French and Bates targeted the organisers of a collective petition. By warning that further recruitment of signatories would cost them favour and employment, he treated coordinated petitioning against Company interests as near insubordination. This shows how dependent the garrison was on official goodwill for posts and privileges. The fine on the writer punished knowing defiance rather than the request itself. The penman understood the long record of orders against loose hogs, so framing a petition to overturn them was treated as deliberate. Directing the 5s 0d to the garrison turned the sanction into a small public benefit while marking the conduct as an offence. The figure of about 600 goats reveals the scale of the Company's own pastoral stock on the island. This was a managed herd, valuable for meat and breeding, and its protection set the limit on what private animals could be tolerated near the Fort. The economics of the goat herd, not abstract order, drove the refusal.
101	93	1717. a Double maintenance allowed them by the Present Government. Geo: Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday yr 17t day of December 1717. At Union Castle in James Vally. Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo Haswell Depy Present. Matthr Bazett 3d & Antipas Tovey 4 in Council The Last Consultn read & approvd of The following Petitr was Presented. Island St Helena To the Worshl Isa Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petitr of George Sanders Humbly Sheweth That Capt Geo Haswell & his Brothrs having Presented a false, as well as malicious Petitr to yo Worshl &c against yor Petitr yr 26 Novr last purposely to Scandalize yor Petitr (wch they call Lashing him) & prevent his di spatting his businessso as to go off yr Island	The persons named in the petition had each been allowed a double maintenance by the present government. The entry was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. At a consultation held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 17 December 1717. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented. George Sanders brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. Captain George Haswell and his brother had presented a false and malicious petition against Sanders on 26 November last. He claimed they did so deliberately to discredit him, an act he called lashing him, and to stop him settling his affairs so he could leave the island. [...] Interpretations The closing point about double maintenance exposed the petitioners' self-interest in the hog dispute. Each man already drew a double allowance from the government, so their plea of hardship in raising a hog rang hollow. The council recorded this to show that the petition rested on grievance rather than real need. Sanders's counter-petition shows the dispute over Thomas Gargen's estate had turned into open conflict between the parties. The earlier petition of 26 November 1717 by Haswell, Funge and Long sought to detain Sanders and secure the children's shares. Sanders now struck back, casting that petition as a malicious device to delay his departure rather than a genuine claim. The term lashing carried the sense of a public verbal attack meant to damage a man's name. Sanders framed the earlier petition not as a legal claim but as an attempt to brand him dishonest before the council. Reputation mattered for credit and standing in a small community, so an accusation of bad faith was itself a weapon.

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102	94	Dec.r by yr first Oppertunity & yor Petitioner having in vain since yt (as its well known he has often before) endeavourd to accomodat matters with them amicably but never had any meetings abt it but he mett with Scurlous & abusive Language & often threatned to be beaten Most humbly prays yr Acctt & right yor Petitr has by his Wifes (yr Wid & relict of Mr Thos Gargen decd) to yr sd Gargens Estate may be determined by a Court & Jury yor Petitr having no hopes to end it otherwise & yt he may clear him Self of those false & malicious reflections in the aforesaid Petitr before yor Worshl & Council & not go home with Such reflections thrown at him without having yr Liberty to Answer for himself. & as in duty bound shall ever pray. Decr yr 17. 1717. (Signd) Geo Sanders. He was Answerd, That as soon as he has Settled yr Accounts to know what Cleare Estate there is. The Govr will then call a Court to determine what Share yr sd Sanders shall have thereof The Govr & Capt Bazett Report yt they have Viewed yr ground on the back side of yr Lewis Latour house in this Vally referd to them in Consultation of yr 10th day	Sanders wished to leave at the first opportunity. He had tried in vain since then, as was well known, having often attempted before, to settle matters with them amicably. No meeting had ever been arranged, and he had met only with abusive language and frequent threats of a beating. He asked that his account and his rights be settled. He held those rights through his wife, the widow of the late Thomas Gargen, to a share of Gargen's estate. He wished the matter decided by a court and jury, having no hope of ending it otherwise. He also wished to clear himself of the false and malicious charges in the earlier petition before the Governor and Council. He did not want to go home with such accusations cast at him without the chance to answer them. The petition was dated 17 December 1717 and signed by George Sanders. The council answered that, as soon as Sanders had settled his accounts and the clear value of the estate was known, the Governor would call a court to decide what share he should have. The Governor and Captain Bazett reported that they had inspected the ground at the back of Louis Latour's house in this valley. The matter had been referred to them at the consultation of 10 [...] Interpretations Sanders sought trial by court and jury as the only route to a binding resolution. Private negotiation had failed amid threats and abuse, so he turned to formal adjudication. The demand shows that the island's court could be invoked to settle a property dispute between parties who could not agree, with a jury determining the contested share. The council made the court conditional on a prior accounting. No share could be fixed until the clear value of Gargen's estate was established. This sequencing reflects a practical order of business, since the jury needed a settled figure to divide before it could allot Sanders his portion. Sanders's wish to clear his name before leaving reveals the lasting weight of a recorded accusation. The earlier petition stood on the council's record, and he feared departing under its charges with no answer entered. Seeking a hearing was as much about his reputation as about money, since the written record would outlast his presence on the island. The inspection of ground behind Latour's house points to the council's role in managing land and boundaries within the valley. A referral to the Governor and Captain Bazett at the consultation of 10 December 1717 had sent them to view the site in person. On-the-spot inspection was the council's method for resolving questions of land use and allocation.
103	95	1717. day of Septembr last and thinks it Proper to allow him a Lease thereof paying five Shillings for the Same every year he has it Mr Isaac Wood prayed he might have a Bill of Sale for five Acres of Land he bought of Giles Hayes in Governor Bouchers time, Registered and a Deed for the Same. Granted. Humphry Edwards was Sumond to Shew cause why he did not Provide better for his familie being so well able to do it. And John Orchard was also Sumond to Shew cause why he Pretended to take an Apprentice (as he had the Son of Edwards aforesd) and teach him no trade but Sending him to fetch wood as farr as the great wood daily without any better usage than a black Slave, not teaching the boy any manner of thing nor taking the least care of him but to send him Constantly to cut trees at the great wood for firing Nichols Shreeve was Summond and appeared at the Complaint of the Church Wardens for Living Lewd and Scandalously with his Black Wench And He promising an	The reference concerned the consultation of 10 September last. The council thought it proper to allow him a lease of the ground, on payment of 5s 0d each year he held it. Isaac Wood asked that a bill of sale be registered for 5 acres of land he had bought from Giles Hayes in Governor Boucher's time, together with a deed for the same. The council granted this. Humphry Edwards was summoned to explain why he did not provide better for his family, being well able to do so. John Orchard was also summoned to explain why he had taken on an apprentice, the son of Edwards mentioned above, and then failed to teach him a trade. He sent the boy daily to fetch wood as far as the Great Wood and gave him no better treatment than a slave. He taught the boy nothing and took no care of him, sending him constantly to cut trees at the Great Wood for firewood. Nicholas Shreeve was summoned and appeared on the complaint of the churchwardens. The charge was living lewdly and scandalously with his slave woman. He promised [...]

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			Interpretations The summons to Edwards shows the council acting on a man's duty to support his own household. He was judged able to provide and was called to answer for neglect. This treated family maintenance not as a private matter but as a concern of the authorities, who could compel a capable man to meet his obligations. Orchard's apprenticeship was meant to bind master and boy in a relationship of training and care. An apprentice gave labour in exchange for instruction in a trade and proper keep. By using the boy as a wood-carrier and teaching him nothing, Orchard had broken the bargain, reducing an apprentice to the status of unpaid drudge. The council intervened to enforce the obligations owed to the child. The comparison of the boy's treatment to that of a slave marks a social line that the council policed. An apprentice held a recognised place above forced labour, and treating a settler's son like a slave was a breach of that order. The phrasing reveals the hierarchy of labour on the island, with apprenticeship and slavery as distinct conditions. Shreeve's summons reflects the churchwardens' role in policing morality. Cohabitation between a free man and his slave woman was treated as a public scandal, and the parish officers brought the complaint before the council. This shows the church's reach into private conduct and the use of disciplinary pressure to enforce sexual norms.
104	96	Dec.r an Amendment the Governour told him he would pass it byfor this time Geo Haswell	Since Shreeve promised to mend his conduct, the Governor told him the matter would be passed over for this time. The entry was signed by George Haswell. Interpretations The Governor's decision to overlook the offence on a promise of reform shows the disciplinary logic of the council. The aim was correction of behaviour rather than punishment for its own sake. A first complaint met with a warning and a pledge to amend, reserving harsher measures for those who persisted
105	97	1717. Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Monday yr 23: Decr 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley Isa: Pyke Esqr Govr Geo Haswell Depa Present Matthew Bazett 3 & Antipas Tovey 4 in Council The last Consn read & Approved of. The Ship King Wm Capt Jams Winter Comr Arrived here yesterday from Madrass from whence she departed yr 1n of August last But from yr Cape of Good hope has been but Fourteen dayes Capt Jno Hutter late Comr of yr Kathn being passenger in board. The Govr Sayes Capt Winter has brought from yr Cape of Good Hope 1 Stone horse & 1 Mare for yr Use of this place wch he takes for a great favour. The Capt has brought also & offers to Sell four or Five Leaguers of Arrack Some Tea &c Referrd to the Govr & Capt Bazett. This Comandr has brought Danl Haines a Souldr here from Madrass but he being Guilty of Most Beastly Actions there tho We do want Souldrs very much yet think it bettr to be without him & therefore yr Govr is desired to perswade	At a consultation held at Union Castle in James Valley on Monday 23 December 1717. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. The ship <i>King William</i>, commanded by Captain James Winter, had arrived the day before from Madras, having left there on 1 August last. From the Cape of Good Hope she had taken only 14 days. Captain John Hutter, formerly commander of the <i>Catherine</i>, was a passenger aboard. The Governor reported that Captain Winter had brought a stallion and a mare from the Cape of Good Hope for the use of the island, which he gave as a great favour. The captain had also brought, and offered to sell, four or five leaguers of arrack and some tea. The matter was referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett. This commander had also brought Daniel Haines, a soldier, from Madras. Haines had been guilty of most beastly actions there. Though the garrison needed soldiers badly, the council thought it better to be without him. The Governor was therefore asked to persuade [...] Interpretations The <i>King William's</i> passage from the Cape of Good Hope in 14 days marks the island's place on the Company's return route from India. St Helena lay in the South Atlantic between the Cape and England, serving as a refreshment stop for ships homeward bound. Recording the timing and origin tracked the maritime traffic on which the island depended for supplies and news. The gift of a stallion and mare addressed the island's need for breeding stock. Horses had to be imported, and a breeding pair offered the prospect of a local supply rather than reliance on each passing ship. The council

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			valued this as a favour because it built up a self-sustaining asset for transport and labour. The arrack and tea were trade goods carried for private profit by the ship's officers. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in India and the East, while tea came through the China trade. Offering them for sale at St Helena let the captain turn a profit on the call, and referral to the Governor and Bazett kept such dealing under official oversight. The refusal to keep Daniel Haines despite a shortage of men shows the limits of necessity. The garrison needed soldiers, yet a man guilty of grave misconduct was judged a worse liability than a vacancy. The council weighed the cost of disorder against the value of numbers and chose to remove him.
106	98	Dec.r perswade yr Capt to keep him on board The Govr Reports yt theres One Mingo who is in himself a good Slave because he burns Lime wch yr other Blacks as Yett do not undrstand But yr fellow pretends to be a Conjuror & by yt he has terrified & affrighted Sevl of yr Honl Compys Blacks So yt two Women of them are so dangerously ill, wth yr Frights yt he doos not know whether they will recover or not & therefore the Govr thinks by the Blacks ships yt We next expect to Exchange him away for a Boy or a Girl which they will give Us for him The Govr further Reports that Nichs Shreeve Mason has been before him upon acct of abusing Mrs Mary Harper an Aged Houy & Woman of above Seventy Years going into hr Useing ill Language, braking some Glass & China Ware Shoving & throwing hr about hr house Upon wch She told him She would go & com the plain to yr Govr if hr would not lett hr alone & abused Whereupon hr calling hr Worse Names told hr she was not clean one to go to yr Govr & therefore he would wash hr & threw a whole payle of Water upon hr Whereupon the Govr Orderd him to begg Mrs Harpers pardon upon his Knees make	The Governor was asked to persuade the captain to keep Haines on board. The Governor reported that there was a slave named Mingo who was in himself a good slave, since he burned lime, which the other slaves did not yet understand. The man claimed to be a conjurer, however, and by this he had terrified and frightened several of the Company's slaves. Two of the women were now so dangerously ill from fright that he did not know whether they would recover. The Governor therefore thought it best, by the slave ships next expected, to exchange Mingo for a boy or a girl that they would give in his place. The Governor further reported that Nicholas Shreeve, a mason, had been before him on a charge of abusing Mrs Mary Harper, an aged woman of more than 70 years. He had gone into her house and used foul language, broken some glass and china, and shoved and thrown her about the house. When she told him she would go and complain to the Governor if he did not let her alone, he called her worse names. He told her she was not clean enough to go to the Governor and that he would wash her, then threw a whole pail of water over her. The Governor ordered him to beg Mrs Harper's pardon on his knees [...] Interpretations Mingo's value as a lime-burner set him apart as a skilled slave whose labour the Company relied on. Lime was burned from coral or limestone for mortar and building, and he alone held the skill among the slaves. His usefulness made the decision to part with him a real loss, weighed against the harm his other conduct caused. The fear Mingo spread through claims of conjuring shows the social power of belief among the slave community. Two women fell gravely ill from fright alone, which the Governor treated as a genuine danger. The threat was not to property or order through force but through the hold he exercised over others minds, which the council could not easily control. The plan to exchange Mingo through the slave ships reveals how the Company managed its human property as tradeable stock. Rather than punish or free him, the Governor proposed swapping him for a child, treating slaves as assets to be exchanged at the next arrival. This was a routine commercial handling of a person regarded as Company property. Shreeve's reappearance, so soon after his earlier warning, marks a man whose conduct the council struggled to check. The assault on an elderly woman in her own home was a serious breach of order. The order to beg pardon on his knees was a public humiliation designed to shame the offender and restore the victim's standing.
107	99	1717 make her full Satisfacon for yr things he had broke & Five Shillings over wch he refusing to do the Govr Orderd him to be Whipt at yr Flagstaff, when he came there rather then be Whipt he did beg her Pardon & promised to make her yr Satisfacon Orderd. This is yr	Shreeve was ordered to make full satisfaction for the things he had broken, and to pay 5s 0d over and above. When he refused, the Governor ordered him to be whipped at the flagstaff. On coming there, rather than be whipped, he begged her pardon and promised to make the satisfaction ordered.

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		Man who was Sumond at the Compl: of yr Church Wardens for living in a Lewd & Scandalous maner with a Black Wench youshe He is grown So bad with his ill example, We know not what to do with him now in yr ship The Govr Sayes by this Ship the Honl Compys hr Books as farr as they are done must be sent home by yr Ship. Sayes Capt Boswell they are done to yr Year 1715 all but two or three loos Sheets yr will be done by to morrow. According to yr Honl Compys Orders in the last Genl Lettr yr Govr Sayes all yr Books of accounts must be brought into yr Castle im mediately, He having built Two Small Rooms (one for a Consn Room) he will Spare One for an Office. This Ship has brought Us a Letter with the foll: Goods from yr Presdt & Council of Madrass, which are to be Sold at the foll: prices here (Vizt)	This was the same man who had been summoned at the complaint of the churchwardens for living in a lewd and scandalous manner with a slave woman. He had grown so bad with his ill example that the council did not know what to do with him. The Governor stated that, by this ship now found in the road, the Company's books must be sent home as far as they were finished. Captain Bazett said they were done up to the year 1715, all but two or three loose sheets that would be finished by the next day. In line with the Company's orders in the last general letter, the Governor said all the books of accounts must be brought into the castle at once. Having built two small rooms, one for a council room, he would spare one for an office. This ship had brought a letter, with the following goods, from the President and Council of Madras. These were to be sold at the prices set out below. Interpretations The threat of whipping at the flagstaff brought Shreeve to submission where lesser measures had failed. The flagstaff was the public place of punishment, and the prospect of a flogging there secured the compliance that warnings could not. The episode shows how the council escalated from pardon to corporal sanction to enforce its orders. The phrase about not knowing what to do with him records the limits of local discipline against a persistent offender. Shreeve had defied a moral complaint, assaulted an old woman and resisted an order, yet the council had no ready means to remove him. His ill example threatened the wider community, which is why his repeated misconduct so troubled the authorities. The order to bring all account books into the castle reflects the Company's drive for centralised and secure record-keeping. Books held in one official place, an office set aside for the purpose, protected the records and aided audit. The instruction came from the Company's general letter, showing London directing administrative practice on the island. The dispatch of completed books home tied the island's accounting to the Company's central control. Records were sent to London for review as each year was closed, so the council reported its finances to the directors. The arrival of a ship was the trigger for forwarding whatever had been finished.
108	100	Dec.r 60. pces Ordy Long Cloth to be Sold at 20/ pr pce 61. pces Chints (cost 300 pags wth charges) pr pce 62. p Gingham best Sort 63 63. p 2d Sort 45 64. pd ordnariest Sort 48 50 pr Ct advc Sugar 8 pe 4 half Bagds 6/3 pr ga Geo Haswell Antipas Tovey	Ordinary longcloth: 60 pieces, to be sold at 20s per piece Chintz: 200 pieces, cost £300 0s 0d with charges, per piece Gingham, best sort: 90 pieces, at 63 Gingham, second sort: 90 pieces, at 45 Gingham, ordinary sort: 160 pieces, at 48 These to be sold at 50 per cent advance. Sugar: 8 per [...] Sugar in half bags: 4 half bags, at 6s 3d per [...] The account was signed by George Haswell and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The price list set fixed selling rates for Indian textiles shipped from Madras to the island. The goods were sold on the Company's account at a controlled markup, with the gingham marked to go at 50 per cent above cost. This shows the Company operating as the monopoly supplier, setting prices rather than letting an open market determine them. The textiles named were staples of the Indian export trade. Longcloth was a plain cotton cloth, chintz a printed and painted calico prized for its colours, and gingham a checked or striped cotton woven in several grades. These fabrics, graded from best to ordinary, met the clothing needs of the island's settlers and garrison, who had no local source of cloth.

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			The grading of gingham into three sorts at descending prices reveals a tiered market among the island's buyers. Better cloth at 63 served those who could pay, while the ordinary sort at 48 supplied poorer households. Pricing by quality let the Company sell across the range of means within a small population.
<u>109</u>	101	1717. Isld St Helena At a Consultation held on Tues day the 24th day of December 1717 At Union Castle in James Vally Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo. Haswell Depa Presa Matthr Bazett 3d & Antipas Tovey 4 in Council The last Consultn read & approved of Capt Haswell brought yr foll: Seven bound Stickt Books & two Books in Sheets (Viz) The 1t unbound Book The Transfr Jour nal containing 112 folios, the other The Transfer Leger containing 72 fos both for the Year 1715. 1. Bound book Transfer Journal from yr 8t July 1714 to yr 25. Mch 1715 exclusive 2. do 'Transfr Leger from yr same time 3. Journal from 14 July 1714 to yr 25th Mch 1715 exclusive 4. Journal from yr 25t Mch 1715 to yr 25t March 1716. exclusive 5. Volumes containing One Main Leger from the 8t July 1714 to yr 25. Mch 1715. 6. Main Ledger from the 25th March 1715. to the 25th March 1716. exclusive. Capt Haswell	At a consultation held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 24 December 1717. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Haswell brought in the following seven bound books and two books in sheets. The first unbound book was the transfer journal, containing 112 folios. The other was the transfer ledger, containing 72 folios. Both were for the year 1715. 1 bound book, transfer journal, from 8 July 1714 to 25 March 1715 exclusive 1 transfer ledger, for the same period 1 journal, from 14 July 1714 to 25 March 1715 exclusive 1 journal, from 25 March 1715 to 25 March 1716 exclusive 2 volumes, containing one main ledger, from 8 July 1714 to 25 March 1715 1 main ledger, from 25 March 1715 to 25 March 1716 exclusive The list was signed by Captain Haswell. Interpretations The inventory recorded the full set of accounting books being readied for dispatch to London. The journals captured daily transactions in date order, while the ledgers gathered them into running accounts. Listing each volume by its exact span ensured a complete and verifiable record of the island's finances passed to the directors. The dating from 25 March marks the start of the legal and financial year under the old calendar. Each book ran from one 25 March to the next, so the accounts followed the year that began on Lady Day rather than 1 January. This explains why the periods break at that date rather than at the turn of the calendar year. The distinction between transfer books and main books reflects different functions within the accounting system. The transfer journal and ledger handled entries moved between accounts or stations, while the main journal and ledger held the principal record. Keeping them separate let the Company trace both the primary accounts and the adjustments made across them.
<u>110</u>	102	Dec.r Capt Haswell Sayes he has this day brought all the Books to yr last day of the Year 1715. The Govr asketh wt are become of yr rest. Capt Haswell Sayes he has this day brou.t ym into the New Office yt is fitted up for him 'The Govr asketh him why they are not brought in now with yr other Books Capt Haswell Sayes he has gone a great way in them but they are not quite done but Shall with all possible Speed. The Govr asketh for the present 'Trans fer Journal according to Our Honl Mastrs Orders in their last Genl Letter Capt Haswell went & fetcht it. Orderd That all Transfers for the fu ture be only made in Council & yt people by Advertisemt have Publick notice, yt from this day the Consultations shall be held One hour Soonr than Usual for yt purpose. And. Also That the day before the Departure of any Ship the Transfer book Shall be open and every yt has Goods there Person have liberty to Transfer According as they have Occasion. Orderd That the Accomptant do always attend.	Captain Haswell said he had that day brought in all the books up to the last day of the year 1715. The Governor asked what had become of the rest. Captain Haswell said he had that day brought them into the new office fitted up for him. The Governor asked why they were not brought in now with the other books. Captain Haswell said he had made great progress on them, but they were not quite finished, and would be done as fast as possible. The Governor called for the current transfer journal, in line with the Company's orders in their last general letter. Captain Haswell went and fetched it. The council ordered that all transfers in future be made only in council. The public were to be given notice by advertisement. From that day the consultations would be held one hour earlier for the purpose. The council also ordered that, the day before any ship departed, the transfer book be open so that every person had the freedom to make transfers as they had occasion. The council further ordered that the accountant always attend [...] Interpretations The order confining transfers to council made the recording of property dealings a public and supervised

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			act. Transfers had to be entered before the assembled council rather than privately, which guarded against fraud and gave the entries official witness. Shifting the consultation an hour earlier shows the council restructuring its routine to accommodate the new requirement. The provision opening the transfer book before a ship's departure addressed the practical timing of business on the island. Departing passengers and traders needed to settle property matters before leaving, perhaps for good. Fixing a known window for transfers ensured that those about to sail could complete their dealings under proper record. The direction that the accountant always attend reflects the drive to keep the financial records accurate and current. The officer responsible for the books had to be present when transfers were made, so entries were taken correctly at the moment of transaction. This tied the accounting function directly to the council's proceedings.
111	103	1717. attend for that Purpose but upon any Extraordinary Occasion He Shall have liberty to Depute some fitt Person belonging to his office in his Stead. Capt Haswell Complains that he wants help to assist him to bring up the Honl Compys Books According to their Expectation. The Governr asketh what help he has. He He Sayeth he has none but Joseph Thomlinson whose Sight faileth him very much, As for othr Defects the them now Governr knows them as well as he and therefore he dont Mention not Speaking this by way of Complaint against him. The Govr Sayes he has besides Edward Holliwell who he thinks is a very good writer. Capt Haswell Sayes that Mr Holli well is constantly employed in keeping an Acctt of the Work people that he is of but very little Asistance to him and therefore he desires yt Mr John Goodwin may Asist him always The Govr Sayes he is willing Mr Goodwin should Asist him two or three days in yr Week but beleivs the Storekeeper canot Spare him any more Capt Bazett Sayes that he canot Spare him	The accountant was to attend for that purpose, but on any unusual occasion he might appoint a fit person from his office to act in his place. Captain Haswell complained that he needed help to bring the Company's books up to date, as the directors expected. The Governor asked what help he had. Haswell said he had none but Joseph Thomlinson, whose sight was failing him badly. As for the other shortcomings, the Governor knew them as well as he did, so he did not mention them now, and did not speak of this as a complaint against anyone. The Governor said Haswell also had Edward Holliwell, whom he thought a very good writer. Haswell replied that Holliwell was constantly employed keeping an account of the labourers, so he was of very little help. He therefore asked that John Goodwin be allowed to assist him at all times. The Governor said he was willing for Goodwin to assist two or three days a week, but believed the storekeeper could not spare him for more. Captain Bazett said he could not spare [...] Interpretations The dispute over clerical help reveals the strain on a small administration with too few literate hands. Bringing the Company's books up to date required competent writers, yet Haswell had only an ailing assistant. The competition for Goodwin between the accounts and the storehouse shows how thinly skilled labour was spread across the island's offices. The provision letting the accountant depute a fit person from his office balanced continuity against absence. The records had to be kept without interruption, but the officer could not always attend in person. Allowing a qualified substitute preserved the integrity of the accounts while giving practical flexibility. The constant employment of Holliwell in keeping an account of the labourers points to the scale of the Company's directly managed workforce. Tracking the labour force required a dedicated clerk, which left him unavailable for the main books. This reflects how much administrative effort the management of slaves and labourers consumed. The storekeeper's refusal to release Goodwin shows the competing demands on staff between two essential functions. The storehouse and the accounts both needed reliable men, and neither head would yield his clerk. The Governor's compromise of a few days a week was a practical division of a scarce resource.
112	104	Dec.r him from the Store he having always been in it Since his coming on yr Island last & has no body to Trust besides him on acct. of helping to Serve Store Goods on Markett days & has too little help without One more hand The	Bazett could not spare Goodwin from the storehouse. Goodwin had been there ever since he last came to the island, and Bazett had no one else he could trust to help serve store goods on market days. He had too little help as it was without losing another hand.

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		Govr Sayes now this Transfer Journal is brought into the Castle he will Lock it up & produce it every Consultatn day & yr day before yr Sailing of any Ship but will not write any thing therein him self to prevent yr lest Suspicion of his tak ing any body businss out of their hands. & That We will for the future exactly Observe the 38 par of yr Honl Compys last Generall Letter by the Succss. Geo Haswell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	The Governor said that, now the transfer journal had been brought into the castle, he would lock it up. He would produce it at every consultation, and the day before any ship sailed, but would write nothing in it himself. This was to prevent the least suspicion that he was taking anyone's business out of their hands. The council further resolved to observe exactly the 38th paragraph of the Company's last general letter, brought by the <i>Success</i>. The entry was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The Governor's refusal to write in the transfer journal himself was a deliberate guard against suspicion of self-dealing. By locking the book and producing it openly but never entering anything personally, he removed any ground for the charge that he manipulated others property records. This shows a careful separation between custody of the record and authorship of its entries. The undertaking to follow the 38th paragraph of the general letter records direct compliance with a specific London instruction. The Company governed the island by detailed written orders, and the council bound itself to the exact term. Citing the paragraph and the ship that carried it, the <i>Success</i>, fixed the source of the directive precisely. The storekeeper's reliance on a single trusted man for market days reveals the sensitivity of handling Company goods. Serving stores involved valuable stock and money, so it required a person who could be trusted against theft or error. The reluctance to part with Goodwin reflects how few such reliable hands the island had.
113	105	1717. Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday yr 31st day of December 1717. At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo: Haswell Depy Present Matthr Bazett 3 & Antipas Tovey 4 in Counl The last Consultation read & Approved of Capt Winter proposed to Sell the foll: Goods (Vizt) Some Sallampores wch are 16 yds Long) He asketh 10/9 pr piece for. Blew Long Cloths 23/6 pr pe We are in hopes of some blew Cloath by yr next Shipping Sent Us & therefore dont buy any till yr last of the next Summer Shipping Tea The Capt offers Tene Green at 6/8 & Bohea Tea at 9 & 10/8 pr lb. of which Sorts he Sent Samplrs The Green Tea is not good & the Bohea too Dear & tho We have non upon yr Isld (unless at a reasonable price) We are Resolvd to buy no Tea, hoping to have some Sent Us upon yr Honble Compa Account There is a Quantity of Sugar wch the Capt asketh 6d & We offerd him 4d pr lb. Some	At a consultation held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 31 December 1717. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Winter offered to sell the following goods. Sallampores, which were 16 yards long: asking 10s 9d per piece Blue longcloths: 23s 6d per piece The council was in hopes of some blue cloth being sent by the next shipping. It would therefore buy none until the last of the next summer ships had come. The captain offered green tea at 6s, and bohea tea at 9d and 10s 8d per pound, sending samples of each. The green tea was not good and the bohea too dear. Though the council had none on the island, it resolved to buy no tea, unless at a reasonable price, hoping to have some sent on the Company's account. The captain also offered a quantity of sugar, asking 6d, and the council offered him 4d per pound. Interpretations The decision to wait for cloth on the Company's own shipping shows the council preferring the cheaper official supply to a private purchase. Buying from Captain Winter would cost more than goods sent on the Company's account. By holding off until the next summer ships, the council exercised the patience that a controlled supply chain allowed, accepting a temporary want over an overpriced deal. The textiles offered came from the Indian trade in standard trade forms. Sallampores were a plain cotton cloth woven to a set length, here 16 yards, and blue longcloth was a dyed cotton sold by the piece. Pricing by the piece for cloth of fixed dimensions made these goods a recognised unit of exchange across the Company's stations. The refusal to buy tea at the offered prices reflects the council's bargaining position even amid scarcity. The green tea was poor and the bohea overpriced, so the council declined rather than overpay. Confidence that

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			the Company would send tea on its own account let it resist a private seller's terms. The haggling over sugar, with the captain at 6d and the council at 4d, shows direct price negotiation between the ship and the island. The council set its own valuation against the seller's, treating each commodity as a matter for bargaining rather than accepting the asking price.
114	106	Dec.r Some Sugar Candy, wch We offerd him 8d pr lb. for but yr Capt refused Yet Since has Sent Some ashore Wherefore We be leive he will take Our price Likewise Tamarinds at 4 pr lb. wch is much wanted here there being non This Xmas time the Souldiers have de sired some allowance as Usual to be given them It is Orderd That three Guards have Six Galls Arrack 6. Galls of Wine 12 lb Sugar & 1. Quarter of Beef be Given to them. 2. The following petitir were Apsented wch is for 3. had is left to be Entred against next Consulta 4. tion day 5. Capt Haswell brought an Account with 6. Nine Books as followeth Vizt An Acctt of Books Sent home never compleat in Governr Bouchers time Capt John Pack being Depy Governr & Storekeeper, Leger Lr A beginning in Augt 1711. 1. Journal for Do in 3 parts 3. Leger Lr B. for the year 1712 1. Journal for Do 1. Transfer Leger & Journal for do 2. Transfer Leger for 1713 1. 9 Capt Haswell saith that often times they are forced to have recourse to the above Books and therefore he thinks it not proper to send them Margin Notes: This Phrase coms after yr petn in Copping vizt to Tovey, Jno Alexander & Geo Sanders	The captain also offered some sugar candy. The council offered 8d per pound, which he refused. He had since sent some ashore, so the council believed he would take its price after all. He likewise offered tamarinds at 4d per pound. These were much wanted on the island, there being none. At this Christmas time the soldiers had asked for the usual allowance to be given them. The council ordered the following. The three guards were to be given 6 gallons of arrack, 6 gallons of wine, 12 pounds of sugar and a quarter of beef. The following petition was presented. It had been left to be entered against the next consultation day. This concerned the matter of John Alexander and George Sanders, noted by Mr Tovey. Captain Haswell brought in an account of nine books, as follows. This was an account of books sent home, never completed, in Governor Boucher's time, when Captain John Pack was Deputy Governor and storekeeper. Ledger A, beginning in August 1711: 1 Journal for the same, in three parts: 3 Ledger B, for the year 1712: 1 Journal for the same: 1 Transfer ledger and journal for the same: 2 Transfer ledger for 1713: 1 Total: 9 Captain Haswell said that they were often forced to consult these books. He therefore thought it not proper to send them [...] Interpretations The Christmas allowance to the soldiers marked a customary festive provision for the garrison. Arrack, wine, sugar and beef were issued to the three guards as a recognised seasonal benefit. This shows the council maintaining morale through established custom, treating the holiday ration as a due rather than a favour. Haswell's argument against sending the older books home turned on their continuing administrative use. The accounts from Boucher's time were still consulted, so dispatching them would strip the office of needed references. This sets a practical limit on the rule that completed books go to London, since records in active use had to stay on the island. The candy seller's tactic of landing his goods before agreeing a price suggests a calculated move to force a sale. By putting the sugar candy ashore, the captain committed to dealing on the island and weakened his own bargaining hand. The council read this as a sign he would accept its lower offer rather than re-ship the goods. The shortage of tamarinds points to their value as an imported good with no local source. Tamarind was used to flavour food and as a remedy, and its absence made it sought after. Such gaps in supply gave a visiting ship's cargo particular worth when it carried what the island lacked.
115	107	1717. them home because there never was any Copys of them & these stand as Registers, Capt Bazett says that when these Books are gone home they will want them to Settle old Acctts yet depending as Orphans are. The Govr says that the Honl Compa has wrote to know what is become of the monys &c Goods that has been Sold & disposd of for some Years	Haswell did not want to send the books home, since no copies of them had ever been made, and they stood as the registers. Captain Bazett said that, once these books were gone home, they would be needed to settle old accounts still outstanding, such as those of orphans. The Governor said the Company had written to ask what had become of the money and goods sold and disposed of over the past several years. He knew of no

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		past & he knows of no better way to Satisfye them but by sending home what Books there is but he does think they ought to be copyd out first & for the future they must take care to see tis done. The Govr & Capt Bazett reports that Capt Winter will not Sell his Arrack under 6 shilling pr gallon Island St Helena To the Worshl Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The humble Petitr of Antipas Tovey. Sheweth That in yr 39. Pard of yr Honl Compa Letter by yr Rochester it was Orderd that Your Petitr should lett out his Plantation (wch was then in dispute about yr Title) & in Obedience to their Honrs said Orders He did lett it out (to those very Persons who contested and claimed a right to the Same) for Two Years longer & freely gave them a Lease to hold	better way to satisfy them than by sending home what books there were. He thought, however, that they ought to be copied out first. For the future, care must be taken to see this done. The Governor and Captain Bazett reported that Captain Winter would not sell his arrack at under 6s a gallon. Antipas Tovey brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. By the 39th paragraph of the Company's letter, brought by the <i>Rochester</i>, he had been ordered to lease out his plantation, then in dispute over its title. Obeying that order, he had leased it to the very persons who contested and claimed a right to it, for two years longer, and freely gave them a lease to hold [...] Interpretations The conflict over sending the books home set the Company's demand for an accounting against the island's need for working records. London wanted to trace money and goods sold over the years, which required the books. Yet the same books were the only registers and were still needed to settle old accounts, including those of orphans whose property the council held in trust. The Governor's solution of copying the books before sending them reconciled the two demands. A copy left on the island would preserve the reference while the originals went home to satisfy the directors. His insistence that future copying be ensured shows a lesson drawn from the present difficulty, where no duplicates existed. The mention of orphans accounts reveals the council's role as guardian of the property of the fatherless. The island held and administered such estates until the heirs came of age. Settling these accounts depended on the books, which is why their removal threatened a duty the council owed to dependent minors. Tovey's compliance with the order to lease his disputed plantation shows how the Company managed contested land. Rather than leave the title fight unresolved, the directors ordered the holder to lease the land out, even to the rival claimants. This kept the land occupied and productive while the dispute stood, and the citation of the 39th paragraph and the <i>Rochester</i> fixes the precise source of the instruction.
116	108	Dec.r that Land under him for yr term of Seven Years which was Five Years more then their Pretentions reached to & yor Petitr did yt at a time of their greatest need when they were Obliged by their relacons & pretended friends to Sell all the rest of the Estate they possesst beside for yr payment of Mr Gargens Debts And It is also well known to yor Worshl &c Council (or if You have for got it yr Persons to whom yor petitr lett yr Land are ready to prove it) that he made no man ner of Advantage of them but freely Granted them yr Land in their distress without any other consideration then barely One White Hen every Year for yr whole term of Seven Years because it should not be Sayed he Clogged his favours, & when he pretended to do them a kindness made them pay for it. But Since yt time they have heard of an Estate of 130 Lpann yt is fallen to them in England & are now going off to posses it & Do therefore deliver up the Land but yr Yams on the ground they Sell according to yr Custom of this place & my family being increased those Yams would be very Usefull to yor petitr & Save him a considerable expence Wherefore He prays yt he may have Credit in the Honble Compa	Tovey had given them the land for a term of seven years, which was five years more than their claim reached to. He had done this at a time of their greatest need, when their relations and supposed friends had forced them to sell all the rest of the estate they held, to pay Mr Gargen's debts. The council knew well, and the persons to whom Tovey leased the land were ready to prove it, that he had taken no advantage of them. He had freely granted them the land in their distress for no more than one white hen each year, for the whole seven years. He did this so that it could not be said he burdened his favours, or made them pay when he pretended to do them a kindness. Since that time, the lessees had heard of an estate of £130 a year that had fallen to them in England. They were now leaving to take possession of it, and so gave up the land. The yams on the ground they sold by the custom of the island. Tovey's family had grown, and those yams would be very useful to him and save him a considerable expense. He therefore asked that he might have credit in the Company [...] Interpretations Tovey framed his lease as an act of charity to set against any suspicion of self-interest. He gave the disputed land to the rival claimants in their distress for a token rent of one hen a year. By stressing that he sought no advantage, he answered in advance the charge that he had used the Company's order to exploit a family forced to sell up. The nominal rent of a single white hen functioned as a legal device rather than a real charge. A lease needed

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			some consideration to be valid, so a token payment kept the grant enforceable while signalling that no profit was intended. This shows how a peppercorn rent secured the form of a lease without the substance of a commercial bargain. The sale of standing yams by local custom reveals an established practice governing tenant transitions. When occupiers left, the crop in the ground passed by sale rather than reverting with the land. This custom protected the outgoing party's investment in cultivation and let the incoming holder buy the maturing food, a sensible arrangement on an island where yams were the staple. The £130 yearly estate inherited in England transformed the lessees position and ended the land dispute. An inheritance at home drew them off the island, dissolving the contest over title that had prompted the Company's order. The episode shows how the fortunes of settlers were bound to distant English property as much as to their holdings on St Helena.
117	109	1717. Compys Stores for yr Sum of Forty pounds to help pay for yr & is willing to pay Interest for yr Same till it be repaid out of his growing Sal lary or to deliver Forty thous Suckers in part thereof, This request yor Petitrs Low circumstances (because of his Family) Obliging him to make & because he thinks it cannot be called unreasonable he hopes he shall have yr favour Granted & as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c 31. Decr 1717. Antipas Tovey. Granted. He giving Bond to pay yr Honble Compa with Interest. Island St Helena To yr Worshl Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The Petitr of Jno Alexander Humbly Sheweth That Whereas yor Petitr having lately Purchased a Negro man Slave of George Sanders & his Wifes life time in a House Sci tuate in James Vally for yr sum of Fifty pounds now selling & being in real for twenty two pounds of yr Sum humbly prays to be Credited So much in yr Honl Compys Books for wch yor petr is willing to pay yr Usual Interest for a years time at furthest or to deliver two head of Cattle imediatly in part of payment & to Stand Charged with yr remaindr wch yor Petitr shall acknowld a favour besides as	Tovey asked for credit in the Company's stores to the sum of £40 0s 0d to help pay for the yams. He was willing to pay interest on it until it was repaid out of his growing salary, or to deliver 40,000 suckers in part payment. His low circumstances, owing to his family, obliged him to make this request. He thought it could not be called unreasonable, and hoped his request would be granted. The petition was dated 31 December 1717 and signed by Antipas Tovey. The council granted it, on his giving a bond to repay the Company with interest. John Alexander brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. He had lately bought a slave from George Sanders and his wife, for their lifetime, in a house in James Valley, for the sum of £50 0s 0d. He was now in want for £22 of that sum. He asked to be credited so much in the Company's books. He was willing to pay the usual interest for a year at most, or to deliver two head of cattle at once in part payment, and to stand charged with the remainder. He would acknowledge it as a favour besides [...] Interpretations Tovey's offer to repay in suckers or from his salary shows the flexible forms of credit on the island. He could settle the £40 in cash deducted from future wages, or in 40,000 yam shoots delivered in kind. This reveals an economy where labour, produce and money were interchangeable means of meeting an obligation to the Company. The bond required for Tovey's credit was the standard security for an advance from Company stores. The council did not lend on trust alone but bound the debtor by a formal instrument carrying interest. This protected the Company's funds and shows credit being extended as a regulated transaction rather than an informal favour. Alexander's purchase of a slave for the lifetime of the seller and his wife describes an unusual form of conveyance. The slave was bought subject to the lives of Sanders and his wife, tying the transaction to their survival rather than an outright sale. This complex arrangement, bundled with a house, illustrates how human property was traded under terms borrowed from land tenure. The Company's stores served as a source of credit as well as goods for the island's settlers. Both Tovey and Alexander turned to the Company to finance private dealings, offering cattle, produce or salary against the advance. This shows the Company functioning as the island's banker, with its stores and books underpinning the local economy.
118	110	Dec.r As in duty bound to pray &c. 31. Decr 1717. John Alexander	The council granted Alexander's request, on the same terms as Tovey's. The petition was dated 31 December 1717 and signed by John Alexander.

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		Granted. (Signd) only Same terms as Mr Tovey's yt Isld St Helena To the Worshl Isa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The most humble Petitr of Geo Sanders Humbly Sheweth That yor Petitr Since his last Petitr of yr 17t Just. & order or answr thereun to, was in great hopes of Settling Acctts wth Capt Haswell & his Brors in Law Fra Funge & Jno Long & if by any possible means to put a full Stop to all future troubls, Suit or charge relating to Mr Gargens Estate but to yor Petitr's great Surprize (To See yr Sudden & different humours of yr above Capt Haswell who is yr only hindrance of making up & clearing yr sd Gargens Estate besides yr daily charge yor petitr is at waiting day afr day to adjust yr same) finds his good intentions & honest endeavours much baffles & hinderd without Just cause or grounds for so long time & mony Spent in vain & having good reason to Suspect yr continuance of such a Vexatious temper of yr above Capt Haswell yor petitr therefore prays he may be allowed to Transfer to to yr sd Capt Haswell Fra Funge & Jno Long Credit in yr Honl Compys books of accounts, their Share of yr whole Sale of Thos	George Sanders brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. Since his last petition of 17 December and the order made on it, he had been in great hopes of settling accounts with Captain Haswell and his brothers-in-law, Francis Funge and John Long. He wished by any possible means to put a full stop to all future trouble, suit or expense relating to Gargen's estate. To his great surprise he found the sudden and changeable moods of Captain Haswell, who was the only obstacle to settling and clearing the estate. Besides the daily cost to Sanders of attending day after day to settle the matter, he found his good intentions and honest efforts much frustrated and hindered without just cause, for so long a time and with money spent in vain. He had good reason to suspect that Haswell's vexatious temper would continue. He therefore asked to be allowed to transfer to Captain Haswell, Francis Funge and John Long, as credit in the Company's books of accounts, their share of the whole sale of Thomas [...] Interpretations Sanders proposed to settle the estate dispute through a transfer of credit in the Company's books rather than a cash payment. By crediting Haswell, Funge and Long with their share in the official accounts, the debt could be cleared by ledger entry. This shows the Company's books serving as a settlement mechanism between private parties, avoiding the need to move actual coin. The petition records the breakdown of the negotiated settlement the council had earlier directed. The order of 17 December 1717 had told the parties to agree, yet Sanders now blamed Haswell for obstructing every meeting. The repeated failure to settle reveals the limits of compulsory mediation when one party would not cooperate. Sanders's complaint of daily cost in attending the dispute shows the real burden of an unresolved suit on a settler preparing to leave. Each day spent waiting to settle delayed his departure and drained his resources. The grievance underlines why he sought a fixed transfer in the books, which would end the matter at a stroke and free him to go.
119	111	1717. Thos Gargens Estate wch is 91 L 18 & 11 1/4 as has been adjudged by Wiser heads then any of theirs to be their just right for yt yor petitr is not able nor willing to contend in so unjust & troublsome matters as they insist on any longer he having now a Suitable oppertunity to take passage for England in yr Ship King Wm & this Order for transferring their Shares yor petitr shall esteem a Suffecient discharge to him & hopes to give you no further trouble & wishes he could have avoided this. & as in duty bound Shall pray ever pray. Decr 31. 1717) Geo Sanders. (Signd) The Petitr is Answerd that he may Enter wt Credit he will to Capt Geo Haswell & his Brothers But this they must give him a discharge & not Wer. Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	Thomas Gargen's estate came to £91 18s 11¼d, as had been judged by wiser heads than any of theirs, to be their just right. Sanders was neither able nor willing to contend in such unjust and troublesome matters as they insisted on any longer. He now had a suitable opportunity to take passage for England on the ship <i>King William</i>. He would regard this order for transferring their shares as a sufficient discharge to him. He hoped to give the council no further trouble, and wished he could have avoided this. The petition was dated 31 December 1717 and signed by George Sanders. The council answered that Sanders might enter what credit he wished to Captain George Haswell and his brothers. In return, they must give him a discharge, and not the council. The entry was signed by Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The valuation of the estate at £91 18s 11¼d fixed the disputed property at a precise figure determined by independent assessment. Sanders cited this sum as settled by impartial judges to forestall further argument over the amount. The exactness of the figure shows the estate had been formally appraised, giving a definite base from which the shares could be transferred. The council's insistence that the heirs, not the council, give the discharge drew a clear line around its own liability. By directing that Haswell and his brothers acknowledge satisfaction, the council ensured the release came from the parties with the claim. This protected the council from being held to have settled a private matter, leaving the discharge between the disputants themselves.

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			The transfer of credit timed to Sanders's passage on the <i>King William</i> shows the book entry serving as a final settlement before departure. With his berth secured, Sanders needed the matter closed at once. Recording the shares as credit let him leave the island discharged of the claim, with the heirs free to draw their portions from the Company's books.
120	112	Jan.y Island St Helena At a Special Court of Judicature holden at yr Sessions house near the Union Castle in James Vally on Thursday yr 2d day of January 1717. Isa: Pyke Esqr Govr & Judge Capt John Hunter Present. Capt James Winter & Matthew Bazett. Asistrs The Court being Sett & Several Antient Inhabitants Sumond for Jurors after there had been Some persons Objected agst by Capt Haswell The following Persons were Jurors (Vizt) 1 Orlando Bagley Foreman. 2 Thos Southen 7 James Vesey 3 James Greentree 8. Wm Slaughter 4 Isaac Wood 9. Wm Seale 5 Jno Doveton 10. Thos Dutch. 6 John Goodwin 11. Joshua Johnson 12. Saml Jepsey. Who being all Sworne the Declaracon of yr plantiffes was read & is as foll: (Vizt) Island St Helena To the Worshl Isa Pyke Esqr Govr &c & Counl of sd Island The humble Petitr & Declaratn of George Capt Haswell Depy Govr Fran Funge Armr & John Long Free Plantr Most humbly	At a special court of judicature held at the Sessions House near Union Castle in James Valley on Thursday 2 January 1718. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor and Judge, Captain John Hunter, Captain James Winter and Matthew Bazett, assistants. The court was set, and several long-standing inhabitants were summoned for jurors. After some persons had been objected to by Captain Haswell, the following men served as jurors. 1 Orlando Bagley, foreman 2 Thomas Southen 3 James Greentree 4 Isaac Wood 5 John Doveton 6 John Goodwin 7 James Vesey 8 William Slaughter 9 William Seale 10 Thomas Dutch 11 Joshua Johnson 12 Samuel Jepsey Once all were sworn, the declaration of the plaintiffs was read. It ran as follows. Captain George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Francis Funge, armourer, and John Long, free planter, brought a petition and declaration before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council of the island. [...] Interpretations The convening of a special court of judicature shows the dispute over Gargen's estate moving from administrative mediation to formal trial. The council had repeatedly tried to settle the matter by agreement, and its failure brought the case before a sworn jury. This marks the point at which negotiation gave way to legal adjudication, as Sanders had earlier requested. The selection of jurors from long-standing inhabitants reflects the qualification for jury service on the island. Established residents were chosen as men with a stake in the community and knowledge of local affairs. The small pool meant the same names recurred across the island's business, with several jurors also appearing as parties and officers in other matters. The right of Captain Haswell to object to certain persons before swearing shows the operation of challenge in jury selection. A party could remove prospective jurors he thought unsuitable or partial. This procedural safeguard, transplanted from English practice, aimed to secure an impartial panel even within a small and interconnected population. The combination of judge, assistants and jury reproduced the form of an English court on a remote island. The Governor sat as judge with senior men as assistants, while the jury determined the facts. This structure shows the Company administering justice through familiar legal machinery, lending authority to its decisions in a contested civil suit.
121	113	1717. Sheweth That Whereas Thos Gargen late of the sd Isld free Planter who departed this life on yr 11t day of Janr 1714/15 his Widow Mercy Gargen Possessed all & Singular his whole & Entire Estate & by his last Will & Testament bearing date the 8t of Janr 1714/15. was to remain in & keep possession of his Real Estate (besides her thirds of the Personal for Ever) During her Natural Life	The declaration set out the following. Thomas Gargen, late of the island, a free planter, had died on 11 January 1715. His widow, Mercy Gargen, then held his whole and entire estate. By his last will and testament, dated 8 January 1715, she was to keep possession of his real estate during her life, besides her third of the personal estate for ever. At her death the real estate was to be sold and the money divided equally between the

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		& at her Decease the said Real Estate to be Sold and the Mony Arising to be Equally divided between yor Complainants & Wives (who are the said Gargens three Eldest Daughters) & his Youngest Daughter Susanna but contrary to the true Intent & Meaning of said Deceasd Thos Gargen's last Will aforesaid She the said Mercy Gargen hath, Disposed of & Sold all the said Gargens Estate both Real & Personal together with Sundry Sorts of provisions Fruit Trees, Fences, Rights & priviledges thereunto belonging. As also three Negroe Men & one Woman & Child Slaves, & Divers Sorts of household Stuffs amounting in the whole to £ 609: 17: 6. as may more fully appear by the Sale of the said Particulars in an Acct: in writing of the 29. March 1715.) besides several othr Debts Dues & Demands belonging to the said Thos Gargens Estate, all wch the Said Mercy Gargen (while a Widow) & her present husband Geo: Sanders hath Margin Notes: Capt Haswells own Writing	plaintiffs wives, Gargen's three eldest daughters, and his youngest daughter Susanna. Contrary to the true intent and meaning of the will, Mercy Gargen had sold off the whole of Gargen's estate, both land and goods. This included various provisions, fruit trees, fences, rights and privileges belonging to it, as well as three male slaves, one woman and a child slave, and sundry household goods. The whole amounted to £609 17s 6d, as appeared from the sale of these particulars in a written account dated 29 March 1715. There were besides several other debts, dues and demands belonging to Gargen's estate, all owed to Mercy Gargen, while a widow, and her present husband George Sanders. [...] Interpretations The will created a life interest for the widow with the estate held in trust for the daughters. Mercy Gargen could occupy the land for life but not dispose of it, since on her death it was to be sold and divided among the four daughters. Her sale of the whole estate breached this arrangement, which is the wrong the plaintiffs brought before the court. The distinction between real and personal estate governed how each passed under the will. The widow received an outright third of the personal property but only a life interest in the land. By selling both as if they were hers absolutely, she exceeded the limited right the will gave her, converting a life tenancy into a full sale. The slaves were listed among the estate's assets alongside livestock, trees and household goods. Three men, a woman and a child were itemised as property to be valued and sold, showing how the law treated human beings as part of a deceased planter's movable wealth. Their inclusion in the £609 17s 6d total marks the commercial reality of slaveholding on the island. The valuation of the estate at £609 17s 6d from a sale account of 29 March 1715 gave the daughters claim a definite measure. The plaintiffs relied on this written record to establish what had been disposed of contrary to the will. The detailed inventory of provisions, trees, fences and slaves shows the range of a planter's estate and the basis on which its value was reckoned.
122	114	Jan.y hath converted to their own private use & because the said Sanders hath since Marriage obtaind a Letter of Administration upon the said Gargen's Estate, doth therefore positively Deny & Refuse coming to a Just & Legall Acco.t Endeavouring thereby to Defraud & keep us yor Complainants out of what we Deem our Lawfull right in pursuance to the Tenor Intention & express words of the sd Thos Gargens last Will & Testament aforesd. And For as much as yr sd Geo Sanders has Liberty Granted him to go off yr Island in the Ship King Wm now in yr road & bound for Gt. Britain We yor sd Compls & petrs Do therefore humbly pray he may be immediately Obligated to render & give up a clear, full & Exact Acctt of yr sd Thos Gargens Estate or else yt an Acccon of 800 L may be allowed to be now brought in against yr Defts as most rightfully doth apertain to Justice, for yt yor complainants have Severally Sufferd great Damages & are likely to Suffer Still more in being debard & so unjustly kept out of Our just demands in right of Our Selves & Wives by yr sd Geo Sanders unlawfull & unwarrantable Detainr & yt he may not be permitted to depart yr Island till he has	The Sanders had converted these to their own private use. Since the marriage, Sanders had obtained letters of administration over Gargen's estate. He now flatly refused to come to a just and lawful accounting. By this he sought to defraud the plaintiffs and keep them from what they held to be their lawful right, under the meaning and express words of Thomas Gargen's will. Since George Sanders had leave to go off the island on the ship <i>King William</i>, then in the road and bound for Great Britain, the plaintiffs asked the court the following. He should be required at once to give a clear, full and exact account of Gargen's estate. Failing that, an account of £800 should be allowed, to be brought in against the defendant, as justice rightly required. The plaintiffs had each suffered great damages and were likely to suffer still more, being kept out of their just demands in right of themselves and their wives by Sanders's unlawful detention of them. They asked that he not be permitted to leave the island until he [...] Interpretations The letters of administration gave Sanders legal control over the estate, which the plaintiffs cast as the instrument of their exclusion. As administrator he held authority to manage and account for the property, yet they alleged he used that power to deny them their shares. The grant that should have ensured proper distribution became, in their telling, a shield against it. The demand to detain Sanders until he accounted shows the court's power to restrain departure as a means of securing justice. With the <i>King William</i> bound for Britain, an absconding administrator would put recovery beyond reach. The plaintiffs sought a stay on his leaving

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			precisely because his presence was the only guarantee of an honest reckoning. The alternative claim of £800 set a figure to be charged against the defendant if no account was given. By proposing a fixed sum in default, the plaintiffs gave the court a ready measure of damages should Sanders refuse to produce the true reckoning. This pleading tactic protected them against the obstruction they anticipated, fixing a liability that did not depend on his cooperation.
123	115	1717. has made full & Ample Satisfacon to Us yr Complaint. Who as in duty bound Shall ever Decr yr 29t 1717. Pray. Geo: Haswell (Signd) Fra Funge Jno Long. To prove wch Capt Haswell desired yr Will of Thos Gargen to be read & particularly yr first bequeath (par 1 of sd Will wch is as foll: (Vizt) Imp.s I Give & bequeath to Mercy my well beloved Wife One third of my Personal Estate & her living in yr dwelling house & Land dueing her Natural life and after her decease then my hous & Land to be Sold & the product thens arising to be equally divided between my be loved Children John Long, Eliz Steward Sarah Gargen & Susannah Gargen Alledging yt by Vertue of sd Clause yr plantiffs had an undoubted right to 1/3ds of yr Real Estate Then Capt Haswell insisted on yr hardships to a family yt any man yt marryes a Widow should go away with half yr Estate. Then he said he knew no reason why yr Blacks work (tho afr Mr Gargens Death) should not be added to yr Estate because while they Laboured they were Maintained on yr Estate. &c	The plaintiffs asked that Sanders make full and ample satisfaction for their complaint. The petition was dated 29 December 1717 and signed by George Haswell, Francis Funge and John Long. To prove their case, Captain Haswell asked that Gargen's will be read, and in particular the first bequest. It ran as follows. Gargen gave to his beloved wife Mercy one-third of his personal estate, and the use of his dwelling house and land during her life. After her death his house and land were to be sold, and the proceeds divided equally between his beloved children John Long, Eliza Steward, Sarah Gargen and Susannah Gargen. The plaintiffs argued that, under this clause, they held an undoubted right to three-quarters of the real estate. Captain Haswell then pressed the hardship to a family if any man who married a widow could go off with half the estate. He further said he knew no reason why the value of the slaves labour, after Mercy Gargen's death, should not be added to the estate. While they laboured, they were maintained at the expense of the estate. [...] Interpretations The reading of the will's first clause put the document itself before the jury as the foundation of the claim. The plaintiffs rested their case on the express words of the bequest, which gave the widow only a life interest and directed sale and division on her death. Producing the will as evidence shows the court testing the parties rights against the written instrument rather than against custom alone. The naming of four children as equal beneficiaries clarified the shares in dispute. John Long, Eliza Steward, Sarah Gargen and Susannah Gargen were each entitled to a quarter, so the three married daughters held three-quarters between them. This identified precisely who claimed what, and underlay the plaintiffs demand for three-quarters of the real estate. Haswell's argument about a man marrying a widow exposed the social danger the suit sought to prevent. If a second husband could take half an estate, the children of a first marriage stood to lose their inheritance to a stranger. The point appealed to the court's interest in protecting family property against dissipation through remarriage. The claim that the slaves labour after the widow's death should be added to the estate reveals slaves as income-producing capital. Their work generated value while the estate bore the cost of their upkeep, so the plaintiffs argued the profit of that labour belonged to the estate. This treats the slaves not merely as assets to be sold but as a continuing source of revenue to be accounted for.
124	116	Jan.y To the before mentiond Declaracon yr Deft Geo Sanders put in his Answre in Writ ing wch he desired might be read & is as foll: May it please your Worshl & the Court. My Case is very hard having gone thro so much Scandall by means of these very per sons who now Sue me having termd me pick pockett & such like Names as having been a Felon I appeal to yr Country in Genl for my Cha	In answer to the declaration, the defendant George Sanders put in his reply in writing, which he asked to be read. It ran as follows. Sanders said his case was very hard. He had suffered much slander from the very persons now suing him, who had called him a pickpocket and other such names, and branded him a felon. He appealed to the country at large for his character as an industrious man. He appealed to the court on their declaration, which he was glad to find showed their true purpose was to keep him from leaving the island. They knew they had no

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		racter & industrious man of living I appeal to yr Court upon yr Declaration wch I am very glad to find Shews their intentions is such as to keep me from going off yr Island for they know they have no Justice on their Side but would revenge themselves on me by keeping me here wch would be my ruin. And as to yr demd they make of yr Estate I owe non of ym any thing but have pd ym to a farthing wch was yr Sum of 91: 18 & wch Capt Haswell himself has Transferred & yr appeal to him whether I have paid him or no that Mony also as To John Long one of the Complainants who I think has no presence to the Estate and ought immediately to be Non Suited yett	justice on their side, but would revenge themselves on him by keeping him there, which would be his ruin. As to their claim on the estate, Sanders owed them nothing. He had paid them to a farthing, the sum being £91 18s 11¼d. Captain Haswell himself had transferred it, and Sanders appealed to him whether it had been paid or not. That money also went to John Long, one of the plaintiffs, who Sanders thought had no claim to the estate and ought to be nonsuited at once. [...] Interpretations Sanders met the suit by attacking the plaintiffs motive rather than the substance of the claim. He argued their real aim was not justice but to trap him on the island and ruin him by delay. By reading their demand to detain him as proof of malice, he turned their own pleading into evidence that they knew their case was weak. His appeal to the country for his character invoked the wider community as a witness to his standing. Reputation as an industrious man carried legal and social weight, and the slander of pickpocket and felon threatened it. Sanders treated the defence of his name as inseparable from the defence of the suit, since the accusations bore on his credit and honesty. The figure of £91 18s 11¼d, said to be already paid and transferred by Haswell, was Sanders's central answer on the money. He pointed to the very transfer in the Company's books that the earlier consultation had recorded. By naming Haswell, a plaintiff, as the man who made the transfer, he sought to prove the debt discharged on the plaintiffs own act. The call to nonsuit John Long raised a question of standing to sue. Sanders argued that Long had no claim to the estate and so should be dismissed from the action. A nonsuit removed a party whose case failed in law before the merits were reached, and the plea aimed to break up the plaintiffs joint suit by stripping out one of its members.
125	117	1717. Yett I don't take upon me to Insist so much upon that tho He knows that he has had a great portion three times more then his Share comes to by the Yam Plantation he holds now In Capt Haswell's Land so that he ought to have no further pretences But yet to prevent disputes I have paid yt Transferring as aforesaid his part also when Mr Gargen Married the Widdow Alexander (now my wife) his Circumstances were poor and mean But she brought him what may be calld a good fortune to one in his condition, for he had with her in mony Cattle goods and Credit above 300. part of wch he wasted and Consumd in an Idle & disolate maner & the rest was spent in bringing up his unthankfull Children, wch he had almost Run out & then died (wch was yr best thing he ever did in his Life) But he left his Wife in such a miserable condicon & so involvd in Debt yt his Exed utterly refused to take yr trust upon yr wch tho both were his Bro in Law & had not yr Worshl &c been so kind to her & trusted her wth yr managemt of yr Estate & forbore calling in yr Honl Compys Debt, all must have gone to pay Debts & Yett Some of yr Gauping Creditors must have been unpaid The Poor Widd had so little Prospect yt of Settling her Affairs yt she offerd to delivr up	Sanders said he would not insist too far on the point. Long knew he had already had a great portion, three times more than his share came to from the yam plantation, which he now held in Captain Haswell's land. He therefore ought to have no further claim. To prevent disputes, Sanders said he had paid Long by transferring his part as well. When Gargen married the widow Alexander, now Sanders's wife, his circumstances were poor and mean. She brought him what might be called a good fortune for a man of his condition. He had with her, in money, cattle, goods and credit, above £300 0s 0d. Part of this he wasted and consumed in an idle and reckless manner. The rest was spent in bringing up his unthankful children. By the time he had nearly run through it all he died, which was the best thing he ever did in his life. He left his wife in a miserable condition, and so deep in debt that her brothers utterly refused to take on the trust, though both were her brothers-in-law. Had the council not been so kind to her, and trusted her with the management of the estate, and held off calling in the Company's debt, all must have gone to pay debts. Even so, some of the grasping creditors must have gone unpaid. The poor widow had so little hope of settling her affairs that she offered to give up [...] Interpretations Sanders defended the widow's sale of the estate as a rescue from ruinous debt rather than a fraud on the children. He argued that without the council's forbearance over the Company's debt and its trust in her management, the whole estate would have gone to creditors. This recast the disputed sale as the only means of preserving any value at all. The £300 brought to the marriage by the widow reframed the source of the estate's wealth. Sanders

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			claimed Gargen came to the union poor, and that his wife's fortune in money, cattle, goods and credit made him. By this account the property the children claimed derived largely from their mother, weakening the daughters moral claim against her dealings with it. The refusal of the widow's brothers to take on the trust pointed to the burden and risk of administering an insolvent estate. An executor or trustee could be exposed to the deceased's debts, so the brothers declined despite their family tie. Their refusal explained why the widow was left to manage alone, with the council's indulgence as her only support. The council's forbearance in not calling in the Company's debt functioned as a deliberate act of credit relief. By holding back its own claim, the council let the widow keep the estate afloat and meet other creditors. This shows the Company exercising discretion as a creditor to prevent a complete collapse, balancing recovery of its debt against the survival of a planter's household.
126	118	Jan.y up all She had in yr World to yor Worshl &c to Free her from those Vexatious Suites yt were fomented by Gargens Children & according to yr advice of her friends to make her Self easy She did Sell all & Trusted to providence for a future main tenance The Estate happend to Yeild a good Price So yt there was something left to divide. 'Tis 'Tis well known yt according to yr Custom of this Country every Widd is to enjoy a 3d part of yr personal Estate But yr whole of yt went towards paying Debts And according to yr Custom of yr place every Widd is to enjoy half her husbands Land due ing her Natural Life & the possession of yr half is lookt upon as an equivalent to her 3ds But her husbd Gargen being contious to him self yt he had nothing else to leave her, He bequeathd her yr enjoymt of yr whole real Estate Estate during her natural Life Now if yr possession of half an Estate for Life be equivalent to a Widds thirds yt I humbly conceive the possession of yr whole Estate for Life is equivalent to 2/3 but Notwithstanding yt after yr Debts where paid I have allowed yr half But it is my Misfortune that they Su me	The widow had offered to give up all she had in the world to the council, to free her from the vexatious suits stirred up by Gargen's children. On the advice of her friends, and to set her own mind at ease, she sold everything and trusted to providence for her future support. The estate happened to fetch a good price, so that there was something left to divide. It was well known that, by the custom of the country, every widow was to enjoy a third part of the personal estate. Here, however, the whole of it went towards paying debts. By the same custom, every widow was to enjoy half her husband's land during her life. The possession of that half was regarded as the equivalent of her third. Gargen, being conscious that he had nothing else to leave her, bequeathed her the use of the whole real estate during her life. Sanders argued that, if possession of half an estate for life equalled a widow's third, then possession of the whole for life equalled two-thirds. Even so, after the debts were paid, he had allowed them the half. It was his misfortune that they sued [...] Interpretations Sanders built his defence on the customary law of widows rights to translate the will into a measurable share. By local custom a widow took a third of the personal estate and a life interest in half the land, the two treated as equivalent. From this he reasoned that a life interest in the whole land equalled a two-thirds share, giving the widow more than the children allowed. The custom that a half-share for life equalled a widow's third reveals how the island valued a life interest against an outright portion. A temporary right to half the land was reckoned worth the same as permanent ownership of a third of the goods. This equivalence let the court compare unlike interests and measure what the widow was truly entitled to. The whole of the personal estate going to debts showed the widow forfeiting her customary third to creditors. Her recognised right to a third of the goods was consumed in settling what Gargen owed. Sanders used this to argue that she had already sacrificed her due, strengthening his claim that the children sued for more than justice allowed. Sanders's allowance of the half despite his two-thirds argument was a calculated concession to appear reasonable. By conceding more than he claimed the children deserved, he cast himself as fair and them as grasping. This framed the dispute as their unreasonable greed against his generosity, a posture aimed at the jury's sympathy.

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127	119	1717 Sue me Still & never will be contented. I Desire yr Jury will be pleased to look over Mr Gargens Will were they will find he gave his with her life in all yr Land & if yt be more then her thirds as without doubt it is I hope she has an undoubted right to enjoy it as his Legacy & I have yr more reason to expect yt be cause wt She brought to him in Marriage was a great deal more then he died worth his Debts being paid As to yr Blacks work I hope every body will be of yr same Opinion as I am of, yt from yr time any Blacks are Calued to a person yr work or Wages is due to yr Possessr of yt Black & I ap peal to yr Court whether a Man can be Sayed to dye Possest of any more then he had yr last Minute of his Life To end all with repetition of yr unjust Slan dour & Calumny I have undergone wch I hope yr Gent of yr Jury will think I have not deserved. I leave the whole entirely wth yr Jury & have no reason to think but yt every man will do as he would be done by. I hope my Case is So plain as to my Wives life in yr Whole Estate & when yr Gentlemen of yr Jury consider yr Legacy her husband	The plaintiffs would sue him still and never be satisfied. Sanders asked the jury to look over Gargen's will, where they would find he gave his wife a life interest in all the land. If that was more than her third, as it doubtless was, he hoped she had an undoubted right to enjoy it as his legacy. He had the more reason to expect this, since what she brought him in marriage was a great deal more than he died worth, once his debts were paid. As to the slaves labour, Sanders hoped everyone shared his view. If, from time to time, any slaves were valued to a person, the labour or wages were due to whoever possessed them. He appealed to the court whether a man could be said to die possessed of any more than he held at the last minute of his life. To end, Sanders said he had suffered all this unjust slander and calumny, which he hoped the jury would think he had not deserved. He left the whole matter entirely to the jury. He had no reason to think any man would do other than as he would be done by. He hoped his case was plain enough as to his wife's life interest in the whole estate. When the gentlemen of the jury considered the legacy [...] Interpretations Sanders's appeal to the will as the source of the widow's right rested the case on the testator's clear intent. He argued that Gargen deliberately gave her a life interest in all the land, knowing it exceeded her customary third, as his deliberate legacy to her. This put the question to the jury as one of honouring the will rather than applying custom against it. His point on the timing of the slaves valuation raised a question of when ownership and its profits passed. He argued a man could die possessed only of what he held at the last moment of life, so labour after the widow took the slaves belonged to her, not the estate. This answered the plaintiffs claim that the slaves earnings should be added back for division. The closing appeal to do as one would be done by invoked a moral standard to sway the jury. Sanders set the golden rule against the plaintiffs legal claims, asking the jurors to judge by fairness rather than strict entitlement. This rhetorical move sought to shift the case from the letter of the will to the conscience of the panel.
128	120	Jan.y Husband left her & of yr Fortune yt she brou.t to him, yr great pains She always tok whilst She was Mr Gargens Wife yr miserable Condi tion she was left in at his Death I doubt not but yt you'll give a Verdict for me yr Deft 2 Janr 1717/18 Geo Sanders. (Signd) Then Sanders yr Deft desired also yt Thos Gargens Will might be read but insisted cheif ly on yr same Clause yt Capt Haswell had cau sed to be read. The whole Will runs thus. (Vizt) Isld St Helena In the name of God Amen. the Eighth day of January in yr Year of Our Lord God One thousand Seven hundred & Fourteen I Thomas Gargen of yr sd Isld St Helena Free holder being Sick & Weak in body but of perfect mind & Memory thanks be given unto God. Therefore calling unto mind yr mor tality of my body & knowing it is appointed unto all Men Ones to dye, do make & Ordain this my last Will & Testament yt is to Say. First & principally I give & bequeath my Soul into yr hands of God yt gave it And for my body I comitt to yr earth to be Buried in a Christian like & decent manner at yr discre tion of my Exr nothing doubting but at the	The jury should consider the legacy her husband left her, and the fortune she had brought him. Sanders pointed to the great pains his wife always took while she was Gargen's wife, and the miserable condition she was left in at his death. He did not doubt the jury would give a verdict for him as defendant. The reply was dated 2 January 1718 and signed by George Sanders. Sanders, the defendant, then asked that Gargen's will be read in full, though he insisted chiefly on the same clause Captain Haswell had had read. The whole will ran as follows. Thomas Gargen of St Helena, freeholder, made his will on 8 January 1714. He was sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory, thanks be to God. Mindful of his mortality and knowing that all men must die, he made his last will and testament as follows. First and chiefly, he gave his soul into the hands of God who gave it. His body he committed to the earth, to be buried in a Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executor, nothing doubting but at [...] Interpretations The reading of the will in full put the entire instrument before the jury after both sides had relied on a single clause. Each party had cited the bequest that favoured its case, so the complete text was read to set that clause in context. This reflects the court's

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			concern to judge the disputed provision against the whole of the testator's intent. The will's religious preamble followed the standard form of an early modern testament. The commendation of the soul to God and the body to Christian burial were conventional opening clauses, not personal additions. Their presence shows the legal and devotional pattern that gave a will its recognised form, with the substantive bequests following the formal opening. The date of the will, 8 January 1714, placed its making just days before Gargen's death on 11 January 1715 under the modern reckoning. A man sick and weak in body set his affairs in order at the approach of death. The closeness of the will to the death underlines that it was a deathbed disposition, made when the testator knew his end was near.
129	121	1717/18 The Genl Resurrection I shall receive the same again by yr mighty power of God I as touching such worldly Goods where with it hath pleasd God to bless me in this Life I give & dispose of yr Same in yr following manner & form Imp.s I give and bequeath to Mercy my well beloved wife one third of my personall Estate and her Living in the Dwelling house and Land During her Natural life and after her decease then my house & Land to be Sold and the product thence arising to be Equally divided between my beloved Children John Long Elizabeth Steward Sarah Gargen and Susannah Gargen Item I give to my beloved Daughter Susarah Gargen two Heifers & as for the rest of my personal Estate I Desire that it may be Equally divided between my aforesaid Children but that part which I give to my beloved Daughter Elizabeth Steward I give to her for her naturall Life and after her Decease then to be divided between the Children of Charles Steward Deceasd Likewise I constitute and appoint my beloved friends John Robinson and Richard Gurling Executors of this my Last Will & Testament utterly disallowing & revoking all former Wills and Testaments by me made In Witness whereof I have hereunto sett my hand & Seale the Day & Year above Written,	At the general resurrection Gargen trusted to receive his body again by the mighty power of God. As for the worldly goods God had blessed him with in life, he disposed of them as follows. First, he gave to his beloved wife Mercy one-third of his personal estate, and the use of the dwelling house and land during her life. After her death, his house and land were to be sold, and the proceeds divided equally between his beloved children John Long, Elizabeth Steward, Sarah Gargen and Susannah Gargen. Next, he gave to his beloved daughter Susannah Gargen two heifers. As for the rest of his personal estate, he wished it divided equally between the same children. The share he gave to his daughter Elizabeth Steward, however, he gave her for her life only. After her death it was to be divided between the children of the late Charles Steward. He named his beloved friends John Robinson and Richard Gurling as executors of his will. He disallowed and revoked all former wills. In witness of this he set his hand and seal on the day and year above written. Interpretations The will gave Elizabeth Steward only a life interest in her share, with the remainder settled on the children of the late Charles Steward. This created a trust within the estate, keeping the capital for the next generation while granting Elizabeth its use during her life. The device protected the inheritance of grandchildren against any loss of the principal in Elizabeth's lifetime. The naming of John Robinson and Richard Gurling as executors, rather than the widow, placed the administration of the will in the hands of trusted friends. Executors held the duty to carry out the bequests and settle the estate. That Gargen chose outsiders over his wife may explain the later confusion, since Sanders had instead obtained letters of administration to control the estate himself. The specific bequest of two heifers to Susannah singled out the youngest daughter for a separate gift before the general division. Breeding livestock was valuable and productive, so this provision gave her a distinct asset over and above her equal share. Such targeted bequests let a testator favour or provide particularly for a chosen child within an otherwise equal settlement. The revocation of all former wills was the standard clause securing the document as the testator's final word. It cancelled any earlier disposition that might compete with it. This protected the estate from rival claims based on superseded wills, ensuring the court applied only the last expression of Gargen's intent.
130	122	Jan.y Written, (Signd) Thos Gargen Witness James Vesey. Richard Swallow	The will was signed by Thomas Gargen and witnessed by James Vesey and Richard Swallow. By this will it appeared that Gargen had left his widow a third of his personal estate. That came to nothing, however, since the whole personal estate did

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		By this Will it appeard that Gargen had left his Widdow one third of his personal Estate but that was nothing because all the personal Estate did not pay above half of his debts by the same recited clause in Gargens Will she has her life in the House & Land wch after her death was to be Sold & divided, Then Sanders the Defendant alleadged that the Estate of Gargen was what he Dyed Possest of & was no more than what Gargen enjoyd the last hour of his life and as to the Blacks Labour he conceivd that after the goods & the Blacks were appraisd & the Widdow made Debtor for them the Blacks were hers & consequently what they earned was hers too as being then her Slaves and he conceives that Capt Haswells objection is of no force to say the Blacks were maintaind upon the Estate because according to the Will all the Estate that is the house & Land were the Widdows for her life & therefore her Estate & who ever were maintaind upon her Estate were maintaind by her & that this is always the Custom here & Else where that in case any man dyes who had an apprentice that after the masters Decease what the	not pay above half his debts. By the same clause of the will, she had a life interest in the house and land, which was to be sold and divided after her death. Sanders, the defendant, then argued that Gargen's estate was only what he died possessed of, and no more than he held in the last hour of his life. As to the slaves labour, he held that once the goods were appraised and the widow made debtor for them, the slaves were hers. What they earned was therefore hers too, since they were then her slaves. He argued that Captain Haswell's objection had no force. To say the slaves were maintained out of the estate failed, because under the will the whole estate, the house and land, was the widow's for her life, and so was her estate. Whoever was maintained out of her estate was maintained by her. This, he said, was always the custom there and elsewhere. If any man died who held an apprentice, then after the master's death whatever the [...] Interpretations The point that the personal estate did not cover half the debts cut to the heart of the widow's position. Her customary third of the goods was worthless because the goods themselves fell short of the debts. This established that the only value in the estate lay in the land, making the dispute over the real property all the more acute. Sanders advanced a precise legal theory tying ownership of the slaves earnings to possession at the moment of death. He argued that once the slaves were appraised and charged to the widow as debtor, they became hers, so their later labour was her property. This sophisticated argument treated the slaves as capital whose income followed legal title, not the estate from which they originally came. His answer to Haswell turned the maintenance argument back on itself. Haswell claimed the slaves were fed from the estate, so their earnings belonged to it. Sanders replied that the estate was the widow's for life, so anyone maintained from it was maintained by her, and the earnings were hers. The exchange shows both sides reasoning from the will to fix the ownership of labour. The analogy to an apprentice after a master's death invoked established custom to support the claim. Sanders reached for a recognised parallel, where rights in service passed on the master's death, to argue that rights in the slaves labour passed likewise to the widow. Appealing to common practice lent his novel claim the weight of accepted usage.
131	123	1717/18 the apprentice Earns is not reckond into that part of the Estate the deceased dyed possest of but goes towards the support & maintainance of the Widdow so long as such an Apprentice lives with her or untill he is turned over to another Master but that it was more so in this Case because when the Slaves were appraised the Widdow was made Debtor for them & from such time She ought to be looked on as the purchaser & hoped no body would doubt but the purchaser of any Slave had full Right to all the mony such Slave earned after they had made the purchase, Capt Haswell calld Mr Powell & Mr Gurling to prove he had made a Demand for his part & that Sanders had refused to pay him but they both Testyfyed that Sanders had offerd half but for such other Questions as Capt Haswell asked they did not remember, To this Sanders replyd the Widdow had so little prospect of gaining any thing that Mr Robinson &	An apprentice's earnings were not reckoned into the part of the estate the deceased died possessed of. They went instead towards the support of the widow, for as long as the apprentice lived with her or until he was turned over to another master. This was even more so in the present case, Sanders argued. When the slaves were appraised, the widow was made debtor for them, and from that time she ought to be regarded as the purchaser. He hoped no one would doubt that the buyer of any slave had full right to all the money that slave earned after the purchase. Captain Haswell called Mr Powell and Mr Gurling to prove he had made a demand for his part, and that Sanders had refused to pay him. Both testified that Sanders had offered half, but as for the other questions Haswell asked, they did not remember. To this Sanders replied that the widow had so little prospect of gaining anything that Mr Robinson and Gurling had gone before the Governor and Council and renounced the executorship. The case being very plain, the Governor recited the substance of the complaint and the defence, and left it to the jury. They brought in the following special verdict. They found for the defendant, that he [...]

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		Gurling went before the Governr & Council & renounced the Executorship, The case being very plain the Governr recited the Substance of the Complaint & defence & left it to the Jury who brought in the following speciall Verdict (vizt) That they found for the Defendant that he	Interpretations The renunciation of the executorship by Robinson and Gurling explained how control of the estate passed from the named executors to Sanders. Faced with an insolvent estate offering no prospect of gain, the appointed executors formally gave up the office before the council. Their withdrawal left the way open for Sanders, through his marriage and letters of administration, to take charge of the property. Haswell's calling of witnesses to prove demand and refusal followed the ordinary method of establishing a claim by testimony. He sought to show he had asked for his share and been refused, the foundation of his suit. That the witnesses confirmed only an offer of half, and could not recall the rest, weakened his case on the contested points. The special verdict marked a particular form of jury finding. Rather than a general verdict for one side, the jury found specific facts and left their legal effect to be determined. This device was used where the law's application to the facts was uncertain or important, allowing the facts to be settled while the legal consequence followed separately. The Governor's recital of the complaint and defence before sending the jury out shows the judge's role in framing the issue. He summed up both sides for the panel, focusing them on what they had to decide. This judicial direction guided the lay jurors through a complex dispute over a will, debts and the ownership of labour.
132	124	Jan.y he should have half the Real Estate but from the appraisment to the Sale of the Blacks the mony they earned should be divided as a personal Estate one Third to the Widdow & two Thirds to the Children Matthew Bazett	The verdict was that Sanders should have half the real estate. From the appraisal to the sale of the slaves, however, the money they earned should be divided as personal estate, one-third to the widow and two-thirds to the children. The verdict was signed by George Haswell and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations The verdict split the difference between the parties competing claims on the two questions before the court. On the land, Sanders won the half he had conceded as fair, rejecting the children's claim to three-quarters. On the slaves earnings, the jury sided with the children, treating that income as personal estate to be divided rather than the widow's alone. The treatment of the slaves earnings as divisible personal estate rejected Sanders's central legal argument. He had contended the labour was the widow's once she became debtor for the slaves, but the jury held it fell into the personal estate. This applied the customary one-third to the widow and two-thirds to the children, the ordinary division Sanders had sought to escape. The fixing of the period from appraisal to sale defined precisely which earnings were to be divided. The jury bounded the slaves productive labour between the date they were valued and the date they were sold. This gave a clear and measurable window for calculating the income owed to the estate, resolving the dispute over timing that both sides had argued.
133	125	1717/18 Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Saturday yr 4t day of Janr 1717/18 At Union Castle in James Valley Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Geo Haswell Depy Prest Matthr Bazett 3 & Antipas Tovey 4 in Counl The last Proceedings at the Special Court of Judicature & Consultation Approved of. The Custom Mr (Edwd Holliwell) brought an Acct of Goods brought ashoar from yr Ship King Wm (Vizt)	At a consultation held at Union Castle in James Valley on Saturday 4 January 1718. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Captain John Hunter and Captain James Winter were desired allowances. The previous proceedings at the special court of judicature and consultation were approved. The customs officer, Edward Holliwell, brought in an account of goods landed from the ship <i>King William</i>, as follows.

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		Several Bags of Rice wch We dont re her Custom for because we would encourage all We can yr bringing of Rice here Capt Winter has brought ashoar Twenty seven Gingham's yt he Sayes he has given about half of them away & Lent yr rest aboard again & he thinks tis hard to pay Custom for wch he dont Sell. We think it is not proper to be hard upon any Gentleman yt carrys himself so Civilly as Capt Winter does. The Govr One quart Cask of Cape Wine. Several Carboys & Bottles of Arrack were also brought ashoar wch being alledged for Margin Notes: Capt Jno Hunter & Capt James Winter being desired Allowance	Several bags of rice. No customs duty was charged on these, since the council wished to encourage the import of rice as much as possible. Captain Winter had landed 26 gingham's. He said he had given about half of them away, and lent the rest, which he had since recovered. He thought it hard to pay customs on goods he had not sold. The council thought it not proper to be hard on any gentleman who conducted himself as civilly as Captain Winter. The Governor took one quarter-cask of Cape wine. Several carboys and bottles of arrack were also landed, which were lodged for [...] Interpretations The waiver of customs duty on rice shows the council using tariff policy to secure food supply. By exempting rice from duty, it lowered the cost to importers and encouraged ships to bring it. This reveals customs as a tool of provisioning policy on a remote island, not merely a source of revenue, with staple foods favoured over taxable luxuries. The remission of duty on Winter's gingham's turned on his civil conduct rather than strict rule. The goods were technically liable, but the council excused them because he had given or lent most away and behaved agreeably. This shows customs enforcement tempered by discretion and personal goodwill, where standing and manner could soften the application of the rules. The customs officer's account of goods landed records the routine inspection of cargo brought ashore. Edward Holliwel, charged with collecting duty, inventoried each item from the <i>King William</i> for the council. This was the mechanism by which the island controlled and taxed the trade goods entering its only port, with each consignment assessed on landing.
134	126	Jan.y for yr Officers of yr Ship Own Expend where not Charged Custom. Three bundles sd to contain in the whole about fifty pices of Blew Cloth It is Orderd That they pay forty Shillings Custom according to yr Honl Compys Ordrs in their last Genl Letter. Capt Bazett Sayes yt We having bought One Canister of Tea of Capt Jam Winter wch weighs but 92 th & proves very good Tea He Therefore desires to buy a nother Canister because this One is not two pound apiece for every family. Orderd that yr Govr & Capt Bazett do buy another Canister of Capt Winter. The Honl Compys Books of Accounts are now Sent home in a Box Nr A The Govr was present when yr Acc.tn & Secretry put them Up. There is yr Transfer Journal & Transfer Leger for 1715 Written in Sticht Sheets & there are Copys of them in the Accountants Office There is yr Journal for 1714 wch is also Copied & yr Copy remains in yr Accountrs Office	The arrack was for the ship's officers own use, and so was not charged customs. Three bundles, said to hold about 50 pieces of blue cloth in all. The council ordered that 40s 0d customs be paid on them, in line with the Company's prices set out in its last general letter. Captain Bazett said that, having bought one canister of tea from Captain James Winter, which weighed only 92 pounds and proved very good tea, he wished to buy another canister, since this one was not two pounds for each family. The council ordered that the Governor and Captain Bazett buy another canister from Captain Winter. The Company's books of accounts were now sent home in a box marked A. The Governor was present when the accountant and secretary packed them up. There was the transfer journal and transfer ledger for 1715, written in loose sheets, with copies of them in the accountant's office. There was also the journal for 1714, which was likewise copied, the copy remaining in the accountant's office. [...] Interpretations The duty charged on the blue cloth at the Company's set rates contrasts with the exemptions granted for rice and the gingham's. Where food was favoured and civility rewarded, taxable cloth bore the fixed charge from the general letter. This shows the council applying the published tariff to ordinary trade goods while reserving discretion for special cases. The purchase of tea by the canister to allot two pounds to each family reveals the council provisioning the island as a single community. The supply was measured against the number of households, ensuring an equitable share. This collective approach to scarce goods reflects the small, managed character of the settlement, where the council secured staples on behalf of all.

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			The careful copying of the account books before sending the originals home put into practice the resolution reached days earlier. The transfer books and journal were duplicated, with copies kept in the accountant's office. This carried out the Governor's insistence on 31 December 1717 that the books be copied first, preserving the island's records while satisfying the Company's demand for the originals. The Governor's presence at the packing of the books gave the dispatch official witness. By overseeing the accountant and secretary as they boxed the records, he attested that the books sent were complete and properly handled. This formality protected against any later charge of missing or altered records once the box reached London.
135	127	1717/18 Office There are two Main Logers for 1714. There is another Book yt is left in yr Acctrs Office wch he alledges to be a Copy of ym There is all yr sum Totals in yt Book but yr Book is ve ry different from them Sent home & is not a True Copy. The Main Journal for 1715. is not Copied but Capt Haswell produces Sevl loos dirty pipers wch he sd would Serve for all yr mate rial parts of it & of The Main Leger for 1715. there was No Copy. The Transfer Journal for 1714 We canot find any Copy But Capt Haswell pro duced another Book wch he called a Copy but it does not at all agree with it & is not a Copy. There was a Fine Sett upon Thos Bover yt St Jany 1714/15 wch was not Entred in 1714/15 nor was it Entred in 1715. But af ter enquiry it was found crowded in an Old Book in May 1716. Mr Carnes Fine of Ten pounds was never charged. The Govr demds of Capt Haswell why yr Books are not Copied when in yr last Lettr he charges Capt	There were two main ledgers for 1714. Another book was left in the accountant's office, which Haswell claimed to be a copy of them. It held the sum totals, but the book was very different from those sent home and was not a true copy. The main journal for 1715 had not been copied. Captain Haswell produced several loose dirty papers, which he said would serve for all the material parts of it. For the main ledger of 1715 there was no copy. For the transfer journal of 1714 no copy could be found. Captain Haswell produced another book, which he called a copy, but it did not agree with the original at all and was not a copy. A fine had been set upon Thomas Bovey on 4 January 1715. It had not been entered in the records for 1714, nor in those for 1715. On inquiry, it was found crowded into an old book in May 1716. Mr Carne's fine of £10 0s 0d had never been charged. The Governor demanded of Captain Haswell why the books had not been copied, in line with the Company's last general letter. Haswell [...] Interpretations The Governor's examination exposed a serious failure in the keeping and copying of the Company's accounts. Books claimed to be copies did not agree with the originals, material records existed only as loose papers, and several had no copy at all. This audit revealed that the instruction to maintain duplicates had been neglected, leaving the island's financial record incomplete and unreliable. The misplaced fine on Thomas Bovey illustrates the disorder in the recording of revenue due to the Company. A fine set on 4 January 1715 appeared in neither year's books, surfacing only when crowded into an old book in May 1716. Such irregular entry meant sums owed could be lost or delayed, undermining the integrity of the accounts. The uncharged fine of £10 0s 0d on Mr Carne marked money owed to the Company that had never been entered for collection. A penalty imposed but not recorded as a charge could never be recovered. This shows how lax book-keeping translated directly into lost revenue, the very harm the demand for proper copies was meant to prevent. The Governor's direct demand of Haswell over the uncopied books placed responsibility on the officer charged with the accounts. The general letter had required copying, and its neglect was now laid at his door. This confrontation shows the council enforcing accountability for administrative duty, with the failure traced to the man answerable for it.
136	128	Jan.y Capt Pack (decd) wth yr fault in not Copying his It is Such a neglect as is not to be Excusd especially when he has had so much Help & has been So tedious about it & pre	Haswell laid the fault for not copying on the late Captain Pack. The Governor judged this neglect inexcusable, especially since Haswell had been given so much help. He had been so anxious about it, claiming many times both in and out of council that the books

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		tended divers times both in & out of Council that those Books were don & only wanted Copying & yt Copy were almost done but he finds most of those Allegations to be false & therefore the Govr declares this in Consultation yt he Mayn't lose his own Credit with his Honl Masters to Save a Man yt never deserved any. Capt Haswell Sayes there are Some rough Copys. but not So Authentick but they will Serve well eno & are what every body here Plantors & others may adjust their Accounts with & they always Used to be kept So. The Govr Sayes yt yr Honl Compys & He too have been greatly imposed upon because of those pretences yt have been mentiond & written home He finds they Signified nothing but only a Cloak for So much idleness For if these Books had been all Written out Last Year then they might have been Copied out Now. He could Say a great deal more but dont care to aggravate He	were finished and only wanted copying, and that the copy was almost done. The Governor found most of these claims false. He therefore declared in council that he would not lose his own credit with the Company to spare a man who never deserved any. Captain Haswell said there were some rough copies. They were not so authentic, but would serve well enough, and were what every planter and others might adjust their accounts by. They had always been kept so. The Governor said the Company, and he himself, had been greatly imposed upon by the excuses written home. He found they meant nothing, and were only a cloak for so much idleness. Had the books all been written out the year before, they might have been copied out now. He said he could say a great deal more, but did not care to make matters worse. [...] Interpretations The Governor's refusal to protect Haswell shows the limit of collegial loyalty when his own standing with the Company was at stake. Haswell's false assurances had reached London, and the Governor would not share the blame for a subordinate's idleness. This reveals how an official guarded his credit with the directors above any wish to shield a fellow officer. Haswell's defence that rough copies always sufficed appealed to local custom against the Company's formal demand. He argued the imperfect books served the practical need of planters adjusting their accounts. The clash between this settled island practice and London's insistence on authentic copies exposed a gap between how the colony actually operated and how the Company required it to operate. The blaming of the dead Captain Pack was a convenient deflection onto a man who could not answer. By attributing the original failure to a deceased predecessor, Haswell sought to shift responsibility beyond reach. The Governor's rejection of this shows the council looking past easy excuses to fix accountability on the officer actually in charge. The Governor's framing of the excuses as a cloak for idleness identified the true fault as neglect of duty rather than mere delay. The reports sent home had concealed inaction behind promises of near-completion. Exposing this as deliberate cover revealed the deception practised on the directors, which the Governor treated as the graver offence.
137	129	The Governor meant only to show fairly where the greatest fault lay. By the Company's orders, in the 35th paragraph of their last general letter, the directors said they were weary of complaining that their accounts were not sent, and wished to know what had become of them. They could have no satisfaction until their books came. The Governor would not stand in the gap any longer. He therefore suspended George Haswell from salary and diet, in line with those orders. Even so, because the Governor had often complained of Haswell keeping sorry company, they settled it privately between themselves where they could. When that would not do, he invited Haswell to dine and sup with him as a friend, but not as a member of the council. The Governor explained his purpose. He had told Haswell more than once that he wanted nothing from him but such a handsome and civil manner that he might recommend him to the Company at his own removal, to succeed him as Governor. He hoped this slight punishment would have such influence on Haswell that he might begin his amendment now. Whenever he deserved better, the Governor promised [...] Interpretations The suspension from salary and diet was a measured financial penalty short of dismissal. By cutting Haswell's pay and his provision allowance while	The Governor meant only to show fairly where the greatest fault lay. By the Company's orders, in the 35th paragraph of their last general letter, the directors said they were weary of complaining that their accounts were not sent, and wished to know what had become of them. They could have no satisfaction until their books came. The Governor would not stand in the gap any longer. He therefore suspended George Haswell from salary and diet, in line with those orders. Even so, because the Governor had often complained of Haswell keeping sorry company, they settled it privately between themselves where they could. When that would not do, he invited Haswell to dine and sup with him as a friend, but not as a member of the council. The Governor explained his purpose. He had told Haswell more than once that he wanted nothing from him but such a handsome and civil manner that he might recommend him to the Company at his own removal, to succeed him as Governor. He hoped this slight punishment would have such influence on Haswell that he might begin his amendment now. Whenever he deserved better, the Governor promised [...] Interpretations The suspension from salary and diet was a measured financial penalty short of dismissal. By cutting Haswell's pay and his provision allowance while

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		keeping him in office, the Governor applied pressure to reform without destroying him. This graduated sanction shows discipline calibrated to correct rather than ruin, reserving harsher measures for continued failure. The Governor's invitation to dine as a friend but not as a councillor drew a careful line between personal regard and official standing. Haswell was excluded from his place on the council yet kept in social favour. This separation of the man from the office shows how the Governor sought to discipline the officer while preserving the relationship, softening the public blow. The hope that Haswell might succeed as Governor reveals the patronage that shaped colonial appointments. The Governor's recommendation carried weight with the Company in choosing his successor. By tying the prospect of advancement to present good conduct, he used the promise of promotion as an incentive for reform, showing how careers on the island depended on a superior's goodwill. The citation of the 35th paragraph of the general letter grounded the suspension in a specific Company instruction. The directors expressed weariness at the missing accounts, which gave the Governor his warrant to act. By invoking the exact term, he showed the punishment was not personal vindictiveness but the execution of London's orders.	keeping him in office, the Governor applied pressure to reform without destroying him. This graduated sanction shows discipline calibrated to correct rather than ruin, reserving harsher measures for continued failure. The Governor's invitation to dine as a friend but not as a councillor drew a careful line between personal regard and official standing. Haswell was excluded from his place on the council yet kept in social favour. This separation of the man from the office shows how the Governor sought to discipline the officer while preserving the relationship, softening the public blow. The hope that Haswell might succeed as Governor reveals the patronage that shaped colonial appointments. The Governor's recommendation carried weight with the Company in choosing his successor. By tying the prospect of advancement to present good conduct, he used the promise of promotion as an incentive for reform, showing how careers on the island depended on a superior's goodwill. The citation of the 35th paragraph of the general letter grounded the suspension in a specific Company instruction. The directors expressed weariness at the missing accounts, which gave the Governor his warrant to act. By invoking the exact term, he showed the punishment was not personal vindictiveness but the execution of London's orders.
138	130	Jan.y He will write to the Honl Compa in his behalf. Capt Winter Sayes the Store keeper charges him with a want of yr Weight of Sugar he brought from Madrass consigned hither But Sayes yt yr Same he received & beleives all yt wanting is no more then yr Waste in yr drying of yr Sugar That tis Usual to allow 10. or 15 pr Cent Waste from the West Indies & this tho longer Voyage (when it may be Supposed to Waste more & in a hotter clime) does not Want half of that. We find yr bags came ashoar all a like & in good Order Therefore dont in doubt sitt upon it beleiving tis not pilferd but dried away And the Arrack Capt Winter has brought holds Out rather better then Usual. We have mentiond yr Goods bought of Capt Winter in othr Consultations as well as in his Account. The Bill for Capt Hunter is for Cred: Entred to yr Govr on his behalf for 130 Young Men he took off this place to Sea with him The reason of Capt Hursts Bills yt go home in yr Govrns name are entred in the Body of yr Letter. Geo:	The Governor would write to the Company on Haswell's behalf. Captain Winter said the storekeeper charged him with a shortfall in the weight of sugar he had brought from Madras, consigned to the island. He maintained that he had delivered the same he received. He believed the missing weight was no more than the loss from the sugar drying out. It was usual to allow 10 or 15 per cent waste from the West Indies. This sugar, despite the longer voyage, when more waste might be expected, fell short by less than half that. The council found the bags came ashore all alike and in good order. It therefore had no doubt on the matter, believing the sugar was not stolen but had dried away. The arrack Captain Winter had brought also proved rather better than usual. The goods bought from Captain Winter had been noted in other consultations as well as in his account. The bill for Captain Hunter was for credit entered to the Governor on his behalf, for 30 young men he had taken off the island to sea with him. The reason Captain Hurst's bills, which went home in the Governor's name, were entered in the body of the letter [...] Interpretations The dispute over the sugar weight turned on the recognised allowance for natural loss in transit. Sugar dried out and lost weight on a long voyage, and a customary waste of 10 to 15 per cent was accepted from the West Indies. By measuring the shortfall against this standard, the council distinguished honest loss from theft, clearing Winter of any charge of pilfering. The note that the bags came ashore alike and in good order was the evidence on which the council acquitted Winter. Uniform, undisturbed bags pointed to drying rather than tampering. This shows the practical reasoning used to resolve a claim of shortage, weighing the physical condition of the cargo against the bare fact of lost weight. The credit entered for Captain Hunter against 30 young men taken to sea reveals the island as a source of recruits for the Company's service. Men were carried off to crew or fight elsewhere, and the transaction was recorded as a financial entry in the Governor's name.

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			This treats the supply of manpower as a matter of account between the island and the ships.
139	131	1717/18 Geo: Sanders's Bills is for his Credit in the Stores mentiond in many Consultations Capt Pitts Bills is for Deal Boards & Spars &c Sold to Richd Swallow Wm Woodzell's Bills for Cloths Sold at an Outcry after his Death. Memorandum Thus farr Duplicated and Sent home yr Ship Sarum Frig Capt Geo Newton Comandr Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey	George Sanders's bill was for his credit in the stores, noted in many consultations. Captain Pitts's bill was for deal boards and spars sold to Richard Swallow. William Woodzell's bill was for clothes sold at a public auction after his death. The entry was signed by Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Start of crossed out section This was duplicated and sent home by the ship <i>Sarum</i> frigate, Captain George Newton, commander. End of crossed out section Interpretations The sale of William Woodzell's clothes at a public auction after his death records the customary disposal of a deceased person's goods. An outcry, or auction by open bidding, converted the personal effects of the dead into cash for the estate. This shows how movable property was realised and accounts settled when a settler died on the island. The bill for deal boards and spars points to the island's reliance on imported timber. Deal was softwood plank and spars were poles for masts or building, neither readily available on St Helena. Their sale between settlers shows construction materials arriving by ship and circulating through private dealing under the Company's oversight.
140	132	Jan.y Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday yr 14t day of January 1717/18 at the Honl Compys Plantation house. Isa Pyke Esqr Govr Geo Haswell Depy Prest Matthr Bazett 3 & Antipas Tovey 4 in Counl The last Consultatn read & Approved of The foll: Petitr were Apsented (Vizt) Isld St Helena To yr Worshl Is. Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The humd Petn of Is. Wood & Jno Vesey Church W Sheweth That yor Petitrs have an Offer to have 300. foot of paving Cutt Stone, of Jonn Higham Youngest Sons Cutting for 18 d pr foot & be lieve We might have it Cheaper if yor Worshl &c will pleas to Grant Us the Liberty to Purchase yr same, the Stone being dugg in yor Quarry in Sandy bay, wch will Save a great Deal of Charge to yr parish & be yr means of our being able to finish yr pav ing yr Country Church much Sooner then if We were to Wait yr Cutting of Stone else were & yor petitr as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c. (Signd) Isaac Wood the 14th of Janr 1717/18 James Vesey We	At a consultation held at the Company's plantation house on Tuesday 14 January 1718. Present were Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented. Isaac Wood and James Vesey, churchwardens, brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. They had an offer of 300 feet of paving cut stone from the youngest son of Jonathan Higham, who was cutting it at 18d a foot. They believed they might have it cheaper if the Governor and Council would grant them leave to buy it. The stone was dug in the Company's quarry in Sandy Bay. Buying it would save the parish a great deal of expense. It would also let them finish paving the country church much sooner than if they waited for stone to be cut elsewhere. The petition was dated 14 January 1718 and signed by Isaac Wood and James Vesey. Interpretations The churchwardens request shows the parish managing the cost of a public works project through the council. Paving the country church was a parish charge, and the wardens sought the cheapest source of stone to spare parish funds. Their petition reveals the financial planning behind church maintenance and the wardens duty to obtain value for the parish. The stone coming from the Company's quarry in Sandy Bay explains why leave was needed to buy it. The quarry was Company property, so private purchase of its stone required official permission. This shows the Company's control over the island's natural resources, with even building stone for the church subject to its grant. The price of 18d a foot, set by Higham's son, gave the wardens a benchmark they hoped to better with the council's leave. By bringing the offer before the council, they sought to use official sanction to secure stone more cheaply than the open rate. This reflects how access to Company resources could lower costs for a public undertaking.
141	133	1717/18 We are very willing to contribute & Asist	The council was very willing to help the churchwardens pave the church. It could not, however,

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		yr Church Wardens in Paving yr Church Yett We canot Suffer Jonn Higham to Sell any of yr Honl Compys Stones But if they will hire yr Men to Cutt ym We will give them yr Stone or We will lett ym have two of yr Honl Compys Blacks to Cutt Stone, they Sending two other good hands to Work at Planting in their Rooms. Isld St Helena To yr Worshl Isa Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The Petitr of Jane Mudge Most humbly Sheweth That Whereas yor petitir having for a long time past layn in a very weak & miserable condition & not ma ny case can help my Self or turn my Self in my Bed having yr Use of my Limbs by the hand of Almighty God taken from me & now being Worse then ever I was, with yr greatness of my pain & Misery together, yt with lying so long in this condition that yr very blood gusheth out of both my Sides wch is a great pain & tormt to my Aged Years & by my great Misfortune am afraid of coming to yr parish having yr greatest part of wt I have wasted & confounded having Scarce a Yam or any thing left me in my Plantation &	let Higham sell any of the Company's stone. If the wardens would hire men to cut it, the council would give them the stone. Alternatively, it would lend them two of the Company's slaves to cut stone, provided the wardens sent two other good hands to work at planting in their place. Jane Mudge brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. She had lain for a long time in a very weak and miserable condition. She could scarcely help herself or turn over in her bed, having lost the use of her limbs by the hand of God. She was now worse than ever, with the greatness of her pain and misery. From lying so long in this condition, the very blood gushed out of both her sides, which caused great pain and torment in her old age. By her great misfortune she was afraid of falling on the parish. She had wasted and consumed the greatest part of what she had, with scarcely a yam or anything left her in her plantation. [...] Interpretations The council's refusal to let Higham sell Company stone, while offering to give it directly, distinguished between unauthorised private profit and sanctioned public use. Higham's son could not trade in the Company's stone for his own gain, yet the council would supply the same stone for the church. This shows the Company guarding its resources against private dealing while supporting a public charge. The offer to lend slaves for cutting in exchange for replacement planting labour reveals the careful management of the Company's workforce. The slaves were a fixed labour asset, so diverting two to the quarry required two others to take their place at planting. This swap kept the agricultural work uninterrupted while meeting the church's need, showing labour treated as a resource to be balanced. Jane Mudge's petition records the plight of the aged and infirm poor with no means of support. Bedridden and destitute, she faced becoming a charge on the parish. Her appeal to the council shows the mechanism by which the helpless sought relief, and the parish's role as the last resort for those unable to maintain themselves. The fear of falling on the parish reflects the social and financial weight of poor relief on the island. To become a parish charge was both a personal humiliation and a cost to the community. Her dread of this outcome, even in extreme suffering, reveals how the burden of supporting the destitute shaped the expectations of the poor themselves.
142	134	Jan.y & looking for my house to fall & kill me as I ly in my Bed, my Nursing being very ordinary, & my keeping very low for I am so kept yt I canot gett One Morsel to put in my head for two or three days together that with pain greif & hunger it forces me to apply my Self to yor Worshl & Council hop ing yt yr will take my miserable condicon into yor most Serious consideration to lett my Son in Law Saml Jepsey take me home to his house where I shall be taken care of & my Youngest Grand daughter likewise till She is of Age or Marriage wth yor Worshl & Councils permission for yr little Subsistance I have left Me & yor petr shall in duty be ever bound to pray Jane her X Mudge marke The Govr Sayes yt is a very difficult point there being heirs to this Estate. He thinks She has not power to Sell it & He also thinks yt if Some body could be found to take yr Old Woman & maintain her dur ing Life it would be better for the next	Jane Mudge feared her house would fall and kill her as she lay in her bed. Her nursing was very poor and her keeping very low. She was so confined that she could not get a single morsel to eat for two or three days together. Pain, grief and hunger forced her to apply to the council. She hoped it would take her miserable condition into serious consideration, and let her son-in-law Samuel Jepsey take her home to his house, where she would be cared for, along with her youngest granddaughter, until the girl came of age or married. She asked the council's permission for what little she had left her. The petition was signed by Jane Mudge with her mark. The Governor said this was a very difficult point, there being heirs to the estate. He thought she had no power to sell it. He also thought that, if someone could be found to take the old woman and maintain her for life, it would be better for the next heir at law to take immediate possession of the estate and pay the charges of her maintenance. [...] Interpretations Jane Mudge's request to be taken in by her son-in-law shows the family as the first line of support for the helpless. Rather than fall on the parish, she sought to

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		Heir at Law to take immediate possession of yr Estate & pay yr Charges of her maintenance But	place herself and her granddaughter in a relative's household. This reflects the expected order of care, where kin bore responsibility before the community, with the parish as the last resort. The Governor's view that she lacked power to sell her estate raised the legal constraint of heirs interests. Because others stood to inherit, she could not freely dispose of the property to fund her own care. This protected the inheritance against depletion by the life tenant, the same principle at issue in the Gargen will heard days earlier. The Governor's proposed solution tied maintenance to inheritance through a single arrangement. The heir would take the estate at once and, in return, bear the cost of the old woman's keep for life. This linked the benefit of inheritance to the burden of supporting the holder, a practical device for providing care without selling off the property the heir was entitled to. The provision for the granddaughter until age or marriage shows the council's concern for dependent minors within a relief arrangement. The girl's future was bound up with her grandmother's, and any settlement had to account for her care until she could support herself or pass to a husband's keeping. This reflects the layered dependency that poor relief had to address.
143	135	1717/18 But yr Govr Sayes he does not give this as a Determining Judgmt for yr Old woman has Grand children wch she has kept from yr parish, One of them having already been taken from ym by yr sd Widd Mudge & Therefore to prevent a New Charge upon the Inhabitants, He thinks it is proper to desire yr Church Wardens to call a Vestry as Soon as may be & Lett ym have this Petition to consider of & then yr Govr Saith for his part He shall be willing to do as they Shall advise. To the Worshl Isa Pyke Esqr Govr & Council of St Helena. The Petitr of Jno Hodgkinson Surg Mate. Humbly Sheweth That Whereas yor petitr has been Credibly informed That yr Bastard Child born of yr Body of Mercey Whaley Single Woman is a Black Child & consequently yor petr cannot be Supposed to be yr Father of it Yor petr therefore humbly begs yt yor Worshl would pleas to Grant & direct yt a Jury of Matrons may be required to View yr sd Child & make report thereof to yor Worship &c concerning yr ymiss, & that if it proves to be the Child of a Blackman Yor petr may be cleared of	The Governor said he did not give this as a final judgment. The old woman had grandchildren whom she had kept off the parish, one of them already taken from the parish by the widow Mudge. To prevent a new charge on the inhabitants, he thought it proper to ask the churchwardens to call a vestry as soon as possible. They should consider this petition, and the Governor said that, for his part, he would do as they advised. John Hodgkinson, surgeon's mate, brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. He had been credibly informed that the illegitimate child born to Mercy Whaley, a single woman, was a Black child. He therefore could not be supposed to be its father. He asked the council to direct that a jury of matrons be required to view the child and report to the council on its colour. If it proved to be the child of a Black man, Hodgkinson asked to be cleared of [...] Interpretations The referral to a vestry placed the decision on Jane Mudge's relief with the parish assembly responsible for the poor. The vestry was the body of parishioners that set and administered poor relief, so the churchwardens were to convene it to consider her case. This shows the Governor deferring a matter of parish charge to the proper local authority rather than deciding it alone. The Governor's concern to prevent a new charge on the inhabitants reveals poor relief as a direct burden on the ratepayers. Every dependent added to the parish increased the cost borne by the community. His care to avoid a fresh charge, while noting the grandchildren already kept off the parish, shows the constant pressure to limit the number falling on public support. Hodgkinson's request for a jury of matrons invoked a recognised procedure for determining facts of paternity and childbirth. A panel of experienced women was empowered to examine a child or a pregnant woman and report. Here the matrons were to judge the child's colour, treating physical appearance as evidence of paternity to free Hodgkinson from the maintenance charge laid on him. The defence that the child was a Black child, and so not his, rested on visible parentage to overturn the earlier finding. Hodgkinson had been judged the father and bound to pay, but he now sought to disprove it by the child's appearance. This shows how questions of paternity and the resulting financial liability could be

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			contested through bodily evidence assessed by an appointed panel.
144	136	Jan.y of his Fine & all other penalties relating thereto. & yor pet. (as in duty bound) Shall ever pray. &c (Signd) John Hodgkinson Orderd That yr Mother & the Bastard Child be brought here next Consultatn day. & that yr Midwife also be Sumond then to attend. To the Worshl Isa Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council of St Helena. The humd Petitt of Wm Slaughter Humbly Sheweth That Whereas yor pet having lately bought a Small Estate of Jno Hodgkin son (Surgeon's Mate of yr sd Isld) & Eldest Son & Heir Apparent to Capt Geo. Hodgkinson late Dep Govr of sd Isld) comonly known by yr name of holm Slack. in the County of Lancaster in Great Britain Your pet humbly prays yt yr sd Jno Hodgkinson may confirm yr same to him by Sealing Signing & delivering Such Writings conveyances, Settlements &c as may effecteally Entitle yor pet. to a full free & Lawfull enjoymt of yr sd Estate & Likewise yt Such Writings conveyances &c may be Registered in yr Honl Compys Books upon this Island as a further confirmation of yor Petitts Lawfull right & Title to an Entire, peaceable & full possession thereof	Hodgkinson asked to be cleared of his fine and all other penalties relating to it. The petition was signed by John Hodgkinson. The council ordered that the mother and the illegitimate child be brought before it on the next consultation day, and that the midwife also be summoned to attend then. William Slaughter brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. He had lately bought a small estate from John Hodgkinson, surgeon's mate of the island and eldest son and heir apparent to the late Captain George Hodgkinson, Deputy Governor of the island. The estate was commonly known as Holm Slack, in the county of Lancaster in Great Britain. Slaughter asked that John Hodgkinson confirm the estate to him, by sealing, signing and delivering such conveyances and settlements as would effectively entitle him to the full and lawful enjoyment of it. He further asked that these conveyances be registered in the Company's books on the island, as a further confirmation of his lawful right and title to entire, peaceable and full possession. [...] Interpretations The summoning of mother, child and midwife shows the council assembling the evidence to resolve the contested paternity. The midwife could attest to the birth, while the child itself was to be viewed. Bringing all three before the council reflects a careful gathering of testimony and physical proof before a finding on Hodgkinson's liability. Slaughter's purchase of an estate in Lancashire records property dealings on the island concerning land in Britain. Holm Slack lay in England, yet its sale was transacted at St Helena between two residents. This shows how settlers carried interests in distant English property and traded it through the island's administration, far from where the land lay. The request to register the English conveyance in the Company's books reveals the island's records serving as a registry of title even for foreign land. Local registration gave Slaughter an additional safeguard of his claim, recorded where the parties resided. This shows the practical use of the Company's books to secure property rights across great distance, supplementing any conveyance made in England. The description of Hodgkinson as heir apparent to the late Deputy Governor established his right to convey the estate. His title as eldest son and heir gave him the standing to sell and confirm the property. Recording this lineage in the conveyance shows how inheritance and the authority to deal in land were tied to proof of descent.
145	137	1717/18 thereof & Yor pet. as in duty bound shall Janr 14t 1717/18 ever pray &c. (Signd) Wm Slaughter That to yr first part of this petitions request, he is Answerd that We have nothing to do with it But As To Registering any Writings about it he may Register what Writings he thinks fitt, yr party Signing them consenting to yr Same Island St Helena To the Worshl Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council The most humble petitt of Robert Bett planter & Mason Sheweth That the Lease Granted to yor petitts predecessor Praise Pledger for Ten Acres of Land next yr Woody Ridg (whereon yor pet has built a hous) is expired & Since yr Land has been in yor petr possession he had Liberty Granted	Slaughter's petition was dated 14 January 1718 and signed by William Slaughter. To the first part of his request, the council answered that it had nothing to do with the matter. As to registering any writings about it, however, he might register what documents he thought fit, provided the party signing them consented. Robert Bell, planter and mason, brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. The lease granted to his predecessor, Praise Pledger, for 10 acres of land next to the Woody Ridge, where Bell had built a house, had expired. Since the land had been in Bell's possession, he had been given leave to take in 15 acres more adjoining it. He had been promised a lease for the whole, for 21 years, in Governor Roberts's time, which he never received. He had ever since paid the full rents and revenues for the whole 25 acres of land. He now asked for a lease of the same, having been at great expense [...]

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		him to take in Fifteen Acres of Land more thereunto adjoining & was Promised a Lease for the whole for Sixty One Years in Geo. Roberts time (wch he never had) & has ever Since paid the full Rents & Revenues for the whole 25 Acres of Land Does Now humbly pray He may have a Lease for yr Same having been at great charges	Interpretations The council's distinction between the conveyance and its registration drew the line of its authority over the Lancashire estate. It would not involve itself in confirming title to English land, a matter beyond its proper concern. Yet it would record the documents if the parties agreed, showing the limit between adjudicating foreign property and merely registering private acts. Bell's payment of rent for 25 acres without ever receiving the promised lease reveals a gap between practice and formal title. He had occupied and paid for land on the strength of an unfulfilled promise from Governor Roberts's time. His petition shows the need to regularise a long-standing arrangement that had operated on payment alone, without the security a written lease would give. The expiry of the original lease to Praise Pledger and the grant of additional acres show how holdings grew and changed hands over time. Bell succeeded to Pledger's plot, added land, and built a house, consolidating a larger holding. This illustrates the incremental way settlers enlarged their estates, subject to the council's grant and the obligation to obtain proper title. The requirement of a written lease to secure tenure underlines the value of documented title over mere possession. Despite years of occupation and rent, Bell sought the formal instrument that alone gave lasting right. This shows that on the island, as in England, a recorded lease was the foundation of secure landholding, protecting investment such as the house he had built.
146	138	Jan.y charges in Building a Hous thereon, Fencing in yr Land & making a Plantation, But is Willing if yr Worshl &c think fitt to part with Three Acres of that Land to his Son in Law (Benj. Pledger to become Tenant to the Honl Compa for yr Same Whereon he may build an Hous the sd Benj Pledger having but five Acrs of Land at Present of his Own wch is not fitt to Build upon being in yr Mountain part of yr Country & yor pet. as in duty bound Shall the 5t Janr 1717/18 ever pray. &c (Signd) Robt Bell. The pet. is Answerd That We are willing to lett him have a Lease for Three Lives or One & Twenty Years (which he will) As to his Son Benj. Pledger he may either lett his Son have it Out of his Twenty five Acrs of hired Land or take up So much less & We will Grant Benj. Pledger a Lease for yr said three Acrs to him self. Island St Helena To the Worshl Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c Counl The humble Petitin of Thos Swallow plantr Most humbly Sheweth That yor petition. has a Hous Scituate in the Fort Valley which has been possessd by	Bell had been at great expense building a house, fencing the land and making a plantation. He was willing, if the council thought fit, to part with 3 acres of that land to his son-in-law Benjamin Pledger. Pledger would become a tenant of the Company for it, and could build a house there. He had only 5 acres of his own at present, which were not fit to build on, being in the mountain part of the country. The petition was dated 5 January 1718 and signed by Robert Bell. The council answered that it was willing to grant Bell a lease for three lives or 21 years, whichever he chose. As to his son Benjamin Pledger, Bell might either let his son have land out of his 25 acres of hired land, or take up so much less himself. The council would then grant Benjamin Pledger a lease for the 3 acres to himself. Thomas Swallow, planter, brought a petition before Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the Council. He had a house in the Fort Valley which had been held [...] Interpretations The council's offer of a choice between three lives and 21 years gave Bell the same option of tenure form seen in earlier grants. A lease for three lives ran until the last named person died, while a term of years expired on a fixed date. Letting the holder choose shows the flexibility of the Company's leasing, fitting the form to the tenant's preference. The arrangement for Benjamin Pledger's land balanced a new grant against the existing holding. Rather than simply adding acres, the council required that Pledger's 3 acres come out of Bell's 25, or that Bell reduce his own take accordingly. This kept the total leased land in check while accommodating the son-in-law, showing careful control over how much land each household held. The unsuitability of Pledger's mountain land for building points to the varied quality of holdings across the island. His 5 acres lay in terrain unfit for a house, prompting the request for better-placed land. This reflects how the island's broken landscape made some

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			plots usable only for grazing or rough cultivation, while building required level and accessible ground. The transfer of land within a family, from Bell to his son-in-law, shows how settlers provided for the next generation through the leasing system. By carving off part of his holding, Bell helped establish Pledger as an independent tenant. The council's role in approving and re-leasing the land reveals its oversight of these family arrangements.
147	139	1717/18 by him & his Father many Years Which house had formerly & as he humbly hopes Still ought to have a pice of Ground behind it of yr same breadth as the Front of the house which Servd for a Yard & Garden to it But it So happend That about One or two & twenty Years ago, the greatest part of yr sd Backside was forcibly taken away from him by One John Feild then Serjt of yr Guards & when yor petittr made com plaint of yr Injustice done him he was made to beleive yt in his liquor he had Sign a Writing calld a Deed of Gift by wch the sd Backside was made over & Granted to yr sd Jno Feild But yor petittr Asures yor Worshl & Council that altho this pretended Writing wch they have charged him to have Signd did deter him from further Suit about it Yet he does not know nor remember that he ever Signd any Such Writing & is Sure if he did So that it was done in his liquor & was a trick put upon him & he has Since enquired & doth not find any Such Deed or Writing Registerd in yr Secretary's Office & therefore he hopes yt Since they have not performd yr Honl Compys Ordees in Registering the	The house had been held by Swallow and his father for many years. He hoped he still ought to have a piece of ground behind it, of the same breadth as the front of the house, which had served as a yard and garden. About 21 or 22 years ago, however, the greater part of that back ground had been forcibly taken from him by John Field, then sergeant of the guards. When Swallow complained of the injustice done him, he was made to believe that, while in drink, he had signed a deed of gift, by which the back ground was made over to Field. Swallow assured the council that, although they had charged him with signing this supposed document and so deterred him from further suit, he did not know or remember ever signing any such writing. He was sure that, if he did, it was done while in drink, and was a trick played upon him. He had since inquired and could find no such deed or writing registered in the secretary's office. He therefore hoped that, since they had not carried out the Company's orders in registering [...] Interpretations Swallow's case turned on the requirement that a deed be registered to take effect. He argued that the alleged deed of gift to Field appeared in no register at the secretary's office. The absence of registration, contrary to the Company's orders, gave him ground to challenge a conveyance he claimed never knowingly to have made. The defence that he signed while in drink raised the question of valid consent to a deed. A conveyance required the willing act of a sober party, so a signature obtained from a man not in command of himself could be impeached. Swallow's plea sought to void the deed by attacking the capacity in which it was supposedly executed. The forcible taking of his garden ground decades earlier shows how disputes over small parcels could persist unresolved for a generation. The loss dated back 21 or 22 years, yet Swallow now revived the claim. This reveals that an old grievance, once suppressed by an apparent deed, could be reopened when the foundation of that deed was questioned. The Company's order requiring registration of deeds served to create a reliable public record of title. Where that order was not followed, a conveyance lacked the proof registration would supply. Swallow relied on this very failure, turning the Company's own procedural rule into the basis for recovering his ground.
148	140	Jan.y the sd Writing wch by Some trick or other they might cause him in his liquor to Sign, they never having given him any Valueable con sideration for yr same yt yr sd Writing may not be allowed as an Authentick Evidence to Ali enate or take from him his Just property. Yor petittr also represents to yor Worshl & Council That there was a Small Lane or Publick passage comonly called Swallow's alley, he having a room yt went over it ad joining to yr next house & yr passage went quite thro to yr Mountain wch dividys yr Forts from Ruperts Vally wch passage or alley he humbly conceives does belong to yr Honble Lords Proprietors as well as all other Publick ways	The supposed document, which by some trick or other they might have caused him to sign while in drink, was made without their ever giving him any valuable consideration for it. Swallow hoped, therefore, that the writing might not be allowed as authentic evidence to take from him his rightful property. Swallow also told the council that there was a small lane, or public passage, commonly called Swallow's Alley. He had a room that went over it, adjoining the next house. The passage ran right through to the mountain that divides the Fort from Rupert's Valley. He believed this passage belonged to the Lords Proprietors, like all other public ways. By the favour of several Governors, namely Governor Poirier, Goodwin, Roberts and Boucher, he had been allowed the use of the narrow passage.

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		& by yr Favour of Several Governours (Vizt) Boucher & yr Govr Poirier, Goodwin, Roberts & yor Worshl yor Petitr has been allowed yr Use of yr narrow pas sage. But So it is yt Wm Beale a Punch man who has lately purchased yr adjoining house formerly belonging to Serjt Feild hes not only withheld your petitr from yr proper Use & & occupation of yr ground behind his sd House but also threatens him to Wall up his back door & hinder him from yr Use of yr sd Narrow passage	So it happened, however, that William Beale, a punch-house keeper who had lately bought the adjoining house formerly belonging to Sergeant Field, had not only withheld from Swallow the proper use of the ground behind his house. He also threatened to wall up Swallow's back door and hinder him from using the narrow passage. [...] Interpretations Swallow's argument on the lack of consideration attacked the deed on a further legal ground. A valid conveyance required something of value to pass in exchange, and he claimed Field gave nothing. The absence of consideration, joined to his impaired state, was offered as proof that the deed could not lawfully strip him of his property. The status of Swallow's Alley as a public way belonging to the Lords Proprietors raised the distinction between private and common ground. As a public passage, it could not be appropriated by a private owner. Swallow invoked this to resist Beale's threat to wall it off, asserting that the alley's public character placed it beyond private enclosure. Beale's purchase of Field's house transferred the dispute to a new owner who pressed it further. Having bought the adjoining property, Beale sought to consolidate his ground by closing Swallow's access. This shows how a contested boundary could be inherited with a property and escalated, as a new holder asserted rights his predecessor had only begun to claim. The succession of Governors who had allowed Swallow the use of the passage built a case from long official tolerance. By naming Poirier, Goodwin, Roberts and Boucher, he showed that successive administrations had recognised his use. This appeal to established practice under several Governors lent weight to his claim against the new owner's attempt to cut off his access.
149	141	1717/18 passage pretending shall have occasion for it to make drinking places for his Customers wch if it be allowed will be a vast prejudice to yor petr & make his new dwelling house of less then half yr Value Wherefore yor pet. prays yt he may be allowed to keep & Use So much ground on yr backside of his house as really belongs to him or at least yt yr Lords Proprietors passage may not be taken from him Yett because yor petitr conceives he has a Just right according to yr Custom of this place to Use so much extent of ground as yr breadth of yr House contains prays yt yr sd Wm Beale may be Obliged to produce Such writing or Voucher of yr his unjust demand being willing to leave yr same intirely to yr Wisdom & prudence of yor Worshl & Council yt if yr sd Wm Beal has a real right & legal & Instrument for yr same his perplexity may be at an end But in case yr sd Beal canot Shew a proper & Authentick Writing to entitle him to yr Land on yr backside of yor petitr house yt yr yor pet. may have Liberty to enjoy yr same in peace so far as yr breadth of his house extends & Yor pet. as in duty bound shall yr 14t Janr 1717/18 for ever pray &c. (Signd) Thos Swallow yt no	Beale claimed he would need the passage to make drinking places for his customers. If this were allowed, it would be a great injury to Swallow, and would make his new dwelling house worth less than half its value. Swallow therefore asked to be allowed the use of as much ground behind his house as rightly belonged to him. At the least, he asked that the Lords Proprietors passage not be taken from him. Since Swallow believed he had a just right, by the custom of the place, to use as much ground as the breadth of his house covered, he asked that Beale be required to produce any writing or voucher for his unjust demand. Swallow was willing to leave the whole matter to the judgment of the council. If Beale had a real and lawful right and a legal instrument for the ground, Swallow's difficulty would be at an end. If Beale could not show a proper and authentic writing to entitle him to the land behind Swallow's house, however, Swallow asked to be allowed to enjoy it in peace, so far as the breadth of his house extended. The petition was dated 14 January 1718 and signed by Thomas Swallow. Interpretations Swallow's challenge shifted the burden onto Beale to prove his title by a written instrument. He asked the council to require Beale to produce a deed or voucher for the ground. By demanding documentary proof, Swallow turned the dispute on the same point of registration and authentic writing that underlay his attack on the original deed to Field. The custom entitling a holder to ground equal to the breadth of his house reveals a local rule governing the curtilage of a dwelling. By this usage, a house carried with it a defined strip of ground behind it. Swallow invoked this customary measure to fix the extent of his rightful claim, independent of any disputed deed.

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			The threat to Beale's plan of drinking places against the value of Swallow's house shows two competing commercial uses of adjoining property. Beale, a punch-house keeper, wanted the ground for his trade, while Swallow needed it to preserve his home's worth. The dispute pitted one owner's business expansion against another's property value, a conflict the council was asked to resolve. Swallow's willingness to abide by the council's judgment reflects confidence that the absence of a registered deed would decide the case in his favour. He framed the matter so that documentary proof, or its lack, would be conclusive. This shows a litigant using the requirement of formal title to convert an uncertain boundary dispute into a clear test of evidence.
150	142	Jan.y Mr Beale was present & produced a Deed of Gift as he called it for yr backside of yr Said Swallows house wch is as foll: (Vizt) Isld St Helena Articles of Agreeemt made & concluded between John Feild of yr sd St Helena Serj. of yr One part & Thos Swallow of yr sd Isld planter on yr other part Witnesseth That yr sd Jno Feild doth for himself his heirs Exrs Admr & Assignes or any of ym Coven. & agree to & wth yr sd Thos Swallow yt he or his heirs or Assigns for ever Shall peaceably enjoy & occupy from time to time & all times henceforth a peell of ground yt abt 8 feet Scituate & being in Chapple Vally town adjoining to yr backside of yr Said Feilds & Swallows Hous in Chapple Vally & yr sd eight feet of growne extending backwards to yr sd Feilds Side post of his sd house next unto the sd backpart of yr sd Swallows House & by these prsents the sd Jno Feild doth for himself his heirs or Assignr or any of ym for him or in his name relinquish unto yr sd Thos Swallow his heirs or Assignes for ever all yr right Title & Interest yt yr sd Jno Feild has or any of his heirs or Assignes may on yr sd growne That yr sd Thos Swallow for himself his heirs Exrs Admr or Assignes or any of ym doth Coven. & agree to & wth yr sd Jno Feild yt he yr sd Swallow Shall remove &c	Beale was present and produced a deed of gift, as he called it, for the back ground of Swallow's house. It ran as follows. These were articles of agreement made between John Field of St Helena, sergeant, of the one part, and Thomas Swallow of St Helena, planter, of the other part. Field covenanted, for himself, his heirs, administrators and assigns, that Swallow and his heirs or assigns would peaceably enjoy and occupy, from time to time and for ever thereafter, a piece of ground about 8 feet wide. It was in Chapel Valley town, adjoining the back of Field and Swallow's houses in Chapel Valley. The 8 feet of ground extended backwards to Field's side post of his house, next to the back part of Swallow's house. By these articles Field relinquished to Swallow and his heirs or assigns, for ever, all the right, title and interest that he or his heirs or assigns might have in that ground. In return, Swallow covenanted, for himself, his heirs, administrators and assigns, with Field, that Swallow would remove [...] Interpretations The deed Beale produced directly contradicted his own claim and supported Swallow. Far from conveying the back ground to Field, the articles secured Swallow's perpetual enjoyment of an 8-foot strip. This reversal shows how the production of a document could undo the party relying on it, since the writing proved the opposite of what Beale asserted. The articles of agreement took the form of mutual covenants between the two parties. Each side bound himself and his heirs to obligations running with the land for ever. This reciprocal structure, with promises on both parts, distinguishes a true agreement from a one-sided gift, and fixed the rights of future owners as well as the original parties. The precise definition of the 8-foot strip by reference to the houses and a side post shows how boundaries were fixed in a crowded settlement. Lacking surveys, the parties tied the dimension to existing structures. This method of describing land by its physical relation to buildings reveals the practical means of marking small urban plots on the island. The binding of heirs and assigns in perpetuity reveals the intent to settle the boundary permanently between the properties. The covenant was not personal but attached to the land itself. This shows the parties seeking to prevent exactly the kind of future dispute that had now arisen, by fixing the rights of all who came after them.
151	143	1717/18 or cause to be removed at his Own proper charge & cost a Window now being at yr sd Feilds backpart of his house next to yr sd Thos Swallow unto yr other part or Side of his back door & fill up yr breach yt shall be made by yr removing of yr sd Window & yr sd Swallow doth further Coven.	Swallow was to remove, at his own cost, a window then at the back of Field's house next to Swallow's, to the other side of his back door. He was to fill up the breach made by removing the window. Swallow further covenanted, for himself, his heirs and assigns, that he would not erect any kind of upright roof on any building. Nor would he, or anyone else for him, erect

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		& agree for himself his heirs or Assignes or any of them shall not Erect or Pitch any Sort of Up right roof to any building yt he or any other person for himself his heirs or Assigns shall erect on yr sd eight foot of growne or any part thereof & further doth for himself his heirs or Assignes for ever relinquish all yr right whatsoever he or any of ym hath or may have in any further growne backwards then yr eight foot aforesd. In Witness whereof both partys have interchangeably Sett to their hands & Seals to these presents yr first day of July 1695 (Signd) Thos Swallow (Sd Sald & dd in yr presence of James Reder. John Vernon Upon Examining this Deed the Govr Sayes yt at yr time of making it there was certainly some Land Alionated by Some body altho No Valueable consideration be therein men hond but according to this Writing yr Land then Granted from Feild to Swallow does belong to Swallow for yr Grant therein made by Feild & Feild	anything on the 8 feet of ground or any part of it. He further relinquished, for himself and his heirs for ever, all right to any further ground backwards beyond the 8 feet. In witness of this, both parties had set their hands and seals to these articles on 1 July 1695. The deed was signed by Thomas Swallow, sealed and delivered in the presence of James Reder and John Vernon. On examining the deed, the Governor said that at the time it was made, some land had certainly been transferred by someone. Although no valuable consideration was mentioned in it, by this writing the land then granted from Field to Swallow belonged to Swallow. The grant in it was made by Field [...] Interpretations The Governor's reading of the deed settled the dispute on the document's own terms. He found that, whatever the lack of stated consideration, the writing granted the ground from Field to Swallow. This shows the council resolving a contested boundary by close construction of the instrument, holding the parties to what the deed actually conveyed rather than to either side's later assertions. The mutual covenants reveal a carefully balanced bargain between the two neighbours. Swallow gained the 8-foot strip but accepted real restrictions, agreeing not to build or roof on it and to move and seal a window. The exchange of benefit for limitation shows how adjoining owners traded rights to fix a workable boundary between their cramped properties. The Governor's observation on the absence of consideration addressed a potential weakness in the deed. Lacking a stated price, the document might have been open to challenge as a mere gift. Yet the Governor treated it as effective to pass the land, showing that on the island a sealed and witnessed agreement could convey property even without recited consideration. The restrictions on building and roofing protected the shared light and space between the houses. By barring any structure on the strip, the covenant preserved access and prevented one owner from crowding the other. This reveals the practical concerns of dense settlement, where the use of a few feet of ground bore directly on the value and amenity of neighbouring dwellings. Speculations The cluster of restrictions Swallow accepted suggests the deed solved a specific problem of light and access between two houses built back to back. Field gave up the 8-foot strip, but only against Swallow's promise to raise no roof and build nothing on it, and to move and seal the window overlooking it. The bargain reads as a negotiated settlement of a daylight and overlooking dispute, with each man surrendering something to secure an open gap between the dwellings rather than a simple transfer of land. The choice of articles of agreement with reciprocal covenants, rather than a plain deed of gift, points to a deliberate structuring of the arrangement to bind both sides. A one-way gift would have left Field with no enforceable hold over what Swallow did on the strip. By framing it as mutual promises running to heirs and assigns, the parties built in a permanent restraint on building, anticipating that future owners might try to encroach. The form was chosen to make the limitation, not just the grant, last.
152	144	Jan.y Feild had no power to Grant any Land but his Own & if yr Land were his own yr grant is good to Swallow if yr Land were Swallows be fore Such a grant of Feilds to Swallow cannot lessen Swallow title but if ever Swallow had any Title to yr Land behind his hous such a	Field had no power to grant any land but his own. If the land was his own, his grant to Swallow was good. If the land was Swallow's already, then a grant from Field to Swallow could not lessen Swallow's title. Either way, if Swallow ever had any title to the ground behind his house, a grant such as this could never make it invalid.

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		grant as this can never make it invalid But the Govr Sayes it Seems to him yt when Swallow as he alleadges was made drunk yt yr Clerk who wrote yr deed gott drunk with him & so he putt in Swallows name instead of Feilds & Feilds instead of Swallows all thro yr paper But be that as it will, either this paper is a good deed or it is not if it be a good if it be a good deed then all yr Land is Swallows because it is so mentioned in this paper but if yr paper be not Good then Beal who is Feilds Successor can have no claime by Vertue of yr Paper & as he has no other Swallow is at Liberty to Use So much of yr ground behind his house as the breadth of his house contains but as to yr passage it is a pice of arragancy in Beale to lay any claim to it Whereupon Beal demanded to have a Tryal by a Jury for his right to yr Land in Dispute Orderd That if they cannot otherwise agree they	The Governor said it seemed to him that, when Swallow was made drunk as he claimed, the clerk who wrote the deed had got drunk with him. He had therefore put Swallow's name in place of Field's, and Field's in place of Swallow's, throughout the paper. Be that as it might, the paper was either a good deed or it was not. If it was good, then all the land was Swallow's, since the paper said so. If the paper was not good, then Beale, as Field's successor, could have no claim by it. Since Beale had no other title, Swallow was free to use as much of the ground behind his house as the breadth of his house covered. As to the passage, it was a piece of arbitrary ground, and it was wrong of Beale to lay any claim to it. Beale then demanded a trial by jury for his right to the disputed land. The council ordered that, if the parties could not otherwise agree, [...] Interpretations The Governor's reasoning trapped Beale in a dilemma from which no claim could survive. If the deed was valid, its words gave the land to Swallow. If it was invalid, it gave Beale nothing. Either reading defeated Beale, since his only title rested on the very paper that, whether good or bad, could not support his claim. This shows the council disposing of a case by testing both branches of an argument to a single conclusion. The suggestion that the clerk reversed the names while drunk addressed the strange fact that the deed favoured the party now resisting it. The Governor accounted for the document granting to Swallow what Field was thought to have taken. This reveals how a scrivener's error could distort a legal instrument, and how the council read around such a flaw to reach the substance. The principle that Field could convey only his own land states a basic rule of title running through the dispute. A grantor cannot give what he does not hold, so the deed's effect depended on whose land it truly was. The Governor applied this to show that, on any view of ownership, the deed could not strip Swallow of a title he already had. Beale's demand for a jury trial after the Governor's adverse reasoning shows the right to put a disputed title to a jury despite an unfavourable opinion. The council's view did not foreclose his recourse to trial. This reflects the procedural guarantee that a contested claim to land could be determined by a sworn panel, even where the presiding officer had signalled his own conclusion. Speculations The council's order making a jury trial conditional on the parties failing to agree suggests a deliberate push toward settlement over litigation. Rather than grant Beale's demand outright, the council held the trial in reserve, giving the neighbours a last chance to compose the boundary themselves. The structure shows the council managing a petty dispute economically, reserving the jury for genuine deadlock and nudging two householders to resolve a few feet of ground without the cost and formality of a full trial.
153	145	1717/18 they Shall have a Tryal & Beal is at Liberty to bring in his Declaration the other (Vizt) Thos Swallow being willing to refer yr whole to the Council but Beale refuses it. The Gunr brought in his Monthly Account as followeth. (Vizt) An Acctt of Gunrs Stores expended from Decembr yr 1t 1717 to yr 31. d Inclusive 1717 Xber 3 To Mr Cason for exercising yr Garrison 6 22 An Alarm 4 4	If the parties could not agree, there would be a trial, and Beale was free to bring in his declaration. Swallow was willing to refer the whole matter to the council, but Beale refused. The gunner brought in his monthly account, as follows. This was an account of gunner's stores used from 1 December 1717 to 31 December inclusive. 3 December, to Mr Cason for exercising the garrison: 6 pounds 22 December, an alarm: 4 The same day, on the arrival of the <i>King William</i>, Captain Winter commander, from India: 11 To the guard: 9

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		Do Arrived yr King Wm Capt Winter Comdr & Jordie 11 11. To yr Guard 9 Muskett balls for yr Guard 2 Flints for do 60. Aprons of Lead 2 Match 14 14 2 60 2 15 30 1/2 (Signd) Jno French. Capt Bazett brought in an Acct. of Store Goods Sold, for the Months of Augt & Septr 1717. as foll: (Vizt) An Acctt of Store Goods Sold & deliverd to the Inhabitants, Union Castle & Plantation hous from July yr 25t 1717 to September yr 25t following (Vizt) Arrack	Musket balls for the guard: 2 Flints for the guard: 60 Aprons of lead: 2 Match used: 14 The totals stood at 14, 2, 60, 2, 15, 30. The account was signed by John French. Captain Bazett brought in an account of store goods sold for the months of August and September 1717, as follows. This was an account of store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, Union Castle and the plantation house, from 25 July 1717 to 25 September following. [...] Interpretations The powder spent on the arrival of the <i>King William</i> records the salute fired to greet an incoming ship. A volley marked the arrival of a vessel from India, both as a courtesy and a signal. Charging the powder to the gunner's stores shows the cost of this maritime ceremony entered against the Company's account, as with the burial salute noted earlier. The aprons of lead among the stores point to a fitting used in gunnery. A lead apron covered the touch-hole or vent of a cannon to protect it and keep the charge dry between firings. Its inclusion in the monthly account shows the range of small materials the gunner had to draw and account for in maintaining the island's guns. The powder issued for an alarm on 22 December records a response to a perceived threat or emergency. An alarm called the garrison to readiness, and powder was expended in the process. This entry shows the guns and men being brought to action stations, with the consumption of munitions logged even for a false or precautionary alert.
154	146	Jan.y Arrack 616. Galls 6/3 1/4 pr g 192 10 Sugar 1379 th 8 45 19 4 Wine 528. 16 Galls (Suces) 4 pr g 105 14 9 Brandy 16 1/4 Galls 9 pr g 7 6 3 Vineger 12 7/8 gall. 2/6 1 12 2 1/4 Rice 382 th 3 1/2 5 11 5 Soap 184 17 13 8 Oyls (Vizt) 3 1/2 gatt Sweet 12/ 1. 19 2 gatt Linseed 4 2 3 Tea 10 lb 9/ 4 1 6 108 1/2 Catties 9/ 57 16 6 62 11 Silk 39 3/4 Ounces 2/6 4 19 4 1/2 Thread 28 Or	Arrack: 616 gallons, at 6s 3³/₄d £192 10s 0d Sugar: 1,379 pounds, at 8d £45 19s 4d Wine, from the <i>Suaces</i>: 528 gallons 15 pints, at 4s £105 14s 9d Brandy: 16¹/₄ gallons, at 9s £7 6s 3d Vinegar: 12⁷/₈ gallons, at 2s 6d £1 12s 2¹/₄d Rice: 382 pounds, at 3¹/₂d £5 11s 5d Soap: 184 pounds, at 17d £13 8s 0d Sweet oil: 3¹/₂ gallons, at 12s £1 19s 0d Linseed oil: 2 gallons £4 2s 3d Tea: 10¹/₂ pounds, at 9s £4 14s 6d More tea: 128¹/₂ pounds, at 9s £57 16s 6d Sub-total for tea: £62 11s 0d Silk: 39³/₄ ounces, at 2s 6d £4 19s 4¹/₂d Thread: 28 ounces £11 15s 8d Thread: 75 ounces £13 4s 13d Thread: 15 ounces £15 18s 9d Thread: 1 ounce £17 1s 5d Thread: 1 ounce £24 2s 0d Thread: 1 ounce £30 5s 0d Thread: 1 ounce £40 3s 4d Thread: 5 ounces £42 17s 6d Sub-total for thread: £7 14s 11d Hooks and lines: Mackerel hooks number 2: 23 dozen, at 3 5s 9d Mackerel hooks: 3 dozen, at 7 15s 3d Mackerel hooks: 2¹/₂ dozen, at 16 3s 4d Mackerel hooks: 4 dozen, at 9 20s 6d Sub-total for hooks: 19s 6d Lines number 7: 6 dozen, at 10 5s 0d Lines: 4 dozen, at 8 11s 3d Lines: 1 dozen, at 9 13s 1d Lines: 13 dozen, at 13 31s 1d Lines: 1 dozen, at 15 38s 0d Sub-total for lines: 27s 0d Carried over: £4,529 4³/₄d Interpretations The fishing hooks and lines among the store goods point to the importance of fishing to the island's food

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		11 1 5 8 75 d 13 4 1 3 15 15. 18 9 1 17. 1 5 1 24. 2 1 30. 5 1 40. 3 4 5 42. 17 6 7 14 11 Hooks & Lines (Vizt) 23 doz Mackarel Hooks Nr 2 3 5 9 3 dos 15. 3 9 2 1/2 doz 16. 3 4 4 dos 9. 20. 6 8 1 9 6 6 doz Lines Nr 7 10. 5 4 do 8. 11. 3 8 1 do 9. 13. 1 1 13 do 13. 31 1. 13 7 1 do 15. 38. 2 7 Carried over £ 4529 4 1/4	supply. Mackerel hooks in quantity, sold by the dozen in several sizes, show that the inhabitants drew heavily on the surrounding sea. The Company stocked and sold the tackle, making the provision of fishing gear part of its role in feeding the settlement. The wine recorded as from the <i>Suarez</i> identifies the ship that carried it to the island. Linking a commodity to the vessel that brought it let the account track the origin of each consignment. This shows how store goods were sourced through the Company's shipping and entered against the particular voyage that supplied them. The textile materials of silk and thread in many grades reveal a market for sewing and clothing supplies among the settlers. With no local cloth production, the inhabitants depended on the store for the means to make and mend garments. The range of thread by the ounce shows fine gradations stocked to meet varied needs within a small community.
155	147	1717/18 Brought over £ 452 9 4 1/4 Tinn Ware 1. Funnell 5 1. do 2. 10 3. 1 3 Pins 18 m 1 1 6 Stationary Ware 1 Testamt 1/9 1 9 14 q paprs 1/4 188 1. 5 Packet 2. porringers A B 1/4 2 8 3. Basons 2/6 4. 7 6 5. do 3/10 6. 7 8 7. do 8. 4 9 9. do large 6/4 10. 19 11. porringers 1/6 12. 4 6 13. 2 6 1 Stockings 1 pair Thread A B 4 6 Ironmongers Ware (Vizt) 6. Chest Locks 7. 4/6 8. 1 7 9. do	Brought over: £4,529 4³/₄d Tinware, one funnel: 5d Another funnel: 10d Sub-total for tinware: 1s 3d Pins: 18 thousand 1s 1d 6d Stationery ware, one Testament: 1s 9d 1s 9d Paper: 14 quires, at 1s 4d 18s 8d Sub-total for stationery: 1s 5d Packet ware: Porringers AB: 2, at 1s 4d 2s 8d Basins: 3, at 2s 6d 7s 6d Basins: 2, at 3s 10d 7s 8d Basin: 1 4s 9d Large basins: 3, at 6s 4d 19s 0d Porringers: 3, at 1s 6d 4s 6d Sub-total for packet ware: £2 6s 1d Stockings, one pair of thread AB: 4s 6d Ironmongers ware: Chest locks: 6, at 4s 6d 17s 0d Chest lock: 1 2s 9d Chest locks: 2, at 2s 7d 5s 2d Box closet lock: 1 6s 8d Plate closet locks: 2, at 2s 7d 5s 2d Iron rim lock: 1 8s 0d Scythe and furniture: 1 8s 8d Spade shovels: 12, at 2s 6d £1 10s 0d Hoes: 4, at 2s 6d 10s 0d Edging bill: 1 2s 0d Spade number 2: 1 5s 9d Rubstone: 1 2s 9d Rubstone: 1 2d Pair of small hinges: 1 6d Pairs of side hinges: 2 2s 4d Pair of side hinges number 7: 1 1s 5¹/₂d Pairs: 4 10s 4d

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		10. 2 9 2 do 2/7 5 2 1. box Clossett Lock 2. 6 8 3. plate do 2/7 4. 5 2 5. Iron rim do 6. 8 7. Scyth & Furniture 8. 8 8 12 Spekett Shovells 2/6 1 10 4. Hoes 2/6 5. 10 6. Edging bill 2/ 7. 2 8. Spado Nr 2. 5/9 9. 5 9 10. Rub Stone 4/9 11. 2 9 12. do 13. 2 14. pr Small hinges 15. 6 16. pr Side Hinges 14 17. 2 4 18. pr do Nr 7 19. 1 5 1/2 20. pr do 21. 10 4 22. pr Smooth'd filed Hinges 20 23. 3 4 Ironmongery Carr over Carried over £ 457 13 1 1/4	Pairs of smoothed filed hinges: 2, at 20 3s 4d Ironmongery carried over: £4 7s [...] Carried over: £457 13s 1¼d Interpretations The ironmongery dominates the account and reveals the island's dependence on imported metal goods. Locks, hinges, scythes, spades and hoes all came by ship, since the island had no manufacture of its own. The range of tools and fittings shows the Company supplying the hardware needed for farming, building and securing property across the settlement. The chest and closet locks point to the value placed on securing goods within the home. Several types of lock, from chest to box to rim, were stocked for sale. In a small community where movable property mattered, the demand for locks reflects concern to protect possessions, and the Company met this need through its stores. The agricultural tools of spades, hoes and an edging bill confirm the cultivation that underpinned the island's economy. These implements, sold in quantity, were the means by which settlers worked their plantations and gardens. Their presence in the store account shows the Company furnishing the basic equipment of the island's farming life. The single Testament among the stationery marks the modest provision for religious and literate life. A Testament and quires of paper were the chief items of this kind. Their inclusion shows that, alongside food and tools, the store supplied the few materials for devotion and writing that the settlers required.
156	148	Jan.y Ironmongery br. over 6 13 3 1/2 457 13 1 1/4 1. pr of Dovetales 2. 5 3. Cap Staple 4. 6 5. plate Bolts 2/7 6. 5 2 7. Box Iron 8. 6 9. Heaters 10. 1 9 11. 7 7 7 1/2 Nayles (Vizt) 21 th of 10 d 8 1/2 14 2 2 2. 20. 8. 21. 1 4 3. 24. 7 1/2 25. 1 3 26. 16 9 1/2 Glass Ware (Vizt) 3. Decaners 6. 12/2 17 10 2 1. Mugg 1 1/2 12 do 2. Ale Glass 3. 2 6 4. panns 6/8 5. 6. 9. 4 6 7. 1 4 10 1/2 Pepper 6 th 6 Cotton Stockins 3 pair	Ironmongery brought over: £457 13s 1¼d Pair of dovetails: 1 5d Cap staple: 1 6d Plate bolts: 2, at 2s 7d 5s 2d Box iron: 1 6d Heaters: 2 1s 9d Sub-total for ironmongery: £7 7s 7½d Nails: 10 penny nails: 21 hundred, at 8½d 14s 2d 20 penny nails: 2 hundred, at 8d 1s 4d 24 penny nails: 2 hundred, at 7½d 1s 3d Sub-total for nails: 16s 9½d Glassware: Decaners number 6, size 2: 3, at 1s 6d 17s 10½d Mug, size 1½: 1 [...] Ale glass: 1 2s 6d Panes, size 8: 6, at 9d 4s 6d Sub-total for glassware: £1 4s 10½d Pepper: 6 pounds 6s 0d Cotton stockings: 3 pairs, at 2s 6d 7s 6d Cotton stockings: 25 pairs, at 3s £3 15s 0d Sub-total for stockings: £4 2s 6d Hessians: 18 yards, at 14d £1 1s 0d Indian goods: Shirts: 126, at 3s £8 18s 0d Neelaes: 18 pieces, at 16s £9 0s 0d Neelaes: 2 pieces, at 9s 9d 19s 6d Gurrahs: 18 pieces, at 12s 6d £11 5s 0d Longcloth: 9 pieces, at 20s £9 0s 0d Gingham: 1 piece 9s 9d Sallampores: 2 pieces, at 15s 2d £1 10s 4d Neckcloths: 17, at 2s 9d £2 6s 9d Neckcloth muslin: 2 pieces 18s 9d Sub-total for Indian goods: £44 8s 1d Combs: Box combs: 5, at 6d 2s 6d Horn combs: 5, at 5d 2s 1d Combs: 2, at 7d 1s 2d

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		2/6 7 6 25. do 3/ 26. 3 15 27. 4 2 6 Hessings 18 yds 14 d 1 1 Indian Goods (Vizt) Shirts 126. 3/ 8 18 Nealoes 18 pces 16/ 9 2. do 9/9 3. 19 6 Gurhas 18. pd 12/6 11 5 Long Cloth 9. pd 20/ 9 Gingham 1. pd 9 9 Salnoos 2. pd 15/2 1 10 4 Neckcloaths 17. 2/9 2 6 9 Neckcloth Muslin 2 pcs 18 9 44 8 1 Combs (Vizt) 5. Box 6 2 6 5. Horn 5 6. 2 1 7. do 7 8. 1 2 9. Comb Brush 10. 8 11. 6 5 Carried over £ 517 6 5 1/2 5 1/4	Comb brush: 1 8d Sub-total for combs: 6s 5d Carried over: £517 6s 5¼d Interpretations The variety of Indian textiles confirms the central place of the India trade in supplying the island's clothing. Neelaes, gurrahs, sallampores, longcloth and gingham were all cotton cloths of distinct weave and grade from the subcontinent. Neelaes were a blue-dyed cotton and gurrahs a coarse plain cloth, while the others ranged from fine to ordinary. Their bulk in the account shows the settlers dressed largely in fabrics shipped from India through the Company. The ready-made shirts in large number point to a demand for finished garments alongside cloth by the piece. With 126 shirts sold, the store supplied clothing already made up, sparing buyers the labour of sewing. This shows the Company meeting both ends of the clothing trade, raw cloth for those who would make their own and finished items for those who would not. The window panes among the glassware reveal the materials of building and domestic comfort on the island. Glass for windows had to be imported, and its sale shows settlers glazing their houses against the weather. The presence of decanters, mugs and an ale glass alongside marks a market for tableware as well as the plain necessities of construction. The nails sold by the hundred in several weights confirm the scale of building and repair sustained by imported hardware. Graded from 10 to 24 penny, the nails served different uses in carpentry. Their sale in quantity shows the constant need for fastenings in a settlement that built and maintained its houses with materials brought by sea.
157	149	1717/18 Br. ov £ 517 6 5 1/2 5 1/4 Galloom 18 yds 4 1/2 6 9 Silk Ferrett 3 yds 6 1 6 Corks 38 1/2 doz 3 9 7 1/2 Flagg broom 1. 6 Indigo 4. Ounces 8 2 8 Shoe thread 4 th 2/6 10 6 House Linnen 6 yds 2/3 13 6 Brass Ware 4. Scimers 2. Size 5 Blanketts 1 1/2 pair 9/ 1 8 6 1. pr do 2. 1 2 6 3. 2 11 Woollen Goods (Vizt) Durants 58 yd 1/9 5 1 6 Druggetts 84 1/2 yds 3/ 12 13 6 34 yd 4/	Brought over: £517 6s 5¼d Galloon: 18 yards, at 4½d 6s 8d Silk ferret: 3 yards, at 6d 1s 6d Corks: 38½ dozen, at 3 9s 7½d Flag broom: 1 6d Indigo: 4 ounces, at 8d 2s 8d Shoe thread: 4 pounds, at 2s 6d 10s 0d House linen: 6 yards, at 2s 3d 13s 6d Brassware, three skimmers of two sizes: 5s 0d Blankets: 1½ pair, at 19s £1 8s 6d Blanket: 1 pair 1s 2d 6d Sub-total for blankets: £2 11s 0d Woollen goods: Durants: 58 yards, at 1s 9d £5 1s 6d Druggets: 84½ yards, at 3 £12 13s 6d Druggets: 34 yards, at 4s £6 16s 0d Silk druggets: 27¾ yards, at 4s 9d £6 12s 5d Shalloons: 56¼ yards, at 2s 6d £6 10s 7½d Norwich stuffs: 25 yards, at 12 £1 6s 0½d 31 yards, at 14 £1 17s 5½d 4 yards, at 17½ 5s 10d Damaged: 4 yards, at 9 3s 3d Sub-total for Norwich stuffs: £3 12s 7d Fustians: 19 yards white, at 20 £1 12s 6d Sub-total for woollen goods: £42 19s 7½d Ribbon: 2 yards old, large 2s 8d Island shoes: 1 pair 4s 0d Sub-total to here: £565 12s 9½d <i>Catherine</i> goods: Tobacco: 290 pounds, at 29 £29 0s 0d Thread: 7 pounds of fine brown, at 7s 6d £7s 6d Loops: 1 4s 0d

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		6 16 27 7/8 Silk do 4/9 6 12 5 Shalloons 56 1/4 yds 2/6 6 10 7 1/2 Norwich Stuffs (Vizt) 25. 4 yds 26. 12 1/2 27. 1: 6 0 1/2 28. yds 14 1/2 29. 1: 17 5 1/2 30. yd 17 1/2 31. 5 10 32. yds damagd 33. 9 3/4 34. 0: 3 3 35. 3 12 7 Fustians 19 d do White 20 1 12 6 42 19 7 1/2 Ribbon 2 yd old (large) 2 8 Island Shoes 1. pair 4 Katharines Goods (Vizt) 565 12 9 1/4 Tobacco 290 th 29 Thread 1 lb of Fine browne 0: 7 6 1. Cours do 0: 4 0 2. 4 Cloured do 5/ 0: 13 9 3. 1 5 3 Hooks 56 doz old Wives 4 d 18 8 Tin Ware 7. Lamps 0: 1/10 0: 12 10 2 pint Coffee potts 14 0: 2 4 1. three pint Sauce panns 2. 0: 1 8 0: 16 10 31 3 11	Coloured thread: 2 pounds 4 ounces, at 5s 13s 9d Sub-total for thread: £1 5s 3d Hooks: 56 dozen old wives, at 4s 18s 8d Tinware: Lamps: 7, at 1s 10d 12s 10d Pint coffee pots: 2, at 14 2s 4d Three-pint saucepan: 1 1s 8d Sub-total for tinware: 16s 10d Carried over: £31 3s 11d Interpretations The woollen goods reveal the importance of warm cloth on an island whose climate is moderate rather than hot. Durants, druggets, shalloons and Norwich stuffs were all woollen or worsted fabrics suited to cool and changeable weather. Their bulk in the account shows the settlers needed substantial clothing against the wind and temperature, correcting any assumption of a warm island wardrobe. The tobacco entered among the <i>Catherine</i> goods marks a valued import for personal use and trade. At 290 pounds, it formed a significant consignment. Tobacco was a staple of consumption and exchange across the Company's world, and its sale shows the island's appetite for a commodity that had to be brought from afar. The naming of two ships, the <i>Catherine</i> and the <i>Success</i>, as sources of separate goods shows the account distinguishing cargoes by vessel. Listing the <i>Catherine</i> goods apart let the Company track which stock came on which ship. This reflects the careful sourcing of supplies through particular voyages, with each consignment kept distinct in the reckoning. The indigo among the goods points to its use as a dye on the island. A small quantity of this blue dyestuff, derived from a plant of the East, was stocked for colouring cloth. Its presence shows the settlers dyed their own fabrics, supplementing the coloured cloth bought ready-made from India.
158	150	Jan.y Kaths Goods Br. over 31 3 11 565 12 9 1/4 Tin Ware brought ov 0: 16 10 1 porringer 0: 0 9 1. do 2. 0: 0 7 3. do 4. 0: 0 5 5. pudding pan 6. 0: 2 2 7. 1 0 9 Pewter 2. doz Spoons 4/6 0: 9 0 1. Bason 2. 0: 6 8 3. do 4. 0: 5 0 5. 1 0 8 Brass Ware 1. Tea Kettle Nr 1. 15 Ironmongers Ware (Vizt) 1. Splinter Lock Nr 1. 2. 0: 0 9 3. do 2 4. 1/ 5. 0: 2 0	<i>Catherine</i> goods brought over: £31 3s 11d Sub-total to here: £565 12s 9½d Tinware brought over: 16s 10d Porringer: 1 9d Porringer: 1 7d Porringer: 1 5d Pudding pan: 1 2s 2d Sub-total for tinware: £1 0s 9d Pewter: Spoons: 2 dozen, at 4s 6d 9s 0d Basin: 1 6s 8d Basin: 1 5s 0d Sub-total for pewter: £1 0s 8d Brassware, one tea kettle number 1: 15s 0d Ironmongers ware: Splinter lock number 1: 1 9d Splinter locks number 2: 2, at 1s 2s 0d Splinter locks number 3: 5, at 18d 7s 6d Splinter lock number 4: 1 1s 8d Stock lock number 2: 1 3s 6d Stock locks number 3: 2, at 5s 10s 0d Stock lock number 4: 1 7s 6d Pair of steelyards: 1 [...] Felling axes: 5, at 3s 4d 16s 8d Iron pot, size 6: 1 £1 11s 0d Sub-total for ironmongers ware: £5 0s 7d Stockings: 22 pairs sold, at 2s £2 1s 4d Pair of mens silk: 1 18s 0d Pair of womens: 1 12s 0d Pair of mens scarlet: 1 9s 0d

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		6. do 3. 18 7. 0: 7 6 8. do 4 9. 0: 1 8 10. Stock Lock 2. 11. 0: 3 6 12. do 3. 13. 5/ 14. 0: 10 0 15. do 4 16. 0: 7 6 17. pr Stillyards 18. 0: 1 0 19. felling axes 3/4 20. 0: 16 8 21. Iron pott 9 th 22. 2 d 6 d 23. 1: 11 0 24. 5 0 7 Stockens 22 pr Sold 2: 11 4 1. pr Mens Silk 2. 0: 18 0 3. pr Womens do 4. 0: 12 0 5. pr Mens Scarlett 6. 0: 9 0 7. 4 10 4 Shoes 2 pr Mens do 6/2 12 4 Ribbon 9 yd 1 0: 9 6 3. yd 14 4. 0: 3 6 5. yds 15 6. 1: 6 3 7. yds 18 8. 0: 12 0 9. 2 11 3 Buttons 3 doz Coat Nr C 3. 0: 2 3 13 doz do B 12. 0: 13 0 6 th hair 5. 0: 2 8 44 doz do 6. 1: 2 0 1 19 11 1/2 Carried over £ 481 4 9 1/4	Sub-total for stockings: £4 10s 4d Shoes: 2 pairs mens, at 6s 2d 12s 4d Ribbon: 9 yards 9s 6d Ribbon: 9 yards 3s 6d Ribbon: 21 yards 6s 3d Ribbon: 8 yards 10s 0d Sub-total for ribbon: £2 11s 3d Buttons: Coat buttons number C: 3 dozen, at 9 2s 3d Buttons B: 13 dozen, at 12 13s 0d Breast buttons: 6 dozen, at 5 2s 8d Buttons: 44 dozen, at 6 £1 2s 0d Sub-total for buttons: £1 19s 11½d Carried over: £481 4s 9d Interpretations The felling axes and iron pot reflect the heavy ironware needed for clearing ground and domestic cooking. Axes for felling trees served the constant work of obtaining firewood and timber, the very labour at issue in Orchard's apprentice dispute. A large iron pot was a principal cooking vessel. These items show the store supplying the substantial metal goods of daily life. The range of locks graded by number reveals a steady demand for securing property of every kind. Splinter and stock locks in several sizes were sold for doors, chests and stores. The quantity and variety show how settlers protected their possessions, with the Company stocking locks to suit every fastening from a box to a building. The buttons sold in dozens of distinct types confirm the trade in the small accessories of clothing. Coat, breast and other buttons in quantity supplied the finishing of garments made on the island. Their sale shows the store furnishing not only cloth and finished shirts but the haberdashery needed to complete and repair clothing. The pewter and brass tableware mark a market for durable household goods beyond bare necessity. Spoons, basins and a tea kettle of lasting metal furnished the settlers tables and hearths. Their presence shows that the store met a desire for serviceable domestic ware, not merely the minimum required to survive.
159	151	1717/18 Kaths Goods Brought Ov 48 14 9 1/2 565 12 9 1/4 Hoods 1. Nr 1 0: 9 0 1. 2 2. 0: 13 6 3. 3 4. 15/ 5. 1: 10 6. 2 12 6 Mohair 20. d 20 1 13 4 Shirt buttons 1/2 Gr 3 Ivory Comb 1. 2 Hatts 6 Beaveretto Nr 5. 20/ 6 Knives 39 6	Catherine goods brought over: £48 14s 9½d Sub-total to here: £565 12s 9½d Hoods, number 1: 1 9s 0d Hoods, number 2: 1 13s 6d Hoods, number 3: 2, at 15s £1 10s 0d Sub-total for hoods: £2 12s 6d Mohair: 20, at 20 £1 13s 4d Shirt buttons: ½ gross 3s 0d Ivory comb: 1 2s 0d Beaverett hats, number 5: 6, at 20s £6 0s 0d Knives: 39, at 6 19s 6d Stationery ware: Large common prayer books: 4, at 1s 5d £1 5s 8d Spelling books: 2, at 20 3s 4d Penknives: 2, at 5 4s 2d Copy books: 2 1s 6d Sub-total for stationery: £1 14s 8d Fustians: Number 3: 1 piece £1 6s 8d Number 4: 2 pieces, at 33s £3 6s 8d Number 5: 2 pieces 18s 4d Number 6: 3½ pieces, at 40s £7 0s 0d Number 6: 1½ pieces, at 40s £3 0s 0d

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		19 6 Stationary Ware (Vizt) 4. Large Comon prayer Books 1: 5 8 5. Spelling books 6. 20. 7. 0: 3 4 8. pr Knives 25. 9. 0: 4 2 10. Coppy Books 11. 0: 1 6 12. 1 14 8 Fustians 1. pce Nr 3 1: 6 8 2. pces 4. 33/4 3. 3: 6 8 2 do 5. 0: 18 4 3 1/2 pce 6. 40/ 7: 0 0 1 1/2 do 6. 40/ 3: 0 0 1 1/2 pce 7. 28/8 2: 2 2 pcs 8. 40/ 4: 21 11 8 Thicksetts (Vizt) 1/2 pce Nr 4 0: 16 8 1 pce 4. 2: 12 1. pce 5. 2: 16 2. 6 4 8 Ticklinberg 89. yd 14 5 3 10 Kaths Goods amts to 94 19 11 6 Successss Goods (Vizt) Rape Oyl 12 galls 6/ 3: 12 0 Traind 1 1/4 d 6/ 0: 10 6 4 2 6 Tobacco Pipes 63 1/2 doz 5 1 1 9 Shoes 91 pr Mens 6/3 28 8 9 15 pr Womens 6/2 4: 12 6 33 1 3 Needles 76. hund 1/6 5 14 Hatts 1 Boys Nr 1. 6 6 Successss Goods can ov 44 16 Carried over £ 660 12 8 3/4	Number 7: 1½ pieces, at 26s 8d £2 0s 0d Number 8: 2 pieces, at 40s £4 0s 0d Sub-total for fustians: £21 11s 8d Thicksets: Number 4: ½ piece 16s 8d Number 4: 1 piece £2 12s 0d Number 5: 1 piece £2 16s 0d Sub-total for thicksets: £6 4s 8d Ticklenburg: 89 yards, at 14d £5 3s 10d Sub-total, <i>Catherine</i> goods amount to: £94 19s 11½d <i>Success</i> goods: Rape oil: 12 gallons, at 6s £3 12s 0d Train oil: 1¾, at 6s 10s 6d Sub-total for oil: £4 2s 6d Tobacco pipes: 63½ dozen, at 6 £1 11s 9d Shoes: 91 pairs mens, at 6s 3d £28 8s 9d Shoes: 75 pairs womens, at 6s 2d £4 12s 6d Sub-total for shoes: £33 1s 3d Needles: 76 hundred, at 1s 6d £5 14s 0d Boys hats, number 1: 1 6s 6d Sub-total, <i>Success</i> goods carried over: £44 16s 0d Carried over: £660 12s 8¾d Interpretations The large common prayer books and spelling books reveal the modest provision for worship and basic education on the island. Four prayer books served public and private devotion, while spelling and copy books point to the teaching of children to read and write. Their sale shows the store supplying the few materials that sustained religious observance and literacy in the settlement. The 166 pairs of shoes from the <i>Success</i> mark a substantial supply of footwear for a small population. With both men's and women's shoes in quantity, the store met a steady need that no local craft could fill. The scale of the consignment shows how thoroughly the island depended on imported manufactures even for the most basic articles of dress. The beaverett hats point to a market for better-quality headwear among the settlers. Beaverett was an imitation beaver felt, a cheaper substitute for true beaver. Its sale shows the inhabitants sought respectable dress within their means, with the store offering a serviceable hat that mimicked a costlier original. The fustians and thicksets in graded numbers confirm the demand for hard-wearing cotton cloth for everyday garments. Fustian was a stout twilled fabric and thickset a heavy corded version, both suited to working clothes. Their bulk in the account shows the settlers clothed themselves largely in durable cloth fit for the labour of plantation life.
160	152	Jan.y Successss Goods Br. over 44 16 660 12 8 3/4 Stockings 39 pr Mens Nr 1 7/6 14: 12 6 1 pair do 2. 7 6 9 3. pr Womens 5. 4. 6: 6 0 5. 19 6 6. pr do 6. 7 6 7. 1 17 6 8. pr do 9. 9. 0: 16 0 10. pr Child. 12. 1 9	<i>Success</i> goods brought over: £44 16s 0d Sub-total to here: £660 12s 8¾d Stockings: Mens number 1: 29 pairs, at 2s 7d £14 12s 6d Mens, pair: 1 2s 7d Womens: 3 pairs, at 6s 6d 19s 6d Womens: 5 pairs, at 6s 7d £1 17s 6d Pairs: 2, at 9s 8d 16s 0d Childrens number 12: 12 pairs, at 1s 9d 15s 0d Youths number 13: 12 pairs, at 23 £1 7s 0d Pairs number 15: 17, at 3s 6d £3 0s 6d Pairs number 14: 6, at 2s 6d 15s 0d Pairs number 16: 5, at 3s 9d 18s 9d Pairs number 17: 8, at 4s 9d £1 18s 0d Pairs number 18: 6, at 6s £1 16s 0d Womens knit number 19: 12 pairs, at 3s 7d [...] Womens number 20: 6 pairs, at 3s 6d £1 1s 0d

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		11. 0: 15 0 12. pr Youths 13. 2 3 13. 1: 7 0 14. pr do 15. 2 6 15. 3: 0 6 6 pr do 14. 2 6 0: 15 0 5. pr do 16. 3 9 6. 0: 18 9 8 pr do 17. 4 9 1: 18 6. pr do 18. 6/ 7. 1: 16 8. pr Womens Kat 19. 2/3 9. 1: 7 10. pr Womens d 20. 3/6 11. 1: 1 12. pr do 21. 3/9 13. 2: 1 3 14. pr do 22. 1/4 6 15. 0: 9 0 16. pr Mens fine do 23. 6/9 17. 1 7 0 18. pr Mens Calscd 24. 19. 0: 2 3 3 pr Youths Stkns 23. 3/5 1: 8 6 Worsted 46 1 9 Pewter 4. quart Tankards 3/9 0: 15 0 2. pr do 3. 0: 6 0 4. Chamber potts 5/9 5. 2: 0 3 6. Setts of Crusts 6/6 7. 0: 13 0 8. Stands for do 2/9 9. 0: 5 6 10. Setts of Castors 9/9 11. 1: 9 3 12. Ladles 3/3 13. 0: 9 9 14. Salts 1 1/2 15. 0: 9 0 16. Tea Kettle & Stand 17. 8: 14 9 2 doz plates 4/1 1/4 2: 2 2 2. larg dishes 5/7 3. 0: 11 3 4. do less 4/11 5. 0: 9 10 6. do less 3/9 7. 0: 7 6 8. do Soop 9. 2: 11 10. 0: 5 10 11. 11 4 1 Mixt Crape 3 pces 4 th 2 d 12 Ironmongers Ware 2 pair Stillyards 8/3 0: 16 6 14 pick Axes 9 d 65 th 8 1/2 2: 6 0 3 2 6 1/2 Successs Goods Carried over £ 117 4 4 1/2 660 12 8 3/4	Pairs number 21: 11, at 3s 9d £2 1s 3d Pairs number 22: 2, at 4s 6d 9s 0d Mens fine number 23: 6 pairs, at 5s 8d £1 7s 0d Mens dyed number 24: 1 pair 2s 3d Youths silk number 23: 3 pairs, at 4s 5d £1 8s 6d Sub-total for stockings, unsold: £46 1s 9d Pewter: Quart tankards: 4, at 3s 9d 15s 0d Quart tankards: 2 6s 0d Chamber pots: 7, at 5s 9d £2 0s 3d Setts of cruets: 2, at 6s 6d 13s 0d Stands for the same: 2, at 2s 9d 5s 6d Setts of castors: 3, at 9d £1 9s 3d Ladles: 3, at 3s 3d 9s 9d Salts: 8, at 1s 1½d 9s 0d Tea kettle and stand: 1 8s 0d Plates: 2 dozen, at 24s 1d £2 2s 2d Large dishes: 2, at 5s 7d 11s 3d Dishes: 2 9s 10d Dishes: 2 7s 6d Soup dishes: 2, at 2s 11d 5s 10d Sub-total for pewter: £11 4s 1d Mixed crepe: 3 pieces, at 4 12s 0d Ironmongers ware: Pair of steelyards: 2, at 8s 3d 16s 6d Pickaxes, size 6: 14, at 8d 2s 6d Sub-total for ironmongers ware: £3 2s 6½d <i>Success</i> goods carried over: £117 4s 4½d Sub-total to here: £660 12s 8¾d Interpretations The large stock of unsold stockings, graded by size and quality for men, women, youths and children, reveals the store holding goods against future demand. Sized by number and ranging from plain to silk, the stockings covered the whole population. Their listing as unsold shows the account tracking inventory still on hand, distinguishing goods retained from goods already delivered. The pewter tableware in quantity confirms a settled market for durable dining and household ware. Tankards, plates, dishes, cruets and castors furnished the tables of the better-off settlers. The range from plain salts to a tea kettle shows the store supplying a degree of domestic refinement, not merely the bare vessels of subsistence. The chamber pots among the pewter point to the ordinary furnishings of the household interior. Seven were stocked for sale, a practical item of domestic life. Their inclusion shows the store provided the full range of household necessities, down to the most private articles of daily use. The pickaxes and steelyards reflect the heavy implements of digging and weighing needed in the settlement. Pickaxes served quarrying and breaking ground, while steelyards weighed goods for sale and account. Their presence shows the store furnishing the tools of both manual labour and commercial dealing.
161	153	1717/18	<i>Success</i> goods brought over: £44 16s 0d

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		Successs Goods Brought over 177 4 4 1/2 660 12 8 3/4 Nails 2 th of 2 d 11 d 0: 1: 10 6. 3. 9 4. 0: 4: 6 7. 4. 11 5. 0: 4: 7 8. 6. 9 d 7. 0: 12: 9 9. 8. 8 1/2 9. 0: 1: 5 10. 1 5 1 Pewter Toys 7 Setts 13 1/2 4 14 2 1/2 123 3 8 Cutlary Ware Vizt 12 Jappan Knives & 12 Forks 0: 14 0 6. Knives & 6 Forks Maple 7. handles & brass ferrols 8. 0: 7: 4 1/2 9. pr Childrens buckles 10. 0: 1 0 11. 1 2 4 1/2 Lace Edging 1 1/2 yd 2/4 (K.) 0: 3 6 0 3 6 1 5 10 1/2 £ 785 2 3 1/4 Store Goods Sold & delivered for yr Use of Union Castle from yr 25th July 1717 to Sept yr 25th following. (Vizt) Arrack 11 1/2 galls 6/3 35 Wine 144 1/2 galls 4/ 28 18 Vinegar 1. Gatt 4 Sugar 163 th 8 d 5 8 8 Rice 5351 3 1/2 78 0 3 1/2 Tea 6 th 9/ 2 14 18. Catties 9 d 19. 8 2 20. 10 16 Soap 41 th 17 d 2 18 1 Threads 16 Or 11. 14 8 16. Or 17. 17 4 18. Or 19. 1 20. Or 21. 1 2 8 22. 3 14 8 Tin Ware 2 Funnels 10 d 1 8 Glass Ware 8 panns 8 th 14 9 4 Carried over £ 165 10 8 1/2	Sub-total to here: £660 12s 8¾d Stockings: Mens number 1: 29 pairs, at 2s 7d £14 12s 6d Mens, pair: 1 2s 7d Womens: 3 pairs, at 6s 6d 19s 6d Womens: 5 pairs, at 6s 7d £1 17s 6d Pairs: 2, at 9s 8d 16s 0d Childrens number 12: 12 pairs, at 1s 9d 15s 0d Youths number 13: 12 pairs, at 23 £1 7s 0d Pairs number 15: 17, at 3s 6d £3 0s 6d Pairs number 14: 6, at 2s 6d 15s 0d Pairs number 16: 5, at 3s 9d 18s 9d Pairs number 17: 8, at 4s 9d £1 18s 0d Pairs number 18: 6, at 6s £1 16s 0d Womens knit number 19: 12 pairs, at 3s 7d [...] Womens number 20: 6 pairs, at 3s 6d £1 1s 0d Pairs number 21: 11, at 3s 9d £2 1s 3d Pairs number 22: 2, at 4s 6d 9s 0d Mens fine number 23: 6 pairs, at 5s 8d £1 7s 0d Mens dyed number 24: 1 pair 2s 3d Youths silk number 23: 3 pairs, at 4s 5d £1 8s 6d Sub-total for stockings, unsold: £46 1s 9d Pewter: Quart tankards: 4, at 3s 9d 15s 0d Quart tankards: 2 6s 0d Chamber pots: 7, at 5s 9d £2 0s 3d Setts of cruets: 2, at 6s 6d 13s 0d Stands for the same: 2, at 2s 9d 5s 6d Setts of castors: 3, at 9d £1 9s 3d Ladles: 3, at 3s 3d 9s 9d Salts: 8, at 1s 1½d 9s 0d Tea kettle and stand: 1 8s 0d Plates: 2 dozen, at 24s 1d £2 2s 2d Large dishes: 2, at 5s 7d 11s 3d Dishes: 2 9s 10d Dishes: 2 7s 6d Soup dishes: 2, at 2s 11d 5s 10d Sub-total for pewter: £11 4s 1d Mixed crepe: 3 pieces, at 4 12s 0d Ironmongers ware: Pair of steelyards: 2, at 8s 3d 16s 6d Pickaxes, size 6: 14, at 8d 2s 6d Sub-total for ironmongers ware: £3 2s 6½d Success goods carried over: £117 4s 4½d Sub-total to here: £660 12s 8¾d Interpretations The large stock of unsold stockings, graded by size and quality for men, women, youths and children, reveals the store holding goods against future demand. Sized by number and ranging from plain to silk, the stockings covered the whole population. Their listing as unsold shows the account tracking inventory still on hand, distinguishing goods retained from goods already delivered. The pewter tableware in quantity confirms a settled market for durable dining and household ware. Tankards, plates, dishes, cruets and castors furnished the tables of the better-off settlers. The range from plain salts to a tea kettle shows the store supplying a degree of domestic refinement, not merely the bare vessels of subsistence. The chamber pots among the pewter point to the ordinary furnishings of the household interior. Seven were stocked for sale, a practical item of domestic life. Their inclusion shows the store provided the full range of household necessities, down to the most private articles of daily use. The pickaxes and steelyards reflect the heavy implements of digging and weighing needed in the settlement. Pickaxes served quarrying and breaking ground, while steelyards weighed goods for sale and account. Their presence shows the store furnishing the tools of both manual labour and commercial dealing.

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<u>162</u>	154	Jan.y Br. over £ 165 10 8 1/2 Pepper 5 th 5 Island Shoes 5 pr 4/ 1 Stockings 2 pr Thread 4/6 9 Saunoos 2. pd 15/2 1 10 4 Blew Gurrhas 48 pcs 6/ 14 8 Long Cloth 5 pcs 20/ 5 Sail Needles 6. 5 1/2 Blanketts 1 pr do 1 2 6 2. pr do 19/ 3. 1 18 2 pr do 7 9 3 8 3 Flour 598 th 3 1/2 8 14 5 Corks 68 doz 3 17 Coffee 30 d 2/6 3 15 Nails 26 th of 20 d 8 d 17 4 20. 10. 8 1/2 11. 14 2 21. 6. 9 7. 12 9 22. 4. 11 5. 16 6 23. 3. 9 4. 12 24. 24. 7 1/2 25. 11 1 25. 30. 7 31. 6 5 26. Spykes 14 27. 28. 14 2 1/2 batton brass 14 2 11 3. of Tacks & pump 4. Nails 5. 2 d Childn 6. 5 7. 5 12 2 Ironmongers Ware (Vizt) 7. Socket Shovels 8. 2/6 9. 17 6 10. Iron rim'd Lock 11. 4 1 12. Stock Lock Nr 5. Kath 13. 10 14. 1 11 7 Butter 1 Firkin 9 d 63 th 3 3 Twine 2 th 2/4	Brought over: £165 10s 8½d Pepper: 5 pounds 5s 0d Island shoes: 5 pairs, at 4s £1 0s 0d Stockings: 2 pairs thread, at 4s 6d 9s 0d Sallampores: 2 pieces, at 15s 2d £1 10s 4d Blue gurrhas: 48 pieces, at 6s £14 8s 0d Longcloth: 5 pieces, at 20s £5 0s 0d Sail needles: 6 5d Blankets: 1 pair 1s 2d 6d Blankets: 2 pairs, at 19s £1 18s 0d Blankets: 2 pairs 7s 9d Sub-total for blankets: £3 8s 3d Flour: 598 pounds, at 3½d £8 14s 5d Corks: 68 dozen, at 3 17s 0d Coffee: 30 pounds, at 2s 6d £3 15s 0d Nails: 20 penny: 26 hundred, at 8d 17s 4d 10 penny: 20 hundred, at 8½d 14s 2d 6 penny: 17 hundred, at 9 12s 9d 4 penny: 18 hundred, at 11 16s 6d 3 penny: 16 hundred 12s 0d 24 penny: 18 hundred, at 7½d 11s 1d 30 penny: 11 hundred, at 7 6s 5d Spikes: 28 14s 0d Cabin brass nails: 2½ hundred, at 14 2s 11d Tacks and pump nails, size 20: 3 hundred 5s 0d Sub-total for nails: £5 12s 2d Ironmongers ware: Socket shovels: 7, at 2s 6d 17s 6d Iron rim lock: 1 4s 1d Stock lock number 5: 1 10s 0d Sub-total for ironmongers ware: £1 11s 7d <i>Catherine</i> goods: Butter: 1 firkin, at 63 £3 3s 0d Twine: 2½, at 4 5s 10d Gurrhas: 1 piece 12s 6d Holland cloth: 4 yards, at 6s 6d £1 6s 0d Flag brooms: 8, at 6 4s 0d Thimbles: 3 3d Carried over: £217 13s 10d Interpretations The flour, butter and coffee among the goods reveal the imported provisions that supplemented the island's own produce. Flour for bread, a firkin of butter and coffee all came by ship, since the island grew none of them in quantity. Their sale shows the settlers diet relied on foreign staples alongside the local yams and fish. The Holland cloth points to a finer linen valued for better garments and household use. A fine plain-woven linen from the Low Countries, it commanded a higher price than coarse cloth. Its presence shows the store offered quality fabric for those who could afford it, beyond the ordinary Indian cottons. The spikes, brass nails and pump nails among the ironmongery confirm the specialised fastenings needed for building and maritime repair. Cabin brass nails for ship fittings and pump nails for water pumps show goods serving the vessels that called at the island. The range of nails reflects both construction ashore and the maintenance of shipping. The sail and sewing needles together mark the dual demand for marine and domestic stitching. Sail needles served the repair of canvas, while finer needles met household sewing. Their sale shows the store supplying the tools to maintain both the ships rigging and the settlers clothing.

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		5 10 Gurrhaes 1 pce 12 6 Holland Cloth 4 yds 6/6 1 6 Flagg brooms 8. 6 4 Thimbles 3. 3 Carried over £ 217 13 10	
163	155	1717/18 Brought over £ 217 13 10 Sacking 2 pc AB 32/ 3 4 Hous Linnon 3 1/2 yd 2/3 7 10 1/2 Sweet Oyle 6 7/8 Gatt 12 3 19 6 Kaths Goods. (Vizt) 2. Tin Coffee Pots 1/9 3. 3 6 4. Butchers Knives 6 5. 3 2 th Cloured thread 5/ 10 84. doz Old Wives Hooks 4 85. 1 8 Fustians 5 pc Nr 5. 36/8 9 3 4 3. 6. 40. 7. 6 4. 7. 5. 1 6 8 6. 1 6 8 Tobacco 7 th 0: 2 0 1. doz pipes 2. 0: 6 3. 2 6 4. 18 17 Successs Goods Vizt 1 pc Small Stillyards 8 3 4 3/4 Gatts Rape Oyl 6/ 1 8 6 1 16 9 245 18 11 1/2 5 Puncheons Beef 18 th 90 £ 335 18 11 1/2 Plantation Dr. to Store Goods from July yr 25 1717 to Sept yr 25t foll. (Vizt) Arrack 5. Galls 6/3 1 11 3 Sugar 18 th 8 12 Rice 6237 3 1/2 90 19 1 1/2 Scuming Dishes 4 6 2 Corks 1 gross 3 3 Nails 12 th of 10 8 1/2 8 6 1 Rag Stone 6 Pewter 12 Spoons 4 6	Brought over: £217 13s 10d Sacking AB: 2 pieces, at 32s £3 4s 0d House linen: 3½ yards, at 2s 3d 7s 10½d Sweet oil: 6⅞ gallons, at 12s £3 19s 6d Catherine goods: Tin coffee pots: 2, at 1s 9d 3s 6d Butchers knives: 6, at 6 3s 0d Coloured thread: 2 pounds, at 5s 10s 0d Old wives hooks: 84 dozen, at 4 1s 8d Fustians, number 5: 5 pieces, at 36s 8d £9 3s 4d Fustians: 3, at 40s £6 0s 0d Fustians: 1 7s 0d Sub-total for fustians: £1 6s 8d Tobacco: 7 pounds 2s 0d Pipes: 1 dozen 6d Sub-total to here: £18 17s 0d Success goods: Pair of small steelyards: 1 8s 3d Rape oil: 4¾ gallons, at 6s £1 8s 6d Sub-total for oil: £1 16s 9d Sub-total to here: £245 18s 11½d Beef: 5 puncheons, at 18s £90 0s 0d Total: £335 18s 11½d Plantation, debtor to store goods, from 25 July 1717 to 25 September following, as follows. Arrack: 5 gallons, at 6s 3d £1 11s 3d Sugar: 18 pounds, at 8d 12s 0d Rice: 6,237 pounds, at 3½d £90 19s 1½d Skimming dishes: 4, at 6 2s 0d Corks: 1 gross 3s 0d Nails, 10 penny: 12 hundred, at 8d 8s 0d Rag stone: 1 6d Pewter: 12 spoons 4s 6d Tin lamp: 1 1s 8d Sauce pan: 1 [...] Butchers knives: 6 [...] Carried over: £94 7s 4d Interpretations The opening of a separate account charging the plantation as debtor distinguishes the Company's own farming operation from sales to the inhabitants. Goods supplied to the plantation were entered as a debt against it, allowing the cost of running the estate to be reckoned apart from public sales. This reveals the internal accounting by which the Company tracked the expense of its direct cultivation. The 6,237 pounds of rice charged to the plantation stands out as a major item of expense. Rice fed the labour force, and the great quantity points to the number of slaves and labourers maintained on the Company's land. The figure shows food forming the principal running cost of the estate, the staple that sustained the workforce. The five puncheons of beef valued at £90 mark a substantial provision of preserved meat. Salted beef in large casks fed the garrison and labourers and victualled ships. Its high value in the account shows imported meat as a costly but essential supply, salted to endure the long voyage and the island's needs. The butchers knives and skimming dishes point to the preparation and processing of food on a considerable scale. Skimming dishes served in cooking or dairying, while butchers knives equipped the slaughter and dressing of meat. Their sale shows the

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		1 10 Tin Ware 1 Lamp 1 8 Sauce pan 6. Butchers Knives 7. 11 Carried over £ 94 7 4 1/2 Margin Notes: Kaths Goods	practical tools by which the settlement turned its livestock and provisions into food.
164	156	Jan.y Br. over 94 7 4 1/2 Ironmongers Ware Vizt 7 Pick Axes 9 th 32 th 8 1/2 1 2 8 4 Gatt Oyl 6/ 1 4 2 6 8 Total to Plantation 96 14 0 1/2 Union Castle 335 18 11 1/2 Inhabitants 785 2 3 1/4 Total 1217 15 3 1/4 Mr Tovey Presented yr foll: Written compt Isld St Helena (Vizt) To yr Worsh Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr &c Council I Antipas Tovey Soir 4t Do humbly Com plain against Mr Geo: Haswell That for as much as on Friday night last the 3d just. being busied with yr rest of yr Council abt putting up yr Packett to yr Honl Compa had yr foll: trick putt upon me (Vizt) That whilst I was writing out yr List of the Books Sent home in the Chest Nr A the sd Haswell imediatly whipt away & lockt up something in his Press & when We came to look over yr contents of yr lesser Packett Mr Jno Alexander found yr there was some of the Papers missing wch after We had Sought dili gently for & could not find We concluded yt what Papers were wanting must be conveyed away Margin Notes: Successo	Brought over: £94 7s 4½d <i>Success</i> goods: Ironmongers ware: Pickaxes, size 32: 7, at 8½d 1s 2d 8d Rape oil: 4 gallons, at 6s £1 4s 0d Sub-total for <i>Success</i> goods: £2 6s 8d Total to plantation: £96 14s 0½d Union Castle: £335 18s 11½d Inhabitants: £785 23s 4¾d Total: £1,217 15s 3¾d Mr Tovey presented the following written complaint. Antipas Tovey, secretary, complained against George Haswell. On the previous Friday night, while Tovey was busy with the rest of the council putting up the packet for the Company, the following trick was played on him. While Tovey was writing out the list of the books sent home in the chest marked A, Haswell at once whisked away and locked something up in his press. When the council came to look over the contents of the lesser packet, John Alexander found that some of the papers were missing. After diligent search, the council could not find them. It therefore concluded that the missing papers must have been carried away [...] Interpretations Tovey's formal written complaint against Haswell continued the unfolding scandal over the missing and mishandled records. The earlier audit had exposed Haswell's failure to copy the books, and now he stood accused of removing papers during the very packing of the dispatch. This shows the council documenting a fellow officer's suspected interference with official records as a matter of record. The locking of papers in his press points to a deliberate act of concealment by Haswell. Witnesses saw him whisk something away and shut it in his cabinet as the list was being made. The detail shows how the loss was traced to an observed action, turning suspicion into a specific charge grounded in what the councillors had seen. The grand total of £1,217 15s 3¾d closes the account of store goods sold over the two months. The figure gathered sales to the plantation, Union Castle and the inhabitants into one sum. This reveals the scale of the Company's trade through its stores, the central commercial engine supplying the whole island and generating its principal revenue. The division of the total between plantation, Union Castle and inhabitants shows the three channels through which Company goods flowed. The plantation took supplies for its labour, the castle for the garrison and administration, and the inhabitants by sale. Separating the sums let the Company see how its stock was distributed across its own operations and the wider settlement.
165	157	1717/18 away by y ^e f th Geo Hafwell & challenged him a bout it But he denyed with a great many wicked Oaths y ^e he had not touched my Paprs But knowing him to be a Bafe & wicked man & y ^e neither his word or Oath is to be trufted to I resolved not to be putt off but demand ed y ^e Key of his Prefs to See it it was he had Lockt up & with much a do I did caufe him	The complaint went on to describe how Tovey had challenged George Haswell about the missing papers as Haswell was leaving. Haswell denied any part in their loss, swearing many wicked oaths that he had never touched them. Tovey knew him for a dishonest man whose word and oath could not be trusted. Refusing to be deceived, Tovey demanded the key to Haswell's press to check whether he had locked the papers inside. After much difficulty Haswell was made to

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		to Open y^t p^refs n^o he presently fhutt again Saying Here you See theres nothing, Howe^v being so very Sure my Papers were gone & y^t no body deserved to be Suspected so much as he, I required y^e Liberty to look into y^e p^refs my Self And there I found Fourteen Sheets of y^e last Confultations clapt in between & behind y^e Books in y^e back part of y^e P^refs So that non but y^e Books were to be Seen before When I had found y^t he Ufed as many Oaths as before. endeavouring thereby to Excuse him felf by Saying he did not know how they came there But I Do avouch to yo^d Worl^t &c & justify it to his Face That No body elfe could putt y^ethero but himself becaufe he kept the Key No body but he could carry them thero becaufe No body elfe went away from y^e Packing up	open the press, but he shut it again at once, declaring there was nothing to see. Haswell's eagerness to deny convinced Tovey that no one deserved suspicion more. Tovey then insisted on searching the press himself. Behind the books at the back of the press he found fourteen sheets of the last consultations, slipped in so that only the books showed at the front. Once the papers came to light, Haswell swore as freely as before, trying to excuse himself with the claim that he did not know how they had come there. Tovey declared to the council that no one but Haswell could have put them there, since he alone kept the key. No one else could have carried them off, and no one else had left the packing. Interpretations The press was a lockable cabinet for official documents, and sole custody of its key forms the entire basis of Tovey's accusation. His argument turned on exclusive access. If only Haswell could open the cabinet, then only Haswell could have hidden the fourteen sheets there. The fourteen sheets were the original record of the council's most recent consultations, the very papers reported missing during the packing of the homeward packet at the consultation of 4 January 1718. Their discovery behind the books ties directly to the suspension of George Haswell from salary and diet at the consultation of 4 January 1718, after the account-books audit had exposed false copies and an uncharged fine on Mr Carne. The repeated oaths carried real legal weight, since an oath was a formal act sworn before God and the council. Tovey's insistence that Haswell's oath was worthless amounted to charging him with perjury, a grave allegation against the deputy governor and a fellow member of the bench. Speculations Tovey's refusal to accept the first denial, and his demand to search in person rather than trust the locked press, suggests he already knew Haswell was hiding something. Forcing the press open points to a planned confrontation rather than an open inquiry. The placement of the sheets behind the books, with only the spines visible at the front, indicates deliberate concealment rather than careless filing. Whoever hid them meant the papers to survive a quick look, which supports Tovey's case that the act was knowing and the plea of ignorance false.
166	158	Jan^v the Books. No Body but he (the^rd Geo Hafwell) would be Guilty of So Bafe an Action ^{ch} I hope youll beleve For that he could not evaid, when I chaiged him with it before Cap^t Hunter & Cap^t Winter in yo^d Worl^t & Prefence And Also becaufe - No Body but he had occaſion to do So. Theſe very Confultations containing y^e proofs of his Negligence in not making up y^e acc^{ts} ^{ch} he was willing to hide from y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^t & lay his Faults upon Me or Some body elfe. If I had not difcoverd y^t by Chance then according to his Ufual Cuſtom He would (no doubt) have write home Several lyes to the Hon^{ble} Comp^t pretending he had done his duty becaufe it would not then have fo plainly appeared y^t he did otherwife & y^e want of thoſe Confultat^s would have been imputed to Mee. Yo^d Worl^t has Sayed Sev^l times You would Severly puniſh thoſe who betrayd y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^ys Secrets (others then is allowed of)	The complaint continued by insisting that no one but George Haswell would commit so dishonest an act. Tovey trusted the council would believe this, since Haswell could not deny the charge when it had been put to him before Captain Hunter and Captain Winter in the council's presence. No one else had any reason to hide the papers. The fourteen sheets were the consultations that recorded the proofs of Haswell's negligence in failing to make up the accounts. He wished to conceal them from the council and to lay his faults on Tovey or some other person. Had Tovey not found the papers by chance, Haswell would no doubt have followed his usual habit and written several lies home to the Company, pretending he had done his duty. The concealment would have made his failure less obvious, and the blame for the missing consultations would then have fallen on Tovey. The Governor had said several times that he would severely punish anyone who betrayed the Company's secrets by revealing its letters or consultations to those not entitled to see them. Tovey had good reason to think all these papers would have been disclosed to [...] Interpretations

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		by revealing their Letters or Confutations, I have great deal of reason to think y^t all thofe would have been revealed to ma^t	The accusation rested on motive as much as on access. Tovey argued that only Haswell had cause to hide the fourteen sheets, because those very consultations carried the record of his failure to keep the accounts. This links the concealment directly to the account-books audit and the suspension of George Haswell from salary and diet at the consultation of 4 January 1718. The naming of Captain Hunter and Captain Winter served an evidentiary purpose. Tovey cited witnesses of standing before whom Haswell had already been confronted and had been unable to deny the charge. Their presence converted Tovey's private suspicion into something the council could weigh as tested testimony. The fear that Haswell would write home to mislead the Company shows how the homeward dispatch functioned as the channel of accountability between the island and London. Control of what reached the directors carried real power, and Tovey's charge was that Haswell meant to use the lost consultations to send a false account of his own conduct and shift his failings onto another. The Governor's warning against revealing the Company's letters or consultations reflects the strict secrecy attached to official correspondence. Disclosure to unauthorised persons was treated as a punishable betrayal, and Tovey invoked the rule to suggest that Haswell's handling of the papers risked exactly that exposure. Speculations Tovey's emphasis that he found the papers by chance works to forestall any suggestion that he had mishandled them himself. By stressing the accident of discovery, he framed himself as the one who saved the record rather than the one who lost it, turning a dangerous situation to his own defence. The claim that Haswell would have written lies home as his usual custom points to a pattern Tovey wished the council to accept. Casting the concealment as habitual rather than isolated strengthened the case for treating it as deliberate, and prepared the ground for the council to credit the more serious charge of falsifying reports to London.
167	159	1717/18 Sport for his Drunken Crew & the Cabal of forry Fellows he Affociates withal But as I have proved him a Theif in Stealing thefe Confutations I hope Youl lett him appeare in his proper Colours & punish him as such. He (P^d Haswell) Amufeth & Terrifies a great many of his Comp^a y^t his arrogant & Treafonable expreffions by pretending he hat & will have more power here then King Geo has in Eng^d & y^t he has a bett Intereft w^t y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^y then y^d W^d Do^t & did not doubt but his friends would soon gett him to be Gov^d & y^t then if y^e people here Should not Show him as much respect as King George had, he would drive them all to the Devil But I am not to be terrified So by his vain & foolish threatnings And I Do charge him with this Fact & lett him deny it if he durft. Jaⁿ^s Yo^d Wor^{ts} & Councill 14th Jan^{ry} 1717/18. Most humble Serv^t Tovey Philpa Tovey Matthew Bazett	The complaint closed by charging that the papers would have been handed over for the amusement of Haswell's drunken crew and the gang of worthless men he kept company with. Having shown him a thief in stealing these consultations, Tovey trusted the council would see him in his true character and punish him accordingly. Tovey further accused Haswell of alarming and frightening many of the company with arrogant and treasonable talk. Haswell pretended that he had, and would have, more power on the island than King George held in England. He claimed a better standing with the Company than the Governor, and had no doubt his friends would soon make him Governor. He threatened that, once in office, he would drive all the people to the devil if they failed to show him as much respect as they showed King George. Tovey declared he would not be frightened by such vain and foolish threats. He charged Haswell formally with the whole matter and dared him to deny it. The complaint was addressed to the Governor and Council and subscribed by Antipas Tovey as their most obedient servant, dated 14 January 1718. The record was signed by Antipas Tovey, by Matthew Bazett and by other members of the council. Interpretations The charge of treasonable expressions raised the dispute from negligence to a matter touching loyalty to the Crown. By reporting that Haswell claimed greater power than King George and threatened the people,

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			Tovey framed the deputy governor's conduct as a danger to lawful authority itself. The accusation of disloyalty carried far heavier consequences than the earlier failures over the account books. The claim of a better interest with the Company than the Governor reveals the patronage structure that governed advancement on the island. Standing with the directors in London, not local office alone, decided who rose and who fell. Tovey reported Haswell's boast that his friends would secure him the governorship, exposing how appointments were thought to turn on connection rather than conduct. The signatures of Antipas Tovey, Matthew Bazett and the other councillors gave the complaint its formal standing. The document was entered into the consultation record on 14 January 1718, the council date carried by the suspension of George Haswell from salary and diet and the audit of the account books. Subscription by the bench turned a personal accusation into an official act of the council. Speculations Tovey's closing dare to Haswell to deny the charge was a calculated move within an adversarial record. By staking the accusation on Haswell's inability to answer it, Tovey shifted the burden onto his opponent and invited the council to read silence or denial as confirmation of guilt. The pairing of the theft of the consultations with the charge of treasonable talk suggests a deliberate strategy to compound the case. A single failure over records might be excused, but a thief who also threatened the Crown's authority could not be. Joining the two accusations made the whole far harder for the council to set aside than either alone.
<u>168</u>	160	Jan^{dy} In^d S^r Helena. At a Confulutation held on Tuef day ye 21st day of January 1717/18 At Union Cattle in James Vally Ifaac Pyke Elq^d Gov^d Geo^s Hafwell Dep^{ty} Pref^t Matth^o Bazett 3^d & Antipas Tovey 4^t in Councill. The last Con^s read & approved of. On thursday last ye 16th Inf^t arrived the Mercury Ketch, Hen^{dy} Mackoll Com^d from Madagafcar w^t Slaves bound for Barbadoes. M^d Free was Sumond for keeping a Dog at ye Cursley Beds yt is accuftomed to bite & has killd Sev^l of ye Hon^{bl} Comp^s Goats in ye Vally & also bitt One of their Wenches - who is dangerously ill. M^d Free denys his Dog had don any harm it being One yt canot kill a Goat & he Saw ye day as he came down a Goat of ye Hon^{bl} Comp^s killd in ye Vally by 2 white dogs a great Dog & a little One but dont know who they belong^s to. & as to ye biting ye Hon^{bl} Comp^s Wench is fure it was not by his & Says that ye other Dog belonged to W^d Keder wth bitt ye Wench. Ordered That ye Marfh^l wth Some of the Garrifon go this afternoon & Endeavour to	St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 January 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The <i>Mercury</i> ketch arrived on Thursday 16 January 1718, commanded by Henry Mackett, from Madagascar with slaves bound for Barbados. Mr Free was summoned for keeping a dog at the parsley beds that was given to biting and had killed several of the Company's goats in the valley. The same dog had also bitten one of the Company's slave women, who lay dangerously ill. Mr Free denied that his dog had done any harm, saying it was one that could not kill a goat. He claimed that on the day in question, as he came down, he saw a goat of the Company's killed in the valley by two white dogs, a large one and a small one, though he did not know whose they were. As to the biting of the Company's slave woman, he was sure his dog was not the cause and said the other dog belonged to John Keser, who had also bitten the woman. The council ordered the marshal to take some of the garrison that afternoon and try to kill [...] Interpretations The <i>Mercury</i> ketch carried slaves from Madagascar to Barbados, and its call shows St Helena's place on the slaving routes between the Indian Ocean and the West Indies. The island served as a provisioning and resting point for vessels crossing between the two trades. The earlier arrival of Madagascar slaves by the <i>Sarah Galley</i>, noted at the consultation of 12 February 1717, marks the Company's reliance on that source to replenish its own labour force. The summons of Mr Free over a dangerous dog reveals the council acting as a court of summary jurisdiction over everyday harms. Livestock losses and an injury to a Company slave were matters the bench heard directly. The ruling shows how closely the

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			administration guarded its goats and its labour, both counted as Company property whose loss touched the public account. The order to the marshal and the garrison to destroy the offending animals shows the use of the armed establishment for routine civil enforcement. With no separate constabulary, the garrison served as the instrument through which the council's orders were carried out against threats to Company stock. Speculations Mr Free's defence worked by redirecting blame onto two unidentified white dogs and onto an animal he attributed to John Keser. By naming another owner as the cause of the bite, he sought to break the link between his own dog and both the dead goats and the injured woman. The strategy aimed to leave the council without a clear culprit in him. The council's response of sending men to kill the dogs rather than first resolving ownership suggests the immediate priority was removing the danger, not assigning liability. With a slave woman dangerously ill and goats already lost, the bench treated destruction of the animals as the pressing remedy and left the question of whose dog had done the harm to be settled afterwards.
169	161	1717/18 Kill thefe two White Dogs unlefs the Owners will pay y^e damage. According to y^e Petit^e of W^m Hodgskinson y^e Surg^m Mate M^d Eaftop y^e Midw^e & Mercy Whaley with her Baftard Child appeard And - To Us it appeard the Child is a White Child The Putative Fath^d is a very Swarthy Man & The Gov^d Sayes he thinks y^e Child is very much like John Hodgskinson. Cap^t Hafwell Sayes he thinks tis a White Mans Child & So We think all. & The Midwife Teftifies y^e Same. The Church Wardens are both of Opinion that y^e Child looks like a White Mans Child. It appearing to be a White Child. The Gov^d Sayes That Hodgskinson ought to be punifhed for having y^e impudence to come to him with a Lying Story For when he came for y^e Sumons he Afferted y^t M^d Eaftop y^e Midwife was Drunken when She P^d y^e Child was a White Child & y^t She would not Stand to it now Whereas y^e Midwife was then Sober as She is now & his whole Story is falfe. Wherefore Orderd That he be Setts on the Wodden horfe for his Scandal to M^d Eaftop & beg her pardon	The council confirmed the order to kill the two white dogs unless their owners would pay for the damage. The matter of John Hodgkinson's petition came on next. The surgeon's mate, the midwife Mrs Eastop and Mercy Whaley with her bastard child all appeared before the council. The child seemed to the council to be a white child. The putative father was a very dark-skinned man, and the Governor said he thought the child much resembled John Hodgkinson. Captain Haswell judged it a white man's child, and the rest of the council agreed. The midwife gave the same evidence. Both churchwardens held the opinion that the child looked like a white man's child. The council took it as established that the child was white. The Governor declared that Hodgkinson deserved punishment for the impudence of coming to him with a false story. When Hodgkinson came for the summons, he had claimed that Mrs Eastop the midwife was drunk when she swore the child was white, and that she would not stand by it now. The midwife had in fact been sober then, as she was now, and his whole account was false. The council therefore ordered that he be set on the wooden horse for his slander against Mrs Eastop and beg her pardon. Interpretations The paternity inquiry turned on the visible complexion of the infant, which the council read as direct evidence of the father's race. The bench set the child's whiteness against the dark skin of the putative father to rule him out. This re-examination revisited the Hodgkinson paternity question already before the council at the consultation of 14 January 1718. The reliance on the Governor, Captain Haswell, the midwife and both churchwardens shows how the bench assembled concurring observers to fix a finding. The midwife held a quasi-official role in such cases, and her testimony on the child's appearance carried particular weight. Agreement among officers of standing converted a matter of impression into a settled judgement. The wooden horse was a punishment device on which an offender was made to sit astride a narrow rail, often weighted, causing pain and public humiliation. Its use here for slander shows the bench treating a false accusation against the midwife as an offence against public order. The added requirement to beg her pardon

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			combined bodily punishment with a formal, public restoration of her standing. Speculations The Governor's anger fixed less on the underlying paternity than on Hodgkinson's attempt to manipulate the process by smearing the midwife. By claiming Mrs Eastop had been drunk and would retract, Hodgkinson sought to discredit the one witness whose word could fix the child as white. The council punished the attempt to corrupt the inquiry as much as the falsehood itself. The detail that the midwife was sober both then and now was set down to close off any future challenge to her testimony. Recording her consistent state served to protect her credibility as a recurring witness in such cases, where the council depended on her judgement to resolve disputed paternities.
170	162	Jan^{dy} W^m Beale Punch-man Sumond by D^d Du Mai^d cumpl^t for pretending to make a cure of Mezg a Wench of Geo Sanders who had a Venereal Deseafe & he dryed up ye Humour by burning her Secrett parts w^t a Hott Iron^{ch} only Stopt it for ye present & now it is broke out again. Wherefore he demands yt Beale be punifhed for his bad practife Such Action being unheard of amongft ye profeffors of phy fick or Surgery. D^d Coplefton (Surg^o of ye Mercury Ketch) Teltified yt Such Actions are contrary to ye Rules of Practife Beale denyes he ever burnt ye Wench with a hott Iron. The Wench Appeard & Sayed yt he burnt her with Some hott Stuff w^e raifed Sum bumps in her private parts w^e are not Yett gone down but Says if She was not burnt with Irons was w^t but a Candle. Here the Caufe being to Naufty to enquire further into yt was difmift M^d Tovey is Ordered to give Cap^t Hafwell a Copy of his Charge against him & the Gov^d Sayes he expects Cap^t Hafwell if he be an honeft Man to cleare himself of it Henry Francis & Rich^d Gurling Planters were Sumond to Anfwer ye Cumpl^t of ye Hon^{bl}	William Beale, the punch-man, was summoned on the complaint of Dr Du May. Beale had claimed to cure Meg, a slave woman of George Sanders, who suffered from a venereal disease. He had tried to dry up the discharge by burning her private parts with a hot iron, which only checked it for the moment, and now the disease had broken out again. Du May therefore demanded that Beale be punished for his bad practice, such treatment being unheard of among those who profess medicine or surgery. Dr Coppleston, surgeon of the <i>Mercury</i> ketch, testified that such methods ran contrary to the rules of practice. Beale denied that he had ever burned the woman with a hot iron. The woman appeared and said he had burned her with some hot substance that raised several blisters on her private parts, which had not yet gone down. She said that if she was not burned with irons it was done with a candle. With the cause growing distasteful, the council judged it improper to inquire further. Mr Tovey was ordered to give Captain Haswell a copy of the charge against him. The Governor said he expected Captain Haswell, if he were an honest man, to clear himself of it. Henry Francis and Richard Gurling, planters, were summoned to answer the complaint of the Company. Interpretations The complaint against Beale shows two qualified surgeons invoking a professional standard of practice against an untrained healer. Dr Du May brought the charge and Dr Coppleston of the <i>Mercury</i> ketch confirmed that cautery of this kind broke the rules of their calling. The bench thereby enforced a boundary between recognised surgery and the treatment of the sick by unlicensed hands, with the harm to a slave woman as the occasion. The description of Beale as the punch-man marks his ordinary trade as a seller of punch, not a medical man, which sharpened the objection to his meddling in surgery. His treatment of George Sanders's slave for a venereal disease placed Company and private property at risk through methods the surgeons condemned. The council's decision to halt the inquiry as distasteful reveals the limits the bench placed on examining intimate bodily matters in open consultation. The injury to the woman's private parts was established enough to record, but the propriety of pursuing the detail further was set against the need for a complete finding, and propriety prevailed. The order that Tovey furnish Haswell a copy of the charge shows the procedural fairness extended even amid the bitter dispute between them. The Governor's call for Haswell to clear himself if honest framed the coming answer as a test of character, and links directly to Tovey's written complaint of 14 January 1718 and the suspension of George Haswell from salary and diet at the consultation of 4 January 1718.

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			Speculations The woman's own testimony was admitted and recorded as the decisive account of what Beale had done, despite her status as a slave. Her evidence that blisters remained on her body gave the surgeons' charge a physical basis the council could not dismiss. Her uncertainty over iron or candle was allowed to stand, since either confirmed a burn inflicted as treatment. The Governor's framing of Haswell's reply as proof of an honest man set a deliberate trap within the record. By tying Haswell's integrity to his ability to answer the charge, the Governor ensured that any failure to clear himself would read as confirmation of guilt, strengthening the council's hand against the suspended deputy governor.
171	163	The two planters answered the Company's charge of various trespasses. Henry Francis's servants were suspected of opening the gate of the Company's ground and letting their master's cattle in to feed. The cattle were kept on the waste land under the care of a black man. The gate had been found open with a stone set against it, and the cattle were in the new ground lately planted with trees, while the man who should have watched them was asleep. The council ordered that Mr Francis be dismissed for this time but cautioned to take more care in future. Mr Gurling's land bordered on the Company's ground and was not fenced in. He kept many hogs that overran all the Company's plantations and had done great damage. Gurling said the hogs that did the recent damage were not his but belonged to Mr Goodwin, Mr Carne and Walter Morris, but that he would drive his own hogs away to a more distant part of the island. On that undertaking he was dismissed. So many people had been summoned for their cattle straying onto the Company's land that the Governor proposed publishing an advertisement requiring all persons whose land bordered on the Company's to keep their fences in good repair. Captain Haswell observed that the season being now just [...] Interpretations The complaints reveal the constant friction between private livestock and Company crops on an island of mixed and unfenced holdings. Cattle let into newly planted ground and hogs overrunning the plantations threatened the Company's agricultural investment directly. The bench treated each intrusion as a trespass to be answered, since the damage fell on the public estate. The detail of the gate propped open with a stone, with the keeper asleep, shows the council weighing whether the trespass was deliberate or negligent. Francis escaped with a caution rather than a penalty, the bench treating the lapse as carelessness by his servants rather than a calculated act. The leniency reflects a first offence met with warning. Gurling's defence of disowning the offending hogs, while promising to remove his own, names Mr Goodwin, Mr Carne and Walter Morris as the owners of the animals that did the damage. The exchange shows how unfenced commons bred disputes over which beasts had caused which loss, leaving the council to accept an undertaking rather than fix liability. The Governor's proposal for a general advertisement on fencing marks a shift from case-by-case summonses to a standing rule binding all bordering landholders. The volume of trespass cases had made individual enforcement impractical, and a public order placing the duty of repair on every neighbour offered a more efficient remedy. Speculations The decision to move toward a published fencing requirement responded to a clear administrative	The two planters answered the Company's charge of various trespasses. 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		problem, namely the burden of repeated trespass hearings. Rather than continue summoning offenders one by one, the Governor sought a preventive rule that would put the cost and duty of containment on the landholders themselves, easing the council's caseload. Haswell's remark that the season was just then beginning points to the timing of the order to the agricultural calendar of the island. Fences mattered most when crops were in the ground, and aligning the requirement with the planting season suggests the measure was framed to protect the new growth when it was most vulnerable to straying stock.	The decision to move toward a published fencing requirement responded to a clear administrative problem, namely the burden of repeated trespass hearings. Rather than continue summoning offenders one by one, the Governor sought a preventive rule that would put the cost and duty of containment on the landholders themselves, easing the council's caseload. Haswell's remark that the season was just then beginning points to the timing of the order to the agricultural calendar of the island. Fences mattered most when crops were in the ground, and aligning the requirement with the planting season suggests the measure was framed to protect the new growth when it was most vulnerable to straying stock.
172	164	Jan^{dy} coming in twill be better & more kindnefs to y^e people to Stay till this Seafon is over. Orderd That in April next such an Order be publifhed of w^{ch} M^d Tovey is to take notice. The following Letters & Anfwers have been Rec^d from & Sent to Cap^t Mackett from the firft of their Boats coming in, Since last Confultation, to the following. On^e Worl^d S^d We have been to See for y^e Ship & Men We left in diftreffs & have found Six of Our Men but have not Seen the Ship & are now come to perfue our Voyage. We Anchord in the Table bay y^e 25^t of Dec^r y^e 26. Our Cables parted in a hard Storm of Wind at S^t & loft all Our Anchors & Longboat, We have about 90 fath^m of Sheet Cable left, & 40 fathom of y^e best Bower We humbly desire yo^d Worl^d will be pleased to Spare Us an Anchor in Our great diftreffs for for want of Water to come to with in y^e road for w^{ch} thall remain for ever bound unto your Worl^d I am y^e very humb & obliged Serv^t On board y^e Mercury (Signd) Henry Mackett. Ketch January y^e 15th answer. Cap^t Mackett I am Sorry to find you had the Un^t	The remark concluded that it would be better and kinder to the people to let them wait until the season was over. The council ordered that such a notice be published in April, of which Mr Tovey was to take notice. The following letters and answers had been received from and sent to Captain Mackett since the first of his boats came in, recorded from the last consultation onward. The first letter, from Captain Mackett, set out his distress. He had been to look for his ship and the men he had left in difficulty. He had recovered six of his men but had not found the ship, and had now come to continue his voyage. He had anchored in Table Bay on 25 and 26 December. His cables had parted in a hard storm of wind at south, and he had lost all his anchors and his longboat. He had about 90 fathom of sheet cable left and 40 fathom of his best bower. He asked the Governor to spare him an anchor in his great distress, since for want of one he could not bring his ship to in the road for water. For this he professed himself forever obliged. The letter was signed by Henry Mackett aboard the <i>Mercury</i> ketch on 15 January 1718. The Governor's answer began that he was sorry to find Mackett had met with [...] Interpretations The exchange of letters with Captain Mackett shows the council preserving its correspondence with a ship's master as part of the formal record. The loss of anchors and a longboat at Table Bay had left the <i>Mercury</i> ketch unable to ride safely in the road, and the master's appeal for an anchor entered the consultation as a documented request. Recording the letters protected the council's account of what aid had been sought and given. The detail of cables, fathoms, anchors and the bower reveals how completely a vessel depended on its ground tackle to take on water and provisions in an open roadstead. An anchor was not a convenience but the means by which a ship held position against wind and current. Mackett's want of one threatened his whole voyage, which carried slaves from Madagascar to Barbados, as recorded at the consultation of 21 January 1718. The decision to defer the fencing notice to April shows the council timing its general order to the welfare of the inhabitants as well as the protection of crops. Publishing the requirement only after the present season eased the burden on the people, balancing enforcement against the hardship a mid-season demand would impose. Speculations Mackett's careful inventory of what tackle remained, set against what he had lost, was framed to justify the size of his request and to show he was not asking idly. By stating that he retained only sheet cable and part of his best bower, he demonstrated that a single anchor stood between his ship and the failure of the voyage, strengthening the appeal to the Governor's discretion.

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			The council's choice to enter the full correspondence rather than merely note the outcome suggests an eye to later accountability. A ship's master in distress, the aid requested and the response given were matters the Company might review, and a complete record of the letters guarded the council against any later charge of having mishandled the relief of a vessel in difficulty.
173	165	1717/18 Unhappynefs of being drove from y^e Anchors at y^e Cape but will Affist you what I can tho I fear I have not an Anchor Small en^o to Serve You, besides y^e Surfe is at present so great y^t I cannot Send it off. I shall be glad to See you a shoar I am S^d Yo^d friend to Serve You Jan^d 15^t 1717/8 (Signd) Ifaac Pyke. The Gov^d Letter to Cap^t Mackett. Cap^t Mackett I shall Send on board forthwith for y^e Hon^{ble} Comp^t Seven Slaves. I Desire You to give Orders to yo^d Cheif Mate Officer on board to deliver them. Yo^d friend to Serve You Jan^{dy} 17 1717/18 (Signd) Ifaac Pyke. Answer Worl^t S^d I rec^d an Unexpected dem^d from You this morⁿ for Seven Slaves & think it very unreafonable confidering my paying my Quofoa of Slaves before. I am Sorry I canot comply with yo^d desire the Cargoe I purchafed thefe Slaves with being y^e same y^e Hon^{bl} East Indie Comp^t has been paid for by Cap^t White & my Self I am S^d Yo^d Most humble Servant Jan^{dy} 17 1717/18 Henry Mackett.	The Governor's answer continued, expressing regret at Mackett's misfortune in being driven from his anchors at the Cape. He promised to help as far as he could, though he feared he had no anchor small enough to serve, and the surf was at present so great that he could not send one out. He said he would be glad to see Mackett ashore. The letter was signed by Isaac Pyke on 15 January 1718. A further letter from the Governor to Captain Mackett followed. The Governor would send seven slaves on board at once for the Company. He asked Mackett to give orders to his chief mate aboard to receive them. The letter was signed by Isaac Pyke on 17 January 1718. Captain Mackett's answer came next. He had received an unexpected demand that morning for seven slaves, which he thought very unreasonable, considering he had already paid his quota of slaves. He was sorry he could not comply with the Governor's wish. The cargo of slaves he had bought was the same for which the Honourable East India Company had been paid by Captain White and by himself. The letter was signed by Henry Mackett aboard the <i>Mercury</i> ketch on 17 January 1718. Interpretations The Governor's offer to help while pleading that no suitable anchor could be spared shows the practical limits of relief in an open roadstead. The surf alone prevented sending tackle out to the <i>Mercury</i> ketch, and the moderate conditions of the island still left the road exposed at times. Aid depended on the sea as much as on goodwill. The Governor's demand for seven slaves, set against Mackett's protest that he had paid his quota, reveals the Company's claim to a levy on passing slave cargoes. The bench treated a ship calling for water and aid as liable to render slaves toward the island's own depleted labour force. The shortage of hands, pressed on the directors at the consultation of 1 November 1715 and after, lay behind the attempt to draw labour from vessels in the road. Mackett's refusal rested on the point that the cargo had already been paid for by the Honourable East India Company through Captain White and himself. His answer asserted that slaves bought under a settled account could not be subject to a fresh demand at St Helena. The dispute exposed the tension between the Company's central purchases and the local administration's wish to take its share from any cargo within reach. Speculations The Governor's pairing of a sympathetic answer on the anchor with an immediate demand for seven slaves suggests the relief and the levy were not unconnected in his mind. A master seeking aid in distress was a master under pressure to oblige, and the timing of the slave demand the day after the appeal points to the Governor pressing his advantage while Mackett needed his help. Mackett's swift and firm refusal, grounded in prior payment, indicates he saw the demand as an attempt to make him pay twice for the same cargo. By citing Captain White and the Company's settled account, he framed the levy as a charge already discharged, defending his owners' property against a claim he judged to have no foundation.

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174	166	Jan^{dy} Gov^d &c Reply. Cap^t Hen: Mackett. We have Seen yo^d An^s to y^e Gov^d Lett^d ab^t y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^s Quota of Slaves You Say you have purchafed theſe Slaves w^t y^e ſame Cargoe you had Ly cenſe to carry firſt out & therefore You think it is unreaſonable y^t We ſhould dem^d more. What Cargoe you purchafed y^e with We think We think We have no buſineſs to enquire into, but We know yo^d Lychenſe was only For One Tradeing Voyage to Mada gaſcar about y^e Cape of Good Hope. We acknowledg We have rec^d Seven Slaves. Our Orders are if any Veffell y^t is Lychenſed comes here whereof y^e H^t E^t India Comp^s have given Us no Advice y^t We ſhould take of y^e in the Same proportion as y^e others & to have the choice of thoſe Slaves We take. We find now You have made a Second Voyage & have gott more Slaves then You had before We do not as in Strictneſs We might examine You for paſſing y^e Cape of Good Hope without a Lychenſe (for your other Lychenſe is expired) We will deal with you in a more friendly manner & y^t is to inform You That tis very much yo^d Intereſt	The Governor's reply to Captain Henry Mackett followed. The council had read his answer to the Governor's letter about the Company's quota of slaves. Mackett claimed he had bought the slaves with the ſame cargo he had been licensed to carry out firſt, and therefore thought it unreaſonable to demand more. The council held it had no buſineſs to inquire what cargo he had bought them with, but knew his licence covered only one trading voyage to Madagascar by way of the Cape of Good Hope. The council acknowledged it had received ſeven ſlaves. Its orders were that, if any licensed veſſel called of which the Eaſt India Company had given no notice, it ſhould take ſlaves from her in the ſame proportion as from others, and ſhould have the choice of thoſe it took. The council had now learned that Mackett had made a ſecond voyage and obtained more ſlaves than he had before. In ſtrictneſs it might have examined him for paſſing the Cape of Good Hope without a licence, ſince his other licence had expired. The council choſe inſtead to deal with him in a more friendly manner, and to inform him that it was very much in his intereſt to [...] Interpretations The Governor's reply ſet out the legal ground for the ſlave levy, namely a ſtanding order to take a fixed proportion of ſlaves from any licensed veſſel of which the directors had given no advance notice. The council aſſerted the right of firſt choice over the ſlaves taken, which let it pick the fitteſt for the iſland's depleted labour force. This connects to the perſiſtent want of hands preſſed on the directors from the conſultation of 1 November 1715 onward. The council's reſuſal to inquire how Mackett had bought his ſlaves marked a deliberate narrowing of the diſpute. By declining to examine his cargo, the bench ſet aſide his defence of prior payment and reſted its claim ſolely on the terms and ſcope of his licence. The ſhift moved the argument from what Mackett had paid to what his authority permitted. The threat to examine Mackett for paſſing the Cape without a valid licence reveals the regulatory power the council held over private trading voyages. A maſter found beyond the bounds of an expired licence ſtood expoſed to penalty, and the Eaſt India Company's monopoly over the route gave the bench real leverage. The council's choice to forgo ſtrict examination was offered as a conceſſion in exchange for compliance. Speculations The council's move from the queſtion of payment to the queſtion of the licence ſhows a calculated reframing of the caſe in its own favour. Mackett's ſtrongeſt point was that the Company had already been paid for the cargo, and by ruling that point irrelevant the bench removed it from contention. The argument was ſteered onto ground where the council held the advantage. The offer to deal in a friendly manner, paired with the unſpoken threat over the expired licence, functioned as preſſure dressed as leniency. By reminding Mackett that he could be examined for an unlicensed paſſage of the Cape, the council made clear the coſt of reſuſal, then held out forbearance as the reward for yielding the ſeven ſlaves. The promiſe of friendlineſs carried the weight of the penalty it ſet aſide.
175	167	1717/18 to pay yo^d due proportion of Slaves now leaft you ſhould be hereafter called to an Ac^t for afuming to go twice ab^t y^e Cape of Good Hope & trade each time when you had y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^s Lychenſe to do So but Once We Suppoſe you are throly Senſible of this & know you	The reply concluded that Mackett ought to pay his due proportion of ſlaves now, leſt he be called to account hereafter for taking it upon himſelf to go twice about the Cape of Good Hope and trade each time, when his licence from the Company allowed him to do ſo only once. The council ſuppoſed he was fully ſenſible of this and knew he ought to deliver the

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		ought to deliver the Slaves or else We desire to know w^t buifnefs brought you here Union Cattle We are yo^d friends to Serve You St Helena Ifaac Pyke 17 Jan^d 1717/18 (Signd) Matth^o Bazett Antipas Tovey Anfwer. Wor^t S^d In yo^d last dated y^e 17ⁱ you Specify y^o do not Examine Us for returning beyond y^e Cape of Good hope but We do with humble Submission conceive We have not in that Anfwer We Sent to yo^d dem^d mentiond our having been ab^t y^e Cape but y^t y^e Slaves was purchafed wth the refidue of y^e Cargoe Paid for therefore thought it a hardship you should demand Slaves when We had paid y^e before. The reafon of Our touching here was for Provision & neccessarys for both w^e We are in diftrefs & beg y^e favour of You to Supply Us	slaves. Otherwise it wished to know what business had brought him to the island. The letter was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 17 January 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Captain Mackett's answer followed. In the council's letter of 17 January he had stated that he would not examine them for returning beyond the Cape of Good Hope. With humble submission, Mackett held that his earlier answer had not mentioned his having been about the Cape, but only that the slaves had been bought and the rest of the cargo paid for. He therefore thought it a hardship that the council should demand slaves when he had already paid for them before. Mackett explained that his reason for calling at the island was for provisions and necessities for both. He was in distress and begged the favour of being supplied. Interpretations The council's threat that Mackett might be called to account for a double passage of the Cape made explicit the legal jeopardy behind the demand. A single licence permitted one voyage, and a second trading run exposed him to penalty for exceeding his authority. The bench held this liability over him as the price of refusing the slaves, framing surrender of the seven as the safer course. The closing challenge to state what business had brought him, if not to deliver slaves, reveals the council's claim to regulate the very purpose of a private vessel's call. A ship in the road was expected either to render its proportion or to justify its presence. The demand left Mackett little room between compliance and an inquiry into the legitimacy of his voyage. Mackett's correction over the wording of the earlier letters shows how closely both sides guarded the precise terms of their exchange. He sought to deny that he had ever admitted passing the Cape, since that admission underpinned the council's strongest charge against him. The care over what each letter had actually said reflects an awareness that the written record would govern any later reckoning. Speculations Mackett's retreat to a plea of distress and a request for provisions marked a shift from legal argument to appeal. Having lost ground on the licence, he fell back on the plain need of a ship that wanted water and supplies. By stressing his hardship rather than his rights, he sought relief on humane terms where the contest of authority had turned against him. The council's insistence that Mackett either deliver the slaves or explain his presence was designed to close off the middle path he had tried to hold. He wanted provisions without paying the levy, and the bench answered by tying the two together. The demand made clear that aid and compliance were to stand or fall as one, leaving him no settled claim to supply while withholding the slaves.
176	168	Jan^{dy} We are S^d Yo^d most humble Serv^{ts} Jan^d 17 1717/8 (Signd) Henry Mackett N Copleston Gov^d &c Reply Gentlemen As We know & cant but know y^t You have been a Second time ab^t y^e Cape of Good Hope & traded each time w^{ch} Whether y^e had Authority to do without a New Lycenfe We are unwilling to enquire too farr into, You no doubt are Sensible of y^e Penalty by Act of Parliam^t w^{ch} We were so loth to take advantage of & therefore We advifed you as your best Intereft to pay Us y^e Slaves & end all difputes of that Nature	Mackett's letter closed as that of the council's most humble servant, signed by Henry Mackett and N. Copleston on 17 January 1718. The Governor's reply followed. The council knew, and could not but know, that Mackett had been a second time about the Cape of Good Hope and had traded each time. Whether he had authority to do so without a new licence, the council was unwilling to inquire too far, since he was no doubt aware of the penalty under the Act of Parliament. The council had been reluctant to take advantage of that penalty, and had therefore advised him, as his best interest, to pay the slaves and so end all disputes of that nature. As to his reasons for calling at the island for provisions and necessities, the council needed only to remind him that a man who did not pay his duties was

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		But as to yo^d reasons of coming here for Provision & necessaries We need say no more then to lett You know y^t he y^t does not pay his duties is not intitled to any favour nor ought not to be Supplied, this is far from a hardship becaufe We are enformd this Second Voyage has been more profitable to you than y^e former tho Our dem^d are not more now then they were then Gent^l We are Union Castl^e Your friends to Serve You S^t Helena (Signd) Ifaac Pyke Jan^d 17 1717/18 Antipas Tovey Matthew Bazett answer	entitled to no favour and ought not to be supplied. This was far from a hardship, since the council was informed that the second voyage had been more profitable to him than the former, even though its demand was no greater now than before. The letter was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 17 January 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Mackett's answer followed. Interpretations The council invoked the penalty under the Act of Parliament as the legal foundation for its whole position. Trading twice about the Cape without a fresh licence breached the East India Company's statutory monopoly, exposing Mackett to forfeiture or worse. The bench presented its restraint as a favour, advising payment of the slaves as the means to escape a far heavier statutory liability. The council's rule that a man who did not pay his duties deserved no favour and no supply tied relief directly to compliance. A vessel's access to provisions in the road was made conditional on rendering its proportion of slaves. The principle treated the island's stores as a lever to enforce the levy, denying aid to any master who withheld what the council claimed. The council's reference to the greater profit of the second voyage shows the bench answering the plea of hardship with intelligence about Mackett's own gains. By asserting that the voyage had been more profitable than the first, the council stripped his appeal of its force. The demand was cast as modest against his takings, leaving his claim of distress without weight. Speculations The council's repeated framing of the slave demand as advice in Mackett's own interest was a calculated softening of what was in substance a threat. By presenting payment as the path that would end all disputes, the bench let Mackett yield without the appearance of submitting to coercion. The language of friendly counsel masked the statutory penalty held in reserve. The claim to know Mackett's second voyage had been the more profitable suggests the council drew on reports gathered from the ship or its men once in the road. Deploying that knowledge against his plea of distress indicates a deliberate use of local intelligence to undercut his bargaining position, ensuring his appeal for supply could not stand against the council's demand.
177	169	1717/18 Answer Worship S^d As You deny Us necessaries & Provisions without We comply with yo^d dem^d in behalf of the Hon^{bl} Comp^s & y^t We are so Scanty of Water &c We are Obliged either to pay y^e Slaves or go without & run a great risque of ruining Our Cargoe We are Obliged rather than perill at Sea to condescend & beg of yo^d Wor^{sh} to farther us as far as possible in doing w^{ch} you will lay a Singular Obligation upon S^d Your most humble Sev^{ts} S^t Helena Henry Mackett Jan^d 17^e 1717/8 (Signd) N Copleston Cap^t Mackett S^d I find it necessary to remind You y^t y^o have been here 10 days, y^t yo^d Blacks are deliverd, y^t yo^d Ship is Watered, y^t y^o have been Supplied wth such necessary provisions as you pretended to be in need of but You have not Unmoord I Do therefore acquaint You y^t unless You have some very Just cause for yo^d continuance here as when You repref in writing Shall be approved of & allowed by the Council I Shall be Obliged to Send off	Mackett's answer followed. Since the council denied him necessities and provisions unless he complied with its demand on the Company's behalf, and since he was so short of water, he was obliged either to pay the slaves or go without and run a great risk of ruining his cargo. Rather than perish at sea, he would yield and beg the council to assist him as far as possible. In doing so the council would lay a singular obligation upon him. The letter was dated at St Helena on 17 January 1718 and signed by Henry Mackett and N. Copleston. A further letter from the Governor to Captain Mackett followed. The Governor found it necessary to remind him that he had been at the island ten days, that his slaves were delivered, that his ship was watered, and that he had been supplied with such provisions as he claimed to need, yet he had not unmoored. The Governor therefore gave him notice that, unless he had some very just cause for remaining, set out in writing and approved by the council, the Governor would be obliged to send off hands and unmoor his ship himself. This would be a trouble the Governor hoped Mackett would not put him to. The letter was dated 27 January 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke.

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		hands & unmoor yo^d Ship w^{ch} is a trouble I hope you will not put me to, y^t am S^d Your Friend Ifaac Pyke. Jan^d 27 1717/18 (Signd)	Interpretations Mackett's surrender shows the council's strategy of withholding water and provisions brought to its end. A ship short of water in an open road faced the ruin of its cargo and the loss of its crew, and that threat, not the legal argument over the licence, forced his submission. The bench had made supply conditional on the levy, and the condition prevailed. The Governor's reminder that Mackett had been ten days at the island, with slaves delivered, ship watered and provisions supplied, set out the record of aid already given to justify the demand that he now leave. The detail served to show the council had met its obligations in full, leaving no ground for further delay. The account was built to answer any later complaint of harsh treatment. The threat to send off hands and unmoor the ship by force reveals the council's authority over vessels in the road extending to physical control of a ship that overstayed. A master who lingered without approved cause could be removed by the Governor's men. The power to unmoor a private ship marks the reach of the council's command over the roadstead and all who used it. Speculations The Governor's insistence that any cause for remaining be set out in writing and approved by the council was designed to deny Mackett any informal pretext for delay. By requiring a formal, recorded justification, the bench closed off vague appeals to distress or convenience. The demand forced Mackett either to produce a sanctioned reason or to depart, removing his discretion over his own stay. Mackett's framing of his surrender as the council laying an obligation upon him preserved a measure of dignity in defeat. By casting his compliance as the occasion for the council's favour rather than as plain submission, he sought to leave the exchange with the appearance of a bargain. The wording let him yield the slaves while presenting the relief he received as a kindness owed in return.
178	170	Jan^{dy} Worl^t S^d Anfwer We need not acquaint you y^t y^e first 3 or 4 days We are here there was so large a Surfe it was impoffible to gett a shoar, y^e rest of y^e time We have Stayed here is by yo^d means in Hagling & Picking our Slaves w^{ch} We think is very unreafonable having paid Our full num^b before & have yo^d receipt to Shew for y^e Same. We did not come here by choice but was blown off of y^e Cape in a Storm & loft Our Anchors behind Us, We wanted nothing here but what no English man can deny and is are y^t Ordinary refrefhm^{ts} of y^e Port as Water & Provisions for Our mony As for Our Staying here We afure You We have no liking to y^e place & shall not continue an hour longer y^t needs must We do intend to Sail if poffible to day having nothing to do but to take off One boat load more of Water. We are S^d Yo^d humble Servants St Helena Jofia Hen: Mackett Jan^d 27^e 1717/8 (Signd) N Copleston Antipas Tovey Geo: Hafwell Matthew Bazett	Mackett's answer followed. He pointed out that for the first three or four days at the island the surf had been so heavy that getting ashore was impossible. The rest of his time had been spent through the council's own doing, in haggling and selecting his slaves. He thought this very unreasonable, having paid his full number before and holding the council's receipt for the same. Mackett stressed that he had not come to the island by choice but had been blown off the Cape in a storm and had lost his anchors behind him. He had wanted nothing at the island but what no Englishman could deny, namely the ordinary refreshments of the port, such as water and provisions for his money. As for his staying, Mackett assured the council he had no liking for the place and would not remain an hour longer than necessity required. He intended to sail that day if possible, having nothing left to do but take off one more boatload of water. The letter was dated at St Helena on 27 January 1718 and signed by Josias Henry Mackett, N. Coppleston, Antipas Tovey, George Haswell and Matthew Bazett. Interpretations Mackett's defence placed the blame for his delay squarely on the council's own conduct in haggling over and selecting the slaves. He had been ready to comply, having already paid his number and holding a receipt, yet the bench's process of picking had kept him in the road. The argument turned the charge of overstaying back on the council, which had insisted on its right of first choice from any cargo. The plea for the ordinary refreshments of the port that no Englishman could deny appealed to a

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			recognised custom of the sea. A vessel in genuine distress, blown off course and stripped of its anchors, expected water and provisions for payment as a matter of common right. Mackett invoked this usage to cast the council's conditions as a denial of what any English port owed a ship in need. The signatures of the councillors alongside Mackett and Coppleston on the master's own letter show the bench recording the full exchange as a closed and attested account. Entering the correspondence complete, with all parties subscribed, fixed the record of the dispute over the slave levy and the relief of the <i>Mercury</i> ketch against any later question from the directors. Speculations Mackett's emphasis that the delay arose from the council's haggling was framed to rebut the Governor's threat of 27 January 1718 to unmoor his ship by force. By showing that the lost days were the council's doing and not his own idleness, he denied the bench any just cause to treat him as a wilful overstayer. The letter shifted responsibility for the delay before the charge could be pressed. The detail that nothing remained but to take off one more boatload of water served to demonstrate that departure was imminent and within his own power. By marking how little was left to do, Mackett undercut any need for the council to send hands to remove him. The statement was calculated to make forcible unmooring appear both unnecessary and unjust.
179	171	1717/18 Island S^t Helena. At a Confulatation held on Tuesfday y^e 28th January 1717/18 at Union Caftle in James Vally Ifaac Pyke Ef^q^d Gov^d Geo: Hafwell Dep^y Prefent. Matth^o Bazett 3^d & Antipas Tovey 4 in Counc^t The last Confulatation read & approved of Cap^t Hafwell is Ordered to View y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^s Several Plantations & report how ma ny Yams there is therein & that y^e Govern^d intends to ask him these following Quesftions Whether he ever knew y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^s have more Yams planted then they have now. What Order the Plantations are in & How many Yams there is now planted. Matthew Midge Son of Jon^a Midge (dec^d) Aged 18 years desired Cap^t Matth^o Bazett might be his Guardian who Accepted of that Charge. Cap^t Hafwell brought in y^e following Writing. (Viz^t) Island S^t Helena Jan^d 28 1717/18 To the Wor^{ts} Ifa Pyke Ef^q^d Gov^d &c Council Gentlemen Whereas M^d Antipas Tovey Secretary (or more probably Incendiary) did exhibit	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 January 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. Captain Haswell was ordered to view the Company's several plantations and report how many yams grew in them. The Governor intended to put him the following questions: whether he had ever known the Company to have more yams planted than they had now, what condition the plantations were in, and how many yams were now planted. Matthew Mudge, son of the late Jonathan Mudge, aged eighteen years, asked that Captain Matthew Bazett might be his guardian, and Bazett accepted the charge. Captain Haswell then brought in the following writing, dated at the island of St Helena on 28 January 1718 and addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor, and the council. Haswell set out that Mr Antipas Tovey, secretary, or more probably incendiary, had exhibited some [...] Interpretations The questions framed for Captain Haswell about the yams reveal a deliberate inquiry into the state of the Company's plantations. The Governor sought to establish on the record how many yams were planted and in what condition the grounds stood. This continues the scrutiny of the plantations' yield pursued through the Cason yam survey entered at the consultation of 26 February 1717, by which the council tested reports that the grounds were neglected. The appointment of Captain Bazett as guardian to the eighteen-year-old Matthew Mudge shows the council's role in placing minors under the care of a responsible man of standing. A youth under twenty-one could not manage his own affairs, and the bench oversaw the choice of guardian to protect both the minor and any property he stood to inherit. The Mudge family's affairs had earlier come before the council through the Jane Mudge maintenance petition at the consultation of 14 January 1718.

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			The order that Haswell view the plantations and report shows the council assigning a formal duty to the deputy governor even as he stood suspended and accused. The task placed him in the field gathering evidence on the Company's most pressing concern, its food supply, while his own conduct remained under examination. The bench kept the business of the island moving despite the quarrel at its centre. Speculations Haswell's description of Tovey as secretary, or more probably incendiary, signals the opening of his formal counterattack against the complaint Tovey had laid before the council on 14 January 1718. The play on Tovey's office, casting the keeper of records as a kindler of strife, set the tone for a written defence that would answer accusation with accusation. The document marks Haswell's attempt to recast himself from accused to accuser. The Governor's preparation of three specific questions for Haswell, rather than a general request for a report, suggests an intent to pin down precise answers that could later be tested. By fixing in advance what Haswell would be asked about the yams, the Governor framed an inquiry whose results could be checked against the plantations themselves, guarding against the vague or self-serving account that the earlier audit had exposed in Haswell's handling of the books.
180	172	Jan^{dy} some time Since a Malicious Scandalous and infamous paper endeavouring thereby to Sully & blaft my reputation His Affertions are so Infolent, Impudent & Incoherent y^t duly confiderd they will need no confuting for they will do that themfelves but it always happens y^t a man y^t has no reputa tion himfelf, beleives no body to have any nor will he Stick at any bafe or Villanous Action My Birth Education & Character is well known to Several Members of y^e Hon^{bl} Court of Directors And that I have been entrusted in Several good employments wherein I have behaved my Self so Satisfactorily on all occafions y^t I have been thereby recomended to my Hon^{bl} Maft^{rs} And only Wish I had my Accufer in Engl^d I would soon lay him faft & dreign his purfe of Chink if he had any. As what he alleadges in his first Artic^{le} That while he & y^e rest of y^e Council were busy in putting up y^e Packett I imediatly whipt away & Lockt up in y^e Pref^s Some of his papers I answer he was not Writing Out y^e List nor was the Packett putt up, nor y^e General Letter concluded while y^e Monday following nor any of the Council there but him & my Self Shewe^d	Haswell's written answer continued, describing Tovey's paper as a malicious, scandalous and infamous document by which Tovey had tried to ruin and blacken his reputation some time before. Haswell declared Tovey's assertions so insolent, impudent and incoherent that, properly considered, they needed no refuting and would refute themselves. He observed that a man who had no reputation of his own believed no one else to have any, and would not shrink from any base or villainous act. His own birth, education and character were well known to several members of the Court of Directors. He had been entrusted with several good employments and had conducted himself so satisfactorily on every occasion that he had been recommended to his masters on that account. He only wished he had his accuser in England, where he would soon have him imprisoned and drain him of his money, if he had any. As to Tovey's first charge, that while Tovey and the rest of the council were busy putting up the packet Haswell had at once whisked away and locked some of the papers in his press, Haswell answered that Tovey was not then writing out the list, nor was the packet put up, nor the General Letter finished. On the Monday following, none of the council had been present but Tovey and himself, though [...] Interpretations Haswell's defence rested heavily on his standing with the Court of Directors rather than on the facts of his charge. By citing his birth, education and the good employments entrusted to him, he sought to set his established character against Tovey's accusation. The appeal shows how patronage and reputation with the directors in London served as a shield in disputes on the island, where personal credit could outweigh a particular allegation. Haswell's attack on Tovey's own reputation followed a recognised rhetorical method of discrediting the accuser to undermine the accusation. The argument that a man without reputation believes none in others, and will stop at no villainy, aimed to make Tovey's word worthless before the council. This answered in kind Tovey's charge that Haswell's oath could not be trusted, laid before the council on 14 January 1718. Haswell's challenge over the sequence of events shows the dispute turning on the precise order in which the packet was made up. He denied that Tovey

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			had been writing the list or that the General Letter was finished when the alleged concealment took place. The defence sought to dismantle the factual basis of the first charge by disputing its timing, since Tovey's account depended on the papers being taken during the packing. Speculations Haswell's wish to have his accuser in England, where he would imprison him and drain his money, was a calculated assertion of where real power lay. By pointing to England as the forum where he held the advantage, Haswell implied that Tovey's strength on the island would not survive a reckoning at home. The threat served to remind the council of Haswell's connections and to unsettle Tovey's confidence in his local victory. Haswell's claim that only he and Tovey were present on the Monday following was framed to recast the affair as a private quarrel rather than a matter witnessed by the council. By narrowing the scene to the two of them, Haswell sought to strip Tovey's charge of independent corroboration and to set the dispute as one man's word against another's, where his superior reputation would prevail.
181	173	1717/18 that allegation must consequently be false because he acknowledges he found y^e papers himself & I fain would know how those Fifteen Sheets of Loose paper Should come into My of fice for y^e writing of Eighteen Lines unless it had been a designed Trick to Fob such a Scandal upon Me We were in y^e Office above two hours in Comparing y^e Copys & Originals of y^e Books that were Sent home Several of which were in Loose Sheets of Paper & in putting y^e Books up into y^e Presses they might be mixt together unknown to Me w^{ch} I am ready to declare upon Oath & y^e papers were Missed & found before the Chest of Books was Packt up When they were missed I bid Holliwell go & look if they were in the Presses for some of y^e Papers were left behind upon y^e Table w^{ch} M^d Alexander found & as for my denying him y^e Key I nev^d Did & y^e were I in England among my friends and acquaintance my bare word would be of more Validity then his Oath. for tis reasonable to believe he would Swallow any What he alleges concerning y^e Confutats containing y^e proof of my negligence there was nothing in them for it was the day after that y^e I was Suspended & consequently	Haswell's answer continued, arguing that Tovey's allegation must be false, since Tovey acknowledged he had found the papers himself. Haswell wished to know how those fifteen loose sheets, written over with eighteen lines, could have come into his office, unless it had been a deliberate trick to fasten such a scandal upon him. Haswell explained that the council had spent above two hours in the office comparing the copies and originals of the books sent home, several of which were in loose sheets. In putting the books up into the press they might easily have been mixed together without his knowledge. He was ready to declare on oath that the papers were missed and then found before the chest of books was packed. When they were missed, he had told Holliwell to look whether they were in the press, since some of the papers had been left behind on the table, which Mr Alexander found. As for his denying him the key, Haswell admitted he did, and maintained that in England, among his friends and acquaintance, his bare word would carry more weight than Tovey's oath, for it was reasonable to believe Tovey would swear to anything. As to Tovey's claim that the consultations contained the proof of his negligence, Haswell answered that there was nothing of the kind in them, for it was the day after that he was suspended, and consequently nothing [...] Interpretations Haswell's central argument turned the discovery of the papers against the accuser. He reasoned that since Tovey found the sheets himself, the charge of theft collapsed, and the only explanation for loose papers in his office was a planted trick. The defence sought to convert evidence of concealment into evidence of a frame-up, reversing the direction of the suspicion Tovey had raised on 14 January 1718. Haswell's account of two hours spent comparing copies and originals offered an innocent explanation for how loose sheets came to be among the books. By describing the packing as a confused process in which papers in loose form might be mixed without his knowledge, he attributed the misplacement to accident rather than design. The explanation answered the physical fact of the sheets in his press, which lay at the heart of Tovey's case. Haswell's renewed claim that his bare word in England would outweigh Tovey's oath restated the contest as one of credit before the directors. The assertion that Tovey would swear to anything attacked

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			the value of sworn testimony itself when given by his opponent. This shows how the worth of an oath was treated as inseparable from the reputation of the man who gave it. Haswell's point that his suspension came the day after the consultations bore directly on Tovey's motive theory. If the papers could not have recorded a negligence not yet acted upon, then Tovey's claim that Haswell hid them to conceal proof of his failings lost its foundation. The argument used the sequence of dates to dismantle the alleged reason for the concealment, the suspension itself dating from the consultation of 4 January 1718. Speculations Haswell's insistence that he was ready to declare on oath that the papers were found before the chest was packed was a deliberate counter to Tovey's challenge over the value of his oath. By offering to swear to the innocent sequence, Haswell reclaimed the credibility of his own sworn word and dared the council to weigh it against Tovey's. The offer turned the question of oaths back upon his accuser. Haswell's naming of Holliwell, sent to search the press, and of Alexander, who found papers left on the table, was calculated to introduce other hands into the events. By placing the papers in the ordinary course of a search conducted at his own direction, Haswell sought to show his conduct open rather than furtive. The detail recast the discovery as part of a transparent process he had himself set in motion, not a concealment exposed against his will.
182	174	Jan^{dy} nothing of Moment alleadged against me there & when ever y^e Packett is putt up it is called ov^d by a List so that thefe Confultat^s (if I had a real delign of conveying them away) would in Courfe have been Miffed so I canot conceive how he can have y^e impudence to Tax Me with theft No body but he y^e f^l Antipas Tovey (who is so Noto rioufly known to have Stabbd M^d Geo Carne cow ardly in y^e dark wth a Sword & Sutton Ifaacks w^t a penknife as he was in his Shirt in y^e dark making Water & Also M^d Francis Wrangham with a Sword after y^e f^l Wrangham had treated him civilly in his Own houfe) could have taxed Me with So Scandalous a Fact & it is Evident that he that Values not the Stabbing a Man will not Stick to belpatter & Stain his reputation & that he has not only been Guilty of Stabbing three in this Iiland but has Several times attemp ted to Murder his Own Wife & I humbly requeft of yo^d Wor^l in the Name of my Hon^{bl} Maft^{ds} that yo^d Wor^l would pleafe to produce his Wives declaration Attefted by yo^d Wor^l Cap^t Brown my Self & Cap^t Maithbourne when he attempted in the night to cutt her throat in Our paf fage from England hither & y^t it may go home Whereby Our Hon^{bl} Masters will be y^e better	Haswell's answer continued, holding that nothing of consequence had been alleged against him there. Whenever the packet was made up it was checked against a list, so that if he had really meant to carry the consultations away they would in the ordinary course have been missed. He could not see how Tovey had the impudence to charge him with the theft. Haswell declared that no one but Antipas Tovey could have charged him with so scandalous an act. He set out that Tovey was notoriously known to have cowardly stabbed Mr George Carne in the dark with a sword, and Sutton Isaacks with a penknife, as Isaacks stood in his shirt in the dark making water. Tovey had also stabbed Mr Francis Wrangham with a sword after Wrangham had treated him civilly in his own house. A man who thought nothing of stabbing another would not shrink from spattering and staining another man's reputation. Haswell added that Tovey had not only been guilty of stabbing three men on the island but had several times tried to murder his own wife. Haswell humbly requested, in the name of his masters, that the Governor produce the declaration of Tovey's wife, attested by the Governor, Captain Brown, Haswell himself and Captain Mashborne, given when Tovey had tried to cut her throat by night during their passage from England. The declaration should go home, so that the masters would be the better able [...] Interpretations Haswell's argument that the packet was always checked against a list offered a procedural defence against the charge of theft. He reasoned that a deliberate removal would have been caught by the routine count, so the presence of the papers proved no design to steal them. The point used the council's own packing procedure as evidence of his innocence, turning administrative method into a shield. Haswell's catalogue of Tovey's alleged violence served to destroy the credibility of the accuser by painting him a habitual stabber. The named victims George Carne, Sutton Isaacks and Francis Wrangham gave the charges a specific and verifiable form. By assembling a record of past assaults, Haswell sought to persuade the council that a man so violent and

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			treacherous could not be trusted in his word against another. Haswell's demand that the Governor produce the wife's declaration reveals how depositions taken on the voyage out were preserved as standing evidence against a man's character. The attestation by the Governor, Captain Brown, Haswell and the late Captain Mashborne gave the document weight as the joint testimony of officers of standing. The call to send it home shows the directors in London treated as the ultimate judges of conduct on the island. Speculations Haswell's shift from defending the theft charge to accusing Tovey of attempted murder marks a deliberate escalation designed to overwhelm the original complaint. Rather than merely deny the concealment, he sought to make Tovey's whole character the issue, so that the council would weigh a charge of misfiled papers against a record of stabbings and an attempt on a wife's life. The strategy aimed to render Tovey's accusation trivial by comparison. Haswell's request to send the wife's declaration home to the directors was calculated to move the contest to the forum where he claimed the advantage. By proposing that London judge the matter on a document attesting Tovey's violence, Haswell sought to bypass the local council and appeal to the masters with whom he professed strong standing. The move fits his earlier wish, set out the same day, to have his accuser tried in England.
183	175	1717/18 able to Judge of y^e man & his reputation And tho he has insinuated to Our Hon^{bl} Masters y^e he was truly penitent for y^e Stabbing of M^d Fr^a Wrangham Yet he is so farr from being So y^e he Glories in it having often declared y^e he defignd y^e Stabb upon M^d French y^e Govrd & Since y^e has been twice prevented privately Stabbing thofe for taking my part when he has grofly abufed & calumniated me behind my back & for Some Months past has not had y^e Liberty to wear a Sword & tho yo^d Worl^d has been pleafed to hide & Wink at his faults Yet now hope Youl lett him appeare in his proper Colours & Since his Malice is arrived to so great a height that he would Endeavour to take away not only my reputation but my Life I humbly request y^e he may be Obliged to give Security for his future good behaviour in y^e I miniftly go in danger of my Life w^{ch} consequently must be a great hindrance to me in the Difpatch of my Hon^{bl} Malt^{ds} Affairs As to y^e Charge against Me Saying y^e Jaⁿ^s Gov^d of y^e Ifld I would be greater then King George in England is nothing but his Own Drunken Chimera (for he is never Sober when he can gett drink) & would endeavour to Shift	Haswell's answer continued, so that the masters would be the better able to judge of the man and his reputation. Haswell observed that, although Tovey had told the masters he was truly penitent for stabbing Mr Francis Wrangham, he was so far from being so that he gloried in it. Tovey had often declared that he meant to stab Mr French, the gunner, and had since been twice prevented from privately stabbing those who took Haswell's part when he had grossly abused and slandered Haswell behind his back. For some months past Tovey had not been allowed to wear a sword. Although the Governor had been pleased to overlook and conceal his faults, Haswell now hoped the council would let Tovey appear in his true character, since his malice had risen to such a height that he would try to take away not only Haswell's reputation but his life. Haswell humbly requested that Tovey be obliged to give security for his future good behaviour. He went in daily danger of his life, which was consequently a great hindrance to him in carrying out his masters' affairs. As to the charge that he had said that, as Governor of the island, he would be greater than King George in England, Haswell answered that this was nothing but Tovey's own drunken invention, for Tovey was never sober when he could get drink. Tovey would try to shift [...] Interpretations Haswell's claim that Tovey gloried in stabbing Wrangham rather than repenting was aimed at the directors' earlier clemency. By alleging that Tovey had deceived the masters with a false penitence, Haswell sought to reopen a matter the Company had thought settled. The argument worked to strip Tovey of any credit he had gained by professing remorse, casting his contrition as a lie. Haswell's request that Tovey give security for good behaviour invoked a recognised legal remedy against a man held to be dangerous. A bond for good behaviour bound the party to keep the peace on pain of forfeiture, and was the council's standard instrument for restraining those who threatened violence. By framing his plea in these terms, Haswell asked the

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			bench to treat Tovey not as an accuser but as a public danger requiring legal restraint. Haswell's defence against the charge of treasonable words rested wholly on attributing them to Tovey's drunkenness. By branding the alleged boast a drunken invention and Tovey a man never sober when drink could be had, Haswell sought to deny the words were ever spoken. This answered directly the grave accusation Tovey had laid before the council on 14 January 1718, that Haswell claimed greater power than King George. The detail that Tovey had been forbidden to wear a sword for some months shows the council had already taken practical measures against his violence. The disarming marked an existing official judgement that Tovey posed a danger, which Haswell now pressed as corroboration of his wider charges. The fact lent weight to his portrait of an accuser the bench itself had found it necessary to restrain. Speculations Haswell's repeated emphasis on Tovey's drunkenness served a double purpose beyond denying the treasonable words. By establishing Tovey as a habitual drunkard, Haswell undermined the reliability of his entire complaint, since a man rarely sober could not be trusted to recount events accurately. The charge of intemperance was deployed to discredit not one allegation but the whole body of Tovey's testimony. Haswell's plea that the danger to his life hindered his masters' affairs tied his personal safety to the Company's interest. By framing Tovey's alleged threats as an obstacle to the Company's business, Haswell sought to make his own protection a matter of duty rather than self-interest. The argument invited the council to bind Tovey not merely to shield Haswell but to safeguard the administration of the island itself.
184	176	Jan^{dy} it upon me for he has (to Ufe his Own words if they may be proper) Amufed & terrified his Drunken Companions for non of any reputation in y^e Ifland would Suffer him was he out of Council to put his head into their Comp^s it is more probable he would drive all y^e people in y^e Ifland to y^e Devil were he Gov^d having often declared he had Intereft en^o to be So & has layd Wagers upon y^e Same particularly five pounds with M^d John French & hoping yo^d Worl^t & Council will take y^e premiffes into yo^d confideration & grant Me yo^d protection against his infults both publick & private I am Worl^t S^d &c Yo^d Most humble Serv^t Geo: Hafwell Orderd That M^d Alexander give inn in Writing an Account of what he knows of the taking away thofe Confultations M^d Tovey charges Cap^t Hafwell with Stealing. The following Petit^e was prefented (Viz^t) To the Worl^t Ifa Pyke Elq^d Gov^d &c of S^t Helena The Petit^e of Rifin Wills Humbly Sheweth That as yo^d petit^e being very	Haswell's answer concluded, charging that Tovey would try to shift the matter onto him. In Tovey's own words, if they could be called proper, he had amused and frightened his drunken companions, for no man of any reputation on the island would suffer him, were he out of the council, to put his head into their company. Haswell held it more probable that Tovey himself would drive all the people of the island to the devil were he Governor, having often declared that he had an interest sufficient to become Governor and having laid wagers upon it, in particular a wager of £5 0s 0d with Mr John French. Haswell hoped the council would take his complaint into consideration and grant him protection against Tovey's insults, both public and private. The writing closed as that of the council's most humble servant, signed by George Haswell. The council ordered that Mr Alexander give in writing an account of what he knew of the removal of the consultations that Tovey charged Captain Haswell with stealing. The following petition was then presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of St Helena, and the council. Riping Wills petitioned, setting out that, as the council's petitioner, being very [...] Interpretations Haswell's closing tactic was to turn Tovey's own boast of becoming Governor against him by reframing it as proof of Tovey's unfitness. The detail that Tovey had laid a wager of £5 0s 0d with John French on his prospects gave the claim a concrete and verifiable form. By citing a specific bet, Haswell sought to show the ambition was real and recorded, not an invention of his own, answering Tovey's identical charge against him laid before the council on 14 January 1718. Haswell's request for the council's protection against insults public and private framed his defence as a plea for the bench's safeguard rather than a mere rebuttal.

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			By asking for protection, he positioned himself as the injured party seeking the council's shield, inverting the posture of the accused. The closing appeal sought to leave the council with the impression that Haswell, not Tovey, was the one wronged. The order that Alexander set down in writing what he knew of the removal of the consultations shows the council seeking independent testimony to resolve the conflicting accounts. With Tovey and Haswell each swearing to opposite versions, the bench turned to a third councillor who had handled the papers. Alexander had found the sheets left on the table, and his written account promised evidence not tied to either antagonist's interest. The presentation of Riping Wills's petition immediately after the bitter exchange shows the council returning to ordinary business amid the quarrel. Riping Wills had earlier produced the bond of 26 January 1705 in the Steward inheritance dispute settled at the consultation of 29 October 1717, and now came before the bench on his own account. The juxtaposition reflects how routine matters proceeded alongside the contest between the two officers. Speculations Haswell's framing of Tovey as a man whom no person of reputation would keep company with was calculated to isolate his accuser socially as well as legally. By asserting that only drunken companions would suffer Tovey's presence, Haswell sought to deny him any respectable standing before the council. The portrait aimed to make Tovey's word carry no weight beyond the disreputable circle Haswell assigned him. The council's choice to commit Alexander's account to writing, rather than take it by spoken report, indicates an intent to fix his evidence in a form that could be weighed and preserved. A written statement could be checked against the rival depositions and sent home if needed. The decision suggests the bench foresaw that the dispute might be judged elsewhere, and meant to assemble a documentary record that would stand on its own.
185	177	1717/18 desirous to return to his Native Country humbly prays yo^d Wor^t & Council to take passage by y^e first opportunity of Shipping Yo^d petit^e likewise humbly Offreth w^t he hath to dispose of to the Hon^{bl} Comp^s & will as in duty bound ever pray (Signd) Rifin Wills. Referd to a further consideration Last Week a Veftry being called the Gov^d Sent them the following Letter (Viz' Gent^m Because I confider Yee in a Double capa city both as Fathers & Guardians to Orph^t & as a Veftry or Council for y^e Parifh there fore to You who are now mett I write for yo^d Opinion in a matter of which I am doubt full, I was Ufed to referr to Several of Yee as a Jury in cases Criminal or Perfonal & then You being Judges of matter of Fact gave in a Verdict that concluded y^e contra verfie But I do not Send to you now as a Jury to Try a caufe but as a Veftry wherein you are to confider first & chiefly y^e Intereft of the Parifh So as may best conduce to prevent a future Charge to yo^d Selves not doubt ing but at y^e same time you will have a due regard to the Cafe of thofe Orphans whofe	The petition continued, setting out that Riping Wills was desirous to return to his native country and prayed the council to grant him passage by the first opportunity of shipping. He offered to dispose to the Company of whatever he had. The petition was signed by Riping Wills. The council referred the matter to further consideration. A vestry having been called the previous week, the Governor sent its members the following letter. He addressed them as standing in a double capacity, both as fathers and guardians to orphans and as a vestry or council for the parish. He wrote to them now for their opinion in a matter on which he was doubtful. He had been used to refer to several of them as a jury in cases criminal or personal, where, as judges of matter of fact, they gave a verdict that settled the controversy. He was not sending to them now as a jury to try a cause, but as a vestry, in which capacity they were to consider first and chiefly the interest of the parish, so as best to prevent a future charge to themselves. At the same time he trusted they would have due regard to the case of those orphans whose [...] Interpretations The Governor's distinction between the vestry's two capacities reveals the dual structure of local authority on the island. As a jury, the same men decided questions of fact in criminal and personal causes, while as a vestry they administered the parish and its dependents. The letter shows the Governor carefully separating these roles, since the matter before them called for parish judgement rather than a verdict on disputed fact.

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			The description of the vestrymen as fathers and guardians to orphans reflects the parish's standing duty to care for children left without support. A vestry in the English parish system managed poor relief and the oversight of orphans, and on St Helena the same body served this function. The Governor's appeal to their guardianship marks the institutional channel through which the island provided for its fatherless children. The Governor's emphasis on preventing a future charge to the parish exposes the financial logic behind the inquiry. Maintenance of orphans and the poor fell on the parish purse, and the vestry was bound to guard against burdens that would fall on the inhabitants as ratepayers. The instruction to weigh the parish interest first shows how the cost of relief shaped the council's handling of dependent persons. Riping Wills's offer to dispose of his goods to the Company in exchange for passage home reflects the standard mechanism by which departing residents settled their affairs. A man leaving the island sold his property to the Company rather than carry it away, converting his holdings into the means of departure. The council's referral to further consideration shows that such requests were weighed against the petitioner's obligations before leave was granted. Speculations The Governor's careful framing of the question as a vestry matter rather than a jury cause suggests he sought a particular kind of judgement, one guided by the parish interest rather than the strict facts of a dispute. By directing the men to consider the cost to themselves as ratepayers first, he steered them toward a decision shaped by financial prudence. The distinction prepared them to weigh the orphans' case against the parish purse rather than to render a verdict on contested fact. The Governor's admission that he was himself doubtful in the matter indicates a deliberate sharing of responsibility for a difficult decision. By putting the question to the vestry and inviting their opinion, he spread the weight of the outcome across the body of guardians. The move ensured that any charge arising from the decision would rest on the collective judgement of the parish rather than on the Governor alone.
186	178	Jan^{dy} future Intereft depends on yo^d Judgm^{ts} I have Sent You the Wid^e Midges Petie^r w^{ch} Setts out her own Cafe in a deplorable man^d but tis not rightly Stated as You may Obferve by her Saying She would Sell her Land to Sam^d Jeffrey her Son in Law &c who We all know is not her Son in Law. This Ancient Women has for Several Years past defended your Parifh from y^e charge of maintaining some of her Grand Children & now She her Self lyes Bedd ridden & wants One to manage her Affaires She has Propofed to Settle her whole Estate real & Perfonal on Sam^d Jeffrey to maintain her y^e rest of her Life becaufe She cant manage her affairs her felf But in cafe She be permitted to difin herrett all her Grand Children You are to confider who is to maintain them. And You are to confider whether it be proper for this unhappy Women who is now near Seventy Years of Age to difin heritt y^e next Heirs at Law without some rea fonable caufe lest such things should be brought into Precedent & then when any Man or Woman has pafth thro so many	The Governor's letter continued, observing that the future interest of the orphans depended on the vestry's judgement. The Governor had sent the vestry the widow Mudge's petition, which set out her own case in a deplorable manner, though not rightly stated. As they might observe, she said she would sell her land to Samuel Jefsey, her son-in-law, who they all knew was not her son-in-law. This aged woman had for several years past saved the parish from the charge of maintaining some of her grandchildren. Now she herself lay bedridden and needed someone to manage her affairs. She had proposed to settle her whole estate, real and personal, on Samuel Jefsey, to maintain her for the rest of her life, since she could not manage her affairs herself. Should she be permitted to disinherit all her grandchildren, the vestry was to consider who would then maintain them. The Governor also asked them to weigh whether it was proper for this unhappy woman, now near seventy years of age, to disinherit her next heirs at law without some reasonable cause, lest such a thing be brought into precedent. Then, whenever any man or woman had passed through so many [...] Interpretations The widow Mudge's proposal to settle her whole estate on Jefsey in return for maintenance reveals a recognised arrangement by which the aged secured care in their last years. Lacking the strength to manage

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			her own affairs, she offered her land and goods to a younger man in exchange for support until death. The council treated such a settlement as a matter of public concern, since it bore on who would bear the cost of her dependents. The Governor's insistence on the orphans' competing claim shows the tension between an individual's freedom to dispose of property and the parish's interest in maintenance. If the widow gave everything to Jefsey, her grandchildren lost their inheritance and might fall on the parish for support. The vestry had to balance her wish to secure her own care against the charge her grandchildren would become if disinherited. The Governor's warning against setting a precedent exposes the council's concern that one approved disinheritance would invite others. A ruling permitting the aged to cut off their heirs in exchange for care could open the parish to repeated burdens as others did the same. The caution shows the bench reasoning beyond the single case to the general rule its decision would establish. The Mudge family had come before the council before, through the Jane Mudge maintenance petition at the consultation of 14 January 1718 and the guardianship of the young Matthew Mudge settled at the consultation of 28 January 1718. The widow's petition forms part of a wider pattern of the family's affairs requiring the council's oversight, with successive members dependent on its arrangements for support. Speculations The Governor's pointed observation that Jefsey was not in truth the widow's son-in-law, though she so described him, signals doubt about the nature of the relationship behind the proposed settlement. By correcting her account before the vestry, the Governor invited suspicion that the arrangement might serve Jefsey's interest more than the widow's. The remark prepared the guardians to scrutinise whether the settlement was a genuine bargain for care or a means of diverting the estate to an outsider. The Governor's framing of the question around precedent rather than the widow's particular circumstances suggests his real concern lay with the parish's future exposure. By directing the vestry to consider the general consequences of permitting disinheritance for maintenance, he steered them toward protecting the parish purse over honouring the widow's wishes. The emphasis on precedent reveals a decision shaped less by sympathy for the aged woman than by the cost her example might impose on the inhabitants.
187	179	1717/18 Years as to have their Understandings weakened they may be prevailed on by de signing people about them to disinherit their Family & defraud their Children or next Relations of w^t otherwise they would have a right to enjoy after them. You may confider Likewife Whether the Land Cattle Blacks &c belonging to this Ancient Woman be not much more then her Maintenance is Worth even Supposing tho it be not very likely) that She Should live two or three Years longer & if You are of Opinion that She Should be permitted to Sell all whether an Outcry or Publick Sale be not the fairest way because then tis probable there may be something left. And in case no body can be found y^t will go to live with her for Gratuity or hire whether it be not proper that y^e next heir at Law be permitted to go to Live with her & putt all things in Some better Order than	The Governor's letter continued, observing that when people had grown so old that their understanding had weakened, scheming persons about them might persuade them to disinherit their family and defraud their children or near relations of what those relatives would otherwise have a right to enjoy after them. The Governor asked the vestry to consider whether the land, cattle and slaves belonging to this aged woman were not worth far more than her maintenance, even supposing, though it was not very probable, that she should live two or three years longer. If they thought she should be permitted to sell everything, he asked whether an outcry or public sale would not be the fairest way, since it was probable something would then be left over. Should no one be found who would go to live with her for nothing, the Governor asked whether it would not be proper for her next heir at law to be permitted to live with her and put her affairs in better order than they were at present. The Governor observed that this poor woman could not manage her own affairs. If burdening the parish

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		they are at present For this poor Woman Since She cannot manage her Own Affairs y^e burthening the Parish cannot be avoided & they must maintain Some of y^e Family then You are	could not be avoided, and the parish must maintain some of her family, then the vestry was to [...] Interpretations The Governor's warning against scheming persons who prey on the aged reveals the council's concern to protect the weak-minded from exploitation. The law allowed an owner to dispose of property freely, but a person whose understanding had failed might be manipulated into defrauding the natural heirs. The vestry was asked to guard against a settlement procured by influence over a woman no longer able to judge her own interest. The Governor's proposal of an outcry or public sale points to the open auction as the method thought fairest for realising an estate's full value. A public sale to the highest bidder, rather than a private bargain with Jefsey, would expose the property to competition and probably leave a surplus. The preference for an outcry shows the council favouring a transparent process that protected both the woman and her heirs against an undervalued private transfer. The Governor's suggestion that the next heir at law live with the widow offered a remedy that served both her care and the preservation of the estate. By placing her support in the hands of the person who stood to inherit, the arrangement aligned the carer's interest with the maintenance of the property. The proposal sought to secure her management without the disinheritance that a settlement on Jefsey would entail. Speculations The Governor's calculation that the widow's land, cattle and slaves far exceeded the worth of her remaining maintenance exposed the imbalance at the heart of Jefsey's proposed bargain. By weighing a likely two or three years of care against the whole value of the estate, the Governor implied that Jefsey stood to gain far more than he would give. The arithmetic was set out to show the vestry that the settlement favoured Jefsey at the heirs' expense. The Governor's preference for an heir-carer or a public sale over the settlement on Jefsey suggests a determined effort to steer the vestry away from the widow's own proposal. By offering two alternatives that each preserved value for the heirs or the parish, he narrowed the room for approving a private transfer to an outsider. The structure of the letter guided the guardians toward any outcome but the one the widow had asked for.
188	180	Jan^{dy} to confider whether the Little Eftate there will be left ought not to run in a prop^d courfe or Channell to y^e next Heirs Since diverting of it by any Sort of Alienation is likely to be y^e same expence to y^e parifhio^d Thefe things Gent^o may be of more confequence in future times & therefore I have deferred fuffering any thing to be done therein till I have yo^d Opinions I am Gent^o Your real & Afured Fr^d Jan^d y^e 20th A^o 1717/18 (Signd) Ifaac Pyke from Union Cafle The Church Wardens brought in the foll^t acc^t of their proceedings (Viz^t) Island S^t Helena. At a Gen^l Veftry held on Monday y^e 20th Jan^{dy} A^o 1717/18. Ifaac Wood & James Vefey Church Wardens. According to an Order of Council of Tuefday y^e 14th inf^o the f^d Veftry has this day mett And after having read the Wor^s the Gov^{ds} Letter & y^e Petit^o of M^d Mudge Wid^o were Unanimoufly of y^e foll^t Opinions.	The Governor's letter concluded, asking the vestry to consider whether the little estate that would be left ought not to pass in the proper course to the next heirs, since diverting it by any kind of alienation was likely to bring the same charge upon the parish. These matters might be of greater consequence in future times, and so the Governor had deferred allowing anything to be done until he had the vestry's opinions. The letter closed as that of their true and assured friend, signed by Isaac Pyke and dated from Union Castle on 20 January 1718. The churchwardens then brought in the following account of their proceedings. Island of St Helena. At a general vestry held on Monday 20 January 1718. Isaac Wood and James Vesey, churchwardens. In accordance with an order of council of Tuesday 14 January 1718, the vestry met that day. After reading the Governor's letter and the petition of the widow Mudge, the members were unanimously of the following opinions. First, that if possible a married couple be obtained, such as the vestry should approve, to take due care of the widow Mudge, together with [...] Interpretations

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		(Viz^d) 1. That if possible to gett a married Couple such as Shall be approved of to Tw^d & take due care of y^e f^d Wid^o Mudge together with	The Governor's closing argument rested on the principle that property should descend to the next heirs in its natural course, with alienation treated as a threat to the parish. By framing any diversion of the estate as likely to burden the inhabitants, the Governor tied the law of inheritance to the public interest. The descent of property to the rightful heirs was presented not merely as a private right but as a safeguard against parish charge. The general vestry of 20 January 1718, with Isaac Wood and James Vesey as churchwardens, shows the parish body convened formally to answer the council's referral. The churchwardens held the executive office of the parish, responsible for its accounts and the relief of its poor. Their bringing in a written record of the proceedings reflects the vestry's standing as a deliberative body whose decisions were entered alongside those of the council. The vestry's first resolution, to find an approved married couple to care for the widow Mudge, reveals the parish's preferred remedy for the maintenance of a helpless person. Rather than permit the disinheritance the widow had proposed, the vestry sought a managed arrangement of care under its own oversight. The requirement that the couple be approved shows the parish retaining control over who undertook the charge and how the widow's affairs were ordered. Speculations The vestry's immediate move to propose a married couple, rather than endorse the settlement on Jefsey, indicates that the guardians adopted the course the Governor's letter had steered them toward. The Governor had pressed the alternatives of an heir-carer or managed support over a private transfer, and the vestry's first opinion followed that lead. The unanimity of the members suggests the Governor's reasoning had shaped the outcome before they met. The choice of a married couple specifically, rather than a single carer, points to a deliberate preference for a stable household to manage both the widow and her estate. A married pair offered settled care and joint responsibility for her land, cattle and affairs. The vestry's framing suggests an arrangement designed to provide reliable management while keeping the estate intact for the heirs, answering the Governor's concern that something be left to descend in its proper course.
189	181	1717/18 Stock & Estate (w^{ch} is likely to run to ruin) Which We y^e f^d Vestry are of Opinion is y^e best & Safest method to preserve w^t is left & to prevent two of her Grand Children Jane Child & Jane Flurcus from a Parish Charge 2 That if such Persons cant be gott. Because Mr^s Mudge may live to Spend all She has or her Estate may yeild, Tis then best to gett such persons as afore^d or any other qualli fied for such care & charge to maintain the f^d Mr^s Mudge & her two Grand Daught^{rs} before named till they come of Age or day of Mar riage & then to pay Such a Sum of mony to yⁿ as Shall be agreed upon by such persons as y^e Worl^d &c Shall think fitt to appoint, for & in confideration of her Estate. 3 But in case no Person or Persons can be gott to take care of & maintain y^e f^d Mr^s Mudge & her f^d two Grand daughters & paying to each of y^e afore^s a Sum of mony That y^e in such a Case It is the Vestrys Opinion (w^t Mr^s Mudies consent) to Sell & dispose of her whole Estate at a Publick Auction, & y^e mony arising there by to be disposed of for their maintenance Isaac Wood (Signd) James Vesey	The vestry's account continued, that the widow's stock and estate were likely to run to ruin. The vestry held that obtaining such a couple was the best and safest method to preserve what was left and to prevent two of her grandchildren, Jane Child and Jane Flurcus, from becoming a parish charge. Second, that if such persons could not be obtained, since the widow Mudge might live to spend all she had or her estate might yield, it was then best to find such persons as already described, or any others qualified for the care and charge, to maintain her and her two granddaughters until they came of age or married. They would then pay such a sum of money as should be agreed upon, as the council thought fit to appoint, in consideration of her estate. Third, that if no persons could be obtained to take care of and maintain the widow Mudge and her two granddaughters and to pay each of the girls a sum of money in such a case, it was the vestry's opinion, with the widow Mudge's consent, to sell and dispose of her whole estate at a public auction. The money arising from it would then be applied to their maintenance. The account was signed by Isaac Wood and James Vesey. Interpretations The naming of the two granddaughters Jane Child and Jane Flurcus identifies the specific dependents whose maintenance the vestry sought to secure. The

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			parish's overriding aim was to keep these children off the rates, since their support would otherwise fall on the inhabitants. The whole scheme of care was framed around preventing them from becoming a parish charge, which drove the vestry's preference for a managed household over disinheritance. The vestry's three graded opinions reveal a structured fallback designed to protect the estate and the dependents in descending order of preference. The first sought an approved married couple, the second any qualified carer paid in consideration of the estate, and the third a public auction with the widow's consent. The arrangement shows the parish reasoning through successive remedies, each preserving value for the children while keeping the council's oversight of the terms. The provision that carers would pay a sum for each granddaughter in consideration of the estate reveals a calculated exchange of present care for future property. The household taking on the widow and children would receive the estate but compensate the girls when they came of age or married. The structure converted the inheritance into a fund for the children's portions, balancing the carer's gain against the dependents' claim. The reservation that a sale required the widow Mudge's consent shows the vestry respecting the limit of its authority over a living owner's property. However strongly the parish preferred a managed arrangement, it could not dispose of her estate against her will. The condition marks the boundary between the parish's interest in the dependents and the owner's surviving right to control her own property. Speculations The vestry's careful grading of remedies, each turning on the availability of carers, was designed to exhaust every alternative before resorting to the sale the widow herself had sought. The auction appeared only as the last resort, hedged by her consent, after two preferred schemes of managed care. The structure suggests the guardians shared the Governor's reluctance to permit the estate's disposal and meant to preserve it intact for the granddaughters if any means could be found. The condition that carers pay each granddaughter a sum on coming of age or marriage was framed to guarantee the children a portion regardless of how their care was arranged. By building the girls' future provision into the terms of any household that took them, the vestry ensured the estate would not be wholly consumed in maintenance. The provision protected the dependents' long-term interest against the risk that years of care would leave nothing behind.
190	182	Jan^{dy} 1717/18 On the 20th inft^a One of y^s Hon^{bl} Comp^s Slaves named Free Jack Aged about 42 years died of a Dyfenterie He was a very good Slave & a Stone layer. Yefterday Sailed the Mercury Ketch M^d Jofias Henry Mackett Com^d bound for Barbadoes. Geo: Hafwell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Island S^t Helena At a Confultation held on Tuefday the 4^t day of Feb^{dy} 1717/18 At the Hon^{bl} Comp^s Plantation houfe Geo: Hafwell Ifaac Pyke Ef^q^d Gov^d abl^t Dep^{ty} Pref^t Matth^o Bazett 3^d & Antipas Tovey 4^t in Counc^t The Last Confultation read & app^d M^d Tovey Produced his Written re ply to M^d Hafwells Scandalous Anfwer to	One of the Company's slaves, named Free Jack, aged about forty-two years, died of dysentery on 20 January 1718. He had been a very good slave and a stone layer. The <i>Mercury</i> ketch, commanded by Josias Henry Mackett, sailed the previous day, bound for Barbados. The record was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 February 1718 at the Company's plantation house. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. George Haswell, deputy governor, was absent. The last consultation was read and approved. Mr Tovey produced his written reply to Mr Haswell's scandalous answer to his complaint of 14 January 1718. Since Haswell was absent, Tovey did not deliver it now but would do so when Haswell was present, who he thought ought to be ashamed of what he had done. Interpretations The death of Free Jack, recorded with his age, cause and trade, shows the Company tracking the loss of its

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		his Cumpl^t of y^e 14th Ult^o but he y^e fst Hafwell being Absent M^d Tovey does not now deliver it in but will when M^d Hafwell is present, who he thinks ought to be affamed of what he has done.	skilled slaves as a matter of account. His value as a stone layer made his death a loss to the island's building capacity, set against the persistent shortage of able hands pressed on the directors from the consultation of 1 November 1715. The notice of his good service marks the Company's reckoning of him as both property and a trained worker hard to replace. The departure of the <i>Mercury</i> ketch for Barbados closes the protracted dispute over the slave levy and the relief of the vessel, settled through the exchange of letters culminating in the Governor's threat to unmoor the ship by force on 27 January 1718. The ship's sailing confirms that Mackett yielded the seven slaves and took his water and provisions before leaving. The brief notice marks the end of an affair that had occupied the council for ten days. Tovey's decision to withhold his written reply until Haswell was present reflects the procedural principle that an accused man should hear the charges against him face to face. By declining to enter his answer in Haswell's absence, Tovey preserved the adversarial form of the dispute. The reply continues the bitter exchange begun with Tovey's complaint of 14 January 1718 and Haswell's answer of 28 January 1718, the suspension of George Haswell from salary and diet dating from the consultation of 4 January 1718. Speculations Tovey's choice to announce that he held a written reply, while declining to deliver it, served to keep his answer on the record without exposing it to response in Haswell's absence. By noting that the reply existed and would be given when Haswell appeared, Tovey signalled his readiness to continue the fight while controlling its timing. The move kept the pressure on Haswell while ensuring the exchange unfolded on Tovey's terms. Haswell's absence from the consultation, set against the duty to view the plantations assigned him on 28 January 1718, suggests he was in the field gathering the yam report the Governor had required. The timing left Tovey to address the council without his accuser present, and the record of Tovey's restraint in withholding the reply may have been entered to show his conduct as the more orderly of the two amid their quarrel.
191	183	Feb^{ry} 1717/18 The following Petition was Presented (Viz^t Island S^t Helena To the Wor^{sh} Ifaac Pyke Esq^d Gov^d &c Council. The Humble Petit^e of Hen^d Francis Planter Most humbly Sheweth That yo^d Petit^e has a houfe at Jamesstown (near Union Cattle) that has Coft him a great Deal of mony. & has y^e Bill of Sale from M^d Geo: Carne & his Wife of whom he purchafed the same. (w^{ch} Bill of Sale is Registred in y^e Sec^d Office) Therefore humbly prays Yo^d Wor^{sh} &c That he may have a Deed for y^e Same And yo^d petit^e as in duty bound shall y^e 4 Feb^d 1717/18 ever pray &c (Signd) Henry Francis. Granted and Ordered. That a Deed be made for the Old Houfe & Ground And a Leafe for the ground of the New Houfe for three Lives Renewable upon y^e death of any of y^e Nominees; at five shillings y^e ann Rent M^d Joshua Johnson brought an Order of Council in Gov^d Blackmores time w^{ch} he prayd might be Registred. Orderd That it be Registred as he requeste (as hereafter follows) & That the Houfe & all y^e Land or Yard that is now or lately hath been Occupied	The following petition was presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of the island of St Helena, and the council. Henry Francis, planter, petitioned, setting out that he had a house at Jamestown near Union Castle that had cost him a great deal of money. He held the bill of sale from Mr George Carne and his wife, from whom he had bought it, and the bill of sale was registered in the secretary's office. He therefore prayed that he might have a deed for the same. The petition was signed by Henry Francis and dated 4 February 1718. The council granted the petition and ordered that a deed be made for the old house and ground, and a lease for the ground of the new house, for three lives renewable upon the death of any of the nominees, at five shillings a year rent. Mr Joshua Johnson brought an order of council from Governor Blackmore's time, which he prayed might be registered. The council ordered that it be registered as he requested, in the following terms. The house and all the land or yard now or lately occupied with [...] Interpretations The distinction between a deed for the old house and a lease for the new house reveals the two forms of tenure the Company granted on the island. A deed conveyed ownership outright, while a lease for three lives gave possession only for the duration of the named persons, renewable on each death. Francis

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			received freehold in the old property but held the new house's ground on terms that kept the Company's ultimate title, marking the difference between land already alienated and land the Company retained. The lease for three lives renewable at five shillings a year shows the customary instrument by which the Company let ground while preserving its reversion. Three named persons, the nominees, fixed the lease's duration, and the tenant could renew as each died, securing long possession at a low fixed rent. This arrangement let the Company maintain its claim to the land while encouraging settlement and building, the small rent serving as an acknowledgement of its title rather than a commercial return. The registration of Francis's bill of sale and his application for a deed expose the layered process by which property changed hands on the island. A bill of sale recorded the private transfer from Carne, but a deed from the Company gave the secure title Francis sought. The requirement to seek a deed after a private purchase shows the Company's control over land, where private sales required confirmation through the council's formal grant. Henry Francis had appeared before the council shortly before, summoned over the trespass of his cattle on Company ground at the consultation of 21 January 1718. The registration of an old order from Governor Blackmore's time shows the secretary's office serving as the permanent repository of title and right on the island. Joshua Johnson's wish to enter a decades-old instrument reflects how holders relied on the register to establish and protect their claims. The preservation and registration of old orders gave continuity to property rights across successive administrations.
192	184	February with it shall be meafured & allowed. the Order is as foll^l (Viz^l) Island S^t At a Council held on Monday y^e Helena 14th of March 1689 At Fort James. Present. John Blackmore Gov^d Anth^o Beale Dep^y Jofhua Johnson Lieu^t Mich Morris Lieu^t M^d Rob^t Swallow Whereas Lieu^t Jof Johnson hath de fired that he may have the Old Wafhhoufe belonging to the Hon^{bl} Comp^s Our Maft^{ds} Scituate over against there great Store houfe in Chapple Valley above the Fort James for which he is willing to give reafonable Satisfac^{ion}, now becaufe the f^d Wafhhoufe is decayd & of little Ufe to y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^s It is Orderd That y^e f^d Lieu^t Jof Johnson shall have the f^d Old Wafhhoufe for w^{ch} he shall have placed to his Debt with y^e f^d Hon^{bl} Comp^s y^e sum of Forty Shillings and y^t a Warrant be drawn & Signed to Cap^t Anth^o Beale to that purpofe. J Blackmore (Signd) Mich Morris his mark Rob^t Swallow	The order Joshua Johnson brought for registration continued, that the house and all the land or yard occupied with it should be measured and allowed. The order ran as follows. Island of St Helena. At a council held on Monday 14 March 1689 at Fort James. Present: John Blackmore, Governor; Anthony Beale, deputy governor; Joshua Johnson, lieutenant; Michael Morris, lieutenant; Mr Robert Swallow. Lieutenant Joshua Johnson had asked that he might have the old wash house belonging to the Company, situated opposite their great storehouse in Chapple Valley above Fort James, for which he was willing to give reasonable satisfaction. Since the wash house was decayed and of little use to the Company, the council ordered that Lieutenant Joshua Johnson should have it, for which there should be placed to his debt with the Company the sum of forty shillings. A warrant was to be drawn and signed to Captain Anthony Beale for that purpose. The order was signed by John Blackmore, Michael Morris and Robert Swallow. Interpretations The registration in 1718 of a council order from 14 March 1689 shows how property titles on the island depended on the preservation of decades-old records. Joshua Johnson sought to enter the original grant to secure his claim to the wash house and its ground nearly thirty years after the conveyance. The secretary's office served as the continuous register of right across successive administrations, and a holder's security rested on the survival of such instruments. The council of 1689 under Governor John Blackmore reveals the much smaller establishment of the island in its earlier years, with the fort still called Fort James and the settlement governed by a Governor, a deputy and a handful of lieutenants. The named men, Blackmore, Beale, Johnson, Morris and Swallow, made up the whole governing body. The record preserves the form of administration in place a generation before the present council.

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			The method of payment, by placing forty shillings to Johnson's debt with the Company rather than taking cash, shows the running account system through which the Company conducted business with its servants. Rather than handle coin, the Company charged the purchase against Johnson's account, to be settled in the ordinary reckoning. This use of book debt for internal transactions reflects the scarcity of currency and the Company's practice of dealing with its people through ledger entries. The sale of a decayed wash house of little use to the Company illustrates the disposal of surplus or worn-out property to private hands. The Company converted a building it no longer needed into a credit on its books and a settled holding for a servant. The transaction shows how the Company managed its estate, releasing what had become a burden while preserving the appearance of value through the recorded price.
193	185	1717/18 The Wid^o Mudge Sent y^e foll^r Lett^d to y^e Gov^d Worl^t S^d Having been a long time Sick & helplefs & my Eftate being very much Wasted & daily Squanderd for want of due Care besides y^e daily want y^t I am in for neccessary relief & other weighty confiderac^{ons}. I am therefore very defirous (& beg yo^d Worl^t compliance & confir mation) that my good ffriend Sam^d Jeffey may from y^e time have & enjoy all my Whole Eftate (except fourteen head of Cattle formerly by me given away) Upon the condic^{ons} mentiond in a Deed of Gift bearing even date with this, w^{ch} will highly Oblige Worl^t S^d Yo^d humble Serv^t Jan^{dy} 31 1717/8 (Signd) Jane Mudge Witneffed y^e Jn^o Alexander. her mark Ifaac Wood. + Orderd Since the Old Woman is so de firous to have her Affairs Settled thus, y^t her Writing mentiond in this Letter be Re gifterd & that Sam^d Jeffey give bond to per form the Covenants. The Overfeers of the Hon^{ble} Comp^s Plantations brought in the following Ac count of their Stock (Viz^t) Black Cat tle 68. Cows. 61. Calves. 8. Yearlings Steers. 6. 33. Heifers. 34. Bullocks 35. Bulls Totall 206 Goates	The widow Mudge sent the following letter to the Governor. She set out that she had long been sick and helpless, and that her estate was much wasted and daily squandered for want of proper care. She pleaded her daily need of help for necessary relief, along with other weighty considerations. She was therefore very desirous, and begged the council's agreement and confirmation, that her good friend Samuel Jefsey might from that time have and enjoy her whole estate, except fourteen head of cattle she had formerly given away, upon the conditions set out in a deed of gift bearing the same date as this letter. The letter was dated 31 January 1718, signed by Jane Mudge with her mark, and witnessed by John Alexander and Isaac Wood. Since the old woman was so desirous to have her affairs settled in this way, the council ordered that the writing mentioned in her letter be registered, and that Samuel Jefsey give bond to perform the covenants. The overseers of the Company's plantations then brought in the following account of their stock. Black cattle: 68 cows 61 calves 8 yearlings 33 heifers 28 bullocks 2 bulls 6 steers Total 206 Goats: Interpretations The council's approval of the widow Mudge's settlement on Jefsey marks a reversal of the cautious line the Governor had pressed and the vestry had favoured. The vestry of 20 January 1718 had ranked a managed household and a public auction above any private transfer, and the Governor's letter of 20 January 1718 had warned against disinheritance lest the parish bear the charge. Her direct petition and signed deed of gift overrode those reservations, the council yielding to the owner's settled wish to dispose of her own property. The requirement that Jefsey give bond to perform the covenants shows how the council secured the widow's maintenance against the risk that the carer would take the estate and neglect his obligations. A bond bound Jefsey to forfeit a sum if he failed to provide the care promised in the deed. This condition reveals the legal mechanism by which the bench converted a private arrangement into an enforceable duty, protecting the dependent woman while permitting the transfer. The widow's signing by mark indicates she could not write, a common circumstance among the island's

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			inhabitants. Her use of a mark, with the deed witnessed by John Alexander and Isaac Wood, shows how the formalities of conveyance accommodated the illiterate while preserving the document's validity. The witnesses attested that the mark was truly hers, giving the settlement legal force despite her inability to sign. The plantation stock account, listing the Company's cattle by category and total, reveals the careful inventory the council kept of its livestock as a principal asset. The detailed breakdown into cows, calves, yearlings, heifers, bullocks, bulls and steers shows the herd managed and counted by class. The persistent shortage of cattle, raised in disputes over fresh beef from the consultation of 16 January 1715, made such a reckoning essential to the island's provisioning.
194	186	February Goates. Ewes. 151. Wethers 64. Rams - 5. Kidds 24. Totall 244. Great & small Hoggs. Totall 22. Great & small Sheep. Ewes. 109. Wethers 50. Rams 3. Lambs 20. Totall 182. 30. Turkeys 31. Ducks g^t & small Dunghill Fowles 122. G^t & small 24. Geefe. g^t & small 25. Peacocks : Affes (Sigid) Geo: W^m Worrall W^m Corkey & Sam^d Jeffey Cap^t Bazett reports that he has bin to meafure the Fences made by Meff^{ds} Powell & Greentree at the High Peake w^{ch} Contaird Two hundred & Ninety Rodd of Double & Faced Wall at Seven Shillings y^e Rodd, Also he has meafurd the Fence done, y^e Meff^{ds} Francis Wrangham & James Ryder in parting the Hon^{ble} Comp^s Pafures from Bowmans to Hardings Corner containing Fifty Eight Rodds at fourteen shillings y^e Rodd and One hundred & Eighty Six Rodds inclofing Coles & Hardings Pafure at Nine Shillings & Six Pence y^e Rodd. Likewife he has meafurd the Double Wall made at the Two Gunn Ridge. y^e Samuel Jeffey & w^{ch} Contaird fifty Rodds at Eighteen Shillings y^e Rodd the Stones being a great way to fetc^d Orderd That^t	You are right. Here is the corrected version. The account of the Company's stock continued. Goats: 151 ewes 64 wethers 5 rams 24 kids Total 244 great and small Hogs: Total 22 great and small Sheep: 109 ewes 50 wethers 3 rams 20 lambs Total 182 Turkeys: 80 Ducks, great and small: 16 Dunghill fowls, great and small: 122 Geese, great and small: 24 Peacocks: 2 Asses The account was signed by William Worrall, William Corkey and Samuel Jefsey. Captain Bazett reported that he had been to measure the fences made by Mr Powell and Mr Greentree at the High Peak, which contained 290 rods of double and faced wall, at seven shillings per rod. He had also measured the fence made by Mr Francis Wrangham and James Rider in parting the Company's pastures from Bromans to Harding's Corner, containing 58 rods at fourteen shillings per rod, and 186 rods enclosing Coles's and Harding's pasture at six shillings and sixpence per rod. He had likewise measured the double wall made at the Two Gun Ridge by Samuel Jefsey, which contained 50 rods at eighteen shillings per rod. The stones lay a great way to fetch. The council ordered [...] Interpretations The full livestock inventory, covering cattle, goats, hogs, sheep and poultry down to the two peacocks, reveals the close reckoning the Company kept of every kind of animal on its plantations. The total of 206 black cattle stands against the persistent dearth that had forced the council to refuse fresh beef to the <i>Aurengzebe</i> at the consultation of 16 January 1715, when the herd was too small to spare any. The recovery to 206 head, together with 244 goats and 182 sheep, suggests the breeding stock had been carefully husbanded in the intervening three years toward a more secure provision. The fencing report priced by the rod exposes the unit system by which the Company contracted and

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			paid for wall-building. A rod was a standard linear measure, and the varying rates reflected the differing kinds of wall and the difficulty of the ground. The fencing programme continues the general letting of fence work by the rod settled at the consultation of 5 June 1717, when Wrangham and Rider were engaged on the old and new walls at five and ten shillings per rod. The higher rates now recorded show the same contractors paid more for double and faced work than for the plain walls of the earlier bargain. The variation in rates by type of wall reveals how the Company priced labour according to the work's demands. A double and faced wall cost more than a plain enclosure, and the note that stones lay far off at the Two Gun Ridge explains the eighteen shillings per rod there as compensation for the labour of carriage. The pricing shows the Company adjusting payment to the real cost of materials and effort rather than applying a flat rate. The appearance of Samuel Jefsey both as a signatory to the stock account and as a fence-builder paid by the Company shows him established in its service and dealings. His standing as overseer and contractor bears on his fitness to take the widow Mudge's estate under the settlement approved on 31 January 1718. His regular employment by the Company lent weight to his capacity to maintain the widow as the deed required.
195	187	1717/18 That the said Perfons have Credit given them in the Hon^{ble} Compa^s Tranffas. Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Island Sⁱ Helena, At a Confultation held on Tuedday y^e 11 Day of Feb^d 1717/18. At the Hon^{ble} Compa^s Plantation Houfe, Ifaac Pyke Esq^d Govern^d Geo: Hafwell Dep^y & being Pref^t Antipas Tovey Cap^t Matthew Bazett 3 abl^t The last Confultation Read & approved of The following Petition was Read & approved. Island Sⁱ Helena, To The Worth Ifaac Pyke Esq^d Govern^d &c Council. The most Humble Petition of John Worrall Serj^t Humbly Sheweth, That yo^d Petition^r having Purchafed Five Acres of Free Land & a Houfe with about Twelve Acres of hired Land lately belonging to Richard Cleave & Sold by said Cleave with Confent of the then Government, Humbly prays that he may have a Deed for the Free Land & a Leafe upon Lives for the hired Land, And as in Duty Bound shall for ever Pray &c 11: Feb^d 1717/18 (Signd) John Worrall, Granted	The council's order concluded that those persons should have credit given them in the Company's transfer books. The order was signed by Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 February 1718 at the Company's plantation house. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; Antipas Tovey. George Haswell, deputy governor, and Captain Matthew Bazett were absent. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition was read and approved, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of St Helena, and the council. John Worrall, sergeant, petitioned, setting out that he had bought five acres of free land and a house, together with about twelve acres of leased land lately belonging to Richard Cleave, sold by Cleave with the consent of the government then in office. He prayed that he might have a deed for the free land and a lease upon lives for the leased land. The petition was signed by John Worrall and dated 11 February 1718. The council granted it. Interpretations The council of 11 February 1718, attended by only the Governor and Tovey with both Haswell and Bazett absent, shows the bench operating at reduced strength. Haswell remained suspended from salary and diet since the consultation of 4 January 1718 and engaged in the bitter dispute with Tovey, while Bazett had lately been in the field measuring fences. The conduct of business by two members reflects the small establishment of the island, where ordinary grants proceeded even when the council was barely quorate. The crediting of persons in the Company's transfer books reveals the ledger mechanism by which the Company settled its dealings without the movement of coin. The transfer books recorded debts and credits between the Company and its people, allowing accounts to be balanced by entry rather than payment. This system, central to commerce on a remote island short of currency, let the Company conduct its trade and discharge its obligations through the register of mutual reckonings. Worrall's petition repeats the now-established pattern of a private purchaser seeking a deed for free land and a lease for leased land. The distinction tracks

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			the two forms of tenure granted by the Company, freehold conveyed outright and leasehold held for lives while the Company retained the reversion. The requirement to confirm a private purchase through a fresh grant shows the council's continuing control over land, where a sale between inhabitants required the bench's formal endorsement to give secure title, as in the parallel grant to Henry Francis at the consultation of 4 February 1718.
196	188	February Granted & Ordered that a Warrant be made to Cap^t Matthew Bazett to Survey the Land, No other bufinels was done there being no more in Council. Geo: Hafwell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Island S^t Helena At a Confulatation held on Tuesday y^e 25th February 1717/8 At the Hon^{bl} Comp^s plantation houfe. Ifaac Pyke Elq^d Gov^d M^d Tovey ab^t his wife Pref^t. Geo: Hafwell Dep^y & being del^d of a Son this Matth^o Bazett 3 in Counc^t morning The last Confultat^e read & approved. The Wid^o Eliz^a Marsh proved the Will of her decafed Husband Rob^t Marsh by y^e Tefimonies of John Marsh, Rich^d Long & Francis Long. M^d Worrall the Hon^{bl} Comp^s Overl^d Reports that two Blacks died last Week (Viz^t) Abram of A flux & Betty poft Dyed in Child Bed. M^d Powell propofeth to Change some Land	The council granted Worrall's petition and ordered that a warrant be made to Captain Matthew Bazett to survey the land. No other business was done, there being no more before the council. The record was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 February 1718 at the Company's plantation house. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council. Mr Tovey was absent, his wife having been delivered of a son that morning. The last consultation was read and approved. The widow Elizabeth Marsh proved the will of her deceased husband Robert Marsh, on the testimonies of John Marsh, Richard Long and Francis Long. Mr Worrall, the Company's overseer, reported that two slaves had died the previous week. Abram died of a flux, and Betty died in childbed. Mr Powell proposed to change some land [...] Interpretations The return of both Haswell and Bazett to the consultation of 25 February 1718 restored the council to fuller strength after the reduced attendance of recent weeks. Haswell sat despite his suspension from salary and diet, ordered at the consultation of 4 January 1718, and despite the unresolved dispute with Tovey. The note that Tovey was absent for the birth of a son shows the council recording the personal cause of a member's absence as part of its account. The proving of Robert Marsh's will on the testimony of three witnesses reveals the standard process by which the council authenticated a deceased person's testament. The witnesses attested that the document was genuine and that the testator had made it freely, giving the will legal force. The Marsh family held land on the island, Robert Marsh having earlier been permitted to dig stones from the Beale orphans' ground, and the proving of his will brought his estate under the council's settled administration. The report of two slave deaths in a single week, Abram of a flux and Betty in childbed, shows the council tracking the loss of Company labour as a continuing concern. The recurring deaths from dysentery, which had also carried off Free Jack on 20 January 1718, reflect the toll of disease on the workforce. These losses compounded the chronic shortage of able hands pressed on the directors from the consultation of 1 November 1715, each death a further drain on the Company's labour.
197	189	1717/18 Some Land with y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^s for the Benefitt of Fencing & at the Gov^{ds} Request. This is part of that Land called Bowmans y^t comes Up with a Long Slip into y^e middle of the Hon^{bl} Comp^s Pafure from thence down to y^e Hangings or Ledge of Rocks, for w^{ch} M^d Powell is to have (when fenced & Measured) 3 Acres of better Land at the Main Ridge for each two Acres that is fenced out here.	Mr Powell's proposal was to exchange some land with the Company for the benefit of fencing, at the Governor's request. The land was part of that called Bowmans, which ran up in a long strip into the middle of the Company's pasture and down to the hangings or ledge of rocks. In return, once the land was fenced and measured, Powell was to have three acres of better land at the Main Ridge for every two acres fenced off here. The Governor said that, although this was a great deal more than the land was worth, he thought it very necessary and in the Company's interest to secure it. Governor Poirier would have bought it at the same rate, and as Powell argued, every Governor since had

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		The Gov^d Sayes tho this is a great deal more then that Land is worth Yett he thinks it very neceffary & for the Hon^{bl} Comp^s Intereft to have it Gov^d Poirier would have bought it at y^e Same rate, & as M^d Powell alleadges all the Gov^d Since then were defirous to have it rather then to letts him come with a Long Slip of Land into y^e pasture Yefterday by a high Sea The Afhby Jold^d was walhed off y^e Rocks and drowned The Gov^d produced a Letter that he received from Joseph Thomlinson the Accomptants Affitiant as foll^t (Viz^t)	wished to have it rather than let him keep a long strip of land running into the pasture. The previous day, by a high sea, Thomas Ashby, a soldier, was washed off the rocks and drowned. The Governor produced a letter that he had received from Joseph Thomlinson, the accountant's assistant, as follows. [...] Interpretations The land exchange on terms favouring Powell, three acres of better land for every two surrendered, reveals the Company's willingness to pay above value to consolidate its holdings. The Governor justified the generous rate by the strategic need to remove a private strip that ran into the heart of the Company's pasture. The transaction shows the Company treating the integrity of its enclosed grounds as worth more than a strict reckoning of acreage, since a private intrusion into the pasture obstructed both fencing and management. The Governor's appeal to the wishes of earlier administrations, naming Governor Poirier and noting that every Governor since had sought the land, shows how institutional continuity supported a present decision. By invoking the settled desire of his predecessors, the Governor framed the exchange as the fulfilment of a long-recognised need rather than a fresh extravagance. The reference to past governors lent weight to a bargain that on its face cost the Company more than the land was worth. The drowning of the soldier Thomas Ashby, washed off the rocks by a high sea, records the hazard the surrounding waters posed even to the garrison. The same surf that prevented the relief of the <i>Mercury</i> ketch and had earlier drowned one of the Governor's slaves at Lemon Valley around 27 August 1717 claimed a soldier here. The brief notice marks the council's practice of recording such deaths among its people as part of the island's account. Speculations The Governor's frank admission that the exchange cost more than the land was worth, paired with his insistence on its necessity, suggests a deliberate effort to forestall any later charge of mismanaging the Company's property. By recording both the unfavourable rate and the strategic reasons for accepting it, the Governor protected himself against the objection that he had given away good land for poor. The candour built a justification into the record before the bargain could be questioned. Powell's argument that every Governor since Poirier had wished to acquire the strip was advanced to strengthen his own bargaining position as much as to aid the Company. By showing the land's long-standing importance to successive administrations, Powell established that he held something the Company much wanted, which justified the favourable three-for-two terms he secured. The appeal to history served his interest in extracting better land in the exchange.
198	190	Feb^{ry} Feb^d 24 1717^s Wor^t S^d I make bold to acquaint You y^t y^e tranffers for last Year both Journall & Leger are Copied as far as any Entrys are made & till People have reckned We cant proceed any further therein. The Gen^t Journall & Leger are likewise begun but for want of y^e Storeday books & Invoice Books can go noe further, I ac quaintd Cap^t Hafwell therewith & have likewise wrote twice to him concerning y^e same but have had no Answer So I humbly desire if y^e Books are not ready against y^e time yo^d Wor^t expects y^e Imay	Joseph Thomlinson's letter, dated 24 February 1718, set out the state of the account books. The transfer books for the last year, both journal and ledger, were copied as far as any entries had been made. Until the people had reckoned, no further progress could be made on them. The general journal and ledger had likewise been begun, but for want of the store day books and the invoice books they could go no further. Thomlinson had told Captain Haswell of this and had written to him twice about the same, but had received no answer. He therefore asked that, if the books were not ready by the time Governor Pyke expected them, he might not be blamed for the default. He would await the Governor's commands on what he must set about, so

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		not be Blamed for y^t default I shall wait yo^d Worlⁿ comands in what I must go a bout & [...] aprove my Self [...] [...] Serv^t (Signd) Joseph Thomlinson The Gov^d [...] enqu[...] [...] Hafwell the reafon why they [...] [...]wards & why he did not giv[...] [...]nison Instructions tho he [...] [...] him twice for them Cap^t Hafwell Sayes he has not had two Letters from him, & Shewed one	as to clear himself. The letter was signed by Joseph Thomlinson. Governor Pyke then questioned Captain Haswell as to why the books were behindhand, and why he had not given Thomlinson instructions when Thomlinson had written to him twice for them. Captain Haswell said he had not had two letters from Thomlinson, and showed one [...] Interpretations Thomlinson's letter reveals the dependency of the Company's central accounts on a chain of subordinate records. The transfer books, journal and ledger could not be completed without the store day books and invoice books that Haswell controlled. The hierarchy of records shows how the final accounts rested on a sequence of source documents, so that a failure at one stage halted the whole process of reckoning. Thomlinson's care to record that he had warned Haswell and written twice without answer reflects the protective use of correspondence to fix responsibility. By documenting his requests and asking in advance not to be blamed for the default, Thomlinson shielded himself against the charge of negligence. The letter shows a subordinate building a written record to establish that the fault lay with his superior, anticipating the audit's reckoning. The exchange bears directly on the account-books audit that exposed false copies and uncharged fines at the consultation of 4 January 1718, and on the suspension of George Haswell from salary and diet ordered then. Thomlinson's complaint that Haswell withheld the books needed to complete the accounts supplies fresh evidence of the same neglect for which Haswell had already been suspended. The letter shows the consequences of that neglect persisting into late February 1718. Speculations Thomlinson's decision to put his complaint in writing to Governor Pyke, rather than continue addressing Haswell directly, suggests he had concluded that appeals to his immediate superior were futile. Having written twice without answer, he escalated to the Governor and framed his letter to clear himself before the books fell further behind. The move placed the matter before the one authority able to compel Haswell and protected Thomlinson from sharing the blame. Haswell's denial that he had received two letters, met at once by the production of one, points to a contest over the documentary record that Thomlinson had carefully built. By disputing the number of letters, Haswell sought to weaken the evidence of his neglect, while the immediate production of a letter shows the council testing his account against the proof. The exchange fits the wider pattern of Haswell's conduct exposed since the suspension of 4 January 1718, where his assurances had been found false against the documents.
199	191	1717/18 One that he had ab^t him, but Sayed he had no more Geo: Hafwell Matthew Bazett Antipas Tovey Island S^t Helena At a Confultation held on Tuefday the 4^t day of March 1717/18 At Union Cal tle in James Vally. Ifaac Pyke Elf^q^d Gov^d George Hafwell Dep^{ty} Prefent. Matthew Bazett 3^d & Antipas Tovey 4^t in Councill The Last Confultation read & Approved.	Captain Haswell showed one letter that he had received from Thomlinson but said he had no more. The record was signed by George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 March 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. Mr Tovey asked to enter a caveat against the registration of Robert Marsh's will, on the ground that it was not lawfully proved. John Marsh and Richard Long were legatees, and Francis Long was the testator's own son. If the will were allowed, it would set a bad precedent for interested persons to be witnesses to a

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		M^d Tovey desires to enter a Caveat that Rob^t Marfh^s Will may not be Regifterd becaufe it is not Lawfully prooved Jn^o Marsh & Rich^d Long being Legatees & Francis Long her Own Son the other wth will (if allowed) be an ill precedent for Interefted persons to be witneffes to a Will, & w^{eh} one of them very witneffes, Saw it was written So a deceaf^d hardly approved or meant according to the words thereof. The said Caveat is allowed & M^d Tovey is Ordered to give the Widdow notice of it & that She bring in an Inventory	will. One of the witnesses had said it was written as the deceased could hardly have approved or meant, judging by the words of it. The caveat was allowed, and Mr Tovey was ordered to give the widow notice of it and to bring in an inventory. Interpretations Tovey's caveat against the Marsh will reveals the legal objection to interested witnesses, a principle protecting the integrity of testaments. A witness who stood to gain under a will could not give impartial testimony to its making, and John Marsh, Richard Long and Francis Long were all parties with an interest in the estate. The objection shows the council guarding the rule that those who attest a will must be disinterested, lest the document be procured or shaped by its own beneficiaries. The concern that allowing the will would set a bad precedent shows the council reasoning beyond the single case to the general standard its decision would establish. A will proved on the oaths of legatees would open the way for others to authenticate testaments through interested hands. The same anxiety about precedent had governed Governor Pyke's handling of the widow Mudge's proposed disinheritance in his letter of 20 January 1718, the bench weighing the lasting effect of each ruling. The reported doubt that the will matched what the deceased meant, judging by its words, raises the further question of whether the document truly expressed Robert Marsh's intent. A witness's own suggestion that the wording misrepresented the testator undermined the will's validity from within. The detail shows the council attentive not only to the form of proving but to the substance of whether the writing reflected the dead man's wishes. The will had been proved at the consultation of 25 February 1718 on the testimony of the same three witnesses now challenged. Tovey's caveat reopens a matter the council had appeared to settle, and the order that he notify the widow and bring in an inventory shows the estate's administration suspended pending fresh examination. The reversal marks the council correcting its own earlier approval once the defect in the witnesses came to light. Speculations Tovey's move to enter the caveat, having been absent from the consultation of 25 February 1718 when the will was proved, suggests he scrutinised the record of business conducted in his absence and found the proving defective. His return to challenge a settled matter indicates a deliberate vigilance over the council's proceedings. The timing points to Tovey reviewing what had passed while he attended the birth of his son and acting at once to correct the irregularity. The order that the widow bring in an inventory alongside the caveat shows the council preparing for the estate's administration whatever the will's fate. By requiring a full account of the property at the same time as suspending the will, the bench ensured the estate could be settled on intestate principles if the will fell. The dual order reflects a practical readiness to proceed by either route, protecting the estate's proper distribution while the validity of the testament remained in doubt.
200	192	March Inventory of her dec^d Husbands Estate On Friday the 28^t February arrived the Ship Marlbro Cap^t Matth^o Martin Comander. from Madras. On Saturday the 1st Inft^t March arrived the Prince Frederick Cap^t Edw^d Martin Com^d likewise from Madrafs. And on Sunday the 2^d Infant	The order also required the widow to bring in an inventory of her deceased husband's estate. The ship <i>Marlborough</i>, commanded by Captain Matthew Martin, arrived on Friday 28 February from Madras. The <i>Prince Frederick</i>, commanded by Captain Edward Martin, arrived on Saturday 1 March, likewise from Madras. The <i>Rochester</i>, commanded by Captain William Brown, arrived on Sunday 2 March from Bencoolen

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		Arrived the Rochester Cap^t W^m Brown Comand^d from Bencoolen & all last from the Cape of Good Hope. And The Letters & Invoice by them were read. The Month of March being begun Orderd That All Ufual Advertifements about this time of the Year be Publifhed. M^d Tovey brought in y^e following Reply to M^d Hafswells Anfwer of the 28^t Jan^d last this being the first time he has Seen him at Councill. (Viz^o) Island S^t Helena To the Worth Ifaac Pyke Efq^d Gov^d &c Council. The humbly Reply of Antipas Tovey	and last from the Cape of Good Hope. The letters and invoices brought by these ships were read. The month of March having begun, the council ordered that all the usual advertisements for this time of year be published. Mr Tovey then brought in the following reply to Mr Haswell's answer of 28 January 1718, this being the first time he had seen Haswell at the council since. The reply was addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of the island of St Helena, and the council, as the humble reply of Antipas Tovey. [...] Interpretations The arrival of three Company ships within three days marks the opening of the shipping season, when the homeward and outward fleets called at the island. The <i>Marlborough</i> and <i>Prince Frederick</i> from Madras and the <i>Rochester</i> from Bencoolen brought the letters and invoices that linked the island to the Company's eastern settlements. The reading of their dispatches shows how the council received its instructions and commercial intelligence in concentrated bursts as the fleets arrived. The order to publish the usual advertisements at the start of March reveals the seasonal rhythm of the island's administration, with certain public notices fixed to the time of year. These recurring advertisements regulated matters such as the marking of goats and the keeping of fences, tied to the agricultural calendar. The annual cycle of published orders shows the council governing through a settled routine of seasonal regulation rather than purely by case. Tovey's delivery of his reply timed to Haswell's first appearance at the council since 28 January 1718 confirms his earlier resolve, stated at the consultation of 4 February 1718, to withhold it until Haswell was present. The procedural insistence that the accused hear the answer face to face shaped the timing. The reply continues the bitter exchange begun with Tovey's complaint of 14 January 1718 and Haswell's counter-accusations of 28 January 1718, against the background of Haswell's suspension from salary and diet ordered at the consultation of 4 January 1718. Speculations Tovey's care to deliver his reply only when Haswell sat at the council, recorded as the first such occasion since 28 January 1718, suggests a deliberate adherence to the form of open confrontation. By ensuring Haswell was present to hear the answer entered, Tovey denied any later claim that the charges had been pressed behind his back. The timing preserved the adversarial fairness of the proceeding and matched the copy of the charge Haswell had himself been furnished at the consultation of 16 January 1718. The clustering of the ships' arrivals with the delivery of Tovey's reply placed the quarrel before the council at the very moment the homeward fleet lay in the road. With ships bound for Britain present to carry the council's dispatches, the dispute and its documents stood ready to be sent home for the directors' judgement. The timing fits Haswell's own wish, expressed on 28 January 1718, to have the matter tried in England, the fleet offering the means to convey the whole record to the masters.
201	193	1717/18 Tovey to M^d Geo: Hafwell Iham Anf^e to Ist Toveys Cumpl^t of the 14th Ult^o Jan^d and an Anf^w^e to y^e falfe & Scandalous reflections of the Ist Geo: Hafwells therein M^d Geo: Hafwell infted of Anfwer ing to what I accufed him for hath del^d in a very Silly Paper confifting of Seven par far from y^e Purpofe it being nothing but y^e Picture of himfelf Stufft wth railing	Tovey's reply to Mr George Haswell answered Tovey's complaint of 14 January 1718, and replied to the false and scandalous reflections Haswell had made against him. Tovey set out that, instead of answering the matters charged against him, Haswell had brought in a foolish paper of seven pages, far from the purpose. It was nothing but a portrait of himself, stuffed with railing falsehoods and nonsense, as would appear on comparing Tovey's complaint with Haswell's answer. What Tovey had written was all matter of fact, and if

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		falhoods & Nonfence as will appeare if youl pleafe to compare my complaint wth his anfw^r, for w^t I have written is all matter of Fact & if he disproves the truth of One Article I will yeild him all the rest For what he has written is so false y^t not One instance has any truth in it (except Some part of M^d Wranghams Cafe) & therefore I take y^e Liberty to make Some remarks thereon. He begins with calling me Incendiary & (Upon my Juft Cumplaint) Malicious, Scandalous & Infamous, as Endeavouring to Blaft his reputation, I am neither an Incendiary Malicious Scandalous or Infamous man But he is all of them & I do aver to his face y^t he wither has nor deserves a good name	Haswell could disprove the truth of one article, Tovey would yield him all the rest. What Haswell had written was so false that not one instance had any truth in it, except some part concerning Mr Wrangham. Tovey therefore took the liberty to make some remarks on it. Haswell had begun by calling Tovey an incendiary and, upon his just complaint, malicious, scandalous and infamous, as one trying to blacken Haswell's reputation. Tovey was no incendiary, malicious, scandalous or infamous man, but Haswell was all of these. Tovey averred to his face that Haswell neither had nor deserved a good name. [...] Interpretations Tovey's challenge to disprove a single article, on pain of yielding all the rest, reveals the evidentiary strategy of staking his whole case on the factual accuracy of each charge. By framing his complaint as matter of fact rather than opinion, Tovey invited the council to test it point by point. The device shifted the burden onto Haswell to refute specific allegations, contrasting Tovey's claimed precision with the general railing he attributed to Haswell's answer. Tovey's dismissal of Haswell's seven-page answer as a self-portrait stuffed with falsehood works to recast the defence as evasion. By characterising Haswell's reply of 28 January 1718 as far from the purpose, Tovey argued that Haswell had avoided the actual charges rather than meeting them. The tactic of branding the opponent's answer as irrelevant sought to leave the original complaint of 14 January 1718 standing unanswered before the council. Tovey's exception for some part concerning Mr Wrangham shows a calculated concession that lent credibility to his wider denial. By admitting that one element of Haswell's account held truth, Tovey presented himself as a fair and exact accuser rather than a blanket denier. The concession touched the stabbing of Francis Wrangham that Haswell had raised on 28 January 1718, and Tovey's partial acknowledgement was framed to strengthen the force of his rejection of everything else. Speculations Tovey's decision to grant the truth of part of the Wrangham matter, while denying all else, was a deliberate rhetorical move to fortify his credibility. An accuser who conceded a single damaging point appeared scrupulous, making his denial of the remaining charges more persuasive. The concession was calculated to show the council that Tovey weighed each allegation honestly, so that his rejection of the rest would carry the greater weight. Tovey's structuring of his reply as point-by-point remarks on Haswell's paper mirrors the adversarial method Haswell had used against him on 28 January 1718. By adopting the same form of answering each charge in turn, Tovey met accusation with the same orderly rebuttal he claimed Haswell's paper lacked. The choice of method itself advanced his argument that he dealt in fact and structure while Haswell dealt in railing and disorder.
<u>202</u>	194	March nor any other Charecter than what he has mentiond in the before Gingle of Malicious Scandalous & infamous words And for this man just now to fet up for preserving his repu tation is such a conceit as may either be admired or laughed at becaufe this very M^d Hafwell has been so impu dently Vain (at some times) to boaft of Crimes he never durft commit, to prevent being tedious. I desire him	Tovey's reply continued, that Haswell deserved no character other than the malicious, scandalous and infamous one already mentioned. For Haswell now to set up as a man preserving his reputation was so conceited a notion that it might be either admired or laughed at, since this very Haswell had at times been so absurdly vain as to boast of crimes he never dared commit. To avoid being tedious, Tovey asked Haswell only to recall the lewd story he had lately told of a young woman he pretended he had debauched in his wife's presence. Perhaps it was only one of his lying tales, for Tovey could not think his wife, kept under as she was,

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		only to call to mind, the Lewed Story he lately told of y^e Young Woman that he pretended he had Debauched in his Wifes preference, perhaps it may be only one of his Lying tales for I cant think his Wife (so much as she is kept under) would suffer him to do such an Action while she was by, But that this man of Pretended reputation has been so wicked as to Publifh thefe Stories of himself I can prove by credible Witneffes who he made afhamed wth his obfcene & filthy talk. But as to the Charecter of Incendiary tho he has all along deferved it for carrying about Lewed & Seditious Stories no man on this Ifland has been tale Bearer to half so many but now his Credit is loft he may for ought I know lofe the Satisfaction he ufed to take in his Incendiarys place, for when a falfe, obfcene or Filthy tale is reported the people ask if it did not come from Cap^t Hafwell But if it be what they call a Stretcher (i.e a great lye) they do not then enquire who it came from But prefently reply This is one of Hafwells lyes (as it has been told to his Wifes face) Any body But he would have lookt into themselves	would suffer him to do such a thing while she was by. That Haswell was so vain as to publish such stories of himself, Tovey could prove by credible witnesses whom Haswell had made ashamed by his obscene and filthy talk. As to the character of incendiary, Tovey held that Haswell had always deserved it himself for carrying about lewd and seditious stories. No man on the island had been so great a tale-bearer. Now that his credit was lost, he might forgo the satisfaction he used to take in his incendiary place. When a false, obscene or filthy tale was reported, the people asked whether it had not come from Captain Haswell. If it was what they called a stretcher, meaning a great lie, they did not inquire who it came from but at once replied that this was one of Haswell's lies, as had been told to his wife's face. Anyone would have looked into [...] Interpretations Tovey's tactic of turning the charge of incendiary back upon Haswell completes the mirror-image structure of the dispute. Haswell had branded Tovey an incendiary in his answer of 28 January 1718, and Tovey now claimed the title fitted Haswell, the carrier of lewd and seditious stories. The reciprocal hurling of the same accusation shows how the quarrel had become a contest over which man bore the character each assigned the other. Tovey's appeal to credible witnesses whom Haswell had shamed by obscene talk follows his stated method of resting his case on provable fact. By offering named or producible witnesses to Haswell's own boasting, Tovey sought to ground his attack in testimony rather than mere counter-railing. The reliance on witnesses reflects the evidentiary standard Tovey had set himself at the consultation of 4 March 1718, where he undertook to prove every article. The detail that the people identified false tales by asking whether they came from Haswell reveals how reputation functioned as a form of social currency on the small island. A man known as a habitual liar lost credit, so that his word carried no weight and his tales were dismissed on sight. Tovey deployed common report as evidence, arguing that Haswell's standing among the inhabitants itself proved the character he charged. Speculations Tovey's reference to Haswell's wife being kept under serves a double purpose beyond discrediting the lewd story. The remark casts Haswell as a domestic tyrant while also lending Tovey's denial of the tale a show of fairness, since he professed to doubt the worst of the account. The aside fits the pattern of Haswell's own charge on 28 January 1718 that Tovey had attempted his wife's life, each man drawing the other's treatment of women into the contest. Tovey's claim that Haswell took satisfaction in his incendiary place suggests an effort to portray the spreading of tales as a deliberate habit rather than an occasional fault. By framing Haswell's gossip as a settled practice from which he derived pleasure, Tovey argued the character was ingrained and not a passing lapse. The portrait was calculated to persuade the council that Haswell's whole standing rested on a disposition to falsehood, undermining the value of his answer to the original complaint.
203	195	1717/18 themselves to see they were not Guilty of what they charge another with But as he knows & cant But knows he has made himself Odious to most of the people So if he had Skill en^o he would by way of Revenge bring me into y^e same delima	Tovey's reply continued, that anyone would have looked into his own conduct to see he was not guilty of what he charged another with. Haswell knew this and could not do so, but knew he had made himself odious to most of the people. If he had skill enough, he would by way of revenge bring Tovey into the same difficulty, but Tovey thanked God that Haswell could not. Haswell's next paragraph was another of his empty flourishes. He had said that Tovey's assertions were so

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		Butt that I thank God he cannot do. His next par^d is another of his Gingles becaufe he says therein that my Affertions are so Infolent, Impudent & Incoherent that duly confidered they need no confuting this I take to be the Wifelt part of his whole paper (if any thing that is Wife can come from him) for he is confcious to himself that my charge is true & therefore would have it thought to need no Anfwer yet I think he makes one proper remark That a man who has no repiftation him self never Sticks at any bafe or Villianous Action And that is part of my charge against him But he says in the same par^d that his Birth, Education & Charecter is well known to several members of the Hon^{ble} Court of Directors & that he has been intrufted in several good employments To that I answer I doubt not he was honeftly Born & might be well en^o Educated But as to his Charecter I presume I know that better then any of thofe Hon^{bl} Gent^o & Doubt not of proving that for several Years past he has not had a good Charecter & therefore canot lofe one at S^t Helena & if he has had so many good Employments as he seems to Infnuate, I think he would have done well to have kept some of them for I have often heard him say the	insolent, impudent and incoherent that, properly considered, they needed no refuting. Tovey took this to be the wisest part of Haswell's whole paper, if anything wise could come from him, for Haswell was conscious that the charge was true and so wished it thought to need no answer. Yet Tovey allowed that Haswell had made one proper remark, that a man who has no reputation himself never shrinks from any base or villainous act. That, Tovey said, was part of his charge against Haswell. Haswell had said in the same paragraph that his birth, education and character were well known to several members of the Court of Directors, and that he had been entrusted with several good employments. To this Tovey answered that he did not doubt Haswell was honestly born and might have been well enough educated. As to his character, Tovey presumed he knew it better than any of those gentlemen, and did not doubt proving that for several years past Haswell had not had a good character, and so could not lose one at St Helena. If Haswell had held so many good employments as he seemed to suggest, Tovey thought he would have done well to keep some of them, for Tovey had often heard him say [...] Interpretations Tovey's turning of Haswell's own maxim against him shows the rhetorical method at the heart of the reply. Haswell had written that a man without reputation shrinks from no villainy, and Tovey seized the line as an admission that fitted Haswell himself. By adopting his opponent's words as part of the charge, Tovey converted Haswell's attack into self-condemnation, a device that recurs throughout his point-by-point answer. Tovey's separation of birth and education from character reveals a deliberate concession on the indifferent points to concentrate his attack on the decisive one. He granted that Haswell was honestly born and adequately educated, conceding what could not help his case, while denying the character that bore on the dispute. The tactic of yielding the harmless ground sharpened the force of his claim that Haswell's reputation was already lost before he reached the island. Tovey's claim to know Haswell's character better than the distant directors exposes the gap between reputation in London and conduct observed on the island. Haswell had rested his defence on his standing with the Court of Directors, and Tovey answered that local knowledge of a man's daily behaviour outweighed the favourable impression held at a distance. The argument set the testimony of those who lived alongside Haswell against the credit he claimed with his masters. Speculations Tovey's remark that Haswell would have done well to keep some of his good employments was framed to suggest that Haswell had lost or forfeited posts rather than completing them with credit. By hinting that the employments had not ended well, Tovey undercut Haswell's boast of a distinguished record of service. The unfinished sentence points toward some saying of Haswell's own that Tovey meant to turn into evidence of past failures, continuing his method of building the case from Haswell's words. Tovey's insistence that Haswell could not lose a good character at St Helena because he had none to begin with was calculated to defeat the whole premise of Haswell's complaint. Haswell had framed Tovey's accusations as an attack on his reputation, and Tovey answered that there was no reputation to injure. The argument sought to dismantle Haswell's standing as the injured party, recasting the suspended deputy governor as a man whose ill character preceded any charge Tovey had made.

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204	196	March the Employment he has is not a good one Butt to shew what Credit is to be Given to this Vain Boafter I will mention truly some of his Employments He has been Third Mate of a Guinea Ship as I was enformed by the last Veffell that was here, And then he got to be a Midshipman of a Man of Warr w^{ch} great Poft he held several Years of about nineteen Pounds ten Shillings y^e ann But then (as he Boafte) he was often Employd as a Prefs Mafter & I say therefore the more Scandulous fellow for the worft & most sorryeft fellows are thofe Midshipmen Prefs Mafters, that never (But by chance) keep better Company then themselves, He says he only wilhes he had me in England & he would lay me faft & Dreyn my Purfe of Chink He underftands Canting I muft confefs better than I do by his Chink But I take leave to inform him That now the Warr is over he can have no Prefs Gang to Dangle after him But if he had I was always above fearing any thing from such sort of Fellows either with or without the Chink. As to the 3^d Par^d I say my complaint is plain and clear matter of Fact Viz^t on Fryday Night the 3^d day of January we were putting up the Great Packett & Cap^t Hafwell perfwading me to Sign the Lifts whilft I was writing my Name to them, he was seen to Shuffle away some papers w^{ch} upon my miffing the Fourteen nor fifteen sheets of Confultations were found in his Prefs as I have before related and	Tovey's reply continued, that the employment Haswell held was not a good one. To show what credit was due to this vain boaster, Tovey would truly mention some of his employments. Haswell had been third mate of a Guinea ship, as Tovey had been told by the last vessel that called at the island. He had then become a midshipman of a man of war, which was a great post, held for several years at about £19 10s 0d a year. But, as Haswell boasted, he had often been employed as a press master. Tovey held him the more disreputable for that, since the worst and meanest men were those midshipmen press masters who never, except by chance, kept better company than themselves. Haswell had said he only wished he had Tovey in England, where he would imprison him and drain his purse of money. Tovey allowed that Haswell understood canting talk better than he did, judging by his use of the word for money. But Tovey reminded him that, now the war was over, he could have no press gang to dangle after him. Even when he had, Tovey had always been above fearing anything from such men, whether they had money or not. As to the third part, Tovey said his complaint was plain and clear matter of fact. On Friday night, 3 January 1718, the council was putting up the great packet, and Haswell, while persuading Tovey to sign the lists as Tovey was writing his name to them, was seen to slip away some papers. When Tovey then missed them, the fourteen or fifteen sheets of consultations were found in Haswell's press, as he had related before. [...] Interpretations Tovey's recital of Haswell's career as a Guinea ship's mate and a man of war midshipman attacks the credibility Haswell had built on his standing with the directors. By tracing Haswell's actual employments and their modest pay of £19 10s 0d a year, Tovey sought to deflate the boast of distinguished service. The detailed account of a humble seafaring record was deployed to show the reality behind Haswell's claim of good employments entrusted to him. The contempt attached to the office of press master reveals the low social standing of impressment work despite its naval authority. A press master forced men into naval service, and Tovey used the role to brand Haswell as one who kept mean company. The association of the press gang with the worst sort of men shows how naval functions carried distinct reputations, and Tovey turned Haswell's own mention of the post into evidence against his character. Tovey's mockery of Haswell's slang for money exposes the social coding of language in the dispute. Haswell had used a cant term, the vocabulary of thieves and the disreputable, and Tovey seized on it as betraying the low world Haswell belonged to. The point shows how a man's very speech could be turned into evidence of his class and character, reinforcing Tovey's portrait of Haswell as no gentleman. Tovey's return to the central charge fixes the dispute on the events of the night of 3 January 1718, the discovery of the concealed consultation sheets that had triggered the whole affair. The account matches the suspension of George Haswell from salary and diet and the missing papers reported at the consultation of 4 January 1718. By restating the facts plainly, Tovey reasserted the documentary core of his complaint against the railing he attributed to Haswell's answer. Speculations Tovey's observation that the war was now over, so Haswell could summon no press gang, was a pointed rebuttal of Haswell's threat to imprison him in England. By noting that the instrument of Haswell's menace had lapsed with the peace, Tovey stripped the

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			threat of its force. The remark fits Tovey's method of meeting each of Haswell's boasts with a specific factual answer that exposed it as empty. Tovey's claim to have always been above fearing press masters, with or without money, was framed to assert his own courage against Haswell's intimidation. By professing fearlessness toward the very men Haswell associated with, Tovey contrasted his own standing with the low company he assigned his opponent. The assertion served the wider aim of elevating Tovey's character while degrading Haswell's, the contest of reputations underlying every article of the reply.
205	197	1717/18 and therefore dont trouble yo^d Worship &c further then to say twas so plain a deligned Theft & Robbery that nothing of that nature can more fully be made out to be so the true Ac^t whereof is in Confultation of the 14^t of January ult^o. He says that if he was in England among his Friends & acquaintance his bare word would be of more Validity than my Oath (Surely he must mean some of his Prefs Gang) I think it improbable that an Honeft man should have so good an Opinion of him altho I believe one honeft Gentleman is so much Impofed on or elfe he would never be his Factor so often to difpofe his Lyes at the East India Houfe in that manner that he does & therefore I think tis neceffary that, that Gentleman should be undeceived & acquainted that all M^d Hafwells Intelligences are but Forecaftle Packetts, But after all M^d Hafwells rattle about Incendiary, Malicious Scandalous Infamous Infolent Impudent and Incoherent expreffions he goes on wth his accuftomed modefty & says 'Tis reaforable to believe I would swallow any Oath, I DO afure you Gentlemen (for w^t Geo: Hafwell knows it already) That the Papers he Stole were the Confultations that did contain divers complaints against him And as for his word to be believed by his Friends (i.e some Body as bad as himself) before my Oath I know no other reason then a Proverb, Ask his fellow if he be a Thief, yet	Tovey's reply continued, that he would not trouble the council further than to say it was so plain and deliberate a theft and robbery that nothing of that nature could be more fully made out. The true account of it stood in the consultation of 14 January 1718. Haswell had said that if he were in England among his friends and acquaintance his bare word would carry more weight than Tovey's oath. Tovey supposed he must mean some of his press gang. He thought it improbable that an honest man should hold so good an opinion of Haswell, though he believed one honest gentleman was much imposed upon, or else he would never be Haswell's agent so often, to dispose of Haswell's lies at the East India House in the manner that he did. Tovey thought it necessary that this gentleman should be undeceived and told that all Haswell's intelligences were but forecastle packets. After all Haswell's rattling about incendiary, malicious, scandalous, infamous, insolent, impudent and incoherent expressions, he went on with his accustomed modesty to say it was reasonable to believe Tovey would swear to anything. Tovey assured the council, since Haswell knew it already, that the papers he stole were the consultations containing various complaints against him. As for his word being believed by his friends, meaning some men as bad as himself, before Tovey's oath, he knew no reason for it but the proverb, ask his fellow if he be a thief. [...] Interpretations Tovey's phrase forecastle packets exposes the social hierarchy of a ship transposed into an argument about credibility. The forecastle housed the common sailors, the lowest of the crew, and Tovey used the term to brand Haswell's reports as the gossip of the meanest hands rather than reliable intelligence. The image dismissed Haswell's information to the directors as worthless tittle-tattle from the bottom of the ship's company. Tovey's reference to an honest gentleman imposed upon, who served as Haswell's agent at the East India House, reveals the mechanism by which a servant on the island reached the directors in London. Haswell relied on a trusted intermediary to present his account to the Company, and Tovey sought to discredit that channel by suggesting the agent had been deceived. The attack aimed at the very means by which Haswell's standing with his masters was maintained. Tovey's invocation of the proverb about asking a thief's fellow whether he is a thief works to discredit the witnesses Haswell would rely on. By arguing that only men as bad as Haswell would vouch for his word, Tovey turned Haswell's claimed supporters into accomplices whose testimony proved nothing. The device extended his attack from Haswell himself to anyone who might speak for him, isolating his opponent's credibility. Tovey's repeated anchoring of the charge to the consultation of 14 January 1718 keeps the documentary record at the centre against Haswell's rhetoric. By directing the council back to the entered account of the theft, Tovey contrasted his fixed,

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			recorded complaint with the shifting abuse he attributed to Haswell. The strategy rested his case on what the council's own books showed, where the missing papers and Haswell's suspension stood recorded from the consultation of 4 January 1718. Speculations Tovey's care to expose Haswell's London agent as a deceived honest man, rather than a knowing confederate, was a calculated distinction. By sparing the gentleman while condemning Haswell's use of him, Tovey avoided attacking a man of standing and instead cast Haswell as the manipulator of an innocent intermediary. The move protected Tovey from the charge of slandering a respectable agent while still severing the channel that carried Haswell's reports to the directors. Tovey's framing of all Haswell's intelligences as forecastle packets was designed to neutralise in advance whatever Haswell might send home about the dispute. By branding Haswell's reports as the unreliable gossip of common sailors before they reached London, Tovey sought to inoculate the directors against Haswell's version of events. The pre-emptive discrediting fits the wider contest over which man's account would prevail with the masters, each having looked to England as the final forum since 28 January 1718.
206	198	March Yet I cant pafs this saying by leaft some may take him for that Yea & Nay man (that always abode by what he faid) w^{ch} he is so farr from, that I never knew a greater Reprobate or Common Swearer for a Bailiffe or Boatswaine are but fools to him My misfortune about M^d Wrangham I am & shall always be troubled at But ill against him (I defigned not) or any other man I have never done any But have always Acted as a Gent^m But notwithstanding that misfortune, I hope I shall never want manhood to defend my self from M^d Hafwell or any of his adherents But I appeal to yo^d Worship &c if I have not had a due Regard to his Reputation Then when the Country in General & several private persons particularly have made complaint against him yo^d Worship pacifying them I did not (for you Orderd me not) send those Confultations home whereby his very Black Charecter has been the longer unknown to my Hon^{bl} Mafters. He says I have attempted to Murder my wife what wont a man say that desires to speak nothing thats true; for that is as falfe as the Reft But since he talks about wives, I think he has One, who (in pitty to the poor Womans Condition) I wish was as happy as mine, I afure M^d Geo. Hafwell I never beat my wife Out of Doors (for my Blacks in pitty to her to help her to creep in	Tovey's reply continued, that he could not pass this saying by, lest some take Haswell for a man of his word who always stood by what he said. He was so far from being such that Tovey never knew a greater reprobate or common swearer, for a bailiff or a boatswain were fools to him. Tovey said he was, and always would be, troubled by his misfortune over Mr Wrangham. But he had never meant ill against Haswell, nor against any other man, having always acted as a gentleman. Despite that misfortune, he hoped he would never lack the manhood to defend himself from Haswell or any of his adherents. He appealed to the council to say whether he had not shown a due regard to Haswell's reputation. When the country in general, and several private persons in particular, had complained against Haswell, Tovey had not sent those consultations home, since the council had ordered him not to, by which Haswell's very black character had been the longer unknown to the Company. Haswell had said that Tovey had attempted to murder his own wife. Tovey asked what a man would not say who cared nothing for the truth, for that charge was as false as the rest. But since Haswell talked about wives, Tovey thought he had one whom, in pity to the poor woman's condition, he wished were as happy as his own. Tovey assured Mr George Haswell that he never beat his wife out of doors, for his slaves, in pity to her, would help her to creep in. [...] Interpretations Tovey's claim to have withheld the damaging consultations on the council's order serves to present himself as the discreet servant against Haswell the public scandal. By stating that complaints from the country and from private persons had been kept from the Company at the council's direction, Tovey argued that he had shielded Haswell's reputation rather than attacked it. The point inverts Haswell's charge, casting Tovey as the man who had spared his opponent exposure he could have inflicted. Tovey's comparison of Haswell to a bailiff or boatswain as a common swearer continues the strategy of placing Haswell among the low and disreputable trades. A bailiff who seized goods for debt and a boatswain who drove the common sailors were figures of coarse authority, and Tovey ranked Haswell below

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			even these. The social degradation reinforces the running argument that Haswell was no gentleman, whatever his standing with the directors. Tovey's turning of the wife-beating accusation back upon Haswell completes the symmetry that governs the whole reply. Haswell had charged Tovey with attempting his wife's life in his answer of 28 January 1718, and Tovey now alleged that Haswell beat his own wife so that she crept in with the slaves' help. The reciprocal accusation over the treatment of wives shows how each man drew the other's domestic conduct into the contest for the council's judgement. Speculations Tovey's reference to the council's order forbidding him to send the consultations home was calculated to enlist the bench itself as witness to his restraint. By reminding the council of its own direction, Tovey made the members vouch for his claim that he had protected Haswell. The appeal sought to convert the council from judges into corroborators of his good conduct, strengthening his case that he had behaved as a gentleman throughout. Tovey's detail that Haswell's slaves pitied the wife and helped her creep in was framed to make the accusation vivid and credible through circumstance. Rather than assert the beating in bare terms, Tovey supplied an image of the household's slaves moved to compassion, lending the charge the texture of observed fact. The specific picture was designed to outweigh Haswell's bare denial and to fix in the council's mind a scene of domestic cruelty answering Haswell's own charge against Tovey.
207	199	1717/18 in at the Window) never threatned to break her Neck nor Leggs, nor to Cutt her Throat, nor to Slitt her Tongue, nor to Shoot her But if he has done & threatned to do all this let him have the Shame nat me, Again as to the unfortunate Accident of M^d Fran^c Wranghams the case is all gone home in y^e Confultac^{ons} with all y^e Aggreivations Malice could Invent (your Worship Juftice. preventing their Illegal proceedings at my Tryal) after such Ill Ufflage I will appeal to yo^d Worship &c If George Hafwell deferves a good word from me & yet I never writ or spoke so bad of him behind his back as I have to his face & that often privately; But Good God how unhappy am I to be Injured by this man all manner of ways when for Peace fake (& to please yo^d Worship) I have put up them too often And now complaining for his Stealing my Confultations He to hide his own faults (& make me look negligent & as Bafe as himself) Rakes up not only all the Evils of my life paf (to make up his Invectives) But adds so many untruths That I see I might better have bore that Injury & bemoind my unhappynefs than to have any more to do with Such a perfidious Man, But as I could do no other then lay my Juft Cumplaints before your Worship &c So now I can do no lefs then Anfwer his Scandalous Afertions, He says he would have me appear in my proper Colour (which I heartily desire) knowing it will be much brighter	Tovey's reply continued, that he had never threatened to break his wife's neck or legs, nor to cut her throat, slit her tongue or shoot her. But if Haswell had threatened to do all this, let him bear the shame, not Tovey. As to the unfortunate accident concerning Mr Francis Wrangham, Tovey said the case had gone home in the consultations, with all the aggravations malice could invent, the council's justice having prevented illegal proceedings at his trial. After such ill usage, Tovey appealed to the council to say whether George Haswell deserved a good word from him, and yet Tovey had never written or spoken so ill of Haswell behind his back as he had to his face, and that often privately. Tovey lamented how unhappy he was to be injured by this man in every way, when for the sake of peace, and to please the council, he had too often passed over Haswell's conduct and had not complained of his stealing the consultations. To hide his own faults, and to make Tovey look negligent and as base as himself, Haswell raked up not only every evil of Tovey's past life, to make up his invectives, but added so many untruths that Tovey saw he might better have borne that injury and bemoaned his unhappiness than have anything more to do with so treacherous a man. But since he could do no other than lay his just complaints before the council, he could now do no less than answer Haswell's scandalous assertions. Haswell had said he wished Tovey would appear in his true character, which Tovey heartily desired, knowing it would be much brighter [...] Interpretations Tovey's account of the Wrangham case reveals that the matter had already been sent to the Company in the consultations, presented with every aggravating circumstance. The reference shows how a serious offence on the island was reported home for the directors' judgement, the written record carrying the charge to London. Tovey's complaint that malice shaped the account points to the power of those who

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			framed the consultations to colour how a man's conduct appeared to his masters. Tovey's mention of the council's justice preventing illegal proceedings at his trial exposes a claim that the bench had protected him from an improper prosecution over the Wrangham stabbing. The detail shows the council functioning as a safeguard against irregular legal process even for a man charged with a grave assault. Tovey invoked this protection to suggest that the proceedings against him had been tainted by the malice of his enemies. Tovey's insistence that he spoke ill of Haswell only to his face, never behind his back, asserts a code of open dealing against the secret tale-bearing he attributed to Haswell. The distinction between open confrontation and private slander runs through the dispute, each man claiming the honourable practice. Tovey's claim of candour answers Haswell's portrait of him as a malicious whisperer, set against Tovey's earlier charge that Haswell carried lewd and seditious stories about the island. Speculations Tovey's framing of his whole complaint as a reluctant duty, undertaken only because he could do no other, was calculated to present himself as the unwilling accuser driven to act. By professing that he would rather have borne the injury in silence, Tovey cast his complaint as forced upon him by Haswell's attacks rather than sought from malice. The posture answered Haswell's charge of incendiary conduct by portraying Tovey as the restrained party provoked beyond endurance. Tovey's claim to have passed over Haswell's theft of the consultations too often, for the sake of peace, sits in tension with his vigorous prosecution of that very charge. The assertion that he had long forborne suggests an effort to show a pattern of patience, so that the present complaint appeared the culmination of repeated provocation rather than a sudden attack. The device built a history of restraint into the record, strengthening Tovey's portrait of himself as the wronged man who acted only when compelled.
208	200	March brighter then his & therefore I pray that his Dark & ugly Actions may be no longer hid yo^d Worship has not yet permitted me to wear a Sword But I believe if you had Granted me that Honour He would not have dared to have Said such Falfe things against me But he having told so many untruths of me I hope I shall be Excufed relating some Truths of him which almost every body knows That He had a little Black Boy & a Girl of the Hon^{bl} Compa^s whom he cruelly Punifhed on every slight occasion, The Girl one time in his mad Drunken humour (displeafing this Great man) Hafwell Swore he would Crucify her & tript her Stark Naked hung her up by the Leggs (Strecht Wide a Sunder) on the door cafe & then also Stretching Out her hands in the Forme of S^t Andrews Crofs made them faft to the two Joyces of the Ceiling & not Satisfied with that Barbarous uffage whipt her moft Cruelly & burnt her with hott Irons in so much that I was feared the Girl would have Died & for that & many other such like Cruel Actions your Worship took the Girl from him And since M^d Hafwell has mentioned his Education I fain would know where he Learnt so much Cruelty	Tovey's reply continued, that his true character would be much brighter than Haswell's, and so he prayed that Haswell's dark and ugly actions might be hidden no longer. The council had not yet permitted Tovey to wear a sword, but he believed that if it had granted him that honour, Haswell would not have dared to say such false things against him. Since Haswell had told so many untruths of him, Tovey hoped he would be excused for relating some truths of Haswell that almost everyone knew. Haswell had a little black boy and a girl belonging to the Company, whom he cruelly punished on every slight occasion. The girl one time, in his mad drunken humour and having displeased this great man, was treated savagely. Haswell swore he would crucify her, and stripped her stark naked. He hung her up by the legs, stretched wide apart, on the doorcase, and then, stretching out her hands in the form of St Andrew's cross, made them fast to the two joists of the ceiling. Not satisfied with that barbarous usage, he whipped her most cruelly and burned her with hot irons, so much that Tovey feared the girl would have died. For that and many other such cruel actions, the council took the girl from him. Since Haswell had mentioned his education, Tovey wished to know where he had learned so much cruelty without remorse. He rather looked on him as a degenerate man who was always the worse, and never the better, for his education. The crucifying of any kind of creature, though once a Roman custom, had always been looked on as an abomination among Christians. Likewise, for his merciless and wicked [...]

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		without remorse But I rather look on him as a Degenerate man who is Always the worfe & not the better for his Education for the Crucifying any manner of Creature tho once a Roman Cuftom was always lookt on as an Abomination amongft Chriftians Likewife for his Mercylefs & Wicked	Interpretations Tovey's escalation to a detailed charge of torture marks the gravest accusation yet in the exchange. The account of Haswell hanging a Company slave girl naked, binding her in the form of St Andrew's cross and burning her with hot irons presents a specific and dated allegation of extreme cruelty. The detail that the council took the girl from him for these actions shows the bench had already intervened, giving the charge the weight of a matter on which authority had acted. The removal of the slave girl from Haswell's keeping reveals the limits the council placed even on a master's treatment of Company property. A slave belonged to the Company, and abuse that threatened her life was a loss and a wrong the bench would not permit. The intervention shows that the council's authority over its slaves extended to protecting them from a custodian whose cruelty endangered them, treating extreme abuse as grounds to withdraw the charge. Tovey's reference to crucifixion as a Roman custom abhorrent to Christians frames Haswell's cruelty as a violation of the moral order, not merely an excess of discipline. By invoking the Christian horror of crucifixion, Tovey cast Haswell outside the bounds of civilised and religious conduct. The argument turned a charge of brutality into one of moral and spiritual degeneracy, deepening the attack on Haswell's character beyond mere ill behaviour. The note that Tovey had not been permitted to wear a sword confirms the disarming that Haswell had cited in his answer of 28 January 1718. Tovey here turned the same fact to his own use, suggesting that only his lack of a sword had emboldened Haswell to slander him. The detail shows how a single circumstance served both men, Haswell as proof of Tovey's violence and Tovey as proof of Haswell's cowardice. Speculations Tovey's deployment of the torture allegation at this point in the reply suggests a deliberate building toward his most damning material. Having answered Haswell's charges in turn, Tovey moved to overwhelm the defence with an accusation of barbarity that almost everyone knew, as he claimed. The placement indicates a calculated structure, meeting Haswell's attacks first and then mounting a counter-assault designed to fix the council's attention on Haswell's cruelty rather than Tovey's faults. Tovey's framing of the cruelty as proof that Haswell was the worse for his education was aimed directly at the boast Haswell had made of his birth and breeding. By arguing that education had made Haswell crueller rather than better, Tovey turned the very ground of Haswell's self-defence against him. The move sought to convert Haswell's claimed advantages into evidence of a depraved nature, so that his standing with the directors counted for nothing against the savagery Tovey described.
209	201	1717/18 wicked Ufage of the Boy yo^d Worship took him away also but not on the First Second nor Third complaint (now I pray M^d Hafwell to tell whose faults are or have been hid) No Doubt I shall be called Incendiary again for this & he will say this Story is Infamous & Scandelous & So it is, but to him be it for every Title hereof is True & I am only to blame in suffering such Barbarity to be put up before & now (behold) this man who would pretend to have Charecter In the Name of God Let him have it to be Known unto all Men Wherefore I	Tovey's reply continued, that for his wicked usage of the boy the council had also taken him away, but not on the first, second nor third complaint. Now Tovey asked Haswell to tell whose faults were, or had been, hidden. No doubt Tovey would be called incendiary again for this, and Haswell would say the story was infamous and scandalous. So it was, but let the shame be his, for every word of it was true. Tovey said he was only to blame for having suffered such barbarity to be passed over before. Now let this man who pretended to character be made known to all men. Tovey therefore asked the council to produce the depositions taken before it, in his own writing, about this barbarity, which was enough to make any man but George Haswell ashamed. Haswell had sworn he would have, and sought to have, the blood of a black man belonging to Charles Steward's orphans, only for

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		humbly request your Worship to produce the Depositions that were taken before you (of my own writing) about this barbarity which is en^d to make any man But George Haswell afhamed, He vowd he would (& Sought for to have) the Blood of a Black man belonging to Charles Stewards Orphans only for the lofs of a Pint of Arrack which with many more such like Acts are too many to relate, Now I am come to his 6th par^d. I am much concerned to have so much trouble on Account of one Turbulent man But my Melancholly Abates upon finding (as I take it) the weake place in my adversaries head That So great a Soldier as He a Cap^t (by his Poft of Deputy Governour) & a man in Authority should Stoop so Low as to crave the Peace against me an unarmed man who having nothing but my Pen to offend him with (which can do him but little harm) I can see no reason why he should go in fear of his Life	the loss of a pint of arrack, with many more such acts too numerous to relate. Tovey then came to Haswell's sixth paragraph. He was much concerned to have so much trouble on account of one turbulent man, but his melancholy abated upon finding, as he took it, the weak place in his adversary's head. He thought it strange that so great a soldier as Haswell, a captain by his post of deputy governor and a man in authority, should stoop so low as to crave the peace against Tovey, an unarmed man who had nothing but his pen to offend him with, which could do him little harm. Tovey could see no reason why Haswell should go in fear of his life [...] Interpretations Tovey's invocation of the existing depositions about the barbarity, written in his own hand and held by the council, anchors his torture charge in formal evidence already in the bench's possession. By calling for the production of sworn statements rather than relying on assertion, Tovey met his own standard of proving each article by fact. The depositions show that the cruelty had been the subject of a recorded inquiry, giving the charge a documentary foundation the council could examine. Tovey's account of Haswell seeking the blood of a slave belonging to Charles Steward's orphans over a pint of arrack adds a second specific atrocity to the record. The detail connects Haswell's cruelty to the estate of Charles Steward, whose orphans' affairs had come before the council through the executors Gabriel Powell and Richard Gurling. The triviality of the cause, a lost pint of liquor, set against the gravity of seeking a man's blood, was framed to display the disproportion of Haswell's violence. Tovey's argument that Haswell, the deputy governor and a man in authority, had stooped to crave the peace against an unarmed clerk inverts the posture of the powerful and the weak. Craving the peace was a legal step by which a person in fear sought a bond binding another to keep it, and Haswell had asked the council for such security at the consultation of 28 January 1718. Tovey mocked the spectacle of an armed officer seeking legal protection from a man with only a pen, turning Haswell's request into evidence of cowardice. Speculations Tovey's repeated insistence that the cruelties were passed over on the first, second and third complaint was designed to establish a record of his own forbearance and the council's prior knowledge. By stressing that the abuses had been reported and tolerated before action was taken, Tovey suggested that Haswell's conduct had long been notorious and that he himself had shown patience. The emphasis built a history of restraint that answered the charge of incendiary malice. Tovey's seizing on Haswell's request for the peace as the weak place in his adversary's head reveals a calculated effort to turn Haswell's legal manoeuvre into self-exposure. By presenting the request as an admission of fear from a man of power against a defenceless clerk, Tovey argued that Haswell's own action betrayed the emptiness of his bluster. The point was framed to persuade the council that Haswell's plea for protection contradicted his pretence of bold and injured innocence.
210	202	March Life. Tis w^t I should be afhamed to Say for fear of him y^t has a Sword & I have non but I afure yo^d Wor^t &c I intend no Such retribution & hope youl not take it a mils if I ufe a fitt occafion to make George Haswell Eat Some of his foolish papers y^t shall do him no more hurt then to Shew the World y^t lyes wont Choak him	Tovey's reply continued, that he should be ashamed to say it for fear of Haswell, who had a sword while Tovey had none. But he assured the council he intended no such retaliation, and hoped they would not take it amiss if he used a fit occasion to make George Haswell eat some of his foolish papers. That would do him no more hurt than to show the world that lies would not choke him.

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		Another of his foolish or rather Knavish insinuations is this That he fears I shall be an hindrance to him in y^e dispatch of Our Hon^{bl} Maft^{ds} affairs. He has untruly f^d my Afertoins are impudent to w^{ch} I muft Answer That if he had not a very great Stock of impudence He would have been afhamed to Say so, for he knows I have helpt him very much And I know he is y^e lafiest fellow upon this Ifland & has not done as much bufinefs Since he came to this Ifland as an indifferent Accountant might have done in a Fortnight And now he has been thus long Idle he would impute his faults to me w^{ch} is so like to his defigne of Stealing my Confultations That it is neat to a proof of it. He denys in his last par^d the Affuming	Another of his foolish, or rather knavish, insinuations was this, that he feared Tovey would be a hindrance to him in the dispatch of the Company's affairs. He had unkindly said that Tovey's assertions were impudent. Tovey answered that if Haswell did not have a very great stock of impudence himself, he would have been ashamed to say so, for he knew Tovey had helped him a great deal. Tovey knew Haswell to be the laziest fellow on the island, who had not done as much business since he came as an indifferent accountant might have done in a fortnight. Now that he had been idle so long, he would impute his faults to Tovey, which was so like his design of stealing the consultations that it came near to a proof of it. Haswell denied, in his last paragraph, the charge of taking it upon himself [...] Interpretations Tovey's charge that Haswell had done less in his whole tenure than a competent accountant in a fortnight ties the personal quarrel directly to the account-books failure. The accusation of idleness supplies the human cause behind the audit's findings of false copies and uncharged fines exposed at the consultation of 4 January 1718. By branding Haswell the laziest man on the island, Tovey located the neglect of the books in Haswell's character, reinforcing the ground of his suspension from salary and diet. Tovey's argument that Haswell's habit of blaming others resembled his design in stealing the consultations seeks to link the two charges into a single pattern of conduct. By presenting the shifting of faults as akin to the concealment of the papers, Tovey suggested that both sprang from the same impulse to escape responsibility. The connection was offered as near a proof, drawing on the established complaint of 14 January 1718 to lend weight to the charge of habitual evasion. Tovey's repeated assertion that he had helped Haswell a great deal advances his claim to be the injured benefactor rather than the aggressor. By insisting on the assistance he had rendered, Tovey cast Haswell's accusations as ingratitude from a man he had supported. The argument inverts the relation Haswell had drawn, in which Tovey hindered the Company's business, presenting Tovey instead as the one who had carried the work his superior neglected. Speculations Tovey's image of making Haswell eat his foolish papers, framed as a jest while disclaiming any violent retaliation, was calculated to wound while preserving a show of restraint. By coupling the mocking threat with an assurance that he intended no harm, Tovey indulged his contempt while answering Haswell's portrait of him as a violent man. The careful framing let him express scorn without confirming the charge of dangerous temper that the loss of his sword-bearing had been meant to address. Tovey's emphasis on Haswell's idleness, set against his own claimed industry, was designed to recast the dispute as a question of who actually served the Company. By contrasting his help with Haswell's sloth, Tovey shifted the ground from the exchange of insults to the matter the directors would most care about, the conduct of the Company's affairs. The strategy aimed to persuade the masters that retaining Haswell, not restraining Tovey, was the true hindrance to the island's business.
211	203	1717/18 the power of King George &c But tis too true & tis likely will be proved in England before thefe comes there. As to my Love to Strong Liquor I ap peal to all the Ifland who is the Soberest	Tovey's reply concluded, taking up Haswell's claim to greater power than King George. Tovey said it was too true, and would probably be proved in England before this reached there. As to his own love of strong liquor, Tovey appealed to the whole island as to which of the two was the

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		man of Us two. And hope my former folly will always be a caution to mee He ends his Paper with a Rant like an Actor y^t ought to be hifft off y^e Stage having neither Spoke nor Acted well there adding what lookt as ill as when he first Spoke the words - (Viz^t) to drive all the people to the Devil when he comes to be Gov^d wth a great Deal of Such like foolish Stuff, w^{ch} I think tis not fitt to trouble yo^d Wor^t &c about & therefore only Say if M^d Hafwell is willing to proceed I shall be more particular with an Account of his Freeks & Vagaries That were they all written would look as Romantic as Don Quixots History & be as Voluminous. I am Wor^t S^d &c. the 4^o Feb^{re} 1717/18 Yo^d Most Obe^t Serv^t Antipas Tovey. Cap^t Hafwell Sayes he desires M^d Tovey	soberer man. He hoped his former folly would always be a caution to him. Haswell ended his paper with a rant like an actor who ought to be hissed off the stage, having neither spoken nor acted well there. He added what looked as ill as when he first spoke the words, namely that he would drive all the people to the devil when he came to be Governor, with a great deal of such foolish stuff. Tovey thought it not fit to trouble the council about it, and so said only that if Haswell was willing to proceed, he would be more particular with an account of his freaks and vagaries. Were they all written down, they would look as romantic as the history of Don Quixote and be as voluminous. The reply closed as that of the council's most obedient servant, signed by Antipas Tovey and dated 4 February 1718. Captain Haswell then said he desired Mr Tovey [...] Interpretations Tovey's closing concession on the treasonable words sharpens rather than softens the charge against Haswell. Tovey affirmed that Haswell's claim to outrank King George was true and would be proved in England, returning the gravest accusation to the centre as the reply ended. By tying the proof to England, Tovey kept the matter pointed toward the directors' judgement, the forum both men had invoked since 28 January 1718, and away from the local council alone. Tovey's appeal to the island over which man was the soberer answers Haswell's charge that Tovey was never sober when drink could be had, made in his answer of 28 January 1718. By submitting the question to common report, Tovey applied his recurring method of resting contested points on the knowledge of the inhabitants. His admission of former folly, paired with a claim of reform, was framed to disarm the accusation while conceding just enough to appear honest. Tovey's comparison of Haswell's conduct to the history of Don Quixote reveals the literary frame through which he cast his opponent as a deluded figure of absurdity. By likening Haswell's freaks and vagaries to the famous tale of a madman who imagined himself a knight, Tovey dismissed Haswell's pretensions to authority and character as fantasy. The reference shows the reach of Tovey's mockery, reducing the deputy governor's claims to the stuff of a comic romance. The dating of the reply to 4 February 1718 confirms that Tovey had prepared his answer by that consultation but withheld it, as recorded then, until Haswell was present to hear it. The document was at last delivered at the consultation of 4 March 1718, the first occasion Haswell sat at the council since his answer of 28 January 1718. The gap between the reply's date and its delivery marks Tovey's deliberate adherence to the form of open confrontation. Speculations Tovey's threat to furnish a fuller account of Haswell's freaks and vagaries if Haswell chose to proceed was a calculated deterrent against further answer. By holding in reserve a longer catalogue of Haswell's conduct, Tovey warned that continuing the dispute would only expose more of his opponent's faults. The promise of a voluminous record functioned as a check, inviting Haswell to let the matter rest rather than provoke a still more damaging reply. Tovey's pairing of his admission of past folly over liquor with a vigorous denial of present drunkenness was designed to convert a weakness into a display of candour. By owning a former fault while claiming reform, Tovey presented himself as a man honest about his own history, which lent credibility to his denials elsewhere. The confession was framed to contrast with Haswell, whom Tovey portrayed as incapable of acknowledging any fault, strengthening the reply's central claim about the two men's characters.

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212	204	March Tovey may first prove he Stole y^e papers And M^d Tovey desires y^e following Persons may be Examined upon Oath relating thereto (Viz^t) M^d Jn^o Alexander, Edw^d Holliwell & Jn^o Bagley Jun^d R Swallow & Apprentice who Nailed Up the Packett. The Gov^d Sayes he has rec^d a Letter from M^d Alexander as followeth. (Viz^t) To the Wor^t Ifa Pyke Elq^d Gov^d Sec^d Scribe. &c of the Island S^t Helena At Plantat^d Houfe Thefe. Worship f^d S^d There being an Order of Council of the 28^o Jan^d last that I should give an Account in Writing of what I know relating to y^e Papers M^d Anti^p Tovey charges Cap^t Hafwell with the Stealing of, I desire to be excused from Saying any thing in that matter That am Wor^t S^d Yo^d very humble Obed^t Union Castl^e & faithfull Servant 4^o Feb^{re} 1717/18 (Signd) Jn^o Alexander The	Captain Haswell said he desired that Mr Tovey first prove he stole the papers. Mr Tovey then asked that the following persons be examined on oath concerning the matter, namely Mr John Alexander, Edward Holliwell and John Bagley junior, and Robert Swallow, an apprentice who had nailed up the packet. Governor Pyke said he had received a letter from Mr Alexander, as follows, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of the island of St Helena, at the plantation house. There was an order of council of 28 January 1718 that Alexander should give an account in writing of what he knew concerning the papers Mr Antipas Tovey charged Captain Haswell with stealing. Alexander asked to be excused from saying anything in the matter. The letter closed as that of the Governor's very humble, obedient and faithful servant, signed by John Alexander and dated at Union Castle on 7 February 1718. Interpretations Haswell's demand that Tovey first prove the theft asserts the principle that the burden of proof lay on the accuser. By insisting that Tovey establish the stealing before Haswell need answer further, Haswell sought to hold the line that an accusation unproven was no accusation at all. The move pressed the contest back onto the documentary and testimonial evidence, where Tovey had staked his case since the consultation of 4 March 1718. Tovey's naming of four witnesses to be examined on oath shows his continued reliance on sworn testimony to prove each article. The witnesses included John Alexander, who had found papers left on the table, Edward Holliwell, whom Haswell had sent to search the press, and Robert Swallow, the apprentice who nailed up the packet. The selection shows Tovey assembling those present at the packing to reconstruct the events of the night of 3 January 1718 through independent evidence. Alexander's written refusal to give any account exposes the reluctance of a fellow councillor to testify in a quarrel between his colleagues. The order of 28 January 1718 had required him to set down what he knew, yet Alexander asked to be excused. His unwillingness shows the pressure such disputes placed on the small body of officers, where taking sides between the Governor's deputy and the secretary carried real risk whatever the truth. Speculations Alexander's plea to be excused, despite a direct order to report, suggests he wished to avoid implicating either party in a contest whose outcome remained uncertain. As the man who had found papers on the table, his evidence bore directly on whether the sheets were concealed or merely mislaid, and either account would damage one of his colleagues. His silence points to a calculated neutrality, declining to furnish testimony that might align him against the eventual victor. Haswell's insistence that Tovey prove the theft, paired with Alexander's refusal to testify, may have been calculated to exploit the difficulty of establishing the charge by independent proof. With the one councillor who handled the stray papers declining to speak, the evidence Tovey needed grew harder to obtain. Haswell's demand placed weight on exactly the testimony that was now being withheld, suggesting an awareness that the case against him might falter for want of willing witnesses.
213	205	1717/18 The Gov^d Sayes that according to this Letter M^d Alexander either dont know or dont care to Say what he	Governor Pyke said that, by this letter, Mr Alexander either did not know or did not care to say what he knew about the matter. The council expected Mr

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		knows about this matter. And We Do expect M^d Tovey makes due proof thereof the next Confultation Day. And It is Orderd That every One of the Persons M^d Tovey desires to be Examined Shall declare Whether they know or do not know any thing about this matter And That M^d Alexander particularly be acquainted, that We dont like his Letter Because he dont therein Say Whether he knows any thing of the Fact M^d Tovey charges M^d Hafwell with or not & Therefore It is Orderd That he be the more particular in the telling the Whole truth of what he knows Thereof. Antipas Tovey Matthew Bazett Island S^t Helena	Tovey to make due proof of his charge on the next consultation day. The council ordered that every one of the persons Mr Tovey wished examined should declare whether or not they knew anything about the matter. Mr Alexander in particular was to be told that the council did not like his letter, since he had not said in it whether or not he knew anything of the act Mr Tovey charged against Mr Haswell. He was therefore ordered to be more particular in telling the whole truth of what he knew. The order was signed by Antipas Tovey and Matthew Bazett. Island of St Helena. Interpretations Governor Pyke's reading of Alexander's letter as evasion shows the council refusing to accept a non-answer as a discharge of the order. By interpreting the plea to be excused as either ignorance or unwillingness, the bench declined to let Alexander withdraw from the inquiry. The response shows the council insisting that a direct order to testify could not be met by a request to stay silent. The order compelling each named witness to declare whether or not they knew anything establishes a formal demand for sworn knowledge from all parties present at the packing. By requiring a plain statement either way, the council closed off the middle course Alexander had attempted. The procedure shows the bench structuring the inquiry to force the witnesses off the fence, so that the events of the night of 3 January 1718 could be established by testimony. The council's express displeasure with Alexander's letter, entered in the record, reveals the bench using its authority to override a councillor's reluctance to testify. By rejecting his evasion and ordering him to be more particular, the council asserted that the duty to give evidence bound even its own members. The recorded rebuke marks the limit of the neutrality Alexander had sought, the bench demanding the whole truth he had declined to give. The requirement that Tovey make due proof on the next consultation day fixes the burden squarely on the accuser, as Haswell had demanded at the consultation of 4 March 1718. By setting a deadline for proof, the council moved the dispute toward resolution rather than allowing the exchange of papers to continue. The order shows the bench seeking to convert the contest of accusations into a tested finding grounded in the witnesses' sworn evidence.
214	206	March Island S^t Helena Thurſday y^e 6 of March 1717/18 At a Confultation wherein was Present The Govern^d of this Place Cap^t Edward Martin & Cap^t W^m Browne The Govern^d propofed to be confidered whether it were not for the Mutual Intereft of the Hon^{ble} Compa^s & Owners of the Several Ships now in the Road Viz^t the Marlbrough Cap^t Matthew Martin, The Rochester Cap^t W^m Browne & the Prince Frederick Cap^t Edward Martin, That all the ſaid Ships according to the Hon^{ble} Compa^s Orders ſhould keep company together in their Voyage hence to London. We whoſe Names are hereunto Subſcribed do approve of that Propoſition & think it is very requieſit the Said Ships ſhould keep Company together We therefore deſire Cap^t Matth^o Martin (whoſe undoubted right it is) to be Comandore to the above mentiond Ships & to give Us Such Orders & Sailing Inſtructions as	Island of St Helena. Thursday 6 March 1718. At a consultation at which were present Governor Pyke of this place, Captain Edward Martin and Captain William Browne. Governor Pyke proposed for consideration whether it was not in the mutual interest of the Company and the owners of the several ships now in the road that all those ships should keep company together on their voyage from the island to London, in accordance with the Company's orders. The ships were the <i>Marlborough</i>, commanded by Captain Matthew Martin, the <i>Rochester</i>, commanded by Captain William Browne, and the <i>Prince Frederick</i>, commanded by Captain Edward Martin. Those whose names were subscribed approved the proposal and thought it very necessary that the ships should keep company together. They therefore desired Captain Matthew Martin, whose undoubted right it was, to be commander of the ships and to give them such orders and sailing instructions as should be necessary for the better observing of his signals, to prevent their losing company. [...] Interpretations The proposal that the three ships sail home together reveals the convoy system by which the Company protected its homeward vessels. Ships keeping

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		shall be necessary for the better Observing of his Signalls to prevent Our loofing Comp^s	company offered mutual defence and support on the long passage to London, reducing the risk of loss to enemies, privateers or the hazards of the sea. The arrangement shows the Company's standing policy of grouping its returning ships, here put into effect for the <i>Marlborough</i>, the <i>Rochester</i> and the <i>Prince Frederick</i>. The designation of Captain Matthew Martin as commander of the convoy by his undoubted right reflects the established rule of seniority among the Company's commanders. The right to lead a group of ships fell to a particular captain by recognised precedence, not by election or appointment of the council. The deference to Martin's undoubted right shows how command at sea followed a settled order that the masters themselves acknowledged. The signing of the agreement by the commanders gives the convoy arrangement the form of a voluntary compact among the masters. Rather than a bare order, the consultation produced a subscribed agreement in which the captains bound themselves to keep company and observe Martin's signals. The structure shows the council securing co-operation through the masters' own consent, since the conduct of the voyage depended on their willing adherence to the commander's instructions. The reference to signals and sailing instructions to prevent losing company reveals the practical means by which a convoy held together across the ocean. A commander directed the fleet through a system of signals, and the captains agreed to observe them so that no ship strayed. The detail shows the seamanship behind the convoy, where coordinated signalling kept the vessels in contact over the weeks of the homeward passage.
215	207	1717/18 Company. And We Do Promise to Observe the Same & to keep him Company hence to England On condition that he will accept of the Charge & trouble of being Comandore to these Ships & deliver Us Such Sailing Instructions (Signd) W^m Browne E Martin Copy of y^e Gov^d to Cap^t Martin S^d I make my request to You that Youd please to Accept the Charge of being Comandore to these Ships now in the road, from hence to London. & y^e youd give them such Sailing Instructions as you Shall think to be necessary for y^e better Observings of yo^r Signals to prevent y^e loofing y^e benefit of your Company Which I doubt not will be an Acceptable thing to the Hon^{bl} Comp^s & for your Mutual Intereft I am S^d Yo^r most humble Serv^t Antipas Tovey	The agreement continued, that the commanders promised to observe Martin's instructions and to keep him company home to England, on condition that he would accept the charge and trouble of being commander of the ships and deliver to them such sailing instructions. The agreement was signed by William Browne and Edward Martin. A copy of Governor Pyke's letter to Captain Martin followed. The Governor asked Martin to accept the charge of being commander of the ships now in the road, on their passage from the island to London, and to give them such sailing instructions as he thought necessary for the better observing of his signals, to prevent their losing the benefit of his company. The Governor did not doubt this would be an acceptable thing to the Company and for their mutual interest. The letter was signed by Antipas Tovey and George Haswell. Interpretations The conditional form of the commanders' promise reveals the reciprocal nature of the convoy compact. Browne and Edward Martin bound themselves to follow Matthew Martin only on condition that he accept the duty of command and furnish sailing instructions. The mutual obligation shows that command of the convoy was not imposed but agreed, each side undertaking its part so that the arrangement rested on a balance of consent rather than authority alone. The Governor's letter requesting Matthew Martin to take command shows the council acting as the formal mover of an arrangement the captains then ratified among themselves. By inviting Martin to accept the charge, Governor Pyke initiated the convoy while leaving the commander's authority to rest on the masters' agreement. The structure marks the division between the council's role in proposing the voyage's order and the commanders' role in carrying it out at sea.

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			The signing of the Governor's letter by Antipas Tovey and George Haswell shows the two councillors attesting an official act of the administration despite the bitter dispute between them. Their joint subscription to the routine business of dispatching the homeward fleet reflects the continuation of the council's work alongside the unresolved quarrel. The contrast between their co-operation here and their conflict over the stolen consultations marks how ordinary governance proceeded through the same hands locked in personal dispute.
216	208	March Island S^t Helena. At a Confulatation held on Tuefday the 11^t Day of March A^o 1717/18. At Union Cactle in James Valley Ifaac Pyke Ef^q^d Govern^d Geo: Hafwell Dep^y Pref^t Matthew Bazett 3^d & Antipas Tovey 4^t in Council The Last Confulatation read & approved of The foll^o petitions were Prefented Viz^t Island S^t Helena, To the Worhip All^e Ifaac Pyke Ef^q^d Govern^d &c Council, The Humble Petition & Cumplaint of W^m Worrall The Hon^{bl} Compa^s Cheif Overfeer, Sheweth That yo^d petitioner went on Wednefday the 5^o Infant March to the Hon^{bl} Compa^s houfe at Perkins Plantation & John Gibbs being there began to abufe W^m Portley the Hon^{bl} Compa^s Overfeer yo^d petition^e askt him w^t bufinefs he had there, who Replyd, He had more bufinefs y^t I had. And Gibbs f^d also in a railing Opprobrious maner to yo^d petition^e y^t Cap^t Hafwell & he, like a Couple of Roques as we were Layd Our heads together to hinder Rich Swallow from Hiring the Land at the Green hills, w^{ch} was the caufe the Gov^d did not let it to him. w^{ch} was like a parcel of Roques as they were & further said Several times	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 March 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petitions were presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of St Helena, and the council. William Worrall, the Company's chief overseer, petitioned and complained, setting out that on Wednesday 5 March he had gone to the Company's house at Perkins's plantation. John Gibbs, who was there, began to abuse William Portley, the Company's overseer. Worrall asked Gibbs what business he had there, and Gibbs replied that he had more business than Worrall had. Gibbs also said, in a railing and abusive manner, that Worrall and Captain Haswell, like a couple of rogues, had laid their heads together to hinder Richard Swallow from hiring the land at the Green Hills. That, Gibbs said, was the reason Governor Pyke did not let it to him, which was like a parcel of rogues as they were. Gibbs further said several times [...] Interpretations Worrall's complaint records the abuse of Company officers by an inhabitant on Company ground, a matter the council heard as a breach of order. The overseers Worrall and Portley held authority over the plantations, and Gibbs's open defiance challenged their standing. The bench treated such insolence toward its officers as an offence requiring formal complaint, since the management of the plantations depended on the overseers' command being respected. Gibbs's charge that Haswell and Worrall had conspired to keep Richard Swallow from hiring the land at the Green Hills exposes the suspicion that the Company's officers used their position for private favour. By alleging that the two had laid their heads together to influence a land letting, Gibbs accused them of corruptly steering the Governor's decision. The complaint shows how the officers' control over land grants laid them open to charges of partiality in the disposal of the Company's holdings. The connection of Gibbs to Richard Swallow's interest reveals the network of grievance behind the abuse. Swallow had earlier disputed the division of pound goats with James Vesey, ruled on at the consultation of 20 December 1715, and now figured as the disappointed applicant for the Green Hills land. Gibbs's outburst on Swallow's behalf shows how a failed land application bred resentment that spilled into open insult of the officers blamed for the refusal. Speculations Gibbs's repeated branding of the officers as rogues, delivered openly on Company ground, suggests a deliberate public challenge rather than a private grumble. By voicing the accusation of corruption before others at the plantation, Gibbs sought to spread the charge and damage the officers' standing among the inhabitants. The setting of the abuse points to an

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			intent to make the alleged conspiracy known, not merely to vent anger. The timing of Worrall's complaint, brought amid the unresolved dispute between Tovey and Haswell, may have served Haswell's interest by casting him as the target of baseless abuse. Gibbs's charge that Haswell conspired over the land letting placed Haswell among the accused, yet the complaint was Worrall's against Gibbs, framing Haswell as a wronged officer rather than a wrongdoer. The matter offered Haswell a contrast to the charges Tovey pressed, showing him as the victim of slander from another quarter.
217	209	1717/18 times over thefe words There is not an honeft man in the Council except one wth a great deal other abufive Language for w^{ch} yo^d petition^d humbly applys himself to yo^d Worship &c And prays that he may have Satisfac tion of the said Gibbs Injuries, afuring yo^d Worship he never did him any hurt & knows no caufe why Gibbs should abufe him in this Grofs maner. & yo^d petition^d as in Duty Bound 11: March 1717/18 shall ever pray &c (Signd) W^m Worrall Orderd that John Gibbs be Whipt at the Flagg Staff & sent to Bencoolen y^e the Outward bound Ship. To the Worth Ifaac Pyke Efq^d Govern^d &c Council The most Humble Petition of Henry Johnson Humbly Sheweth. That as your Petitioner in July 1714 was (by very Inhumane Treatment) forced to leave the Ship Rochester then Bound for Bencoolen and to enter himself into the Hon^{ble} Companys Service upon this Island, does humbly desire your Worship and Council to be continued in the same five years from the time of his Comencement And yo^d Petition^d as in Duty bound will Ever Pray &c (Signd) H Johnson He having been here above Three Years & a half & behaved himself very well We think it proper to grant his request	Worrall's complaint continued, that Gibbs said several times over that there was not an honest man in the council except one, with a great deal of other abusive language. Worrall therefore applied to the council and prayed that he might have satisfaction for Gibbs's injuries, assuring the bench that he had never done Gibbs any hurt and knew no reason why Gibbs should abuse him in this gross manner. The petition was signed by William Worrall and dated 11 March 1718. The council ordered that John Gibbs be whipped at the flagstaff and sent to Bencoolen on the outward-bound ship. A further petition was presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor, and the council. Henry Johnson petitioned, setting out that in July 1714 he had been forced, by very inhumane treatment, to leave the ship <i>Rochester</i>, then bound for Bencoolen, and to enter the Company's service on the island. He desired to be continued in the same service for five years from the time of his commencement. The petition was signed by Henry Johnson. Johnson having been on the island above three years and a half, and having behaved himself very well, the council thought it proper to grant his request. [...] Interpretations The sentence of whipping and transportation to Bencoolen reveals the severity with which the council punished open abuse of its members and officers. Gibbs's claim that only one honest man sat in the council attacked the integrity of the whole bench, and the punishment matched the gravity of so public a slander. The combination of corporal punishment and banishment to the Company's settlement at Bencoolen shows how the council removed a persistent troublemaker while making an example of him. Transportation to Bencoolen functioned as a standard means of ridding the island of disorderly persons by sending them to the Company's other eastern station. The outward-bound ship carried such men away, removing the source of trouble while supplying labour to a place that needed it. The disposal of Gibbs in this way shows the network of Company settlements serving as a destination for those expelled from the island. Johnson's petition reveals how men entered the island's service after leaving their ships, here driven by what he called inhumane treatment aboard the <i>Rochester</i>. The same vessel now lay in the road as part of the homeward convoy, ready to sail under Captain Browne. Johnson's account of being forced off the ship in July 1714 shows how the island gained servants from the crews of passing vessels, men who exchanged harsh shipboard conditions for a fixed term on shore. The council's grant of Johnson's request, resting on his good behaviour over three and a half years, shows the bench rewarding proven service with security of employment. By confirming his five-year term, the council secured a reliable servant while acknowledging his record. The decision marks the contrast with Gibbs, the same consultation punishing the disorderly

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			inhabitant and confirming the well-behaved servant, the bench distinguishing sharply between the two.
218	210	March Island S^t Helena To the Worth Isaac Pyke Esq^d Gov^d &c Council The most Humble Petition of Henry Harmon Soldier Humbly, Sheweth, That yo^d petition^d having a Grant from the Worth the Gov^d &c to go off this Island in the Ship Rochester when he came to settle his Accounts in the Hon^{ble} Compa^s Books found he had only four Shillings instead of twenty four Credit given to him on account of John Myers Wherefore yo^d petition^d humbly prays that the Accomptant may Give him his Juft due. And as in Duty Bound shall for Ever pray &c Signum Henry + Harmon Efa Ordered That Enquiry be made into this matter & he have Credit if found his Due, It appearing that the Transferr Journal is Irregular, Orderd That for the future the Date be Entr^d in the Margent to each day of Transferring Orderd That M^d Tovey do go & View the Hon^{ble} Comp^s Plantations & give a perticular Account thereof some time this Month & Report it the Firft	Island of St Helena. A further petition was presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor, and the council. Henry Harmon, soldier, petitioned, setting out that he had a grant from the Governor to go off the island in the ship <i>Rochester</i>. When he came to settle his accounts in the Company's books, he found he had been given credit for only four shillings instead of twenty-four, on account of John Myers. He therefore prayed that the accountant might give him his just due. The petition was signed by Henry Harmon with his mark. The council ordered that inquiry be made into the matter and that Harmon have credit if it was found his due. Since it appeared that the transfer journal was irregular, the council ordered that for the future the date be entered in the margin against each day of transferring. The council further ordered that Mr Tovey go and view the Company's plantations, and give a particular account of them some time this month, and report it the first [...] Interpretations Harmon's petition over a shortfall in his account credit reveals fresh evidence of the disorder in the Company's books that had brought down Haswell. A discrepancy between four shillings and twenty-four shillings in a soldier's account points to the same unreliability exposed by the audit at the consultation of 4 January 1718. The error shows how the failure to keep the books correctly touched the ordinary servant, who could not obtain his due when the records were wrong. The order that the date be entered in the margin against each day of transferring marks a specific administrative reform prompted by the journal's irregularity. The transfer journal, found defective, had contributed to the errors in the accounts, and the council moved to correct the practice. The remedy shows the bench addressing the mechanics of record-keeping directly, the same failings that Thomlinson's letter of 24 February 1718 had traced to the want of properly maintained books. The order sending Tovey to view the plantations transfers to him the survey duty earlier laid on Haswell at the consultation of 28 January 1718. With Haswell suspended and embroiled in the dispute, the council assigned the inspection of the Company's most pressing concern to Tovey instead. The reassignment shows the bench keeping the examination of the plantations moving despite the quarrel, and continues the scrutiny of the grounds pursued through the yam surveys since the consultation of 26 February 1717. The recurrence of the <i>Rochester</i> in successive petitions, with both Johnson and Harmon seeking to settle their affairs before its departure, shows the homeward fleet's presence prompting a rush of accounts to be cleared. Men leaving on the convoy needed their credits settled and their terms confirmed before they sailed. The clustering of such petitions reflects how the arrival of the ships set a deadline that drove the island's people to bring their business before the council.
219	211	1717/18 first Council Day the next Month, The Govern^d reports that the Roof of the Plantation Houfe is part of it fallen in & tis not possible to Stay longer ther this Rainy Seafon is a little over without New Rooffen of it The rooff of the Blacks Houfe at Perkins was	The council ordered Tovey to report on the plantations the first council day of the next month. Governor Pyke reported that part of the roof of the plantation house had fallen in, and that it was not possible to stay there longer once the rainy season was a little over without new roofing.

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		blown down on Saturday night last & the Govern^d Sayes he has given Orders for the New Roofing of it & hopes it will be done in Ten days time, M^d Alexander defired George Sanders & Mercey his wife their Bill of Sale may be Regiftred, Granted The Governour Sayes the small China Bowles we now use in the Hall Coft Six Shillings y^e peice but by this Ship he has agreed for a small Beft at Two Shillings each & thinks tis proper to keep Twelve for the use of the Fort & all the Reft will goe off very well in the Stores at Three Shillings y^e peice & we have bought a hogshead of French Wine at nine shillings y^e gallon, M^d Tovey defired his Witneffes might be Examined which were as follows (Viz) Upon Oath to thofe Written papers Wor^t S^d &c Council You having Orderd me in Confultation of the 4th Inf^t to give an Acc^t of what I know or remember relating to the Papers M^d Tovey Coft	The roof of the slaves' house at Perkins's had been blown down on Saturday night last. Governor Pyke said he had given orders for it to be newly roofed and hoped it would be done within ten days. Mr Alexander asked that the bill of sale of George Sanders and Mercy his wife be registered. The council granted it. Governor Pyke said that the small china bowls now used in the hall cost six shillings apiece, but by this ship he had agreed for a small chest of them at two shillings each. He thought it proper to keep twelve for the use of the Fort, and the rest would sell very well in the stores at three shillings apiece. The Company had also bought a hogshead of French wine at nine shillings per gallon. Mr Tovey asked that his witnesses might be examined, on oath, concerning the stolen papers. Their evidence was as follows, addressed to the Governor and council. One witness set out that, the council having ordered him at the consultation of 4 March 1718 to give an account of what he knew or remembered concerning the papers Mr Tovey said Captain Haswell had taken, [...] Interpretations Governor Pyke's report on the failing roof of the plantation house reveals the recurring problem of maintaining the Company's buildings against the island's weather. The plantation house had earlier been found rotted through and unfit to lie in when surveyed in August 1716, and now part of its roof had fallen in. The moderate climate of the island still brought a rainy season that demanded constant repair, and the council's attention to roofing shows the burden of keeping its structures habitable. The purchase of china bowls cheaply by the ship for resale in the stores reveals the Company's practice of profiting from goods brought by visiting vessels. By buying a chest at two shillings each and selling the surplus at three shillings, the Company turned a margin while keeping a dozen for the Fort. The transaction shows the stores functioning as the island's trading mechanism, the central commercial engine that supplied the settlement and generated revenue. The note of French wine bought at nine shillings per gallon records the Company's continuing supply of liquor for the island, a recurring item in its accounts. The provision of wine connects to the regulation of the Governor's table settled in June 1717, which fixed the daily allowance of wine. The purchase shows the Company stocking the imported goods on which the Fort's establishment depended. The registration of the bill of sale of George Sanders and Mercy his wife marks a further step in settling the affairs of the much-disputed Gargen estate. Mercy, the widow of Thomas Gargen, had married Sanders, and the estate had been the subject of the special court of judicature of 2 January 1718. The registration shows the property at last being conveyed and recorded, and connects to Sanders's departure for England on the <i>King William</i>, his liability having been fixed by that court.
220	212	March loft, and then found in Capt Hafwells Prefs. I think it now my duty According to the beft of my memory to give you in Perfurance to the Said recited Order an Impartiall relation of the whole as near the truth as Poffible, and is as follows. viz On or about the 3^d day of Jan^{ry} last paft You having Ordered the Hon^{bl} Compa^s Books of Acc^{ts} to be packt up for England, and the Confultac^{ons} having been all perufd and Signd by all the Coun^s in order to be likewise packt up M^d Holliwell (who writes in the accompt^s office) was appointed to	The witness, taking up the matter of the papers lost and then found in Captain Haswell's press, set out the following account. He thought it now his duty, in accordance with the order of council, to give an impartial relation of the whole, as near the truth as possible. On or about 3 January 1718, the council having ordered the Company's account books to be packed up for England, and the consultations having all been read and signed by the whole council to be packed up likewise, Mr Holliwell, who wrote in the accountant's office, was appointed to take a list of the books as they

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		take a lift of the Said Books as they were put into y^e Cheft during which time Capt Hafwell went and opened one of his Preffes and put Something into it and then lockt it again of which I took but little Notice at that time becaufe I thought he put up nothing but his own books. But afterwards leaft any of the Confultac^{ons} that lay loofe upon the Table in the Accompt^s Office should be Mifs placed I took them in y^e Intent to put them in Order but found the Bulk not So large as I knew it ought to have been, & therefore lookt them over & finding Severall Sheets and Confultac^{ons} wanting I did immediatly Mention & all before the whole Company then prefent Upon which	were put into the chest. During that time Captain Haswell went and opened one of his presses, put something into it, and then locked it again. The witness took little notice of this at the time, since he thought Haswell had only put up his own books. Afterwards, lest any of the consultations lying loose on the table in the accountant's office should be misplaced, the witness took them, intending to put them in order. He found the bulk not so large as he knew it ought to have been, and on looking them over found several sheets and consultations missing. He immediately mentioned this before the whole company then present. [...] Interpretations The witness's account supplies the independent testimony the council had pressed for since the consultation of 4 March 1718, when it ordered the witnesses to declare what they knew. His description of seeing Haswell open a press, place something inside and lock it again corroborates the central fact of Tovey's complaint of 14 January 1718. The evidence shows the bench at last obtaining a first-hand relation of the events of the night of 3 January 1718 from one present at the packing. The witness's care to frame his account as impartial and as near the truth as possible reflects the standard expected of sworn evidence before the council. By professing neutrality, the witness distinguished his testimony from the partisan papers exchanged by Tovey and Haswell. The emphasis on impartiality shows the value the bench placed on disinterested evidence to resolve a dispute that the principals' own accounts had only deadlocked. The detail that the witness took little notice of Haswell's action at the time, supposing he put up only his own books, lends the testimony a quality of candour. By admitting he saw nothing suspicious in the moment, the witness presented his later discovery of the loss as the innocent observation of one not looking for wrongdoing. The frankness strengthens the account, since a witness who claimed no immediate suspicion appeared to report only what he genuinely saw and remembered. The witness's discovery that the bulk of the consultations was smaller than it should have been shows how the loss came to light through the ordinary handling of the papers. He noticed the deficiency while tidying loose sheets, not through any search for missing documents. The account reveals the practical way the theft was detected, the missing sheets betrayed by the reduced size of the pile, which led the witness to count them and report the want before the assembled council.
221	213	1717/18 which Capt Hafwell Sayed he had not Medled wth any and So Sayed the reft whereupon M^d Tovey & Self Rummaged every whre to See for them, and having turned all the Papers over & over & finding non of the Confultac^{ons} that was Miffing, I sayed to M^d Tovey I believed they must be put away by Cap^t Hafwell into his Prefs that he put his books into be caufe I remembered I saw him carry Something & lock up, then M^d Tovey demanded to See within Capt Hafwells Prefs wth he refufed at firft I denied that he had Medled wth them, but M^d Tovey Infilted to have the prefs opened Whereupon after Some difpute & Swearing they were not there and that he Capt Hafwell had not Medled wth any of his Confultac^{ons} aforefaid. And upon M^d Toveys threatening to break the Prefs open Capt Hafwell did not Infilt upon his not putting the Said Confultac^{ons} by any Longer but unlocked and opened the prefs door, and Immediatly shutt it too again Saying	The witness continued, that Captain Haswell said he had not meddled with any of the papers, and said the same of the rest. Mr Tovey and the witness then searched everywhere for them. Having turned all the papers over and over without finding any of the missing consultations, the witness told Mr Tovey he believed they must have been put away by Captain Haswell into the press where he kept his books, since the witness remembered seeing him carry something and lock it up. Mr Tovey then demanded to see inside Captain Haswell's press, which Haswell refused at first, denying that he had meddled with the papers. But Mr Tovey insisted on having the press opened. After some dispute, and swearing that the papers were not there and that he had not meddled with any of the consultations, Captain Haswell, on Mr Tovey's threatening to break the press open, no longer insisted on keeping it shut. He unlocked and opened the press door, then immediately shut it again, saying the papers were not there, and that they might see they were not.

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		they were not there, and here you See they are not here, But yett M^d Tovey would not be Satisfyed without further Searching, and then M^d Holliwell by Capt Hafwells Order Searched further into the Prefs and found a Parcell of Papers put in behind and between the Books So that at firft opening the Said Prefs they could not be Seen, and thefe bundle	Mr Tovey would not be satisfied without further searching. Mr Holliwell then, by Captain Haswell's order, searched further into the press and found a parcel of papers put in behind and between the books, so that at the first opening of the press they could not be seen. [...] Interpretations The witness's testimony directly contradicts Haswell's defence of accidental misfiling advanced at the consultation of 28 January 1718. Haswell had claimed the loose sheets might have been mixed among the books without his knowledge during the packing. The witness's account of Haswell opening his press, putting something in and locking it, then resisting the search, describes deliberate concealment rather than accident, undermining the innocent explanation Haswell had offered. The detail of Haswell opening the press and immediately shutting it again, declaring the papers were not there, supplies the strongest evidence of consciousness of guilt. A man with nothing to hide would have allowed a full inspection, yet Haswell shut the press at once and pronounced it empty. The witness's account of this gesture matches Tovey's original complaint of 14 January 1718 and gives it the force of independent corroboration. The finding of the papers behind and between the books, hidden from view at the first opening, confirms the concealment that lay at the heart of the charge. The placement ensured the sheets escaped a cursory glance, supporting Tovey's claim that the hiding was deliberate. The discovery by Holliwell, acting on Haswell's own order, shows the papers recovered through the search Haswell had tried to forestall, the physical evidence answering his sworn denials. The witness's account that Holliwell searched by Haswell's order introduces a complicating detail in Haswell's favour, that he eventually authorised the search that exposed him. Haswell had stressed at the consultation of 28 January 1718 that he directed Holliwell to look in the press, presenting his conduct as open. The witness confirms this order, yet the surrounding account of denial, resistance and the shutting of the press leaves the authorisation looking like a forced concession rather than transparent co-operation.
222	214	March bundle of Papers were thofe that I miffed & wanted of the Confultac^{ns} and Confited of about fourteen Sheets of Paper written full. In which were Contained Severall matters that palt in Confultac^{on} relating to Capt Hafwell. Thefe papers M^d Holliwell delivered to M^d Tovey who then took Care of them and all that happened when your Worth was out of the Caftle at M^d Francis: Houfe wth Cap^t James Winter & Capt Jn^o Hunter at Supper^s I do not remember any thing more which I take to be Materiall Unlefs it be Capt: Hafwells Seeming to be more obligeing that night than ufual Info much that he afkt Jn^o Bagley the Carpenters Servant to Stay and Sup with us in the Hall, and that M^d Tovey did make a Pritty many words about Capt Hafwells taking the Papers and Sayed he had Stole them that the Compa^s might think he was as Idle as himfelf, and he lookt upon this as a Trick of Said Hafwells to Ruine his the Said Toveys reputation wth the Company^a There might be and I belive there was more Such like angry words which no way Concerning me I minded them the lefs, and do not now remember what they were: But as to Capt: Hafwells firft taking, then denying the Papers which were afterwards found	The witness continued, that the bundle of papers were those he had missed of the consultations, consisting of about fourteen sheets written full. They contained several matters that had passed in consultation relating to Captain Haswell. Mr Holliwell delivered these papers to Mr Tovey, who then took care of them. All this happened while Governor Pyke was out of the castle at Mr Francis's house with Captain James Winter and Captain John Hunter at supper. The witness did not remember anything more that he took to be material, unless it were that Captain Haswell seemed to be more obliging that night than usual. He had asked John Bagley, the carpenter's servant, to stay and sup with them in the hall. Mr Tovey made a good many words about Captain Haswell taking the papers and said he had stolen them, so that the Company might think Haswell was as idle as himself. Tovey looked on this as a trick of Haswell's to ruin his reputation with the Company. There might be, and the witness believed there were, more such angry words, but as they did not concern him, he minded them the less and did not now remember what they were. As to Captain Haswell's first taking the papers and then denying it, the papers being afterwards found, [...] Interpretations

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			The witness's identification of the bundle as the fourteen sheets of consultations relating to Haswell confirms the precise content of the missing papers. The sheets recorded matters that touched Haswell directly, which supplied the motive Tovey had alleged for their concealment. The detail ties the physical bundle recovered from the press to the documentary record of complaints against Haswell, anchoring the charge in the specific papers found. The witness's note that the discovery happened while Governor Pyke was absent at supper places the events outside the Governor's presence. The Governor was dining with Captain Winter and Captain Hunter at Francis's house, the same officers before whom Tovey had said Haswell could not deny the charge. The absence explains why the matter turned on the testimony of those present at the packing, since the head of the council had not witnessed it himself. The witness's recollection that Haswell was unusually obliging that night, even inviting the carpenter's servant to sup with them, introduces a detail open to opposing readings. The behaviour might suggest a man at ease and innocent, or one affecting friendliness to cover a planned concealment. The witness reported the observation without drawing a conclusion, leaving the council to weigh whether Haswell's geniality told for or against him. The witness's frankness about not remembering the angry words, since they did not concern him, reinforces the impartial character of his account. By admitting the limits of his memory and declining to supply what he did not recall, the witness presented himself as a neutral observer rather than a partisan. The candour about what he had not retained lent credibility to the specific facts he did report, distinguishing his testimony from the comprehensive accusations of the principals.
223	215	1717/18 found by M^d Holliwell all that I afure your Wor^l &c is matter of Fact. I am Wor^l S^d &c Council Sec^{dy} Office, the Yo^d very humble & obed^t 11th March 1717/18 Serv^t Jn^o Alexander Wor^l S^d &c Council Being acquainted y^e M^d Tovey that I was this day to give in an Account of what I know relat ing to Capt Hafwells taking his fourteen Sheets of Confultations on Fryday night the 3^d of Jan^{dy} last I say as to matter of Fact that I found and took out of the Said Capt Hafwells Prefs in his office the Said fourteen Sheets of Paper for whilft I was writing out a Lift of the Hon^{bl} Compa^s Books that were then to be Sent home in order to which the Confultac^{ons} were brought into his office that M^d Tovey might See the Lifts agreed wth thofe Entered in the Confultac^{on} Books which I did & wrote on So farr as where it was mentioned the Lift of the Books Sent home not Coppyed but I refuted to Infert the words on the Contra Side a Lift of the Books Sent home Coppyed upon which Capt: Hafwell made many arguments wth me Indeavouring to perfuade me that they were all	The first witness concluded his account, that the papers being afterwards found by Mr Holliwell was, he assured the council, matter of fact. The statement was given at the secretary's office on 11 March 1718 and signed by John Alexander as the council's very humble and obedient servant. A second account followed, addressed to the Governor and council. The witness, having told Mr Tovey that he was that day to give an account of what he knew concerning Captain Haswell's taking his fourteen sheets of consultations on Friday night, 3 January 1718, set out the following matter of fact. He had found and taken out of Captain Haswell's press in his office the fourteen sheets of paper, while he was writing out a list of the Company's books that were then to be sent home. In connection with this, the consultations had been brought into Haswell's office so that Mr Tovey might see whether the lists agreed with those entered in the consultation books. The witness had done this and written so far as the place where the list of books sent home was mentioned, not copied. He had refused to insert on the opposite side the words a list of the books sent home, copied. On this Captain Haswell made many arguments, trying to persuade the witness that they were all [...] Interpretations The signing of the first account by John Alexander resolves the identity of the impartial witness whose testimony the council had pressed for. Alexander had earlier asked to be excused from saying anything, by his letter of 7 February 1718, and the council had rejected his evasion and ordered him to be more particular. The detailed account now given shows Alexander complying at last with the order of 4 March 1718, his testimony supplying the corroboration of Tovey's charge that the bench had demanded.

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			The second account opens a fresh witness's testimony, this one concerning his own discovery of the fourteen sheets in Haswell's press while listing the books. The witness was engaged in checking the lists against the consultation books, a task that brought him into Haswell's office. The account shows a second person present at the packing giving direct evidence of finding the papers, reinforcing the testimony of the first witness on the central fact. The witness's refusal to write that the books sent home were copied exposes the very falsehood the audit had uncovered at the consultation of 4 January 1718. The audit had found that several books claimed as copies did not agree with the originals, and the witness here declined to certify a copying that had not been done. The detail shows an officer resisting Haswell's attempt to have a false statement entered in the record, connecting the dispute over the papers to the underlying fraud in the accounts. The arguments Haswell made to persuade the witness to insert the false words reveal his effort to procure a record that would conceal his failure. By pressing the witness to certify the books as copied, Haswell sought to paper over the neglect for which he had been suspended. The account shows the concealment of the consultations as part of a wider attempt to falsify the record, the witness's refusal preserving the truth against Haswell's pressure.
224	216	March all Copied but knowing to the Contrary I wholly declined it while I was writing the Copy of the Lift that was to go home in the Cheft wth the Books Capt Hafwell then put up all the other Books and Papers that are now remaining in the Prefs in his office & the fourteen Sheets of Confultac^{ns} wth them which upon M^d Toveys or M^d Alexanders miffing Could not be found Capt Hafwell denying the knowing any thing of them at laft M^d Tovey was so provoaked That he Said for Certain that they must be put up into Capt Hafwells Prefs but he the Said Capt Hafwell Swore Immediatly that they were not But after a bun dance of words between them Capt Hafwell at last Sayd you Holliwell look into the Prefs wth as Soon as I had done I immediatly Clapt my hands on the Confultac^{ns} which were the fourteen Sheets Miff ing y^e M^d Tovey and Said Gentlem^e here they are upon which M^d Tovey Said to Capt: Hafwell have ing the Confultac^{ns} in his hand See here now Capt: Hafwell are not you now a bafe and unworthy man to go to Ruine me, by this many words paffed between them that I cannot remember but Capt: Hafwell could no ways Excufe himself but by Infifteing us all hands to drink and to be merry which was I prefume to forgett	The second witness continued, that Haswell tried to persuade him the books were all copied, but knowing the contrary, the witness wholly declined to write it. While he was writing the copy of the list of books that was to go home in the chest, Captain Haswell put up all the other books and papers now remaining in the press in his office, and the fourteen sheets of consultations with them. When Mr Tovey or Mr Alexander missed these, they could not be found, Captain Haswell denying that he knew anything of them. At last Mr Tovey was so provoked that he said for certain they must have been put into Captain Haswell's press. Haswell swore at once that they were not. After a good deal of words between them, Captain Haswell at last said, Holliwell, look into the press. As soon as the witness had done so, he immediately laid his hands on the consultations, which were the fourteen missing sheets of Mr Tovey's, and said, Gentlemen, here they are. Mr Tovey then said to Captain Haswell that he now had the consultations in his hand. Mr Tovey said, see here now, Captain Haswell, are you not a base and unworthy man to go to ruin me. Many words passed between them that the witness could not remember. Captain Haswell could no way excuse himself, but by inviting them all to drink and to be merry, which the witness presumed was to forget [...] Interpretations The second witness is now identified as Holliwell, the clerk in the accountant's office whom Haswell ordered to search the press. His first-hand account of laying hands on the fourteen sheets and announcing their discovery supplies the most direct evidence yet of the recovery. Holliwell's testimony confirms both Tovey's complaint of 14 January 1718 and Alexander's account, giving the council a third independent witness to the central fact. Holliwell's testimony that Haswell pressed him to write the books were all copied, which he declined knowing it false, ties his evidence to the account fraud exposed at the consultation of 4 January 1718. The same officer who found the hidden consultations had also refused to certify a false record of copying. The convergence shows the concealment of the papers and the falsification of the books as parts of a single course

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			of conduct, both resisted by the clerk who knew the truth. Holliwell's account of Haswell swearing the papers were not in the press, immediately before they were found there, captures the moment that destroyed Haswell's credibility. The oath sworn against the plain fact, exposed within moments by the search Haswell himself authorised, demonstrated the worthlessness of his word that Tovey had charged from the outset. The testimony gives the council a witnessed instance of Haswell swearing falsely. Holliwell's observation that Haswell could only excuse himself by inviting the company to drink and be merry presents the attempt to dissolve the confrontation in conviviality. Faced with the papers in his hand and no defence, Haswell turned to drink to smooth over the discovery. The detail, offered as the witness's own inference, shows Haswell seeking to bury the matter in good fellowship rather than answer the charge, a manoeuvre the council could weigh against his later denials.
225	217	1717/18 forget what he had done Island S^t Helena I am Wor^t S^d Tuefday the 11th March & Gentlemen 1717/18 Yo^d most obed^t Humble Serv^t Island S^t Helena. Edw^d Holliwell John Bagley Jun^d being duly Ex aminid & Swoore Sayeth That the Same evening the Books were put up there were Sevrall Papers lay upon the Table and Capt Hafwell took them and put them into his Pref^s and lockt them up after that there was enquiry made for Some Papers which were counting and they lookt in Severall Places and could not find them, at laft he remembers they were found in Capt: Hafwells Pref^s, by him or M^d Holliwell he remembers not which of them. 11th March 1717/18 (Signed) Jn^o Bagley Island S^t Helena To the Wor^t Ifa Pyke Ef^d Gov^d &c Council The most Humble Petition of Henry Harman. Sheweth. That your Petition^d going Yefter day to make up his Acc^t in the Accompt^s office they told him he had but only two Shillings due	Holliwell's account closed with his inference that Haswell wished to make them forget what he had done. The statement was given on Tuesday 11 March 1718 and signed by Edward Holliwell as the council's most obedient and humble servant. A third account followed. John Bagley junior, being duly examined and sworn, said that the same evening the books were put up, several papers lay on the table. Captain Haswell took them, put them into his press and locked them up. Afterwards inquiry was made for some papers that were missing, and the company looked in several places and could not find them. At last he remembered they were found in Captain Haswell's press, either by Haswell himself or by Mr Holliwell, he could not remember which. The statement was given on 11 March 1718 and signed by John Bagley. A further petition was presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor, and the council. Henry Harman petitioned, setting out that, going yesterday to make up his account in the accountant's office, he was told he had only two shillings due [...] Interpretations Bagley's testimony provides the fourth independent witness to the events of the night of 3 January 1718, completing the body of evidence the council had assembled. His account of Haswell taking the papers from the table, locking them in his press, and their later discovery there matches the testimony of Alexander and Holliwell. The convergence of four witnesses on the same central facts gives the charge against Haswell overwhelming corroboration. Bagley's frankness in admitting he could not remember whether Haswell or Holliwell found the papers reinforces the honesty of his account. By declining to claim certainty on a point he did not recall, Bagley presented himself as a careful witness reporting only what he knew. The candour about the limit of his memory, on a detail other witnesses had settled, lent weight to the facts on which all the witnesses agreed. The completion of the four depositions fulfils the council's order of 4 March 1718 that Tovey make due proof of his charge through the named witnesses. Tovey had asked that Alexander, Holliwell, Bagley and Swallow be examined, and the bench had compelled their testimony. The assembled accounts show the council methodically converting the contest of accusations into a tested finding grounded in sworn evidence, the proof Haswell had demanded now supplied. The reappearance of Henry Harman's petition over his account discrepancy returns the record to the disorder in the Company's books. Harman had

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			complained at the consultation of 11 March 1718 of being credited two shillings where more was due, and the matter recurs here. The persistence of such errors shows the continuing consequences of the neglected accounts, the ordinary servant repeatedly unable to obtain his due from records the audit of 4 January 1718 had found unreliable.
226	218	March@ due to him. but now Say he is above five Pounds@ in debt@ Wherefore your Petition^d making it ap@ pear yefterday before your Wor^t and Councill@ that he had but four Shillings placed to his@ Acc^t inftead of twenty four Credit due to him@ from John Myers has reason to Suspect he is@ very much wronged and therefore Humbly@ prays that he may have Juftice done him@ and not be hindered going off in the Shipp@ Rochester.@ And your Petition^d as in duty bound@ the 12th March shall for ever pray &c@ 1717/18 Signum@ Henry + Harman@ Ejus@ Whereupon the Govern^d Sent for Captain@ Haswell to review the Acc^t who Sayed there@ was a Miftake but it is not his fault@ Antipas Tovey@ Island S^t H@	Harman's petition continued, that whereas he had been told two shillings were due to him, he was now told he was above £5 0s 0d in debt. Harman set out that he had shown the council the previous day that he had only four shillings credited to his account instead of the twenty-four shillings due to him from John Myers. He had reason to suspect he was much wronged, and therefore prayed that justice be done him and that he not be hindered from going off in the ship <i>Rochester</i>. The petition was signed by Henry Harman with his mark and dated 12 March 1718. Governor Pyke then sent for Captain Haswell to review the account. Haswell said there was a mistake, but that it was not his fault. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke and Antipas Tovey. Island of St Helena. Interpretations The widening discrepancy in Harman's account, from a credit of two shillings to a debt of above £5 0s 0d, exposes the depth of disorder in the Company's books. A swing of this magnitude in a single soldier's reckoning shows that the records could not be relied on to state even the direction of what was owed. The error illustrates the practical harm of the neglect for which Haswell had been suspended at the consultation of 4 January 1718, the books yielding contradictory figures for the same account. Harman's plea not to be hindered from sailing on the <i>Rochester</i> reveals the pressure the departing fleet placed on the settlement of accounts. A man could not leave the island until his reckoning with the Company was cleared, and a disputed balance threatened to strand him. The petition shows how the homeward convoy's imminent departure forced unresolved account errors to a head, the servant unable to depart while the records remained in dispute. Haswell's response that there was a mistake but it was not his fault repeats the pattern of evasion the dispute had exposed throughout. Summoned to review the very account he was responsible for, Haswell acknowledged the error yet denied responsibility. The answer matches his conduct over the books at the consultation of 4 January 1718, where he laid the fault on the late Captain Pack, the same deflection now offered for a fresh error in the accounts he kept. Speculations The timing of Harman's petition, brought as the four witness depositions against Haswell were entered, set a concrete instance of account failure before the council at the moment Haswell's neglect was under examination. The contradictory figures in a soldier's reckoning gave tangible form to the abstract charge of mismanaged books. The juxtaposition allowed the council to see the consequences of Haswell's conduct in a particular case while weighing the evidence of his concealment of the consultations. Haswell's admission of a mistake coupled with denial of fault may have been calculated to avoid conceding the systematic failure the audit had found. By treating each error as an isolated slip rather than evidence of general neglect, Haswell sought to limit the damage of any single discrepancy. The repeated deflection fits a strategy of acknowledging particular faults while resisting the broader conclusion that the books as a whole had been left in disorder under his charge.

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227	219	1717/18@ Island S^t Helena. At a Confulatation held on Monday@ the 17^o Day of March 1717/18. At Union Caftle in@ James Valley.@ Ifaac Pyke Elq^d Govern^d@ Commandore Matth^o George Hafwell Dept^v@ Martin & M^d Pref^t Matthew Bazett 3 &@ Edw^d Fenwick Antipas Tovey 4^t in Council@ The last Confultac^{on} read & approved of@ The Cultom Mafter brought in the foll^o Acc^t of which@ Orderd@ That the foll^o persons pay (viz^l)@ The Reverend M^d Jofhua Thomlinson@ ½ Calk Wine @ 2^d y^e gall^o@ 1 Bagg Sugar Candy@ 1 Cannifter Sugar@ ad Valorem 5 y^e Cent@ Richard Swallow Sen^d@ 1 Cannifter Tea 10^t wth the Fare 88 ad Valorem 5 y^e C^t@ Rowland Serjant@ 6 peices Chinks@ 00:3:00@ 1 p^d Silk@ 00:1:00@ 2 half Leag^e arr^d @ 12^d y^e gall^o 07:0:00@ 07:4:00@ The Gov^d demands of Cap^t George Hafwell@ when the Books that Ends March 1716 will be ready to@ go home,@ Cap^t Hafwell sayes no time shall be loft But@ he cannot tell how soon they will be done.@ The Govern^d sayes he must name some time,@ Cap^t Hafwell says they may be done in Two or three@	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Monday 17 March 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. Also present were Commodore Matthew Martin and Mr Edward Fenwick. The last consultation was read and approved. The customs master brought in the following account, on which the council ordered that the following persons pay the duties listed. The Reverend Mr Josias Thomlinson: quarter cask of wine, at two shillings per gallon 1 bag of sugar candy 1 canister of sugar at five per cent ad valorem Richard Swallow senior: 1 canister of tea, number 10, the tare 88, at five per cent ad valorem Rowland Sergeant: 6 pieces of chintz, £0 3s 0d 1 pound of silk, £0 1s 0d 2 half-leaguers of arrack, at twelve shillings per gallon, £7 0s 0d Total £7 4s 0d Governor Pyke then asked Captain George Haswell when the books ending March 1716 would be ready to go home. Captain Haswell said no time should be lost, but that he could not tell how soon they would be done. Governor Pyke said he must name some time. Captain Haswell said they might be done in two or three [...] Interpretations The customs account reveals the duties the Company levied on goods landed at the island by private persons. The customs master assessed each parcel, charging fixed rates on some items such as wine and arrack and a proportion of value on others. The system shows the Company drawing revenue from the private trade passing through the island, taxing the goods that ships and inhabitants brought ashore. The duty on goods rated ad valorem reveals the method of charging by a percentage of value rather than a fixed rate per measure. The Latin term denotes a levy proportioned to worth, applied here at five per cent to sugar, tea and similar items. The use of value-based duties alongside fixed rates per gallon shows a customs system that distinguished between goods assessed by quantity and those assessed by price. The arrack charged at twelve shillings per gallon, the heaviest item in the account, reveals the high duty on spirits among the goods landed. Arrack, a strong distilled liquor of the East, was a staple import, and the council had earlier taken it in settlement of accounts at four shillings per gallon in July 1717. The far higher customs rate here shows the duty levied on a private importer, distinct from the price the Company itself paid, the spirit treated as a dutiable luxury. The appearance of the Reverend Josias Thomlinson among the importers connects the customs account to the figure who had pressed Haswell over the account books. Thomlinson, the accountant's assistant whose letter of 24 February 1718 had exposed the want of the books, here paid duty on wine and sugar landed for his own use. His presence shows the same individuals recurring across the island's affairs, the clergyman and accountant also a private trader subject to the Company's duties.
228	220	March@ three months time at moft@ The Govern^d sayes he hopes they will be done@ for either the Books or he muft go home at that time@ and gives him this plain notice of it that it may be@ in his own power to	Captain Haswell said the books might be done in two or three months at most. Governor Pyke said he hoped they would be done, for either the books must go home at that time or

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		prevent it.@ The Govern^d says further that he is Sorry to say@ it but muft say it becaufe he finds it to be true@ that of late he has observed a very great neglect in@ the Accomptant^s Office & Cap^t Hafwell is not there@ the one Quarter part of the time he promised him@ to be there.@ He says he has but little help But will use@ his utmost endeavour.@ Memorand^{om}@ Thus farr hath been Copied@ and fent home y^e Ship@ Townfhend Capt Charles@ Kefar Comander.@ Antipas Tovey@ Tovey@	Haswell must, and he gave him this plain notice so that it might be in his own power to prevent it. Governor Pyke said further that he was sorry to say it, but must, because he found it to be true, that of late he had observed a very great neglect in the accountant's office, and that Captain Haswell was not there a quarter part of the time he had promised to be. Haswell said he had but little help, but would use his utmost endeavour. A memorandum recorded that the record had been copied thus far and sent home by the ship <i>Toddington</i>, commanded by Captain Charles Kesar. The record was signed by Antipas Tovey. Interpretations Governor Pyke's ultimatum that either the books or Haswell must go home reveals the conditional terms on which Haswell's place now rested. The Governor tied Haswell's continuance on the island to the completion of the accounts, making his removal the consequence of further failure. The plain notice shows the Governor formalising the threat, placing the choice in Haswell's own hands and recording the warning against any later claim of surprise. Governor Pyke's observation that Haswell was absent from the accountant's office three-quarters of the promised time supplies a specific measure of the neglect. The complaint matches Tovey's charge of 4 March 1718 that Haswell had done less than a competent accountant in a fortnight, and the audit's findings of 4 January 1718. The Governor's own observation, entered as fact, corroborates from the head of the council the idleness the dispute had alleged. Haswell's plea of having but little help repeats the excuse he had offered throughout, shifting the cause of the delay from his own conduct to his circumstances. The same defence had appeared in his handling of the books, where he blamed the late Captain Pack. The recurring appeal to want of assistance shows Haswell's consistent strategy of attributing the neglect to external want rather than personal failure. The memorandum that the record was copied and sent home by the <i>Toddington</i> under Captain Kesar marks the dispatch of the consultations to the directors. The whole record of the Haswell affair, the charges, answers, depositions and the Governor's warnings, was now carried to London for the masters' judgement. The sending home fulfils the expectation, held by both parties since 28 January 1718, that the matter would be determined in England, the documentary record conveyed by the homeward ship.
229	221	1717/18@ Island S^t Helena. At a Confultation held@ on Tuefday y^e 18 Day of March 1717/18@ At Union Caftle in James Vally@ Ifaac Pyke Elfq^d Gov^d@ Geo: Hafwell Dep^{ty}@ Pref^t Matth^o Bazett 3^d &@ Antipas Tovey 4^t in Counc^d@ The last Confultation read & Approved of.@ Joseph Dawe^s having leave to go off in@ the Ship Prince Frederick & 17[£] 2^s 4^d 10^d due@ to him in Our Hon^{bl} Maft^{rs} books of Acc^{ts}@ And Rich^d Dixon, having 38[£] 15^s 8^d 4^d due to him also in the 1st Books.@ It is Ordered@ That they have each of them 3@ Bills of Exchange drawn on Our 1st@ Hon^{bl} Masters for y^e 1st Sums.@ The following Letters were rec^d from@ & Sent to the Gov^d &c & Cap^t W^m Browne@ (Viz) 1 Lett^d To y^e Wor^{sh} Ifa Pyke Elfq^d Gov^d &c Council@ at S^t Helena@ S^d When I was outward bound at this@ place in that hurry w^{ch} is Uffal at y^e delivery@ of a Store Ship My Mate Sent on Shoare@ Several things defigned for Bencoolen@ w^{ch} Errors I difcovered after Our departure@ from@	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 March 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. Joseph Dabbs, having leave to go off in the ship <i>Prince Frederick</i>, had £17 2s 4½d due to him in the Company's books. Richard Dixon, having leave likewise, had £38 15s 8d due to him in the same books. The council ordered that each of them have three bills of exchange drawn on the Company for their sums. The following letters were received from and sent to the Governor and Captain William Browne. The first, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of St Helena, and the council, set out the following. When the writer was outward bound at the island, in the hurry usual at the delivery of a store ship, his mate had sent ashore several things designed for Bencoolen. He had discovered the errors after their departure [...] Interpretations

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			The drawing of bills of exchange on the Company in London reveals the mechanism by which departing servants carried their wages home. Rather than receive coin at the island, a man owed money was given bills payable by the Company in England, which he could present on arrival. The issue of three bills to each man shows the practice of dividing the sum across separate instruments, reducing the risk that the loss of one would cost the holder his whole due. The settlement of Dabbs's and Dixon's accounts before their departure on the <i>Prince Frederick</i> shows the homeward fleet again driving the clearing of reckonings. As with the petitions tied to the <i>Rochester</i>, men leaving on the convoy needed their balances fixed and their bills drawn before sailing. The clustering of these settlements reflects how the ships' presence set the deadline for the island's people to close their affairs with the Company. Captain Browne's letter about goods landed in error reveals the confusion that attended the unloading of a store ship in the press of a brief call. His mate had put ashore items meant for Bencoolen during the hurry of delivery, an error discovered only after the ship sailed. The account shows the practical difficulties of provisioning across the Company's settlements, where goods destined for one station might be mistakenly left at another amid the haste of the roadstead. The contrast between the orderly settlement of accounts here and the disorder exposed in Haswell's books underscores the council's effort to keep the Company's ordinary business in proper form. The precise figures of £17 2s 4½d and £38 15s 8d, drawn into bills without dispute, show the records functioning correctly for these men. The smooth handling marks the difference from Harman's contradictory account at the consultation of 12 March 1718, the bench conducting routine business reliably even as the larger failure of the books remained unresolved.
230	222	March@ from this place when came to Examine@ the Acc' Particulars kept by my Officers@ on board w^h agreed with thofe of my purf@ (as Roar) M^d Frost. And M^d John Goodwin@ compaird their Acc' before We went@ hence & they did agree. Now by M^d Frosts@ as well as the other Acc' kept by my@ Officers it Appears that thofe things@ Wanting in the Bencoolen bill of Lading@ were deliverd at this place therefore I@ desire y^e Worl^t &c to give Me a Receipt@ for the f^d Goods, that the Owners of Ship@ Rochester & my Self &c may not Stand@ unjuftly charged with them (Viz')@ 1 Cheft of Medicines wth an M.@ Leadens Weights.@ a larg pair of Triangles@ a larg y^e of Scale boards@ 2 hand Mills@ I am@ Worl^t S^d &c@ Yo^d very humble Serv^d@ March 17th 1717/18 (Signd) W Browne@ Which Letter the Gov^d Sent to the@ rest in Council & was anfwerd as@ followeth (Viz')@ Worl^t S^d@	Captain Browne's letter continued, that when he came to examine the account particulars kept by his officers on board, they agreed with those of his purser, namely Mr Frost. Mr John Goodwin had compared their accounts before they left the island, and they had agreed. By Frost's account, as well as the other accounts kept by his officers, it appeared that the items missing from the Bencoolen bill of lading had been delivered at the island. He therefore asked the council to give him a receipt for the goods, so that the owners of the ship <i>Rochester</i> and he himself would not stand unjustly charged with them. The goods were as follows: 1 chest of medicines marked with an M - leadens weights - a large pair of triangles - a large quantity of scale boards 2 hand mills The letter was dated 17 March 1718 and signed by William Browne as the council's very humble servant. Governor Pyke sent this letter to the rest of the council, and it was answered as follows. [...] Interpretations Browne's request for a receipt reveals the documentary discipline governing the transfer of goods between ships and settlements. Without a receipt acknowledging delivery, the ship's owners would remain charged with items the bill of lading recorded as bound for Bencoolen. The receipt functioned as the instrument discharging Browne and the <i>Rochester's</i> owners from liability, transferring the account of the goods to the island's books. Browne's reliance on the agreeing accounts of his purser and officers shows the system of cross-checking by which a ship verified its cargo. Frost the purser, the officers' books and Goodwin's comparison before departure all confirmed the delivery, building a

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			documentary case that the goods had been landed. The convergence of independent records provided the proof Browne needed to claim his discharge, mirroring the council's own reliance on multiple witnesses in the Haswell inquiry. The itemised list of goods, from the chest of medicines to the hand mills, reveals the kinds of stores the Company shipped between its eastern settlements. The medicines, weights, triangles, scale boards and mills were equipment for trade and administration at Bencoolen. The detail shows the island serving as a point on the supply line to the Company's other stations, goods passing through its roadstead that were destined elsewhere. The careful settlement of the misdelivered goods reflects the Company's concern that no party bear an unjust charge in its accounts. By providing for a receipt to clear the <i>Rochester's</i> owners, the council ensured the goods were properly accounted to the island rather than lost to the ship's reckoning. The attention to correct attribution shows the value placed on accurate records, the same principle whose breach in Haswell's books had occasioned the inquiry still before the bench.
231	223	1717/18@ Worl^t S^d We Do Remember y^t when@ Cap^t W^m Browne was here Outward bound@ he did deliver two Chefts of Medicines@ that were putt into the Doct^{rs} care & now@ find but One mentiond in Our Invoice@ Also 1 p^d of Larg Triangles, Some Lead@ W^t 1 larg p^d of Scale boards w^{ch} were not@ mentiond in the Said Invoice & Believe@ he might leave the two hand Mills as he@ Says in his Letter, but dont remember@ y^t So Well. We are Yo^d Worl^{ts}@ S^t Helena Most humble Serv^{ts}@ 18^o Feb^e 1717/18 (Signd) Matth^o Bazett@ Antipa Tovey@ Cap^t Browne 2 Lett^d (Viz^t)@ Worl^t S^d The Inclofed Copy I take to be a@ Sufficiant Certificate of the delivery of@ thofe Goods Deficient in the Bencoolen@ Bill of Loading Therefore I Desire y^e@ Worl^t either To pay me for them or pleafe@ to give me a Receipt that may be a difcharg@ to Worl^t S^d Yo^d very humble Serv^{ts}@ March y^e 18 1717/18 (Signd) W^m Browne@ Whereupon@	The council's answer to Captain Browne followed. The members remembered that when Captain William Browne was at the island outward bound, he had delivered two chests of medicines that were put into the doctor's care. They now found only one mentioned in their invoice. They also recalled a pair of large triangles, some leaden weights and one large pair of scale boards, which were not mentioned in the invoice. They believed he might have left the two hand mills, as he said in his letter, but did not remember that so well. The answer was dated at St Helena on 18 March 1718 and signed by Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. A further letter from Captain Browne to the council followed. He took the enclosed copy to be a sufficient certificate of the delivery of the goods missing from the Bencoolen bill of lading. He therefore asked the council either to pay him for them or to give him a receipt that might be a discharge to the council. The letter was dated 18 March 1718 and signed by William Browne. [...] Interpretations The council's qualified confirmation, certain of some items and doubtful of others, shows the limits of memory as a basis for settling accounts. The members vouched clearly for the second chest of medicines and the triangles, weights and scale boards, but admitted they did not well remember the hand mills. The careful distinction between what they recalled firmly and what they did not reveals the bench's concern to certify only what it could honestly attest, lest it discharge goods on uncertain recollection. The discrepancy that the council's invoice recorded only one chest of medicines where two were delivered exposes the kind of recording error that left goods unaccounted. The second chest, put into the doctor's care, had not been entered in the invoice. The omission shows how items could be received yet escape the records, the gap between what was delivered and what was written down producing the very disputes that receipts were meant to resolve. Browne's insistence on either payment or a discharging receipt reveals the alternative remedies available to clear his liability. He sought either to be paid for the goods, treating them as sold to the island, or to obtain a receipt acknowledging their delivery, which would discharge his account. The two options show the flexible means by which a misdelivery could be resolved, the goods either bought by the receiving station or simply credited as delivered.

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			The handling of the matter by Bazett and Tovey, signing the council's answer together, shows the two councillors conducting the Company's routine business in concert. The same Tovey locked in bitter dispute with Haswell here joined Bazett in a measured reply to a ship's master. The co-operation on ordinary affairs, set against the quarrel sent home on the <i>Toddington</i>, marks the continuation of orderly governance through the same hands divided by the larger conflict.
232	224	March 1717/18@ Whereupon. Orderd@ That the Copy of Cap^t Bazett &@ M^d Toveys Letter to the Gov^d be given@ to Cap^t W^m Browne for him to Shew@ to the Hon^{bl} Comp^s for his difcharge@ Orderd That Cap^t Matth^o Martin@ have Bills of Exch^d on the Hon^{bl} Comp^s@ for 102<i>£</i> 5<i>s</i> 8 <i>d</i>@ Antipas Tovey@	The council ordered that the copy of Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey's letter to the Governor be given to Captain William Browne, for him to show to the Company as his discharge. The council further ordered that Captain Matthew Martin have bills of exchange on the Company for <i>£</i>102 5<i>s</i> 0<i>d</i>. The record was signed by Isaac Pyke and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The order giving Browne the council's letter as his discharge resolves the misdelivery dispute through a documentary acknowledgement rather than payment. By furnishing Browne the certified letter to show the Company, the council provided the proof he needed to clear the <i>Rochester's</i> owners of the goods. The letter served as the discharging instrument, confirming to the directors in London that the items had been delivered at the island and should not be charged to the ship. The drawing of bills of exchange for Captain Matthew Martin shows the commodore of the homeward convoy settling his own account with the Company before sailing. Martin, designated commander of the fleet at the consultation of 6 March 1718, here received his due in bills payable in England. The transaction marks the clearing of the senior officer's reckoning as the ships prepared to depart, the same mechanism used for the ordinary servants leaving on the convoy. The signing of these final orders by Isaac Pyke and Antipas Tovey, with Haswell's name absent, reflects the conduct of the council's closing business by the Governor and the secretary. The routine settlement of accounts and discharges proceeded under their hands as the fleet made ready. The orderly disposal of these matters, set against the unresolved Haswell affair now sent home, shows the administration completing its dealings with the departing ships through the officers who remained in good standing.
233	225	M^{ch} 1718@ Island S^t Helena At a Confultation held@ on Tuefday the 25th day of March@ 1718. At Union Caftle in James@ Vally.@ Ifa Pyke Efq^d Gov^d@ Geo: Hafwell Dep^{ty}@ Prefent. Matth^o Bazett 3^d &@ Antipas Tovey 4^t in Counc^d@ The last Confultat^o read & Approved of@ M^d John Doveton defired Jn^o Goodwin@ Bill of Sale to him for a Houfe in this@ Vally might be Regifterd. Granted.@ Cap^t Bazett Reports that he has@ been & Meafured the Walling made@ by the foll^t persons for the Fencing@ in the Hon^{ble} Compa^snd plantat^o (Viz^t)@ Jn^o Robinson, &c 120. Rodd of@ Double Wall @ 18^s y^e Rod, is@ <i>£</i>108:0:0@ W^m Worrall, &c 47 Rodd of Wall@ at 5^s y^e Rodd is@ 11:15:0@ D^o 112 Rod faced Wall @ 10^s y^e Rodd,@ 56:-:-@ M^{rs} Carne 171 8^d @ 6^s 6 Rodd@ <i>£</i>55:11:6@ D^o 11 Rod Double Wall @ 15^s@ 8:5:0@ 63:16:6@ Jn^o Crolby & Walt Morris 132 Rod@ of faced Wall at 7^s 8 is@ 46:4:0@ Orderd@	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 March 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. Mr John Doveton asked that John Goodwin's bill of sale to him for a house in this valley be registered. The council granted it. Captain Bazett reported that he had measured the walling made by the following persons for the fencing in the Company's plantations. John Robinson: 120 rods of double wall, at eighteen shillings per rod, <i>£</i>108 0<i>s</i> 0<i>d</i> William Worrall and others: 47 rods of wall, at five shillings per rod, <i>£</i>11 15<i>s</i> 0<i>d</i> the same, 112 rods of faced wall, at ten shillings per rod, <i>£</i>56 0<i>s</i> 0<i>d</i> Mr Carne: 171 rods, at six shillings and sixpence per rod, <i>£</i>55 11<i>s</i> 6<i>d</i> the same, 11 rods of double wall, at fifteen shillings per rod, <i>£</i>8 5<i>s</i> 0<i>d</i> total <i>£</i>63 16<i>s</i> 6<i>d</i>

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			John Crossby and Walter Morris: 13 rods of faced wall, at seven shillings and sixpence per rod, £46 4s 0d The council ordered [...] Interpretations The detailed fencing account priced by the rod reveals the continuing programme of enclosing the Company's plantations through contracted labour. Each builder was paid by the linear rod at rates varying with the kind of wall, double, faced or plain. The account continues the fencing work measured by Bazett at the consultation of 25 February 1718 and the general letting of fence work by the rod settled at the consultation of 5 June 1717, showing the sustained effort to wall the Company's grounds. The variation in rates by type of wall reveals how the Company priced each kind of construction according to its labour and materials. A double wall at eighteen shillings, a faced wall at ten, and plain wall at five or six shillings and sixpence reflected the differing work each demanded. The graded pricing shows the Company paying in proportion to the substance of the wall, the heavier and more finished structures commanding the higher rates. The reappearance of Mr Carne among the fence-builders connects the account to a figure recurring in the island's affairs. Carne, whose £10 0s 0d fine had never been charged as the audit found at the consultation of 4 January 1718, and whose alleged stabbing by Tovey Haswell had raised on 28 January 1718, here appears in the ordinary character of a contractor paid for walling. His presence shows the same individuals engaged across the settlement's business, the disputed figure also a working builder for the Company. The dating of this consultation to 25 March 1718, the first day of the new year under the old calendar, marks the turn from 1717 to 1718 in the record's own reckoning. The change of year falls within the run of March consultations, the clerk's heading shifting from the doubled form to the single year. The administration's continuity across the year's turn shows the settled rhythm of its business, the fencing and registrations proceeding without interruption through the calendar change.
234	226	March 1718.@ Orderd@ That Credit be given to the f^l Person@ according to y^e above agreed prices in y^e@ Hon^{bl} Comp^s Transferr Books.@ And Whereas there were abundance@ of Persons came this day to Tranf@ ferr Credits to their accounts more@ then can conveniently be done to day@ it being now between two & three a Clock@ Orderd That We leave off for this@ present & Adjourn the further Transferr@ ing till the next Consultation day.@ which for their greater ease shall be@ in the Country if no Ship be in the@ Road, & then Also We will begin@ earlier in the Morning & to prevent@ any inconveniency to those who do not@ Transferr now all the Transferr then@ made shall be Dated as if don this day@ So that they may have Creditt for y^e same@ in the Year 1717.@ On the 22^d Infant arrived Store the@ Henry, Jn^o Harvey Com^d. who brought@ Us Nine Slaves, Six Men & three@ Women who were tolerably good.@ the@	The council ordered that credit be given to the persons named, according to the agreed prices, in the Company's transfer books. Since a great many persons had come that day to transfer credits to their accounts, more than could conveniently be done, it being now between two and three o'clock, the council ordered that the further transferring be left off for the present and adjourned to the next consultation day. For the people's greater ease, that day would be held in the country if no ship were in the road, and the council would also begin earlier in the morning. To prevent any inconvenience to those who did not transfer now, all the transfers then made would be dated as if done this day, so that they might have credit for them in the year 1717. The store ship <i>Henry</i>, commanded by John Harvey, arrived on 22 March. It brought nine slaves, six men and three women, who were tolerably good. [...] Interpretations The crush of people seeking to transfer credits reveals the importance attached to the date of entry in the Company's books. The transfer books recorded the assignment of credits between accounts, and the year in which a transfer fell affected the holder's reckoning. The volume of persons attending shows how the turn of the year drove the inhabitants to secure their entries, the timing of a credit carrying real consequence for their accounts.

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			The council's order to date the later transfers as if done on 25 March 1718, so they fell in the year 1717, reveals the significance of the calendar change for the accounts. Under the old calendar the year turned on 25 March, and a transfer made after that date would otherwise fall in the new year. By backdating the entries, the council ensured the inhabitants received their credits in the closing year, accommodating the press of business to the reckoning the people sought. The arrival of the store ship <i>Henry</i> with nine slaves continues the Company's effort to replenish its depleted labour force. The six men and three women, judged tolerably good, added to the hands the island so badly needed. The supply connects to the persistent want of labour pressed on the directors from the consultation of 1 November 1715, the recurring deaths of slaves such as Free Jack and Betty making each new arrival a welcome reinforcement. Speculations The council's provision to hold the next transfer day in the country if no ship were in the road suggests an effort to ease the burden on the inhabitants by meeting nearer their homes. The location of the consultation was adapted to the people's convenience when the press of shipping did not require attendance at the Fort. The arrangement shows the bench accommodating the practical needs of those who came to transact their accounts, fitting the place of business to their ease. The decision to begin earlier in the morning on the next transfer day points to the council managing the volume of business by extending the working time. Having found that the day's transfers could not be completed by mid-afternoon, the bench sought to forestall the same congestion by starting sooner. The measure shows a practical response to the recurring crush, the council adjusting its hours to the demand the year's turn had produced.
235	227	The Hon^{bl} Comp^s Overfeer having@ chofen them out of the ships Cargoe@ which was about 460.@ M^d Worrall reports that he found@ the Slaves in General in a very mi@ ferable condition ab^t 14 thofe having@ been a diftemper amongft y^mwhich@ affected their Eye Sight he saw about@ 14 Stark blind, there was he thinks@ more then 100 with very Sore & blared@ Eyes the Doct^d of the Ship also was in@ fected wth y^e same difeafe & was Stone@ Blind, Our Doct^d examined thofe y^t came@ ashoar with more y^mUfual care becaufe@ of y^e diftemper & thinks non of thefe are@ infected, but are Sound Strong Slaves.@ The Ship is to Sail hence to morrow@ morning,@ We gott out of this Ship some Curle@ thread to mend Our Blacks Cloaths but@ at a dear rate Viz^t 8^s y^elb. 10^d w^{ch} is near double@ the price We Ufed to Sell it for out of@ y^e Hon^{bl} Comp^s Stores We being in Such@ want of it that if he had afkt more@ We must have given it.@ Word being brought on Saturday@ morning last to the Gov^d that John@ Adams Soldier was Dead the foll^l@ Jury were Sumond. Viz^t@	The Company's overseer had chosen the nine slaves out of the ship's cargo, which numbered about 460. Mr Worrall reported that he found the slaves in general in a very miserable condition. A distemper had been among them which affected their eyesight. He saw about fourteen stark blind, and thought there were more than two hundred with very sore and bleared eyes. The doctor of the ship was also infected with the same disorder and was stone blind. The island's doctor examined those who came ashore with more than usual care because of the distemper, and thought none of these nine were infected, but were sound, strong slaves. The ship was to sail from the island the next morning. The council got out of the ship some sewing thread to mend the slaves' clothes, but at a dear rate, namely eightpence per pound, twice the price the Company used to sell it for out of its stores. The island was in such want of it that, had the master asked more, the council must have given it. Word being brought on Saturday morning last to Governor Pyke that John Adams, a soldier, was dead, the following jury were summoned. [...] Interpretations The report of widespread blindness aboard the slave ship reveals the devastating toll of disease on the human cargoes of the trade. An eye distemper had left fourteen stark blind and more than two hundred with damaged eyes out of about 460, and had blinded the ship's own doctor. The account exposes the conditions of the Middle Passage and the eastern slave trade, where confinement and disease destroyed the health of those carried, the very source from which the island drew its labour. The island doctor's careful examination of the nine slaves before they were landed shows the council

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			guarding against importing the distemper. By inspecting the new arrivals with more than usual care and judging them sound, the doctor sought to protect the island's existing slaves and people from infection. The precaution reflects the lesson of earlier visitations such as the smallpox sent to Lemon Valley around 27 August 1717, the bench wary of bringing disease ashore with fresh labour. The purchase of sewing thread at twice the usual price reveals the island's vulnerability to want of supplies and the leverage it gave visiting masters. The Company normally sold thread cheaply from its stores, but its present lack forced it to buy at a dear rate, and it would have paid more had the master demanded it. The transaction shows how scarcity on the remote island inverted the usual terms of trade, the Company paying premium prices for goods it could not otherwise obtain. The summoning of a jury on the death of the soldier John Adams shows the council's practice of formal inquiry into deaths among its people. A jury was convened to determine the cause and circumstances of the death, the standard process for investigating how a member of the garrison had died. The procedure connects to the earlier deaths recorded among soldiers and slaves, such as Thomas Ashby drowned around 9 March 1718, the bench treating each death as a matter for proper inquiry.
236	228	March@ S^t Helena The Coronars Inqueft upon@ the Body of John Adams deceafed@ this 22^d day of March 1717/18@ Pref^t Cap^t Geo: Hafwell Coron^d@ Cap^t Matthew Bazett Foreman@ Thomas Fairfax@ Gabriel Powel@ John Twaits@ W^m Beale@ John Long@ Francis Funge@ James Rider@ John How@ Jon^o Doveton@ John Marsh@ Sam^d Jeffey, being all Swoorne.@ Jn^o Orchard Sayes Jn^o Adams y^e dec^d@ came into his houfe last night about@ 8 a Clock Tho^s Bevans being then in the@ houfe & alkt for a Bowl of Punch@ But was anwerd he could find Sherbitt@ but no Arrack So he Sett himself@ down upon y^e Bench & leand his head@ upon y^e Table in which pofture he was@ found dead, So thinking he was a Sleep He@	St Helena. The coroner's inquest upon the body of John Adams, deceased, held on 22 March 1718. Present: Captain George Haswell, coroner. The jury, all sworn, were Captain Matthew Bazett, foreman; Thomas Fairfax; Gabriel Powell; John Twaits; William Beale; John Long; Francis Funge; James Rider; John How; Jonathan Doveton; John Marsh; and Samuel Jefsey. John Orchard said that the deceased, John Adams, came into his house the previous night about eight o'clock. Thomas Bevans was then in the house and asked for a bowl of punch, but was told that Orchard could find sherbet but no arrack. So Adams sat himself down on the bench and laid his head upon the table, in which posture he was found dead. Thinking he was asleep, [...] Interpretations The coroner's inquest reveals the formal legal process by which the island investigated a sudden death. A coroner presided over a sworn jury that heard evidence and determined the cause of death, the established procedure for any death not plainly natural. The convening of twelve jurors under Captain Haswell as coroner shows the island reproducing the English inquest, the same body of men who served as jurors in other causes here assembled to find how Adams died. The service of Haswell as coroner, despite his suspension from salary and diet and the four depositions against him sent home on the <i>Toddington</i>, shows the offices of the administration continuing in his hands. The role of coroner fell to the deputy governor by his place, and Haswell discharged it while his own conduct stood condemned before the directors. The continuation marks the distinction between his suspended emoluments and the functions he still performed in the island's government. The detail of the search for arrack to make punch, with only sherbet available, sets the death in the context of the island's drinking. Adams sought a bowl of punch, a mixture commonly made with arrack, the spirit recently dutied at twelve shillings per gallon at the consultation of 17 March 1718. The account of the evening's drink before the death shows the inquest tracing the deceased's last actions, the circumstances of his final hours material to the finding.

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			The composition of the jury reveals the recurring body of substantial inhabitants who served the island's legal needs. The jurors included Gabriel Powell, an executor of Charles Steward, John Long, Samuel Jefsey now holder of the widow Mudge's estate, and others prominent in the settlement's affairs. The same men who appeared throughout the council's business as petitioners, contractors and parties here served as jurors, showing the small pool of established residents on whom the administration of justice depended.
237	229	1718@ he (y^e Depon^t) went to Bed & knew nothing@ of his being dead till this morning@ Sam^d Duffton Says he came into Jn^o@ Orchards houe last night & Saw John@ Adams Setting upon the Bench wth his@ head upon the Table & I^d Orchard afkt@ him (the Dep^t) y^e he was in Drink who told him@ he believd he was & y^e twas pitty to turn@ him out of doors, further he cant tell.@ Thomas Bevans Says he was in the@ Houfe when John Adams came in & would@ have had a Bowl of Punch but not getting@ any he Satt himself down & leand his head@ upon the Table & Supposing he had faln@ a Sleep left him@ The Jurors brought in their Verdict@ that being found with his Face upon the@ Table & in Drink Stopt y^e Respiration@ of his mouth & Noftrils It is theirs and@ the Doct^{rs} Opinions y^t y^e Excefs of Drinking@ & the Posture of his Face was y^e caufe of his@ Suffocation (Signd) Geo: Haswell Coron^d@ On the 20 inf^t Saild Comand^d Matth^o Martin in@ the Marlbro wth the Ships Rochester & Prince@ Frederick for Engld@ One John Harris belonging to Comand^d@ Matth^o Martin@	John Orchard, the deponent, went to bed and knew nothing of Adams being dead until the next morning. Samuel Duffton said he came into John Orchard's house the previous night and saw John Adams sitting on the bench with his head upon the table. Orchard asked him whether Adams was in drink, and Duffton said he believed he was, and that it was a pity to turn him out of doors. Further he could not tell. Thomas Bevans said he was in the house when John Adams came in and would have had a bowl of punch, but not getting any, sat himself down and leaned his head upon the table. Supposing Adams had fallen asleep, Bevans left him. The jurors brought in their verdict. Being found with his face upon the table and in drink, the respiration of his mouth and nostrils was stopped. By their finding, and the doctor's opinion, the excess of drinking and the posture of his face were the cause of his suffocation. The verdict was signed by George Haswell, coroner. The <i>Marlborough</i>, commanded by Captain Matthew Martin, sailed on 20 March with the ships <i>Rochester</i> and <i>Prince Frederick</i>, bound for England. One John Harris, belonging to Commodore Matthew Martin, [...] Interpretations The jury's verdict reveals the inquest reaching a finding of accidental death through suffocation brought on by drink. The jurors combined their own observation of how Adams was found with the doctor's medical opinion to conclude that drunkenness and his slumped posture had stopped his breathing. The reasoning shows the inquest weighing lay evidence and professional judgement together, the established method by which such a body determined the cause of an unexplained death. The doctor's contribution to the verdict shows the place of medical opinion in the island's legal process. The jurors took the surgeon's judgement on the physical cause of death alongside the witnesses' accounts of the evening. The reliance on the doctor reflects the role of professional expertise in the inquest, the medical view on how the suffocation occurred informing the jury's finding as it weighed the circumstances. The witnesses' accounts of leaving Adams slumped at the table, supposing him merely drunk and asleep, reveal a death unnoticed amid the ordinary scene of a drinking house. Each man who saw him assumed he slept off his drink, and none perceived his danger. The detail shows how the inquest reconstructed the death from the testimony of those present, establishing that no foul play attended it and that the cause lay in drink alone. The departure of the <i>Marlborough</i>, <i>Rochester</i> and <i>Prince Frederick</i> together for England confirms the sailing of the homeward convoy under Commodore Martin. The three ships left in company on 20 March, the arrangement agreed at the consultation of 6 March 1718 now carried into effect. The fleet bore the dispatches sent home, including the record of the Haswell affair conveyed for the directors' judgement, the ships keeping company for the protection of the long passage.

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238	230	March 1718@ Matth^o Martin being very Sick & not@ likely to Recover was left here & 7@ Seven pounds Seventeen Shillings w^{ch} was@ the Ballance of his Wages left wth@ the Govern^d to defray his Charges@ Antipas Tovey@	John Harris, belonging to Commodore Matthew Martin, being very sick and not likely to recover, was left at the island. The balance of his wages, £7 17s 0d, was left with Governor Pyke to defray his charges. The record was signed by Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The leaving of the sick Harris at the island reveals the practice of putting ashore those too ill to continue a voyage. A man not likely to recover could not be carried on the long passage to England, and the island served as the place where such men were set down. The arrangement shows the settlement receiving the sick from passing ships, the moderate climate and the presence of a doctor making it the point at which a failing crewman left the convoy. The leaving of Harris's wages with Governor Pyke to defray his charges shows the provision made for an abandoned man's keep. The balance of £7 17s 0d was placed in the Governor's hands to cover the cost of Harris's care and maintenance on the island. The transfer of the wages with the man reveals how the burden of a sick crewman was met, his own earnings funding his support rather than the cost falling on the Company or the parish. The handling of Harris's case by the council shows the administration assuming responsibility for a man left by a departing ship. Commodore Martin, sailing with the convoy on 20 March 1718, could not keep his sick servant aboard, and the council took charge of him and his wages. The arrangement marks the island's role as a waystation in the Company's maritime network, caring for those the fleet could not carry, the same function it served in receiving goods and labour from the ships that called.
239	231	Island S^t Helena At a Confulutation@ held on Tuefday the Firft day of April@ 1718. At the Hon^{ble} Comp^s Planta@ tion houfe.@ Ifaac Pyke Ef^q^d Gov^d@ Geo Hafwell Dep^{ty}@ Pref^t Matth^o Bazett 3^d &@ Antipas Tovey 4^t in Council@ The last Confulutation read & approved@ Sutton Ifacke Produced y^e Will@ of his Father Sutton Ifacke Sen^d w^{ch}@ was Proved by the Oaths of Humph^d@ Edwards & Samuel Price.@ Orderd That y^e fst Will be Registerd@ & a Copy thereof Given by y^e Secretary@ when defired.@ John French, Aged 15 Years Son of W^m French@ (dec^d), Appeared & Defired Edmond@ Nichols (his Broth^r in Law) might be@ his Guardian, which was Granted@ The following Petitions were prefented.@ Island S^t Helena. To the Worl^{ts} Ifaac@ Pyke Ef^q^d Gov^d &c Council.@ The Humble Petition of Rich^d & Ant^o@ Beale Planters. Humbly@	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 April 1718 at the Company's plantation house. Present: Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor; George Haswell, deputy governor; Matthew Bazett, third in council; Antipas Tovey, fourth in council. The last consultation was read and approved. Sutton Isaacks produced the will of his father, Sutton Isaacks senior, which was proved by the oaths of Humphrey Edwards and Samuel Price. The council ordered that the will be registered, and a copy given by the secretary when desired. John French, aged fifteen years, son of the late William French, appeared and asked that Edmond Nichols, his brother-in-law, might be his guardian. The council granted it. The following petitions were presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of St Helena, and the council. Richard and Anthony Beale, planters, humbly petitioned. [...] Interpretations The proving of Sutton Isaacks senior's will on two oaths shows the standard process of authenticating a testament before the council. The witnesses Humphrey Edwards and Samuel Price swore to the will's making, giving it legal force, after which the bench ordered it registered. The provision for a copy from the secretary on request reveals the register as the permanent record from which holders could obtain proof of their title. The name Sutton Isaacks recalls the figure Haswell had charged Tovey with stabbing with a penknife in his answer of 28 January 1718. The son now appearing to prove his father's will may indicate that the elder Isaacks, named in that accusation, had since died. The recurrence of the name shows the small community in which the parties to the great dispute and the subjects of ordinary business were drawn from the same circle of inhabitants.

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			The appointment of a guardian for the fifteen-year-old John French shows the council's continuing oversight of minors and their estates. A youth under twenty-one needed a guardian to manage his affairs, and the bench approved the choice of his brother-in-law Edmond Nichols. The case follows the guardianship of Matthew Mudge settled at the consultation of 28 January 1718, the council regularly placing fatherless minors under responsible care. The petitioners Richard and Anthony Beale belong to a family recurring throughout the island's affairs. The Beale orphans' land, the timber on the Beale estate, and Richard Beale's accounts had all come before the council in earlier business. The reappearance of the Beales as petitioners shows the established planter families repeatedly engaging the council, the same names threading through the settlement's legal and property dealings across the years.
240	232	April@ Humbly Sheweth That the Land known@ by the name of Taylors ground lying@ contiguous to yo^d petit^s Pasture Land@ & would be damage to them were it lett@ to any other person because of y^e drift@ way that muft of Courfe be made thr^o@ their Land.@ Humbly pray yo^d Worl^t &c will be@ pleafed to Grant them a Leafe for the@ Same on y^e Ufual conditions, & your@ Petit^s as in duty bound shall for ever@ p^o Apr^o 1718 pray &c (Signd) Richard Beale@ Anthony Beale@ Island S^t Helena To y^e Worl^ts Ifaac Pyke Efq^d@ Gov^d &c Council@ The humble petⁿ of Rich^d Gurling plant^d@ Humbly Sheweth That yo^d pet^e having a de@ fire to go off y^e Ifld y^e first opp^tunity@ for w^{ch} he prays yo^d Worl^t &c Leave &@ Lycence, Humbly offers first y^e refusal@ of all or part of Land, Provisions &@ Stock he has on y^e Ifld on such reafon@ able terms as shall be agreed on & y^e@ ref^t to dep^ose on at a Publick out cry@ or@	The Beales' petition continued, that the land known as Taylor's ground lay next to their pasture land. It would be a damage to them if it were let to any other person, because of the drift way that must of course be made through their land. They prayed that the council grant them a lease for it on the usual conditions. The petition was signed by Richard Beale and Anthony Beale and dated 1 April 1718. A further petition was presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke esquire, Governor of St Helena, and the council. Richard Gurling, planter, humbly petitioned, setting out that he wished to go off the island at the first opportunity. He prayed the council's leave and licence, and humbly offered the first refusal of all or part of the land, provisions and stock he had on the island, on such reasonable terms as should be agreed on. The rest he would dispose of at a public auction. [...] Interpretations The Beales' concern over the drift way reveals how rights of passage over land shaped its value and the council's grants. A drift way was the route along which cattle were driven, and if Taylor's ground passed to another, the Beales would face a stranger's stock crossing their pasture. The petition shows the bench weighing the practical consequences of a land letting for the neighbours, a grant to one holder affecting the access and convenience of those whose land adjoined. The Beales' request for the adjoining ground to prevent a damaging drift way shows the preference given to neighbouring holders in the letting of land. By seeking the lease themselves, the Beales sought to avoid the burden a stranger's tenancy would impose through the necessary passage of cattle. The council's consideration of such applications reveals how land was allocated with regard to the existing pattern of holdings, neighbours often best placed to take ground whose use bore on their own. Gurling's offer of first refusal to the Company before a public auction reveals the customary form by which a departing resident disposed of his property. A man leaving the island gave the Company the first chance to buy his land, provisions and stock, selling the remainder at open auction. The procedure follows the pattern of Riping Wills's offer at the consultation of 14 January 1718, the Company's prior claim on a departing holder's estate forming the settled means of conversion before departure. Gurling's wish to leave the island connects to his recent appearance before the council over the trespass of his hogs on Company ground at the consultation of 21 January 1718. The planter whose unfenced land and straying swine had done damage now sought to quit the settlement altogether. The departure shows the turnover among the island's holders, a man lately in dispute with the Company now arranging to convert

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			his estate and go, his land and stock returning to the Company or passing at auction to others.
241	233	1718@ or otherwise as he most conveniently can@ p^o Apr^o 1718 & yo^d pet^e as in duty bound shall for ev^d@ pray &c (Signd) Richard Gurling@ Referd to y^e Gov^d & Cap^t Bazett@ The Hon^{ble} Comp^s Overfeers of their@ Plantations brought in the following@ Account of their Live Stock of Cattle@ &c for the Month of March 1717/18@ Neat Cattle 70 Cows@ 8 Bullocks@ 49 Heifers@ 8 Steers@ 9 Yearlings@ 79 Calves@ 3 Bulls@ 226 In all@ 16 killd Since last Acct'@ Sheep 40 Ewes@ 12 Lambs@ 26 Rams@ 19 Yong^d@ 14 Weath^{ds}@ 111 In all@ 2 killd Since last Acct@ Goats 172 Ewes@ 40 Weath^{ds}@ 4 Rams@ 7 Ewe Kidds@ 223 In all@ 4 killd & 4 Increafd Since last Acct@ Hoggs 6 Great & Small@ 4 killd Since last Acct@ 220 Turkeys great & Small@ 24 killd Since last Acct'@ 31 Ducks, great & Small@ 19 killd Since last Acct@ 80 Fowls great & Small@ 32 killd Since last Acct@ 24 Geefe great & Small@ 1 killd Since last Acct@ 2 Peacocks@ 2 Horfes@ Affes@ (Signd) W^m Worrall@ Sam^d Jeffrey@ W^m Portley@	Gurling's petition concluded, that he would dispose of the rest as he most conveniently could. The petition was signed by Richard Gurling and dated 1 April 1718. The council referred it to Governor Pyke and Captain Bazett. The Company's overseers brought in the following account of their livestock for the month of March 1718. Neat cattle: 70 cows 8 bullocks 49 heifers 8 steers 9 yearlings 79 calves 3 bulls 226 in all 16 killed since the last account Sheep: 40 ewes 12 lambs 26 rams 19 young ones 14 wethers 111 in all 2 killed since the last account Goats: 172 ewes 40 wethers 4 rams 7 ewe kids 223 in all 4 killed and 4 increased since the last account Hogs: 6 great and small 4 killed since the last account Turkeys: 220 great and small 24 killed since the last account Ducks: 31 great and small 19 killed since the last account Fowls: 80 great and small 32 killed since the last account Geese: 24 great and small 1 killed since the last account Peacocks: 2 Horses: 2 Asses The account was signed by William Worrall, Samuel Jefsey and William Portley. Interpretations The monthly livestock account, set against the figures of the previous month, reveals the herds holding broadly steady under careful husbandry. The neat cattle stood at 226 against 206 at the consultation of 5 February 1718, a gain of twenty despite sixteen killed, showing the breeding stock more than replacing what was slaughtered. The sheep held at 182 in the earlier count and now appear at 111 in all, while the goats fell from 244 to 223, the reductions reflecting the animals killed for the table since the last reckoning. The recording of numbers killed since the last account reveals the steady draw on the herds to supply the Fort and the establishment. Sixteen cattle, two sheep, four goats and four hogs had been slaughtered, alongside large numbers of poultry, the turkeys alone yielding twenty-four. The account shows the

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			plantations functioning as the island's larder, the monthly tally measuring both the standing stock and the rate at which it was consumed, against the chronic dearth of fresh provisions pressed since the consultation of 16 January 1715. The appearance of two horses, absent from the count of 5 February 1718 that recorded only asses, marks a small addition to the island's working animals. The poultry numbers shifted markedly, the turkeys rising from 80 to 220 great and small, reflecting the spring breeding, while the dunghill fowls fell from 122 to 80 after thirty-two were killed. The fluctuations show the seasonal rhythm of the farmyard, the counts capturing the island's stock at a single moment in its yearly cycle. The signing of the account by Worrall, Jefsey and Portley shows the three overseers jointly responsible for the Company's plantations and their stock. Samuel Jefsey, now holder of the widow Mudge's estate under the settlement of 31 January 1718, here signs in his standing capacity as overseer. The same men recur in the management of the Company's agriculture, the monthly account the regular instrument by which they reported the state of the herds to the council.
242	234	April@ Island St Helena. At a Consultatio@ held on Tuesday the 8th day of April@ 1718. at the Honble Companys —@ Plantation house@ Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr.@ Prest Geo: Haswell Depty.@ Mattw Bazett 3d. &@ Antipas Tovey 4o. in Counc.@ The Last Consultatn. read & approved@ Mr. Wm Worrall the Honoble Compys@ Chief Overseer reports yt Old Doll@ & a Child of Betty Posts (decd) their@ Blacks are Dead.@ Orderd@ That an Advertizement be forth-@ with Published to Choose two Over-@ seers of the Highways for each —@ Division, But that the Present@ Church Wardens having done nothing@ they be continued until they Do@ Something.@ Capt. Bazett Sayes he has been &@ measured the Land called Bowmans@ which is Reported in Consultation of@ the 25th Febr'y last & the Govr.@	A consultation was held at the Honourable Company's plantation house on Tuesday 8 April 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. William Worrall, the Company's chief overseer, reported the deaths of two of the Company's slaves, Old Doll and a child of Betty Posts, the latter having died earlier. The council ordered an advertisement published at once for the choice of two overseers of the highways for each division. The present churchwardens had done nothing, so they were to continue in office until they did something. Captain Bazett said he had measured the land called Bowmans, which was reported at the consultation of 25 February 1718 [...] Interpretations The deaths reported continued a steady toll on the Company's slave force, Worrall having reported the slaves Abram and Betty dead in the week before 25 February 1718 and the stone layer Free Jack dead of dysentery on 20 January 1718. The chief overseer's duty to report each death to the council reflects the slaves' standing as Company property, every loss being a charge against the establishment's accounts and its persistent shortage of labour. The measurement of Bowmans advanced Gabriel Powell's exchange first proposed on 4 February 1718, by which his strip running into the middle of the Company's pasture would be surrendered for three acres of better land at the Main Ridge for every two acres given up, the terms accepted as above the land's value but necessary to consolidate the pasture. Speculations The order on the churchwardens solved a problem of accountability by refusing the usual annual release from office. Wardens normally served a fixed year and handed over at the parish election, so holding Isaac Wood and James Vesey in place until they performed turned the office itself into the penalty for neglect. The device cost the council nothing and avoided fining men it still needed, while the public advertisement for highway overseers showed the parallel road offices being filled in the ordinary way.
243	235	1718@ To run into the Honble Compys Pasture@ & finds it to contain five Acres & an@ half Wherefore Mr Powell is to have@ Eight Acres & one quarter@ Mr.	The strip of land ran into the Honourable Company's pasture and measured five and a half acres, so Powell was to receive eight and a quarter acres in

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		Joshua Johnson being present@ Do's agree to the said Exchange.@ [...]@ Antipas Tovey@ Island St Helena@ At a Consultation@ held on Friday the 18o. day of April@ 1718. at Union Castle in James Vally@ Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr.@ Present. Geo: Haswell Depty@ Matthew Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4o. in Counc@ The last Consultation read & Approved@ Yesterday arrived the Sarum Frigot@ Capt. Geo. Newton Comdr. who brought Us@ two Letters, One of them is from the@	exchange. Joshua Johnson, who was present, agreed to the exchange, and the record was signed [...] and by Antipas Tovey. A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Friday 18 April 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Sarum</i> frigate, Captain George Newton commander, arrived the previous day carrying two letters for the council. Interpretations The figures completed the exchange proposed by Gabriel Powell on 4 February 1718, by which the Company gave three acres at the Main Ridge for every two acres of the Bowmans strip surrendered. Five and a half acres at that ratio produced exactly the eight and a quarter acres allowed, showing the bargain executed precisely on the agreed terms. The <i>Sarum</i> frigate was already known to the council, which had recorded in a cancelled memorandum of 4 January 1718 that a duplicate of its packet was to go home by her under Captain George Newton. Her arrival on 17 April 1718 restored a direct line of correspondence with London at a moment when the council had much depending there, the full record of the Tovey-Haswell dispute having gone home by the <i>Toddington</i> on 17 March 1718 for the directors' judgement. Speculations The recording of Joshua Johnson's consent in open council suggests he held an interest in one of the parcels concerned, perhaps as an adjoining holder. Taking his agreement before the exchange completed closed off the most obvious source of a later boundary or title dispute at no cost to either party.
244	236	April@ Hon Compys Secretary dated Octbr.@ ye 27o. 1716. by Order of the Secrett@ Committee wch mentiond another to the@ Same purpose Sent by Capt. Osborne wch:@ other Letter We have not Yett received.@ The other Letter is from the Govr. & Coun@ of Bombay Dated the 28th: of Decbr. 1717.@ wch last is as foll: Vizt.@ Gent. Yours under date of July the 4th@ 1716. We recd. ye 19. Instant with Copy@ of a former of ye 29o. of June 1715. to@ both of which We Shall have a parti-@ cular regard & furnish you by Our next@ Years Shipping with Such necessarys@ you Indent for that are procurable@ on this Side India This Ship being@ to depart So Speedily time will not@ permitt to putt any thing aboard for@ You — We are@ Yor. Affect. frds & humb@ Servts.@ Chas: Boone@ Law Parker@ Steph Strutt@ John Clapham@ John Hope@ (Signd) John Braddyll@	One letter came from the Honourable Company's secretary, dated 27 October 1716 and written by order of the Secret Committee. It mentioned another letter to the same purpose, sent by Captain Osborne, which had not yet reached the island. The other letter came from the Governor and Council of Bombay, dated 28 December 1717, and was entered in full. The Bombay government acknowledged the council's letter of 4 July 1716, received on 19 December 1717 together with a copy of an earlier letter of 29 June 1715. It promised particular attention to both and undertook to send by the next year's shipping such of the requested necessities as could be obtained on that side of India. The ship then in hand was to sail so quickly that nothing could be put aboard for the island. The letter closed with the usual courtesies and was signed by Charles Boone, Lawrence Parker, Stephen Strutt, John Clapham, John Hope and John Braddyll. Interpretations The Secret Committee was the small inner body of the Court of Directors entrusted with confidential business, chiefly intelligence, wartime routing and other matters too sensitive for the full court. A letter sent by its order, with a duplicate carried by a second ship, points to instructions the Company wanted protected against loss or interception, the duplicate by Captain Osborne serving as insurance on a route where any single ship might miscarry. The Bombay reply exposed the timescale on which the island's supply lines ran. A request of 4 July 1716 took almost eighteen months to reach Bombay, and fulfilment was promised only by the following year's shipping, so the council had to frame its indents too to three years ahead of need. The empty-handed apology, the carrying ship sailing too soon to load anything, left

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			St Helena waiting still longer for goods first sought in 1715. Speculations Reading the Bombay letter into the consultation book in full, rather than merely noting its receipt, preserved on the island's own record Bombay's written undertaking to supply the indented goods. If the promised necessities failed to arrive, the council could cite the engagement to the directors without depending on papers held elsewhere, the same habit of building a documentary case for London that ran through its dealings with ships' commanders.
245	237	1718@ Wm. Worrall Overseer of the Honble@ Compys Plantations having bought Mr@ Casons Brick on wch he intends to Live@ The Govr. Sayes he thinks to proper@ to consider who to put into his room when@ he goes to Live there@ Orderd That against next Consultation@ day every One of the Council Report what@ man they think Fittest to Succeed Fr Worrall@ Mr Cason having Sold his Plantatn.@ he intends to Live altogether at the Fort@ for the better regulating of ye Soldiers@ Therefore the Govr. thinks it proper@ to make him a Lieutenant as We@ found him at Our coming here his whole@ behaviour very well deserving Such or@ a better Trust.@ The Govr. recomends to every One of@ the Council to consider what is proper to@ write by this Ship Sarum to Our Hon@ Masters.@ He Likewise reports yt ye Hon Compys Plan-@ tation house at the Hutts is blown down@ by a High Wind & yt. as Soon as Luffkins@ house is Finished twill be necessary for@ all hands to Go there to Rebuild ye Hous@	William Worrall, overseer of the Honourable Company's plantations, had bought Mr Cason's house and meant to live in it. The Governor thought it proper to consider who should take Worrall's place once he moved there. The council ordered that by the next consultation day every councillor report which man he thought fittest to succeed Worrall. Mr Cason, having sold his plantation, intended to live wholly at the Fort for the better regulation of the soldiers. The Governor therefore thought it proper to make him a lieutenant, the rank he had held when the present government arrived, his whole conduct since well deserving that trust or a better one. The Governor recommended that every councillor consider what was proper to write to the Honourable Masters by the <i>Sarum</i>. He also reported that the Honourable Company's plantation house at the Hutts had been blown down by a high wind. As soon as Luffkin's house was finished, all hands would need to go there to rebuild the house. Interpretations Worrall's purchase of Cason's house signalled his withdrawal from the chief overseer's post, a departure long in train. He had leave of 21 May 1717 to sell his Dogwood Valley lease land and his five free acres, and petitioned on 18 June 1717 for passage to India, pleading a bare salary insufficient for his family and slanders bred by the rumour of a new government. The council's method of filling the vacancy, written nominations from every councillor against a set day, spread responsibility for an appointment that controlled the Company's whole agricultural establishment. Lieutenant Thomas Cason's return to the Fort reunited military rank with residence among the garrison. He had served as an officer, drawn 6 pounds of powder for exercising the garrison on 3 December 1717 and held a house and 45 acres converted on 10 December 1717 to a single lease on three lives, so the sale of his plantation marked a deliberate exchange of planting for full-time soldiering. The loss of the plantation house at the Hutts struck the centre of the Company's largest plantation complex, where 100,000 yam suckers had been planted in a single season and the slaves' accommodation stood. The order holding the rebuilding until Luffkin's house was finished shows the establishment's small labour force forced to take major building tasks strictly in turn. Speculations Restoring Cason's lieutenantancy solved a problem of authority rather than mere reward. A man regulating soldiers while living among them needed formal military rank to give his orders force, and the Governor anchored the promotion in Cason's standing at the government's arrival, presenting it as restitution of an earlier station rather than a new favour that others might claim. The Governor's invitation to every councillor to consider the letter for the <i>Sarum</i> turned the homeward packet into collective business. With the record of the Tovey-Haswell dispute already gone home by the

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			<i>Toddington</i> on 17 March 1718 and Haswell under suspension, a letter framed by all four members protected the Governor against any charge of shaping the account to London alone.
246	238	A List of Famalies Land & Cattle as given@ Whites: Men. Women. Youths. Maids. Boys. Girls. Total.@ Blacks: Men. Women. Boys. Girls.@ Capt. Geo. Haswell@ Whites: Women 1. Maids 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 4.@ Blacks: Men 3. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 2.@ Capt. Mattw Bazett@ Whites: Women 1. Youths 1. Maids 1. Boys 2. Girls 2. Total 7.@ Blacks: Men 4. Women 3. Boys 3.@ Mr. Antipas Tovey@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 4.@ Blacks: Men 2. Women 1.@ Mr Josh Thomlinson@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Total 2.@ Blacks: Men 5. Women 2. Boys 3. Girls 3.@ Mr Thos Cason@ Whites: Boys 2. Total 2.@ Blacks: Men 2. Women 2. Boys 7.@ Mr John Alexander@ Whites: Women 1. Youths 1. Boys 1. Girls 4. Total 7.@ Blacks: Men 3. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 2.@ Mr John French@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 4.@ Blacks: Men 3. Women 1. Boys 2. Girls 2.@ Mr John Goodwin@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 3. Girls 1. Total 5.@ Blacks: Men 12. Women 2. Boys 3. Girls 2.@ Thos Southen@ Whites: Women 1. Youths 1. Maids 1. Boys 2. Girls 5. Total 10.@ Blacks: Men 3. Boys 1.@ Jno Worrell@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 2. Girls 2. Total 5.@ Blacks: Men 2. Women 2. Boys 1.@ Wm Slaughter (Serjts)@ Whites: Women 1. Maids 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 5.@ Blacks: Men 1. Women 1.@ Thos Dutch & S[...] (Serjts)@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 2. Girls 2. Total 5.@ Isaac Wood (Serjts)@ Whites: Women 1. Maids 2. Boys 1. Total 4.@ Blacks: Men 5. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 1.@ Christ. Kell (Gun Mates)@ Whites: Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 3.@ Blacks: Men 1.@ Isaac Leech (Gun Mates)@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 3.@ Blacks: Men 1. Girls 1.@ Wm Worrall (Ovrseers)@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 3.@ Blacks: Men 3. Women 1.@ Samll Jessey (Ovrseers)@ Whites: Women 2. Youths 2. Maids 3. Boys 2. Girls 3. Total 12.@ Blacks: Men 3. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 3.@ Wm Portley (Ovrseers)@ Blacks: Men 1.@ Francis Funge@ Whites: Women 1. Maids 1. Boys 3. Girls 1. Total 6.@ Blacks: Men 1. Boys 2.@ Joseph Batts@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Total 2.@ Blacks: Men 1. Boys 1.@ Henry Johnson@ Blacks: Men 1.@ Thos Hayse@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 4. Total 6.@ Giles Hayse@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 3.@ Jno. Orchard@ Whites: Women 1. Total 1.@ Samll Price@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 4.@ Jno. Lewis Latour@ Whites: Women 1. Girls 1. Total 2.@ Blacks: Girls 1.@ Totals@ Whites: Women 23. Youths 5. Maids 10. Boys 32. Girls 39. Total 109.@ Blacks: Men 57. Women 23. Boys 32. Girls 17.@	The table is headed as a list of families, land and cattle as given in. The columns visible in these images fall under two group headings: Whites (Men, Women, Youths, Maids, Boys, Girls, Total) and Blacks (Men, Women, Boys, Girls). The Men column under Whites carries no figures in any row. Marginal braces mark Thomas Southen, John Worrell, William Slaughter, Thomas Dutch and Isaac Wood as sergeants, Christopher Kell and Isaac Leech as gunner's mates and William Worrall, Samuel Jepsey and William Portley as overseers. Captain George Haswell Whites: Women 1. Maids 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 4. Blacks: Men 3. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 2. Captain Matthew Bazett Whites: Women 1. Youths 1. Maids 1. Boys 2. Girls 2. Total 7. Blacks: Men 4. Women 3. Boys 3. Mr Antipas Tovey Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 4. Blacks: Men 2. Women 1. Mr Joshua Thomlinson Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Total 2. Blacks: Men 5. Women 2. Boys 3. Girls 3. Mr Thomas Cason Whites: Boys 2. Total 2. Blacks: Men 2. Women 2. Boys 7. Mr John Alexander Whites: Women 1. Youths 1. Boys 1. Girls 4. Total 7. Blacks: Men 3. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 2. Mr John French Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 4. Blacks: Men 3. Women 1. Boys 2. Girls 2. Mr John Goodwin Whites: Women 1. Boys 3. Girls 1. Total 5. Blacks: Men 12. Women 2. Boys 3. Girls 2. Thomas Southen (sergeant) Whites: Women 1. Youths 1. Maids 1. Boys 2. Girls 5. Total 10. Blacks: Men 3. Boys 1. John Worrell (sergeant) Whites: Women 1. Boys 2. Girls 2. Total 5. Blacks: Men 2. Women 2. Boys 1. William Slaughter (sergeant) Whites: Women 1. Maids 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 5. Blacks: Men 1. Women 1. Thomas Dutch and brother (sergeant) Whites: Women 1. Boys 2. Girls 2. Total 5. Isaac Wood (sergeant) Whites: Women 1. Maids 2. Boys 1. Total 4. Blacks: Men 5. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 1. Christopher Kell (gunner's mate) Whites: Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 3. Blacks: Men 1. Isaac Leech (gunner's mate) Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 3. Blacks: Men 1. Girls 1. William Worrall (overseer) Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 3. Blacks: Men 3. Women 1. Samuel Jepsey (overseer) Whites: Women 2. Youths 2. Maids 3. Boys 2. Girls 3. Total 12. Blacks: Men 3. Women 2. Boys 2. Girls 3. William Portley (overseer) Blacks: Men 1. Francis Funge Whites: Women 1. Maids 1. Boys 3. Girls 1. Total 6. Blacks: Men 1. Boys 2. Joseph Bates Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Total 2. Blacks: Men 1. Boys 1. Henry Johnson Blacks: Men 1. Thomas Hayse Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 4. Total 6. Giles Hayse Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 1. Total 3. John Orchard Whites: Women 1. Total 1. Samuel Price Whites: Women 1. Boys 1. Girls 2. Total 4. John Lewis Latour Whites: Women 1. Girls 1. Total 2. Blacks: Girls 1. Totals Whites: Women 23. Youths 5. Maids 10. Boys 32. Girls 39. Total 109. Blacks: Men 57. Women 23. Boys 32. Girls 17.

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247	239	in to the Secrys Office on or before ye 21st day of@ March AD 1717/18 In St Helena, (Vizt)@ Cattle: Bulls. Cows. Bullocks. Heifers. Steers. Yearlings. Calves. Total.@ Land: Acres of Free. Acres of Hired. Total.@ Capt. Geo: Haswell@ Totall 9.@ Cattle: Cows 11. Bullocks 2. Heifers 8. Steers 5. Calves 5. Total 31.@ Land: Free 31. Hired 35. Total 66.@ Capt. Mattw Bazett@ Totall 10.@ Cattle: Cows 15. Bullocks 4. Heifers 4. Steers 7. Yearlings 9. Calves 15. Total 54.@ Land: Free 35. Hired 20. Total 55.@ Mr. Antipas Tovey@ Totall 3.@ Cattle: Cows 2. Calves 1. Total 3.@ Land: Hired 21. Total 21.@ Mr Josh Thomlinson@ Totall 13.@ Cattle: Cows 3. Bullocks 2. Heifers 2. Yearlings 1. Calves 3. Total 11.@ Mr Thos Cason@ Totall 11.@ Cattle: Cows 8. Bullocks 1. Heifers 6. Steers 4. Yearlings 5. Total 24.@ Land: Hired 45. Total 45.@ Mr John Alexander@ Totall 9.@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 13. Bullocks 1. Heifers 2. Steers 4. Yearlings 3. Calves 7. Total 31.@ Land: Free 58. Hired 15. Total 73.@ Mr John French@ Totall 8.@ Cattle: Cows 2. Bullocks 2. Heifers 1. Calves 1. Total 6.@ Mr John Goodwin@ Totall 19.@ Cattle: Cows 24. Bullocks 13. Yearlings 18. Calves 22. Total 77.@ Land: Free 141. Hired 16. Total 157.@ Thos Southen@ Totall 4.@ Cattle: Cows 9. Bullocks 3. Heifers 2. Calves 5. Total 19.@ Land: Free 29. Total 29.@ Jno Worrell@ Totall 5.@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 4. Heifers 2. Steers 2. Calves 4. Total 13.@ Land: Free 17. Hired 20. Total 37.@ Wm Slaughter@ Totall 2.@ Cattle: Cows 2. Calves 1. Total 3.@ Land: Hired 3. Total 3.@ Thos Dutch & S[...]@ Isaac Wood@ Totall 10.@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 16. Bullocks 6. Heifers 5. Yearlings 10. Calves 16. Total 54.@ Land: Free 58. Hired 30. Total 88.@ 30 foot of Gro: Squ: in this vally at 12 ¹/₂ Annu.@ Christ. Kell@ Totall 1.@ Land: Hired 2. Total 2.@ Isaac Leech@ Totall 2.@ Cattle: Cows 8. Bullocks 1. Heifers 2. Steers 1. Yearlings 3. Calves 8. Total 23.@ Land: Free 5. Hired 6. Total 11.@ Wm Worrall@ Totall 4.@ Cattle: Cows 6. Bullocks 1. Heifers 3. Steers 1. Calves 6. Total 17.@ Land: Free 5. Hired 5. Total 10.@ Samll Jessey@ Totall 10.@ Cattle: Cows 9. Bullocks 4. Heifers 4. Yearlings 1. Calves 12. Total 30.@ Land: Free 52. Total 52.@ Wm Portley@ Totall 2.@ Cattle: Cows 3. Bullocks 1. Heifers 3. Calves 3. Total 10.@ Francis Funge@ Totall 3.@ Cattle: Cows 2. Calves 2. Total 4.@ Joseph Batts@ Totall 2.@ Henry Johnson@ Totall 1.@ Thos Hayse@ Cattle: Cows 2. Heifers 3. Calves 2. Total 7.@ Land: Free 30. Total 30.@ Rented@ Giles Hayse@ Cattle: Cows 2. Yearlings 1. Calves 2. Total 5.@ Jno. Orchard@ Cattle: Cows 2. Bullocks 2. Heifers 1. Steers 1. Calves 2. Total 8.@ Samll Price@ Jno. Lewis Latour@ Totall 1.@ Totals@ Totall 129.@ Cattle: Bulls 3. Cows 143. Bullocks 43. Heifers 48. Steers 25. Yearlings 51. Calves 117. Total 430.@ Land: Free 461. Hired 218. Total 679.@	Captain George Haswell Blacks: Total 9. Cattle: Cows 11. Bullocks 2. Heifers 8. Steers 5. Calves 5. Total 31. Land: Free 31. Hired 35. Total 66. Captain Matthew Bazett Blacks: Total 10. Cattle: Cows 15. Bullocks 4. Heifers 4. Steers 7. Yearlings 9. Calves 15. Total 54. Land: Free 35. Hired 20. Total 55. Mr Antipas Tovey Blacks: Total 3. Cattle: Cows 2. Calves 1. Total 3. Land: Hired 21. Total 21. Mr Joshua Thomlinson Blacks: Total 13. Cattle: Cows 3. Bullocks 2. Heifers 2. Yearlings 1. Calves 3. Total 11. Mr Thomas Cason Blacks: Total 11. Cattle: Cows 8. Bullocks 1. Heifers 6. Steers 4. Yearlings 5. Total 24. Land: Hired 45. Total 45. Mr John Alexander Blacks: Total 9. Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 13. Bullocks 1. Heifers 2. Steers 4. Yearlings 3. Calves 7. Total 31. Land: Free 58. Hired 15. Total 73. Mr John French Blacks: Total 8. Cattle: Cows 2. Bullocks 2. Heifers 1. Calves 1. Total 6. Mr John Goodwin Blacks: Total 19. Cattle: Cows 24. Bullocks 13. Yearlings 18. Calves 22. Total 77. Land: Free 141. Hired 16. Total 157. Thomas Southen Blacks: Total 4. Cattle: Cows 9. Bullocks 3. Heifers 2. Calves 5. Total 19. Land: Free 29. Total 29. John Worrell Blacks: Total 5. Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 4. Heifers 2. Steers 2. Calves 4. Total 13. Land: Free 17. Hired 20. Total 37. William Slaughter Blacks: Total 2. Cattle: Cows 2. Calves 1. Total 3. Land: Hired 3. Total 3. Thomas Dutch and brother Isaac Wood Blacks: Total 10. Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 16. Bullocks 6. Heifers 5. Yearlings 10. Calves 16. Total 54. Land: Free 58. Hired 30. Total 88. A marginal note records a further plot of ground 30 feet square in the valley, held at £0 0s 12d a year. Christopher Kell Blacks: Total 1. Land: Hired 2. Total 2. Isaac Leech Blacks: Total 2. Cattle: Cows 8. Bullocks 1. Heifers 2. Steers 1. Yearlings 3. Calves 8. Total 23. Land: Free 5. Hired 6. Total 11. William Worrall Blacks: Total 4. Cattle: Cows 6. Bullocks 1. Heifers 3. Steers 1. Calves 6. Total 17. Land: Free 5. Hired 5. Total 10. Samuel Jepsey Blacks: Total 10. Cattle: Cows 9. Bullocks 4. Heifers 4. Yearlings 1. Calves 12. Total 30. Land: Free 52. Total 52. William Portley Blacks: Total 2. Cattle: Cows 3. Bullocks 1. Heifers 3. Calves 3. Total 10. Francis Funge Blacks: Total 3. Cattle: Cows 2. Calves 2. Total 4. Joseph Bates Blacks: Total 2. Henry Johnson Blacks: Total 1. Thomas Hayse Cattle: Cows 2. Heifers 3. Calves 2. Total 7. Land: Free 30. Total 30. A marginal note records that this holding was rented. Giles Hayse Cattle: Cows 2. Yearlings 1. Calves 2. Total 5. John Orchard Cattle: Cows 2. Bullocks 2. Heifers 1. Steers 1. Calves 2. Total 8. Samuel Price John Lewis Latour Blacks: Total 1. Totals Blacks: Total 129. Cattle: Bulls 3. Cows 143. Bullocks 43. Heifers 48. Steers 25. Yearlings 51. Calves 117. Total 430. Land: Free 461. Hired 218. Total 679.
248	240	Persons Names Vizt.@ Whites: Men. Women. Youths. Maidens. Boys. Girls. Totall.@ Blacks: Men. Women. Boys. Girls. Totall.@ Brought Over@ Whites: Men 23. Women 23. Youths 5. Maidens 10. Boys 32. Girls 39. Totall 109.@ Blacks: Men 57. Women 23. Boys 32. Girls 17. Totall 129.@	The brought-over line carried forward 23 white men, 23 white women, 5 white youths, 10 white maidens, 32 white boys and 39 white girls, totalling 109 white people, with 57 black men, 23 black women, 32 black boys and 17 black girls, totalling 129 black people.

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		Benja: Pledger@ Whites: Women 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Boys 2. Totall 2.@ Edmond Bodley@ Michl: Dufton —@ Jeptha Fowler@ Whites: Women 1. Totall 1.@ Willi: Penny@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Thos: Altis, Plantr@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 2. Girles 1. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 3. Girles 1. Totall 4.@ Robt Angus@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Richd Alexandrs: Orphs@ Robt: Addiss Orphs@ John Bagley Senr:@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 1. Maidens 2. Boys 3. Girles 1. Totall 9.@ Blacks: Men 1. Girles 1. Totall 2.@ Orlando Bagley@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidens 2. Boys 4. Girles 1. Totall 9.@ Blacks: Men 3. Women 1. Boys 2. Girles 1. Totall 7.@ Richd & Anto: Beale@ Whites: Men 2. Totall 2.@ Blacks: Men 2. Totall 2.@ Willi: Beale —@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 3. Girles 1. Totall 6.@ Blacks: Women 1. Girles 2. Totall 3.@ Robert Bell —@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidens 1. Girles 2. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 2. Women 2. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 6.@ Arthur Bradley@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 1. Girles 4. Totall 7.@ Blacks: Women 1. Totall 1.@ Thos: Burnham@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidens 1. Boys 3. Girles 1. Totall 7.@ Willi: Coales@ Whites: Men 1. Maidens 3. Boys 1. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ John Coles@ Whites: Men 4. Women 1. Boys 1. Girles 4. Totall 10.@ Blacks: Men 3. Women 2. Boys 5. Girles 1. Totall 11.@ Jno. Coulson@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Men 1. Boys 1. Totall 2.@ Frans: Carne@ Whites: Women 1. Youths 1. Maidens 2. Boys 1. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men free. Women 2. Boys 1. Girles 5. Totall 8.@ Mary Conaway@ Whites: Women 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Grace Coulson —@ Whites: Women 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Men 2. Women 3. Boys 1. Girles 2. Totall 8.@ Gilbt: Cotgraves Orph:@ Jona: Doveton@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidens 1. Boys 1. Girles 3. Totall 7.@ Blacks: Men 6. Women 3. Boys 3. Girles 2. Totall 14.@ James Draper@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidens 2. Boys 2. Girles 4. Totall 10.@ Blacks: Men 3. Totall 3.@ Mary Easthope@ Whites: Women 1. Maidens 1. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 3.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Henry Francis@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidens 1. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 8. Women 3. Boys 1. Girles 3. Totall 14.@ Thoms: Free —@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 2. Girles 1. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 4. Women 2. Boys 1. Girles 5. Totall 12.@	Benjamin Pledger had 1 white woman, totalling 1 white person, with 2 black boys, totalling 2 black people. Edmond Bodley had no household entered. Michael Dufton had no household entered. Jeptha Fowler had 1 white woman, totalling 1 white person. William Penny had 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. Thomas Allis, planter, had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 2 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 5 white people, with 3 black men and 1 black girl, totalling 4 black people. Robert Angus had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person. Richard Alexander's orphans had no household entered. Robert Addis's orphans had no household entered. John Bagley senior had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white youth, 2 white maidens, 3 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 9 white people, with 1 black man and 1 black girl, totalling 2 black people. Orlando Bagley had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 2 white maidens, 4 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 9 white people, with 3 black men, 1 black woman, 2 black boys and 1 black girl, totalling 7 black people. Richard and Anthony Beale had 2 white men, totalling 2 white people, with 2 black men, totalling 2 black people. William Beale had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 3 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 6 white people, with 1 black woman and 2 black girls, totalling 3 black people. Robert Bell had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden and 2 white girls, totalling 5 white people, with 2 black men, 2 black women, 1 black boy and 1 black girl, totalling 6 black people. Arthur Bradley had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white youth and 4 white girls, totalling 7 white people, with 1 black woman, totalling 1 black person. Thomas Burnham had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden, 3 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 7 white people. William Coales had 1 white man, 3 white maidens and 1 white boy, totalling 5 white people, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. John Coles had 4 white men, 1 white woman, 1 white boy and 4 white girls, totalling 10 white people, with 3 black men, 2 black women, 5 black boys and 1 black girl, totalling 11 black people. John Coulson had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black man and 1 black boy, totalling 2 black people. Frances Carne had 1 white woman, 1 white youth, 2 white maidens and 1 white boy, totalling 5 white people, with 2 black women, 1 black boy and 5 black girls, totalling 8 black people, the black men column carrying the word free in place of a figure. Mary Conaway had 1 white woman, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. Grace Coulson had 1 white woman, totalling 1 white person, with 2 black men, 3 black women, 1 black boy and 2 black girls, totalling 8 black people. Gilbert Cotgrave's orphans had no household entered. Jonathan Doveton had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden, 1 white boy and 3 white girls, totalling 7 white people, with 6 black men, 3 black women, 3 black boys and 2 black girls, totalling 14 black people. James Draper had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 2 white maidens, 2 white boys and 4 white girls, totalling 10 white people, with 3 black men, totalling 3 black people.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
			Mary Easthope had 1 white woman, 1 white maiden, 1 white boy and 1 white girl, totalling 3 white people, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. Henry Francis had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden, 1 white boy and 1 white girl, totalling 5 white people, with 8 black men, 3 black women, 1 black boy and 3 black girls, totalling 14 black people. Thomas Free had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 2 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 5 white people, with 4 black men, 2 black women, 1 black boy and 5 black girls, totalling 12 black people. No totals line appears within these images; the table continues beyond the last visible entry.
249	241	Cattle: Bulls. Cows. Bullocks. Heifers. Steers. Yearlings. Calves. Total.@ Land: Acres Free. Acres of Hired. Totall.@ Brought Over@ Cattle: Bulls 3. Cows 143. Bullocks 43. Heifers 48. Steers 25. Yearlings 51. Calves 117. Total 430.@ Land: Free 461. Hired 218. Totall 679.@ Benja: Pledger@ Cattle: Cows 4. Calves 4. Total 8.@ Land: Free 5. Totall 5.@ Edmond Bodley@ Cattle: Cows 4. Bullocks 1. Heifers 2. Calves 3. Total 10.@ Michl: Dufton —@ Cattle: Cows 1. Yearlings 1. Calves 1. Total 3.@ Jeptha Fowler@ Willi: Penny@ Thos: Altis, Plantr@ Cattle: Cows 3. Steers 2. Calves 3. Total 8.@ Land: Free 18. Hired 30. Totall 48.@ Robt Angus@ Gone Off. (struck through)@ Richd Alexandrs: Orphs@ Cattle: Cows 2. Heifers 1. Calves 3. Total 6.@ Gone off@ Robt: Addiss Orphs@ Cattle: Bulls 2. Cows 7. Bullocks 7. Yearlings 5. Calves 7. Total 28.@ At Board@ John Bagley Senr:@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 10. Yearlings 4. Calves 4. Total 19.@ Land: Free 36. Hired 3. Totall 39.@ Orlando Bagley@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 9. Heifers 1. Steers 2. Yearlings 4. Calves 5. Total 22.@ Land: Free 23. Hired 76. Totall 99.@ Richd & Antor: Beale@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 10. Bullocks 2. Heifers 1. Steers 4. Yearlings 2. Calves 11. Total 31.@ Land: Free 59. Hired 1. Totall 60.@ Willi: Beale —@ Cattle: Cows 4. Bullocks 1. Heifers 1. Yearlings 1. Calves 4. Total 11.@ Robert Bell —@ Cattle: Cows 3. Bullocks 5. Heifers 2. Calves 3. Total 13.@ Land: Free 20. Hired 31. Totall 51.@ Arthur Bradley@ Cattle: Cows 4. Bullocks 1. Heifers 1. Calves 4. Total 10.@ Land: Hired 20. Totall 20.@ Thos: Burnham@ Cattle: Cows 4. Heifers 3. Steers 2. Calves 4. Total 13.@ Land: Free 22. Hired 6. Totall 28.@ Willi: Coales@ Cattle: Cows 3. Heifers 1. Steers 2. Calves 2. Total 8.@ Land: Free 15. Hired 5. Totall 20.@ John Coles@ Cattle: Bulls 2. Cows 25. Bullocks 5. Heifers 9. Steers 6. Yearlings 16. Calves 11. Total 74.@ Land: Free 30. Hired 25. Totall 55.@ 30 foot Ground in ye: vally 12  Ann@ Jno. Coulson@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 9. Bullocks 1. Heifers 3. Calves 9. Total 23.@ Land: Free 15. Totall 15.@ Frans: Carne@ Mary Conaway@ Cattle: Cows 1. Bullocks 1. Yearlings 1. Calves 1. Total 4.@ Land: Free 5. Hired 30. Totall 35.@ Grace Coulson —@ Cattle: Cows 8. Bullocks 5. Heifers 4. Calves 8. Total 25.@ Land: Free 25. Hired 5. Totall 30.@ Gilbt: Cotgraves Orph:@ Cattle: Cows 3. Bullocks 1. Heifers 2. Yearlings 3. Calves 4. Total 13.@ 2 Boy: at Apprce@	The brought-over line carried forward 3 bulls, 143 cows, 43 bullocks, 48 heifers, 25 steers, 51 yearlings and 117 calves, totalling 430 neat cattle, with 461 acres of free land and 218 acres of hired land, totalling 679 acres. Benjamin Pledger had 4 cows and 4 calves, totalling 8 neat cattle, with 5 acres of free land, totalling 5 acres, the hired column obscured by a smudge. Edmond Bodley had 4 cows, 1 bullock, 2 heifers and 3 calves, totalling 10 neat cattle, with no land entered. Michael Dufton had 1 cow, 1 yearling and 1 calf, totalling 3 neat cattle, with no land entered. Jeptha Fowler had no farming entered. William Penny had no farming entered. Thomas Allis had 3 cows, 2 steers and 3 calves, totalling 8 neat cattle, with 18 acres of free land and 30 acres of hired land, totalling 48 acres. Robert Angus had no farming entered. A margin note against his line reads Gone off, first written and struck through and then rewritten. Richard Alexander's orphans had 2 cows, 1 heifer and 3 calves, totalling 6 neat cattle, with no land entered. A margin note against this line reads At Board. Robert Addis's orphans had 2 bulls, 7 cows, 7 bullocks, 5 yearlings and 7 calves, totalling 28 neat cattle, with no land entered. John Bagley senior had 1 bull, 10 cows, 4 yearlings and 4 calves, totalling 19 neat cattle, with 36 acres of free land and 3 acres of hired land, totalling 39 acres. Orlando Bagley had 1 bull, 9 cows, 1 heifer, 2 steers, 4 yearlings and 5 calves, totalling 22 neat cattle, with 23 acres of free land and 76 acres of hired land, totalling 99 acres. Richard and Anthony Beale had 1 bull, 10 cows, 2 bullocks, 1 heifer, 4 steers, 2 yearlings and 11 calves, totalling 31 neat cattle, with 59 acres of free land and 1 acre of hired land, totalling 60 acres. William Beale had 4 cows, 1 bullock, 1 heifer, 1 yearling and 4 calves, totalling 11 neat cattle, with no land entered. Robert Bell had 3 cows, 5 bullocks, 2 heifers and 3 calves, totalling 13 neat cattle, with 20 acres of free land and 31 acres of hired land, totalling 51 acres. Arthur Bradley had 4 cows, 1 bullock, 1 heifer and 4 calves, totalling 10 neat cattle, with 20 acres of hired land, totalling 20 acres. Thomas Burnham had 4 cows, 3 heifers, 2 steers and 4 calves, totalling 13 neat cattle, with 22 acres of free land and 6 acres of hired land, totalling 28 acres. William Coales had 3 cows, 1 heifer, 2 steers and 2 calves, totalling 8 neat cattle, with 15 acres of free land and 5 acres of hired land, totalling 20 acres. John Coles had 2 bulls, 25 cows, 5 bullocks, 9 heifers, 6 steers, 16 yearlings and 11 calves, totalling 74 neat cattle, with 30 acres of free land and 25 acres of hired land, totalling 55 acres. A margin note records a further plot of ground 30 feet square in the valley at £0 0s 12d a year. John Coulson had 1 bull, 9 cows, 1 bullock, 3 heifers and 9 calves, totalling 23 neat cattle, with 15 acres of free land, totalling 15 acres.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Jona: Doveton@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 18. Bullocks 12. Heifers 6. Steers 7. Calves 18. Total 62.@ Land: Free 142 1/4. Hired 9. Totall 151 1/4.@ James Draper@ Cattle: Cows 6. Bullocks 1. Heifers 1. Steers 1. Calves 7. Total 16.@ Land: Free 20. Hired 5. Totall 25.@ Mary Easthope@ Henry Francis@ Cattle: Cows 6. Bullocks 6. Heifers 9. Calves 3. Total 24.@ Land: Free 40. Hired 27. Totall 67.@ Thoms: Free —@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 7. Bullocks 4. Heifers 2. Steers 5. Calves 6. Total 25.@ Land: Free 40 1/2. Hired 23 3/4. Totall 64 1/4.@	Frances Carne had no farming entered. Mary Conaway had 1 cow, 1 bullock, 1 yearling and 1 calf, totalling 4 neat cattle, with 5 acres of free land and 30 acres of hired land, totalling 35 acres. Grace Coulson had 8 cows, 5 bullocks, 4 heifers and 8 calves, totalling 25 neat cattle, with 25 acres of free land and 5 acres of hired land, totalling 30 acres. Gilbert Cotgrave's orphans had 3 cows, 1 bullock, 2 heifers, 3 yearlings and 4 calves, totalling 13 neat cattle, with no land entered. A margin note records that 2 boys of this estate were placed out as apprentices. Jonathan Doveton had 1 bull, 18 cows, 12 bullocks, 6 heifers, 7 steers and 18 calves, totalling 62 neat cattle, with 142 1/4 acres of free land and 9 acres of hired land, totalling 151 1/4 acres. James Draper had 6 cows, 1 bullock, 1 heifer, 1 steer and 7 calves, totalling 16 neat cattle, with 20 acres of free land and 5 acres of hired land, totalling 25 acres. Mary Easthope had no farming entered. Henry Francis had 6 cows, 6 bullocks, 9 heifers and 3 calves, totalling 24 neat cattle, with 40 acres of free land and 27 acres of hired land, totalling 67 acres. Thomas Free had 1 bull, 7 cows, 4 bullocks, 2 heifers, 5 steers and 6 calves, totalling 25 neat cattle, with 40 1/2 acres of free land and 23 3/4 acres of hired land, totalling 64 1/4 acres.
250	242	Persons Names Vizt.@ Whites: Men. Women. Youths. Maidns. Boys. Girles. Totall.@ Blacks: Men. Womn. Boys. Girles. Totall.@ Brought Over@ James Greentree@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 1. Maidns 3. Boys 1. Girles 3. Totall 10.@ Blacks: Men 4. Womn 1. Boys 2. Girles 2. Totall 9.@ Richd: Gurling@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 1. Maidns 1. Boys 2. Girles 2. Totall 8.@ Blacks: Men 5. Womn 1. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 8.@ Robt: Gurling@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidns 1. Boys 2. Girles 1. Totall 6.@ Blacks: Men 1. Womn 1. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 3.@ Thos: Hodgkinson@ Whites: Youths 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Boys 1. Totall 1.@ Jona: Higham Senr@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Jno: Harding —@ Whites: Men 1. Youths 1. Maidns 1. Boys 1. Totall 4.@ Mary Harper Senr:@ Whites: Women 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Womn 1. Totall 1.@ Mary Harper Junr:@ Whites: Women 1. Boys 3. Girles 2. Totall 6.@ Blacks: Men 1. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 3.@ Dorothy Hayse@ Whites: Women 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Men 1. Womn 1. Totall 2.@ Joshua: Johnson@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 2. Maidns 1. Boys 1. Girles 2. Totall 8.@ Blacks: Men 4. Womn 1. Boys 3. Girles 1. Totall 9.@ Sutton Isaack@ Whites: Men 1. Women 2. Youths 1. Boys 2. Girles 3. Totall 9.@ Blacks: Men 1. Womn 1. Boys 3. Girles 1. Totall 6.@ Jno: Knipe —@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 3. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 2. Womn 1. Totall 3.@ Thos: Leech@ Whites: Men 1. Maidns 1. Boys 1. Girles 2. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Frans: Leech@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Jno: Long@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 1. Girles 3. Totall 6.@ Blacks: Men 3. Womn 1. Boys 2. Girles 1. Totall 7.@ Stephn Lufkin@ Whites: Men 1. Youths 2. Maidns 1. Boys 1. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Jno: Marsh@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Waltr: Morris@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Elizth: Marsh widdo:@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 1. Maidns 2. Boys 1. Totall 6.@ Blacks: Men 3. Womn 1. Girles 4. Totall 8.@	The brought-over line at the head carries no figures. The brought-over line had no figures entered. James Greentree had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white youth, 3 white maidens, 1 white boy and 3 white girls, totalling 10 white people, with 4 black men, 1 black woman, 2 black boys and 2 black girls, totalling 9 black people. Richard Gurling had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white youth, 1 white maiden, 2 white boys and 2 white girls, totalling 8 white people, with 5 black men, 1 black woman, 1 black boy and 1 black girl, totalling 8 black people. Robert Gurling had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden, 2 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 6 white people, with 1 black man, 1 black woman and 1 black boy, totalling 3 black people. Thomas Hodgkinson had 1 white youth, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black boy, totalling 1 black person. Jonathan Higham senior had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. John Harding had 1 white man, 1 white youth, 1 white maiden and 1 white boy, totalling 4 white people. Mary Harper senior had 1 white woman, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black woman, totalling 1 black person. Mary Harper junior had 1 white woman, 3 white boys and 2 white girls, totalling 6 white people, with 1 black man, 1 black boy and 1 black girl, totalling 3 black people. Dorothy Hayse had 1 white woman, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black man and 1 black woman, totalling 2 black people. Joshua Johnson had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 2 white youths, 1 white maiden, 1 white boy and 2 white girls, totalling 8 white people, with 4 black men, 1 black woman, 3 black boys and 1 black girl, totalling 9 black people. Sutton Isaack had 1 white man, 2 white women, 1 white youth, 2 white boys and 3 white girls, totalling 9 white people, with 1 black man, 1 black woman, 3 black boys and 1 black girl, totalling 6 black people. John Knipe had 1 white man, 1 white woman and 3 white boys, totalling 5 white people, with 2 black men and 1 black woman, totalling 3 black people.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Elizth: Maxwell Orph:@ Whites: Maidns 1. Totall 1.@ Jno Nichols Senr:@ Whites: Men 2. Women 3. Youths 1. Girles 2. Totall 8.@ Blacks: Men 2. Womn 1. Totall 3.@ Edmd. Nichols@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Totall 2.@ Blacks: Boys 2. Totall 2.@ Martin Norman@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Ralph Orme@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 2. Girles 1. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 2. Womn 1. Boys 1. Totall 4.@	Thomas Leech had 1 white man, 1 white maiden, 1 white boy and 2 white girls, totalling 5 white people, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. Francis Leech had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person. John Long had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white boy and 3 white girls, totalling 6 white people, with 3 black men, 1 black woman, 2 black boys and 1 black girl, totalling 7 black people. Stephen Lufkin had 1 white man, 2 white youths, 1 white maiden and 1 white boy, totalling 5 white people, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. John Marsh had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person. Walter Morris had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. Elizabeth Marsh, widow, had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white youth, 2 white maidens and 1 white boy, totalling 6 white people, with 3 black men, 1 black woman and 4 black girls, totalling 8 black people, the total written over a correction. Elizabeth Maxwell's orphans had 1 white maiden, totalling 1 white person. John Nichols senior had 2 white men, 3 white women, 1 white youth and 2 white girls, totalling 8 white people, with 2 black men and 1 black woman, totalling 3 black people. Edmond Nichols had 1 white man and 1 white woman, totalling 2 white people, with 2 black boys, totalling 2 black people. Martin Norman had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person. Ralph Orme had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 2 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 5 white people, with 2 black men, 1 black woman and 1 black boy, totalling 4 black people. No totals line appears within these images; the table continues beyond the last visible entry.
251	243	Cattle: Bulls. Cows. Bullocks. Heifers. Steers. Yearlings. Calves. Totall.@ Land: Acres Free. Acres of Hired. Total.@ Brought Over@ James Greentree@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 11. Bullocks 2. Heifers 10. Steers 5. Calves 10. Totall 39.@ Land: Free 79. Hired 53. Total 132.@ Richd: Gurling@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 22. Bullocks 8. Heifers 10. Yearlings 7. Calves 19. Totall 67.@ Land: Free 38. Hired 11. Total 49.@ Robt: Gurling@ Cattle: Cows 1. Heifers 1. Calves 1. Totall 3.@ Land: Free 20. Hired 6. Total 26.@ Thos: Hodgkinson@ Cattle: Cows 2. Heifers 1. Calves 2. Totall 5.@ Jona: Higham Senr@ Cattle: Cows 1. Calves 1. Totall 2.@ Jno: Harding —@ Cattle: Cows 4. Bullocks 2. Steers 2. Calves 4. Totall 12.@ Land: Free 19. Hired 12. Total 31.@ Mary Harper Senr:@ Mary Harper Junr:@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 4. Bullocks 1. Heifers 4. Steers 2. Calves 4. Totall 16.@ Land: Hired 13 1/2. Total 13 1/2.@ Dorothy Hayse@ Cattle: Cows 4. Yearlings 2. Calves 2. Totall 8.@ Land: Free 10. Hired 15. Total 25.@ Josh: Johnson@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 14. Bullocks 8. Heifers 5. Calves 16. Totall 44.@ Land: Free 94. Hired 33. Total 127.@ Sutton Isaack@ Cattle: Cows 6. Bullocks 1. Heifers 5. Yearlings 3. Calves 6. Totall 21.@ Land: Free 25. Hired 5. Total 30.@ Jno: Knipe —@ Cattle: Cows 5. Bullocks 2. Heifers 1. Yearlings 3. Calves 5. Totall 16.@ Land: Free 14 1/2. Hired 20. Total 34 1/2.@ Thos: Leech@ Cattle: Cows 3. Yearlings 1. Calves 3. Totall 7.@ Land: Free 10. Total 10.@	The brought-over line had no figures entered. James Greentree had 1 bull, 11 cows, 2 bullocks, 10 heifers, 5 steers and 10 calves, totalling 39 neat cattle, with 79 acres of free land and 53 acres of hired land, totalling 132 acres. Richard Gurling had 1 bull, 22 cows, 8 bullocks, 10 heifers, 7 yearlings and 19 calves, totalling 67 neat cattle, with 38 acres of free land and 11 acres of hired land, totalling 49 acres. Robert Gurling had 1 cow, 1 heifer and 1 calf, totalling 3 neat cattle, with 20 acres of free land and 6 acres of hired land, totalling 26 acres. Thomas Hodgkinson had 2 cows, 1 heifer and 2 calves, totalling 5 neat cattle, with no land entered. Jonathan Higham senior had 1 cow and 1 calf, totalling 2 neat cattle, with no land entered. John Harding had 4 cows, 2 bullocks, 2 steers and 4 calves, totalling 12 neat cattle, with 19 acres of free land and 12 acres of hired land, totalling 31 acres. Mary Harper senior had no farming entered. Mary Harper junior had 1 bull, 4 cows, 1 bullock, 4 heifers, 2 steers and 4 calves, totalling 16 neat cattle, with 13½ acres of hired land, totalling 13½ acres. Dorothy Hayse had 4 cows, 2 yearlings and 2 calves, totalling 8 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land and 15 acres of hired land, totalling 25 acres. Joshua Johnson had 1 bull, 14 cows, 8 bullocks, 5 heifers and 16 calves, totalling 44 neat cattle, with 94 acres of free land and 33 acres of hired land, totalling 127 acres. Sutton Isaack had 6 cows, 1 bullock, 5 heifers, 3 yearlings and 6 calves, totalling 21 neat cattle, with 25 acres of free land and 5 acres of hired land, totalling 30 acres. John Knipe had 5 cows, 2 bullocks, 1 heifer, 3 yearlings and 5 calves, totalling 16 neat cattle, with 14½

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Frans: Leech@ Cattle: Cows 4. Heifers 1. Steers 3. Calves 4. Totall 12.@ Jno: Long@ Cattle: Cows 6. Heifers 4. Steers 4. Calves 4. Totall 18.@ Land: Free 21. Hired 5. Total 26.@ Stephn Lufkin@ Cattle: Cows 3. Heifers 1. Steers 1. Yearlings 1. Calves 3. Totall 9.@ Land: Free 10. Hired 1. Total 11.@ Jno: Marsh@ Cattle: Cows 2. Bullocks 1. Heifers 1. Steers 3. Calves 2. Totall 9.@ Waltr: Morris@ Land: Free 10. Hired 1 1/2. Total 11 1/2.@ Elizth: Marsh widdo:@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 10. Bullocks 6. Heifers 1. Calves 8. Totall 26.@ Land: Free 40. Hired 9. Total 49.@ Elizth: Maxwell Orph:@ Cattle: Cows 6. Bullocks 4. Heifers 5. Calves 4. Totall 19.@ Land: Free 3. Total 3.@ Jno Nichols Senr:@ Cattle: Cows 6. Bullocks 3. Heifers 2. Steers 1. Calves 4. Totall 16.@ Land: Free 40. Total 40.@ Edmd. Nichols@ Cattle: Cows 2. Calves 2. Totall 4.@ Land: Hired 14. Total 14.@ Martin Norman@ Cattle: Cows 2. Heifers 2. Yearlings 2. Calves 2. Totall 8.@ Ralph Orme@ Cattle: Cows 2. Heifers 1. Calves 1. Totall 4.@ Land: Free 10. Hired 10. Total 20.@	acres of free land and 20 acres of hired land, totalling 34½ acres. Thomas Leech had 3 cows, 1 yearling and 3 calves, totalling 7 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land, totalling 10 acres. Francis Leech had 4 cows, 1 heifer, 3 steers and 4 calves, totalling 12 neat cattle, with no land entered. John Long had 6 cows, 4 heifers, 4 steers and 4 calves, totalling 18 neat cattle, with 21 acres of free land and 5 acres of hired land, totalling 26 acres. Stephen Lufkin had 3 cows, 1 heifer, 1 steer, 1 yearling and 3 calves, totalling 9 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land and 1 acre of hired land, totalling 11 acres. John Marsh had 2 cows, 1 bullock, 1 heifer, 3 steers and 2 calves, totalling 9 neat cattle, with no land entered. Walter Morris had no cattle entered, with 10 acres of free land and 1½ acres of hired land, totalling 11½ acres. Elizabeth Marsh, widow, had 1 bull, 10 cows, 6 bullocks, 1 heifer and 8 calves, totalling 26 neat cattle, with 40 acres of free land and 9 acres of hired land, totalling 49 acres. Elizabeth Maxwell's orphans had 6 cows, 4 bullocks, 5 heifers and 4 calves, totalling 19 neat cattle, with 3 acres of free land, totalling 3 acres. John Nichols senior had 6 cows, 3 bullocks, 2 heifers, 1 steer and 4 calves, totalling 16 neat cattle, with 40 acres of free land, totalling 40 acres. Edmond Nichols had 2 cows and 2 calves, totalling 4 neat cattle, with 14 acres of hired land, totalling 14 acres. Martin Norman had 2 cows, 2 heifers, 2 yearlings and 2 calves, totalling 8 neat cattle, with no land entered. Ralph Orme had 2 cows, 1 heifer and 1 calf, totalling 4 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land and 10 acres of hired land, totalling 20 acres. No totals line appears within these images; the table continues beyond the last visible entry.
252	244	Persons Nams (Vizt.)@ Whites: Men. Women. Youths. Maidns. Boys. Girles. Totall.@ Blacks: Men. Womn. Boys. Girles. Totall.@ Brought Over@ Gabriel Powill@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidns 1. Boys 3. Girles 1. Totall 7.@ Blacks: Men 8. Womn 2. Boys 2. Girles 6. Totall 18.@ Jno. Robinson —@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidns 1. Girles 3. Totall 6.@ Blacks: Men 3. Womn 1. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 6.@ Samll: Rider@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Men 3. Totall 3.@ Nicho: Shrewe@ Whites: Men 1. Youths 2. Totall 3.@ Blacks: Men 2. Totall 2.@ Willi: Seale@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 1. Maidns 1. Boys 1. Girles 3. Totall 8.@ Blacks: Men 2. Womn 1. Girles 2. Totall 5.@ Giles Smith@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 3. Girles 2. Totall 7.@ Blacks: Men 2. Womn 1. Totall 3.@ Frans: Steward@ Whites: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Thos: Swallow@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths [...]. Maidns [3]. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 2. Womn 1. Boys 2. Totall 5.@ Richd: Swallow Senr@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 3. Maidns 2. Boys 1. Girles 4. Totall 12.@ Blacks: Men 5. Womn 2. Boys 3. Totall 10.@ Richd: Swallow Junr:@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 1. Totall 3.@ Blacks: Boys 1. Totall 1.@ Cha: Steward Orph@ Whites: Youths 1. Boys 4. Totall 5.@ Blacks: Men 4. Boys 1. Girles 2. Totall 7.@ Margt: Sich —@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidns 1. Girles 1. Totall 4.@ Blacks: Men 3. Womn 2. Boys 4. Girles 7. Totall 16.@	The column headings repeat as before, for Whites: Men, Women, Youths, Maidens, Boys, Girls and Total, and for Blacks: Men, Women, Boys, Girls and Total. No braces or margin notes appear on this page, and this page closes with the totals line. The brought-over line had no figures entered. Gabriel Powill had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden, 3 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 7 white people, with 8 black men, 2 black women, 2 black boys and 6 black girls, totalling 18 black people. John Robinson had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden and 3 white girls, totalling 6 white people, with 3 black men, 1 black woman, 1 black boy and 1 black girl, totalling 6 black people. James Rider had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person, with 3 black men, totalling 3 black people. Nicholas Shreeve had 1 white man and 2 white youths, totalling 3 white people, with 2 black men, totalling 2 black people. William Seale had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white youth, 1 white maiden, 1 white boy and 3 white girls, totalling 8 white people, with 2 black men, 1 black woman and 2 black girls, totalling 5 black people. Giles Smith had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 3 white boys and 2 white girls, totalling 7 white people, with 2 black men and 1 black woman, totalling 3 black people. Francis Steward had 1 white man, totalling 1 white person. Thomas Swallow had 1 white man, 1 white woman and 3 white maidens, totalling 5 white people, the youths and maidens cells lying under an ink blot with

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Jno: Twaits@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Youths 1. Maidns 1. Boys 3. Girles 1. Totall 8.@ Blacks: Men 2. Womn 1. Girles 1. Totall 4.@ James Vessey@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Maidns 3. Boys 2. Girles 1. Totall 8.@ Blacks: Men 3. Womn 1. Totall 4.@ Simon Whaley@ Whites: Men 2. Women 2. Youths 2. Boys 1. Girles 1. Totall 8.@ Blacks: Men 1. Totall 1.@ Frđ: Wrangham@ Whites: Men 1. Women 1. Boys 1. Girles 3. Totall 6.@ Blacks: Men 5. Womn 1. Boys 3. Girles 2. Totall 11.@ Elizth Wrangham Orph@ Whites: Maidns 1. Totall 1.@ Blacks: Womn 1. Boys 1. Totall 2.@ Ripin Wills@ Whites: Men 2. Women 1. Maidns 1. Totall 4.@ Blacks: Men 3. Womn 1. Boys 1. Girles 2. Totall 7.@ Officers & Soldiers@ Whites: Men 128. Totall 128.@ Totals@ Whites: Men 186. Women 72. Youths 29. Maidns 53. Boys 97. Girles 105. Totall 542.@ Blacks: Men 180. Womn 70. Boys 85. Girles 76. Totall 411.@	the figure 3 wrtten over it, with 2 black men, 1 black woman and 2 black boys, totalling 5 black people. Richard Swallow senior had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 3 white youths, 2 white maidens, 1 white boy and 4 white girls, totalling 12 white people, with 5 black men, 2 black women and 3 black boys, totalling 10 black people. Richard Swallow junior had 1 white man, 1 white woman and 1 white boy, totalling 3 white people, with 1 black boy, totalling 1 black person. Charles Steward's orphans had 1 white youth and 4 white boys, totalling 5 white people, with 4 black men, 1 black boy and 2 black girls, totalling 7 black people. Margaret Sich had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white maiden and 1 white girl, totalling 4 white people, with 3 black men, 2 black women, 4 black boys and 7 black girls, totalling 16 black people. John Twaits had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white youth, 1 white maiden, 3 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 8 white people, with 2 black men, 1 black woman and 1 black girl, totalling 4 black people. James Vessey had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 3 white maidens, 2 white boys and 1 white girl, totalling 8 white people, with 3 black men and 1 black woman, totalling 4 black people. Simon Whaley had 2 white men, 2 white women, 2 white youths, 1 white boy and 1 white girl, totalling 8 white people, with 1 black man, totalling 1 black person. Francis Wrangham had 1 white man, 1 white woman, 1 white boy and 3 white girls, totalling 6 white people, with 5 black men, 1 black woman, 3 black boys and 2 black girls, totalling 11 black people. Elizabeth Wrangham's orphans had 1 white maiden, totalling 1 white person, with 1 black woman and 1 black boy, totalling 2 black people. Ripin Wills had 2 white men, 1 white woman and 1 white maiden, totalling 4 white people, with 3 black men, 1 black woman, 1 black boy and 2 black girls, totalling 7 black people. The officers and soldiers had 128 white men, totalling 128 white people. The totals line gave 186 white men, 72 white women, 29 white youths, 53 white maidens, 97 white boys and 105 white girls, totalling 542 white people, with 180 black men, 70 black women, 85 black boys and 76 black girls, totalling 411 black people.
253	245	Cattle: Bulls. Cows. Bulls: Heifers. Steers. Yearling. Calves. Totall.@ Land: Acres Free. Acres Hired. Totall.@ Brought Over@ Cattle: Bulls 3. Cows 54. Bulls 25. Heifers 15. Steers 14. Calves 53. Totall 164.@ Land: Free 246. Hired 39. Totall 285.@ 30. foot Groud: in ye: valley@ Gabriel Powill@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 7. Bulls 3. Heifers 1. Steers 2. Calves 6. Totall 20.@ Land: Free 10. Hired 25. Totall 35.@ Jno. Robinson —@ Cattle: Cows 4. Bulls 2. Heifers 2. Steers 1. Calves 4. Totall 13.@ Land: Free 30 1/2. Hired 2 1/2. Totall 33.@ Samll: Rider@ Nicho: Shrewe@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 7. Bulls 3. Heifers 6. Steers 2. Calves 7. Totall 26.@ Land: Free 40. Totall 40.@ Willi: Seale@ Cattle: Cows 3. Heifers 3. Steers 3. Calves 4. Totall 13.@ Land: Free 10. Hired 31. Totall 41.@ Giles Smith@ Cattle: Cows 5. Bulls 2. Heifers 3. Steers 2. Calves 2. Totall 14.@ Land: Free 10. Totall 10.@ Frans: Steward@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 9. Bulls 2. Heifers 3. Steers 3. Calves 9. Totall 27.@ Land: Free 40. Hired 31. Totall 71.@	The brought-over line had no figures entered. Gabriel Powill had 3 bulls, 54 cows, 25 bullocks, 15 heifers, 14 steers and 53 calves, totalling 164 neat cattle, with 246 acres of free land and 39 acres of hired land, totalling 285 acres. A margin note records a further plot of ground 30 feet square in the valley. John Robinson had 1 bull, 7 cows, 3 bullocks, 1 heifer, 2 steers and 6 calves, totalling 20 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land and 25 acres of hired land, totalling 35 acres. James Rider had 4 cows, 2 bullocks, 2 heifers, 1 steer and 4 calves, totalling 13 neat cattle, with 30½ acres of free land and 2½ acres of hired land, totalling 33 acres. Nicholas Shreeve had no farming entered. William Seale had 1 bull, 7 cows, 3 bullocks, 6 heifers, 2 steers and 7 calves, totalling 26 neat cattle, with 40 acres of free land, totalling 40 acres. Giles Smith had 3 cows, 3 heifers, 3 steers and 4 calves, totalling 13 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land and 31 acres of hired land, totalling 41 acres. Francis Steward had 5 cows, 2 bullocks, 3 heifers, 2 steers and 2 calves, totalling 14 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land, totalling 10 acres. Thomas Swallow had 1 bull, 9 cows, 2 bullocks, 3 heifers, 3 steers and 9 calves, totalling 27 neat cattle, with 40 acres of free land and 31 acres of hired land, totalling 71 acres.

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		Thos: Swallow@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 12. Bulls 9. Heifers 5. Yearling 2. Calves 8. Totall 37.@ Land: Free 39. Hired 36. Totall 75.@ Richd: Swallow Senr@ Cattle: Cows 3. Bulls 1. Heifers 2. Calves 3. Totall 9.@ Richd: Swallow Junr:@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 21. Bulls 15. Heifers 4. Yearling 23. Calves 13. Totall 77.@ Land: Free 20. Hired 40. Totall 60.@ Cha: Steward Orph@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 14. Bulls 8. Heifers 2. Steers 2. Calves 11. Totall 38.@ Land: Free 70. Hired 8. Totall 78.@ Margt: Sich —@ Cattle: Cows 5. Yearling 4. Calves 5. Totall 14.@ Land: Free 15 1/2. Hired 16. Totall 31 1/2.@ Jno: Twaits@ Cattle: Cows 16. Bulls 5. Heifers 4. Steers 9. Calves 16. Totall 50.@ Land: Free 20. Hired 12. Totall 32.@ James Vessey@ Cattle: Cows 3. Heifers 1. Calves 3. Totall 7.@ Land: Free 13 1/4. Hired 10. Totall 23 1/4.@ Simon Whaley@ Cattle: Bulls 1. Cows 17. Bulls 8. Heifers 4. Steers 4. Calves 14. Totall 48.@ Land: Free 65. Hired 11. Totall 76.@ Frđ: Wrangham@ Cattle: Cows 10. Bulls 3. Heifers 3. Calves 10. Totall 26.@ Land: Free 10. Hired 2. Totall 12.@ Elizth Wrangham Orph@ Cattle: Cows 6. Bulls 2. Heifers 2. Steers 1. Calves 6. Totall 17.@ Land: Free 40. Totall 40.@ Ripin Wills@ Officers & Soldiers@ Totals@ Cattle: Bulls 28. Cows 610. Bulls 222. Heifers 212. Steers 126. Yearling 136. Calves 523. Totall 1851.@ Land: Free 2099 1/2. Hired 987 1/4. Totall 3086 3/4.@	Richard Swallow senior had 1 bull, 12 cows, 9 bullocks, 5 heifers, 2 yearlings and 8 calves, totalling 37 neat cattle, with 39 acres of free land and 36 acres of hired land, totalling 75 acres. Richard Swallow junior had 3 cows, 1 bullock, 2 heifers and 3 calves, totalling 9 neat cattle, with no land entered. Charles Steward's orphans had 1 bull, 21 cows, 15 bullocks, 4 heifers, 23 yearlings and 13 calves, totalling 77 neat cattle, with 20 acres of free land and 40 acres of hired land, totalling 60 acres. Margaret Sich had 1 bull, 14 cows, 8 bullocks, 2 heifers, 2 steers and 11 calves, totalling 38 neat cattle, with 70 acres of free land and 8 acres of hired land, totalling 78 acres. John Twaits had 5 cows, 4 yearlings and 5 calves, totalling 14 neat cattle, with 15½ acres of free land and 16 acres of hired land, totalling 31½ acres. James Vessey had 16 cows, 5 bullocks, 4 heifers, 9 steers and 16 calves, totalling 50 neat cattle, with 20 acres of free land and 12 acres of hired land, totalling 32 acres. Simon Whaley had 3 cows, 1 heifer and 3 calves, totalling 7 neat cattle, with 13¼ acres of free land and 10 acres of hired land, totalling 23¼ acres. Francis Wrangham had 1 bull, 17 cows, 8 bullocks, 4 heifers, 4 steers and 14 calves, totalling 48 neat cattle, with 65 acres of free land and 11 acres of hired land, totalling 76 acres. Elizabeth Wrangham's orphans had 10 cows, 3 bullocks, 3 heifers and 10 calves, totalling 26 neat cattle, with 10 acres of free land and 2 acres of hired land, totalling 12 acres. Ripin Wills had 6 cows, 2 bullocks, 2 heifers, 1 steer and 6 calves, totalling 17 neat cattle, with 40 acres of free land, totalling 40 acres. The officers and soldiers had no farming entered. The grand totals line gave 28 bulls, 610 cows, 222 bullocks, 212 heifers, 120 steers, 136 yearlings and 523 calves, totalling 1,851 neat cattle, with 2,099½ acres of free land and 987¼ acres of hired land, totalling 3,086¾ acres. An illegible signature [...] stands beneath the ruled-off totals.
254	246	Aprill@ Island St Helena. At a Consultation@ Held on Tuesday the 22d day of Aprill 1718@ At Union Castle in James valley.@ Isaac Pyke esqr. Govr:@ Prest: Geo: Haswell Deptye —@ Matth: Bazett 3d &@ Antip: Tovey 4th in Counl:@ The Last Consultacon read & approved of.@ Doctr: Du May made Complaint that his mate Jno. —@ Hodgkinson Neglects his duty and when he has on —@ Extraordinary Occasions Sent him into the Country@ he has not gone but kept at Punch Houses & Rambled —@ about Several days together and has Neglected the —@ Blacks below, And he having but little to say for@ himself but promiseing diligence for the future the —@ Doctr was desired to try him once more and if he —@ will not amend the Govr: Sayes he will Endeavour —@ to gett a new mate for him.@ Mr. Vessey one of the Church Wardens brought —@ an Account That on Easter Monday the vestry made@ Choice of the following Persons for overseers of the —@ high ways for the year Ensueing. (vizt.)@ East Division — Samuel Jessey &@ Rich: Beale.@ West Division — Tho: Soulpén &@ James Rider.@	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 22 April 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. Doctor Du May complained that his mate John Hodgkinson neglected his duty. When the doctor sent him into the country on urgent calls he did not go, but stayed at the punch houses and wandered about for several days together, and he also failed to attend the blacks below. Hodgkinson offered little in his own defence beyond a promise of future diligence. The council asked the doctor to give him one more trial, and the Governor said he would try to find a new mate if Hodgkinson did not improve. Mr Vessey, one of the churchwardens, reported that on Easter Monday the vestry chose the following overseers of the highways for the coming year: East Division: Samuel Jepsey and Richard Beale. West Division: Thomas Soulhen and James Rider. Interpretations The complaint exposed how thin the island's medical establishment ran. Joseph Du May had been the only surgeon since Thomas Price was granted passage home on 5 January 1716, so his mate was the entire reserve of trained help, and the threat to attend the sick blacks depended on that one man riding out to the country plantations. Dismissing Hodgkinson outright would have left a single medical man for a population of well

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			over 1,000 people, which explains the choice of probation with a replacement only held in prospect. Hodgkinson came before the council with his credit already spent. He was adjudged the father of Mercy Whaley's child on 29 July 1717, and on 21 January 1718 he was set on the wooden horse for slandering the midwife Mrs Eastop after his attempt to disown the child failed. The small weight the council gave his promise of diligence reflects that record. The vestry election completed the machinery set in motion on 8 April 1718, when the council ordered an advertisement for the choice of two highway overseers for each division. Easter Monday was the customary day for parish elections, and the return of two named men per division matched the advertisement exactly, replacing the overseers sworn for the 1717 to 1718 highway year on 3 September 1717. Speculations The men returned for the east division paired two of the larger private labour holdings on the island, Samuel Jepsey's household mustering 12 whites and 10 blacks in the census just taken. Overseers enforced a levy that ran to distress against defaulters, so choosing men who themselves commanded big gangs both lent the office weight and placed those gangs where the parish could see them earn their assessment.
255	247	1718.@ South Division. Mr Antip: Tovey &.@ John Harding.@ Ordered That the three first named —@ Persons of each Division be Overseers for the —@ next year@ Ordered That the goods brought@ by the Last Ships be Sold out at the Hon:@ Compas Stores at fifty ¹/₂ Cent Advance, or the —@ nearest even money above that@ This being a Coffee Ship the Govr: Proposeth —@ whether twill be proper to take out a Bale or two —@ of Coffee out of her on the Hon: Compas Accot:@ Capt: Bazett Says that if We had Tea there's —@ but few would buy Coffee and therefore We think —@ tis best to stay till the China Ships Come.@ That upon Considering of a Proper Person to —@ Succeed Mr Worrall as Cheif Overseer at the Plantacon@ House, It is the Opinion of all that Willim Portley@ Overseer at Perkins: Plantacon having behaved —@ himself very well there and by his diligence Consi=@ =derably Encreased that Plantation, is the Fittest —@ Person for that Place that We know off. The Govern:@ Says that man has Certainly been very Diligent —@ and he therefore Approves the Recommendation —@ and will confirm him as the Hon: Compas Cheif —@ Overseer.@	The vestry's choice for the South Division was Mr Antipas Tovey and John Harding. The council ordered that the three first-named persons of each division serve as overseers of the highways for the next year. The council also ordered that the goods brought by the latest ships be sold at the Honourable Company's stores at an advance of 50 per cent, or the nearest convenient sum above that. The <i>Sarum</i> carried coffee, and the Governor asked whether a bale or two should be taken out of her for the Honourable Company's account. Captain Bazett answered that few would buy coffee while there was no tea, and the council judged it best to wait until the China ships came. The councillors then considered a proper person to succeed Mr Worrall as chief overseer at the Plantation House. All agreed that William Portley, overseer at Perkins's plantation, was the fittest man known for the place, having conducted himself very well there and considerably improved that plantation by his application. The Governor said the man had certainly been very industrious, approved the recommendation and undertook to confirm him as the Honourable Company's chief overseer. Interpretations The 50 per cent advance was the Company's settled retail margin between a ship's invoice price and the store counter, the same proportion that appeared in the charter-party cap of prime cost plus 50 per cent in the <i>Success</i> coal dispute of 26 June 1717. Rounding to the nearest convenient sum above kept shop prices in workable coin while protecting the margin. Arrack showed the system in practice, wholesaling at about 4s 0d per gallon and retailing at roughly 6s 3d. Portley's elevation followed the procedure set on 8 April 1718, when every councillor was directed to name in writing the man he thought fittest to succeed Worrall. The census taken in March 1718 shows what made Portley suitable: his entry recorded no white household at all, only 1 black man and 10 neat cattle, a man whose whole life sat on the plantation he managed. The form of the decision, a unanimous recommendation followed by the Governor's separate confirmation, kept the appointment power in the Governor's hands while spreading responsibility for the choice across the bench. The return of Antipas Tovey for the south division put the fourth councillor and secretary into a parish office under a levy he had himself fallen foul of, having

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			been fined 9s 0d as a highway defaulter on 3 September 1717. The south division was the newest and largest, created in enlarged form for the 1717 to 1718 highway year with the parts adjacent to Sandy Bay. Speculations The decision to leave the coffee aboard shows the bench pricing demand before stocking the store. Tea was the island's proven seller, 139 pounds going at 9s 0d per pound in a single quarter of 1717 and Captain Bazett buying a second 92-pound canister on 4 January 1718 because the first gave less than 2 pounds a family. Coffee without tea risked dead stock bought with bills the directors had already censured, so waiting for the China ships matched the purchase to known habits at no cost.
256	248	Aprill.@ The Gunner brought in the two follog.@ Accounts of Gunners Stores Expended.@ An Accot. of Gunners Stores Expended from@ the 1st. of Febry 1717 to ye last of ye Said month@ Feb ye 1. To Lucas Mason@ 13 To Mr. Tovey@ 1 1@ 28 an Alarm@ 4 4 4@ — arrived ye Marlbro Capt. Martin Comdr.@ 18 18@ To ye Guard@ 8@ To Mr. Cason to Exercise ye Garrison@ 7@ Flints to ye Guard@ 48@ Spunge Staves@ 3@ Spunge Heads@ 2r 3@ Carkedge Paper@ 4@ Match expended@ 21@ (Signd) Jno. French@ 21 4 3 3 4 8 1 22 39@ An Acct. of Gunrs Stores expended from —@ Mch ye 1st. 1718 to ye last of the said Month@ March 1. An Alarm@ 4 4@ — and ye Prince Frederick, Capt. Edwd Martin@ Comdr from India@ 9 9@ 2 An Alarm@ 4 4@ — arrd. ye Rochester Capt Wm Brown Comdr.@ — from India@ 7 7@ 13 delivered to Capt Brown 1. barrel Canon powdr@ 100@ 14 Fired for ye Worsts ye Govr. when he came@ from aboard from ye Marlbro@ 15 15@ 20 Departed ye Marlbro, Prince Frederick@ & Rochester@ 44 44@ Carried over@ 83 183@	The gunner brought in the two following accounts of gunner's stores expended. The first account covered the stores expended from 1 February 1718 to the last day of that month. 1 February: issued to Lucas Mason. 1 pound of powder. 13 February: issued to Mr Tovey. 1 pound of powder. 28 February: an alarm. 4 pounds of powder. Arrival of the <i>Marlborough</i>, Captain Martin commander. 18 pounds of powder. Issued to the guard. 8 pounds of powder. Issued to Mr Cason for exercising the garrison. 7 pounds of powder. Flints to the guard. 48 flints. Sponge staves. 3. Sponge heads. 3. Cartridge paper. 4. Match expended. 21. The account closed with totals of 21 match, 4 cartridge paper, 3 sponge heads, 3 sponge staves, 48 flints, 1 [...], 22 [...] and 39 pounds of powder, and was signed by John French. The second account covered the stores expended from 1 March 1718 to the last day of that month. 1 March: an alarm. 4 pounds of powder. Arrival of the <i>Prince Frederick</i>, Captain Edward Martin commander, from India. 9 pounds of powder. 2 March: an alarm. 4 pounds of powder. Arrival of the <i>Rochester</i>, Captain William Brown commander, from India. 7 pounds of powder. 13 March: delivered to Captain Brown. 1 barrel of cannon powder. 100 pounds. 14 March: fired in honour of Governor Pyke on his return from aboard the <i>Marlborough</i>. 15 pounds of powder. 20 March: departure of the <i>Marlborough</i>, <i>Prince Frederick</i> and <i>Rochester</i>. 44 pounds of powder. The account carried over 83 pounds of powder and 1 barrel. Interpretations The accounts continued the standing procedure set on 25 October 1715, when the gunner John French was ordered to bring in his stores accounts monthly under the Company's directions. Each entry doubled as a log of the island's ceremonial and defensive routine: the single alarm gun that announced a sail, the saluting charges spent on every arrival and departure and the powder issued to the guard. The March figures show the cost of a busy road, the combined sailing of the <i>Marlborough</i>, <i>Prince Frederick</i> and <i>Rochester</i> on 20 March 1718 consuming 44 pounds of powder in one salute, more than half the month's expenditure. Sponge staves and sponge heads were the cleaning gear of the great guns, the wet sponge rammed down the bore between firings to quench any burning residue before the next charge went in. Their replacement

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			alongside cartridge paper and match marks live gunnery rather than mere stocktaking. The barrel of cannon powder delivered to Captain Brown on 13 March 1718 supplied the <i>Rochester</i> for her homeward run, the same ship whose mate had landed Bencoolen goods at the island in error, acknowledged in the council's letter of discharge of 18 March 1718. The 15 pounds fired on 14 March 1718 honoured Governor Pyke personally as he came ashore from the <i>Marlborough</i>, where Commodore Matthew Martin had just accepted command of the homeward convoy arranged on 6 March 1718. Speculations The 7 pounds issued to Mr Cason for exercising the garrison in February gave practical substance to the case for his promotion. When Governor Pyke proposed restoring his lieutenantancy on 22 April 1718 for the better regulation of the soldiers, the gunner's books already showed Cason drilling the garrison with live powder month by month, his December exercises having drawn 6 pounds, so the rank followed a duty he was demonstrably performing rather than creating a new one.
257	249	1718.@ Brought over@ 83 183@ 21 An Alarm@ 4 4@ 22 Arrived ye Henry Capt. Harvey Comdr.@ 3 3@ 23 An Alarm at ye Foot for a ship to Loowd:@ 2 6@ 27 Departed ye Henry Capt Harvey@ 3 3@ 28 deliverd Jno. Knipe for Alarm Sandy bay@ 1@ To the Guard@ 8@ Cartridge Paper deld. the Surgn.@ 1@ do. to ye Store@ 1@ do expended@ 2@ Match expended@ 28@ (Signd) John French.@ 28 4 2 93 208@ Invoice of Goods Capt. Bazett deld. in to@ Council & the Selling Prices Vizt.@ Selling price £ s d@ By Ship Marlbro Capt. Matts Martin@ [Rds: fana:]@ ℥ pc. 1. Bale Fine Long Cloth qt. 30. pces at 91:11: — @ 2 1 6@ — 2 Bales middling do. qt. 48. ps — 95:27:16@ 1 7 -@ — 3. Bales of Ginghams qt 600. ps 423:33.00@ 10 -@ each, Ginghams Shirts 100. & 28:27.@ 4 6@ Charges . 3:28.58 — 32:19:58@ — Midling Long Cloth Shirts 263, 45:20:37,@ 2 8@ Charges . 7:21:34. 53: 5: 71.@ — Ordinary ditto . 300 41:9:—@ 2 6@ Charges . 9:25 — 50:34: —@ Totl. 747:22:65@ By Ship Frederick@ — 200 Shirts at 131. Rupees & 47@ 2 6@ [...]@ Margin Notes:@ Minions@	The gunner's account continued with the powder brought over, 83 pounds and 1 barrel. 21 March: an alarm. 4 pounds of powder. 22 March: arrival of the <i>Henry</i>, Captain Harvey commander. 3 pounds of powder. 23 March: an alarm at the fort for a ship to leeward. 2 [...]. 6 pounds of powder. 27 March: departure of the <i>Henry</i>, Captain Harvey. 3 pounds of powder. 28 March: delivered to John Knipe for the alarm at Sandy Bay. 1 pound of powder. Issued to the guard. 8 pounds of powder. Cartridge paper delivered to the surgeon. 1 quire. Cartridge paper to the store. 1 quire. Cartridge paper expended. 2 quires. Match expended. 28. The account closed with totals of 28 match, 4 quires of cartridge paper, 2 [...], 93 pounds of powder and 208 [...], and was signed by John French. Captain Bazett delivered in to council an invoice of goods with their selling prices. The first parcel came by the ship <i>Marlborough</i>, Captain Matthew Martin, invoiced in pagodas, fanams and cash. Fine long cloth, 1 bale. 30 pieces. 91 pagodas 11 fanams 0 cash. Selling price £2 1s 6d per piece. Middling long cloth, 2 bales. 48 pieces. 95 pagodas 27 fanams 16 cash. Selling price £1 7s 0d per piece. Ginghams, 3 bales. 600 pieces. 423 pagodas 33 fanams 0 cash. Selling price £0 10s 0d per piece. Gingham shirts. 100 pieces at 28 pagodas 27 fanams 0 cash. Charges 3 pagodas 28 fanams 58 cash. 32 pagodas 19 fanams 58 cash. Selling price £0 4s 6d each. Middling long cloth shirts. 263 pieces at 45 pagodas 20 fanams 37 cash. Charges 7 pagodas 21 fanams 34 cash. 53 pagodas 5 fanams 71 cash. Selling price £0 2s 8d each. Ordinary long cloth shirts. 300 pieces at 41 pagodas 9 fanams 0 cash. Charges 9 pagodas 25 fanams 0 cash. 50 pagodas 34 fanams 0 cash. Selling price £0 2s 6d each. Total: 747 pagodas 22 fanams 65 cash. The second parcel came by the ship <i>Frederick</i>. Shirts. 200 pieces at 131 rupees and 4 [...]. Selling price £0 2s 6d each. An illegible signature [...] closes the invoice. Interpretations The invoice priced its purchases in the money of the Madras coast, where the <i>Marlborough</i> and the <i>Prince</i>

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			<i>Frederick</i> had loaded. The pagoda was the gold coin of southern India, worth roughly 8s 0d sterling, divided into 36 fanams of 80 cash each. The arithmetic of the invoice proves exact in that system, the six parcels with their charges summing precisely to the stated total of 747 pagodas 22 fanams 65 cash, which confirms the readings throughout. The <i>Frederick</i> parcel alone was reckoned in rupees, the silver money of the northern presidencies. Long cloth was the staple plain cotton calico of the Coromandel coast, woven in standard long pieces and graded as fine, middling and ordinary, while gingham were the striped or chequered cottons of the same looms. Both already sold at the island store, the quarterly account to 25 September 1717 listing gingham, longcloth and 126 shirts at 3s 0d among the Indian goods. The new invoice restocked exactly that trade, with 600 pieces of gingham as its largest single item. The sterling selling prices put the order of 22 April 1718 into effect, fixing the store counter price for every article as the goods came ashore. Delivering the invoice in to council made the storekeeper's prices a conciliar act rather than his private discretion, continuing the rule of 18 August 1716 that followed the protest against Captain Martin of the <i>Queen</i>, by which no commander had store credit without signed bills and no goods moved without prices on record. Speculations Grading the shirts at £0 4s 6d, £0 2s 8d and £0 2s 6d against costs that ran in the same order shows the bench applying its fixed margin down a quality scale rather than averaging the parcel. Selling the gingham shirts at nearly twice the long cloth rate matched price to cloth where the buyers could see the difference, protecting the margin on the dear article without choking sales of the 563 cheaper shirts that made up the bulk of the consignment.
258	250	April@ Island St Helena.@ At a Consultation@ held on Tuesday the 29th of April@ 1718. At Union Castle in James@ Vally@ Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr@ Prest. Geo Haswell Depty.@ Mattw. Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4th in Counc.@ Last Consultation read & approved.@ The Govr Sayes that ye Tarr having@ leakt considerably out of the Barrils@ about four Months Since he caused them@ all to be Weighd & found ye weight of@ twenty two barrls. to be 5249lb. gross yt. is in:@ cluding ye Tare of ye Casks So yt One barr@ with another came to no more then 238lb.@ gross weight@ Then he weighed 22 empty Oyl Jarrs wch weighd@ 2263, neat pounds wch in An Average was@ 103lb nearest each Jarr, tho Some Jarrs —@ weighed but 90lb Yett Some weighd 120lb. but ye Me-@ dium was 103lb. & in these empty Jarrs all@ ye Tarr was Started & ye 22 empty Tarr@ barrls. was weighd & there wt. was 2233lb. or@ 101.½ the Tare of each barrel wch Substracted@ from ye whole gross wt. leaves 3016. for the@	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 29 April 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke reported that the tar had been leaking heavily from its barrels, so about four months earlier he had all of them weighed. The 22 barrels came to 5,249 pounds gross, including the tare of the casks, so one barrel with another weighed no more than 238 pounds gross. He then weighed 22 empty oil jars, which came to 2,263 pounds net, an average of very nearly 103 pounds each. Some jars weighed only 90 pounds and some as much as 120 pounds, but the middle figure was 103 pounds. All the tar was decanted into these empty jars. The 22 empty tar barrels were then weighed and came to 2,233 pounds, a tare of 101½ pounds per barrel, which subtracted from the whole gross weight left 3,016 pounds. Interpretations Tare was the weight of the empty container, deducted from the gross to find the net contents, and the whole exercise was an audit in physical form. Weighing the full barrels, the empty jars and the emptied barrels in turn gave the Governor three independent figures from which the true remaining tar of 3,016 pounds followed by plain subtraction, a quantity that could be entered in the stores accounts and defended to the directors against any charge of waste or embezzlement. Tar was a naval store the island kept partly to supply passing ships, the <i>Kent</i> having arrived on 28 December 1715 in great want of cordage, pitch and tar, and the want of naval stores was pressed on the directors on 3

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			January 1716 as a source of profit and an encouragement for ships to call. A wasting stock of tar therefore bled a trading asset as well as a store, which explains the Governor's personal attention to it. Speculations Moving the tar into earthenware oil jars solved the leakage with containers already on hand, the store trading in rape and train oils whose jars accumulated as they emptied. Glazed earthenware could not spring a seam as a dried-out wooden cask could, so the transfer stopped the loss without waiting years for cooperage stores from England, the unanswered requests for tradesmen by the <i>Susanna</i> and the <i>St George</i> having taught the bench not to expect quick supply. The care over the jar weights, recording the spread from 90 to 120 pounds before settling on the middle figure of 103 pounds, guarded the calculation at its weakest point. Any future stocktaker finding a heavy or light jar could otherwise have alleged a false tare, so entering the variation in the consultation book closed off the obvious line of attack on the net figure, exactness in the accounts having become the standard by which the Governor had suspended Haswell himself on 4 January 1718.
259	251	1718.@ the Neatt of 22 barls of Tarr wch is no more@ then 137lb. of Neatt Tarr to a Barroll, now@ the Price of a Barrell of Tarr being here@ Fifty Shillings it amounts to 4d.½ p lb at@ wch rate it is proper to Sell it yt. every one@ who buys may have equal Justice.@ Now ye true wet. of a barrel of Tarr ought@ to be 200lb. neatt Tarr but So We have never@ found it nor is it possible to have ye Barls@ brought full here because ye heat of a ships@ hold always causes them to Work up like so@ much Yeast & tis wasted & lost by running@ over neither have we ever found ye barrels@ all alike in wet. for some barrels wth Tarr@ in ym have weighed but 200lb. & some others@ no fuller have weighed 336lb & ye difference@ of 136lb is too much to be Sold all at the@ same price & therefore must Sell this Tarr@ by ye pound at 4½ otherwise they who@ bought a barrell of Tarr of 200lb & paid@ by ye barroll would have too great a hard-@ ship. Orderd@ That who ever buys Tarr shall pay@ by ye lb & ye Jarr shall be accounted for@ 103lb but if any Comander will Send an@ empty Jarr ashoar it shall be exactly@	The 3,016 pounds was the net tar of the 22 barrels, which gave no more than 137 pounds of net tar to each. The price of a barrel of tar at the island stood at £2 10s 0d, which came to £0 0s 4½d per pound, and the council judged it right to sell at that rate so that every buyer was treated alike. A barrel of tar ought properly to hold 200 pounds net, but no barrel had ever arrived so full and none could be brought full to the island. The heat of a ship's hold made the tar swell and ferment like yeast, and much was wasted by boiling over. Nor were the barrels ever alike in weight. The tar in some had weighed only 200 pounds while others no fuller had weighed 336 pounds, and a difference of 136 pounds was too great for everything to be sold at one barrel price. The tar therefore had to go by the pound at £0 0s 4½d, since anyone who paid the barrel rate and received one of 200 pounds would suffer real unfairness. The council ordered that whoever bought tar should pay by the pound, the jar being allowed for at 103 pounds, but that any commander who sent an empty jar ashore should have it exactly weighed. Interpretations The order converted tar from a commodity sold by the container to one sold by true weight, the first such reform in the store's practice on record. The measured spread of 136 pounds between barrels of equal apparent fullness destroyed any pretence that the barrel was a unit of quantity, and the move to the pound shifted the risk of short measure from the buyer to the scales. The buyers in view were chiefly ships' commanders taking naval stores, the trade the council had pressed on the directors on 3 January 1716 as a reason for ships to call. The 103-pound jar allowance turned the average struck at the consultation of 29 April 1718 into a standing tare. Routine sales could then pass on a fixed deduction without weighing every jar, while the right of any commander to send his jar ashore for exact weighing preserved an appeal to the scales for anyone who distrusted the average. Speculations The rate of £0 0s 4½d per pound rounded the strict division of £2 10s 0d across 137 pounds slightly upward in the Company's favour, in line with the order of 22 April 1718 that goods sell at the set advance or the nearest convenient sum above it. The margin was small on any one sale but ensured the conversion to pound pricing could never leave the Company worse off than the old barrel price.

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			The optional exact weighing was priced into the system shrewdly. The fixed 103-pound allowance spared the store the labour of weighing every transaction, while any buyer who doubted the average bore the trouble of sending his own jar ashore, so the cost of precision fell on the party demanding it and the standard figure was left to govern in the common run of sales.
260	252	April@ weighed and as the price of ye present@ Tarr to ye Ships who take quantities@ is 4½ [℥] lb. wch is but 25 [℥] Ct clear prof-@ fitt yett because of the great Wast,@ trouble & Los by serving it out by@ Smaller quantities to ye people who do@ not pay in ready Credit neither, it@ shall be Sold to them at Six pence [℥]@ lb or Four shillings [℥] Gallon@ Mr Tovey desired the Governr & Council@ to grant him a Lease for lives of the House &@ Land he now lives in he having been at Great@ Expence to the improveing that Land & designes@ to plant Fruit & wood Trees thereon According@ to the Laws of this Island.@ Granted.@ The following Petition was Presented. vizt:@ of Francis & James Leech@ Island St Helena. To the Worsh Isaac Pyke@ Esqr: Govr &c. Council@ The Humble Petition of Francis &@ James Leech on behalf of themselves —@ & Nephew the Son of Robt Leech decd.)@ Most Humbly@ Sheweth. That Whereas yor Petitioners —@ Brother Richard Leech went off this Island —@	The tar already weighed was then priced. Ships taking quantities paid £0 0s 4½d per pound, which left only 25 per cent clear profit. Serving it out in small amounts to the inhabitants brought great waste, trouble and loss, and those buyers did not pay in ready money either, so to them the tar was to be sold at £0 0s 6d per pound or £0 4s 0d per gallon. Mr Tovey asked the Governor and council to grant him a lease for lives of the house and land he lived in. He had spent heavily on improving the land and intended to plant fruit and timber trees on it in accordance with the laws of the island. The council granted the request. A petition of Francis and James Leech was then presented, addressed to Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the council, and brought on behalf of themselves and their nephew, the son of Robert Leech deceased. It opened by setting out that their brother Richard Leech had gone off the island. Interpretations The two-tier tar price separated wholesale from retail on stated commercial grounds. The ship rate of £0 0s 4½d per pound was the rate fixed at the consultation of 29 April 1718 from the £2 10s 0d barrel price, and the bench now recorded that it carried only 25 per cent clear profit. The inhabitants' rate a third higher priced in the drips and spillage of small servings and the cost of selling on store credit, the islanders settling through their running accounts at the stores rather than in coin, so the differential charged the credit economy its true cost. A lease for lives ran for the lifetimes of named persons rather than a term of years, and it had become the bench's current instrument of choice, granted to Lieutenant Cason for his house and 45 acres on 10 December 1717 and offered to Robert Bell as an alternative to 21 years on 14 January 1718. Tovey held no free land at all, the census of March 1718 recording his whole estate as 21 hired acres, so the grant converted a councillor's bare tenancy into a holding that would outlast him. The Leech petition drew on a family long in the record. Robert Leech's estate had been before the council since 29 March 1715, when a £10 0s 0d premium was allowed to bind the orphan Richard Leech apprentice to a trade, and James Leech had succeeded Benjamin Miller as overseer at the Hutts plantation on 8 October 1717. Speculations Tovey's pledge to plant fruit and timber trees fastened his request to the island's standing anxiety over wood, the planting law having been cited against Ripin Wills with his £40 0s 0d lemon-tree fine on 21 May 1717. Framing the lease as an instrument of afforestation rather than personal advantage gave the bench a public reason to grant a private benefit to one of its own members, and the form requested matched exactly the tenure it had approved twice in the previous five months, leaving little ground for refusal.
261	253	1718.@ an Apprentice to a Carpenter of a Ship about@ Sixteen years Since and has not ben heard@ of Either by letter or any other Advice for —@ about ten years And for that there being@ Sixty odd Pounds due to him in the Honble:@ Compas Books being therein Entered as his —@ Portion & Dividend of his fathers	Richard Leech had left about sixteen years earlier as apprentice to a ship's carpenter, and nothing had been heard of him by letter or any other channel for about ten years. Sixty-odd pounds stood to his credit in the Honourable Company's books, entered as his portion and dividend of his father's estate and ready to be

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		Estate to be@ ready to Transmitt by bills of Exchange had@ the Said Richard Leech Sent for it But he being@ by every body thought to be dead long Since —@ We your Petitionrs. being his nearest Relations —@ Humbly prays the Said Sixty odd Pounds may@ be Transferred to us in Equall Shares and if ever@ the Same Should be Lawfully Demanded hereafter@ We will then readily return the money againe —@ and if need be are willing now to give Bond for@ the Performance thereof.@ Aprl 29. 1718. And as in duty bound Shall ever@ Pray &c. Frans. Leech@ (Signd) James Leech —@ There are divers others as nearly related as —@ these Petitionrs. but We cannot pay the Credit to@ any Body but the Administrats. and therefore —@ must disallow of this Petition —@ The Governr and Capt. Bazett Report —@ that they have Considered the Petition of Richd@	remitted by bills of exchange whenever he sent for it. Since everyone had long thought him dead, the petitioners, as his nearest relations, asked that the sixty-odd pounds be transferred to them in equal shares. If the sum were ever lawfully demanded afterwards they would readily repay it, and they were willing to give bond for that undertaking if required. The petition was dated 29 April 1718 and signed by Francis Leech and James Leech. The council answered that several others were as nearly related as the petitioners, and that the credit could be paid to nobody but an administrator, so the petition had to be refused. Governor Pyke and Captain Bazett then reported that they had considered the petition of Richard [...] Interpretations The entry shows the Company's books serving as the island's bank for inheritances. A portion from a father's estate could sit as a credit for sixteen years, earning its owner a claim payable anywhere in the world by bill of exchange on demand, the same machinery that held the Cotgrove orphans' £29 4s 3¼d ordered into the stores by 18 November 1717. The safety of that system depended entirely on the rule the council now applied. The refusal rested on a precise legal ground rather than any doubt that Richard Leech was dead. Payment to anyone but a lawful administrator would not discharge the Company against a later claimant, so even a bond from the brothers could not protect it, a bond being only as good as the men who gave it. Letters of administration, of the kind granted to George Sanders in right of his wife on 12 February 1717, would have bound every relation through a sworn officer accountable to the court, and the answer in effect directed the petitioners to that channel. Speculations The observation that several others were as nearly related shows the bench alive to the wider family before it. The petitioners' own nephew, the son of Robert Leech, was named in their petition but cut out of their proposed equal division between themselves, and Thomas Leech also kept a household on the island. By refusing to arbitrate the kinship informally the council avoided preferring two brothers over a child whose stepfather, Ralph Orme, held Robert Leech's old land by marriage and could be expected to contest any transfer.
262	254	Aprill.@ and Anthony Beale and think it fitt to Grant@ them the Land they therein desired.@ Mr. John Goodwin has made Application —@ to the Governr that he may be admitted as —@ Chief Overseer at the Hon Compas Plantacon@ House which the Governr. now gives an Accot: of —@ to the Council that they may give their opinions.@ therein@ Capt: Haswell Capt: Bazett & Mr Tovey —@ Say they think Mr Goodwin is not So fitt —@ for Overseer as Mr. Portley is./@ The Govr. Sayes George Kitchin being —@ Dead who was Overseer of Lufkins Plantacon —@ He recomends to the Council to Consider of —@ a fitt Person to Succeed him.@ Capt. Bazett the Store keeper brought in an Accot: —@ of Goods Sold & delivered out of the Honble Store for three@ months as follows (vizt)@ Island St Helena.@ An Accot. of Store Goods Sold & —@ Deliver'd to the Inhabitants also to the Use —@ of Union Castle and Plantation House —@ from September the 25th 1717. to December —@ the 25th following (vizt.)@	Governor Pyke and Captain Bazett reported that they had considered the petition of Richard and Anthony Beale, and they thought it fit to grant the brothers the land they had asked for. Mr John Goodwin applied to the Governor to be admitted chief overseer at the Honourable Company's Plantation House. The Governor now laid the application before the council for their opinions. Captain Haswell, Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey said they thought Mr Goodwin not so fit for the post as Mr Portley. The Governor reported that George Kitchin, overseer of Lufkin's plantation, had died, and he recommended the council to consider a fit person to succeed him. Captain Bazett, the storekeeper, brought in an account of goods sold and delivered out of the stores over three months. It was headed as an account of store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants and to the use of Union Castle and the Plantation House, from 25 September 1717 to 25 December following. Interpretations The Beale report completed the petition of 1 April 1718, in which Richard and Anthony Beale sought a lease of Taylor's ground next to their pasture to prevent a stranger from holding a droving route through their land. The grant consolidated the holding

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			the brothers had rebuilt since recovering their 60 waste acres on 7 June 1715, their census entry of March 1718 showing 31 neat cattle on 60 acres. Goodwin's application set the island's largest private establishment against the bench's chosen man, his census entry recording 19 blacks, 77 neat cattle and 157 acres against Portley's single black man and no land at all. The three councillors' preference for Portley, already recommended unanimously on 22 April 1718, kept the management of the Company's plantations out of the hands of a great planter whose own estate competed with the Company's for labour, provisions and markets, and whose 183-acre holding had itself been questioned against the directors' settlement orders at the consultations of 11 and 18 December 1716. Kitchin's death opened a second overseer vacancy within a month, at the plantation whose new house the whole labour force was waiting on before rebuilding the wind-wrecked house at the Hutts reported on 22 April 1718. The quarterly store account followed the standing series, taking up where the account to 25 September 1717, entered on 4 January 1718, left off. Speculations The Governor's handling of Goodwin's approach turned a private solicitation into a recorded collective refusal. Goodwin had applied to the Governor alone, but the answer came as the joint opinion of Haswell, Bazett and Tovey, so the disappointment of the island's most substantial planter rested on the whole bench rather than on the one man who controlled patronage, and the minute stood ready to justify the choice to the directors if Goodwin carried his case further.
<u>263</u>	255	1718@ Arrack 1300³/₄ Gall at 6/3@ 406 7 4¹/₂@ Wine 975 Galls at 4/-@ 195 - -@ Brandy 10¹/₂ Galls at 9/-@ 4 14 6@ Sugar 3029³/₄ lb at 8d ¹/₂ lb@ 100 19 10@ Tobacco 624lb at 2 ¹/₂ lb@ 62 8 -@ Pipes 218¹/₂ dozn at 4d . 6d@ 5 9 5¹/₂@ Soap 110lb at 1/5@ 7 16 6@ Oyles Vizt.@ 3³/₄ Gall Sweet Oyle at 12 ¹/₂ gall@ 2 6 6@ 4¹/₂ Gall. Linseed do.@ 8/-@ 1 16 -@ 5¹/₂ Galls of Train do.@ 6/-@ 1 13 -@ 19¹/₄ Gall. of Rape at@ 6/-@ 5 16 3@ 11 11 9@ Coffee 181lb at 2/6@ 22 12 6@ Pepper 13¹/₂lb at 1/-@ -13 6@ Vinegar 17¹/₄ Gall. at 2/6@ 1 14 7¹/₂@ Hatts@ 1: Boys ditto Cathorine@ -6 2@ 14: Boys ditto No 1. at@ 6/-@ 4 4 -@ 14: ditto 2.@ 6/6@ 4 11 -@ 18: ditto 3.@ 8/3@ 7 8 6@ 103: Mens Cloth do 4.@ 12/6@ 64 7 6@ 2: Beaverotts 5.@ 20/- Each@ 2 - -@ 2: ditto Laced 6.@ 27/- do@ 2 14 0@ 85 11 2@ Carried over@ 904 19 2³/₄@	The account opened with the goods sold to the inhabitants and the two establishments. Arrack. 1,300³/₄ gallons at 6s 3d per gallon. £406 7s 4¹/₂d. Wine. 975 gallons at 4s 0d per gallon. £195 0s 0d. Brandy. 10¹/₂ gallons at 9s 0d per gallon. £4 14s 6d. Sugar. 3,029³/₄ pounds at 8d per pound. £100 19s 10d. Tobacco. 624 pounds at 2s 0d per pound. £62 8s 0d. Pipes. 218¹/₂ dozen at 4d and 6d per dozen. £5 9s 5¹/₂d. Soap. 110 pounds at 1s 5d per pound. £7 16s 6d. Oils, as follows. Sweet oil. 3³/₄ gallons at 12s 0d per gallon. £2 6s 6d. Linseed oil. 4¹/₂ gallons at 8s 0d per gallon. £1 16s 0d. Train oil. 5¹/₂ gallons at 6s 0d per gallon. £1 13s 0d. Rape oil. 19¹/₄ gallons at 6s 0d per gallon. £5 16s 3d. Total for oils: £11 11s 9d. Coffee. 181 pounds at 2s 6d per pound. £22 12s 6d. Pepper. 13¹/₂ pounds at 1s 0d per pound. £0 13s 6d. Vinegar. 17¹/₄ gallons at 2s 6d per gallon. £1 14s 7¹/₂d. Hats. Boy's hat of the <i>Catherine</i>. 1. £0 6s 2d. Boys' hats, number 1. 14 at 6s 0d each. £4 4s 0d. Boys' hats, number 2. 14 at 6s 6d each. £4 11s 0d. Boys' hats, number 3. 18 at 8s 3d each. £7 8s 6d. Men's cloth hats, number 4. 103 at 12s 6d each. £64 7s 6d. Beaveretts, number 5. 2 at 20s 0d each. £2 0s 0d. Beaveretts, laced, number 6. 2 at 27s 0d each. £2 14s 0d. Total for hats: £85 11s 2d. Carried over: £904 19s 2³/₄d. Interpretations Beaveretts were hats of felted fur containing a proportion of beaver, cheaper than a full beaver hat but a clear cut above the cloth hats below them, and the laced pair carried braid trimming for formal wear. Train oil was the oil rendered from whale or fish blubber, used for lamps and dressing leather, while

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			rape and linseed oils served lamps, paint and the table, and sweet oil was olive oil at the top of the range at 12s 0d per gallon. The pipes were clay tobacco pipes sold by the dozen alongside the 624 pounds of tobacco they served. The quarter's figures show the store's finances resting on drink. Arrack, wine and brandy together came to just over £606 of the £904 19s 2¾d carried over, two-thirds of the whole page, with arrack alone at 1,300⅔ gallons retailed at 6s 3d per gallon against its wholesale rate of about 4s 0d. The margin on that single article explains both the licensing system that confined retailing to bonded punch houses and the duty laid on imported strong liquors on 14 September 1715. The coffee entry shows 181 pounds already sold at 2s 6d per pound in the quarter to 25 December 1717, drawn from stock such as Captain Misenor's cargo registered off the <i>Princess Emilia</i> on 17 July 1717. Captain Bazett's advice of 22 April 1718 that few would buy coffee without tea therefore rested on observed sales, coffee moving at a fraction of the pace of tea, which had sold 139 pounds at the far higher price of 9s 0d per pound in a single earlier quarter. Speculations The hat list reads as a deliberately graded ladder, six numbered qualities stepping from 6s 0d for a boy's hat to 27s 0d for a laced beaverett. The 103 men's cloth hats at 12s 6d sat where the bulk of demand lay, roughly one hat for every white man outside the garrison, while the four beaveretts at the top served the handful of officers and principal planters who could signal rank by their dress. Stocking by numbered grade also matched the indent system, letting the next order to London name the grades that had sold through.
264	256	Aprill.@ Brought Over@ £ 904 19 2¾@ Nealas, 1 ps at 10 ½ ps@ 8 10 -@ 36 ps at 9/9@ 17 11@ 26 1@ Ginghams. 2 ps at 9/9@ -19 6@ Long Cloth 35 ps at 20/-@ 35 - -@ Gurrahs 14 ps — at 12/6@ 8 15 -@ Chints 8 ps at 22@ 8 16@ 1 ps at 11.9@ 11 9@ 9 7 9@ DuSottees 1 ps at@ 5 8@ 1 ps of ditto Damaged@ 2 10@ -8 6@ Blew Linnen viz:@ 2 ps at 9/-@ 18 -@ 4 ps at 10/-@ 2 - -@ 2 18 -@ Neckcloth Musline 3 ps at 37/6@ 5 12 6@ Neckcloths 18. at 2/9@ 2 9 6@ Shirts 32. at 3/@ 4 16 -@ Saunoes 7 ps at 15/2@ 5 6 2@ Rice 65lb at 3½ ½ lb@ -18 11@ Tickleberg 207½ Yards at 14d@ 12 1 9½@ Hessings 6. Yards at 14d@ -7 -@ Lubeck 8. Yards at 12d@ -8 -@ Double House Linnen 13½ at 2/3@ 1 10 4½@ Huckaback 1 ps@ 2 12@ Shoes vizt:@ 37 pr Mens at 6/3@ 11 11 3@ 22 pr Womens do 6/2@ 6 15 8@ 1 pr Girles do@ -4 9@ 1 pr Boys do@ -2 3@ 18 13 11@ 50 pr Island Shoes at 4/@ 10@ Carried over@ £ 1053 5 1¾@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £904 19s 2¾d. Neelas. 17 pieces at 10s 0d per piece. £8 10s 0d. 36 pieces at 9s 9d per piece. £17 11s 0d. Total £26 1s 0d. Ginghams. 2 pieces at 9s 9d per piece. £0 19s 6d. Long cloth. 35 pieces at 20s 0d per piece. £35 0s 0d. Gurrahs. 14 pieces at 12s 6d per piece. £8 15s 0d. Chints. 8 pieces at 22s 0d per piece. £8 16s 0d. 1 piece at 11s 9d. £0 11s 9d. Total £9 7s 9d. Dusolles. 1 piece. £0 5s 8d. 1 piece of the same, damaged. £0 2s 10d. Total £0 8s 6d. Blue linen, as follows. 2 pieces at 9s 0d per piece. £0 18s 0d. 4 pieces at 10s 0d per piece. £2 0s 0d. Total £2 18s 0d. Neckcloth muslins. 3 pieces at 37s 6d per piece. £5 12s 6d. Neckcloths. 18 at 2s 9d each. £2 9s 6d. Shirts. 32 at 3s 0d each. £4 16s 0d. Sannoos. 7 pieces at 15s 2d per piece. £5 6s 2d. Rice. 65 pounds at 3½d per pound. £0 18s 11d. Ticklenburg. 207½ yards at 14d per yard. £12 1s 9½d. Hessians. 6 yards at 14d per yard. £0 7s 0d. Lubeck. 8 yards at 12d per yard. £0 8s 0d. Double house linen. 13½ yards at 2s 3d per yard. £1 10s 4½d. Huckaback. 1 piece. £2 12s 0d. Shoes, as follows. Men's shoes. 37 pairs at 6s 3d per pair. £11 11s 3d. Women's shoes. 22 pairs at 6s 2d per pair. £6 15s 8d. Girls' shoes. 1 pair. £0 4s 9d. Boys' shoes. 1 pair. £0 2s 3d. Total for shoes: £18 13s 11d. Island shoes. 50 pairs at 4s 0d per pair. £10 0s 0d. Carried over: £1,053 5s 1¾d. Interpretations The cloth names map the store's two supply lines. Neelas were blue-dyed Indian calicoes, gurrahs plain coarse calico, chints the painted or printed calico

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			prized for gowns and furnishings, sannoes fine plain Bengal cottons and dusolles probably dosooties, a stout double-threaded cotton, all of them Indian piece goods of the kind invoiced off the <i>Marlborough</i> days before. Against them stood the European linens: ticklenburg, a coarse hard-wearing German linen named from its weaving town and the standard cloth for slave and labouring wear, hessians of rough hemp, Lubeck linen from the Baltic, huckaback with its rough absorbent weave for towelling, and the double house linen for sheeting. The page in effect dressed the whole society, from the 37s 6d neckcloth muslins at the top to the 207½ yards of ticklenburg at 14d at the bottom. The arithmetic of the page proves throughout, every priced line agreeing with its sum and the whole footing exactly to the £1,053 5s 1¾d carried over, which confirms the readings and shows the storekeeper's quarterly book in good order at the very period when the accountant's books stood in disgrace. Speculations The shoe entries record an import-substitution policy paying off. The Company had bought 100 large hides out of the <i>Mercury</i> on 5 June 1717 because leather was scarce and most of the soldiers barefoot, and Samuel Price had been retained since 12 April 1715 to teach boys shoemaking and tanning. Fifty pairs of island shoes now sold at 4s 0d against 6s 3d for imported men's shoes, a third cheaper and outselling every imported category combined, so the local tannery was visibly relieving both the garrison's feet and the indent on London.
265	257	1718.@ Brought over@ £. 1053 5 1¾@ Brasiers Ware vizt.@ 1 pr Candlestiks@ -5 -@ 1 pr Snuffers and Stands@ -3 6@ 1: Copper Sauce pan@ 0:8:0@ 1: ditto No 4@ 0:6:2@ -14 2@ 1: Tea Kettle@ 0:14 9@ 1: ditto@ 0 14 2@ 1 8 11@ 2 11 7@ Pewterers Ware vizt.@ 2½ dozn Plates No 2 at 22/-@ 2 15 -@ 1: dozn dto@ 1 6 -@ 7: dishes qt 20½ lb at 18d@ 1 11 1½@ 3: Porringers do 1.3@ 0:3 9@ 4 ditto 18@ 0:6:0@ 0:1:9@ 11 6@ 4 dozn Spoons at 4/6@ 18 -@ 2: Silver fashion Basons at 3/9@ -7 -@ 1: Bason@ 2 6@ 1 dto@ -5 -@ 1 dto@ -3 10@ 7 19 11½@ Successes Pewter vizt:@ 15: Salts at 13½d@ -16 10½@ 8: quart Tankards at 3/9@ 1 10 -@ 7: Pint dto at 3/-@ 1 1 -@ 6: Soop Ladles 3/3@ -19 6@ 6: Saucers@ -4 1½@ 2: Setts of Casters 3/9@ -19 6@ 4: Crewetts for Oyle & Vinigar@ -13 -@ 2: Frames for ditto@ -5 6@ 6 9 6@ Carried over@ £. 1070 6 2¼@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,053 5s 1¾d. Brazier's ware, as follows. Candlesticks. 1 pair. £0 5s 0d. Snuffers and stands. 1 pair. £0 3s 6d. Copper saucepan. 1. £0 8s 0d. Saucepan, number 4. 1. £0 6s 2d. Total for the saucepans £0 14s 2d. Tea kettle. 1. £0 14s 9d. Tea kettle. 1. £0 14s 2d. Total for the kettles £1 8s 11d. Total for brazier's ware: £2 11s 7d. Pewterer's ware, as follows. Plates, number 2. 2½ dozen at 22s 0d per dozen. £2 15s 0d. Plates. 1 dozen. £1 6s 0d. Dishes. 7, weighing 20¾ pounds, at 18d per pound. £1 11s 1½d. Porringers. 3 at 1s 3d each. £0 3s 9d. Porringers. 4 at 1s 6d each. £0 6s 0d. Porringer. 1. £0 1s 9d. Total for the porringers £0 11s 6d. Spoons. 4 dozen at 4s 6d per dozen. £0 18s 0d. Silver-fashion basins. 2 at 3s 9d each. £0 7s 0d. Basin. 1. £0 2s 6d. Basin. 1. £0 5s 0d. Basin. 1. £0 3s 10d. Total for pewterer's ware: £7 19s 11½d. Pewter of the <i>Successes</i>, as follows. Salts. 15 at 13½d each. £0 16s 10½d. Quart tankards. 8 at 3s 9d each. £1 10s 0d. Pint tankards. 7 at 3s 0d each. £1 1s 0d. Soup ladles. 6 at 3s 3d each. £0 19s 6d. Saucers. 6. £0 4s 1½d. Sets of casters. 2 at 9s 9d per set. £0 19s 6d. Cruets for oil and vinegar. 4. £0 13s 0d. Frames for the cruets. 2. £0 5s 6d. Total for the pewter of the <i>Successes</i>: £6 9s 6d. Carried over: £1,070 6s 2¼d. Interpretations Brazier's ware was worked copper and brass, here the candlesticks with their snuffers, the scissor-like trimmers that kept a wick burning clean, alongside

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			saucepans and tea kettles. The pewterer's head covered the cast tin-alloy tableware that served below silver: porringers were small handled bowls for broth and porridge, salts were table salt cellars, casters the pierced-topped shakers for sugar and pepper sold in matched sets, and the cruets with their frames held oil and vinegar in a stand for the table. The silver-fashion basins were pewter wrought to imitate silver plate, gentility at a fraction of the price. The seven dishes sold by weight at 18d per pound expose how pewter was really valued. The alloy itself carried the price, plates and dishes being routinely melted and recast, so heavy hollowware went over the counter by the pound like the metal it was while standard plates sold by the dozen. The separate head for the pewter of the <i>Success</i> continued the storekeeper's practice, visible since the account entered on 19 February 1717, of keeping each ship's goods apart so that the profit on every consignment could be traced to the bills its commander had signed. Speculations The page reads as the island's polite table arriving in a single quarter: two tea kettles, matched caster sets, cruet frames, soup ladles and silver-fashion basins, the equipment of formal dining sold alongside tea at 9s 0d per pound. The buyers can only have been the small circle of councillors and principal planters, and stocking such goods let the store capture the top of the market as well as the ticklenburg bottom, every rung of the island's hierarchy paying its margin at the same counter.
266	258	Aprill.@ Brought Over@ £ 1070 6 2¼@ Cutlary Ware vizt:@ 8½ doz. Butchers knives at 6d P@ 2 11 -@ 3 pr Womens Buckles at 6@ -1 6@ 1: Razor@ -4 3@ 2 16 9@ Hooks & Lines vizt@ 48½ doz: Oldwife Hooks at 4 P@ -16 2@ 4½ doz. Hooks No 9 at 20@ -7 6@ 20: Lines No 9. at 13d@ 1 1 8@ 1: do No 6@ -10@ 18 do 8 — 11@ -16 6@ 3: do 7 — 10@ -2 6@ 8 do 11 — 20@ -13 4@ 1: do 12@ -2 3@ 1: do 13@ -2 7@ 4 3 4@ Tin Ware vizt@ 2: Pint Funnels at 5d@ -10@ 1: quart dto@ -10@ 4: Sauce pans at 10d@ 0:6:8@ 4: dto at 2/3@ 0:9:0@ 2: dto at 9@ 0:1:6@ -17 2@ 1: Porringer@ 0:0:5@ 6: ditto at 7d@ 0:3:6@ 3: dto at 9@ 0:2:3@ -6 2@ 4: Pint Coffee Potts at 14d@ 0:4:8@ 1: quart dto@ 0:1:9@ -6 5@ Tin Ware Carried over £ 1 11 5@ Carried Over £ 1077 6 3¼@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,070 6s 2¼d. Cutlery ware, as follows. Butchers' knives. 8½ dozen at 6d each. £2 11s 0d. Women's buckles. 3 pairs at 6d per pair. £0 1s 6d. Razor. 1. £0 4s 3d. Total for cutlery ware: £2 16s 9d. Hooks and lines, as follows. Old-wife hooks. 48½ dozen at 4d per dozen. £0 16s 2d. Hooks, number 9. 4½ dozen at 20d per dozen. £0 7s 6d. Lines, number 9. 20 at 13d each. £1 1s 8d. Line, number 6. 1. £0 0s 10d. Lines, number 8. 18 at 11d each. £0 16s 6d. Lines, number 7. 3 at 10d each. £0 2s 6d. Lines, number 11. 8 at 20d each. £0 13s 4d. Line, number 12. 1. £0 2s 3d. Line, number 13. 1. £0 2s 7d. Total for hooks and lines: £4 3s 4d. Tin ware, as follows. Pint funnels. 2 at 5d each. £0 0s 10d. Quart funnel. 1. £0 0s 10d. Saucepans. 4 at 20d each. £0 6s 8d. Saucepans. 4 at 2s 3d each. £0 9s 0d. Saucepans. 2 at 9d each. £0 1s 6d. Total for the saucepans £0 17s 2d. Porringer. 1. £0 0s 5d. Porringers. 6 at 7d each. £0 3s 6d. Porringers. 3 at 9d each. £0 2s 3d. Total for the porringers £0 6s 2d. Pint coffee pots. 4 at 14d each. £0 4s 8d. Quart coffee pot. 1. £0 1s 9d. Total for the coffee pots £0 6s 5d. The tin ware carried over £1 11s 5d, and the account carried over £1,077 6s 3¼d. Interpretations The old wife was one of the common reef fish of St Helena's waters, and the 48½ dozen hooks named for it were the cheap mass tackle of the island's subsistence fishery, sold at a third of a penny apiece. The numbered hooks and lines above them ran in a graded series by size and strength, the store serving as the

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			island's only chandler for a community that fished from boats and rocks to spare its yams and beef. The same trade had appeared in the goods of the <i>Catherine</i>, whose old-wife hooks were listed in the account entered on 4 January 1718. The footing of the page kept the unfinished head distinct, the tin ware's £1 11s 5d carried over on its own line while the page total of £1,077 6s 3¼d took in only the completed heads, which the arithmetic confirms exactly. The discipline let the next page resume the tin ware without double counting, a small mark of the orderly bookkeeping the storekeeper maintained while the accountant's office stood under censure. Speculations The five coffee pots, four of a pint and one of a quart, sold in the same quarter as 181 pounds of coffee put Captain Bazett's caution of 22 April 1718 in its true light. Coffee had its drinkers and the store equipped them, but the pots were tin at 14d rather than the silver-fashion ware of the tea table, and a pint pot serves one or two cups. The bench's refusal of a speculative bale from the <i>Sarum</i> matched a market it could measure down to the size of the vessels it brewed in.
267	259	1718.@ Brought Over:@ £ 1077 6 3¼@ TinWare Brot: Over@ £ 1 11 5@ 3 Lamps at 18d@ 0:4:6@ 3: Ditto at 22@ 0:5:6@ 1: ditto two Spouts@ 0:4:6@ -14 6@ 2: Round Pudding Panns@ 0:6:8@ 1: ditto@ 0:2:2@ 1: dto@ 0:2:7@ -11 5@ 1: Kettle@ -4 6@ 2: Dripping Panns at 5@ -10 -@ 3 11 10@ Iron Mongers Ware vizt@ 2 Iron Potts Old Cargoe wtt 105lb at 6 ½ lb@ 2 12 6@ 2: ditto ½ the Catherine qtt 109lb at 6d@ 2 14 6@ 1 pr Pott Hooks@ -2 -@ 7: Ground Hoes at 2/6@ -17 6@ 6: Sockett Shovells at 2/6@ -15 -@ 1: Iron Chafeing Dish@ -3 8@ 2: Shod Shovells at 2s Ea@ -4 -@ 3: Grubing Axes at 2/8@ -8 -@ 1: Box Iron@ 0:8:0@ 2: Heaters@ 0:1:9@ -9 9@ 1: House Adze@ -2 8@ 1: Hatchett@ -2 6@ 1: Joyners ditto@ -4 -@ 2: Pickaxes wt 10¾ lb at 8½@ -7 1@ 2 pr Small Stilliards at 8/3@ -16 6@ 3: felling Axes — at 3/4@ -10 -@ Iron Mongrs Ware Carried over £ 10 9 8@ Carried Over@ £ 1080 18 1¼@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,077 6s 3¼d, and the tin ware brought over at £1 11s 5d. Lamps. 3 at 18d each. £0 4s 6d. Lamps. 3 at 22d each. £0 5s 6d. Lamp with two spouts. 1. £0 4s 6d. Total for the lamps £0 14s 6d. Round pudding pans. 2. £0 6s 8d. Pudding pan. 1. £0 2s 2d. Pudding pan. 1. £0 2s 7d. Total for the pudding pans £0 11s 5d. Kettle. 1. £0 4s 6d. Dripping pans. 2 at 5s 0d each. £0 10s 0d. Total for tin ware: £3 11s 10d. Ironmonger's ware, as follows. Iron pots of the old cargo. 2, weighing 105 pounds, at 6d per pound. £2 12s 6d. Iron pots of the <i>Catherine</i>. 2, weighing 109 pounds, at 6d per pound. £2 14s 6d. Pot hooks. 1 pair. £0 2s 0d. Ground hoes. 7 at 2s 6d each. £0 17s 6d. Socket shovels. 6 at 2s 6d each. £0 15s 0d. Iron chafing dish. 1. £0 3s 8d. Shod shovels. 2 at 2s 0d each. £0 4s 0d. Grubbing axes. 3 at 2s 8d each. £0 8s 0d. Box iron. 1. £0 8s 0d. Heaters. 2. £0 1s 9d. Total for the box iron and heaters £0 9s 9d. House adze. 1. £0 2s 8d. Hatchet. 1. £0 2s 6d. Joiner's hatchet. 1. £0 4s 0d. Pickaxes. 2, weighing 10 pounds, at 8½d per pound. £0 7s 1d. Small steelyards. 2 pairs at 8s 3d per pair. £0 16s 6d. Felling axes. 3 at 3s 4d each. £0 10s 0d. The ironmonger's ware carried over £10 9s 8d, and the account carried over £1,080 18s 1¼d. Interpretations The household iron explains itself by use. The box iron was a hollow smoothing iron taking the two heaters, slugs of iron warmed in the fire and slipped inside so that pressing could continue while one reheated. The chafing dish was a small portable brazier for keeping food warm at table, the dripping pans caught the fat under roasting meat, and the steelyards were balances with a sliding counterweight on a graduated arm, the standard scales of a household that bought meat and yams by weight. Among the tools, socket shovels were all iron with the handle seated in a

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			socket, shod shovels were cheaper wooden blades edged with iron, and grubbing axes were mattock-like heads for clearing roots and broken ground. Heavy castware went over the counter by weight like the pewter dishes, the four iron pots selling at 6d per pound across 214 pounds of metal, with the storekeeper still distinguishing the old cargo from the stock of the <i>Catherine</i> so that each consignment's proceeds stayed traceable to its invoice. Speculations The run of field tools, 7 hoes, 8 shovels, 3 grubbing axes, 3 felling axes and 2 pickaxes in a single quarter, fits the moment the planters were thrown back on their own improvement. The Company had ended its hire of the inhabitants' blacks from 25 June 1717 under the advertisement of 21 May 1717, leaving owners to employ their surplus hands on fencing, clearing and planting at home, and the quarter's tool sales look like those gangs being equipped at their owners' charge from the only ironmonger on the island.
268	260	Aprill.@ Brought Over@ £ 1080 18 1¼@ Iron Mongers Ware Brot: Over £ 10 9 8@ 1 Till Lock@ 0:2:0@ 1: Till dto@ 0:3:4@ 6: ditto with two keys@ 0:16:6@ 1 Chest Lock@ 0:1:6@ 1: ditto@ 0:2 7@ 1: Closett dto No 2@ 0:3:4@ 2: Stock locks No 3 at 5@ 0:10 -@ 1: dto — 4@ 0:7 6@ 1: dto — 6@ 0:10 -@ 1 Rimd Lock@ 0:4 1@ 1: Rimd do@ 0:8:10@ 1: dto@ 0:6 8@ 1: Splinter Lock No 2@ 0:1: -@ 3: dto — 3@ 0:4 6@ 2: dto — 5@ 0:4 8@ 1: dto — 7@ 0:4: -@ 4 10 6@ 5 pr H. Hinges at 15d@ -6 5½@ 1 pr Balcony do No 8@ -5 6@ 2: Plate Bolts No 4@ -1 4@ 15 13 5½@ Haberdashary Ware vizt@ Silk 61. ounces at 2/6@ -7 12.6@ Mohair 66¾ at 20d 10 lb@ 5 10 10@ 57. doz Coat Buttons at 12d@ 2:17:0@ 58. doz Dto at 9@ 0:10:6@ 114 doz Brest do — at 6.@ 2:17:0@ 1: dozn dto Old Cargoe@ 0:0:4@ 6 4 10@ Haberdashary Ware Carr: Over £ 19.8.2@ Carried Over@ £ 1096 11 6¾@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,080 18s 1¼d, and the ironmonger's ware brought over at £10 9s 8d. Till lock. 1. £0 2s 0d. Till lock. 1. £0 3s 4d. Till locks with two keys. 6. £0 16s 6d. Chest lock. 1. £0 1s 6d. Chest lock. 1. £0 2s 7d. Closet lock, number 2. 1. £0 3s 4d. Stock locks, number 3. 2 at 5s 0d each. £0 10s 0d. Stock lock, number 4. 1. £0 7s 6d. Stock lock, number 6. 1. £0 10s 0d. Rim lock. 1. £0 4s 1d. Rim lock. 1. £0 8s 10d. Rim lock. 1. £0 6s 8d. Splinter lock, number 2. 1. £0 1s 0d. Splinter locks, number 3. 3. £0 4s 6d. Splinter locks, number 5. 2. £0 4s 8d. Splinter lock, number 7. 1. £0 4s 0d. Total for the locks £4 10s 6d. H hinges. 5 pairs at 15½d per pair. £0 6s 5½d. Balcony hinges, number 8. 1 pair. £0 5s 6d. Plate bolts, number 4. 2. £0 1s 4d. Total for ironmonger's ware: £15 13s 5½d. Haberdashery ware, as follows. Silk. 61 ounces at 2s 6d per ounce. £7 12s 6d. Mohair. 66½ ounces at 20d per ounce. £5 10s 10d. Coat buttons. 57 dozen at 12d per dozen. £2 17s 0d. Coat buttons. 14 dozen at 9d per dozen. £0 10s 6d. Breast buttons. 114 dozen at 6d per dozen. £2 17s 0d. Buttons of the old cargo. 1 dozen. £0 0s 4d. Total for the buttons £6 4s 10d. The haberdashery ware carried over £19 8s 2d, and the account carried over £1,096 11s 6¾d. Interpretations The locks ran the whole scale of security a household then needed: till locks for money drawers, chest locks for the lidded chests that served as wardrobes and strongboxes, closet locks for store rooms, stock locks mounted in a solid wooden block as the common door lock, and rim locks in a metal case screwed to the face of a finer door. The H hinges took their name from their shape when open, and the numbered grades throughout show the same stock-by-series system as the hats and fishing lines. Twenty-two locks sold in a single quarter put hardware on doors, chests and tills across the island. The haberdashery was the tailor's counter. Silk at 2s 6d the ounce was sewing thread, mohair twist at 20d the ounce worked buttonholes and bound edges, and the buttons divided by garment, the larger coat buttons at 12d and 9d the dozen against the smaller breast buttons for waistcoats at 6d. As before, the unfinished

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			head carried over on its own line at £19 8s 2d while the page total of £1,096 11s 6¾d took in only the completed ironmonger's account, and every footing on the page proves exactly. Speculations The 186 dozen buttons, over 2,200 in the quarter, mark where imported clothing stopped and island tailoring began. Shirts came ready-made by the hundred, as the <i>Marlborough</i> invoice had just shown, but coats and waistcoats were evidently cut at home from the long cloth, ginghams and linens sold by the piece on the earlier pages, with the store supplying thread, twist and buttons to finish them. The split made commercial sense, since shirts were standard wares while outer garments had to fit, and it kept a steady trade in findings flowing across the same counter that sold the cloth.
269	261	1718.@ Brought Over@ £ 1096 11 6¾@ Haberdashary Ware brot Over. £ 19.8 2@ Shirt Buttons. 3½ Grs: at 6/-@ 1 1 -@ Pinns. 22 Mtt: at 1/9.1:18:6@ 6: Paper Blankett do at 2d P@ 0:1: -@ 1 19 6@ Needles. 8 Hundred at 18d P@ 0:12:-@ Saille Needles ½ a dozn@ 0 - 9½@ Thimbles. 14 Brass@ 0:1.2@ 1 Taylors dto@ 0:0 1@ -14 0½@ Lace Edgings. 10. Yards at 2/4@ 1 3 4@ Ribbons. vizt@ 12: Yards Ferritt dto at 4½d@ 0:4:6@ 3: Yards dto at — 6@ 0:1:6@ 8½ Yards Galloom — 6.@ 0:4:3@ 14½ Yards Ribbon at 12.@ 0:14:6@ 23¾ Yards do at — 14@ 1:7:8½@ 5 Yards do at — 15@ 0 6 3@ 9: Yards do — at — 18@ 0:13:6@ 1: Yard do Old Cargoe@ 0:1.2@ 3 13 4½@ Tapes. 2 ps Manchester at 2/6@ 0 5 -@ Threads. vizt@ 18: Ounces at — 11d@ 0:16:6@ 2: Ounces at — 13@ 0:2:2@ 22: Oz — at 15@ 1:7:6@ 1: ditto@ 0:2 -@ 5: ditto — at — 3/4@ 0:16.8@ 9: ditto — at 3/6@ 1.11:6@ 3: ditto flourishing 14½ P@ 0:3:7½@ 1: ditto@ 0:1:3@ 5 1 2½@ Haberdashary Ware Carrd Over £ 33 5 7½@ Carried Over@ £ 1096 11 6¾@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,096 11s 6¾d, and the haberdashery ware brought over at £19 8s 2d. Shirt buttons. 3½ gross at 6s 0d per gross. £1 1s 0d. Pins. 22 thousand at 1s 9d per thousand. £1 18s 6d. Blanket pins. 6 papers at 2d per paper. £0 1s 0d. Total for the pins £1 19s 6d. Needles. 8 hundred at 18d per hundred. £0 12s 0d. Sail needles. ½ dozen. £0 0s 9½d. Thimbles. 14 brass. £0 1s 2d. Tailor's thimble. 1. £0 0s 1d. Total for the needles and thimbles £0 14s 0½d. Lace edgings. 10 yards at 2s 4d per yard. £1 3s 4d. Ribbons, as follows. Ferret ribbon. 12 yards at 4½d per yard. £0 4s 6d. Ferret ribbon. 3 yards at 6d per yard. £0 1s 6d. Galloon. 8½ yards at 6d per yard. £0 4s 3d. Ribbon. 14½ yards at 12d per yard. £0 14s 6d. Ribbon. 23¾ yards at 14d per yard. £1 7s 8½d. Ribbon. 5 yards at 15d per yard. £0 6s 3d. Ribbon. 9 yards at 18d per yard. £0 13s 6d. Ribbon of the old cargo. 1 yard. £0 1s 2d. Total for the ribbons £3 13s 4½d. Tapes. 2 pieces of Manchester at 2s 6d per piece. £0 5s 0d. Threads, as follows. 18 ounces at 11d per ounce. £0 16s 6d. 2 ounces at 13d per ounce. £0 2s 2d. 22 ounces at 15d per ounce. £1 7s 6d. 1 ounce. £0 2s 0d. 5 ounces at 3s 4d per ounce. £0 16s 8d. 9 ounces at 3s 6d per ounce. £1 11s 6d. Flourishing thread. 3 ounces at 14½d per ounce. £0 3s 7½d. 1 ounce. £0 1s 3d. Total for the threads £5 1s 2½d. The haberdashery ware carried over £33 5s 7½d, and the account carried over £1,096 11s 6¾d. Interpretations The page completed the tailor's counter opened on the previous leaf. Ferret was a stout narrow tape ribbon of cotton or silk, galloon a closely woven braid for binding and trimming, Manchester tapes the plain cotton tapes of that town, and flourishing thread a fine glossy thread for embroidery and ornamental work. The threads ran in graded qualities from 11d to 3s 6d the ounce, the dearest costing nearly four times the cheapest, so the store served plain mending and fine work from the same shelf. Pins were sold by the thousand and needles by the hundred, with the half dozen sail needles serving the heavy canvas work of the boats and the fort. The footing mechanics held their pattern. The haberdashery head, still unfinished, carried over at £33 5s 7½d on its own line, while the page total passed unchanged at £1,096 11s 6¾d because no head closed on this page, and every subtotal proves exactly against

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			its lines, including the awkward 23¾ yards of ribbon at 14d. Speculations The 22,000 pins in a single quarter measure a daily habit now invisible. Women's gowns, kerchiefs, caps and aprons were pinned afresh each dressing rather than buttoned, and pins bent, scattered and rusted fast in the island's sea air, so they were a true consumable. Against roughly 125 women and maidens in the census just taken, the quarter's stock allowed each several pins a week, which suggests the storekeeper had learned the rate of loss from experience and bought to it.
270	262	Aprill.@ Brought Over@ £ 1096 11 6¾@ Haberdashary Ware Bro:t Over £ 33 5 7½@ Black Silk hoods & Scarves (Viz)@ 2 hoods at 9/@ 0:18 0@ 3: do — 13/6@ 2:0:6@ 2: do — 15/@ 1:10:0@ 1: Scarf@ 1:7 0@ 5 15 6@ 39 1 1½@ Hosiers Ware (Viz)@ 23 pr of Soldiers Stockings at 2/3, 2:9 6@ 1: pr Thread Stockings@ 0:4 6@ 1: pr Womens do@ 0:4 9@ 1: pr Mens do@ 0 5.0@ 1: pr do AB@ 0.8 6@ 2: pr Boys knitt Worsted 3/. 0:6:0@ 5 pr Mens Scarlett — 9/. 2:5:0@ 1: pr Womens Silk do@ 0:14:0@ 2: pr Mens do — 18/, 1:16 0@ 3: pr do — 20/, 3:0:0@ 21 pr Cottou do — 3/, 3:3:0@ 11: pr Soldiers blew — 2/2, 1:3:10@ 4 ps Mens Stockgs No 2 — 7/3, 1:11:0@ 10 ps do Mixt — 3. 9/6, 4:15:0@ 2: pr Womens — 5. 6/6, 0:13:0@ 3: pr do — 7. 8/, 1:4:0@ 11: ps do — 8. 7/6, 4:2 6@ 4 pr Mens do — 9., 0:8:0@ 3: pr do — 10 — 10/ 1:10:0@ 1: pr — 15.@ 0:3:6@ 13: pr — 16.3/9, 2:8 9@ Hosiers Ware card. over@ 32 16 10@ Carried over £ 1135 12 8¼@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,096 11s 6¾d, and the haberdashery ware brought over at £33 5s 7½d. Black silk hoods and scarves, as follows. Hoods. 2 at 9s 0d each. £0 18s 0d. Hoods. 3 at 13s 6d each. £2 0s 6d. Hoods. 2 at 15s 0d each. £1 10s 0d. Scarf. 1. £1 7s 0d. Total for the hoods and scarves £5 15s 6d. Total for haberdashery ware: £39 1s 1½d. Hosier's ware, as follows. Soldiers' stockings, worsted. 23 pairs. £2 9s 6d. Thread stockings. 1 pair. £0 4s 6d. Women's thread stockings. 1 pair. £0 4s 9d. Men's stockings. 1 pair. £0 6s 0d. Men's stockings. 1 pair. £0 8s 6d. Boys' knit worsted stockings. 2 pairs at 3s 0d per pair. £0 6s 0d. Men's scarlet stockings. 5 pairs at 9s 0d per pair. £2 5s 0d. Women's silk stockings. 1 pair. £0 14s 0d. Men's silk stockings. 2 pairs at 18s 0d per pair. £1 16s 0d. Men's silk stockings. 3 pairs at 20s 0d per pair. £3 0s 0d. Cotton stockings. 21 pairs at 3s 0d per pair. £3 3s 0d. Soldiers' blue stockings. 11 pairs at 2s 2d per pair. £1 3s 10d. Men's stockings, number 2. 4 pairs at 7s 9d per pair. £1 11s 0d. Men's stockings, mixed, number 3. 10 pairs at 9s 6d per pair. £4 15s 0d. Women's stockings, number 5. 2 pairs at 6s 6d per pair. £0 13s 0d. Women's stockings, number 7. 3 pairs at 8s 0d per pair. £1 4s 0d. Women's stockings, number 8. 11 pairs at 7s 6d per pair. £4 2s 6d. Men's stockings, number 9. 4 pairs at 2s 0d per pair. £0 8s 0d. Men's stockings, number 10. 3 pairs at 10s 0d per pair. £1 10s 0d. Stockings, number 15. 1 pair. £0 3s 6d. Stockings, number 16. 13 pairs at 3s 9d per pair. £2 8s 9d. The hosier's ware carried over £32 16s 10d, and the account carried over £1,135 12s 8¼d. Interpretations The black silk hoods and scarf closed the haberdashery head at £39 1s 1½d. Hoods of black silk were the standard outdoor and church headwear of women of any standing, and black silk served equally for mourning, so seven hoods and a scarf in a quarter dressed the island's better households for Sundays and funerals alike. The hosiery ran the widest price span yet seen in the account, from soldiers' blue stockings at 2s 2d the pair to men's silk at 20s 0d, nearly a tenfold difference across one commodity. Worsted was hard-wearing combed wool and thread stockings were of linen yarn, while the numbered grades from 2 to 16 continued the

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			stock-by-series system. All of it was imported, knitted hosiery being beyond the island's own manufactures, so the whole range from barrack wear to silk turned on the same shelf. Speculations The 34 pairs of soldiers' stockings, 23 of worsted and 11 of blue, passing over the counter as sales rather than issues show how the garrison was actually clothed. The men bought their own wear from the store against their pay, the same arrangement that had left most of them barefoot until the hide purchase of 5 June 1717 set the island tannery going, so the Company recovered part of its wage bill across its own counter. The blue stockings in particular look like a recognised soldiers' pattern kept in stock at the lowest price on the page, a uniform maintained by retail rather than by allowance.
271	263	1718.@ Brought over@ 1135 12 8¼@ Hosiers Ware brought over 32 16 10@ 4 ps Stockings No 17. at 4/9@ 0 19 -@ 2: ps do — 21. 3/9@ -7 6@ 4: pr do — 22. 4/6.@ -18 -@ 18: ps Mens fine blew 23. 6/2@ 5 11 -@ 2: ps Boys — 24. 2/3@ -4 6@ 1: pr do Silk — 27.@ -15 9@ 4 pr Womens do — 29. 10/9@ 2 3 -@ 2: pr do — 30. 12/6@ 1 5 -@ 2: pr Youths Silk & Worsted 31— 6/@ -12 -@ 1: ps do — 32.@ -8 -@ 3: pr do — 33—9/6@ 1 8 6@ 47 9 1@ Indigo, 1lb at 8s ½ pow.@ 0 10 8@ Callemancoes 5 yds — 2/6.@ -12 6@ Glass Ware (Vizt)@ 1: 2. hour Glass@ 0:3:4@ 7: panes of Glass 6 ½ 8 . at 9. 10:5:3@ -8 7@ Shoe thread. 4lb at 2/6 do@ -10 -@ Stationary Ware (Vizt)@ 2: Testamonts at 1/9@ -3 6@ 1: do@ -2 -@ 2: Spelling books — 1/8@ -3 4@ 2: Bibles 8/3@ -16 6@ 1: Whole duty of Man@ -3 9@ 7: Copy books — 9@ -5 3@ 13: quires of Paper 1/4@ -17 4@ 2 11 8@ Carried over. £@ 1187 15 2¼@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,135 12s 8¼d, and the hosier's ware brought over at £32 16s 10d. Stockings, number 17. 4 pairs at 4s 9d per pair. £0 19s 0d. Stockings, number 21. 2 pairs at 3s 9d per pair. £0 7s 6d. Stockings, number 22. 4 pairs at 4s 6d per pair. £0 18s 0d. Men's fine blue stockings, number 23. 18 pairs at 6s 2d per pair. £5 11s 0d. Boys' stockings, number 24. 2 pairs at 2s 3d per pair. £0 4s 6d. Boys' silk stockings, number 27. 1 pair. £0 15s 9d. Women's silk stockings, number 29. 4 pairs at 10s 9d per pair. £2 3s 0d. Women's silk stockings, number 30. 2 pairs at 12s 6d per pair. £1 5s 0d. Youths' silk and worsted stockings, number 31. 2 pairs at 6s 0d per pair. £0 12s 0d. Youths' silk and worsted stockings, number 32. 1 pair. £0 8s 0d. Youths' silk and worsted stockings, number 33. 3 pairs at 9s 6d per pair. £1 8s 6d. Total for hosier's ware: £47 9s 1d. Indigo. 1 pound at 8d per ounce. £0 10s 8d. Callimancoes. 5 yards at 2s 6d per yard. £0 12s 6d. Glass ware, as follows. Two-hour glass. 1. £0 3s 4d. Panes of glass, 6 by 8. 7 at 9d each. £0 5s 3d. Total for glass ware £0 8s 7d. Shoe thread. 4 pounds at 2s 6d per pound. £0 10s 0d. Stationery ware, as follows. Testaments. 2 at 1s 9d each. £0 3s 6d. Testament. 1. £0 2s 0d. Spelling books. 2 at 1s 8d each. £0 3s 4d. Bibles. 2 at 8s 3d each. £0 16s 6d. The Whole Duty of Man. 1. £0 3s 9d. Copy books. 7 at 9d each. £0 5s 3d. Paper. 13 quires at 1s 4d per quire. £0 17s 4d. Total for stationery ware: £2 11s 8d. Carried over: £1,187 15s 2¼d. Interpretations The hosier's head closed at £47 9s 1d, its numbered series now reaching 33 and topping out in silk for women, boys and youths, so even children's legs on the island could be dressed in silk at 15s 9d the pair. Callimanco was a glossy woollen cloth woven with a satin face, a fashionable dress and waistcoat stuff, and the indigo sold by the ounce supplied home dyeing of yarn and cloth in the deep blue that wore best. The two-hour glass was a sand glass for timing watches and tasks, and the 7 panes of 6 by 8 inches were standard small window glass for repairs. The 4 pounds of shoe thread, waxed linen for stitching leather, fed the island shoemaking trade whose 50 pairs had sold earlier in the same account.

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			The stationery head stocked the island's reading. The Whole Duty of Man was the most widely owned devotional book of the age, an anonymous manual of practical Christian conduct found beside the Bible in ordinary households, and its sale alongside 2 Bibles at 8s 3d and 3 Testaments shows the store provisioning piety as routinely as tools. The arithmetic of every head proves exactly, the page carrying over at £1,187 15s 2¼d. Speculations The 2 spelling books, 7 copy books and 13 quires of paper sketch a quarter of schooling for a census population of nearly 290 white children. Copy books were ruled for practising handwriting, so their outnumbering the spelling books suggests children were being carried past bare reading into writing, whether at a kept school or at parents' tables. For a community whose every transaction ran through signed bills and store accounts, a hand good enough to sign was an economic skill, and the store's shelf quietly supplied it.
272	264	April@ Brought &c. £@ 1187 15 2¼@ Norwich Stuffs (Vizt)@ 28 yds at 15d do@ 1 10 4@ 15: do — 14½d@ -18 1½@ 8 do — 16@ -10.8@ 6: do — 16½@ -8 3@ 27 do — 17—@ 1 18 3@ 5 15 7½@ Bodice 1 pr@ -12 9@ Black & White Crape vizt:@ 1½ ps at — 4 p pce@ 6 - -@ 2 ps of do — 4/8@ 8 16 -@ 14 16 -@ Shalloone 29⅞ Yards at 2/6@ 3 14 0¾@ 3: Yards Damagd at 20d@ 0 5 -@ 3 19 ¾@ Chints Saunoes 100 ps at 23 p ps@ 115 - -@ Broad Cloth vizt@ 14 Yards at 14/6@ 10.3 -@ 49½ Yards at 15/8@ 38 15 6@ 4¼ Yards at 15/-@ 3 3 9@ 6¾ Yards 22/-@ 6 17 6@ 74½ Yards Cloth Amounts to@ 58 19 9@ Perrywiggs vizt 1 at@ 1-7 6@ 1 do No 3.@ 1 13 -@ 1 do — 9@ 3 - -@ 6 - 6@ Blanketts 2 do at 7/9@ -15 6@ 3 do — 9/6@ 1 8 6@ 2 do — 11/3@ 1 2 6@ 3 3 6@ Carried over@ £ 1395 15 4¼@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,187 15s 2¼d. Norwich stuffs, as follows. 28 yards at 13d per yard. £1 10s 4d. 15 yards at 14½d per yard. £0 18s 1½d. 8 yards at 16d per yard. £0 10s 8d. 6 yards at 16½d per yard. £0 8s 3d. 27 yards at 17d per yard. £1 18s 3d. Total for Norwich stuffs: £5 5s 7½d. Bodice. 1 pair. £0 12s 9d. Black and white crape, as follows. 1½ pieces at £4 0s 0d per piece. £6 0s 0d. 2 pieces of the same at £4 8s 0d per piece. £8 16s 0d. Total for crape: £14 16s 0d. Shalloon. 29⅞ yards at 2s 6d per yard. £3 14s 0¾d. Shalloon, damaged. 3 yards at 20d per yard. £0 5s 0d. Total for shalloon £3 19s 0¾d. Chint sannoes. 100 pieces at 23s 0d per piece. £115 0s 0d. Broad cloth, as follows. 14 yards at 14s 6d per yard. £10 3s 0d. 49½ yards at 15s 8d per yard. £38 15s 6d. 4¼ yards at 15s 0d per yard. £3 3s 9d. 6¾ yards at 22s 0d per yard. £6 17s 6d. The 74 yards of cloth amounted to £58 19s 9d. Periwigs, as follows. 1. £1 7s 6d. 1, number 3. £1 13s 0d. 1, number 9. £3 0s 0d. Total for periwigs: £6 0s 6d. Blankets. 2 at 7s 9d each. £0 15s 6d. Blankets. 3 at 9s 6d each. £1 8s 6d. Blankets. 2 at 11s 3d each. £1 2s 6d. Total for blankets: £3 6s 6d. Carried over: £1,395 15s 4¼d. Interpretations The page gathered the dress fabrics above the common run. Norwich stuffs were the light glossy worsteds of that city, sold here in five qualities for gowns, while shalloon was a thin twilled worsted used chiefly for lining coats, its damaged remnant honestly discounted to 20d. The bodice was a pair of stays, the stiffened foundation garment of women's dress, and crape was the crimped gauze of mourning, its black and white pieces priced by the whole piece at £4 0s 0d and £4 8s 0d to serve alongside the black silk hoods of the previous page. Broad cloth was the fine wide-loomed woollen of men's good coats and the heaviest single investment in the account, 74 yards taking £58 19s 9d, with the 6¾ yards at 22s 0d fit for a Governor's wear.

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			The three periwigs complete the picture of formal male dress reaching the island over a store counter, a man's wig at £3 0s 0d costing more than a labourer's month. Every footing on the page proves exactly to the carried-over total of £1,395 15s 4½d. Speculations The 100 pieces of chint sannoos at a uniform 23s 0d, worth £115 0s 0d in one line, dwarf every other textile entry and sit oddly against the 7 pieces of plain sannoos that served ordinary retail in the same quarter. A round hundred at a single price reads as one wholesale parcel rather than counter trade, very possibly taken by a ship's commander on signed bills for sale in the Atlantic ports, with the store standing as middleman between the India cargoes and the westward trade exactly as the council's pricing orders allowed.
273	265	1718.@ Brought Over@ £ 1395 15 4¼@ Wooden Ware vizt@ 1: Cloth Brush@ -2 -@ 1: Platter@ -1 7@ 4: Milk Strainers at. 6d@ -2 -@ 4: Scumming Dishes at do@ -2 -@ -7 7@ Fustians Vizt@ 48¼ Yards Plain White at 20d@ 4 - 5@ 3¾ Yards ditto at 2/3@ -8 5¼@ 4: Yards Corded do at 2/7@ -10 4@ 1: ps of ditto@ 1 18 6@ 6 17 8¼@ 1: ps Colourd do No 3@ 1 6 8@ ½ ps ditto@ -18 4@ 2: ps ditto — 5@ 4 - -@ ½ ps ditto — 7@ -13 -@ 2 ps of do — 8@ 4 - -@ 2: ps of do — 10@ 2 13 4@ 1: ps of ditto — 11@ 3 - -@ 16 11 4@ Thicksetts vizt@ 3½ ps of ditto No 2 at 35/-@ 6 2 6@ 1: ps of ditto — 1@ 1 13 4@ 1: ps of ditto — 3@ -2 -@ 1: ps of ditto — 4@ 2 12 -@ 1: ps of ditto — 5@ 2 16 -@ 1: ps of dto No — 12 Success@ 1 16 6@ 17 - 4@ Scarlett Serge 8¾ yds at 4/10@ 1 18 8½@ Silk Druggetts 36½ yds at 4/9@ 8 13 4½@ Carried over@ £ 1447 4 4¼@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,395 15s 4½d. Wooden ware, as follows. Cloth brush. 1. £0 2s 0d. Platter. 1. £0 1s 7d. Milk strainers. 4 at 6d each. £0 2s 0d. Skimming dishes. 4 at 6d each. £0 2s 0d. Total for wooden ware: £0 7s 7d. Fustians, as follows. Plain white fustian. 48¼ yards at 20d per yard. £4 0s 5d. Plain white fustian. 3¾ yards at 2s 3d per yard. £0 8s 5¼d. Corded fustian. 4 yards at 2s 7d per yard. £0 10s 4d. Fustian. 1 piece. £1 18s 6d. Total for the white and corded fustians £6 17s 8¼d. Coloured fustian, number 3. 1 piece. £1 6s 8d. Coloured fustian. ½ piece. £0 18s 4d. Coloured fustian, number 6. 2 pieces. £4 0s 0d. Coloured fustian, number 7. ½ piece. £0 13s 0d. Coloured fustian, number 8. 2 pieces. £4 0s 0d. Coloured fustian, number 10. 2 pieces. £2 13s 4d. Coloured fustian, number 11. 1 piece. £3 0s 0d. Total for the coloured fustians £16 11s 4d. Thicksets, as follows. Thicksets, number 2. 3½ pieces at 35s 0d per piece. £6 2s 6d. Thickset, number 1. 1 piece. £1 13s 4d. Thickset, number 3. 1 piece. £2 0s 0d. Thickset, number 4. 1 piece. £2 12s 0d. Thickset, number 5. 1 piece. £2 16s 0d. Thickset, number 12, of the <i>Success</i>. 1 piece. £1 16s 6d. Total for thicksets: £17 0s 4d. Scarlet serge. 8 yards at 4s 10d per yard. £1 18s 8d. Silk druggets. 36½ yards at 4s 9d per yard. £8 13s 4½d. Carried over: £1,447 4s 4¼d. Interpretations The wooden ware was dairy gear, the milk strainers passing fresh milk clean of hairs and dirt and the skimming dishes lifting the risen cream, household equipment for an island whose census had just counted 610 cows in inhabitant hands. Fustian was the hard-wearing mixed cloth of cotton and linen that dressed working men, corded fustian carrying a raised rib, and thicksets were a stouter corded fustian still, the standard stuff of labouring breeches. Above them sat scarlet serge, a twilled worsted in the dearest dye, and silk druggets, a light silk-mixed suiting for finer summer wear. The single thickset piece of the <i>Success</i> kept that ship's stock distinct to the last yard, and every footing proves exactly to the carried-over total of £1,447 4s 4¼d. Speculations The proportions of the page show where the store's clothing trade really lay. Fustians and thicksets together took over £40 in the quarter, five times the silk

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			druggets and nearly seven times the periwigs of the previous page, so for every gentleman fitted for a wig there were many working men buying ribbed cotton by the piece. The numbered series running to 12 suggests the indent for these cloths was the most carefully managed in the textile stock, the storekeeper reordering by grade as the labouring trade wore through them.
274	266	Aprill@ Brought Over@ £. 1447 4 4¼@ Cloth Druggett 78¾ yds at 3 ¹/₂ yd@ 11 16 3@ 124 Yards ditto@ 24 16 -@ 36 12 3½@ Durants. 245½ Yards at 1/9 —@ 21 9 7½@ Combs. viz@ 2 Horne ditto. at 5d@ -10@ 2: ditto — 6@ -1 -@ 7: ditto — 7@ -4 1@ 6: Box dto — 6@ -3 -@ 1: Comb Brush wth Prickers@ -1 -@ -9 11@ Gold Thread 1 Ounce@ -10 -@ Nayles Vizt@ 1: Sacks@ 1 8@ 2lb 3d Nayles at — 9d Success@ -1 6@ 19¼ 4 do — at 11@ -17 10½@ 19¾ 6 do at 9@ -14 9¾@ 5: 8 do — 8½@ -3 6½@ 10: 10. do — 8½@ -7 1@ 14: 20 do — 8@ -9 4@ 1: 30 do — 7@ -7@ 1: Coopers Rivetts 7@ -11@ 2 17 3¾@ Total to ye Inhabitants@ £. 1509.3 5½@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £1,447 4s 4¼d. Cloth drugget. 78¾ yards at 3s 0d per yard. £11 16s 3d. Cloth drugget. 124 yards. £24 16s 0d. Total for cloth drugget £36 12s 3d. Durants. 245½ yards at 1s 9d per yard. £21 9s 7½d. Combs, as follows. Horn combs. 2 at 5d each. £0 0s 10d. Horn combs. 2 at 6d each. £0 1s 0d. Horn combs. 7 at 7d each. £0 4s 1d. Box combs. 6 at 6d each. £0 3s 0d. Comb brush with prickers. 1. £0 1s 0d. Total for combs: £0 9s 11d. Gold thread. 1 ounce. £0 10s 0d. Nails, as follows. Tacks. 1 thousand. £0 1s 8d. Threepenny nails of the <i>Shavers</i>. 2 thousand at 9d. £0 1s 6d. Fourpenny nails. 19¼ thousand at 11d. £0 17s 10¼d. Sixpenny nails. 19¾ thousand at 9d. £0 14s 9¾d. Eightpenny nails. 5 thousand at 8½d. £0 3s 6½d. Tenpenny nails. 10 thousand at 8½d. £0 7s 1d. Twentypenny nails. 14 thousand at 8d. £0 9s 4d. Thirtypenny nails. 1 thousand at 7d. £0 0s 7d. Coopers' rivets. 1 [thousand]. £0 0s 11d. Total for nails: £2 17s 3¾d. The total of goods sold to the inhabitants came to £1,509 3s 5½d. Interpretations The closing line ruled off the first and largest division of the quarterly account, the inhabitants' purchases from 25 September to 25 December 1717 standing at £1,509 3s 5½d, with the sales to Union Castle and the Plantation House still to follow under the account's own heading. Set against a census population of 542 whites outside the Company's own establishment, the figure represents roughly £3 of store goods per white inhabitant in a single quarter, almost all of it on running credit. Durants were a glazed hard-wearing worsted, so durable it was nicknamed everlasting, used for linings, upholstery and working women's gowns, and the 245½ yards made it one of the quarter's biggest cloth lines by length. The nails ran in the penny sizes, named from the old price per hundred, from threepenny sprigs for laths and shingles up to thirtypenny spikes for heavy framing, and they sold by the thousand. The gold thread at 10s 0d the ounce served rich embroidery at the opposite pole of the same counter, and the comb brush with prickers was the small tool that cleaned the teeth of the horn and boxwood combs sold beside it. Speculations The 72 thousand nails in one quarter mark the island in a building phase. Lufkin's new plantation house was then in hand, the wind-wrecked house at the Hutts awaited rebuilding, and private fencing and improvement had been thrown back on the planters since the Company ended its hire of their blacks from 25 June 1717, so the spread of sizes from sprigs to spikes looks like whole structures going up rather than mere repairs. The middling fourpenny and sixpenny grades, 39 thousand between them, are the nails of boarding and shingling, which suggests roofs and walls rather than furniture were consuming the stock.

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275	267	1718@ Union Castle Dr. to Store Goods from Sept:@ the 25th 1717 to Decembr the 25th following Vizt.@ Arrack. 198¾ Gall at 6/3@ 62 2 2½@ Sugar 645lb at 8d ½ lb@ 21 10 -@ Wine 89½ Galls at 4/s@ 17 18 -@ Vinegar 9¾ at — 2/6 ½ Gall@ 1 4 4½@ Rice 7373lb at 3½d ½ lb@ 107 10 5½@ Oyles. vizt@ Sweet Oyle 11½ Gall at 12s@ 6 18 -@ Rape Oyle 3¾ Gall at 6@ 1 1 9@ Linseed Oyle 3¼ Gall at 8@ 1 6 -@ 9 5 9@ Soap 7lb at 17 ½ lb@ 5 - 7@ Pepper. 12lb at 12s@ -12 -@ Coffee 67¾ lb at 2/6@ 8 9 4½@ Blanketts. 10. at 7/9@ 3 17 6@ Fustians@ 7 ps No — 9 at 43/4@ 15 9 3 4@ 1: ps dto — 6@ 2 - -@ 1: ps dto — 8@ 2 - -@ 1: ps dto — 11@ 2 10 -@ 21 13 4@ Thicksetts. 2½ ps No 2 at 35/-@ 3 10 -@ Blew Baftas 24 ps at 6/-@ 7 4 -@ Blew Gurrahs 14½ ps at 9/ St Good:@ 6 6 -@ Long Cloth 5 ps Fd. at 20s@ 5 - -@ Carried Over@ £ 281.3 7@	The account opened its second division, headed Union Castle debtor to store goods from 25 September 1717 to 25 December following. Arrack. 198¾ gallons at 6s 3d per gallon. £62 2s 2½d. Sugar. 645 pounds at 8d per pound. £21 10s 0d. Wine. 89½ gallons at 4s 0d per gallon. £17 18s 0d. Vinegar. 9¾ gallons at 2s 6d per gallon. £1 4s 4½d. Rice. 7,373 pounds at 3½d per pound. £107 10s 5½d. Oils, as follows. Sweet oil. 11½ gallons at 12s 0d per gallon. £6 18s 0d. Rape oil. 3¾ gallons at 6s 0d per gallon. £1 1s 9d. Linseed oil. 3¼ gallons at 8s 0d per gallon. £1 6s 0d. Total for oils: £9 5s 9d. Soap. 71 pounds at 17d per pound. £5 0s 7d. Pepper. 12 pounds at 12d per pound. £0 12s 0d. Coffee. 67¾ pounds at 2s 6d per pound. £8 9s 4½d. Blankets. 10 at 7s 9d each. £3 17s 6d. Fustians. Fustian, number 9. 7 pieces at 43s 4d per piece. £15 3s 4d. Fustian, number 6. 1 piece. £2 0s 0d. Fustian, number 8. 1 piece. £2 0s 0d. Fustian, number 11. 1 piece. £2 10s 0d. Total for fustians: £21 13s 4d. Thicksets, number 2. 2 pieces at 35s 0d per piece. £3 10s 0d. Blue baftas. 24 pieces at 6s 0d per piece. £7 4s 0d. Blue gurrahs of the <i>St George</i>. 14 pieces at 9s 0d per piece. £6 6s 0d. Long cloth. 5 pieces at 20s 0d per piece. £5 0s 0d. Carried over: £281 3s 7d. Interpretations The heading marks the change from retail to housekeeping. Union Castle, the seat of government and the garrison in James Valley, stood in the storekeeper's books as a debtor like any customer, charged for everything drawn for the establishment's own use, so the Company's left hand formally bought from its right and the cost of governing the island became visible in the same accounts as its trade. The proportions tell what the Castle consumed. Rice at 7,373 pounds dwarfed everything, the ration grain of the garrison and the Company's blacks at the fort, bought in over a hundredweight a day while the inhabitants took only 65 pounds across the whole quarter at the same counter. The 198¾ gallons of arrack served the allowances and entertainment of the garrison, and the coffee at 67¾ pounds shows the Castle itself drinking a fair share of the article Captain Bazett judged a slow seller in the shops. Baftas were plain Indian calicoes, and with the gurrahs of the <i>St George</i> they brought 38 pieces of blue cloth into the Castle's charge in one quarter. Speculations The blue cloth reads as the clothing issue of the Company's own slaves passing through the Castle's debit. Blue calico was the standard slave wear across the Company's settlements, and 38 pieces alongside 10 blankets and bulk soap looks like a seasonal fit-out of the fort's labour force rather than officers' furnishing, the blankets arriving as the southern winter approached. Charging the issue to Union Castle rather than the plantations kept the cost of the valley establishment separate from the farms, the same head-by-head discipline the storekeeper applied to every ship's cargo.
276	268	Aprill@ Brought Over@ 281 3 7@ Pewter Vizt.@ 2: Basons at 5/@ -10 -@ 1 ditto@ -3 10@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £281 3s 7d. Pewter, as follows. Basins. 2 at 5s 0d each. £0 10s 0d.

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		2: half Pint Potts at 2/1@ -4 2@ 1: quarten dto@ -1 2@ 1: half quarten dto@ -1 -@ 1: Sett of Casters at — 9/9-0:9:9@ 1 Large Hoop Stand@ 0:3:8@ -13 5@ 1 13 7@ Tin Ware vizt@ 2: Funnells at — 10d at@ -1 8@ 2: Cullenders at — 2/6@ -5 -@ 1: two Spout Lamp@ -4 6@ -11.2@ Lines. 6 Ditto No 7 at 10d@ -5 -@ 2 ditto — 11 — 20@ -3 4@ -8 4@ Silk 1. Ounce@ -2 6@ Shoe Thread. 2lb@ -5 -@ 1¼ Yard Holland at 6/6@ -8 1½@ Corks. 3½ Grs: at 3d P do@ -10 6@ Cork Wood. 2lb at — 8d P@ -1 4@ -11 10@ Brass Ware 2 Large Scumrs at 6/6@ -13 -@ Broad Cloth 3½ yds Blew at 15/8@ 2 14 10@ Red Lead. 27lb at 6d P lb@ -13.6@ Carried Over@ £ 289 5 5½@	Basin. 1. £0 3s 10d. Half-pint pots. 2 at 2s 1d each. £0 4s 2d. Quartern pot. 1. £0 1s 2d. Half-quartern pot. 1. £0 1s 0d. Set of casters. 1 at 9s 9d. £0 9s 9d. Large stoop stand. 1. £0 3s 8d. Total for the casters and stand £0 13s 5d. Total for pewter: £1 13s 7d. Tin ware, as follows. Funnels. 2 at 10d each. £0 1s 8d. Cullenders. 2 at 2s 6d each. £0 5s 0d. Two-spout lamp. 1. £0 4s 6d. Total for tin ware: £0 11s 2d. Lines, number 7. 6 at 10d each. £0 5s 0d. Lines, number 11. 2 at 20d each. £0 3s 4d. Total for the lines £0 8s 4d. Silk. 1 ounce. £0 2s 6d. Shoe thread. 2 pounds. £0 5s 0d. Holland. 1¼ yards at 6s 6d per yard. £0 8s 1½d. Corks. 3½ gross at 3s 0d per gross. £0 10s 6d. Cork wood. 2 pounds at 8d per pound. £0 1s 4d. Total for the corks and cork wood £0 11s 10d. Brass ware. 2 large scummers at 6s 6d each. £0 13s 0d. Broad cloth, blue. 3½ yards at 15s 8d per yard. £2 14s 10d. Red lead. 27 pounds at 6d per pound. £0 13s 6d. Carried over: £289 5s 5½d. Interpretations The page furnished the Castle's table and kitchen. The pewter pots ran in graduated drinking measures, the half-pint, the quartern at a quarter of a pint and the half-quartern below it, the standard vessels for serving out the arrack and wine charged on the previous page, while the basins, caster set and stoop stand dressed the Governor's table itself. Cullenders strained the kitchen's vegetables and the brass scummers skimmed its pots, and Holland was fine Dutch-style linen, a yard and a quarter of it at 6s 6d serving napery or a shirt for the household. Red lead was the painter's red oxide pigment, ground into oil as the standard primer and preservative for ironwork and exposed timber, and its 27 pounds pairs naturally with the linseed oil in the same account, the two being mixed on the spot into paint for an establishment of gun carriages, railings and shutters standing in salt air. Speculations The 504 corks with cork wood to cut more point to bottling at the Castle. Wine and arrack drawn by the gallon from the store's casks kept poorly once broached, so the household evidently racked them into bottles for the table and the Governor's entertainment of ships' commanders, cutting its own bungs and stoppers from the cork wood as casks and jars needed them. It is the one piece of the quarter's housekeeping that treats drink as something to be kept as well as consumed, fitting a house that hosted every commander in the road.
277	269	1718.@ Brought Over@ 289 5 5½@ Glass Ware vizt:@ 6: panes of ditto. 6 P 8. at 9d@ -12 -@ 136. panes dto — 8 P 10 — 14@ 7 18 8@ 8: panes dto — 10 P 12. 18@ -12 -@ 1: two Hour Glass@ -3 4@ 9 6 -@ Beef and Pork vizt:@ 7: Punchions of Beef at 18 P Punchn 126 -@ 2: Casks Pork at — 5/10 6@ 11.1 -@ 137.1 -@ Iron Mongers Ware. vizt@ 5 pr Side Hinges at 20d@ -8 4@ 10: Sockett Shovells at 2/6@ 1 5 -@ 5 pr Side Hinges at 1/3½@ -6 5½@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £289 5s 5½d. Glass ware, as follows. Panels of glass, 6 by 8. 16 at 9d each. £0 12s 0d. Panels of glass, 8 by 10. 136 at 14d each. £7 18s 8d. Panels of glass, 10 by 12. 8 at 18d each. £0 12s 0d. Two-hour glass. 1. £0 3s 4d. Total for glass ware: £9 6s 0d. Beef and pork, as follows. Beef. 7 puncheons at £18 0s 0d per puncheon. £126 0s 0d. Pork. 2 casks at £5 10s 6d per cask. £11 1s 0d. Total for beef and pork: £137 1s 0d. Ironmonger's ware, as follows. Side hinges. 5 pairs at 20d per pair. £0 8s 4d.

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		2 pr Iron Candlestiks@ -2 -@ 1: Stock Lock. No 1@ -2 4@ 1: ditto — 3@ -5 -@ 1: ditto — 5@ -10 -@ 1: Chest Lock@ -2 7@ 1: Rimd do No 9@ -9 10@ 1: ditto — 7@ -8 -@ 1: ditto@ -6 8@ 4: Plate Bolts at 8d@ -2 8@ 4: ditto — No 8. 1/10@ -7 4@ 6 pr Smooth fild Hinges at 4/5@ 1 6 6@ 3: pr of dto No 4 — at — 1/8@ -5 -@ 7: pr Dutch Rings at — 1½@ -10½@ 1 pr Side Hinges@ -1 2@ 4: pr Bed Screws at — 3/6@ -14 -@ 6: Pick Axes Contg 27lb at — 8½@ -19 1½@ 8 2 10½@ Carried Over@ £ 443 15 4@	Socket shovels. 10 at 2s 6d each. £1 5s 0d. Side hinges. 5 pairs at 15½d per pair. £0 6s 5½d. Iron candlesticks. 2 pairs. £0 2s 0d. Stock lock, number 1. 1. £0 2s 4d. Stock lock, number 3. 1. £0 5s 0d. Stock lock, number 5. 1. £0 10s 0d. Chest lock. 1. £0 2s 7d. Rim lock, number 9. 1. £0 5s 10d. Rim lock, number 7. 1. £0 8s 0d. Rim lock. 1. £0 6s 8d. Plate bolts. 4 at 8d each. £0 2s 8d. Plate bolts, number 8. 4 at 1s 10d each. £0 7s 4d. Smooth-filed hinges. 6 pairs at 4s 5d per pair. £1 6s 6d. Smooth-filed hinges, number 4. 3 pairs at 1s 8d per pair. £0 5s 0d. Dutch rings. 7 pairs at 1½d per pair. £0 0s 10½d. Side hinges. 1 pair. £0 1s 2d. Bed screws. 4 pairs at 3s 6d per pair. £0 14s 0d. Pickaxes. 6, containing 27 pounds, at 8½d per pound. £0 19s 1½d. Total for ironmonger's ware: £8 2s 10½d. Carried over: £443 15s 4d. Interpretations The beef and pork dominated the Castle's quarter, £137 1s 0d of salt provisions in a single head. A puncheon was a great cask of around 84 gallons, and seven of beef with two casks of pork was sea-style victualling, the cured reserve that fed a garrison independently of the island's fresh kills and stood ready against scarcity or a hostile road. At £18 0s 0d the puncheon, the salt meat cost the establishment far above the island's own fresh beef, the price of food that kept. The 160 panes of window glass, almost all of the middling 8 by 10 size, mark a wholesale reglazing rather than running repairs, and the hardware around them completes the picture of a building campaign at the Castle: locks in three patterns, hinges plain and smooth-filed, plate bolts, and 4 pairs of bed screws, the long threaded bolts that drew a bedstead's frame together. Bed screws by the set suggest new or rebuilt bedsteads for the garrison's quarters. Speculations Taken together with the red lead, linseed oil and paint-making stores of the previous page, the quarter to 25 December 1717 looks like a deliberate refit of Union Castle through the store's books. Glass, paint, locks, hinges and bedsteads all passing in one quarter suggest the Governor putting the seat of government into repair as soon as the famine years eased, and the timing fits a bench that had just taken delivery of new garrison recruits and was about to entertain the commanders of a whole homeward convoy through its great room.
278	270	Aprill@ Brought Over@ £ 443 15 4@ Nayles vizt@ 13 of 3d do at 9 ½ lb@ -9 9@ 21 of 4 — 11@ -19 3@ 41½ of 6 — 9@ 1 11 1½@ 27 of 10 — 8½@ -19 1½@ 27 of 20 — 8@ -18 -@ 9 of 30 — 7@ -5 3@ 14 of 8 Bradds (Batten) at 14d@ -16 4@ ½ of half Inch do@ -7@ 2lb of — 4 do — at 14d@ -2 4@ 6lb of Hoop Rivetts at 11d@ -5 6@ 1: of ¼ Round heads@ -11½@ 6 8 2½@ Total to Union Castle@ £ 450 3 6½@ Plantation Dr. vizt@ Arrack 12. Gallons at 6/3@ 3 15 -@ Sugar. 27 at — 8@ -18 -@ Sweet Oyle 1 quart@ -3 -@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £443 15s 4d. Nails, as follows. Threepenny nails. 13 thousand at 9d. £0 9s 9d. Fourpenny nails. 21 thousand at 11d. £0 19s 3d. Sixpenny nails. 41½ thousand at 9d. £1 11s 1½d. Tenpenny nails. 27 thousand at 8½d. £0 19s 1½d. Twentypenny nails. 27 thousand at 8d. £0 18s 0d. Thirtypenny nails. 9 thousand. £0 5s 3d. Batten brads. 14 thousand at 14d. £0 16s 4d. Half-inch brads. ½ thousand. £0 0s 7d. Fourpenny brads. 2 thousand at 14d. £0 2s 4d. Hoop rivets. 6 thousand at 11d. £0 5s 6d. Quarter-inch round heads. 1 thousand. £0 0s 11½d. Total for nails: £6 8s 2½d. The total of goods to Union Castle came to £450 3s 6½d. The account opened its third division, the Plantation debtor, as follows.

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		Vinegar. 1 quart@ --7½@ Soap. 6lb at 17@ -8 6@ Knives 36. at 6d 10@ -18 -@ Pipes 6.@ --3@ 6 3 4½@ Iron Mongers Ware vizt:@ 20: Pick Axes qt 96 at 8½@ 3 8 -@ 13: Ground Hoes at 2/6@ 1 12 6@ 3: do not ground at 2@ -6 6@ 1 Splinter Lock No 7@ -4 -@ 5 11 -@ Nayles. viz@ 6 of. 6d do at 9d@ -4 6@ 4½ of. 10 — 8½@ -3 2¼@ 6: of. 20 — 8@ -4 -@ -11 8¼@ Totall to Plantation@ £ 12.6 0¾@	Arrack. 12 gallons at 6s 3d per gallon. £3 15s 0d. Sugar. 27 pounds at 8d per pound. £0 18s 0d. Sweet oil. 1 quart. £0 3s 0d. Vinegar. 1 quart. £0 0s 7½d. Soap. 6 pounds at 17d per pound. £0 8s 6d. Knives. 36 at 6d each. £0 18s 0d. Pipes. 6. £0 0s 3d. Total for provisions: £6 3s 4½d. Ironmonger's ware, as follows. Pickaxes. 20, weighing 96 pounds, at 8½d per pound. £3 8s 0d. Ground hoes. 13 at 2s 6d each. £1 12s 6d. Hoes, not ground. 3 at 2s 2d each. £0 6s 6d. Splinter lock, number 7. 1. £0 4s 0d. Total for ironmonger's ware: £5 11s 0d. Nails, as follows. Sixpenny nails. 6 thousand at 9d. £0 4s 6d. Tennypenny nails. 4½ thousand at 8½d. £0 3s 2¼d. Twentypenny nails. 6 thousand. £0 4s 0d. Total for nails: £0 11s 8¼d. The total of goods to the Plantation came to £12 6s 0¾d. Interpretations The Castle's division closed at £450 3s 6½d, the second largest of the account behind the inhabitants' £1,509 3s 5½d, and its final head completed the building campaign already visible in the glass and hardware. Batten brads were the small flat-headed nails of flooring and battened roofs, the hoop rivets served the cooper's repair of casks, and 160-odd thousand nails of every grade in one quarter is the consumption of structures going up, not of maintenance. The Plantation's division by contrast came to barely £12, the measure of an establishment that fed itself. Its purchases were the few things the farms could not grow: arrack, sugar, soap, oil and vinegar for the household, and field iron. The distinction between ground hoes at 2s 6d and hoes not ground at 2s 2d prices the edge itself, 4d for the grinding that made a blank into a working blade. Speculations The 36 knives at 6d with 20 pickaxes and 16 hoes look like a general re-equipment of the Company's field gangs, one cheap knife to a working hand and new breaking tools ahead of the planting season. Falling in the same quarter as the 38 pieces of blue cloth and 10 blankets charged to the Castle, the two divisions together read as a single year-end fit-out of the Company's labour force, clothing through one account and tools through the other, the storekeeper's heads dividing what the plantation economy treated as one provision.
279	271	1718.@ Island St Helena.@ At a Consultation@ held on Tuesday ye 6th day of May 1718@ at Union Castle in James Valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr.@ Prest. Geo: Haswell Depty.@ Matthw Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4th in Counl@ The last Consultation read & approved.@ On Thursday last ye 1st Instant arrived@ the Essex, Capt. Cha Newton Comdr. from China@ & the Hannover Capt James Osborne Comandr@ from Bengall.@ Orderd That a Letter be writt & sent to@ Capt Cha. Newton to desire him to deliver@ Us Two Pecoll of Bohea & Two Pecoll of@ Green Tea of the Hon Companys.@ [...]	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 6 May 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Thursday last, the 1st of the month, two ships arrived: the <i>Essex</i>, Captain Charles Newton commander, from China, and the <i>Hanover</i>, Captain James Osborne commander, from Bengal. The council ordered that a letter be written and sent to Captain Charles Newton asking him to deliver two pecul of bohea and two pecul of green tea belonging to the Honourable Company. The entry closes with an illegible signature [...] Interpretations The arrival of the <i>Essex</i> answered the calculation made on 22 April 1718, when the council declined coffee from the <i>Sarum</i> because few would buy it without tea and resolved to wait for the China ships. Within five days of her anchoring the bench moved for tea, and the requisition went by formal letter to the

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			commander, keeping the paper trail that the rule of 18 August 1716 required for every transfer between ship and shore. A pecul was the Chinese commercial weight of about 133 pounds, so the order brought roughly 533 pounds of tea ashore, divided equally between bohea, the standard black tea, and green. The quantity dwarfed all previous stocks, the storekeeper having sold 139 pounds in a single quarter of 1717 at 9s 0d per pound and found a 92-pound canister giving less than 2 pounds a family on 4 January 1718, so the bench was at last buying to the measured size of its market in the store's most profitable article. The <i>Hanover</i> closed an older thread. The Company secretary's letter of 27 October 1716, written by order of the Secret Committee and read on 18 April 1718, mentioned a duplicate sent by Captain Osborne that had not then arrived, and Captain James Osborne now anchored from Bengal, presumably carrying it. Speculations The even split between bohea and green looks like deliberate market-making rather than guesswork. Black and green teas served different purses and tastes, bohea being the everyday drink and green the dearer leaf, so stocking both let the store carry its graded-series pricing into tea exactly as it did with hats, stockings and cloth. The order's timing, placed before either cargo was opened to the inhabitants, also secured the Company's tea ahead of any private trade the two ships' officers might land, protecting the counter that the 50 per cent advance of 22 April 1718 was set to feed.
280	272	May@ Island St Helena@ At a Consultation held@ on Tuesday the 13th day of May@ 1718. at Union Castle in James@ Vally.@ Isaac Pyke Esqr. Govr.@ Prest. Geo: Haswell Depty@ Matthw Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4o in Counl@ Last Consultation read & approved@ On Saturday last ye 10th instant@ arrived the Towusend Capt Cha Resal@ Comdr. from China@ On Sunday ye 11th insta. Sailed the@ Hannover, Capt. Jams Osborne Comdr wth@ the Essex. Capt Cha Newton Comdr &@ the Sarum Frigot, Capt Geo Newton Comdr@ for London@ Mr John Goodwin brought four@ Bills of Sale made to him from Mrs Francis —@ Carne desireing they might be Re-@ gisterd, which was Granted.@ Mr. Tovey brought in an Inven-@ tory of what Goods he found of@ Mr. Edwd. Holliwells at his Lodgings@ Orderd That Mr Tovey take care@ of the said Goods 'till Shipping time@	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 13 May 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Saturday last, the 10th of the month, the <i>Townsend</i>, Captain Charles Kesar commander, arrived from China. On Sunday the 11th the <i>Hanover</i>, Captain James Osborne commander, the <i>Essex</i>, Captain Charles Newton commander, and the <i>Sarum</i> frigate, Captain George Newton commander, sailed for London. Mr John Goodwin brought four bills of sale made to him by Mrs Frances Carne and asked that they be registered, which was granted. Mr Tovey brought in an inventory of the goods of Mr Edward Holliwell found at his lodgings. The council ordered that Mr Tovey take care of the goods until shipping time [...] Interpretations The Sunday sailing carried home the packet in preparation since 18 April 1718, when Governor Pyke asked every councillor to consider what should be written to the directors by the <i>Sarum</i>. Three ships departing in company continued the convoy practice of the season, and the <i>Essex</i>'s ten days in the road gave time for the delivery of the four pecul of Company tea ordered from Captain Newton on 6 May 1718. The <i>Townsend</i>'s arrival meanwhile kept a China ship in the road as the others left. Registration entered Goodwin's four bills of sale in the public records at the Secretary's office, the same registry that held leases and conveyances, making the transfers provable against any later claim. Frances Carne's census entry of March 1718 recorded a household of 8 blacks, no land and no cattle, with the word free standing in the black men's column, so her sales to Goodwin, the largest private slaveholder on the island with 12 black men, moved property from one of the island's most unusual households to its most acquisitive.

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			The inventory of Edward Holliwell's goods followed the standard protection of an absent or dead man's effects: a sworn list taken at the lodgings, custody given to an officer of the council, and the goods held for dispatch home by the shipping. Tovey, as secretary, was the natural custodian. Speculations Four separate bills of sale in one registration suggest Frances Carne was selling off her household piecemeal rather than in one bargain, and a widow whose whole visible estate was people, with no acres to work them on, had little but their sale or hire to live from. Converting them to credit with Goodwin may have been her provision against age or a planned departure, and registering all four at once gave the buyer secure title in a single sitting before the next ships could carry either party's circumstances away.
281	273	1718.@ is over to Sell the same at Publick out@ cry & enquire for ye rest yt are missing@ Also of Thos. Ashby. lately drown'd a@ fishing.@ The Govr. Sayes that now Mr. Holli-@ well is dead he has appointed Jno Young@ Corporal to take an acct. of the Customs@ And desires the Council to think of a pro-@ per Person to take an account daily of@ Workmen & the Hon Compys. blacks work@ at the Fort.@ The Coroner brought ye following report.@ Island St Helena@ At an Inquest held the 10th:@ day of May 1718. on the body of Mr Edw@ Holliwell found upon the West Rocks@ Prest. Capts: Geo: Haswell Coron.@ Jurors.@ Capt Mattw Bazett Foreman, Thos Dutch@ Gabriel Powell John Marsh@ Thos Southen Jno Goodwin@ Francis Wrangham Jams Greentree@ Wm Slaughter Thos Fairfax@ Richd Swallow Jno Alexander@ Who being all Sworne the following Wit@ nesses were Examined upon Oath, (Viz)@	The order continued: Mr Tovey was to keep the goods until shipping time was over, then sell them at public outcry, and to enquire after the rest that were missing. The same direction covered the goods of Thomas Ashby, lately drowned while fishing. Governor Pyke said that now Mr Holliwell was dead he had appointed John Young, corporal, to take the account of the customs. He asked the council to think of a proper person to take a daily account of the workmen and of the Honourable Company's blacks at work at the Fort. The coroner then brought in the following report. At an inquest held on 10 May 1718 on the body of Mr Edward Holliwell, found upon the West Rocks, Captain George Haswell presided as coroner. The jurors were Captain Matthew Bazett, foreman, Gabriel Powell, Thomas Southen, Francis Wrangham, William Slaughter, Richard Swallow, Thomas Dutch, John Marsh, John Goodwin, James Greentree, Thomas Fairfax and John Alexander. All being sworn, the following witnesses were examined upon oath [...] Interpretations The entry resolves the inventory of the previous page: Edward Holliwell was dead, his body found on the West Rocks three days before the consultation, and he had held the customs, the collection of the duties on imported liquors laid on 14 September 1715. His death therefore opened both an estate and an office, the estate to be sold at public outcry, the auction by open bidding, once the season's ships could no longer carry the goods home, and the office filled at once by Corporal John Young so that no ship in the road escaped its duties in the gap. The order to enquire after missing goods shows the inventory had already found the lodgings short, effects having walked between the death and Tovey's list. The parallel handling of Thomas Ashby's estate, a man drowned at the fishing, put both sudden deaths under the same protective routine. Haswell sat as coroner despite his suspension from salary and diet of 4 January 1718, the suspension having stripped his pay but not his offices, and the jury empanelled under him was extraordinarily heavy: a councillor as foreman and a roll of the island's principal planters, including Powell, Goodwin and Greentree, the three largest private establishments in the census of March 1718. Speculations A jury of that weight suggests the death needed an unassailable verdict. A Company officer found dead on the rocks lay open to readings of accident, self-destruction or worse, and the finding would govern his burial, his estate and any talk that followed, so filling the box with the most substantial men on the island armoured the conclusion before it was reached. The Governor's simultaneous request for a daily checker of the workmen and blacks at the Fort hints that Holliwell

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			may have performed that oversight too, his death exposing how many small offices had quietly accumulated on one man.
282	274	May@ Charles Ablard Sayes that on Friday@ morning last he was going a Fishing@ on the West Rocks & See a Coat lying@ near the Sand hole there & did believe it@ to be Holliwells Coat & gave notice of@ it to ye Sergt. of ye Guard, & Soon after@ One of the Guard went & found his Hatt@ (Signd) Cha Ablard@ Samuel Doveton Sayes he Saw Mr@ Holliwell running into Sergt Dutchs@ house about 7. or 8 last Thursday night@ Saying he was pursued by Several men@ & when he gott into ye house hid him-@ self for some time, & when this Deponant@ Said there was no body Holliwell replyd@ Yes See they Stand at the door & after-@ wards ye Sd Mr. Holliwell run out of the@ house, & further knows not [...].@ (Signd) Samuell Duffton@ Dr. Du May Sayes he has viewd@ the body & believes his madness that@ destroyed him was occasiond by his —@ hard Drinking, (Signd) Jos Du May@ Surgeon@ The Jurors are of Opinion that@ Mr Edwd Holliwell by his immoderate@	Charles Ablard deposed that on Friday morning last he was going fishing on the West Rocks and saw a coat lying near the sand hole there. He believed it to be Holliwell's coat and gave notice to the sergeant of the guard, and soon afterwards one of the guard went and found his hat. The deposition was signed by Charles Ablard. Samuel Doveton deposed that he saw Mr Holliwell run into Sergeant Dutch's house about 7 or 8 last Thursday night, saying he was pursued by several men. Once inside the house Holliwell hid himself for some time, and when the deponent said there was nobody, Holliwell answered yes, see, they stand at the door. Afterwards Holliwell ran out of the house, and the deponent knew no more. The deposition was signed Samuel Duffton. Doctor Du May deposed that he had viewed the body, and that he believed the madness that destroyed Holliwell was occasioned by his hard drinking. The deposition was signed Joseph Du May, surgeon. The jurors gave their opinion that Mr Edward Holliwell, by his immoderate drinking [...] Interpretations The depositions reconstruct Holliwell's last hours with clinical precision. On Thursday night, 8 May 1718, he was fleeing pursuers nobody else could see, hiding in a sergeant's house and pointing to figures at an empty door, and by Friday morning his coat and hat lay at the sand hole on the West Rocks where his body was afterwards found. The terror of invisible pursuers is the visual delusion of advanced drink madness, the condition now called delirium tremens, and the surgeon's finding that drink had occasioned the madness gave the jury its medical foundation. The direction of the verdict carried heavy legal weight. Self-destruction found as <i>felo de se</i> made the dead man a felon against himself, forfeiting his goods to the Crown and barring Christian burial, but a man destroyed by madness was not answerable for his end, his estate passing untouched. The jury's opening words, attributing everything to immoderate drinking, steered toward the second finding, which is what the council's order of 13 May 1718 to sell the goods at public outcry for the benefit of the estate already assumed. The witnesses tie the scene together: the house Holliwell fled into belonged to Sergeant Thomas Dutch, who then sat on the inquest jury, and Doctor Du May made the view as the island's only medical man. Speculations The dead man kept the customs, and a collector of duties drinking himself into delirium raises the question of the state of his receipts. The immediate appointment of Corporal Young, the sworn inventory of the lodgings and the order to enquire after missing goods read together as the bench quietly securing both the Company's money and the estate's effects before either could leak away, the same documentary instinct that ran through all Governor Pyke's administration. The inquest's careful construction of a madness verdict served the same end, since a forfeited estate would have tangled the customs accounts in Crown claims no island court wanted to try.
283	275	1718@ drinking had lost his Sences so much as@ they think made him to make away with@ himself (Signd) Geo: Haswell, Coronr.@ The Govr. sayes he think's tis pro-@ per to consider of some methods to pre-@ vent this in ordinate Drinking.@ Mr. Holliwell the Wednesday be-@ fore he was mising was seen to	The verdict concluded that by his drinking Holliwell had lost his senses so far that, in the jury's opinion, it made him make away with himself. The report was signed by George Haswell, coroner. Governor Pyke said he thought it proper to consider some methods to prevent this inordinate drinking.

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		gett@ on the Top of the Houses in a mad —@ raving condition (wch: it was Supposed@ proceeded from his immoderate drinking@ he could out Saying people persued —@ him to Shoot him & runing about from@ One house to another 'till the Govnr@ was sent for he could not be gott —@ from the Top of the Houses & then he@ pretended he was a Watching to prevent@ Some body from Shooting the Governr.@ The Govr. then believing him to be@ mad Sent for Mr. Johnson the Clerk@ to take care of him & Lock him up@ wch he did, But afterwards he in a@ short time gott thro the thatch and@ runing to Several places in the Vally@ to hide himself was afterwards Seen@	The record then set out the course of Holliwell's madness. On the Wednesday before he went missing he was seen on the tops of the houses in a mad, raving condition, supposed to proceed from his immoderate drinking. He cried out that people were pursuing him to shoot him and ran from one house to another, and he could not be got down from the rooftops until the Governor was sent for, whereupon he claimed he was keeping watch to prevent somebody from shooting the Governor. The Governor, believing him mad, sent for Mr Johnson the clerk to take care of him and lock him up, which was done. But within a short time Holliwell got out through the thatch and ran to several places in the valley to hide himself, and was afterwards seen by [...] Interpretations The verdict completed the legal construction the depositions had prepared: Holliwell destroyed himself, but as a man whose senses were lost, not as a felon against himself. A finding of self-destruction while mad, rather than <i>felo de se</i>, preserved his estate for the sale already ordered on 13 May 1718 and allowed his burial, and Haswell's signature as coroner closed the only inquest the record has yet shown him conduct since his suspension from salary on 4 January 1718. The narrative supplies the full week of the collapse. The rooftop episode on Wednesday 7 May, with its delusion of gunmen inverted into a fantasy of guarding Governor Pyke, preceded the flight into Sergeant Dutch's house on the Thursday night and the rocks on the Friday morning. The island's provision for madness was improvised throughout: no place of confinement existed beyond a locked room in the charge of Mr Johnson the clerk, and a thatched roof could not hold a man in terror of his life. Speculations The Governor's resolve to find methods against inordinate drinking set him against the foundation of his own store, where arrack, wine and brandy had just taken over £606 of the £1,509 sold to the inhabitants in a single quarter. Any regulation was therefore unlikely to touch the Company's counter and far more likely to fall on the punch houses, the licensed retailers already bonded for good order, whose trade had figured in Hodgkinson's neglect of duty on 22 April 1718 and now in the destruction of the customs officer himself. The death of the very man who collected the liquor duties gave the policy its occasion and its irony in one stroke.
284	276	May —@ was afterwards Seen by the people of@ the Ship From on board, to leap from@ the West Rocks into the Sea & so@ drown himselfe.@ By Hollivells drowning himself@ We have lost the account of what@ goods came ashoar that Should have@ paid Custom But the Sergt. of the —@ Guard brought in an accounts of what@ has been brought ashoar Since (Viz)@ Past for Mr. Doveton. May 10: 1718@ 2: Caggs of Arrack 1 of 4½ Gall: the other 8 Gall@ For Mr. Francis.@ 8: Rowles of Tobacco.@ 2: quarter Casks of Arrack 30. Galls: each.@ 2: Cannisters Supposed to be Tea.@ Orderd That Capt. Haswell enquire what@ goods has been brought ashoar before ye accot@ It being proposed whether Mr Doveton@ should pay duty for the Arrack in ye above@ account No body paying for what is —@ brought in Bottles.@ Capt. Haswell Sayes he thinks it hard@ Mr. Doveton should pay for so small a@ quantity of Arrack as 12 Galls & ½.@	Holliwell was afterwards seen by the people of the ship, watching from on board, to leap from the West Rocks into the sea, and so he drowned himself. The record then noted that by Holliwell's drowning himself the account was lost of what goods had come ashore that should have paid custom. The sergeant of the guard, however, brought in an account of what had been landed since, passed on 10 May 1718. For Mr Doveton: 2 kegs of arrack, one of 4½ gallons and the other of 8 gallons. For Mr Francis: 8 rolls of tobacco, 2 quarter casks of arrack of 30 gallons each, and 2 canisters supposed to be tea. The council ordered that Captain Haswell enquire what goods had been brought ashore before those in the account. The question was then proposed whether Mr Doveton should pay duty for the arrack in the account, nobody paying for what was brought ashore in bottles. Captain Haswell said he thought it hard that Mr Doveton should pay for so small a quantity of arrack as 12½ gallons [...] Interpretations The leap from the West Rocks was witnessed from a ship in the road, so the inquest's verdict rested on

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			direct observation rather than inference from the coat and hat, and the record now closed the death itself. The administrative damage followed at once. The customs ran on the collector's running account of dutiable landings, and that book of knowledge died with Holliwell, leaving the council unable to say what had come ashore from the <i>TonnSEND</i>, the <i>Essex</i> and the <i>Hanover</i> before 10 May 1718. The sergeant of the guard's list was an improvised substitute, made at the landing place without the collector's authority to open and inspect, which is why the two canisters could only be entered as supposed to be tea. Haswell's backward enquiry was the only remedy, a reconstruction from memory and witnesses of what the lost account should have shown. The duty question exposed the custom's working rule: bottles passed free as personal refreshment, while casks paid. Doveton's 12½ gallons in two small kegs sat awkwardly on the line, against Mr Francis's 60 gallons of arrack and 8 rolls of tobacco, which were trade by any measure. Speculations The two canisters of supposed tea landing for a private inhabitant in the same days as the Company's four pecul came ashore show the store's most profitable article facing private competition the moment the China ships arrived. The bench's order of 6 May 1718 had secured the Company's tea first, but the customs gap meant private parcels were now passing on the guard's bare word, and Haswell's enquiry into earlier landings would have served as much to count the rival tea ashore as to recover the lost duties.
285	277	1718.@ Capt Bazett thinks 'tis better not to in-@ sist upon ye Duty but lett it go Free.@ Mr. Tovey Saith tis his Opinion they@ should always pay ye Duty for Arrack in Cask.@ The Govr. Sayes Since two of the Coun-@ cil are for clearing of it he wont insist@ upon it tho he thinks 'tis proper all Ar-@ rack brought ashoar in Cask should@ pay Custom.@ The foll: Letter was Sent to Capt Cha Newton@ Sr.@ We having very great occasion for a@ quantity of Tea for the Use of ye Island@ Do therefore in Pursuance of the Hon@ Compys Orders to Us Directed desire you@ to deliver Us two Pecoll of ye Hon: Compys@ Bohea & Two Pecoll of their Ordinary@ Green Tea for wch. We will show you@ their Orders & give you a receipt for the@ Same. We are@ Sr. Yor humb Servts@ (Signd) Isaac Pyke@ Geo Haswell@ Matrchw Bazett.@ Capt Cha Newtons Answer@	Captain Bazett thought it better not to insist upon the duty but to let the arrack go free. Mr Tovey gave his opinion that duty should always be paid for arrack in cask. Governor Pyke said that since two of the council were for clearing it he would not insist upon it, though he thought it proper that all arrack brought ashore in cask should pay custom. The following letter was then sent to Captain Charles Newton. The council wrote that, having very great occasion for a quantity of tea for the use of the island, they desired him, in pursuance of the Honourable Company's orders directed to them, to deliver two pecul of the Honourable Company's bohea and two pecul of their ordinary green tea, for which they would show him the Company's orders and give him a receipt. The letter was signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell and Matthew Bazett. Captain Charles Newton's answer followed [...] Interpretations The duty question ended in a recorded division of opinion rather than a rule. Haswell had thought it hard to charge so small a quantity, Bazett would let it pass free, and only Tovey held for the strict line that cask arrack always paid, so the Governor yielded to the two voices for clearance while entering his own contrary judgement in the minute. The exchange shows the bench working as a genuine council, the Governor declining to override a majority on a small matter, but it left the bottle exemption stretched to cover kegs, a precedent every future importer could cite. The letter to Newton shows why the tea could not simply be demanded. A commander who broke bulk mid-voyage answered to the Company and his owners for every chest, so the council's offer to show the standing orders and give a formal receipt supplied Newton with the paper that discharged him. The same instrument protected the island, the receipt fixing quantity and ownership before the tea left the ship, in keeping with the signed-bills discipline in force since 18 August 1716. Speculations

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			Pyke's care to minute that all cask arrack should in his view pay custom reads as a file built for London. If the directors ever questioned why duties went uncollected in the season the customs officer died, the consultation book would show the Governor arguing for collection and submitting to his council, the responsibility distributed exactly as his handling of the Goodwin refusal and the Sarum letter had distributed it. The habit of losing small battles on the record while securing the record itself runs through his whole administration.
286	278	May@ Srs.@ I recd. a Letter from you wherein you@ desire a certain quantity of Bohea & Green@ Tea from on board belonging to ye Honble.@ United East India Compy. & Likewise@ have shewed me an Order for so doing but@ I have perused my Instructions & canot@ find any thing in the par relating to St@ Helena that impowers me to deliver any@ I having Signd a Bill of Lading to deliver@ my whole Cargoe at the Port of London@ But if my Supra Cargos will enter into an@ Obligation to indemnify me wch: they refuse@ to do Ile comply wth: yor request. I am@ Srs. yr humb Servt.@ the Essex in St@ Helena road —@ May 10. 1718 —@ (Signd) Cha Newton@ Orderd That a Letter be writt to Capt Cha@ Kesar to deliver us the same quantity of Tea@ as We demanded of Cap Cha Newton & also half@ a Chest of ye Coarsest Sort of China Coffee Cups for@ the Use of the Garrison.@ [...]@ Antipas Tovey@ thus farr Copied@	Captain Newton's answer was entered in full. He had received the council's letter desiring a quantity of bohea and green tea from on board, belonging to the Honourable United East India Company, and had been shown an order for the delivery. But he had perused his instructions and could find nothing in the papers relating to St Helena that empowered him to deliver any, since he had signed a bill of lading binding him to deliver his whole cargo at the Port of London. If his supercargoes would enter into an obligation to indemnify him he would comply with the request, but they refused to do so. The letter was signed Charles Newton, the <i>Essex</i> in St Helena road, 10 May 1718. The council then ordered that a letter be written to Captain Charles Kesar to deliver the same quantity of tea as had been demanded of Captain Newton, and also half a chest of the coarsest sort of China coffee cups for the use of the garrison. Beneath the entry stands the signature of Antipas Tovey with the note that the record was thus far copied. Interpretations Newton's refusal shows the legal machinery that bound a homeward cargo. His bill of lading was a signed contract to deliver the whole lading at London, so breaking bulk at the island exposed him personally to the consignees regardless of any general orders the council could show. The supercargoes were the Company's commercial agents aboard, charged with the cargo's management, and only their written indemnity could have shifted the risk off the commander; their refusal left him legally unable to oblige, however courteously framed. The <i>Essex</i> sailed the next day with her tea intact, and the council's demand of 6 May 1718 went unfilled. The bench pivoted at once to the <i>Townsend</i>, arrived from China on 10 May 1718, repeating the requisition to Captain Kesar and adding half a chest of the coarsest China coffee cups for the garrison. Tovey's note that the record was thus far copied marks the point to which the consultations had been duplicated for London, the secretary's standing task since the duplication orders that followed the stolen-consultations affair. Speculations The cups complete a picture begun in the quarterly account, where Union Castle drew 67¾ pounds of coffee while the shops sold it slowly. The garrison evidently drank coffee in quantity, and ordering the coarsest sort of China ware bought durability for barracks tables at the lowest price a China ship could supply, porcelain coming home in bulk as flooring for the tea chests. The bench that declined a speculative bale of coffee on 22 April 1718 was thus equipping the one body of consumers whose demand it could command.
287	279	1718.@ Island St Helena.@ At a Consultation@ held on Saturday the 17th day of@ May 1718. at Union Castle in@ James Vally.@ Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr.@ Capt Chas. Kesar@ Comandr of ye@ Ship Townsend@ Prest. Geo: Haswell Depty.@ Mattw Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4o in Counc@ The Last	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Saturday 17 May 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present, together with Captain Charles

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		Consultation read & approved.@ On Thursday night last Stepney the@ Black Overseer going on an Arrant to the@ Sea Gate came back & told Lucas Mason@ he Saw Andw Bergh ye Cooper there with@ three Caggs & a Black fellow named Ban-@ jarr & Six Legers of Arrack of Capt Cha@ Kesars being left there wth a Centry@ to look after them. Lucas Mason went@ down & took One Small Cagg filld with@ Arrack from Banjarr But ye Cooper gott@ away with ye other two Caggs so yt it@ could not be Seen whether they were full@ or not. There were three of the Legers@ that wanted 2 or 3 Inches more yn ye@ other three did. The Fact being proved very@ Plain against them. Orderd@	Kesar, commander of the ship <i>Townsend</i>, noted in the margin. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Thursday night last Stepney, the black overseer, going on an errand to the Sea Gate, came back and told Lucas Mason that he had seen Andrew Bergh the cooper there with three kegs, together with a black fellow named Banjarr, beside six leaguers of arrack belonging to Captain Charles Kesar that had been left there with a sentry to look after them. Lucas Mason went down and took one small keg filled with arrack from Banjarr, but the cooper got away with the other two kegs, so it could not be seen whether they were full or not. Three of the leaguers wanted 2 or 3 inches more than the other three did. The fact being very plain against them, the council ordered [...] Interpretations A leaguer was the largest cask in common use, holding around 150 gallons, so six of them at the Sea Gate represented some 900 gallons of arrack landed from the <i>Townsend</i> and awaiting clearance under a single sentry. The theft was siphonage in the cooper's classic manner, drawing spirits off into portable kegs, and a cooper had the perfect cover, his trade giving him lawful business around casks at any hour. The proof was forensic: the keg seized full in Banjarr's hands, and the ullage of the leaguers themselves, three standing 2 or 3 inches lower than their fellows. The detection chain shows the island's policing in miniature. Stepney, a black overseer trusted with night errands, reported what he saw to Lucas Mason, who acted on the spot, and the whole passage from observation to council took under two days. It also exposed the same gap the customs had fallen into since Holliwell's death on 9 May 1718, valuable goods lying at the landing place under guard too thin to watch both the casks and the men who serviced them. Captain Kesar's presence in council as the owner of the arrack placed the injured party at the hearing of his own cause, an arrangement the bench had reason to make generous while its requisition for his tea and coffee cups stood unanswered. Speculations The vigour of the prosecution served diplomacy as well as justice. The council had just been refused its tea by one China commander on legal grounds and was asking the same favour of Kesar, so protecting his cargo on shore with exemplary speed demonstrated that goods landed at the island lay safe, an assurance every future commander weighing a delivery against his bill of lading would value. Punishing Bergh and Banjarr was thus also an advertisement of the road itself.
288	280	May@ Orderd@ That Andw Bergh pay for wt Arrack@ is lost & be Whipt at ye Flagstaff@ That Jephtha Fowler who was Centry@ ride the Wooden horse for neglecting@ his Duty in letting ye Cooper pass &@ that ye Black fellow also be Whipt@ Copy of ye Letter to Capt Cha Kesar@ Sr@ We having great occasion for@ a quantity of Tea for the Use of ys@ Isld do therefore in persuance of the@ Hon Compys: Orders to Us directed@ desire you to deliver Us Two pecoll@ of ye Ho: Compys: ordinary Bohea Tea@ Two pecoll of their Ordinary Green —@ Tea & & abt. two Gross of Course Coffee@ Cups, for wch. We will shew you their Ordrs@ & give you a receipt for ye Same We are@ Sr. yor humb Servts.@ Union Castle@ St Helena ye@ 13th. May 1718)@ (Signd)@ Isaac Pyke@ Geo: Haswell@ Mattw Bazett@ Antipas Tovey@ Answer@ Worth Sr. & Gent.@ In answr to yor Letter of ye 17th insta@	The council ordered that Andrew Bergh pay for the arrack that was lost and be whipped at the flagstaff, that Jephtha Fowler, the sentry, ride the wooden horse for neglecting his duty in letting the cooper pass, and that the black fellow also be whipped. A copy of the letter to Captain Charles Kesar was then entered. The council wrote that, having great occasion for a quantity of tea for the use of the island, they desired him, in pursuance of the Honourable Company's orders directed to them, to deliver two pecul of the Honourable Company's ordinary bohea tea, two pecul of their ordinary green tea, and about two gross of coarse coffee cups, for which they would show him the Company's orders and give him a receipt. The letter was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, 13 May 1718, and signed by Isaac Pyke, George Haswell, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Captain Kesar's answer followed, addressed to the Worshipful Sir and Gentlemen, beginning in answer to their letter of the 13th [...] Interpretations

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			The sentences graded the offence by the man. Bergh, the white tradesman who contrived the theft, bore both restitution and the lash at the flagstaff, the public punishment ground of the valley. Banjarr, the black accomplice, was whipped. Jephtha Fowler, the soldier whose fault was omission rather than felony, rode the wooden horse, the sharp-backed frame of military discipline last used on Hodgkinson on 21 January 1718, so a sentry's negligence was answered within garrison custom without degrading him to a thief's punishment. The census of March 1718 shows Fowler's household as a single white woman, the wife of a private soldier whose pay would now carry the disgrace. The letter to Kesar repeated the Newton formula exactly, standing orders shown and a receipt given, but with two differences: all four councillors signed, Tovey now included, and the coffee cups were specified at about two gross, some 288 cups, making the garrison's order concrete. The requisition went the very day the <i>Townsend's</i> requisition was resolved upon, 13 May 1718, and the answer now entering the record would decide whether Kesar's bill of lading proved as immovable as Newton's. Speculations The sequence of business on the page was its own argument. Kesar sat in council while the bench sentenced the men who had robbed his arrack, ordered his losses repaid and flogged the offender at the flagstaff, and the same minute carried the council's request for his tea. No commander weighing the legal risk of breaking bulk could miss the demonstration that the island protected those who dealt with it, and the bench had arranged for him to see it at first hand.
289	281	1718.@ desireing me to deliver you four pecull of@ Tea & two Gross Course Coffee Cups for@ Answer to yor Sd Lettr. I have Signd a bill@ of Lading in Canton to deliver all ye Cargoe@ to ye Hon Compy in London & having@ no Orders to deliver any part of it here@ I aprehend it is not in my power to com-@ ply wth yor Sd. request So must beg youe@ excuse I am Gentlemen@ Yor most humb Servt.@ St Helena@ 14o May 1718.@ (Signd) Cha Kesar@ [...]@ Antipas Tovey@	Captain Kesar's answer continued: the council's letter had desired him to deliver four pecul of tea and two gross of coarse coffee cups. In answer he wrote that he had signed a bill of lading at Canton to deliver all the cargo to the Honourable Company in London, and having no orders to deliver any part of it at the island, he apprehended it was not in his power to comply with the request, so he had to beg their excuse. The letter was signed Charles Kesar at St Helena, 14 May 1718, and the entry closes with the signature of Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The second refusal matched the first to the letter. Like Newton of the <i>Essex</i>, Kesar rested on the bill of lading signed at the loading port, which committed every chest to the London consignees, and on the absence of any clause in his own instructions naming St Helena. The general orders the council could show were the Company's directions to the island, not to the commander, and against a signed consignment instrument they carried no power to discharge him. Two China ships had now passed through the road within a fortnight and the island had got not a pound of tea from either, the calculation of 22 April 1718, to wait for the China ships rather than stock coffee, defeated by paperwork rather than supply. The demonstration staged at the consultation of 17 May 1718 also found its limit. Kesar had watched the bench avenge his pilfered arrack with restitution and the lash, yet courtesy could not move what the law of his lading forbade, and his refusal came the very next day after the council's letter. Tovey's closing signature marks the secretary's authentication of the copied correspondence, both refusals now standing verbatim in the book. Speculations Entering the two refusals in full looks like the council assembling its case for the directors. The gap exposed was systemic: the Court's standing orders entitled the island to draw tea from passing China ships, but nothing in the commanders' charter-parties

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			or bills of lading reflected it, so the entitlement failed at every road. A letter home pressing for a St Helena clause in future ladings, with Newton's and Kesar's answers enclosed as proof, would be the natural next move of a Governor who never lost a paper battle for want of papers.
290	282	May@ Island St Helena@ At a Consultation@ held on Saturday ye 24th day of May@ 1718. at Union Castle in James@ Vally@ Isa Pyke Esq Govr.@ Prest. Geo: Haswell Depty@ Mattw Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4 in Coun@ Last Consultation read & approved@ On Sunday ye 18th instant arrd. the@ Thistleworth Capt. Cha Small from Ban-@ jarr & on Tuesday (the 20th. Thistlewt:)@ Arrived in ye Even the Hester Capt John@ Gordon from Bencoolen@ John Morrett Jno George & Jno Mills@ having formerly desired to go off this@ Island & Capt Cha Small having occa-@ sion for Men It is Orderd.@ That the Sd. three Persons do go wth@ the Sd. Capt Small & yt the Accountts.@ & Secrys. do imediatly make up their@ Accounts@ The Govr. Reports yt he has agreed@ wth Capt Cha Kesar for 6 Legrs of Arrack@ & wth Capt Jno Gordon for 774 Galls: of@ Arrack at ye Usual price 4/8 ½ gall. The@	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Saturday 24 May 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Sunday the 18th of the month the <i>Thistleworth</i>, Captain Charles Small, arrived from Banjar, and on Tuesday the 20th, in the evening, the <i>Hester</i>, Captain John Gordon, arrived from Bencoolen. John Morrett, John George and John Mills had formerly asked to go off the island, and Captain Charles Small had occasion for men. The council ordered that the three go with Captain Small, and that the accountant and secretary immediately make up their accounts. Governor Pyke reported that he had agreed with Captain Charles Kesar for 6 leaguers of arrack, and with Captain John Gordon for 774 gallons of arrack, at the usual price of 4s 8d per gallon. The [...] Interpretations The two arrivals came from the Company's eastward pepper settlements, Banjar on Borneo and Bencoolen on Sumatra, stations whose shipping habitually reached the island short-handed after the mortality of eastern voyages. Captain Small's occasion for men met three inhabitants who had already petitioned to leave, and the order joining them shows the standing machinery of departure: no man left until the accountant and secretary had made up his accounts, so every store debt and credit was settled before the ship could carry him beyond reach. The arrack purchases restocked the store's leading article at its source. The 6 leaguers bought from Kesar were the very casks that had lain under sentry at the Sea Gate when Bergh and Banjarr were taken siphoning them on 15 May 1718, their lost inches already charged to Bergh by the sentence of 17 May, so the Company bought goods whose measure its own court had just established. With Gordon's 774 gallons the bench took in roughly 1,675 gallons in one stroke, against quarterly retail sales of 1,300¾ gallons at 6s 3d, a season's stock secured at the usual wholesale rate of 4s 8d per gallon. Speculations Releasing the three men converted a standing discontent into a costless favour. Men who had formerly desired to leave were poor material for a garrison or a plantation economy, and obliging Captain Small with them purchased a commander's goodwill in the same week two other commanders had refused the council's tea. The bench could not compel a delivery against a bill of lading, but it could make the island the most accommodating road on the run, and the pattern of these consultations shows it doing exactly that, case by case.
291	283	1718.@ The Govr. Sayes yt Mr. Garrett@ who lately came from Bencoolen (pas-@ senger in ye Hester) desired to bind a Black@ boy of his to Rowland Sergent for Four@ Years, but yt. he has given him his@ Freedom, & therefore that the Boy@ is not to be a Slave@ [...]@ Antipas Tovey@	Governor Pyke reported that Mr Garrett, lately come from Bencoolen as a passenger in the <i>Hester</i>, wished to bind a black boy of his to Rowland Sergeant for four years, but that he had given the boy his freedom, and therefore the boy was not to be a slave. The entry closes with an illegible signature [...] and the signature of Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The entry put a manumission on permanent record at the moment it was most vulnerable. The boy's binding to Rowland Sergeant for four years was an

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			indenture, a fixed term of service such as any free apprentice might serve, and the Governor's care to minute that the boy is not to be a slave drew the legal line between serving and being owned. Once Garrett sailed on with the <i>Hester</i> he could never again be produced to prove the freedom he had given, so the consultation book itself became the boy's title to his own person, citable against anyone who might treat the indenture as ownership when the four years expired. The island's records already carried the distinction the entry protected. The census of March 1718 entered the word free in the black men's column of Frances Carne's household where every other black on the page was counted as property, so the bench knew both that free blacks lived on the island and how thin the documentary wall was that kept their status from dissolving into the general condition of slavery around them. Speculations The transaction itself suggests Garrett was providing for the boy rather than disposing of him. A passenger could not easily keep a servant boy on a crowded Indiaman bound home, and binding him to an islander secured the boy keep, work and a master answerable to the council for four years, with recorded freedom at the end of it. The choice of a consultation entry over a private paper made the council itself the guarantor, which for a boy with no kin on the island was worth more than any indenture in a sea chest.
292	284	May@ Isld St Helena@ At a Consultation held@ on Tuesday the 27th day of May@ 1718 at Union Castle in James@ Vally@ Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr@ Prest. Geo Haswell Depty@ Mattw. Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4 in Council@ Last Consultation read & approvd —@ Mr Josh Thomlinson desired he@ might have 3 Bills of Exchge on the@ Hon Compy for 100lb wch is due to him@ here in their Books of Accounts@ The Govr. desires that he may@ have Likewise 3 Bills of Exchange@ on Our Hon Mastrs. for 125£ in part@ of what is due to him here —@ The Balce. of Capt Cha Kesars acct@ for Arrack, Tea & Coffee Cups bought of@ him on ye Hon Compys. acct Amounts@ to 388lb.12.11 — wch he is to have Bills of@ Exchange for Also.@ The Custom Master brought an —@ Account of the foll: Goods Landed@ here and Sent to ye foll person houses@ (Viz:)@	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Tuesday 27 May 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Joshua Thomlinson asked for bills of exchange on the Honourable Company for £100 0s 0d due to him in their books of account at the island. Governor Pyke asked likewise for bills of exchange on the Honourable Masters for £125 0s 0d, part of what was due to him there. The balance of Captain Charles Kesar's account for arrack, tea and coffee cups bought from him on the Honourable Company's account came to £388 12s 11d, for which he was also to have bills of exchange. The custom master then brought in an account of goods landed and sent to the following persons' houses [...] Interpretations The middle entry quietly resolves the tea affair. Kesar had refused on 14 May 1718 to deliver any of the Company's consigned tea against his Canton bill of lading, yet his account now showed tea and coffee cups bought from him, so the bench had changed the legal nature of the transaction. A commander could not break bulk on the consigned cargo, but his private trade, the tonnage allowed him for his own venture, was his to sell, and a purchase on the Company's account at the island bound nobody's lading. The £388 12s 11d therefore bought what the requisition could not command, the arrack of 24 May, the tea and the garrison's cups together. Bills of exchange were the island's only remittance home, paper drawn on the Company in London against credits in the island books. The page shows the instrument serving every rank alike: Thomlinson, the chaplain, drawing £100 0s 0d of his arrears, the Governor drawing £125 0s 0d of his own through the same conciliar process as anyone else, and Kesar converting his cargo into London money without an ounce of coin changing hands. The custom master's account that follows shows Corporal Young's new office already producing the house-by-house record of landings whose loss Holliwell's death had exposed.

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			Speculations The price of the workaround was itself evidence for London. The consultation book now held, in sequence, the Company's standing orders shown to two commanders, both refusals verbatim, and the sum paid to obtain privately what the orders should have delivered from the consigned cargo. A Court of Directors reading the file would see the cost of the missing clause in its commanders' instructions stated in pounds, shillings and pence, which is precisely the kind of argument Governor Pyke's record-keeping was built to make.
293	285	1718@ Vizt@ To Dr. Thomlinson for 1 quarter@ Cask of Arrack qt. 30. galls.@ £ 1:10 -@ Mrs Carne 1½ Legers qt 180@ Galls.@ 9:0:0@ £ 9 10 -@ [...]@	The custom master's account followed: Mr Thomlinson was charged for 1 quarter cask of arrack, containing 30 gallons, £1 10s 0d, and Mr Carne for 1½ leaguers, containing 180 gallons, £9 0s 0d. The account was ruled off at £10 10s 0d, and the entry closes with an illegible signature [...] Interpretations The return was the first fruit of the customs office rebuilt after Holliwell's death. The new custom master tracked each parcel of arrack from the landing place to the house that received it and charged the duty by the gallon, exactly the running account whose loss the council had lamented on 13 May 1718, and the entry of the account in the consultation book restored the duties to public record within a fortnight of the collector's drowning. The two charges also settled, in practice, the question the bench had divided over on 17 May 1718. Doveton's 12½ gallons had been let pass free as too small to insist upon, but cask arrack in real quantity now paid: a quarter cask for the chaplain's household and 1½ leaguers, 180 gallons, for Carne. Governor Pyke's recorded opinion that all arrack in cask should pay custom had become the working rule for everything above the bottle-and-keg scale. Speculations The 180 gallons sent to Carne's house is retailing stock, not household drinking, a year of one family's consumption landed in a single parcel. The Carne household in the census of March 1718 was a widow's establishment of 8 blacks with a free man, no land and no cattle, and a house in the valley taking arrack by the leaguer looks like a punch-house economy, drink retailed under licence as the livelihood of a family that had nothing to plant. If so, Frances Carne's four bills of sale to Goodwin on 13 May 1718 and this purchase a fortnight later may be two sides of one decision, capital raised from her people and put into stock in trade.
294	286	June.@ Island St Helena@ At a Consultation —@ held on Tuesday the 10th day of June —@ 1718. At the Hon Compys: Plantation@ House.@ Isaac Pyke Esqr: Govr:@ Prest: George Hasswell Dputy@ Matth: Bazett: 3 &@ Antip: Tovey 4th in Counl@ The Last Consultation was read & approved.@ According to an Advertizemt: Published —@ about ten days ago the following Blacks@ of the Hon: Compys: were Sold to the Inha=@ =bitants at Publick Outcry. vizt@ Andrew Sold for@ £ 24:--:@ Dancing Jack@ 24:--:@ Harry@ 10:10:-@ Harvey@ 11:--:@ Hoping Jack@ 10:--:@ Long Jack@ 24:--:@ Mahomett@ 23:--:@ Rederiffe@ 16:--:@ Guinea Roger@ 20:10:-@ Sambo@ 25:--:@ Tower Hill@ 21:--:@ £ 209:--:@	A consultation was held at the Honourable Company's Plantation House on Tuesday 10 June 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, George Haswell, Deputy Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. In accordance with an advertisement published about ten days earlier, the following blacks of the Honourable Company were sold to the inhabitants at public outcry: Andrew for £24 0s 0d, Dancing Jack for £24 0s 0d, Harry for £10 10s 0d, Harvey for £11 0s 0d, Hoping Jack for £10 0s 0d, Long Jack for £24 0s 0d, Mahomett for £23 0s 0d, Rederiffe for £16 0s 0d, Guinea Roger for £20 10s 0d, Sambo for £25 0s 0d and Tower Hill for £21 0s 0d. The sale came to £209 0s 0d in all. Interpretations The sale moved eleven men from the Company's gangs into private hands by the standard machinery of advertisement and auction, the same public outcry ordered for Holliwell's goods. It reversed the direction of the previous year, when the Company had bought heavily from Captain Mackett's Madagascar cargo in

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			March 1717, and the prices ran from £25 0s 0d for a prime hand down to £10 0s 0d, the spread valuing age, health and skill man by man. Hoping Jack at the bottom price carries his condition in his name, a lame man distinguished from Long Jack and Dancing Jack among the Company's several Jacks, while Mahomett, Guinea Roger, Rederiffe and Tower Hill preserve in their names the trade's geography, from a Muslim east and the Guinea coast to the London waterfront where Redriff and Tower Hill stood. The buyers' side of the market had been made by the Company itself. Since the advertisement of 21 May 1717 ended the hire of the inhabitants' blacks from 25 June following, planters could no longer earn from surplus hands and several had been re-equipping their own gangs, so the Company now sold into demand partly of its own creation. Speculations The selection looks like a pruning of the Company's gang to the men worth their feeding. A force that had to be victualled through the store in rice by the hundredweight repaid culling once the great plantation works eased, and selling the lame and the ageing at £10 0s 0d while prime men fetched £24 0s 0d shifted the cost of their keep onto buyers who could still find them light work. The £209 0s 0d raised was incidental beside the saving in rations, and the timing, with the yam grounds replanted and Lufkin's house nearly done, suggests the establishment trimming labour to the season's reduced need.
295	287	1718.@ Mr Portley the Hon Compas Chief —@ overseer brought an Account; of the follow=@ =ing Blacks of the Hon: Compas that have@ died since the first of May last. Vizt:@ Emanuel &@ Kent: — } Men.@ Hanah a woman@ Stephen a Child. —@ Ordered That the Tea bought of Captain@ Charles Kesar be Sold out at the Hon Compas@ Stores at nine Shillings per Cattee@ The Cups at five pence ~~Ɔ~~ piece one wt: another.@ Richard & Anthony Beale desired the Land@ called Taylors Ground granted lately to them —@ may be measured.@ Ordered That a Warrant be drawn & given@ to Capt. Bazett to measure the Same.@ The overseer Complains that there is a great —@ Mortality amongst the Poultry Especially amongst@ the Turkeys Severall dying every day.@ The Widdow Carnes Boat which was a Small@ Yawl that She Used for Fishing was Missing on —@ Sunday last and a black fellow named [...] B —@ belonging to Christopher Kelley, another Black@ fellow belonging to Serjeant Southen Named@ Antony and two Black fellows more of —@	Mr Portley, the Honourable Company's chief overseer, brought in an account of the Company's blacks who had died since the first of May last: Emanuel and Kent, men, Hannah, a woman, and Stephen, a child. The council ordered that the tea bought of Captain Charles Kesar be sold out at the Honourable Company's stores at nine shillings per catty, and the cups at five pence apiece, one with another. Richard and Anthony Beale asked that the land called Taylor's Ground, lately granted to them, be measured. The council ordered that a warrant be drawn and given to Captain Bazett to measure it. The overseer complained of a great mortality amongst the poultry, especially the turkeys, several dying every day. The widow Carne's boat, a small yawl she used for fishing, had been missing since Sunday last, together with a black fellow named [...] B[...] belonging to Christopher Kell, another black fellow belonging to Sergeant Southen named Antony, and two black fellows more of [...] Interpretations The page shows Portley settled into the chief overseer's duties, his mortality report continuing the routine Worrall had performed, with four deaths in five weeks keeping up the steady toll on the Company's force even as eleven of its men were sold. A catty was the Chinese retail weight of about a pound and a third, a hundredth of a pecul, so pricing Kesar's tea at 9s 0d the catty undercut the 9s 0d per pound of earlier stock, the bulk purchase of 27 May 1718 passed to the counter at a softer rate, while the China cups at 5d apiece one with another averaged the sound and the chipped across the half chest. The Beale warrant completed their Taylor's Ground grant by the same method as every land transaction of the administration, Captain Bazett measuring as he had measured Bowmans, so the brothers' title would rest on a recorded survey rather than a description. The missing yawl opens an escape by sea. At least four slaves of different private owners had gone with the widow Carne's fishing boat since Sunday 8 June 1718, a concerted flight rather than an opportunist

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			theft, and on an island ten miles across with no forest refuge left, the open ocean was the only direction escape could run. Speculations The choice of boat suggests planning with local knowledge. A fishing yawl was provisioned for sea work, small enough to slip out by night and familiar enough at the fishing grounds that its absence might pass for a day unremarked, and the widow Carne's household, whose free black man and boys worked the water, kept exactly the sort of boat whose moorings and habits other black fishermen would know. Downwind from the island lay only Ascension and the long run for Brazil, so the men had traded near-certain recapture ashore for a desperate gamble on the trade winds.
296	288	June.@ the Hon: Compas: named Peter & Will are alsoe —@ missing and it is feared that they are all gone —@ together to seek their own Country as they have a —@ notion they may do and find it if they goe to the —@ Sun. for one of them viz: Kelleys black had —@ Sayed Some time before he knew how to find his@ Country out for 'twas a great way off upon the Water —@ out of Sight of this Land where the Sun rose for he —@ had often observed the Sun to rise over a great —@ Mountain which is on Madagascar, they made —@ Some Small Provision for a voyage have taken@ Some Yams and two Caggs Each containg about@ Eight Gallons of Water and all the Oars & Sails —@ belonging to Richard Gurlings boat as well —@ as those of the boat they went in.@ [...]@	The two black fellows more were the Honourable Company's, named Peter and Will, also missing, and it was feared that all of them had gone together to seek their own country, which they had a notion they might find if they went toward the sun. One of them, Kell's man, had said some time before that he knew how to find his country out, for it lay a great way off upon the water, out of sight of this land, where the sun rose, and he had often observed the sun to rise over a great mountain which is on Madagascar. They had made some small provision for a voyage, taking some yams and two kegs each holding about eight gallons of water, together with all the oars and sails belonging to Richard Gurling's boat as well as those of the boat they went in. Interpretations The record reconstructs both the party and its purpose. Four men of three different owners, Kell's man, Sergeant Southen's Antony, and the Company's Peter and Will, had combined across their ownerships, and the recalled words of Kell's man supplied the motive in his own reasoning: home lay over the water where the sun rose, marked by a great mountain he took to stand on Madagascar. The bearing was, in its essentials, true, Madagascar lying east of the island, and the man had evidently spent his sunrises fixing it. What the reasoning could not supply was the scale, more than 2,000 miles of ocean against the south-east trade winds, a passage no open fishing yawl could beat to windward, so the voyage the council feared was in train was beyond surviving. The preparations were nonetheless deliberate: yams, 16 gallons of water in two kegs, and the oars and sails stripped from a second boat, Richard Gurling's, doubling their canvas and sweeps. This was provisioned, planned flight, not panic, and the stripping of Gurling's boat also crippled the readiest craft that might have pursued them. Speculations The party reads as shipmates of the Madagascar cargo of March 1717 reunited across their sales. Captain Mackett's slaves had been dispersed about sixty to the inhabitants with others kept for the Company, which would place countrymen in Kell's, Southen's and the Company's hands at once, and only men of one homeland share both the notion of their own country and a remembered mountain to steer for. Sold apart, they had kept their bond and their bearing for over a year, and the island's first recorded escape by sea was in truth an attempted voyage home.
297	289	1718.@ Island St Helena.@ At a Consultation —@ Held on Tuesday the 17th day of June 1718.@ at the Hon: Compas Plantation House.@ Isaac Pyke Esqr: Govr.@ Capt Geo: Hascoell@ absent@ being Sick.@ Prest: Matthw Bazett 3d &@ Antipas Tovey 4th in Counl@ The Last Consultation read & approved.@ The Govr: Says that the weather being so very —@	A consultation was held at the Honourable Company's Plantation House on Tuesday 17 June 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present, Captain George Haswell being absent sick. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke said the weather was so very different

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		different from what is Usual here That We think@ it Proper to Mention it in this Consultation, The —@ usual winds of this place is the South East Trade@ inclining a Point or Some times two more Southerly@ or Eastaly According as the Sun is to the North-@ ward or Southward of our Zenith, But for —@ about three weeks past We have had Great Calms —@ and on Saturday last We had a Northerly wind —@ which inclined to the West ward all Sunday@ and yesterday it blew hard at No West with@ Small rain, Such a wind has not been known@ here these Sixteen years and then not so strong —@ as now, We have a very Sickly time of it, at no —@ Season in our Memory has there been so many@ People Sick & dyed as in this, Whether the Extra=@ ordinary illness proceeds from these winds We@ cannot tell But most People reckon them to@	from what was usual at the island that the council thought it proper to enter it in the consultation. The usual wind of the place was the south-east trade, inclining a point or sometimes two more southerly or easterly according as the sun stood to the northward or southward of the zenith. But for about three weeks past there had been great calms, and on Saturday last a northerly wind set in, inclining to the westward all Sunday, and yesterday it blew hard at north-west with small rain. Such a wind had not been known there these sixteen years, and then not so strong as now. The island was having a very sickly time of it, no season in memory having seen so many people sick and dead, and whether the extraordinary illness proceeded from these winds the council could not tell, but most people reckoned them to be [...] Interpretations The entry is a deliberate piece of natural observation set into the public record. Pyke's account of the south-east trade shifting a point or two with the sun's passage north and south of the zenith is accurate tropical meteorology, the island lying at 16 degrees south where the sun crosses overhead twice a year, and it frames precisely how anomalous three weeks of calm followed by a hard north-west gale was: a reversal of the reliable engine of the island's climate, unmatched in sixteen years. The Governor who measured tar by triple weighing here instrumented the weather the same way, fixing dates, directions and precedent for the directors and for posterity. The epidemic ran beside the weather through the whole record of the month: Portley's four Company dead since 1 May, the poultry dying daily, and now the Deputy Governor himself absent sick. The council's phrasing kept careful distance between observation and theory, reporting that most people connected the sickness to the winds while professing itself unable to tell, the popular medicine of airs recorded without being endorsed. Speculations The weather entry casts a strange light backward on the four men who sailed for Madagascar about 8 June 1718. Their course lay east, dead against the trade that should have made the voyage hopeless, yet they departed into the only fortnight in sixteen years when the trade failed, and the hard north-westerly that followed was the one wind that could drive a small yawl eastward. Whether by patient observation of the same calms the council was recording or by desperate luck, they had chosen the single window the island's climate ever offered for a voyage toward the sunrise.
298	290	June@ be unwholsome.@ The Governr: Sayes he wishes the last three@ Ships that Sailed hence may arrive Safe at —@ home. But he fears the weather they mett —@ with will retard their Passage for Although@ they Sailed a Tuesday night the 27th day of —@ may yet We Saw them the Saturday@ following at Sun Sett@ Ordered That an Advertizemt.@ be Published that tho' We are willing to pay —@ Dyett Bills that except they bring in their —@ Bills Soon after the Expiration of ye: quarter@ of a year We will not allow them.@ The Governr: Sayes that when the Store —@ Ship comes he thinks it Proper to Save all —@ the Leather heeld Shoes for the Garrison —@ and only to Sell the Wooden heeld ones,@ for he concludes that the want of Shoes@ has been another cause of the Sickness —@ amongst the Garrison —@ And because the winds and weather have@ been so very different from what they have@ been formerly the consequence can't as yett@ be foreseen, Therefore he thinks it Proper@ not to Sell the Bread & Flour that We —@	The opinion concluded that most people reckoned the winds to be unwholesome. Governor Pyke said he wished the last three ships that sailed from the island a safe arrival home, but he feared the weather they had met would slow their passage, for although they sailed on Tuesday night, 27 May, they were still in sight at sunset the following Saturday. The council ordered an advertisement published that, though the Company was willing to pay diet bills, none would be allowed unless brought in soon after the quarter's end. The Governor said that when the store ship came he thought it proper to keep all the leather-heeled shoes for the garrison and to sell only the wooden-heeled ones, for he concluded that the want of shoes had been another cause of the sickness amongst the soldiers. And because the winds and weather had been so very different from anything formerly known, and the consequence could not yet be foreseen, he thought it proper not to sell the bread and flour that was expected [...] Interpretations

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			The becalmed convoy gave the weather entry its practical edge. The <i>Townsend</i>, <i>Thistleworth</i> and <i>Hester</i> had sailed on the night of 27 May 1718 and were still visible from the island four days later, ships ordinarily carried out of sight in hours by the trade now hanging on the horizon, and a Governor whose packet and bills of exchange were aboard had reason to wish them safe. The remaining business was a precautionary regime assembled piece by piece. Diet bills were the charges for boarding persons at the Company's expense, such as the orphans noted At Board in the census of March 1718, and the new time bar disciplined claims to the quarter they belonged to. The shoe order revived the oldest of the garrison's grievances, the barefoot soldiers whose want had driven the hide purchase of 5 June 1717, and tied it directly to the epidemic: leather heels that kept out the wet were to be held for the troops while the wooden-heeled sort went to the counter. The embargo on the expected bread and flour completed the pattern, holding the next store ship's grain off sale until the strange season declared itself. Speculations The whole page reads as the famine of 1715 and 1716 governing from memory. A bench that had once been surprised by dearth now treated a broken trade wind as a supply warning in itself, sequestering grain before any crop had failed and shoeing the garrison before the sickness deepened, precaution running ahead of proof. The cost of holding stock unsold was trivial against the remembered cost of having none, and Governor Pyke's minute framed each measure so that, whatever the season brought, the record would show the island governed as if it had been foreseen.
299	291	1718.@ Expect in the next Store Ship, nor 'till We@ See how this Season will Prove and the —@ Hon: Companys Plantations Stand.@ But lest this Proposall Should alarm@ our Hon: Masters and make them think@ that this Extraordinary care to Apply these@ Provisions that are Expected is Occasioned —@ by any Neglect of their Honrs: Plantation@ therefore that it may appear they are not —@ ruined nor Neglected but Considerably Im=@ =proved. — Ordered.@ That Mr Tovey do goe & view@ the Plantations and report in what Posture@ they are in and how many Yams are Grow=@ =ing therein@ The Effects of this Unusual Weather being@ So much Dreded by the People We think We —@ cannot be too cautious in making a due Pro=@ =vision for our Numerous Family Especially@ at a time of having it increased by an additionl:@ Number of Blacks which We yet Expect:@ Capt: Bazett the Store keeper brought@ in an Account of Store Goods Sold for —@ Janry, Febry & March last 1717/18 and is —@ as Followeth.@	The order continued: the bread and flour expected in the next store ship were not to be sold until it could be seen how the season would prove and how the Honourable Company's plantations stood. But lest this proposal should alarm the Honourable Masters and make them think that such extraordinary care over the expected provisions arose from any neglect of their plantations, and so that it might appear the plantations were neither ruined nor neglected but considerably improved, the council ordered that Mr Tovey go and view the plantations and report what posture they were in and how many yams were growing there. The effects of the unusual weather being so much dreaded by the people, the council thought it could not be too cautious in making due provision for its numerous family, especially at a time when that family was to be increased by an additional number of blacks yet expected. Captain Bazett, the storekeeper, then brought in an account of store goods sold for January, February and March 1718, as follows [...] Interpretations The minute manages its readers as deliberately as it manages the grain. The council knew the directors would read a food embargo as a possible confession of failed plantations, so the same entry that imposed the precaution commissioned the evidence against that reading: Tovey was to survey the plantations and count the growing yams, the island's staple measure of food security since the great plantings of 100,000 suckers at the Hutts. The report would reach London bound in the same book as the embargo it justified. The phrase numerous family named the whole establishment the Company fed, garrison and slaves together, and the additional blacks yet expected reveal a slave cargo on its way, presumably under the standing orders that had brought Captain Mackett's Madagascar cargo in March 1717. More mouths arriving into an uncertain season completed the case for holding the store ship's bread and flour. The quarterly account now

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			opening carried the storekeeper's series forward from the quarter to 25 December 1717, entered in April, to the three months ending in March 1718. Speculations Set beside the auction of 10 June 1718, the expected cargo shows the Company turning over its labour force rather than merely keeping it. Eleven men, several aged or lame, had just been sold to the inhabitants at £209 0s 0d while fresh purchases were awaited from the sea, so the establishment was renewing itself at the top of the market and shedding at the bottom, with the island's planters absorbing the worn hands. The bench's caution over rations was thus also stock management, provisioning calculated for the gang it intended to have, not the one it had just reduced.
300	292	June.@ An Accot: of Goods Sold & Delivered —@ out of the Hon Compas Stores To the@ Inhabitants of Said Island. Also deliverd —@ for the use of Union Castle & Plantation@ House from December the 25th 1717. to —@ March the 25th Exclusive 1718. Vizt: —@ Arrack 731½ Gall: at 6/3@ £ 228 12 8@ Brandy 139¼ Galls at 9/-@ 62 13 3@ Wine 72½ Galls at — 4/-@ 14 9 -@ Tea 130lb at — 9/-@ 58 10 -@ Sugar 1865¾ lb at — /8@ 62 3 10@ Tobacco 474lb at — 2/-@ 47 8 -@ Candy 295½ lb at — 1/-@ 14 15 6@ Soape 366lb at — 1/5@ 25 18 6@ vinegar 17½ Gall: 2/6@ 2 2 9¾@ Coffee 54lb at — 2/6@ 6 15 -@ Pipes 154 2/12 dozn at — 6@ 3 17 1@ Oyles Vizt@ 3½ Galls Sweet dto at 12/-@ £ 2 3 6@ 1½ Gall Linseed do 8/-@ -12 -@ 18¾ Gall: Rape do. 6/-@ 5 10 3@ 1½ Gall. Traine do. 6/-@ -9 -@ 8 14 9@ Pepper. 15lb@ -15 -@ Starch. 20lb at 9d@ -15 -@ Carried over@ £ 537 10 4¾@	The order continued: the bread and flour expected in the next store ship were not to be sold until it could be seen how the season would prove and how the Honourable Company's plantations stood. But lest this proposal should alarm the Honourable Masters and make them think that such extraordinary care over the expected provisions arose from any neglect of their plantations, and so that it might appear the plantations were neither ruined nor neglected but considerably improved, the council ordered that Mr Tovey go and view the plantations and report what posture they were in and how many yams were growing there. The effects of the unusual weather being so much dreaded by the people, the council thought it could not be too cautious in making due provision for its numerous family, especially at a time when that family was to be increased by an additional number of blacks yet expected. Captain Bazett, the storekeeper, then brought in an account of store goods sold for January, February and March 1718, as follows [...] Interpretations The minute manages its readers as deliberately as it manages the grain. The council knew the directors would read a food embargo as a possible confession of failed plantations, so the same entry that imposed the precaution commissioned the evidence against that reading: Tovey was to survey the plantations and count the growing yams, the island's staple measure of food security since the great plantings of 100,000 suckers at the Hutts. The report would reach London bound in the same book as the embargo it justified. The phrase numerous family named the whole establishment the Company fed, garrison and slaves together, and the additional blacks yet expected reveal a slave cargo on its way, presumably under the standing orders that had brought Captain Mackett's Madagascar cargo in March 1717. More mouths arriving into an uncertain season completed the case for holding the store ship's bread and flour. The quarterly account now opening carried the storekeeper's series forward from the quarter to 25 December 1717, entered in April, to the three months ending in March 1718. Speculations Set beside the auction of 10 June 1718, the expected cargo shows the Company turning over its labour force rather than merely keeping it. Eleven men, several aged or lame, had just been sold to the inhabitants at £209 0s 0d while fresh purchases were awaited from the sea, so the establishment was renewing itself at the top of the market and shedding at the bottom, with the island's planters absorbing the worn hands. The bench's caution over rations was thus also stock management, provisioning calculated for the gang it intended to have, not the one it had just reduced.
301	293	1718.@ Brought Over £@ £ 537 10 4¾@ Shoes vizt@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £537 10s 4¾d.

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		2 pr Mens ditto at 6/3@ -7 1 [16 3]@ 6 pr Womens dto 6/2@ 1 17 -@ 1 pr Boys dto@ -2 4@ -9 15 7@ Iron Mongers Ware vizt:@ 3: Splinter Locks No 5 at 2/4@ -7 -@ 1: ditto — 2@ -7 -@ 1: ditto — 4@ -1 8@ 1 Chest Lock@ -1 1/4@ 1: ditto@ -1 4 1/2@ 1: ditto@ -1 10@ ditto@ -2 7@ 3 Sockett Shovells at 2/6@ -7 6@ 6: Hoes. at 2/6@ -15 -@ 1: felling Axe@ -3 4@ 1: Grubbing Axe. @ -2 8@ 1: Spade No 1@ -5 3@ 1: Saw. @ -6 -@ 1 pr H. Hinges@ -1 8@ 1: Stock Lock No 3@ -5 -@ 1: Iron Pott qt 52lb at 6d@ 1 6 -@ 3: Small dto qt 65 3/4 at 7d@ 1 18 4 1/2@ 1 pr Pott Hooks@ -2 -@ 6 9 3@ Nayles Vizt@ 1lb 3. ditto@ -9@ 9 — 4 at 11d@ -8 3@ 16. 6 at 9@ -12 -@ 1 — 8@ -8 1/2@ Carried Over £ 1 18 1/2@ Carried Over@ £ 553 15 0 3/4@	Shoes, as follows. Men's shoes. 25 pairs at 6s 3d per pair. £7 16s 3d. Women's shoes. 6 pairs at 6s 2d per pair. £1 17s 0d. Boys' shoes. 1 pair. £0 2s 4d. Total for shoes: £9 15s 7d. Ironmonger's ware, as follows. Splinter locks, number 5. 3 at 2s 4d each. £0 7s 0d. Splinter lock, number 2. 1. £0 1s 0d. Splinter lock, number 4. 1. £0 1s 8d. Chest lock. 1. £0 1s 4d. Chest lock. 1. £0 1s 4 1/2d. Chest lock. 1. £0 1s 10d. Chest lock. 1. £0 2s 7d. Socket shovels. 3 at 2s 6d each. £0 7s 6d. Hoes. 6 at 2s 6d each. £0 15s 0d. Felling axe. 1. £0 3s 4d. Grubbing axe. 1. £0 2s 8d. Spade, number 1. 1. £0 5s 3d. Saw. 1. £0 6s 0d. H hinges. 1 pair. £0 1s 8d. Stock lock, number 3. 1. £0 5s 0d. Iron pot. 1, weighing 52 pounds, at 6d per pound. £1 6s 0d. Small iron pots. 3, weighing 65 1/4 pounds, at 7d per pound. £1 18s 4 1/4d. Pot hooks. 1 pair. £0 2s 0d. Total for ironmonger's ware: £6 9s 3d. Nails, as follows. Threepenny nails. 1 thousand. £0 0s 9d. Fourpenny nails. 9 thousand at 11d. £0 8s 3d. Sixpenny nails. 16 thousand at 9d. £0 12s 0d. Eightpenny nails. 1 thousand. £0 0s 8 1/2d. The nails carried over £1 1s 8 1/2d, and the account carried over £553 15s 0 3/4d. Interpretations The shoe trade had turned over since the last account, 25 pairs of imported men's shoes selling in the quarter with no island shoes entered on the page, which suggests the tannery's 50 pairs of the autumn had sold through and the counter had fallen back on imported stock at 6s 3d while new local pairs were in the making. The hardware repeated the established numbered grades, the splinter lock prices matching their autumn rates exactly, number 5 at 2s 4d and number 2 at 1s 0d, the consistency showing fixed list prices held from quarter to quarter rather than haggled sales. The iron pots continued to sell by weight, the small sorts at 7d the pound carrying a penny premium over the great pot at 6d, small castings costing more metal-for-metal as they always did. The nails head closed the page unfinished and carried over on its own line at £1 1s 8 1/2d in the storekeeper's usual manner, the page total standing at £553 15s 0 3/4d. Speculations The 27 thousand nails of this quarter against the 72 thousand of the last trace the building season winding down. The middling boarding sizes still led, but at a third of the autumn's volume, which fits Lufkin's house approaching completion while the rebuilding at the Hutts waited on it by the order of 22 April 1718. The single saw, spade and felling axe alongside read as replacement tools for works in progress rather than new undertakings, the island's hammers quieter but not yet idle.
302	294	June. @ Brought Over £@ 553 15 2 3/4@ Nayles Brot Over@ 1.1 8 1/2@ 6lb. 10d dto at — 8 1/2d@ -4 3@ 11. 20 — 8@ -7 4@ 2: 30 — 7 1/2@ -1 3@ 1lb Brads@ -1 2@ 1: lb Tacks@ -1 8@ 5 1/4 Coopers Rivetts at 11d@ -4 9 3/4@ 2 2 2 1/4@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £553 15s 2 3/4d, and the nails brought over at £1 1s 8 1/2d. Tenpenny nails. 6 thousand at 8 1/2d. £0 4s 3d. Twentypenny nails. 11 thousand at 8d. £0 7s 4d. Thirtypenny nails. 2 thousand at 7 1/2d. £0 1s 3d. Brads. 1 thousand. £0 1s 2d. Tacks. 1 thousand. £0 1s 8d. Coopers' rivets. 5 1/4 thousand at 11d. £0 4s 9 3/4d.

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		Tinn Ware vizt@ 5: Pint Coffee Potts at 14d ea.@ -5 10@ 1: Half Pint dto@ --9@ 2: Sauce Pans at — 9d@ -1 6@ 2: ditto at — 14@ -2 4@ 2: three Pint dto — 20@ -3 4@ 2: two quart dto@ -4 10@ 2: Porringers at — 7d@ -1 2@ 1: ditto@ --9@ 1: Funnell@ --10@ 1: Flour Pott@ --6@ 1: Round Pudding Pan@ -2 2@ 1: ditto@ -2 7@ 1: Dripping Pan@ -5 -@ 1: do@ -7 8@ 1 19.3@ Pewter vizt:@ 4: Dishes Contg 15lb at 18:d@ 1 2 6@ 3: Porringers at 16@ -4 -@ 1: ditto@ -1 6@ 1: Bason@ -2 6@ 6: Spoons@ -2 3@ 2½ doz: Plates No 1@ -3 5 -@ 4 17 9@ Carried over@ £ 562 14 5@	Total for nails: £2 2s 2¼d. Tin ware, as follows. Pint coffee pots. 5 at 14d each. £0 5s 10d. Half-pint coffee pot. 1. £0 0s 9d. Saucepans. 2 at 9d each. £0 1s 6d. Saucepans. 2 at 14d each. £0 2s 4d. Three-pint saucepans. 2 at 20d each. £0 3s 4d. Two-quart saucepans. 2. £0 4s 10d. Porringers. 2 at 7d each. £0 1s 2d. Porringer. 1. £0 0s 9d. Funnel. 1. £0 0s 10d. Flour pot. 1. £0 0s 6d. Round pudding pan. 1. £0 2s 2d. Pudding pan. 1. £0 2s 7d. Dripping pan. 1. £0 5s 0d. Dripping pan. 1. £0 7s 8d. Total for tin ware: £1 19s 3d. Pewter, as follows. Dishes. 4, containing 15 pounds, at 18d per pound. £1 2s 6d. Porringers. 3 at 16d each. £0 4s 0d. Porringer. 1. £0 1s 6d. Basin. 1. £0 2s 6d. Spoons. 6. £0 2s 3d. Plates, number 1. 2½ dozen. £3 5s 0d. Total for pewter: £4 17s 9d. Carried over: £562 14s 5d. Interpretations The nails head closed with the heavy framing sizes and the cooper's rivets, the 5¼ thousand rivets feeding the constant repair of the casks on which every store commodity travelled. The kitchenware below shows the steady replacement trade of a settled community, saucepans in four sizes from 9d to two-quart, pudding and dripping pans, and pewter dishes still passing by weight at 18d the pound while standard plates went by the dozen, every price holding its established rate from the previous quarter. The six coffee pots, five of a pint and one of a half-pint, brought the store's sales to eleven pots in six months, even as the bean itself fell from 181 pounds to 54 in the same period. The half-pint pot is the vessel of a solitary drinker, the smallest brewing equipage the trade made. Speculations Pots multiplying while coffee sales fell suggests the same drinkers spreading the habit thinner rather than new drinkers taking it up, households equipping themselves in a cheap tin fashion whose consumption stayed modest. It bears out Captain Bazett's judgement of 22 April 1718 more precisely than the bench could then have known: coffee had its settled circle on the island, worth a half chest of coarse cups for the garrison and a few pounds a quarter over the counter, but no bale-sized market, and the storekeeper's own pages were quietly proving him right.
303	295	1718.@ Brought Over£@ 562 14 5@ Pewter by Ship Success vizt:@ 4: Salts at 13½d@ -4 6@ 1: Pint Tankard@ -3 -@ 2: Setts Casters at — 9/9@ -19 6@ 4: Cruetts for Oyle & Vinegar@ at 6/6 ½ pr@ -13 -@ 2: Stands for ditto at — 2/9@ -5 6@ 1: Ladle@ -3 3@ 2: Soop Dishes at — 2/11@ -5 10@ 2: Dishes — at — 3/9@ -7 6@ 2: ditto — 4/11@ -9 10@ 6: Saucers@ -4 1½@ 1: Ring Stand@ -3 3@ 3 19 3½@ Brass Ware vizt@ 2: Tea Kettles at 14/3@ 1 9 6@ 2: ditto No 5 at@ 1 2 8@ 1: Copper Sauce Pann@ -8 -@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £562 14s 5d. Pewter of the ship <i>Success</i>, as follows. Salts. 4 at 13½d each. £0 4s 6d. Pint tankard. 1. £0 3s 0d. Sets of casters. 2 at 9s 9d per set. £0 19s 6d. Cruets for oil and vinegar. 4 at 6s 6d per four. £0 13s 0d. Stands for the cruets. 2 at 2s 9d each. £0 5s 6d. Ladle. 1. £0 3s 3d. Soup dishes. 2 at 2s 11d each. £0 5s 10d. Dishes. 2 at 3s 9d each. £0 7s 6d. Dishes. 2 at 4s 11d each. £0 9s 10d. Saucers. 6. £0 4s 1½d. Ring stand. 1. £0 3s 3d. Total for the pewter of the <i>Success</i>: £3 19s 3½d. Brass ware, as follows. Tea kettles. 2 at 14d. £1 9s 6d.

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		1 pr Candlesticks@ -5 6@ 2 pr of ditto at — 3/6@ -7 -@ 2: pr Snuffers & Stands@ -7 -@ 3 19 8@ Hatts Vizt:@ 2: Boys ditto No 3. 6/-@ -12 -@ 2: ditto — 2. 6d 6 —@ -13 -@ 1: ditto — 3.@ -8 3@ 4: ditto Mens — 4. 12/6@ 2 10 -@ 2: Laced ditto — 6. 27/-@ 2 14 -@ 6 17 3@ Carried over@ £ 577 10 7½@	Tea kettles, number 5. 2. £1 2s 8d. Copper saucepan. 1. £0 8s 0d. Candlesticks. 1 pair. £0 5s 6d. Candlesticks. 2 pairs at 3s 6d per pair. £0 7s 0d. Snuffers and stands. 2 pairs. £0 7s 0d. Total for brass ware: £3 19s 8d. Hats, as follows. Boys' hats, number 3. 2 at 6s 0d each. £0 12s 0d. Boys' hats. 2 at 6s 6d each. £0 13s 0d. Boys' hats. 1. £0 8s 3d. Men's hats, number 4. 4 at 12s 6d each. £2 10s 0d. Laced hats, number 6. 2 at 27s 0d each. £2 14s 0d. Total for hats: £6 17s 3d. Carried over: £577 10s 7½d. Interpretations The page repeated, almost line for line, the table goods of the previous account, the same caster sets at 9s 9d, cruets and stands, soup dishes, ladles and the pewter of the <i>Success</i> still kept under its own ship's heading half a year after that vessel's cargo first appeared. Such close repetition shows the storekeeper restocking the polite table from the same indent grades quarter after quarter, the formal dining ware of the island's principal households being replaced as steadily as its labouring cloth. The two tea kettles among the brass ware again pair with the steady 130 pounds of tea sold over the counter, the apparatus of tea-drinking moving alongside the leaf. The hats closed the page in the same numbered series seen before, boys' grades 3 upward, men's hats at 12s 6d and laced hats at 27s 0d, the prices identical to the autumn quarter and confirming the fixed list the store worked from. Speculations The near-exact echo of the previous quarter's table and hat goods suggests these lines sold at a slow, predictable rate to a fixed and small clientele, the councillors and substantial planters who furnished their houses and dressed their families to a settled standard. A community whose demand for caster sets and laced hats varied so little from quarter to quarter was one whose upper rank was stable in numbers and in taste, the storekeeper able to reorder by rote because the buyers and their wants barely changed.
304	296	June.@ Brought Over£@ 577 10 7½@ Stockings vizt:@ 33 pr Cotton ditto at 3/-@ 4 19 -@ 16 pr Thread — 4/6@ 3 12 -@ 16 pr Coarse Blew — 2/3@ 1 16 -@ 1 pr Mens Scarlett@ -9 -@ 10 16 -@ Sheep Sheers 2 at 2/6@ -5 -@ Knives 41 at — 6d ea.@ -1 6@ Thimbles. 12@ -1 -@ 1 6 6@ Haberdashary Ware vizt:@ Needles 1400 at 18d P 100@ -1 1 -@ Pinns 25 Mtted. — 1/9@ 2 3 9@ 7: Papers Blankett dto at 8@ -1 2@ Ribbon 3 Yards at 12d@ -3 -@ 16¼ Yards — 14@ -18 11½@ 12. Yards — 18@ -18 -@ Silk 4½ Ounces at 2/6@ -11 3@ Mohair 13¾ lb at — 1/8@ 1 2 11@ Thread. 6 oz at — 13@ -6 6@ 14 oz at — 15@ -17 6@ 1: lb@ -3 4@ Black Hoods vizt:@ 2: dto No 1 at 9@ 0:18 -@ 1: ditto — 2@ 0:13:6@ 1: ditto — 3@ 0:15 -@ 2 6 6@ Haberd: Carried over £ 10 13 0½@ Carried over£@ £ 589 13 1½@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £577 10s 7½d. Stockings, as follows. Cotton stockings. 33 pairs at 3s 0d per pair. £4 19s 0d. Thread stockings. 16 pairs at 4s 6d per pair. £3 12s 0d. Coarse blue stockings. 16 pairs at 2s 3d per pair. £1 16s 0d. Men's scarlet stockings. 1 pair. £0 9s 0d. Total for stockings: £10 16s 0d. Sheep sheers. 2 at 2s 6d each. £0 5s 0d. Knives. 41 at 6d each. £1 0s 6d. Thimbles. 12. £0 1s 0d. Total: £1 6s 6d. Haberdashery ware, as follows. Needles. 1,400 at 18d per hundred. £1 1s 0d. Pins. 25 thousand at 1s 9d per thousand. £2 3s 9d. Blanket pins. 7 papers. £0 1s 2d. Ribbon. 3 yards at 12d per yard. £0 3s 0d. Ribbon. 16¼ yards at 14d per yard. £0 18s 11½d. Ribbon. 12 yards at 18d per yard. £0 18s 0d. Silk. 4½ ounces at 2s 6d per ounce. £0 11s 3d. Mohair. 13¾ ounces at 1s 8d per ounce. £1 2s 11d. Thread. 6 ounces at 13d per ounce. £0 6s 6d. Thread. 14 ounces at 15d per ounce. £0 17s 6d. Thread. 1 ounce. £0 3s 4d. Black hoods, as follows. Black hoods, number 1. 2 at 9s 0d each. £0 18s 0d. Black hood, number 2. 1. £0 13s 6d.

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			Black hood, number 3. 1. £0 15s 0d. Total for black hoods: £2 6s 6d. The haberdashery ware carried over £10 13s 10½d, and the account carried over £589 13s 1½d. Interpretations The page restocked the tailor's and draper's counter from the same grades as the previous quarter, the cotton, thread and coarse blue stockings in the same price steps, the 25 thousand pins, the graded threads and silk, and the black silk hoods that dressed women for church and mourning. The coarse blue stockings at 2s 3d are the soldiers' wear seen before, 16 pairs of them passing as the garrison clothed its legs over the counter against its pay, the same retail clothing of the troops that the shoe and stocking entries had shown all along. The 41 knives at 6d, with sheep shears and thimbles, are the small hardware of daily work and husbandry, the shears for the island's wool and the cheap knives bought singly as they wore out or were lost. Every price on the page matched its earlier rate, the storekeeper's fixed list holding firm from quarter to quarter. Speculations The 25 thousand pins repeated almost exactly the previous quarter's stock, which measures the steadiness of a true consumable in a population whose women numbered around 125 in the census just taken. Pins bent, dropped and rusted in the sea air at a rate the storekeeper had plainly learned to predict, reordering the same quantity each quarter because the loss was as regular as the dressing it served. The unvarying figure is a small record of how closely the store had come to fit its supply to the fixed rhythms of the island's domestic life.
305	297	1718.@ Brought Over£@ 589 13 1½@ Haberdashary Ware Bro: over 10 13 0½@ Buttons 16: dozn Coat at 12d@ -16 -@ 18: dozn Brest 6@ -9 -@ 6½ dozn Brest 5@ -2 8½@ Combs 3: Horne ditto at — 5@ -1 3@ 1: Horne dto@ -6@ 14: Box dto — 6@ -7 -@ 1: Comb Brush wth Prickers@ -1 -@ Indigo. 5. Ounces at 8d@ -3 4@ 12 14 8@ Hooks & Lines Vizt:@ 23: dozn Old wife Hooks at 4d@ -7 8@ 3: dozn dto No 9. at 20@ -5 -@ 1: dozn dto — 10@ -2 -@ -14 8@ Lines ½d No 6 at 10@ -3 4@ 2/6: 7/8 — 10@ -1 8@ 6: 7/8 — 11@ -5 6@ 4: 9 — 13@ -4 4@ 4: 11 — 20@ -6 8@ 2: 13 — 31@ -5 2@ 1: Bed Cord@ -2 6@ 1 9 2@ Fustians Vizt:@ 3: ps ditto No 3 at 21/6@ 3 4 6@ 2: ps ditto — 8. 21/6@ 2 3 -@ 1: ps dto — 4@ 1 9 -@ 6 16 6@ Thicksetts 1½ ps at 35 ^p ps@ 2 12 6@ Carried over@ £ 614 -7½@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £589 13s 1½d, and the haberdashery ware brought over at £10 13s 10½d. Coat buttons. 16 dozen at 12d per dozen. £0 16s 0d. Coat buttons. 18 dozen at 6d per dozen. £0 9s 0d. Breast buttons. 6½ dozen at 5d per dozen. £0 2s 8½d. Horn combs. 3 at 5d each. £0 1s 3d. Horn comb. 1. £0 0s 6d. Box combs. 14 at 6d each. £0 7s 0d. Comb brush with prickers. 1. £0 1s 0d. Indigo. 5 ounces at 8d per ounce. £0 3s 4d. Total for haberdashery ware: £12 14s 8d. Hooks and lines, as follows. Old-wife hooks. 23 dozen at 4d per dozen. £0 7s 8d. Hooks, number 9. 3 dozen at 20d per dozen. £0 5s 0d. Hooks, number 10. 1 dozen. £0 2s 0d. Total for the hooks £0 14s 8d. Lines, number 6. 4 at 10d each. £0 3s 4d. Lines, number 7. 2 at 10d each. £0 1s 8d. Lines, number 8. 6 at 11d each. £0 5s 6d. Lines, number 9. 4 at 13d each. £0 4s 4d. Lines, number 11. 4 at 20d each. £0 6s 8d. Lines, number 13. 2 at 31d each. £0 5s 2d. Bed cord. 1. £0 2s 6d. Total for hooks, lines and cord: £1 9s 2d. Fustians, as follows. Fustian, number 3. 3 pieces at 21s 6d per piece. £3 4s 6d. Fustian, number 8. 2 pieces at 21s 6d per piece. £2 3s 0d. Fustian, number 4. 1 piece. £0 19s 0d. Total for fustians: £6 6s 6d. Thicksets. 1½ pieces at 35s 0d per piece. £2 12s 6d. Carried over: £614 0s 7½d. Interpretations The page closed the haberdashery head and moved through the chandlery and working cloth, every line

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			holding its established grade and price. The fishing tackle repeated the numbered series of hooks and lines seen in the autumn account, the cheap old-wife hooks at 4d the dozen for the subsistence fishery and the graded lines from number 6 to number 13, the store still the island's only chandler. The bed cord among them was the roped lattice that carried a mattress on a bedstead frame, sold beside the tackle as another length of made cordage. The fustians and thicksets continued the labouring cloth, the same numbered fustian grades at 21s 6d the piece that had dressed working men quarter after quarter. The buttons divided as before between the larger coat sizes and the smaller breast buttons, the findings that finished the coats and waistcoats cut at home from the piece cloth, the tailoring trade of the island supplied across the same counter as the cloth itself. Speculations The tackle sales falling to 23 dozen old-wife hooks from the autumn's 48½ may mark the season turning the island's fishing. The escape of the four men in the widow Carne's yawl about 8 June 1718, with the oars and sails stripped from Gurling's boat as well, had just cost the fishing community two craft and their gear, and a fleet of small boats short of hulls and tackle would buy fewer hooks while it rebuilt. The quiet halving of the quarter's fishing stock may be the counter's faint record of boats lost to the sea and to flight alike.
<u>306</u>	298	June.@ Brought Over £@ 614 — 7½@ White Fustians vizt:@ 9¾ Yards Tufted dto at 2/4@ £ 1 2 9@ 9: Yards Plain at — 1/8@ -15 -@ 1 17 9@ Druggetts vizt:@ 12: Yards Cloth dto at 3/-@ 1 16 -@ 52. Yards ditto — 4/-@ 10 18 -@ 12 14 -@ Durants 74 Yards at 1/8@ 6 3 -? [6 3 4]@ Scarlett Serge 3½ Yards at 4/10@ -16 11@ 4 tay: allowed for being Moth Eaten@ Shaloon 2 yds but sold for 1½ yds at 2/6@ being Damaged by the Moth — 3:@ -3 9@ Norwich Stuff 3¾ ds at 16½@ -4 1½@ Soldiers Cloths vizt:@ 1 pr Breeches@ -8 3@ 1: Coate@ 1 -8@ 2: dto being moth Eaten@ -1 9 4@ 2 18 3@ Blanketts 8 dto at 7/9@ 3 2 -@ Bodice 1 pr@ -12 9@ Indian Linnen vizt:@ Gurrahs. 4 ps at 12/6@ 2 10 -@ Long Cloth 18 ps at 20/-@ 18 -@ Saunoes 5 ps at 16/5@ 4 2 1@ 1 ps ditto@ -15 2@ 1 ps ditto@ -16 8@ Nealeas 15 ps at 9/9@ -7 6 3@ Indian Linnen Carried over £ 33 10 2@ Carried Over@ £ 642 9 8@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £614 0s 7½d. White fustians, as follows. Tufted fustian. 9¾ yards at 2s 4d per yard. £1 2s 9d. Plain fustian. 9 yards at 20d per yard. £0 15s 0d. Total for white fustians: £1 17s 9d. Druggetts, as follows. Cloth drugget. 12 yards at 3s 0d per yard. £1 16s 0d. Cloth drugget. 52 yards at 4s 0d per yard. £10 8s 0d. Total for druggetts: £12 4s 0d. Durants. 74 yards at 1s 8d per yard. £6 3s 4d. Scarlet serge. 3½ yards at 4s 10d per yard, allowance being made for it being moth-eaten. £0 16s 11d. Shalloon. 2¾ yards, but sold for 1½ yards at 2s 6d per yard, being damaged by the moth. £0 3s 9d. Norwich stuff. 3½ yards at 16½d per yard. £0 4s 1½d. Soldiers' clothes, as follows. Breeches. 1 pair. £0 8s 3d. Coat. 1. £1 1s 8d. Coats. 2, being moth-eaten. £1 9s 4d. Total for soldiers' clothes: £2 18s 3d. Blankets. 8 at 7s 9d each. £3 2s 0d. Bodice. 1 pair. £0 12s 9d. Indian linen, as follows. Gurrahs. 4 pieces at 12s 6d per piece. £2 10s 0d. Long cloth. 18 pieces at 20s 0d per piece. £18 0s 0d. Sannoos. 5 pieces at 16s 5d per piece. £4 2s 1d. Sannoos. 1 piece. £0 15s 2d. Sannoos. 1 piece. £0 16s 8d. Neelas. 15 pieces at 9s 9d per piece. £7 6s 3d. The Indian linen carried over £33 10s 2d, and the account carried over £642 9s 8d. Interpretations The page shows the moth at work in the store's woollen stock. Scarlet serge, shalloon and two soldiers' coats all sold at reduced prices with the damage openly entered, the shalloon's 2¾ yards reckoned as 1½, so the storekeeper marked down spoiled cloth honestly rather than passing it at full rate, the same plain dealing seen in the damaged dusolles and the salt-spoiled goods of earlier accounts. Moth in the worsted and made garments fits a warm store and the unusual damp season the council had just recorded, fabric standing too long in stock taking harm.

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			The Indian linens led the page in value, 18 pieces of long cloth at 20s 0d carrying £18 0s 0d in one line, the plain Coromandel calico that was the island's workhorse cloth, with gurrachs, sannoes and neelas completing the range from the same eastern looms. The whole page set the dear made garments and fine stuffs against the staple piece goods, dressing the island from coat to calico. Speculations The moth-eaten soldiers' coats sold off at a discount suggest the garrison's clothing was sold from store stock that had waited too long for its buyers. Coats held against the soldiers' pay sat on the shelf until a man could afford one, and in a sickly, ill-supplied season fewer troops were buying, so the cloth aged and spoiled before it cleared. The damage marked down on the page is a small sign of the same garrison poverty that ran through the shoe orders and the want that the Governor had tied to the sickness on 17 June 1718, the soldiers too poor to buy their coats before the moth reached them.
307	299	1718.@ Brought Over£@ 642 9 8@ Indian Linnen Brot: Over £. 33 10 2@ Ginghams 5 ps at 9/9@ 2 8 9@ Neckcloaths. 3 ps at 32/10@ 4 18 6@ Ditto 2½ ps No 9. 34 Neckcloaths 2@ at 2/9 Each@ 4 13 6@ 1½ ps Neckcloaths Muslined 37/6@ 2 16 3@ Shirts. 18. at 3/@ 2 14 -@ Blew Gurrachs. 3 ps at 5@ -1 7 -@ Patney Chints 2 ps at 20@ 2 -4 -@ 54 12 2@ Ticklemberge 59½ at 14d@ 3 8 10@ Lubeck. 16. Yards — 12@ -16 -@ -4 4 10@ Razors 7. at 4/3@ -1 9 9@ Shoe Thread 1lb@ -1 3@ Mixt Crape 1½ ps at 4@ -6 - -@ Stationary Ware vizt:@ Paper. 15. quires at 16d@ -1 -@ Spelling Books 3 at 1/8@ -5 -@ Bittbles 2 at 8/3@ -16 6@ Copy Books 5 at 9@ -3 9@ 2 5 3@ 20. China Bowles at 3@ -3 - -@ Carried over@ £. 714 2 11@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £642 9s 8d, and the Indian linen brought over at £33 10s 2d. Ginghams. 5 pieces at 9s 9d per piece. £2 8s 9d. Neckcloths. 3 pieces at 32s 10d per piece. £4 18s 6d. Neckcloths. 2½ pieces, being 34 neckcloths, at 2s 9d each. £4 13s 6d. Neckcloth muslins. 1½ pieces at 37s 6d per piece. £2 16s 3d. Shirts. 18 at 3s 0d each. £2 14s 0d. Blue gurrachs. 3 pieces at 9s 0d per piece. £1 7s 0d. Patna chints. 2 pieces at 22s 0d per piece. £2 4s 0d. Ticklenburg. 59¾ yards at 14d per yard. £3 8s 10d. Lubeck. 16 yards at 12d per yard. £0 16s 0d. Total for Indian linen: £54 12s 2d. Razors. 7 at 4s 3d each. £1 9s 9d. Shoe thread. 1 pound. £0 1s 3d. Mixed crape. 1½ pieces at £4 0s 0d per piece. £6 0s 0d. Stationery ware, as follows. Paper. 15 quires at 16d per quire. £1 0s 0d. Spelling books. 3 at 1s 8d each. £0 5s 0d. Bibles. 2 at 8s 3d each. £0 16s 6d. Copy books. 5 at 9d each. £0 3s 9d. Total for stationery ware: £2 5s 3d. China bowls. 20 at 9d each. £0 15s 0d. Carried over: £714 2s 11d. Interpretations The page completed the Indian linen head, the neckcloths and muslins, gingham, blue gurrachs and Patna chints closing the long run of eastern piece goods, with the European ticklenburg and Lubeck linen set among them as before, the labouring cloth against the finer wares. Neckcloths sold both by the piece and broken into single cloths, 34 of them at 2s 9d, the storekeeper retailing the same goods whole or by the unit as the buyer required. The stationery again stocked the island's reading and schooling, Bibles, spelling books and copy books with 15 quires of paper, the steady provision of literacy that the earlier accounts had shown. The 20 China bowls at 9d were the cheap blue-and-white porcelain that came home as dunnage in the tea ships, plain table ware for ordinary households below the silver-fashion pewter of the principal tables. Speculations The China bowls at 9d apiece, arriving in the same season as the garrison's two gross of coarse China cups from the <i>Townsend</i>, show how thoroughly the China trade had reached even modest island tables. Porcelain that travelled as ballast under the tea chests cost little more than the tin and pewter beside it, so an ordinary family could eat from blue-and-white ware the great

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			houses used in finer grades, the long reach of the Canton ships levelling one small corner of the island's domestic life across its ranks.
308	300	June.@ Brought Over@ 714 2 11@ Glass Ware vizt:@ 2: Ale Glasses at 2/6@ -5 -@ 1: two Hour Glass@ -3 4@ 6: Panes Glass 6 P 8 at 9d@ -4 6@ 1: pane ditto 8 P 10@ -1 2@ 2: Panes ditto 10 P 12. 18@ -3 -@ -17 -@ Madrass Gingham viz@ 160. ps No 1 at 4/6@ 36 - -@ 90: ps — 2 — 6/9@ 30 7 6@ 88: ps — 3 — 9/9@ 42 18 -@ 109 5 6@ Chints 118 ps fine at 20/6 P ps@ 120 19 -@ Toll to the Inhabitants@ 945 4 5@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £714 2s 11d. Glass ware, as follows. Ale glasses. 2 at 2s 6d each. £0 5s 0d. Two-hour glass. 1. £0 3s 4d. Panels of glass, 6 by 8. 6 at 9d each. £0 4s 6d. Panel of glass, 8 by 10. 1. £0 1s 2d. Panels of glass, 10 by 12. 2 at 18d each. £0 3s 0d. Total for glass ware: £0 17s 0d. Madrass gingham, as follows. Gingham, number 1. 160 pieces at 4s 6d per piece. £36 0s 0d. Gingham, number 2. 90 pieces at 6s 9d per piece. £30 7s 6d. Gingham, number 3. 88 pieces at 9s 9d per piece. £42 18s 0d. Total for Madras gingham: £109 5s 6d. Chints. 118 pieces of fine chints at 20s 6d per piece. £120 19s 0d. The total to the inhabitants came to £945 4s 5d. Interpretations The two great wholesale lines closed the inhabitants' division, 338 pieces of Madras gingham graded in three numbered qualities and 118 pieces of fine chints, together carrying £230 of the quarter's trade in two heads. These were not counter sales to islanders but bulk parcels at uniform prices, the same pattern seen in the 100 chint sannaes of the April account, the store standing as middleman between the India cargoes and the westward trade that commanders carried on signed bills under the council's pricing orders. The whole inhabitants' division now footed at £945 4s 5d, well below the £1,509 of the autumn quarter, the fall driven by the winter's lighter retail trade and the thinner arrack sales, though the great gingham and chint parcels lifted it where ordinary counter goods had slackened. The glass ware above, ale glasses, a sand glass and a handful of window panes, was the small steady replacement trade that ran beneath the wholesale lines. Speculations The 456 pieces of gingham and chints sold as graded wholesale parcels confirm what the chint sannaes had suggested, that the island's store had become a re-export warehouse as much as a local shop. A homeward or outward commander could lift hundreds of pieces of India cloth at fixed island prices, settling by bill, and carry them to markets the Company's own ships did not directly serve. The bench's pricing orders of 22 April 1718 fed exactly this trade, and the store's largest single sums each quarter came not from the island's own backs but from the cloth passing across its counter to the wider ocean.
309	301	1718.@ Store Goods delivered for the use of Union@ Castle from Decembr the 25th 1717. to March@ the 25th 1718 Exclusive Vizt:@ Arrack 215¼ Gall at 6/3 P Gall@ £ 67 8 5½@ Sugar 198. at 8d P lb@ 6 12 -@ Wine. 6. Gallons at 4/-@ 1 4 -@ Vinegar 11½ Gall at 2/6@ 1 9 3¼@ Soap 41lb at 1/5@ 2 18 1@ Pepper 6lb@ -6 -@ Tea 18½lb at 2/6@ 8 6 6@ Coffee 5¾lb at 2/6@ 6 6 3? [-14 4½]@ Oyles vizt@ 7½ Gall Sweet do at 12@ 4 11 6@ 11½ Gall Linseed do. 8@ 4 12 -@ 15 Gall Rape do. 6@ 4 10 -@ 1¼ Gall Trainee do. 6@ --9 -@	The account opened its second division, store goods delivered for the use of Union Castle, from 25 December 1717 to 25 March 1718 exclusive. Arrack. 215¼ gallons at 6s 3d per gallon. £67 8s 5½d. Sugar. 198 pounds at 8d per pound. £6 12s 0d. Wine. 6 gallons at 4s 0d per gallon. £1 4s 0d. Vinegar. 11½ gallons at 2s 6d per gallon. £1 9s 0¾d. Soap. 41 pounds at 1s 5d per pound. £2 18s 1d. Pepper. 6 pounds. £0 6s 0d. Tea. 18 pounds at 2s 6d per pound. £8 6s 0d. Coffee. 5¾ pounds at 2s 6d per pound. £6 6s 3d. Oils, as follows. Sweet oil. 7½ gallons at 12s 0d per gallon. £4 11s 6d. Linseed oil. 11¼ gallons at 8s 0d per gallon. £4 12s 0d. Rape oil. 15 gallons at 6s 0d per gallon. £4 10s 0d.

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		14 2 6@ Glass Ware vizt:@ 5: Decanters qt 10½ lb at 2/2@ 1 2 9@ 6: Ale Glasses at 2/6@ -15 -@ 6: Panes Glass 6 1/8 at — 9@ -4 6@ 2 2 3@ Rice 59¾ at 3½ 1/8 lb@ 8 12 8@ Blew Baftas 33 ps at 6@ 9 18 -@ Long Cloth 44 ps Coarse at 20@ -4 -@ Blanketts 22 at — 7/9 Ea@ 8 10 6@ Fustians vizt@ 7½ ps No 2 at 30/6@ 10 13 6@ ½ ps do@ -17 -@ 3 ps do 5@ 35/6@ 5 6 6@ 2 ps do 7@ 26/-@ 2 16 -@ 4 ps do 18@ 21/6@ 4 6 -@ 23 19 -@ Carried Over@ £ 165 15 3¾@	Train oil. 1½ gallons at 6s 0d per gallon. £0 9s 0d. Total for oils: £14 2s 6d. Glass ware, as follows. Decanters. 5 at 2s 2d each. £0 10s 10d. Ale glasses. 6 at 2s 6d each. £0 15s 0d. Panes of glass, 6 by 8. 6 at 9d each. £0 4s 6d. Total for glass ware: £2 2s 3d. Rice. 50 pounds at 3½d per pound. £0 12s 8d. Blue baftas. 33 pieces at 6s 0d per piece. £9 18s 0d. Long cloth. 4 pieces, coarse, at 20s 0d per piece. £4 0s 0d. Blankets. 22 at 7s 9d each. £8 10s 6d. Fustians, as follows. Fustian, number 2. 7 pieces at 30s 6d per piece. £10 13s 6d. Fustian, number 6. ½ piece. £0 17s 0d. Fustian, number 6. 3 pieces at 35s 6d per piece. £5 6s 6d. Fustian, number 7. 2 pieces at 26s 0d per piece. £2 16s 0d. Fustian, number 8. 4 pieces at 21s 6d per piece. £4 6s 0d. Total for fustians: £23 19s 0d. Carried over: £165 15s 3¾d. Interpretations The Castle's winter division opened on the same pattern as its predecessor, the establishment drawing the spirits, oils and provisions of the garrison's housekeeping, with tea and coffee both charged to the fort at 2s 6d the pound, a cost rate below the counter price, the Castle taking its own at store value. The tea entry shows the garrison drinking 18 pounds in the quarter, the coffee 50¼, confirming the fort as a steadier coffee consumer than the shops. The cloth told the now-familiar story of the slaves' and soldiers' clothing passing through the Castle's debit: 33 pieces of blue baftas, the standard slave calico, 22 blankets, coarse long cloth and the labouring fustians in their numbered grades. The 22 blankets arriving in the southern winter quarter, like the blue cloth, read as the seasonal clothing issue of the Company's own people charged to the valley establishment rather than the plantations. Speculations The decanters and ale glasses among the Castle's glass ware, with the corks and bottling gear of an earlier quarter, fit the Governor's house as the island's place of entertainment. Decanters served wine racked from the store's casks at a table that hosted every commander in the road, and the small steady purchase of fine glass marks the hospitality by which Governor Pyke kept the goodwill of the ships, the same diplomacy that ran through his dealings with Newton, Kesar and Small over their tea and their men.
310	302	June.@ Brought Over@ 165 15 3¾@ White Fustians 12½ yds at 20d@ -1 -@ Huckaback 2 ps at 52@ -5 4@ House Linnen 6 yards at 2/3@ -13 6@ Thread Stockings 2 pr at 4/6@ -9 -@ Shoe Thread ½ lb at 2/6@ -17 6@ Thimbles 2@ -2 -@ Lines vizt:@ 1: ditto No 13 — 8d@ -2 7@ 4: ditto — 7. at 10@ -3 4@ 2: ditto — 5 — 6½@ -1 1@ -7 -@ Iron Mongers ware vizt:@ 1: Splinter Lock No 4@ -1 8@ 3: Till Locks at 2/9@ -8 3@ 1: Iron Rimd Lock@ -8 -@ 1: Rimd Closett dto@ -8 4@ 1 6 3@ Nayles Vizt:@ 4lb — 2d at. 11@ -3 8@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £165 15s 3¾d. White fustians. 12 yards at 20d per yard. £1 0s 0d. Huckaback. 2 pieces at 5s 2d each. £0 10s 4d. House linen. 6 yards at 2s 3d per yard. £0 13s 6d. Thread stockings. 2 pairs at 4s 6d per pair. £0 9s 0d. Shoe thread. 7 pounds at 2s 6d per pound. £0 17s 6d. Thimbles. 2. £0 0s 2d. Lines, as follows. Lines, number 13. 1. £0 2s 7d. Lines, number 7. 4 at 10d each. £0 3s 4d. Lines, number 5. 2 at 6½d each. £0 1s 1d. Total for lines: £0 7s 0d. Ironmonger's ware, as follows. Splinter lock, number 4. 1. £0 1s 8d. Till locks. 3 at 2s 9d each. £0 8s 3d. Iron rim lock. 1. £0 8s 0d. Rim closet lock. 1. £0 8s 4d. Total for ironmonger's ware: £1 6s 3d.

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		11 — 3 — 9@ -8 3@ 18 — 4 — 11@ -16 6@ 6 — 6 — 9½@ -4 6@ 32: — 10 — 8½@ 1 2 8@ 13 — 20 — 8@ -8 8@ 11 — 24 — 7½@ -6 10½@ 2: Batten Brads at 20@ -3 4@ 3 14 5½@ Tin Ware 1: two qt: Sauce pan@ -2 3@ Pewter 5 Dishes qt: 24lb at 18d@ 1 16 -@ 1 doz n dto plates No 1@ -1 6@ -3 2 -@ White Lead. 46lb at 6d@ 1 3 -@ Carried over@ £ 183 14 4¾@	Nails, as follows. Fourpenny nails. 4 thousand at 11d. £0 3s 8d. Sixpenny nails. 11 thousand at 9d. £0 8s 3d. Fourpenny nails. 18 thousand at 11d. £0 16s 6d. Sixpenny nails. 6 thousand at 9d. £0 4s 6d. Tenpenny nails. 32 thousand at 8½d. £1 2s 8d. Twentypenny nails. 13 thousand at 8d. £0 8s 8d. Twentyfourpenny nails. 11 thousand at 7½d. £0 6s 10½d. Batten brads. 2 thousand at 20d. £0 3s 4d. Total for nails: £3 14s 5½d. Tin ware. 1 two-quart saucepan. £0 2s 3d. Pewter. Dishes. 5, weighing 24 pounds, at 18d per pound. £1 16s 0d. Plates, number 1. 1 dozen. £1 6s 0d. Total for pewter: £3 2s 0d. White lead. 46 pounds at 6d per pound. £1 3s 0d. Carried over: £183 14s 4¾d. Interpretations The page completed the Castle's hardware and building stock for the quarter. The nails ran heavy in the middling and larger sizes, 32 thousand tenpenny and substantial parcels of the rest, the same framing and boarding consumption that marked the establishment's repairs, with locks in four patterns for its doors and stores. White lead was the painter's pigment paired with the linseed oil of the earlier page, the two ground together into the protective paint of an establishment of gun carriages, shutters and railings in salt air, the white lead serving where the red lead of the autumn account had primed. The pewter and tin kept the Castle's table and kitchen supplied, dishes still passing by weight at 18d the pound and standard plates by the dozen, every rate holding to the storekeeper's fixed list. Speculations The painting stores arriving quarter on quarter, red lead in the autumn and white lead now, with linseed oil throughout, point to a sustained programme of upkeep at Union Castle rather than a single refit. Paint protects exposed iron and timber for only a season or two in a marine climate before it must be renewed, so the steady purchase reads as the establishment fighting a continual war against rust and rot, the cost of holding a fortified seat against the same sea air that spoiled the moth-free cloth and rusted the women's pins. The Castle's maintenance was a recurring charge the storekeeper's books recorded as faithfully as its drink.
311	303	1718.@ Brought Over@ 183 14 4¾@ Flagg Brooms 6. at 6d@ -3 -@ Knives 6. at 6d@ -3 -@ Corks. 2. Gross at 3/-@ -6 -@ Beef 3 Puncheons at 18 Ea.@ -54 - -@ Totall to Union Castle£@ 238 6 4¾@ Plantation Dr to Store Goods from —@ Decembr the 25th 1717. to March ye 25th 1718 Exclu=@ =sive Viz:@ Arrack 10¼ Galls at 6/3@ £ 3 4 3@ Sugar 36 at 8d@ -1 4@ Train Oyle 4½ Gall at 6@ -1 7 -@ Iron Mongers Ware vizt:@ 6: Sockett Shovells at 2/6@ -15 -@ 12: Ground Hoes at — 2/8@ 1 12 -@ 8: Pick Axes qt 47lb at — 8½@ 1 13 3½@ -4 - 3½@ Nayles vizt:@ 14: 30 at 7@ -8 2@ 6: 20 — 8@ -6 8? [-4 0]@ 10: — 8@ -10 6@ 14 — 6 — 9@ -10 6? [-1 1 6? -10 6]@ 5: — 4 — 11@ -4 7@ 1 9 11@ Totall to Plantation House£@ 11 5 3¾@	The account continued with the sum brought over, £183 14s 4¾d. Flag brooms. 6 at 6d each. £0 3s 0d. Knives. 6 at 6d each. £0 3s 0d. Corks. 2 gross at 3s 0d per gross. £0 6s 0d. Beef. 3 puncheons at £18 0s 0d per puncheon. £54 0s 0d. The total to Union Castle came to £238 6s 4¾d. The account opened its third division, the Plantation debtor to store goods, from 25 December 1717 to 25 March 1718 exclusive. Arrack. 10¼ gallons at 6s 3d per gallon. £3 4s 0¾d. Sugar. 36 pounds at 8d per pound. £1 4s 0d. Train oil. 4½ gallons at 6d per pound. £0 7s 0d. Ironmonger's ware, as follows. Socket shovels. 6 at 2s 6d each. £0 15s 0d. Ground hoes. 12 at 2s 8d each. £1 12s 0d. Pickaxes. 8, weighing 47 pounds, at 8½d per pound. £1 13s 3½d. Total for ironmonger's ware: £4 0s 3½d. Nails, as follows. Fourpenny nails. 14 thousand at 7d. £0 8s 2d. Twentypenny nails. 10 thousand at 8d. £0 6s 8d. Sixpenny nails. 14 thousand at 9d. £0 10s 6d. Fourpenny nails. 5 thousand at 11d. £0 4s 7d.

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		Union Castle@ 238 6 4³/₄@ To the Inhabitants@ 945 4 5@ Tottall of all£@ 1194 16 3¹/₄@ [...]@	Total for nails: £1 9s 11d. The total to the Plantation House came to £11 5s 3¹/₄d. To Union Castle, £238 6s 4³/₄d. To the inhabitants, £945 4s 5d. The total of all came to £1,194 16s 0¹/₂d. The entry closes with an illegible signature [...] Interpretations The closing page balanced the whole quarterly account into its three divisions. The inhabitants took £945 4s 5d, Union Castle £238 6s 4³/₄d and the Plantation House only £11 5s 3¹/₄d, the establishment that fed itself buying just the few things the farms could not raise, arrack, sugar, oil and field iron. The grand total of £1,194 16s 0¹/₂d fell well below the autumn quarter's reckoning, the winter's lighter trade and thinner arrack sales pulling the whole account down even with the great wholesale cloth parcels lifting the inhabitants' side. The Castle's last lines completed its housekeeping, the 3 puncheons of salt beef at £18 0s 0d again the largest single charge of provisioning the garrison against scarcity, with flag brooms and corks the small gear of a household that swept its floors and bottled its drink. The plantation's field tools, 6 shovels, 12 hoes and 8 pickaxes, were the season's breaking and planting equipment for the Company's gangs, the same year-round provision of the farms seen quarter on quarter. Speculations The plantation's bare £11 against the Castle's £238 measures the gulf between the two halves of the Company's establishment. The farms returned their cost in yams and beef and drew almost nothing from the store, while the valley fort consumed salt provisions, drink, clothing and building stores by the cartload, a garrison and its slaves wholly dependent on imported supply. The account quietly states the island's strategic arithmetic: the plantations were nearly self-sufficient, but the fortress that justified the settlement and guarded the road had to be carried, quarter after quarter, on the store's books and the Company's purse.
312	304	June.@ Island St Helena.@ At a Consultation@ Held on Monday the 30th day of June@ 1718. At Union Castle in James valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr.@ Prest: Matthw Bazett &@ Antip: Tovey.@ The Last Consultation read & approved.@ On Wednesday last the 25th Instt. Arrived the@ Ship Cardigan Capt. Henry Glegg Comandr.@ in four months from Bengall.@ On Sunday the 22d Instt at night dyed Capt:@ George Haswell Depty Govr. of an Apoplexy@ after a Short fitt of Sickness & was buried —@ the last week, and This being the first —@ Opportunity Since his Burial The Govr. Says —@ he called this Consultation on Purpose to —@ know of the rest of the Council what is Proper@ to be done.@ The Articles which the Govr. thinks@ ought to be Considered of are a true & Exact —@ Account of the Hon: Compas affairs Under@ Capt: Haswells Charge, How forward they@ are for the Last years Accts: and when their@ Books for the year 1716. will be done.@	A consultation was held at Union Castle in James Valley on Monday 30 June 1718. Isaac Pyke, Governor, Matthew Bazett, third, and Antipas Tovey, fourth in council, were present. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Wednesday last, the 25th of the month, the ship <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Henry Glegg commander, arrived in four months from Bengal. On Sunday the 22nd at night Captain George Haswell, Deputy Governor, died of an apoplexy after a short fit of sickness, and was buried the last week. This being the first opportunity since his burial, Governor Pyke said he had called this consultation on purpose to know from the rest of the council what was proper to be done. The articles the Governor thought ought to be considered were a true and exact account of the Honourable Company's affairs under Captain Haswell's charge, how far forward they were for the last year's accounts, and when their books for the year 1716 would be done. [...] Interpretations The death removed the second man of the island and the central figure of its longest-running dispute. Haswell had been Deputy Governor throughout, yet suspended from salary and diet since 4 January 1718 over the very books the Governor now asked after, and the stolen-consultations quarrel between him and Tovey had gone home by the Toddington on 17 March 1718 for the directors' judgement. His sickness had been visible in the record: absent sick from the consultation of 17 June 1718, dead five days later of

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			apoplexy, the sudden stroke that the season's mortality and his own troubles may have hastened. The Governor's first concern was the accounts in Haswell's charge. A dead officer's books did not die with him but had to be closed and rendered to London, and the 1716 accounts had stood unfinished long enough to cost Haswell his pay, so the bench now faced both the duty of completing a dead man's reckonings and the question of who would take them up. The <i>Cardigan's</i> arrival from Bengal gave the council a fresh homeward opportunity for whatever account it must now send. Speculations Haswell's death cut the knot of the suspension and the dispute at a stroke, and the Governor's haste to convene the council and fix the state of the books suggests he meant to settle the dead man's affairs cleanly before they tangled with his estate. A suspended officer who died with his accounts unrendered left the Company's claims and his own deserts unresolved, and an exact statement of how far the books stood, entered now with two witnesses, would protect both the Company and Haswell's memory when the directors weighed the whole matter. The instinct was the same that had governed the Holliwell inventory and the tea refusals: secure the record before the reckoning.
313	305	1718.@ How We Shall do to keep the Accounts —@ from going backwards now he is dead, and the@ Governr: asketh Each of the Council to Report:@ what they think is Proper to write on this —@ acct: to our Hon: Masters, and what ever —@ Else they think will be Necessary to be done —@ in this Case.@ Ordered That the Transfere@ Journal be brought & left with the Governr as of@ late has been Usuall.@ Ordered That a List be taken of what —@ Books and Papers of Consequence are left in the —@ Accomptants Office, and what of his Writing.@ Capt. Bazett & Mr. Tovey Say 'twill take them@ up a good Deal of time to Examine the Accompts —@ Books before they can be able to give an Answer —@ to all these Particulars and Desire therefore to be@ Excused answering this 'till they have Seen what —@ forwardness these Accounts are in.@ We have received the following Letters and —@ Invoice from the Governr: & Council of Bengall@ wherein it Appears that Board had Ordered Us —@ divers Usefull things for this. Vizt:@	The articles also included how the council should keep the accounts from going backwards now that Haswell was dead, and the Governor asked each of the council to report what they thought proper to write on this matter to the Honourable Masters, and whatever else they thought necessary to be done in this case. The council ordered that the transfer journal be brought and left with the Governor, as of late had been usual. The council further ordered that a list be taken of what books and papers of consequence were left in the accountant's office, and which of them were of Haswell's writing. Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey said it would take them a good deal of time to examine the accountant's books before they could answer all these particulars, and therefore asked to be excused from answering until they had seen how forward the accounts were. The council had received the following letters and invoice from the Governor and Council of Bengal, in which it appeared that the board there had ordered divers useful things for the island. The first was addressed to the [...] Interpretations The orders were the standard securing of a dead officer's records. The transfer journal, the ledger of property and credits moving between hands, was taken into the Governor's own keeping, and a sworn list was to be made of every book and paper in the accountant's office with Haswell's own writing distinguished, so that what he had done and left undone could be told apart. Identifying his hand mattered because the suspension of 4 January 1718 had turned on whether the books were properly kept, and a list separating his work from others' would fix his responsibility precisely for the directors. Bazett and Tovey's request to be excused was a careful refusal to pronounce on the books before examining them. Two men asked to report on a dead colleague's accounts, one of them his late adversary in the stolen-consultations dispute, had every reason to see the records first rather than commit to an opinion that London might later test, the same documentary caution that ran through the whole administration. The Bengal letters opened a thread reaching back to the island's standing indents, the board there having ordered useful things for St Helena, the supply the council had pressed through every channel.

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			Speculations The care taken over Haswell's papers suggests the bench expected his accounts and estate to come under scrutiny in London. A Deputy Governor who died suspended over his books, and embroiled in a dispute already sent home for judgement, left a tangle the directors would want explained, so taking the journal into safe keeping and listing his hand was as much protection for the survivors as settlement for the dead. Tovey in particular, his late opponent, would want the record to show the books secured by order rather than meddled with, lest the old quarrel be read into the handling of a dead man's affairs.
314	306	June.@ To the Worspll the Governr.@ &c. Council of St Helena@ Worspll Srs &ca.@ We have Laden on board —@ this Ship the Cardigan Stores & Provisions for the@ use of your Island to the amount of five Hundred@ ninety five Rupees 6/9 — as ¶ Inclosed Invoice and@ Bill of Lading, a muster of the Arrack is Sent in —@ a Bottle Sealed wth the Compas Seale, herewith —@ We Send you Copys of the Invoices of what —@ Laden on board the Ships Duke of Cambridge@ and St George, also their Second Bills of —@ Lading for the Same and are.@ Fort William@ 15th Febry 1717/18@ Worspll Srs &ca.@ Your Humble Servts@ Sam: Feake@ J Williamson@ Edwr Page@ J Browne@ Jno Deane@ Hn. Frankland@ Wills Spencer@ W. Collett.@ Invoice.@	The first Bengal letter was entered, addressed to the Worshipful the Governor and Council of St Helena. The Bengal government wrote that they had laden on board the ship <i>Cardigan</i> stores and provisions for the use of the island to the amount of 595 rupees, as the enclosed invoice and bill of lading showed, and that a muster of the arrack was sent in a bottle sealed with the Company's seal. They also sent copies of the invoices of what had been laden on board the ships <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> and <i>St George</i>, with the second bills of lading for the same. The letter was dated at Fort William, 15 February 1718, and signed by Samuel Feake, John Williamson, Edward Page, J. Browne, John Deane, Henry Frankland, William Spencer and W. Collett. An invoice followed [...] Interpretations The letter answered, at last and in part, the long supply correspondence the island had pursued for years. Fort William was the Company's seat in Bengal, and its council now shipped 595 rupees of stores by the <i>Cardigan</i>, the very vessel arrived from Bengal on 25 June 1718, so the goods reached the island in the same hull as the news of their dispatch. The sealed bottle of arrack as a muster, a sample drawn against which the delivered cask could be checked for quality, shows the careful commercial practice of a presidency answering an indent it knew would be scrutinised. The duplication ran through everything. Copies of invoices for goods sent by the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> and the <i>St George</i>, with second bills of lading, followed the standing precaution against loss at sea, the same insurance by duplicate that the Secret Committee's letter of 27 October 1716 had used. The signatories were the Bengal council in full, Samuel Feake at their head, the formal weight of one presidency corresponding with a dependency of the same Company. Speculations The arrival of real Bengal stores marks a turn in the island's fortunes after years of empty promises. Bombay had answered on 28 December 1717 only with an apology and an undertaking for the next year's shipping, but Bengal now sent goods in hand, and the contrast suggests the island's persistent indents were beginning to move the eastern presidencies that controlled its supply. Coming in the same week as Haswell's death and the sickly season's worst, the <i>Cardigan</i>'s lading would have been a rare piece of good news, the supply line the council had pressed through every channel finally delivering something more than regret.
315	307	1718.@ Invoice.@ Shirts. 150 at 5/9 6d ¶ 100@ 98.6.3@ Stockings 132 pr 12d ¶ pr@ 29.-.-@ 197.6.3@ Arrack Batavia@ 1: Leagr. qt Gallons 155.@ 1: Ditto Dto — 151@ 1: Ditto Dto — 153@ 3 Leagr. qt Gall. 459 at 88 ¶ Leagr. 264. - -@	The Bengal invoice was entered, in rupees. Shirts. 150 at 65 rupees 9 annas 6 pice per 100. 98 rupees 6 annas 3 pice. Stockings. 132 pairs at 14 rupees per dozen pairs. 99 rupees. Total: 197 rupees 6 annas 3 pice. Arrack of Batavia. 1 leaguer, 155 gallons. 1 leaguer, 151 gallons. 1 leaguer, 153 gallons. 3 leaguers, 459 gallons, at 88 rupees per leaguer. 264 rupees.

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		Sugar Tresinda@ 10: Baggs qt Buzar Mdo 200 14, 2.18.24 ꝑ Mdo 82. 8 - @ Rice@ 23: Baggs qt Buz Mdo 46 or 33.2.26@ at 2 Mdo ꝑ Mdo is Mdo@ 23. -4 -@ Batavia 10 posto@ 2.4.9@ 25.4.9@ 569.3 -@ J Williamson@ But enclosed in the Same Packet We recd.@ another Letter from Mr Williamson as —@ follows. (Viz:):@ To the Worspll the Governr.@ &c. Council at St Helena@ Worspll Srs &ca.@ Since my leaving —@ Fort William wch was the 19th Inst. The weather —@ has been very Stormy & tempestuous wch has —@	Sugar of Tresinda. 10 bags, gross weight by the bazaar maund 20 maunds 0 seer 14, tare 2 maunds 18 seer 24, net weight by the factory maund, at... 82 rupees 8 annas. Rice. 23 bags, gross weight by the bazaar maund 46 maunds 0 seer 33, tare 2 maunds 26 seer... net... 23 rupees 4 annas. The Batavia maund being 10 per cent... 25 rupees 4 annas. Total: 569 rupees 3 annas. The invoice was signed J. Williamson. Enclosed in the same packet the council received another letter from Mr Williamson, addressed to the Worshipful the Governor and Council at St Helena. He wrote that since his leaving Fort William on the 19th of the month the weather had been very stormy and tempestuous, which had prevented [...] Interpretations The invoice itemised the 595 rupees the covering letter had named, the figures resting on the weights and moneys of Bengal. The maund was the great Indian weight of around 37 pounds, here distinguished as the bazaar maund of the open market and the factory maund of the Company's own standard, with the seer its fortieth part, and the careful conversion between them shows the presidency reckoning its charges to the island in the exact local measures it traded by. The arrack came as three leaguers from Batavia, the Dutch entrepôt on Java whose spirit reached Bengal by the country trade, priced by the leaguer against the muster bottle sealed under the Company's seal. Williamson's separate letter, written after he had left Fort William on 19 February 1718, four days after the council's covering letter of the 15th, shows the same stormy weather that the St Helena bench had been recording as unprecedented now reported from the Bay of Bengal. The tempests that had broken the island's trade winds and slowed its homeward convoy were part of a wider disturbance across the eastern seas. Speculations The two accounts of foul weather, the island's and Williamson's, set side by side in the same consultation, hint at a season disordered far beyond St Helena. The council had wondered on 17 June 1718 whether its strange winds were unwholesome and local, but a Bengal officer reporting storms in the same months suggests a broad meteorological upheaval across the Indian Ocean and South Atlantic alike. For a bench inclined to read its weather for omens of dearth and sickness, confirmation that the disturbance reached to Bengal would have deepened the unease, the strange season proving wider than their own horizon.
316	308	prevented the boats reaching this Ship whereon@ were Stores as usuall laden for your Settlement.@ It being so late in the Season, I me oblig'd to@ give Capt Glegg his Dispatches without delay,@ and doubt not but the Commander will Supply@ you. I am@ Cocus Island@ Febry 22. 1717/18.@ Worshp: Sr &c@ Yor Most Hum: the Servt@ Williamson@ By which it will Appear We have had none@ of those Goods and are affraid are not likely to@ have them. Wherefore the Governr is desired@ to Mention Something of this in our next@ Letter to our Hon: Masters, and to Desire@ that they would please to Order their Agents@ at Bengall to be as Carefull of this place as@ Governr Hedges used to be.@ We have Wrok a Letter as usual to the@ Capt of this Ship to Enquire for Cotton Yarn@ which We have Sought for, for Almost@ these four years 'till now the Capt having@ delivered four Maundes of the Hon: Comp:@ Cotton Yarn which We Shall use for Wicks@ of Candles, and Sell what We dont use,@ in their Stores at 2&6p pound.@	The bad weather had stopped the boats from reaching the ship, which carried the stores normally loaded for the settlement. The season was already so late that Williamson felt obliged to give Captain Glegg his dispatches without further delay. He expressed his confidence that the commander would still supply the island. The letter closed with his service and was dated from Coxes Island on 22 February 1718, signed Williamson. The council noted that this meant none of those goods had arrived and that there was little prospect of receiving them. The Governor was therefore asked to raise the matter in the next letter to the Honourable Masters. The council wished the Masters to instruct their agents at Bengal to take as much care of St Helena as Governor Hedges had once done. A letter had been written as usual to the captain of this ship asking after cotton yarn. The council had sought this yarn for almost four years without success until now. On this occasion the captain delivered 4 maunds of the Honourable Company's cotton yarn.

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			The council intended to use the yarn for candle wicks and to sell whatever remained. The price set in the stores was 2s 6d per pound. Interpretations The reference to Bengal agents and the comparison with Governor Hedges show that St Helena depended on the Company's Indian factories to load its annual stores. Supply ran through the homeward East Indiamen rather than direct shipping, so a single missed loading at Bengal left the island short for a whole season. The council's request was an attempt to fix responsibility on named officials at the Indian end of the chain. Cotton yarn served a practical island need beyond trade. The council wanted it chiefly for candle wicks, a recurring shortage on a remote station with no local manufacture. Surplus yarn was then sold through the Company store at a fixed rate, turning an imported necessity into a small source of revenue. A maund was a unit of weight used across the Company's Indian trade, varying by region but generally in the region of 30 to 40 pounds. The four-year effort to obtain the yarn suggests the quantity delivered, 4 maunds, was modest against the island's standing demand. Speculations The decision to release Captain Glegg's dispatches before the stores could be landed shows a choice between two costs. Holding the ship for the weather risked delaying the whole homeward convoy, while letting it sail meant the island went without its goods. The lateness of the season decided the matter, and the council fell back on a written complaint to recover the position later.
317	309	The Gunner brought in the two follow-@ ing Months Acco.ts of Gun Stores Expended.@ An Acco.t of Gunn.ry Stores Expended fro:@ Aprill the 8t 1718 to the 30 D.to Inclusive.@ @ 1718@ Apr: 17 An Alarm@ Fal Pow.dr@ 4 4@ D.o: Arrived the Sarum Capt. Geo: Newton@ 9 2@ For Exercising the Garrison@ • 7@ To the Guard@ 10@ Axeltrees to Rich.d Swallow . . .@ 2 e.o@ Muskett Balls@ 2.1@ Cartridge Paper@ 1@ Flints@ 24@ Match@ 21@ 21 24 4 4 2 13 3oe@ @ (Signed) Jm.s French@ An Acco.t of Gunn.ry Stores Expended fro:@ the 5t of May 1718 to the 31 Decemb. Includ. viz:t@ @ 1718@ May: 3t Two Single Alarms@ Fal Pow.dr@ [...] [...]@ D.o: Arrived y.e Essex Capt. Cha. Newton . .@ 7 7@ D.o: Arrived y.e Hanover Capt. Jam.t Osborne@ 9 9@ 1[1]t A double Alarm for 2 Ships to Leeward@ 21@ 8.o An Alarm@ 4 4@ 10t Arrived y.e Townshend Capt. Cha. Kesar . .@ 7 7@ 11.t Departed the Essex Hanover & Sarum for@	The gunner brought in his accounts of gunner's stores expended for the two following months. The first account covered the period from 5 April 1718 to 30 April 1718 inclusive. An alarm on 17 April 1718 4 fathoms of [...], 4 pounds of powder The arrival of the <i>Searum</i>, Captain George Newton 9 fathoms of [...], 9 pounds of powder Exercising the garrison 7 pounds of powder To the guard 10 pounds of powder Axletrees to Richard Swallow 2 Musket balls 4 Cartridge paper 4 Flints 24 Match 21 Totals 21, 24, 4, 4, 2, 13, 3 [...] Signed by John French. The second account covered the period from 5 May 1718 to 31 December 1718 inclusive. Two single alarms on 1 May 1718 7 fathoms of [...], 7 pounds of powder The arrival of the <i>Essex</i>, Captain Charles Newton 7 fathoms of [...], 7 pounds of powder The arrival of the <i>Hanover</i>, Captain James Osborne 9 fathoms of [...], 9 pounds of powder A double alarm for two ships to leeward on 9 May 1718 21 pounds of powder An alarm 4 fathoms of [...], 4 pounds of powder The arrival of the <i>Townshend</i>, Captain Charles Kesar, on 10 May 1718

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		England . . . Carried over@ 26 21@ 3 56 77@	7 fathoms of [...], 7 pounds of powder The departure of the <i>Essex</i>, <i>Hanover</i> and <i>Searum</i> for England on 11 May 1718 21 pounds of powder Carried over 3, 56, 77 Interpretations The gunner's account measured powder consumption against named events, so each salute, alarm and exercise drew a recorded quantity from the magazine. This served as an audit of an expensive and strategically vital store on a remote island that could not easily replace it. Tying every issue to a ship arrival, a departure or a defensive alarm let the council check that powder had been spent on proper occasions rather than wasted or diverted. The double alarm for two ships to leeward shows the standing defensive routine of the island. Unidentified sail approaching from the wrong quarter triggered a heavier expenditure of powder, in this instance 21 pounds, as the batteries readied against a possible hostile arrival. The same response governed the single and double alarms entered throughout the account. The departure of three vessels together for England on 11 May 1718 reflects the convoy practice for the homeward voyage. Ships gathered at St Helena and sailed in company for mutual protection across the Atlantic, the salute marking the formal send-off of the group.
318	310	May@ Brought Over . . .@ R. Fal Pow.d@ 3 56 77@ 15t For the Worsh.t the Gov.r Coming from@ on board the Townshend . . .@ 15 15@ 17t An Alarm@ 4 4@ 18t Arrived the Thistleworth Cap.t Cha. Small@ 9 9@ 19t An Alarm@ 4 4@ 20t Arrived the Hester Capt. Gordon . . .@ 11 11@ 22t Departed y.e Townsh.t Hest.r & Thistleworth@ 27 27@ For the Guard@ 10@ For Exercising the Garrison . . .@ e.o 7@ Muskett Balls@ 3@ Cartridge Paper@ 6@ Flints@ 36@ Sprunge Staves@ 2@ Sprunge heads@ 2@ Rammer heads@ 2@ Match@ 42@ 42 2 2 2 36. 6 3 3 126 16 9@ Signed, Jm.s French@	Brought over 3, 56, 77 The honours for the Governor coming ashore from the <i>Townshend</i> on 15 May 1718 15 fathoms of [...], 15 pounds of powder An alarm on 17 May 1718 4 fathoms of [...], 4 pounds of powder The arrival of the <i>Thistleworth</i>, Captain Charles Small, on 18 May 1718 9 fathoms of [...], 9 pounds of powder An alarm on 19 May 1718 4 fathoms of [...], 4 pounds of powder The arrival of the <i>Hester</i>, Captain Gordon, on 20 May 1718 11 fathoms of [...], 11 pounds of powder The departure of the <i>Townshend</i>, <i>Hester</i> and <i>Thistleworth</i> on 28 May 1718 27 fathoms of [...], 27 pounds of powder For the guard 10 pounds of powder Exercising the garrison 7 pounds of powder Musket balls 3 Cartridge paper 6 Flints 36 Sprunge staves 2 Sprunge heads 2 Rammer heads 2 Match 42 Totals 42 match, 2 rammer heads, 2 sprunge heads, 2 sprunge staves, 36 flints, 6 cartridge paper, 3 musket balls, 3 [...], 12 [...], 6 [...], 16 [...] Signed by John French. Interpretations The salute fired for the Governor landing from the <i>Townshend</i> on 15 May 1718 marked the formal return of the island's chief officer to his post. Powder spent on

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			ceremony of this kind, here 15 pounds, was recorded with the same care as defensive expenditure, so that honours rendered to authority were treated as a legitimate and accountable draw on the magazine. The departure of three vessels in company on 28 May 1718 again shows the homeward convoy system, ships assembling at St Helena before crossing the Atlantic together. The heavy charge of 27 pounds reflects a salute fired for the whole group at once rather than for any single ship. The sprunge staves, sprunge heads and rammer heads were the servicing tools of the great guns. A rammer drove the charge home, while the sponge cleared and damped the bore between rounds to kill any lingering ember. Their issue from store points to routine maintenance and replacement of battery equipment alongside the consumption of powder itself.
319	311	Island St. Helena.@ At a Consultation@ held on Tuesday the 1st day of July@ 1718. At Union Castle in Jam: valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pr.s: Matth.w Bazett &c@ Pres: Antip.r Tovey.@ The Last Consultation read & approv'd@ A great Number of People Coming as@ to day as usual at the End of the quarter to@ Enter Dyet Bills and other it has taken up@ all our time.@ Mr. Portley the Hon: Comp.as Chief@ Overseer brought in the following Acco:@ of their live Stock under his charge.@ An Account of the Hon: Compy.rs@ Stock of Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Goats@ &c.o taken the 1t July 1718. at Plant: House@ Neat:@ Cattle:@ 52. Cows@ 2 killd since last Acco. rec.d from y.e Hutts 7: head. None Increased 1. Cow dyed@ 18 Geese. 1. killed since Last Acco.t@ 18. Heifers@ 19. Cow Calves@ 20. Bull Calves@ 4 Bullocks@ 11. Steers@ 12. Bulls@ 13. In all.@ Sheep. 90. Sheep Great & Small.@ 49. Ew's@	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 July 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. A great number of people came in today, as usual at the end of the quarter, to enter their diet bills and other matters, and this took up all the council's time. Mr Postley, the Honourable Company's chief overseer, brought in the following account of the live stock under his charge. The account covered the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and other animals, taken on 5 July 1718 at the Plantation House. Neat cattle 52 cows 18 heifers 21 cow calves 16 bull calves 4 bullocks 11 steers 2 bulls 124 in all Of these, 2 had been killed since the last account and received from the Hutts, 7 head showed no increase and 1 cow had died. Sheep 90 sheep great and small 49 ewes 18 geese, of which 1 had been killed since the last account Interpretations The neat-cattle herd of 124 head on 5 July 1718 stands well below earlier reckonings of the Company stock. The herd had been recorded at far larger figures in the middle of the decade, and the long decline reflects the steady draw of slaughter for the garrison and shipping against slow natural increase on limited pasture. The breakdown into cows, heifers, calves and breeding bulls let the council judge the herd's capacity to renew itself rather than its bare total. The quarterly entry of diet bills tied the island's private households to the Company's accounting calendar. Settlers ran up charges for provisions through the quarter and cleared them at its end, so the bench gave over a full sitting to registering these debts. This was the routine credit mechanism binding the inhabitants to the Company store. The overseer's separate notes on each class of animal functioned as a running audit of gains and losses. Recording that two beasts had been killed and received from the Hutts, that one cow had died and that no increase had occurred among seven head let the council reconcile this count against the previous one. Stock was a strategic asset on a remote island, and

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			unexplained shortfalls pointed to waste, theft or mismanagement. Speculations The transfer of cattle from the Hutts into the Plantation House count shows the Company managing its herd across more than one station on the island. Moving beasts between grazing grounds let the overseer balance pasture and concentrate animals for slaughter or breeding where they were most needed, the killed and received entry marking the point where the two sub-accounts met.
320	312	Island St. Helena.@ At a Consultation@ held on Tuesday the 1st day of July@ 1718. At Union Castle in Jam: valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pr.s: Matth.w Bazett &c@ Pres: Antip.r Tovey.@ The Last Consultation read & approv'd@ A great Number of People Coming as@ to day as usual at the End of the quarter to@ Enter Dyet Bills and other it has taken up@ all our time.@ Mr. Portley the Hon: Comp.as Chief@ Overseer brought in the following Acco:@ of their live Stock under his charge.@ An Account of the Hon: Compy.rs@ Stock of Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Goats@ &c.o taken the 1t July 1718. at Plant: House@ Neat:@ Cattle:@ 52. Cows@ 2 killd since last Acco. rec.d from y.e Hutts 7: head. None Increased 1. Cow dyed@ 18 Geese. 1. killed since Last Acco.t@ 18. Heifers@ 19. Cow Calves@ 20. Bull Calves@ 4 Bullocks@ 11. Steers@ 12. Bulls@ 13. In all.@ Sheep. 90. Sheep Great & Small.@ 49. Ew's@	Sheep 49 ewes 26 wethers 10 lambs 5 rams 90 in all Of these, 3 had been killed since the last account, 2 had died and none had increased. Goats 95 ewes 33 wethers 3 ewe kids 4 ram kids 2 rams 134 in all Of these, 12 had been killed since the last account and 12 had increased. Poultry and other stock 90 turkeys, of which 16 had been killed since the last account 18 geese, of which 1 had been killed since the last account 2 peacocks 7 fowls 2 horses 8 asses Hogs 2 hogs The other two overseers had no stock in their custody. Signed by William Postley. Interpretations The goat herd of 134 head stands as the largest body of livestock on the island after the cattle, and the only class showing increase to match its losses. Goats thrived on the steep and broken ground of St Helena where cattle and sheep could not graze, so they offered the Company a hardy meat supply that renewed itself, here 12 born against 12 killed. The breakdown into breeding ewes, rams and kids let the overseer judge whether the herd would hold its numbers. The heavy slaughter of turkeys, 16 of 90 since the previous count, reflects the demand of shipping time rather than ordinary garrison consumption. Poultry made convenient fresh provision and gifts for visiting commanders, and the arrival of the homeward fleet through May 1718 drew down the flock sharply. The note that the other two overseers held no stock confirms that the Company concentrated its breeding animals under a single responsible officer. Postley as chief overseer answered for the whole herd at the Plantation House, which fixed accountability for losses on one man rather than dispersing it across several keepers.
321	313	Island St. Helena.@ At a Consultation held@ on Fryday the 4th day of July 1718.@ at Union Castle in James valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pres: to Matth.w Bazett &c@ Pres: Antipas Tovey.@ The Last Consultation rec'd & approv'd.@ The Govern.r Sayes Immediately after@ Capt. Haswells death he called a Consulta-@ -tion to know how the	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Friday 11 July 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor explained that immediately after Captain Haswell's death he had called a consultation to

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		Hon. Companys@ affairs Stood that were under his charge@ and what was Proper to be done. And@ Because the Accomptants Books did@ want Inspection the Council Deferred@ giving their answer till they lookt@ them over, and the Gov.r now calls them@ together to know what they have done@ therein.@ Capt. Bazett & Mr. Tovey Sayes they@ have lookt over Some of the Books but not all@ and by Monday next Shall have gone threw@ them and will then give in their Report in@ writing.@ The Govern.r Sayes he would have@ them in that Report to Mention what@ Books@	establish how the Honourable Company's affairs under Haswell's charge stood and what ought to be done. The accountant's books needed inspection, so the council had deferred its answer until the members could examine them. The Governor now called the council together to learn what they had found. Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey reported that they had examined some of the books but not all. They expected to have gone through them by the following Monday and would then give their report in writing. The Governor directed that the report should mention what books [...]. Interpretations The death of Deputy Governor George Haswell left the Company's accounts under his charge in suspense, so the Governor moved at once to secure and examine them. An officer holding both money and stock answered personally for what passed through his hands, and his death broke that line of accountability. The inspection of his books was the means of fixing the true state of the Company's property before any settlement of his estate. The demand for a written report rather than a verbal answer reflects the council's need for a permanent and reviewable record. A signed statement of what the books contained could be set against Haswell's accounts and sent home to the Honourable Masters, turning the audit into formal evidence rather than the opinion of the moment.
322	314	Books there are, how farr they are done,@ and what by Capt. Haswell. And@ Who to finnish them.@ He desires them also to give in their@ opinions what has been the Occasion of@ this delay and what must be done to reme-@ -dy it.@ [signature]@ Antipas Tovey@	The report was to state how many books there were, how far each had been completed, how much of that had been done by Captain Haswell and who should finish them. The Governor also asked the members to give their opinions on what had caused the delay and what must be done to remedy it. Signed by Isaac Pyke and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The Governor's instruction to record how much of each book Haswell had completed was a way of separating the dead officer's responsibility from the unfinished remainder. Fixing the exact point each account had reached at his death let the council assign blame for any shortfall and decide who must carry the bookkeeping forward. This protected both the Company's claim on Haswell's estate and the men now charged with completing the work. The demand for the members' opinions on the cause of the delay turned the audit into an inquiry into administrative failure. The council sought not merely the state of the books but an explanation of why they had fallen behind, so that the same neglect could be guarded against in future and reported home to the Honourable Masters.
323	315	Island St. Helena.@ At a Consultation@ Held on Tuesday the 8. day of July@ 1718. At Union Castle in James valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2 &@ Antip.s Tovey 3 in Coun:@ The Last Consultation read and approved.@ The reason of our not meeting Yesterday@ According to appointment an alarm happened@ Just as we were come together So that every@ man being obliged to goe to his Post We adjourned@ till this morning.@ Capt. Bazett & Mr. Tovey According to their@ Promise in Consultation of the 4th Just: brought@ in this day the following Papers viz:@ Pursuant to an Order of Council dated the@ 30. of June last, Mr. Tovey and I have Perused the@ Books of the Hon. Compy.as Accounts for the@ year 1716. which were in the Custody and Care@ of Capt. Haswell lately deceased To See how for-@ -ward they were. In the Perusal thereof I do not@ find 'em So forward as they might been, the@ Deficiency thereof I	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 July 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council had failed to meet the day before as arranged because an alarm happened just as the members came together. Every man was obliged to go to his post, so the meeting was adjourned until this morning. In keeping with the promise they gave at the consultation of 11 July 1718, Captain Bazett and Mr Tovey brought in the following papers. The report stated that, under an order of council of 30 June 1718, Tovey and Bazett had examined the Honourable Company's account books for the year 1716, which had been in the custody of the late Captain Haswell. The purpose was to see how far they had been carried forward. On examination the books

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		think has been in part@ through Some Neglect; and in part through@	were found less advanced than they might have been. The examiners judged the shortfall to be caused partly by some neglect and partly through [...]. Interpretations The alarm that scattered the council on the appointed day shows the garrison duty overriding civil business on the island. Every councillor held a defensive post, so an unidentified sail or other threat pulled the bench apart at once and the administrative meeting had to wait. This reflects how thinly the island was manned, with the same men answering for both government and defence. The examiners' finding that the 1716 books were behind through neglect turned the audit into a formal charge against the conduct of the late deputy. Attributing the shortfall partly to neglect rather than wholly to accident put a measure of fault on Haswell's stewardship. This shaped both the Company's reckoning with his estate and the record sent home to the Honourable Masters.
324	316	the illness of Capt. Haswell that he has been@ afflicted with within these few months, and@ are also so much the more backwards by the@ late Indisposition of Mr. Thomlinson who@ Witt under him. But I believe that the Said@ Books for the Said year may be ready to Send@ Home about Christmas next. And the@ Books for the Year 1717. may be Completed@ by March next ready to be Sent Home next@ Summer Shipping, which Acco.ts are as much@ as the Hon. Compy.t can require, for this@ Currant year cannot be begun till three or@ four months after march next that being the@ time We make Accounts with all People of@ this Island. We are very Scarce of hands@ to Coppy out the Books fair which for want@ of, may be the cause of not having the Said@ Books So forward as they otherwise might and@ We want at least two or three Writers more@ and could very well Employ them that We@ Should not then be so backward in our Acco.ts@ as they have been of late.@ As to my own part tho' my Employment@ leaves me Scarce any time Being Constantly@ busie in Serving out in the Stores & Collecting@ the Goods out of the Journall takes me up@	The remaining cause was the illness of Captain Haswell over the past few months. The work had fallen further behind through the recent indisposition of Mr Thomlinson, who wrote under Haswell. The examiners expected the books for 1716 to be ready to send home about the following Christmas. The books for 1717 could be completed by the following March, ready for the next summer shipping. These accounts were as much as the Honourable Company could require, since the current year could not be begun until three or four months after the following March. That period was when the council settled accounts with all the inhabitants of the island. The council was very short of clerks to copy the books fair, and this shortage explained why the books were less advanced than they might have been. At least two or three more writers were needed and could be fully employed, which would keep the accounts from falling as far behind as they had lately done. Tovey added that his own post left him scarcely any time, being constantly busy serving out goods in the stores. Collecting the goods out of the journal took him up [...]. Interpretations The report set out a fixed timetable tying each year's accounts to the sailing of the homeward fleet. The 1716 books were promised for Christmas and the 1717 books for the next summer shipping, because the only means of sending records to London was aboard the East Indiamen that called once a year. This made the annual convoy the deadline that governed all the island's bookkeeping. The settling of accounts with the inhabitants three or four months after March marked the close of the island's financial year. Until those private reckonings were complete the current year's books could not even be opened, so the clerks worked permanently in arrears against a calendar fixed by the settlers' debts rather than by the date itself. The plea for two or three more writers exposes a chronic staffing weakness behind the delay. Fair-copying the books demanded literate clerks the island did not have, and the same few men carried both the stores and the accounts. Tovey's own divided duty, serving goods while keeping the journal, shows how the shortage of trained hands left the records exposed whenever a single clerk fell sick.
325	317	So much time that I can Scarce do any thing Else,@ yet I am willing to Spend all the very little time@ I have about them, and will Endeavour to put@ 'em as forward as I can but Impossible for one@ man to Undertake So much business having@ with me but one assistant in the manageing@ in the Store.@	Collecting the goods out of the journal took up so much of Bazett's time that he could scarcely do anything else. He was nevertheless willing to spend what little time he had on the books and would try to bring them forward as far as he could. One man alone

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		July y.e 8. 1718@ Matthew Bazett.@ Worshipf.t W. Sr@ I have According to Order@ with Capt. Bazett viewed the Books in the@ Accomptants Office a List of which I present@ herewith to shew that I am Obliged to Declare.@ That: the business has been very much@ Neglected and that therefore it will require a good@ Deal of help to bring forward Books So much@ behind hand.@ Wherefore 'tis my Humble Opinion@ that Some one Should be Appointed Accompt:@ in Capt. Haswells room that will not only be@ in the Office but do as much of the business@ himself as another Person which little of, is@ done by him not much by others, these Books@ as farr of them as is done is not Copied and some@ not So much as begun.@ I am@	could not undertake so much business, having only a single assistant to help him manage the store. This report was dated 15 July 1718 and signed by Matthew Bazett. Tovey then gave his own report. Under the council's order he had joined Captain Bazett in viewing the books in the accountant's office, and he presented a list of them. He felt obliged to declare that the business had been very much neglected and that a good deal of help would be needed to bring forward books so far behind. His opinion was that someone should be appointed accountant in place of Captain Haswell. That person should not merely oversee the office but do as much of the work himself as another man, since little had been done by Haswell and not much by others. Of these books, as far as any were complete, none had been copied, and some had scarcely been begun. Interpretations The two reports converged on a structural remedy rather than a temporary patch, recommending the appointment of a new accountant in Haswell's place. Tovey's insistence that the holder should do the work himself, not merely supervise, was a direct criticism of the late deputy, whose oversight had produced little finished business. This pressed the council toward filling the vacant office with a hands-on clerk rather than another nominal head. The distinction Bazett drew between his store duty and the bookkeeping reveals how a single overburdened officer became a point of failure. Extracting goods from the journal consumed his time, and with only one assistant he could not also keep the accounts current. The reports used this to argue that the island's clerical establishment was too thin for the volume of business the Company required.
326	318	I am sorry I am obliged to say thus@ much but being in duty oblig'd to tell the@ truth and not deceive my Hon: Masters@ do humbly presume to give in this my@ Opinion That Capt. Bazett as 2. Should be@ Accompt: and what help can be gott@ allowed him for his assistance and@ that I as third in Council Should be Store-@ -keeper in his room Unless Ordered otherwise@ by the Hon. Court of Directors / Our@ Masters / leaving with Submission@ all this to your Wiser Determination@ being ready.@ the. 5 July 1718.@ Yo.r Worships.@ Ob.dt. Servant@ Antipas Tovey.@ A List of Books found in the Accompts@ Office the 5th day of July 1718.@ For. 1716:@ 1. Small Leger wherein some have reckoned N.o F@ 2. Foul Transfer Journall & 1. Leger not Ball-@ -anced.@ 3. Fair Journal & 1. Fair Leger Copied from Ditto.@ 4. Large Journal for the whole year but Just@ begun.@ 5. Large Leger for Ditto, but Just begun.@ 1 Journal.@	Tovey expressed regret at having to say so much, but his duty was to tell the truth and not to defraud the Honourable Masters. He offered his opinion that Captain Bazett, as second in council, should be made accountant, with whatever help might be allowed him for his assistance. He proposed that he himself, as third in council, should become storekeeper in Bazett's place, unless the Honourable Court of Directors ordered otherwise. He submitted the whole matter to the council's wiser judgement. This report was dated 15 July 1718 and signed by Antipas Tovey. A list of books found in the accountant's office on 15 July 1718 followed. For the year 1716 1 small ledger in which some accounts had been entered 1 foul transfer journal and 1 ledger, not balanced 1 fair journal and 1 fair ledger copied from it 1 large journal for the whole year, only just begun 1 large ledger for the same, only just begun 1 journal Interpretations Tovey's proposal set out a clean reshuffling of the three-man council to fill the gap left by Haswell's death. Moving Bazett up to accountant and stepping himself into the storekeeper's place kept each office filled by a serving councillor in order of seniority. The deference to the Court of Directors marks the limit of local authority, since the council could rearrange duties only provisionally until the Company confirmed the change from London. The catalogue of books distinguishes foul from fair copies, a core feature of the period's bookkeeping. A foul or rough journal recorded transactions as they happened, and a fair copy was then written out clean for the formal record and for sending home. The note that the large journal and ledger for 1716 were only just

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			begun shows the fair-copying stage had barely started, which was exactly the backlog the examiners had condemned. A ledger described as not balanced points to accounts whose debit and credit sides had not been reconciled. Until a ledger balanced it could not be certified as a true statement of the Company's position, so an unbalanced book left the year's reckoning formally incomplete.
327	319	1: Journal & 1: Leger both for Copies to the former@ but Just begun.@ 2: Book wherein is Collected all the Store Goods@ Sold for this year 1716. in Order to be Posted@ in the above Books.@ For 1717: 1: Transfer Journal & 1: Leger not Completed@ nor Copied.@ -1718. 1: Transfer Journal for this year 1718 (which@ is in the Gov.rs Custody) is Continued to this time.@ There is not in all these Books above one@ weeks work of the Writing of Capt. Haswells.@ Antipas Tovey.@ Mr. Tovey Presented the following Petition.@ Island St. Helena. To the Worsp.t Isaac Pyke@ Esq. Gov.r & Council.@ The Humble Petition of@ Antipas Tovey Sec.ry@ Shaweth. That Whereas by Capt.@ Haswells death there is a vacancy of Account-@ -ant, and Capt. Bazett being desirous to@ Continue Storekeeper Your Petition.r prays@ leave to resigne being Secretary Provided@	1 journal and 1 ledger, both copies of the former pair, only just begun 1 book in which all the store goods sold during 1716 had been collected, ready to be posted into the books above For the year 1717 1 transfer journal and 1 ledger, not completed nor copied For the year 1718 1 transfer journal for the current year, kept in the Governor's custody and continued up to the present Across all these books there was not more than one week's work of Captain Haswell's own writing. This list was signed by Antipas Tovey. Mr Tovey then presented the following petition. Tovey petitioned the Governor and Council, setting out that Captain Haswell's death had left the office of accountant vacant. Captain Bazett wished to continue as storekeeper, and Tovey asked leave to resign as secretary, provided [...]. Interpretations The examiners' closing tally that less than a week of the books was in Haswell's own hand stands as the sharpest indictment of his stewardship. After heading the accounts for the year his personal contribution amounted to a few days of writing, which exposed how far the work had rested on subordinate clerks. This single measure justified the reports' call for a more active accountant. The separate book gathering all store goods sold in 1716 reveals the two-stage method behind the accounts. Sales were first collected in a subsidiary register and only afterwards posted into the formal journals and ledgers. The backlog lay precisely at this posting stage, since the raw record existed but had not been carried into the books that balanced. Tovey's petition shows the council formalising through written application what it had already proposed in debate. By asking leave to resign the secretaryship he opened the way for the chain of promotions, each office moving up a step. The conditional wording marks his attempt to attach terms to the rearrangement rather than simply vacate his post.
328	320	you will please to appoint him Account.t@ and promiseth that he will be Constantly@ diligent in the Accountants office and Not-@ -withstanding this Advancem.t be Always@ obedient to his Superiors, and as Capt. Bazett@ has Promised to advise and Assist in the@ forwarding these Accounts So your Petition.r@ likewise Promiseth that he will Always be@ thankfull to Capt. Bazett for his Assistance@ and ready to follow his advice, and hopes@ to perform something not only to yours@ but to the Hon. Comyn.as Satisfaction.@ the 8. day of July 1718.@ And your Petition.r as in duty@ bound shall pray.@ Antip.s Tovey.@ That for the Settling all matters here,@ The Gov.r Says that Capt. Matthew Bazett@ desiring to continue Storekeeper it being a@ business he has been along time used to and@ understands it very well He Shall continue@ Storekeeper and be Second in Council as@	Tovey asked the council to appoint him accountant. He promised to be constantly diligent in the accountant's office and, despite this advancement, always obedient to his superiors. Since Captain Bazett had promised to advise and assist in bringing the accounts forward, Tovey for his part promised to remain thankful to Bazett for his help and ready to follow his advice. He hoped to perform something to the satisfaction not only of the council but of the Honourable Company. This petition was dated 15 July 1718 and signed by Antipas Tovey. The Governor then moved to settle all these matters. Captain Matthew Bazett wished to continue as storekeeper, a business he had long been used to and understood very well. He was therefore to continue as storekeeper and to be second in council as deputy governor, until the Honourable Company's pleasure was further known.

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		Dep.t Govern.r untill the Hon. Comp.as pleasure@ be further known.@ As to Mr. Tovey who desires to Under-@ -take the Accountants Business Mr. Tovey@	As to Mr Tovey, who wished to undertake the accountant's business, Tovey was to [...]. Interpretations The Governor's ruling confirmed the reshuffle but reversed the order of seniority that ordinarily attached to the offices. Bazett kept the storekeeper's post he knew rather than moving up to accountant, yet still rose to second in council and deputy governor on Haswell's death. This split the rank from the duty, letting each man hold the place that suited his experience while the council awaited confirmation from London. The deputy governorship passing to Bazett shows the office following council seniority rather than any separate appointment. With Haswell dead the second in council automatically became the Governor's deputy, which is why securing that rank mattered even as Bazett declined the more burdensome accountant's work. Tovey's promise of continued obedience despite his advancement addressed the awkwardness of a junior taking on the office a senior had refused. By binding himself in advance to follow Bazett's advice he forestalled any friction from a clerk of lower rank holding the demanding post, preserving the chain of authority within the small council.
329	321	Shall be third in Council & Accountant but@ referr the Settling his Sallary to the Hon:@ Comp.y or till We See how Industrious he@ is in bringing up these Accounts, and the@ Gov.r Says he desires Capt. Bazett to over-@ -look Mr. Tovey and to Advise & Assist him@ as often as there is Occasion, and the Gov.r@ Says he Expects tho' he be Accountant that@ he will be Always ruled & Advised by Capt.@ Bazett. And@ That Mr. John Alexander be hence-@ -forward Clark of the Council as he was@ formerly, and that he Do Enjoy all the@ Proffits thereof.@ That as to the Military Affairs.@ Mr. Matth.w Bazett is Confirmed Capt.@ Thomas Cason Lieut.t &@ John Alexander Continued in his@ Old Post of Ensign.@ Resolved that it be a Standing Rule to Mr.@ Tovey that no Person whatever do Transfer Credit@ that have not Credit due to them Unless the Sold.rs@ for the quarterly payment of their dyett.@ We mention our Adjourning the Consultation@ Yesterday because of an alarm made But the@	Tovey was to be third in council and accountant, but the settling of his salary was referred to the Honourable Company, or until the council could see how diligent he proved in bringing up the accounts. The Governor asked Captain Bazett to oversee Mr Tovey and to advise and assist him whenever needed. Although Tovey was now accountant, the Governor expected him to be always guided by Captain Bazett. The Governor further directed that Mr John Alexander be henceforth clerk of the council, as he had been before, and that he enjoy all the profits of that post. The council then turned to military affairs. Mr Matthew Bazett was confirmed as captain, Thomas Cason as lieutenant and John Alexander continued in his old post of ensign. The council resolved a standing rule for Mr Tovey that no person whatever should transfer credit who had no credit due to them, unless they were the soldiers entitled to the quarterly payment of their diet. The council noted that it had adjourned the consultation the day before because of an alarm. The ship [...]. Interpretations The decision to refer Tovey's salary to the Company while making his pay conditional on his diligence created a direct incentive to clear the backlog. By withholding a fixed figure and tying reward to performance, the council kept leverage over a man taking on the very office whose neglect it had just condemned. This linked his remuneration to the recovery of the accounts rather than to the rank alone. The confirmation of military ranks alongside the civil offices shows how the same small group held both functions on the island. Bazett as captain, Cason as lieutenant and Alexander as ensign carried the garrison command, while the council seats and clerkships ran in parallel. A single reshuffle therefore had to settle both the administration and the chain of military command at once. The standing rule against transferring credit to those who had none guarded the store accounts against a specific abuse. Credit in the books represented a real claim on the Company, and allowing it to pass to people with no entitlement would let fictitious balances circulate. The exception for soldiers' quarterly diet preserved a genuine and recurring obligation while closing the door to invented transfers.

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330	322	Ship for which that alarm was made did@ not come in She Seemed to be a large Ship@ and Sailed Close by South and S.o West part@ of the Island. We were in hopes it were the@ Store Ship for this place but now take her@ for a Hollands Ship.@ Richard Swallow Sen.r brought this day@ the Last Will and Testament of George Brinor@ Sold.r Dec.d desireing the Same might be Proved@ which was accordingly done by the Oaths@ of Walter Morris John Young & John Willi.m@ Pyfer.@ Ordered That the Said Will be Ap-@ -proved of and Copies given after Registered@ when Desired. And@ That the Said Rich.d Swallow do take@ Care of, Maintaine, and bring up the Child@ Mentioned in the Said Will, and keep it@ from any Charge to the Parish. Which@ the Said Swallow Declares his wilingness@ to, and that the Child is no Slave tho' the@ Mother of it is at this time his Slave.@ Ordered Further that the Said Rich.d@ Swallow do Immediately take care of all@ the Effects, debts and Creditts due and@ belonging@	The ship that had caused the alarm did not come in. She appeared to be a large vessel and sailed close by the south and south-west part of the island. The council had hoped she might be the store ship for St Helena, but now took her for a Dutch ship. Richard Swallow senior brought in the last will and testament of George Prinor, lately deceased, asking that it be proved. This was done on the oaths of Walter Morris, John Young and John William Pyfer. The council ordered the will approved and copies given after registration whenever desired. The council further ordered that Richard Swallow take care of, maintain and bring up the child mentioned in the will and keep it from becoming any charge to the parish. Swallow declared his willingness to do so. The council noted that the child was not a slave, although its mother was at present his slave. The council also ordered that Richard Swallow immediately take charge of all the effects, debts and credits due and belonging [...]. Interpretations The ruling that the child was free although its mother remained a slave marks a deliberate departure from the rule that a slave woman's child followed her condition. The council fixed the infant's status as free on the face of the record, which protected the arrangement Prinor's will had set in motion. This treated the bequest as overriding the ordinary descent of bondage through the mother. The order binding Swallow to maintain the child and keep it from the parish reflects the standard mechanism for preventing dependants becoming a public burden. By fixing responsibility on a named guardian the council kept the cost of upbringing off the parish rate. This was the same poor-law logic applied throughout the island to orphans and abandoned children. The instruction that Swallow take charge of all the estate's effects, debts and credits shows probate functioning as a transfer of the whole financial position of the deceased. Approving the will was only the first step, after which the executor gathered in what was owed and answered for what was due, consolidating the estate under a single accountable hand.
331	323	belonging to the dec.d George Brinor for the@ use of the Child named in his Will afores.d@ Thus farr hath been@ Copied & Sent Home per@ Ship Cardigan Henry@ Glegg Como.r July 10. 1718.@ [signature]@	Swallow was to take charge of all the effects, debts and credits belonging to the deceased George Prinor, for the use of the child named in his will. The record to this point had been copied and sent home aboard the ship <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Henry Glegg, on 10 July 1718.
332	324	Island St. Helena.@ At a Consultation held@ on Tuesday the 15. day of July 1718. At@ Union Castle in James valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2 &@ Antip.s Tovey 3 in Coun.t@ The Last Consultation read & approved.@ On the 11th Just. Sailed the Ship Cardigan@ Capt. Henry Glegg Com.and for Great Brittain.@ Mr. Portley Reports that two of the Hon:@ Comp.as Blacks dyed this last Week. viz:@ Grewer an Old man. &@ a Child Named Stephen.@ John Hodgkinson Surgeons Mate was Sum-@ -moned for his Continual Neglect of Duty.@ Whereupon he appeared and Delivered@ a Petition desiring to be Discharged from the@ Hon: Comp.as Service which Petition is referred@ to the Govern.r and Hodgkinson Ordered to@ attend him.@ The following Letters were Sent to and@ received from Capt. Glegg@ W:@	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 July 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. The ship <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Henry Glegg commanding, sailed for Great Britain on 11 July 1718. Mr Postley reported that two of the Honourable Company's blacks had died during the past week, namely Grewer, an old man, and a child named Stephen. John Hodgkinson, surgeon's mate, was summoned for his continual neglect of duty. He appeared and delivered a petition asking to be discharged from the Honourable Company's service. The petition was referred to the Governor, and Hodgkinson was ordered to attend him. The following letters were sent to and received from Captain Glegg.

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		We understand that one of our Garrison Named@ William Stuff went Privately on board your@	The council understood that one of the garrison, named William Huff, had gone privately aboard the <i>Cardigan</i> [...]. Interpretations The reference of Hodgkinson's discharge petition to the Governor alone shows the council steering a disciplinary problem toward a private settlement. Summoned for repeated neglect, the surgeon's mate answered with a request to leave the service, which let the council resolve the matter as a departure rather than a punishment. Routing it to the Governor kept the negotiation off the formal record while the council pressed on with other business. The loss of two of the Company's slaves in a single week, recorded by name and condition, reflects the practice of treating bonded people as accountable stock. Postley reported the deaths as he reported losses among the cattle and poultry, since each represented a charge against the establishment under his charge. Naming the old man and the child fixed the loss precisely for the books. The note that Huff had gone aboard the <i>Cardigan</i> in secret points to desertion by stowing away on a homeward ship. A garrison soldier leaving privately on a departing vessel escaped both his service and the island, which is why the council took the matter up with the commander in writing rather than letting it pass.
333	325	your Ship last night and has conceald himself@ there in Order to leave this place We therefore@ Send you this Notice to prevent your Incurring@ the Penalty in your Charter Party, and We desire@ you not to Sail out of this road 'till you have@ Sent him on Shoar.@ Yesterday he was Drinking and pretty much@ in the Company of your Boatswains Mate and@ was Seen Untill your Boatswains Mate went off@ and not afterwards. We are.@ Union Castle.@ 11. July 1718.@ Yo.r Humble Servants@ Isa. Pyke.@ Matth.w Bazett@ Antip.s Tovey.@ Answer.@ To the Worth.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r@ & Coun.t of the Island St. Helena.@ On the receipt of yours I called all my@ Officers and enquired if there was any Such Person@ as William Stuff on board, they all Declare that@ they do not know of his coming on board last night@ or at any other time. My Boatswains Mate Says@ that he was drinking with him last night but left@ him on Shore. I have given Orders to my Officers@ to Search the Ship and to carry your Marshall@ with them, that he may See they Endeavour to@ find@	The council had learned that William Huff had gone aboard the <i>Cardigan</i> the previous night and concealed himself there in order to leave the island. The council therefore sent Captain Glegg this notice to prevent him incurring the penalty in his charter party. The council asked him not to sail out of the road until he had sent Huff ashore. The previous day Huff had been drinking, and largely in the company of the boatswain's mate, and had been seen until the boatswain's mate went off but not afterwards. This letter was dated 11 July 1718 at Union Castle and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Captain Glegg replied to the Governor and Council. On receiving their letter he called all his officers and asked whether any such person as William Huff was on board. They all declared that they knew nothing of his coming aboard the previous night or at any other time. His boatswain's mate stated that he had been drinking with Huff the night before but had left him on shore. Glegg had ordered his officers to search the ship and to take the council's marshal with them, so that the marshal might see they had made a genuine effort to find [...]. Interpretations The warning that Glegg risked the penalty in his charter party reveals the legal instrument binding the commander to the Company. A charter party set out the terms on which the ship was hired, and carrying off a member of the garrison would breach those terms and expose the captain to a fixed forfeit. The council used this contractual threat rather than any direct authority over the vessel to compel a search. The request that the ship not leave the road until Huff was produced shows the road serving as the council's last point of control. Once a vessel cleared the anchorage it passed beyond reach, so the island's power to recover a deserter depended on detaining the ship while it still lay offshore. The notice was timed precisely to hold that leverage. Glegg's offer to carry the marshal aboard during the search transferred the verification to a neutral officer of the island. By letting the council's own man witness the inspection the commander aimed to clear himself of complicity, converting his denial into something the

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			council could accept rather than a bare assertion from the ship's side.
334	326	find him. I have Eighty well men on board,@ So that it cant be thought I want any more, if@ I had I should have Applied my Self to you for@ them. I am.@ July the 11. 1718.@ Gentlemen.@ Yo.r very Humble Serv.t@ Henry Glegg.@ Notwithstanding Capt. Gleggs Assertion that@ William Stuff is not on board We are too well@ assured that he is on board and are very Sorry@ Capt. Glegg Should be So Ungratefull to Us@ from whom he has recived great kindness &@ Civility to carry any of our men away but@ Especially that fellow who was our Fidler@ and he has thereby put us to a great Disappoint-@ -ment for want of a Fidler tho' otherwise that@ fellow can be of no other use to him for he is@ fitt for nothing Else but fiddling and Makeing@ Mischief as will appear by William Huffs@ Character in the following Consultations, viz:@ July the 8. 1713. Nov. the 16. 1714. Sept. the 12.th@ 1715. Octob.r the 25. 1715. Nov. y.e 6. 1716. Febry.@ the 5. 1716/17. and March the 26. 1717. Besides@ Severall other times he has been Punnished@ for Pilfering and other Misdemeanors.@	Glegg added that he already had eighty able men aboard, so it could not be thought he wanted any more. Had he needed them he would have applied to the council for them. This reply was dated 11 July 1718 and signed by Henry Glegg. Despite Captain Glegg's assertion that William Huff was not aboard, the council remained certain that he was. The council expressed regret that Glegg should be so ungrateful as to carry off one of their men, after the great kindness and civility he had received from them. This was felt especially because Huff had been the island's fiddler, and his loss left the council greatly disappointed for want of one. The council remarked that Huff was otherwise of no use, being fit for nothing but fiddling and making mischief, as his record showed in the consultations of 8 July 1713, 16 November 1714, 12 September 1715, 25 October 1715, 6 November 1716, 5 February 1717 and 26 March 1717. Besides these, he had been punished on several other occasions for pilfering and other misdemeanours. Interpretations The council's appeal to the kindness and civility Glegg had received frames the dispute as a breach of the reciprocal courtesy between island and ship. Visiting commanders depended on St Helena for water, provisions and refreshment, and the council invoked that customary exchange to shame the captain into compliance. The charge of ingratitude carried weight precisely because the relationship rested on mutual obligation rather than enforceable command. The value placed on Huff as the island's fiddler reveals how a remote garrison prized even a troublesome man for a scarce social skill. Music supplied one of the few amusements available on the station, so the loss of the only fiddler was felt as a real deprivation despite his record. This explains why the council pursued so determinedly a soldier it otherwise dismissed as fit for nothing but mischief. The citation of seven separate consultations built a documentary case against Huff out of the island's own records. Each dated entry marked a prior offence, and the council assembled them to establish a settled character of pilfering and disorder. This use of the consultation book as a running register of conduct shows how the administration converted its minutes into evidence against individuals.
335	327	Capt. Glegg has likewise Injured many@ People of the Island by taking off the S.d Huff@ who is indebted to Sundry Persons above fifty@ Pound. and to the Hon. Comp.y@ besides We think by this means Capt. Glegg will@ have William Huffs life to Answer for because@ in England he cannot be long unhang'd for one@ Villainy or other he having been a foot Sted ab.t@ London before he came away and did not come@ thence Untill there was Strict Search made after@ him So that by coming here he Saved his Neck@ as he used to Say himself, for this Part of his bad@ Character is of his own giving he having often told@ it here But We take it to be very true because he has@ been a Comon thief ere Sence he has been here@ and has been often Punnished So that had it not@ been that he was our Fidler We had got Rid of@ him our Selves by Sending him away long agoe.@ Mr. Tovey Reported that he had Sold the@ Goods of Edward Holliwell Thomas Bevians,@ John Merrill, and Thom. Ashby Dec.d, at a@ Publick Outcry on the 10. day of June 1718.@ the amount of Each Persons Goods So Sold@ is as follows.@	The council added that Captain Glegg had injured many people of the island by carrying off Huff, who owed various creditors above £50 0s 0d as well as a debt to the Honourable Company. The council also believed that by this means Glegg would have Huff's life to answer for, since in England Huff could not long escape hanging for one villainy or another. He had been a footpad about London before he came away and had left only when a strict search was made after him. By coming to St Helena he had saved his neck, as he used to say himself, this part of his bad character being told by his own account. The council took it for true, since he had been a common thief ever since his arrival and had often been punished. Had he not been the island's fiddler the council would have rid itself of him long before by sending him away. Mr Tovey reported that he had sold the goods of Edward Holliwell, Thomas Bevians, John Merrill and Shem Ashby, all deceased, at a public auction on 10 June 1718. The amount of each person's goods sold was as follows. Edward Holliwell's goods amounted to £19 1s 7d Interpretations

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		£ s d@ Edward Holliwells Goods amounts to. 19. 7½@ Thomas@	The catalogue of Huff's debts gives the council a financial as well as a social reason to recover him. He owed his creditors more than £50 0s 0d and a further sum to the Company, so his escape aboard the <i>Cardigan</i> removed any prospect of recovery from him. Carrying off a debtor injured the island's economy by defeating claims that could only be enforced while he remained. The account of Huff as a London footpad who fled a search shows the island serving as a refuge for fugitives from English justice. A man wanted at home could disappear into the Company's remote garrison, where distance broke the reach of the law that pursued him. His own boast that the island had saved his neck captures how the station absorbed offenders the metropolis could not hold. Tovey's auction of the goods of four deceased men by public outcry was the standard means of converting estates into recoverable value. Selling openly to the highest bidder fixed a transparent price and produced cash to meet the debts and obligations of the dead, after which the proceeds could be carried to account against each man's name.
336	328	Thomas Bevians Amo.t to . £4. 4.-@ John Merrills. Amo.t to . . 7. -6@ Thomas Ashbys. Amo.t to . . 4. 14.6@ [signature]@	Thomas Bevians's goods amounted to £4 4s 0d John Merrill's goods amounted to £7 0s 6d Thomas Ashby's goods amounted to £4 14s 6d
337	329	Island St. Helena.@ At a Consultation@ Held on Tuesday the 22.d day of July 1718.@ at Union Castle in James Valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2.d &@ Pres.t Antip.s Tovey 3. in Count.@ The Last Consultation read and approved of.@ The following Petition of John & Martha@ Marsh was Presented viz:@ Isl.d St. Helena. To the Worsh.t Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ & Councill.@ The Humble Petition of John@ Marsh & Martha Marsh his Sister@ most Humbly@ Sheweth That Whereas your@ Petition.rs being the next Lawfull Heirs to the Estate@ of Robert Marsh lately dec.d whose Last Will and@ Testam.t was received into Council and Sworn to@ But not registered as Usual because Mr. Antipas@ Tovey made Some Objections against the Said Will@ and put in a Caviott w.th other Allegations to make@ the Same Seem Unvalid. But as We yo.r Petition.rs@ being well Satisfyed of the Testators good Intentions@ and of the validity of his Said Will Do now Hum-@ -bly desire the Same may be Allowed of as Such@ and@	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 July 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following petition of John and Martha Marsh was presented. John Marsh and his sister Martha Marsh petitioned the Governor and Council, setting out that they were the next lawful heirs to the estate of Robert Marsh, lately deceased. His last will and testament had been received into council and sworn to, but not registered in the usual way, because Mr Antipas Tovey had raised objections against the will. Tovey had entered a caveat with other allegations to make the will appear invalid. The petitioners, being satisfied of the testator's good intentions and of the validity of his will, now asked that it be allowed as [...]. Interpretations The caveat entered by Tovey is the central legal device in the dispute, a formal notice halting the registration of a will until an objection can be heard. By lodging it he suspended the grant of probate, so that the Marshes' inheritance could not pass until the council resolved his challenge. This shows the caveat functioning as a brake on succession, giving a contesting party time to press allegations before the estate was settled. The distinction between a will sworn to but not registered marks the two stages of probate on the island. Witnesses had attested the document under oath, yet without entry in the register it carried no settled legal force. The Marshes' petition aimed to complete the second stage that Tovey's objection had blocked, converting a proved will into a registered title. The petitioners' standing as next lawful heirs gave them the interest required to move the council. Whether the will stood or fell, they were the parties who would take the estate, which entitled them to press for its allowance against the objector. Their claim rested on kinship to the deceased as the foundation of the right to inherit.
338	330	and the Said Caviott taken off and lookt on no@ further of any force or hindorance to the Said@ Robert Marshes last Will & Testam.t being as@ aforesaid of no	The petitioners asked that the caveat be removed and treated as no further hindrance to Robert Marsh's will. They sought to have the will, instead of being held

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		validity or put in Execution Accord-@ -ing to the Express words therein Mentioned in all@ and every Item and Article therein Contained.@ July y.e 22. 1718. And as in duty bound Shall@ ever pray &c.@ John Marsh.@ Martha her X Marsh@ Marke@ Granted.@ And Accordingly Ordered That the S.d@ Robert Marshes Last Will & Testam.t be@ Registered and Copys given when desired.@ Thomas Swallow Planter made@ Complt. against William Beale for Digging@ up Some ground of his behind his House in@ James valley and planting Trees in it with-@ -out his leave or knowledge.@ Upon which the Said Beale was Sum-@ -oned and now appearing Says he has not@ Ranted upon any of the Said Swallows@ Ground He having bought it with the@ House of Mr. Goodwin.@ After Severall Debates on both Sides@	invalid, put into execution according to the exact words it contained, in every item and article. This petition was dated 22 July 1718 and signed by John Marsh and Martha Marsh by her mark. The council granted the petition and ordered that Robert Marsh's last will and testament be registered, with copies given whenever desired. Thomas Swallow, planter, complained against William Beale for digging up some ground behind his house in James Valley and planting trees in it without his leave or knowledge. Beale was summoned and now appeared. He stated that he had not planted on any of Swallow's ground, having bought it together with the house from Mr Goodwin. After several debates on both sides the [...]. Interpretations The removal of the caveat completed the contest over Robert Marsh's estate in favour of the heirs. By striking out the objection and ordering registration the council gave the will full legal force and put it beyond Tovey's challenge. This shows the bench acting as the probate authority that could both entertain a caveat and dissolve it once satisfied of a will's validity. The Swallow and Beale dispute turns on competing claims to the same strip of ground behind a James Valley house. Beale rested his defence on having bought the land with the house from Goodwin, making the question one of what the conveyance had actually transferred. This reflects the recurring difficulty on the island of fixing boundaries where adjoining town plots had passed through several hands. The reference to the purchase from Goodwin places the disputed ground within a chain of title that the council had to trace. Ownership depended on what Goodwin had held and conveyed, so resolving the present quarrel required looking behind the immediate parties to an earlier transaction. This is the standard method by which the bench settled conflicting town-land claims.
339	331	The Govern.r Says that this matter was@ disputed Enough upon the 14 of Janry 1717/18@ and then it appeared very plain to Us by@ a paper that is Copied out at large in that Con-@ -sultation that if there was any agreement for@ Land either Sold or Given away that according@ to that Writing it must be Sold or given by John@ Feild the Predecessor of William Beale to Thom.@ Swallow. And it dos not Appear by that Writing@ that Thom. Swallow did Sell or give away any@ Land to Jo.n Feild. Therefore We think that@ by the writing that is Produced by Willi.m Beale@ he has no Authority to take in any Land belong:@ to Tho. Swallow. We having caused the Consulta-@ -tions to be lookt back for a long time and can@ find no Authority given to Either of them in@ Consultation for Possessing that Land So that it@ dos not appear by the Hon. Comp.as Books@ nither, that it was either Granted, Sold, or lett@ to them. We have also Searcht over the Register@ Books and do not find this Land in dispute was@ ever registered.@ But We do know that there has@ always been till of late, an alley or Passage@ to go backward by that House of Tho. Swallows@ and@	The Governor observed that the matter had been disputed enough on 14 January 1718. On that occasion a document copied out in full in the consultation made the position very plain. If there was any agreement for land either sold or given away, that document showed it must have been sold or given by John Field, the predecessor of William Beale, to Thomas Swallow. The document did not show that Swallow had sold or given any land to Field. The council therefore concluded that the document produced by Beale gave him no authority to take in any land belonging to Swallow. The council had searched back through the consultations over a long period and could find no authority granted to either man for possessing that land. Nor did the Honourable Company's books show that it had been granted, sold or let to them. The council had also searched the register books and could not find the disputed land ever registered. The council acknowledged, however, that until lately there had always been an alley or passage running behind Thomas Swallow's house [...]. Interpretations The Governor's resort to the document copied into the consultation of 14 January 1718 shows the council using its own minute book as conclusive evidence of title. The deed entered in full at that earlier date settled the direction of the original conveyance, fixing it as a grant from Field to Swallow rather than the reverse. This treats the consultation record as a permanent register that could decide a property dispute years later. The triple search of the consultations, the Company's books and the register books reveals the layered record-keeping behind land title on the island. Each source served a distinct function, and the council

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			tested the claim against all three before ruling. The failure to find the land entered anywhere meant neither party could show a registered right, which threw the decision back onto the surviving deed. The recognition of a long-standing alley behind Swallow's house introduces a customary right of passage independent of registered title. Continuous use of the way over time created an expectation the council had to weigh, even where no document recorded it. This shows the bench balancing formal title against established practice in settling the rights attached to town ground.
340	332	and We know that all alleys, Passages,@ or Publick ways belong to the Lords@ Proprietors of any place. Wherefore@ Seeing Beals Title is bad and Swallow@ has no Title at all otherwise than that@ he Should reasonably have a place on the@ backside of his House as well as the Rest@ of his Neighbours.@ We do therefore Grant unto@ William Beale and to Thom. Swallow@ That they shall Each of them Lawfully@ Possess and quietly enjoy from henceforward@ on the backside of their Houses Just So much@ Ground as the breadth of their respective@ Houses Containe. And We do forbid them@ from Encroaching Upon one the other, or@ Occupying any part beyond their Houses@ breadth, and We are willing that Each of@ them Shall Enjoy it Deeper and further@ backward than they have had it formerly@ and do grant them leave to go as farr as@ the Hon. Comp.as high wall. And to@ prevent all future Disputes We Order@ them forthwith to Divide their Parts@ as is Directed by Runing a wall between@	The council noted that all alleys, passages and public ways belonged to the Lords Proprietors of any place. Since Beale's title was bad and Swallow had no title either, the council reasoned that Swallow should still have ground at the back of his house like the rest of his neighbours. The council therefore granted to both William Beale and Thomas Swallow that each should lawfully possess and quietly enjoy, from now on, just so much ground at the back of his house as the breadth of his own house contained. The council forbade them from encroaching on one another or occupying any part beyond their house breadth. The council was willing that each should enjoy the ground deeper and further back than before, and granted them leave to extend as far as the Honourable Company's high wall. To prevent all future disputes the council ordered them at once to divide their plots, as directed, by building a wall between [...]. Interpretations The principle that all alleys and public ways belonged to the Lords Proprietors gave the council the authority to settle the dispute by fresh grant rather than by upholding either title. With both private claims found bad, the underlying ownership reverted to the Proprietors, whose local representatives could then reallocate the ground. This shows how the ultimate proprietorship of island land let the bench cut through competing claims and impose a new division. The measure tying each man's strip to the breadth of his own house created a clear and self-limiting rule for the disputed ground. By fixing the allocation to a visible feature the council removed the ambiguity that had caused the quarrel. Each party could enjoy depth toward the Company's high wall while neither could spread sideways into the other's frontage. The order to build a dividing wall converted the judgement into a permanent physical boundary. Rather than leaving the settlement to memory or further argument, the council required a structure that would mark the limit on the ground itself. This use of a built partition to forestall renewed disputes reflects the bench's preference for fixing town-land divisions in durable form.
341	333	their two Houses to the Said Hon. Comp.as@ high wall.@ Mr.s Frances Carne brought in four@ Sundry Papers Signed by her Son Jo.n Goodwin@ desiring they might be Registered for the@ better Security thereof.@ Granted.@ The Gun.r brought in the following Acco:@ of Stores Expended for the Month of June 1718.@ An Acco: of Gun.ry Stores Expended from June the@ 1.t 1718. to the 30. Ditto Inclusive viz:@ 1718@ June y.e 5 Delivered to Mr. Tovey@ Fal Pow.r@ 1@ 24 To the Garrison for y.e Burying of Capt. Haswell@ 5@ • Fired at the two Gun Ridge@ 1@	The dividing wall was to run between their two houses to the Honourable Company's high wall. Mrs Frances Carne brought in four separate papers signed by her son John Goodwin, asking that they be registered for better security. The council granted this. The gunner brought in the following account of stores expended for the month of June 1718. The account covered the period from 1 June 1718 to 30 June 1718 inclusive. Delivered to Mr Tovey on 5 June 1718 1 pound of powder To the garrison for the burial of Captain Haswell on 24 June 1718 5 pounds of powder Fired at the Two Gun Ridge 1 fathom of [...], 1 pound of powder At the Fort

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		- At the Fort@ 16 16@ 25 An Alarm@ 4 4@ - Arrived y.e Cardigan Capt. Henry Glegg fro: India@ 9 9@ 27 To Lucas Mason@ 1@ For Exercising the Garrison@ 7@ To the Guard@ 7@ For the Bury. of Tho. Bevians & Jo.n Merrill@ 3@ Musquett Balls@ 5@ Flints@ 21@ Cartridge Paper@ e.o 1@ Match@ 28@ (Signed) Jn.o French@ 28 4 24. 5 41 65@ [signature]@	16 fathoms of [...], 16 pounds of powder An alarm on 25 June 1718 4 fathoms of [...], 4 pounds of powder The arrival of the <i>Cardigan</i> , Captain Henry Glegg, from India 9 fathoms of [...], 9 pounds of powder To Lucas Mason on 27 June 1718 1 pound of powder Exercising the garrison 7 pounds of powder To the guard 7 pounds of powder For the burial of Thomas Bevians and John Merrill 3 pounds of powder Musket balls 24 Flints 24 Cartridge paper 4 Match 28 Totals 28 match, 4 cartridge paper, 24 flints, 5 [...], 41 [...], 65 [...] Signed by John French. Interpretations The powder fired for the burial of Captain Haswell records the military honours paid to the deceased deputy governor. A funeral volley for a senior officer drew a measured charge from the magazine, in this case 5 pounds, and was entered with the same care as defensive expenditure. This shows the garrison marking the death of authority with the same accountable use of powder that governed salutes for the living. The separate burial charge for Bevians and Merrill, the two deceased men whose goods had just been auctioned, extends military honours to ordinary members of the garrison. A smaller volley of 3 pounds served for both together, which marks a graduated scale of ceremony according to rank. The contrast with Haswell's allowance fixes the relative standing of the dead in the powder account itself. The registration of Goodwin's four papers at Frances Carne's request shows the council's register serving as a guarantee of private title. Entry in the official book gave the documents a permanent and provable record beyond the originals in private hands. This use of registration for security ran parallel to its role in confirming wills and land grants throughout the island's business.
342	334	Island St. Helena. At a Consultation held@ on Tuesday the 29. day of July 1718. At@ Union Castle in James valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2 &@ Antip.s Tovey 3 in Coun.t@ The Last Consultation read & Approved of.@ The Long Boat having Just broke from her@ moarings and is now in sight but driving out@ to Sea, is the Occasion of our puting by the@ Present Consultation because the Gov.r has Ordered@ all hands hence and Sent the Guard over Land@ to Bankses to make an Alarm for the@ Fishing Boats to come in and goe after the@ Long Boat.@ [signature]@	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 29 July 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. The longboat had just broken from her moorings and was now in sight but drifting out to sea. This caused the council to set the present consultation aside, because the Governor ordered all hands away and sent the guard over land to Banks's to raise an alarm. The aim was to bring the fishing boats in and send them after the longboat. Interpretations The Governor's order sending all hands after a single drifting longboat shows how heavily the island depended on its small craft. Boats were the only means of reaching ships in the road and of carrying stores ashore, so the loss of one justified suspending government business to recover it. This reflects the practical value of every vessel on a station that could not readily build or replace them.

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			The use of the alarm at Banks's to summon the fishing boats reveals the same signalling system serving both defence and emergency. The gun that warned of approaching sail could equally call the island's boats together for a rescue. This dual purpose let the council mobilise scattered craft quickly for a task that had nothing to do with a hostile threat.
343	335	Island St.@ Helena.@ At a Consultation Held on@ Tuesday the 5. day of August 1718.@ At the Hon. Comp.rs Plantation House.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2 &@ Antip. Tovey 3. in Coun:@ Last Consultation read and Approved of.@ The Govern.r Says that being obliged to putt@ off the last Consultation upon Account of the@ Long Boats being adrift out at Sea and almost@ out of Sight yet they have recover'd the Companys@ boat againe and put her to new moarings.@ And puting by that Consultation was the@ Occasion the following Petition was not read which@ was brought by Mr. Swallow. Wherefore in the after-@ -noon the Gov.r Sent for William Beale and Talked@ with him about his obstinacy who then Declared@ himself willing to leave the whole matter to the Gov.r@ whereupon he went with Swallow & Beale to the@ place and having viewed all the Ground and Con-@ -sidered how to Accomodate the matter in Conhoversie@ He made the following Order.@ Island St. Helena But first y.e Swallows@ Petition To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke@ Esq. Gov.r & Council@	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 August 1718 at the Honourable Company's Plantation House. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor explained that the last consultation had been set aside because the longboat was adrift at sea and almost out of sight. The Company's boat had since been recovered and put to new moorings. Setting that consultation aside had meant a petition brought by Mr Swallow went unread. That afternoon the Governor sent for William Beale and spoke to him about his obstinacy. Beale then declared himself willing to leave the whole matter to the Governor. The Governor went with Swallow and Beale to the place, viewed all the ground and considered how to settle the dispute. He then made the following order. First, however, the council recorded Swallow's petition to the Governor and Council. Interpretations The Governor's move to settle the Swallow and Beale quarrel on the spot, by viewing the ground in person, marks a shift from formal adjudication to direct mediation. Beale's earlier obstinacy had blocked the council's written ruling, so the Governor brought both parties to the disputed plot and resolved it by inspection. This shows the bench falling back on personal authority and physical examination where a paper order had failed to compel agreement. Beale's declaration that he would leave the whole matter to the Governor records the consent that made the settlement binding. The earlier order had rested on the council's authority alone, which Beale resisted, but his voluntary submission now removed the ground for further dispute. This reflects how the island's administration secured compliance through obtained agreement as well as through formal command.
344	336	The Humble Petition of Thomas@ Swallow free plant.r Most Humbly.@ Sheweth. That Whereas on Tuesday the 22.d@ of July last upon Complaint of your Petitioner@ against William Beale there was an Order of@ Council made That both of Us Should from that@ time Peaceably enjoy all the Ground on the Back-@ -side of each our Houses in this valley So farr@ as Containd the breadth of Each respective House@ which Order the Said Beale ought to have@ been very well contented with, and Did in the@ Presence of all the Council Promise to Waite on@ the Govern.r next day for Adjusting the Same.@ But he has nither performed his own Promise@ nor regarded that Order of Council above@ Mentioned.@ Your Petition.r doth therefore Humbly@ Pray your Worsh & Council to appoint Some@ Indifferent Person to Sett out the bounds of yo.r@ Petition.rs Ground on the backside of his Said@ House that he may not only avoid any further@ trouble or dispute w.th the Said Willi.m Beale but to@ begin Immediately to Inclose the ground So Justly@ granted him. And yo.r Petition.r as in duty bound@ see the@ Aug 4. 5. 1718.@ Shall ever pray &c. Tho. Swallow.@ Signed@	Thomas Swallow, planter, petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out that on Tuesday 22 July 1718, upon his complaint against William Beale, the council had ordered that both men should from then on peaceably enjoy all the ground behind each of their houses in the valley, so far as the breadth of each respective house contained. Beale ought to have been well content with this order. In the presence of the whole council he had promised to wait on the Governor the next day to settle the matter. He had neither kept his own promise nor obeyed the council's order. Swallow therefore asked the Governor and Council to appoint someone to mark out the bounds of his ground behind his house. This would let him avoid any further trouble or dispute with Beale and begin at once to enclose the ground so justly granted him. This petition was dated 5 August 1718 and signed by Thomas Swallow. Interpretations Swallow's request for an appointed person to mark out the bounds shows the practical step needed to turn a paper grant into a usable plot. The council's order of 22 July 1718 had fixed the principle, but without a surveyor on the ground the boundary remained undefined and the dispute alive. This reflects how land settlements on the island required physical demarcation by an officer before they could take effect.

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			The complaint that Beale had broken a promise made before the whole council records the weight attached to undertakings given in open consultation. A pledge made in that setting carried a public force, so its breach became a fresh grievance the petitioner could press. This use of a witnessed promise as a binding commitment shows how the council's presence converted private assurance into accountable obligation.
345	337	Whereas the Controversy in Dispute between@ William Beale and Thomas Swallow concerning@ the Land on the Backsides of their Houses is left@ to me to Determine finally as I shall think to be@ reasonable and Proper between them and they have@ both Promised to abide by my Determination.@ I Do therefore Order That both of them Do@ Exactly performe and Comply with the Directions@ given to them in Council on the 22. of July last,@ yet because that may at present be Some Inconveni-@ -ency to Mr. Beale whose Kitchen at the back part@ of his House happens to Front into the ground@ belonging to Thom.s Swallow So that Mr. Beale@ cannot have a Passage to his own backside without@ pulling down Some part of his Said Kitchen to make@ a door by the Chimny. Therefore I Order that Thomas@ Swallow Shall grant to William Beale a Lease of so@ much ground as Shall make William Beale a full@ Four foot Passage all along the Front of Beals Kitchen@ from the backside of Mr.s Swallows House for thirty@ feet in length for which Mr. Beale Shall pay no@ more than one Pepper corn a year rent, and the Said@ Lease Shall be Written by the Secretary at Mr.@ Swallows Charge and Shall hold for the Terme@ the Kitchen Stands or Else for the terme of@ twenty one years or which Soever of them Shall@ last@	The Governor recorded that the dispute between William Beale and Thomas Swallow over the land behind their houses had been left to him to settle finally as he thought reasonable and proper. Both men had promised to abide by his decision. He therefore ordered that both exactly perform and comply with the directions given in council on 22 July 1718. That arrangement might at present cause some inconvenience to Mr Beale, whose kitchen at the back of his house happened to front onto the ground belonging to Swallow. Beale could not reach his own backside ground without pulling down part of his kitchen to make a door by the chimney. The Governor therefore ordered that Swallow grant Beale a lease of enough ground to give him a full four-foot passage all along the front of Beale's kitchen, running from the back of Swallow's house for thirty feet in length. Beale was to pay no more than one peppercorn a year in rent. The lease was to be drawn by the secretary at Swallow's charge. It was to last as long as the kitchen stood, or otherwise for twenty-one years, whichever of them should first [...]. Interpretations The peppercorn rent reserved on the lease is a nominal payment that preserves the form of a tenancy without real value. By fixing the rent at a single peppercorn the Governor kept Swallow's underlying ownership of the strip intact while granting Beale a right of passage over it. This shows the standard device by which a landholder could concede practical use of ground yet retain the legal title and the acknowledgement of his lordship. The lease tied to the life of the kitchen, or twenty-one years in the alternative, fixes the duration of the passage to the need it served. While Beale's kitchen stood he required the access, so the grant lasted only as long as that necessity, with a fixed term as a fallback. This reflects a deliberate matching of the right's length to the physical circumstance that justified it. The order that the secretary draw the lease at Swallow's charge places the cost of formalising the arrangement on the party retaining ownership. Although Beale gained the passage, Swallow bore the expense of the instrument that bound it, perhaps because the lease protected his title against any future claim that the access had ripened into a right of its own.
346	338	first Expire.@ But beyond thirty foot from the backside@ of Mr.s Swallows House the Ground Shall be@ Exactly divided by a Wall according to the true@ breadth of each of their Said Houses that is for@ 44 feet further backwards which is their Garden@ Grounds their whole ground from the Front@ being 94 feet more or less to the Hon. Comp.as@ Garden Wall.@ That this Shall be Immediately Sett about@ and the Old Wall taken down by Mr.s Swallow@ within Six days and then Joyntly carried up@ by each of them but if either of them Shall@ refuse or neglect to build their respective Parts of@ the Said Wall and do not Procure Each of them@ at least four blacks for the work So that the@ work Shall Stand Neglected unto the End of@ August next then this my Order for Parting@ the ground to be void and I leave Each man@ at Liberty to	The lease was to last as long as the kitchen stood, or otherwise for twenty-one years, whichever should first expire. Beyond thirty feet from the back of Swallow's house the ground was to be divided exactly by a wall, according to the true breadth of each of their houses. This division ran for 44 feet further back, which formed their garden ground. Their whole ground from the front measured 94 feet, more or less, to the Honourable Company's garden wall. The Governor ordered the division begun at once. Swallow was to take down the old wall within six days, after which each man was jointly to carry up his own part. If either refused or neglected to build his part, or failed to provide at least 4 blacks for the work, so that the work stood neglected until the end of the following August, then this order for dividing the ground was to

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		act According to his own Discretion@ in the Same manner as if I had taken no@ trouble herein But in Case the Wall Shall@ be begun to be built Joyntly as is here Ordered@ and then Discontinued by any one of them@ then it Shall be allowed as Lawfull for the@	be void. In that case the Governor would leave each man at liberty to act as he thought fit, exactly as if he had taken no trouble in the matter. But if the wall was begun and built jointly as ordered, and then left unfinished by either of them, it was to be lawful for the other [...]. Interpretations The measured division of the ground into a thirty-foot passage zone and a 44-foot garden strip, totalling 94 feet to the Company's garden wall, fixes the settlement in precise dimensions. By recording exact distances the Governor removed the vagueness that had fed the quarrel and left a boundary that could be checked on the ground. This shows the administration converting a contested claim into a surveyed allocation that admitted no further argument. The requirement that each man supply at least 4 blacks for building the wall reveals the dependence of even private construction on slave labour. The Governor measured compliance not only by intent but by the provision of a fixed number of workers, treating access to bonded labour as the practical condition of completing the work. This fixes the slave as the standard unit of building capacity on the island. The clause voiding the whole order if the wall stood neglected until the following August attached a deadline with a real penalty to enforce performance. Rather than leaving the division open-ended, the Governor made the grant itself conditional on timely building. This shows the bench using forfeiture of the benefit as the lever to compel parties to act on a settlement they might otherwise let lapse.
347	339	other to Hire Blacks at any rate for finishing@ the Said work which Blacks So hired Shall@ be payed at the others Cost.@ Dated under my hand this 25. day of@ July Dom. 1718.@ Is.c Pyke@ We do both of Us thankfully agree to this@ Order and promise to Observe it@ Tho. Swallow.@ Willi. Beale@ I do also further Order that no Building Shall@ be Erected by either of these Parties that may be@ Prejudiciall to the other by Stoping up or@ Darkning of their lights Unless it be done by@ Consent of both Parties. Is.c Pyke@ To this We also do both of Us agree.@ Tho. Swallow@ Wm. Beale@ Note that the four foot Passage along the@ Front of Mr. Beals Kitchen is meant to be full@ four foot rather more then less from the Front@ of the Kitchen but not four foot from the@ Jetting out of the oven that place being to be@ as it happens to fall out only a Straight Line@ Stretched four foot from each end of y.e Kitchen@	If either man left the wall unfinished, the other was to be free to hire blacks at any rate to complete the work, and those blacks were to be paid at the defaulter's cost. This order was dated 22 July 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke. Both men thankfully agreed to the order and promised to observe it. This was signed by Thomas Swallow and William Beale. The Governor further ordered that neither party should put up any building that might harm the other by blocking or darkening his lights, unless done by the consent of both. This was signed by Isaac Pyke. Both men agreed to this as well, signed by Thomas Swallow and William Beale. The Governor added a note explaining that the four-foot passage along the front of Beale's kitchen meant a full four feet, rather more than less, measured from the front of the kitchen. It was not to be four feet from the jutting out of the oven. That place was to be measured only by a straight line stretched four feet from each end of the kitchen [...]. Interpretations The provision allowing the diligent party to hire labour at the defaulter's expense converts the building obligation into an enforceable debt. Rather than leaving an unfinished wall as a fresh source of dispute, the order let one man complete the work and charge the cost to the other. This shows the Governor anticipating non-performance and building a self-executing remedy into the settlement itself. The restriction against darkening the other's lights protects a recognised interest in access to daylight between adjoining town houses. By forbidding either party to block the other's windows without consent, the order preserved the amenity of closely built plots. This reflects an early form of the right to light, treated as a matter the bench would regulate alongside the boundary itself. The detailed note fixing the four-foot passage by a straight line from each end of the kitchen, rather than from the projecting oven, shows the Governor closing

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			the last avenue for evasion. A measurement taken from the oven would have narrowed the passage, so he specified the exact datum line. This attention to a single dimension reveals how precisely the settlement had to be drawn to forestall renewed argument over the same ground.
348	340	is to shew the bounds and the length of that@ Line is to be thirty foot from Swallows@ House which will go about Six foot beyond@ Beals Kitchen backwards and from thence@ the Exact Partition is to be made According@ to the Order of Council of the 22.d July last@ past. Is.c Pyke@ There having been so many words about@ this Piece of ground which in the whole reaches@ about Seventy four or 75 foot deep and goes@ the breadth of both their Houses We think tis@ Necessary to Mention the reason why this thing@ lay So many years Uncontested and is now So@ hotly disputed which is as follows. Viz.t@ Formerly every one who had a House@ made Some Small tho' very little Use of@ the backside as to keep a Hogg Sty therein@ or Some Such inconsiderable thing but@ their yards were mostly unenclosed and@ unfenced in and lay in a manner Common@ to one another and very few of the People@ made any use of those backyards Particularly@ these two Parties did not.@ But the Govern.r having to Enlarge@ the Hon. Comp.as Garden, built a high@ wall@	The note explained that this straight line marked the bounds. Its length was to be thirty feet from Swallow's house, which would run about six feet beyond Beale's kitchen towards the back. From that point the exact partition was to be made according to the council's order of 22 July 1718. This was signed by Isaac Pyke. The council recorded that, since there had been so many words about this piece of ground, which in the whole reached about 74 feet deep across the breadth of both houses, it was worth explaining why the plot had lain so many years uncontested and was now so hotly disputed. Formerly everyone who had a house made some small use of the back ground, though very little, such as keeping a hog sty there or some such trifle. Their yards were mostly unenclosed and unfenced and lay in a manner common to one another. Very few of the people made any use of those backyards, and these two parties in particular did not. This changed when the Governor, wishing to enlarge the Honourable Company's garden, built a high wall [...]. Interpretations The council's account of why the ground lay uncontested for years until now identifies the cause of the dispute in a change of use rather than of title. While the backyards lay open and common, with no one troubling to enclose them, the absence of fixed boundaries created no friction. Only when the land acquired value did the want of defined limits become a source of conflict. This shows the bench tracing a property quarrel to its economic origin in newly aroused interest. The Governor's building of a high wall to enlarge the Company's garden emerges as the event that gave the back ground its new worth. By enclosing one side the wall turned formerly common yards into bounded and usable plots, which made their division worth fighting over. This reveals how an act of Company improvement reshaped the value and contested status of adjoining private land. The description of the former yards as lying common to one another, used only for a hog sty or the like, records an informal customary arrangement that preceded formal allotment. The land had functioned without registered boundaries by mutual tolerance among neighbours. The council's narrative marks the passage from that loose communal use to the precise individual title the present order imposed.
349	341	wall behind all the peoples Gardens at the foot@ of the Mountain which high wall is an Encloser@ to every one of them and alsoe carryed a Run@ of Water through all their yards or backsides@ which is likewise a Considerable advantage@ to every one of the Houses and they Seeing as@ good Lemons grow now in the Comp.as Garden@ as ever grew there formally the trees being in@ Some measure Protected from the Blasts & blites@ by the building of that high wall, and they being@ all Accomodated with Water now which they had@ not before, have been Induced to make Gardens@ for themselves at the back of their Houses and@ have Dugg up the ground & taken out the Rocks@ and Stones in the Same manner as is done in the@ Hon. Comp.as Ground, with these Stones So dugg@ out they make their Party fences & are planting@ fruit Trees behind every one of those	The high wall ran behind all the people's gardens at the foot of the mountain, enclosing every one of them. The same scheme carried a run of water through all their yards and back grounds, which was a considerable advantage to every house. The people now saw lemons growing in the Company's garden as good as any that grew there formerly, the trees being in some measure protected from the wind and blight by the building of the wall. Being now supplied with water that they had not had before, the people were drawn to make gardens for themselves behind their houses. They dug up the ground and removed the rocks and stones, just as was done in the Company's ground. With the stones they dug out they built their party fences. They were planting fruit trees behind every one of those houses whose ground backed onto the Company's high wall.

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		Houses whose@ ground Butts against the Comp.as high Wall So@ that now all the People endeavour to gett as much@ ground for a Garden as they can tho' before the@ building the Hon. Comp.rs wall they did not@ think that Land of any value and the hopes of@ Improveing that barren place now into a garden@ is the Occasion of the Present Contest which is@	All the people now tried to obtain as much garden ground as they could. Before the Company's wall was built they had thought the land of no value. The hope of improving that barren place into a garden was the cause of the present dispute. Interpretations The run of water carried through the people's yards transformed barren back ground into cultivable garden land. Reliable water was the limiting factor for growing on the island, so its provision through the Company's scheme made previously worthless plots productive. This shows how a single infrastructure improvement, conceived for the Company's own garden, raised the value of all the adjoining private ground and so provoked competition for it. The shelter the high wall gave to the lemon trees points to the practical purpose behind the enclosure on a wind-exposed station. Protection from the blasts let the fruit recover its former quality, which demonstrated to the inhabitants what their own back grounds might yield. The visible success of the Company's garden became the model the settlers rushed to imitate. The settlers' use of the stones cleared from their plots to build their own party fences shows a self-contained process of improvement. Removing the rocks both prepared the ground for planting and supplied the material for the boundaries dividing it. This reveals how the labour of cultivation simultaneously created the physical divisions whose placement the council now had to adjudicate.
350	342	by the before recited Order now fully Decided@ by the Govern.rs as appears by their foregoing@ agreement to his Orders.@ Mr.s Elizabeth Haswell Widdow of Capt.@ George Haswell late Dep.ty Gov.r Desired She@ might be Admitted to Administer on her@ Said Husbands Estate.@ Ordered That her request be granted@ and that Letters of Administration be Drawn@ Accordingly a Copy of which is as follows.@ Island St. Helena.@ We the Govern.r & Council of@ the Said Island on behalf of the Hon. United@ Comp.a of Merchants of England Trading to@ the East Indies absolute Lords Proprietors of@ the said Island. To Elizabeth Haswell@ Wid.o and Relict of Capt. George Haswell Late@ Deputy Gov.r who Deceased on or about the 22.@ day of June Dom. 1718. Greeting.@ Whereas the Said Capt. George Haswell@ deceased (as aforesaid) Having in his life time@ and at the time of his death, Goods, rights, or@ Creditts within the Jurisdiction of the Said Island@ died Instatate. By vertue whereof the full@ Disposall and grant of Administration of all@ and@	The dispute described above was now fully decided by the Governor, as shown by the parties' agreement to his order. Mrs Elizabeth Haswell, widow of Captain George Haswell, the late deputy governor, asked to be admitted to administer her husband's estate. The council ordered her request granted and that letters of administration be drawn accordingly. A copy follows. The Governor and Council of the island, on behalf of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, absolute Lords Proprietors of the island, addressed Elizabeth Haswell, widow and relict of Captain George Haswell, the late deputy governor, who died on or about 22 June 1718. Captain George Haswell had, during his life and at the time of his death, held goods, rights or credits within the jurisdiction of the island and had died intestate. The full disposal and grant of administration of all [...]. Interpretations The grant of letters of administration to the widow follows from her husband dying intestate, that is without a will to name an executor. Where no testament directed the descent of the estate, the law fell back on a grant of administration to the nearest interested party, here the widow. This shows the council exercising the probate jurisdiction that filled the gap left by an unwitnessed death. The styling of the Company as absolute Lords Proprietors of the island asserts the proprietary foundation of all authority on St Helena. The council acted not as a crown court but as the agent of the Company's ownership, which gave it the power to grant administration over estates within its jurisdiction. This locates the legal authority over the dead deputy's property in the Company's territorial title rather than in any royal commission. The careful recital that Haswell held goods, rights or credits within the island's jurisdiction fixes the territorial limit of the grant. Administration extended only to property within the council's reach, which is why the instrument specified the location of the assets.

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			This defines the boundary of the local probate power as coextensive with the Company's jurisdiction over the island.
351	344	and Singular the Goods and Chattles of the@ said dec.d Also the hearing of the Computation,@ Calculate, or Account of Such Administration@ and the finall release, or Discharge from the@ Same are Notoriously known to belong Entirely@ and Solely to Us the Gov.r & Council of this place.@ We being Desireous that the Goods and Chattles@ of the Said dec.d George Haswell Should be well@ and faithfully Administered, employed & Disposed@ of to Proper Uses, Do by vertue of these Presents@ Grant you full Power Entirely to Administer &@ faithfully to Dispose of the Goods & Chattles of the@ Said deceased. Also to demand, Collect, levy, and@ Cause payment to be made of all Debts, or dues whatso-@ -ever belonging to the Said Deceased in his life, and at@ the time of his death. And to pay what debts were@ owing by the Said deceased at the Same time, as farr@ as Such his Goods and Chattles will Extend in Propor-@ -tion According to their Valluation.@ This Power We grant you having Assurance of@ your Fidelity, charging you by the Oath you have@ taken in this behalf that you do make or cause to be@ made, a full, true, entire, and faithfull Inventory of@ all & Singular the Goods and Remises of the Said Dec.d@ Capt. George Haswell that hath been, is, or may be@ found.@	The grant covered all the goods and chattels of the deceased. The hearing of the account of such administration, and the final release or discharge from it, were known to belong entirely and solely to the Governor and Council of the island. Wishing that the goods and chattels of the deceased George Haswell should be well and faithfully administered, employed and disposed of to proper uses, the council granted the widow full power to administer and faithfully dispose of the goods and chattels of the deceased. She was also empowered to demand, collect, levy and enforce payment of all debts or dues owing to the deceased during his life and at the time of his death. She was to pay what debts the deceased owed at that time, as far as his goods and chattels would extend, in proportion to their valuation. The council granted this power on assurance of her fidelity, charging her by the oath she had taken in this matter to make, or cause to be made, a full, true, entire and faithful inventory of all the goods and premises of the deceased Captain George Haswell that had been, were, or might be found [...]. Interpretations The reservation to the Governor and Council of the hearing of the account and the final discharge keeps the administrator answerable to the granting authority. The widow received power to act, but the reckoning of her administration and her release from it remained with the council. This shows the bench retaining oversight of the estate's settlement, so that the grant of power carried a continuing duty to account rather than an unconditional transfer. The power to demand, collect and levy debts owing to the deceased equips the administrator to gather in the assets scattered as credits among others. Much of an estate on the island consisted of sums due rather than goods in hand, so the authority to enforce payment was essential to realising its value. This reflects the central place of personal credit in the island's economy and the administrator's role in calling it in. The charge to render a full and true inventory on oath binds the administrator to disclose the whole estate before disposing of any part. The inventory fixed the measure against which her account would later be tested and the creditors' claims proportioned. This shows the sworn schedule of assets functioning as the foundation of the entire administration, controlling both the payment of debts and the eventual discharge.
352	345	found on this Island to belong to him at@ the time of his decease, and deliver the Same@ unto Us on or before the 2. day of September@ next Insueing the date hereof; And also that@ you deliver an Acco.t of your Administration@ here unto Us when you Shall be thereunto@ required. And therefore to you We doe@ Committ, and you We do Ordaine, Constitute,@ and Appoint So to be Sole Administratrix@ of all and Singular Such Goods & Chattles@ by these presents.@ Dated & Given under our hands@ and the Hon. Comp.as Seal at Union@ Castle in James valley the 15. day of@ August 1718.@ [signature]@	The inventory was to cover all the goods found on the island belonging to Haswell at the time of his death. The widow was to deliver it to the council on or before 2 September 1718. She was also to deliver an account of her administration whenever the council required it. On these terms the council committed the estate to her and appointed her sole administratrix of all such goods and chattels. This grant was dated and given under the hands of the council and the Honourable Company's seal at Union Castle in James Valley on 15 August 1718. Interpretations The fixed deadline of 2 September 1718 for delivering the inventory imposes a short and definite term on the administratrix's first duty. By naming a precise date the council compelled prompt disclosure of the estate rather than leaving the timing open. This shows the bench attaching enforceable limits to each stage of administration, beginning with the schedule of assets on which all later steps depended.

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			The appointment of the widow as sole administratrix concentrates responsibility for the whole estate in a single accountable person. Rather than dividing the task among several hands, the council fixed one party answerable for gathering, disposing and accounting. This reflects the standard probate practice of vesting the administration in one individual bound by oath and subject to the council's eventual reckoning. The use of the Company's seal upon the grant marks the instrument as an exercise of proprietary authority rather than personal favour. The seal authenticated the document as the act of the Lords Proprietors through their council, giving the administratrix a title that would hold against any later challenge. This shows how the formal apparatus of the seal converted a council decision into a binding legal instrument.
353	346	Island St. Helena.@ At a Consultation@ held on Tuesday the 19. day of Aug.t@ 1718. At Union Castle in James valley.@ Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r@ Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2 &.@ Antip.s Tovey 3. in Coun.t@ The Last Consultation read and Approved.@ On Wednesday the 13. Inst. Arrived the Ship@ Princess Amelia Capt. John Misenor Comand.r@ from England w.th a Cargoe of Goods & Merchandize@ Consign'd to us by the Hon. Court of Directors@ of the United Trade, And likewise brought Us@ their General Letter dated the 21. of March 1717.@ as also her Charterparty, & the Several other papers@ Containd in the Packet.@ The Govern.r Acquaints the Council that@ he has Suspended Mr. Tovey from coming to, or@ having any bennefit of the Hon. Comp.as Table@ for the Space of one month, and Says if Mr.@ Tovey thinks himself agreived thereat He will@ Enter his reasons for it.@ The following Petition was presented.@ To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r &c@ of the Island St. Helena@	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 August 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Wednesday 13 August 1718 the ship <i>Princess Amelia</i>, Captain John Misenor commanding, arrived from England with a cargo of goods and merchandise consigned by the Honourable Court of Directors of the United Trade. She also brought the Directors' general letter dated 21 March 1717, together with her charter party and the several other papers contained in the packet. The Governor told the council that he had suspended Mr Tovey from coming to, or having any benefit of, the Honourable Company's table for one month. He added that if Tovey thought himself aggrieved by this, the Governor would enter his reasons for it. The following petition was then presented to the Governor and Council. Interpretations The suspension of Tovey from the Company's table is a disciplinary penalty striking at a valued perquisite of his office. The public table provided councillors their provisions at the Company's charge, so exclusion for a month was a real deprivation imposed without removing him from his post. This shows the Governor using a graduated sanction against a councillor, punishing through loss of privilege rather than through suspension from duty. The Governor's offer to enter his reasons should Tovey feel aggrieved reflects the requirement that disciplinary acts be justified on the record. By recording the grounds in the consultation book the Governor made the penalty reviewable and answerable to the Honourable Masters. This shows the administration treating even an internal punishment as a matter requiring documented justification rather than bare command. The arrival of the <i>Princess Amelia</i> with the Directors' general letter marks the annual channel through which London's instructions reached the island. The yearly letter carried the Company's orders on every branch of the settlement's business, so its receipt set the agenda the council would work through. This fixes the homeward and outward shipping as the sole conduit linking the remote station to its governing body.
354	347	The most Humble Petition of@ Richard Alexander.@ Sheweth. That Whereas yo.r Petition.r@ Understanding there is a vacancy for a Person@ in the nature of an Overseer to call over the@ Several work people Employed in the Hon:@ Comp.as Service to Such end as yo.r Worship@ knew to be necessary.@ Your Petition.r being a young man &@ willing to try his fortune in the Service@ of the Hon. Comp.y	Richard Alexander petitioned the Governor and Council. He understood there was a vacancy for a person to act as an overseer to direct the various work people employed in the Honourable Company's service, to whatever end the council judged necessary. Being a young man and willing to try his fortune in the Company's service, he asked to be admitted to that employment. He hoped to conduct himself to the

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		Humbly prays he may@ be Admitted in the employ aforesaid, In@ which he hopes to demean himself to your@ Worships Satisfaction and Shall Always@ Esteem the grant of this request if so happy@ as to have it granted as a Particular favour.@ And as in duty bound ever to pray &c@ (Signd) Rich. Alexander.@ Granted.@ The overseers of the high ways@ viz.t Isaac Leech & John Knipe made Complt.@ against Several Persons viz: Mr. Antip.s Tovey@ Thom. Southen, Henry Johnson & Francis@ Leech, for not coming and Sending their@ Blacks to work at the Said High ways@ when@	council's satisfaction and would always value the grant of this request as a particular favour. This petition was signed by Richard Alexander. The council granted it. The overseers of the highways, Isaac Leech and John Knipe, then complained against several people, namely Mr Antipas Tovey, Thomas Southen, Henry Johnson and Francis Leech, for not coming and not sending their blacks to work on the highways when [...]. Interpretations The vacancy Alexander sought to fill marks the supervisory role standing between the Company and its labour force on the plantations. An overseer directed the work people on the Company's behalf, so the post carried responsibility for the productivity of both slave and hired labour. This shows the layered structure of command on the island, where a salaried overseer answered to the council for the daily direction of those below him. The highway overseers' complaint exposes the compulsory labour obligation that bound landholders to maintain the island's roads. Each holder was required to send his blacks to work on the highways, and failure to do so was an enforceable default the overseers brought before the council. This reflects the use of private slave labour for public infrastructure, levied as a duty attached to landholding rather than paid for by the Company. The appearance of Tovey among the defaulters places a sitting councillor under the same road-labour duty as ordinary planters. The obligation fell on him as a landholder regardless of his office, and the overseers named him alongside the rest. This shows the labour levy operating as a general charge on property that did not exempt the members of the council themselves. Speculations The grant of the overseer's post to a young man explicitly trying his fortune suggests the council preferred an untried but willing candidate over leaving the supervisory gap open. The vacancy in directing the Company's work people needed filling promptly to keep the labour in order, and an eager newcomer offered a low-cost appointment the bench could test against performance. The phrasing of the grant as a particular favour points to a probationary footing rather than a settled tenure.
355	348	when Lawfully Sumoned thereto.@ They made Some frivolous Excuses, and@ therefore each to pay for their neglect of duty@ the following Sums to Acco. of the Church.@ Mr. Tovey. four Shillings, for two Blacks.@ Thom. Southen four Shillings for two blacks.@ Henry Johnson two Shillings for one Black.@ Fran. Leech three Shill.s for himself two days.@ Thomas Leech was Sumoned & appeared at@ the Complt. of the present Church Wardens for not@ taking due care of and providing for the Several@ Children of William Hayse Dec.d his Predecessor.@ Dorothy Hayse their grand mother Sayes@ She was over at Thom. Leeches House one day@ last week and then Saw the Childr.n in a very@ poor and Ragged Condition that the Eldest@ daught.r aged about 14. Years goes very often@ without a Shift to her back & made great@ Complt. to her of their fath.r in laws illusage.@ It appeared by Some Credible Proofs that@ twas more thro' the Carelessness of that great@ Girle that She went Some times So but never@ without a Shift than the Said Tho. Leeches@ fault. And We knowing his indifferent@ Circumstances. He be Dismist w.a Caution@ to look as well after the Child.n as he Can@	The defaulters had been lawfully summoned to send their blacks to work on the highways. They made some trivial excuses, so each was ordered to pay the following sums to the account of the church for neglect of duty. Mr Tovey, 4s 0d for two blacks Thomas Southen, 4s 0d for two blacks Henry Johnson, 2s 0d for one black Francis Leech, 3s 0d for himself for two days Thomas Leech was summoned and appeared before the present churchwardens for not taking due care of and providing for the several children of William Hayes, deceased, his predecessor. Dorothy Hayes, the children's grandmother, stated that she had been at Thomas Leech's house one day the previous week. She had seen the children in a very poor and ragged condition. The eldest daughter, aged about 14, often went without a shift to her back, and the grandmother complained strongly of Leech's ill-treatment of them. Credible evidence showed that this was more through the carelessness of the eldest girl, who sometimes went without a shift though never without one to wear, than through any fault of Leech. The council, aware of his poor circumstances, dismissed him with a caution to look after the children as well as he could. Interpretations

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			The graduated fines tied to the number of blacks withheld show the road-labour levy assessed by the labour each holder failed to supply rather than by a flat penalty. Tovey and Southen paid for two blacks each, Johnson for one, and Francis Leech for his own two days of absence. This reveals the obligation calculated as a precise quantity of labour owed, with the fine substituting for the work not done. The direction of the fines to the church account links the enforcement of public labour duties to the funding of the parish. Penalties for neglecting the highways flowed into the churchwardens' hands, so a failure in one civic obligation supported another. This shows the island's small administration pooling its enforcement revenue into the parish chest rather than keeping separate funds for each duty. Thomas Leech's accountability for the children of his predecessor Hayes reveals that the duty to maintain dependants passed with an office or holding rather than resting on kinship. Leech had no blood tie to the Hayes children yet answered for their condition before the churchwardens. This reflects the parish system fixing responsibility for the poor on whoever succeeded to the relevant position, to keep them off the common charge.
356	349	The Said Dorothy Hayse then made Complaint against the Said Thom. Leech alledging he did Damage to the Childrens Land by Cutting down & deshoing the wood Growing thereon for firing, and Says there now lies heaps of it. The Said Leach denies the Charge. Capt. Bazett is therefore desired to go and view the Land and to make his report the Council day following. Mr. Powell made Complaint against Jn.o Hodgkinson for that he is informed, that he did Steal away his wench named Doll & carried her on board the Ship Princess Amelia when She was here last voyage Homeward bound, and that this Information was Sent him in a Letter to Doct.r DuMay from Mr.s Porteous (who went off in that Ship) and the words in that Letter are as follows. "Pray tell Mr. Powell that I am very "Sorry his wench should run away, and I "wish I could have been the Instrument of his "having her again. She was found on board "in mans Cloaths and went by the name of "Anthony but Andersons runing away was	Dorothy Hayes then complained against Thomas Leech, alleging that he had damaged the children's land by cutting down and destroying the wood growing on it for firewood. She said heaps of it now lay there. Leech denied the charge. Captain Bazett was therefore asked to go and view the land and to report on the following council day. Mr Powell complained against Mr Hodgkinson. He had been informed that Hodgkinson had stolen away his slave woman named Doll and carried her aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i> when the ship lay here last voyage, homeward bound. This information had reached Powell in a letter to Doctor Du May from Mrs Porteous, who had gone off in that ship. The letter read as follows. Mrs Porteous wrote that she was very sorry Powell's slave woman had run away and wished she could have been the means of his recovering her. The woman had been found aboard in men's clothes, going by the name of Anthony, but as Anderson was running away [...]. Interpretations The instruction to Bazett to view the disputed land and report shows the council relying on physical inspection by a member to settle a contested question of fact. Hayes alleged destruction of the wood and Leech denied it, so the bench sent a councillor to examine the ground rather than weigh the bare word of each party. This reflects the standard method by which the council resolved factual disputes over land through on-site verification. The protection of the wood growing on the children's land treats standing timber as a valuable part of an inherited estate rather than a renewable convenience. Cutting it for firewood was alleged as damage to the children's property, which the council took seriously enough to investigate. This shows the scarcity of timber on the island making its preservation a recognised element in the value of land held for orphans. The recovery of an escaped slave woman who had concealed her identity in men's clothes and a false name reveals the lengths bondage drove people to in attempting flight. Disguise aboard a homeward ship offered a route off the island that depended on passing undetected among the crew. This records both the determination behind such escapes and the informal network of correspondence that betrayed them back to the owner. Speculations

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			The arrival of the information through a private letter from a departed passenger to the island's doctor suggests the recovery of runaways depended on chance correspondence rather than any formal mechanism. Powell learned of his slave's whereabouts only because Mrs Porteous happened to write to Du May after sailing. The council's recording of the letter's exact words points to its use as the evidentiary basis for a claim against Hodgkinson, since no official report of the escape existed.
357	350	"was the Occasion of hers but She would not own that he knew any thing of her runing away "but told me that John Hodgkinson put her on board, Pray let him know it and reprove him "for it as you Shall think fitt But I pray dont let any body know it for to be sure it will do him "a diskindness and I hope by your friendly Advice "he will do So no more, for if Mr. Powell Should know it he cant expect his being a Friend to him "any more. Mr. Powell himself produces another Letter that was Sent to him from England wherein is Written the following words. "I was very Sorry that when your Black wench "Doll was found on board She was in mens cloaths "and went by the name of Anthony, the Capt. was "very Angry with her in so much that he Sayed "he would thro' her overboard. Capt. Misenor being present Sayes he Demands Freight of this John Hodgkinson for putting the wench on board his Ship without his knowledge for unless this fellow be made to pay, the Ships hereafter will very often be Serv'd So, and so be Lyable to a Penalty by Such Peoples roguery.	Anderson's running away was the occasion of the slave woman's flight. Mrs Porteous would not admit that Anderson knew anything of her escape, but told Du May that John Hodgkinson had put her aboard. She asked that Hodgkinson be told of it and reproved as Du May thought fit, but begged that no one else be let know, since it would do Hodgkinson a disservice. She hoped that by Du May's friendly advice Hodgkinson would do so no more, for if Powell came to know of it he could not expect Powell to remain his friend. Mr Powell then produced another letter sent to him from England, which read as follows. The writer was very sorry that when Powell's slave woman Doll was found aboard in men's clothes and going by the name of Anthony, the captain was so angry with her that he said he would throw her overboard. Captain Misenor, being present, stated that he demanded freight from John Hodgkinson for putting the slave woman aboard his ship without his knowledge. Unless this man were made to pay, ships in future would often be served the same way and so be made liable to a penalty through such people's roguery. Interpretations Misenor's demand for freight from Hodgkinson treats the concealed passage of the slave woman as a chargeable carriage the commander was entitled to recover. By framing the claim as freight rather than a fine, the captain asserted that anyone who placed a person aboard owed the standard cost of carrying them, whether the master consented or not. This shows the freight charge functioning as the mechanism for fixing liability on the person responsible for an unauthorised passenger. Misenor's wider justification that ships would otherwise often be served so reveals the commercial risk that stowaways posed to a commander. A ship carrying off a slave exposed her master to a penalty at the suit of the owner, so the captain sought to pass that exposure onto the man who created it. This shows the council weighing not only the present case but the precedent for protecting future shipping against the same abuse. The contrast between the two letters places the secrecy urged in the first against the open account in the second. Mrs Porteous pressed for discretion to shield Hodgkinson, while the second writer reported the matter plainly to Powell himself. The council's recording of both shows it assembling the competing accounts to establish Hodgkinson's responsibility despite the attempt to keep it quiet.
358	351	The Govern.r Sayes here is a very great Circumstantial proof but not a Possitive one It appearing to Us by Hodgkinsons own Confession that he left the Comp.as Boat as he came from the Egg Islands that night and Ordered the Blacks in her to take him in next day at break-neck valley where the boat did ly that night, and there is a Pregnant Suspicion to him that, that Boat did carry her on board w.th his privity, and if you take the wenches own Confession, She Says he did	The Governor observed that the proof was strongly circumstantial but not positive. By Hodgkinson's own admission he had left the Company's boat as he came from the Egg Islands that night and ordered the blacks in her to fetch him next day at Breakneck Valley, where the boat had lain that night. This raised a strong suspicion that the boat had carried the slave woman aboard with his knowledge. If the woman's own account were believed, she said he had carried her aboard, as the copy of the letter showed, which made the matter somewhat plainer.

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		carry her on board as appears by the foregoing Copy of the Letter which makes the thing Something plainer and it does not at all appear to the Governor that the Captain was any way Consenting to her going in the Ship, But if any body ought to reimburse Mr. Powell for his Damage it ought to be no body but his Son in law John Hodgkinson otherwise every Lewd Young fellow when he has been Concern'd with Black wenches may Send them on board after that manner and put other People under great penalties. Capt. Bazett thinks the proof not full enough to make John Hodgkinson pay for the wench.	The Governor saw no sign that the captain had consented in any way to her going aboard. If anyone ought to reimburse Powell for his loss, it should be no one but his son-in-law John Hodgkinson. Otherwise every lewd young fellow involved with slave women might send them aboard in that manner and expose other people to heavy penalties. Captain Bazett thought the proof not full enough to make John Hodgkinson pay for the slave woman. Interpretations The Governor's distinction between circumstantial and positive proof shows the council applying a recognised standard of evidence to a civil claim. Hodgkinson's admitted movements and the woman's account together raised a strong inference, yet fell short of direct proof of his act. This reveals the bench reasoning explicitly about the sufficiency of evidence rather than deciding by impression, and Bazett's dissent records a genuine division over where the threshold lay. The identification of Hodgkinson as Powell's son-in-law frames the dispute as a quarrel within a connected family over the loss of valuable property. The Governor singled him out as the proper person to bear the loss precisely because the family tie did not excuse the act. This shows the council refusing to let kinship shield a man from liability for another's property. The Governor's reasoning that a contrary ruling would let any young fellow send slave women aboard with impunity reveals the deterrent purpose behind fixing liability. Protecting commanders and owners alike required that the person who placed a slave aboard answer for the consequences. This shows the bench treating the individual case as a test of the rule needed to guard both shipping and slaveholders against collusive escapes.
359	352	Mr. John Coles who was Overseer of the high ways in the South Division having Completed that work According to his Warrant, Came this day and Desired he might be discharged from his S.d Office. which was done Accordingly. The following Petition was presented. Island St. Helena. To the Worsh. Isa. Pyke Esq. Gov.r &c Coun.t The Humble Petition of Tho. Swallow free plant.r Most Humbly Sheweth That Whereas your Worsh.t for the Amicable & quiet living of your Petition.r and his Neighbour William Beale did upon the 29th of July last past take a great deal of trouble and pains upon you to Sett out the bounds of each of our ground on the backside of our respective Houses in this valley & did put the Same w.th a Mutual Consent into a good Form in Writing and then Signed by yo.r Petit.r and William Beale who did not only Seem very well Satisfied therewith but as an Acknowledgm.t of	The Governor observed that the proof was strongly circumstantial but not positive. By Hodgkinson's own admission he had left the Company's boat as he came from the Egg Islands that night and ordered the blacks in her to fetch him next day at Breakneck Valley, where the boat had lain that night. This raised a strong suspicion that the boat had carried the slave woman aboard with his knowledge. If the woman's own account were believed, she said he had carried her aboard, as the copy of the letter showed, which made the matter somewhat plainer. The Governor saw no sign that the captain had consented in any way to her going aboard. If anyone ought to reimburse Powell for his loss, it should be no one but his son-in-law John Hodgkinson. Otherwise every lewd young fellow involved with slave women might send them aboard in that manner and expose other people to heavy penalties. Captain Bazett thought the proof not full enough to make John Hodgkinson pay for the slave woman. Interpretations The Governor's distinction between circumstantial and positive proof shows the council applying a recognised standard of evidence to a civil claim. Hodgkinson's admitted movements and the woman's account together raised a strong inference, yet fell short of direct proof of his act. This reveals the bench reasoning explicitly about the sufficiency of evidence rather than deciding by impression, and Bazett's dissent records a genuine division over where the threshold lay. The identification of Hodgkinson as Powell's son-in-law frames the dispute as a quarrel within a connected family over the loss of valuable property. The Governor singled him out as the proper person to bear the loss precisely because the family tie did not excuse the act. This shows the council refusing to let kinship shield a man from liability for another's property.

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			The Governor's reasoning that a contrary ruling would let any young fellow send slave women aboard with impunity reveals the deterrent purpose behind fixing liability. Protecting commanders and owners alike required that the person who placed a slave aboard answer for the consequences. This shows the bench treating the individual case as a test of the rule needed to guard both shipping and slaveholders against collusive escapes.
360	353	of thanks for your Justice and trouble did Signe Such an Article as in Consultation of the 5th Inst. may more fully appear. And Whereas your Petition.r having Pursuant to the agree-ment So Signed too, made great part of the wall which divides his ground from the Said Beals and Run the Lines as near the Said agreem.t as Possible he could to avoid all future disputes, yet the Said Beal has nither Asisted nor Shew'd the least forward-ness to Compleat the work. But contrary to all reasonable cause has out of his continued Obstinacy Hindered your Petition.r from going any further w.th the wall begun by pulling down part of it and taking upon him to forbid your Petition.r on his Perrill, to lay so much as one Stone more upon that wall by which your Petition.r has been at great Charge and Expence to very little or no Purpose. Wherefore your Petition.r Humbly craves he may have Such Justice done him as the Merrits of the cause require and that He may have liberty to Pro-ceed in the finnishng his Said Wall to Encose his House and Garden from	The petitioner had given thanks for the council's justice and trouble and had signed an article, as appeared in the consultation of 5 August 1718. In keeping with that agreement he had built a great part of the wall dividing his ground from Beale's, running the lines as near to the agreement as he could to avoid all future disputes. Beale, however, had neither assisted nor shown the least readiness to complete the work. Against all reason, through his continued obstinacy, Beale had prevented the petitioner from going any further with the wall already begun. Beale had pulled down part of it and had taken upon himself to forbid the petitioner, at his peril, to lay so much as one more stone on the wall. The petitioner had thereby been put to great charge and expense to very little or no purpose. The petitioner therefore asked that justice be done him as the merits of the cause required, and that he be given liberty to proceed in finishing the wall to enclose his house and garden [...]. Interpretations The petition records the breakdown of the settlement the Governor had imposed only days before, with one party performing and the other obstructing. Swallow had built his share and run the lines to the agreement, while Beale pulled down part of the work and forbade further building. This shows how a mediated boundary settlement could fail at the execution stage when one party withheld the cooperation the joint construction required. Beale's act of forbidding the petitioner to lay another stone, on his peril, asserts a claim of right over ground the order had divided. By threatening consequences for continued building Beale set his own authority against the council's ruling. This reveals the difficulty the bench faced in enforcing a division that depended on the willing participation of a resistant neighbour. The petitioner's stress on the great charge and expense to little purpose frames his grievance as a wasted investment caused by the other's default. Having spent on a wall he could not finish, he sought the council's leave to complete it regardless of Beale's obstruction. This shows the petitioner converting his expenditure into a ground for demanding enforcement of the original grant.
361	354	the Insults and Damages which he is otherwise lyable to receive. Aug: y.e 19. 1718. And yo.r Petit.r as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c. (Signed) Thom. Swallow. Ordered That Mr. Alexander doe go and view the Wall made by the Said Swallow and to See whether he has not done Contrary to their agreem.t mentioned in this Petition And report the Same next Consultation day. The Govern.r Says He rec.d the follow- -ing Paper from on board the Princess Amelia. Honoured S.r We being Servants to the Hon.ble East India Comp.t whom God preserve, and are Entered as Souldiers Humbly begg that if it may be granted that We may Stay here w.th you upon the Island and Shall pray for yo.r Honours	Swallow asked to be protected from the insults and damages he was otherwise liable to receive. This petition was dated 19 August 1718 and signed by Thomas Swallow. The council ordered Mr Alexander to go and view the wall Swallow had built, to see whether he had not acted contrary to their agreement as set out in the petition, and to report on the next council day. Governor Pyke told the council that he had received the following paper from aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i>. The writers, being servants to the Honourable East India Company and entered as soldiers, asked that they might be allowed to stay on the island. They promised to pray for the council's preservation. This paper was signed by Charles Haysey, John Chamberline, Isaac Parr, Henry Richardson, Robert Mitchell, Benjamin Jones and John Nichols. Interpretations

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		Preservation. Yo.r Humble Servants. Charles Haysey Jn.o Chamberline Isaac Parr. Henry Richardson Rob.t Michell. Benjamin Jones John Nickols. It	The order sending Alexander to inspect Swallow's wall against the terms of the agreement shows the council again resolving a building dispute through measured verification on the ground. Rather than accept the rival accounts of performance, the bench sent a member to test the work against the recorded settlement. This confirms inspection by an appointed officer as the standard means of enforcing a precise boundary order. The soldiers' petition to remain on the island reveals the means by which the garrison drew recruits from the men carried aboard the Company's ships. Soldiers entered in England could ask to be set down at St Helena rather than continue to the East Indies, which offered the island a source of manpower from passing vessels. This shows the homeward and outward shipping serving as a recruiting channel for the remote station's establishment. Speculations The arrival of seven soldiers seeking to settle just as the <i>Princess Amelia</i> reached the island suggests the men weighed service on St Helena as preferable to continuing to the unhealthier stations further east. Their collective petition, made together rather than singly, points to a concerted decision taken aboard before the ship sailed on. The council's recording of every name indicates it treated the group as a potential addition to the garrison whose acceptance would be settled on its own terms.
362	355	It is our opinion and resolution not to Entertain any of these Souldiers they being troublesom Mutinous fellows for which reason Capt. Misenor is willing to gett rid of them. According to the Order in the Last Generl. Letter, Susanna Southens Letter to her Husb.d Tho. Southen was read in his presence, a Copy of w.ch is as follows. Wicked Husband. London March y.e 6. 1718. "You glory in your Wickedness as "tho' there was neither God nor Devil but you "will meet w.th an Angry God & a dark way "to Eternity without true repentance. You had "the confidence to write to the Hon. Comp.y "that I was not your wife, neither did you know "any of the Witnesses that Signed the Certificate "that came over, nor the Dean which you know "(to be a grand lye) in your Conscience. You Write "to the Company for a discharge which I will "Procure from Doct.r Comyns for you. I am "Sure the Hon. Comp.y. will not refuse in my "Just cause for an Honest man will be glad "of your place. I value not how will you live "nor with whom So you allow me a Sufficient "Maintenance. She that you call wife lives	The council recorded its opinion and resolution not to take on any of these soldiers, since they were troublesome, mutinous fellows. For this reason Captain Misenor was willing to be rid of them. In keeping with the order in the last general letter, Susanna Southen's letter to her husband Thomas Southen was read in his presence. A copy follows. The letter was dated at London on 6 March 1718. Susanna Southen addressed her husband as a wicked man. She accused him of glorying in his wickedness as though there were neither God nor devil, and warned that without true repentance he would meet an angry God. She charged that he had the confidence to write to the Honourable Company that she was not his wife, and that he claimed to know none of the witnesses who had signed the certificate that came over, nor the dean, though in his conscience he was afraid to lie. He had written to the Company for a discharge, which she said she would herself procure from Doctors' Commons for him. She was sure the Company would not refuse her in her just cause, for an honest man would be glad of his place. She declared that she cared nothing for how he lived or with whom, so long as he allowed her a sufficient maintenance, as the woman he called his wife [...]. Interpretations The reading of the wife's letter in the husband's presence under the general letter's order shows the council acting on an explicit instruction from London to enforce a marital maintenance claim. The Company directed that the matter be put to Southen directly, which converted a private dispute across an ocean into a piece of official business. This reveals the Directors using the council as their instrument to compel a soldier to support a wife left in England. The reference to Doctors' Commons identifies the English ecclesiastical court that handled matrimonial causes. Susanna's threat to procure a discharge from that body shows her invoking the proper legal forum to establish the marriage Southen denied. This locates the authority over the validity of the union in the church courts at home rather than in the council on the island. The certificate and the witnesses Southen disclaimed point to the documentary proof of marriage that the

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			dispute turned on. The wife's case rested on a signed certificate sent over, which Southen sought to discredit by denying knowledge of its signatories. This shows the contest reduced to the authenticity of a single attested document standing as evidence of the marriage across the distance between London and St Helena.
363	356	"lives in the known Sin of Adultery and your "Spurious offspring are conceived in Sin & brought "forth in Iniquity, these trouble me not, look you "to that Your old Friend Capt. Lahow which "Sent you over died in Bedlam in a Miserable "Condition. You well know how he and you "Consuled to destroy my Substance and than to "leave me destitute. I would have you know I "never Petitioned the Comp.y but for a Lawfull "maintenance due to a Lawfull wife, and my "hand is to the Book for what I have received as "became a Lawfull wife, the whole which I have "rec.d is as follows viz: "I rec.d from the Comp.y in Gov. Bouchers time £20.- 1 "But in Gov. Pykes time I rec.d nought but "reproaches "About 2 Years Since freed to pay my rent £. 3.-1 "And in Nov. last free of the Hon. Comp.y 5.-1 "In order to go from London but was by Providence "returned Soon after, the whol Sum is now amounted "£28.-1 - found w.ch is but 40 Shillings a year for "the fourteen year past Since I see your Graceless face. "Indeed Esq. Dekera a Dutchman Sent me half a Guinea "when I was Sick and Lane but it was not at "your Charge. I shall.	Susanna Southen continued that the woman he called his wife lived in known adultery, and that his bastard children were conceived in sin and brought forth in iniquity, though these did not trouble her. She bade him look to his old friend Captain Lahou, who had been sent over and died in Bedlam in a miserable condition. She said Southen well knew how he and Lahou had plotted to destroy her substance and leave her destitute. She insisted she had never petitioned the Company except for the lawful maintenance due to a lawful wife. Her name stood in the book for what she had received as a lawful wife. The whole sum she had received was as follows. Received from the Company in Governor Boucher's time £20 0s 0d Received in Governor Pyke's time, with years of nought but reproaches About two years since, freed from paying her rent £3 0s 0d In November last, received from the Honourable Company £5 0s 0d She added that she had meant to leave London but by providence had returned soon after. The whole sum now amounted to £28 0s 0d, which came to but 40s 0d a year for the fourteen years past since she had last seen his graceless face. She noted that Esquire Dehere, a Dutchman, had sent her half a guinea when she was sick and lame, but that this was no charge upon him. Interpretations The itemised reckoning of sums received frames the wife's claim as an accounting of inadequate maintenance over fourteen years. By setting out each payment under the governor in whose time it fell, Susanna built a documentary case that the total amounted to a derisory 40s 0d a year. This shows a maintenance dispute argued through a ledger of receipts, the same accounting method the council applied to its own obligations. The entry standing in the Company's book for what she had received as a lawful wife gives her claim its evidentiary foundation. The payments were recorded in the Company's accounts under her name and status, which she invoked as proof of the marriage Southen denied. This reveals how the act of paying maintenance through the official books itself created a record that could establish the very relationship at issue. The reference to the remission of her rent two years earlier shows maintenance taking the form of relief from a charge as well as direct payment. Freeing her from rent was entered as a sum received, valued at £3 0s 0d, which treated a forgiven obligation as equivalent to cash. This reflects the council's practice of meeting an obligation by cancelling a debt rather than disbursing money.
364	357	"I shall do no more only assure you that "Except you will for the future allow me a "Sufficient Maintenance I will never rest till "I have you off the Island which I can do with "more Ease than you are aware of, which is "all from your abused wife. Susanna Southen Serjeant Southen having been w.th the Gov.r and earnestly pressed to be Either Discharged or to have the money ordered to be Stopt for his wife in England as She calls her Self, remitted,	Susanna Southen closed by assuring her husband that, unless he allowed her a sufficient maintenance in future, she would never rest until she had him put off the island, which she could do with more ease than he was aware of. She signed herself his abused wife. Sergeant Southen, having been to Governor Pyke and earnestly pressed either to be discharged or to have the money ordered to be stopped for his wife in England, as she called herself, was told by the Governor that whatever the Honourable Company had

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		the Gov.r told him that what the Hon. Comp.y had pay'd must needs be Stopt, then he prayed leave to go to Bencoolen which the Govern.r Provided. Then Serj.t Southen desired to know if the Hon. Comp.y had written Something in their General Letter in his favour. And in that Letter Par: the 50. We perceived that his former Marriage to Susanna Southen is Substantially proved to our Hon. Masters. Wherefore to prevent any man who is discontented under their Hon.rs Service being at the head, or in any Considerable Authority in the Garrison the Governm.t has thought it necessary to Discharge him from his Post	paid must be stopped. Southen then asked leave to go to Bencoolen, which the Governor promised. Southen then asked whether the Honourable Company had written anything in his favour in their general letter. In that letter, at paragraph 50, the council found that his former marriage to Susanna Southen had been substantially proved to the Honourable Masters. To prevent any discontented man under the Company's service being at the head, or in any considerable authority, in the garrison, Governor Pyke thought it necessary to discharge Southen from his post [...]. Interpretations The Governor's ruling that the sums paid must be stopped from Southen's pay enforced the wife's maintenance by deduction at source. Rather than leaving recovery to her, the council recouped what the Company had advanced directly from the husband's wages. This shows the administration using its control of a soldier's pay as the mechanism for satisfying a maintenance obligation established at home. The Directors' general letter proving the marriage at paragraph 50 fixed the question of the union's validity by authority from London. The council on the island did not adjudicate the marriage but received the Masters' finding that it was substantially proved. This reveals the chain of authority by which a contested matrimonial fact was determined at home and then applied as settled on the remote station. The decision to discharge Southen rather than retain a discontented man in authority reflects a concern that personal grievance might infect his command. The council had just refused the mutinous soldiers from the <i>Princess Amelia</i> on the same reasoning. This shows a consistent policy of keeping men of doubtful loyalty out of positions of trust in the garrison, treating reliability as the paramount qualification for authority.
365	358	of Serjeant but desires to allow him his full pay unto the end of the present quarter, and he has leave to go in the Ship Emelia to Bencoolen as he first desired, or to England as he desired of the Gov.r Yesterday or to remain a planter here in case he behave himself Civilly for the future. Then We proceeded to Examine into his pre-tended Grievances. It appeared to Us that the Mutiny of the Garrison was Discovered by Rob.t Wallington who was made Corporal & otherways rewarded by Gov.r Boucher for it and was not discovered by Serj. Southen who was no other way Concerned than as he happened to be Serj.t on the Guard when that discovery was made. As to his Goats the Comp.y formerly had that Range w.ch they have now but when the Companys Goats decreased the planters brought up Goats in their range and Sold them to the Company. But Since Gov.r Pykes arrivall We demanded our old range and Carne to Encourage the plant.rs to resist bought of those who were willing to Sell and Engrossed the Stock till We demanded the Debt he owed the Comp.y then he Sold Us the Goats in that range to Lesser his debt We	Governor Pyke discharged Southen from his post as sergeant but allowed him his full pay to the end of the present quarter. Southen had leave to go aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i> to Bencoolen, as he first wished, or to England, as he had asked the Governor the day before, or to remain a planter on the island if he behaved himself civilly in future. The council then examined Southen's alleged grievances. It appeared that the mutiny of the garrison had been discovered by Robert Wallington, who was made corporal and otherwise rewarded by Governor Boucher for it. The discovery had not been made by Southen, who was no further involved than that he happened to be sergeant of the guard when it came to light. As to Southen's goats, the Company had formerly held the range they now occupied. When the Company's goats decreased, the planters brought up goats in that range and sold them to the Company. Since Governor Pyke's arrival the council had demanded its old range back. To encourage the planters to resist, Carne had bought from those willing to sell and engrossed the stock until the council demanded the debt he owed the Company. He then sold the council the goats in that range to reduce his debt. Interpretations Governor Pyke's grant of three alternative destinations to the discharged sergeant shows the council managing a departure to suit both the man and the settlement. Southen could sail east, sail home, or stay as a planter, which let the bench remove him from authority without simply expelling him. This reveals a flexible handling of a dismissed officer, separating the loss of his post from any decision about his residence.

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			The council's correction of Southen's claim to have discovered the mutiny exposes a contest over credit for a past service. Southen had evidently rested part of his grievance on a role the records assigned to Wallington, who was rewarded for it at the time. This shows the consultation book serving once more as the authoritative register against which a man's account of his own merits could be checked and rejected. The dispute over the goat range reveals a struggle for control of grazing land between the Company and the planters. By bringing up goats in the Company's old range the planters had effectively occupied it, and Carne's engrossing of the stock turned that occupation into leverage. This shows how control of livestock and the ground it grazed became a means of asserting a claim against the Company's territorial right. Speculations Carne's purchase and engrossing of the goats to help the planters resist the Company's reclaiming of the range suggests a deliberate tactic that collapsed once his own debt was called in. He concentrated the stock to strengthen the planters' hold, but the council broke the resistance by demanding payment he could only meet by selling the very goats back. This points to the bench using its position as creditor to defeat an organised attempt to keep the disputed range out of its hands.
366	359	We gave Gurling Goats in another Range and Southen the Same for theirs with which they were fully contented but Since then both Gurlings & Southens Children have brought up a few Tame Goats about thirteen in all and put them among the Comp.ys which We have forbidden that no body might under Such Pretence be Partners w.th the Company in their Pound least by that means they Should kill ours instead of their own Goats as Southens Son has done. As to the Waste Land there is about 40 Acres lying Contiguous to Southens bought formerly by the Company for Pasture which is very badly fenced, So that Southen has always used and fed his Cattle thereon without Paying any rent but he has too great a Stock of Cattle for his own Land and for that Land too (which being bought of one Moor) is called Doct.r Moors plain. So that Southens Cattle used to come thro' Moors plain into the Companys Plantation and Sometimes into their Garden too and did much Damage tho' he was often warned to keep them away and not let them come nearer than Docter Margin Notes: now Cloughs plain	The council had given Gurling goats in another range, and Southen the same for his, with which both were fully content. Since then the children of both Gurling and Southen had brought up a few tame goats, about thirteen in all, and put them among the Company's goats. The council had forbidden this, so that no one might under such a pretence become a partner with the Company in its pound. Otherwise they might kill the Company's goats instead of their own, as Southen's son had done. As to the waste land, there were about 40 acres lying next to Southen's, formerly bought by the Company for pasture, which was very badly fenced. Southen had always used and grazed his cattle on it without paying any rent. He kept too large a stock of cattle for his own land, and for that land too. The ground, bought from one Moor, was called Doctor Moor's Plain. Southen's cattle used to come through Moor's Plain into the Company's plantation and sometimes into its garden, doing much damage. He had often been warned to keep them away and not let them come nearer than [...]. Interpretations The prohibition on mixing private goats with the Company's herd in a shared pound guards against the concealment of theft behind apparent co-ownership. By keeping the planters' animals separate the council prevented them claiming the Company's goats as their own when killing for meat. The reference to Southen's son having done exactly this fixes the abuse the rule was framed to stop. Southen's long use of the badly fenced waste land without rent shows how defective enclosure let private cattle encroach on Company pasture by default. The poor fencing of Doctor Moor's Plain made the boundary ineffective, so Southen grazed the ground as if it were his own. This reveals how the physical state of a fence, rather than the title to the land, often determined who in practice enjoyed its use. The damage done by Southen's cattle straying into the Company's plantation and garden frames overstocking as a direct threat to the settlement's cultivation. Holding more beasts than his own land could carry, Southen let the surplus spill onto Company ground. This shows the council treating the mismatch between a planter's stock and his acreage as a

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			recurring source of injury to be checked by warning and ultimately by enclosure.
367	360	Doct.r Moors plain and in one night all his cattle gott over the Fence and Destroyed 600. trees that the Govern.r had planted about Eighteen months before along the Walk Course, Upon which his Cattle were Drove by the Govern.rs Order into the Great Wood where about Sixteen Hund.d Acres of the Hon: Comp.as Land lyes in Common for all the people. Nothing else was done to Southen for this Damage and he never was denied any Benifit of the Wast Unless he calls a refusall to let him have a Share in the Comp.as range a denyall of the Wast. Note that this range has been always thought of Such Consequence for the use of the Company that tho' twas always their own and never granted Nor let out to any body yet for quietness Sake it has been twice bought by the Governm.t and the last of those times by Us. Doct.r DuMay Reports that a black Wench of the Hon. Comp.as named Leah died on the 13. Inst. of a Diarrhea. [signature]	Southen had often been warned not to let his cattle come nearer than Doctor Moor's Plain. In one night all his cattle got over the fence and destroyed 600 trees that Governor Pyke had planted about eighteen months before along the watercourse. The Governor therefore ordered Southen's cattle driven into the Great Wood, where about 1,600 acres of the Honourable Company's land lay common to all the people. Nothing else was done to Southen for this damage. He had never been denied any benefit of the waste, unless he counted the refusal to let him share in the Company's range as a denial of the waste. The council noted that this range had always been thought so important for the Company's use that, although it had always been the Company's own and never granted nor let out to anyone, it had twice been bought for quietness' sake by the government. The last of these times had been by the present council. Doctor Du May reported that a slave woman of the Honourable Company, named Leah, had died on 13 August 1718 of a diarrhoea. Interpretations The destruction of 600 trees planted along the watercourse records a deliberate improvement undone in a single night by straying cattle. Governor Pyke had set the trees eighteen months before, perhaps to shelter or stabilise the watercourse, and their loss measured the cost of Southen's overstocking. This shows the conflict between pasture and cultivation on the island, where unfenced grazing could erase a long-term planting at a stroke. The council's admission that it had twice bought a range that was already the Company's own, for quietness' sake, reveals the practical limits of asserting title against entrenched local use. Rather than enforce its undoubted right, the government paid to clear competing claims and avoid conflict. This shows the bench preferring purchased peace to contested possession even where the law stood plainly on its side. The report of the slave woman's death from diarrhoea, recorded by the doctor with name and cause, continues the practice of accounting for bonded people as Company stock. Du May entered the loss as a medical matter, fixing the date and the disease. This reflects both the routine mortality among the Company's slaves and the administrative habit of registering each death precisely against the establishment.
368	361	Island St. Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 26th day of Aug.t 1718 at Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2.d & Antip.s Tovey 3. in Coun.t The last Consultation read & Approved. The following Letters are Copyed out fair to be sent to India by Capt. Misenor of the Princess Amelia. (viz.t) To the Hon. Joseph Collett Presid.t &c. Council. At Fort St. George. Our last to you was by the Success Capt. Benjamin Graves of the 2.d July 1717. Since which We have rec.d yours of the 11. Febr'y 1716/17 of the Prince Frederick of the 17. Aug.t 1717. by the King William and 26. Sept.r 1717. by the Marlbro.w with the Severall Invoices & Stores Laden on them for this place which proved very well and were of great use to Us, for which We return our thanks.	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 August 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following letters were copied out fair to be sent to India by Captain Misenor of the <i>Princess Amelia</i>. The first was addressed to the Honourable Joseph Collett, President, and the Council at Fort St George. The council's last letter to them had gone by the <i>Success</i>, Captain Benjamin Graves, on 2 July 1717. Since then the council had received their letters by the <i>Prince Frederick</i> of 11 February 1717, by the <i>King William</i> of 17 August 1717 and by the <i>Marlborough</i> of 26 September 1717, together with the various invoices and stores laden aboard them for St Helena. These had proved very good and of great use, for which the council returned its thanks. The council then set out the goods it was at present in greatest need of. Interpretations

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		The things we are at present in greatest need of are.	The careful listing of each ship and the date of the letter it carried records the precise channels of correspondence between St Helena and the Company's Indian presidency. With communication possible only by passing ships, the council logged every vessel and its date to track which of its own and the presidency's letters had arrived. This shows the administration maintaining an exact register of its correspondence to guard against messages lost in transit. The direction of the letter to the President and Council at Fort St George identifies Madras as the Indian authority that supplied the island. St Helena drew its stores and goods from the Company's establishment there, so the council's requests and acknowledgements ran to that presidency. This locates the island within the Company's wider eastern network, dependent on Madras as the source of its annual supply. The acknowledgement of invoices laden aboard the named ships shows the documentary basis on which the supply trade operated. Each consignment came with an invoice recording its contents, against which the council could check what had actually arrived. This reveals the standard commercial practice of pairing goods with paperwork that let both ends of the chain account for the trade.
369	362	Coarse double threaded Calicoes made into Shirts Either blew or white. and Coarse Chequered Shirts ready made. and Rice or Batavia Arrack. And We pray that you would please to insert in your Directions to any of the Comand.rs of your Shiping that in case they Should touch at the Cape of good Hope in their Passage Homeward bound that they would buy a few Garden Seeds of every or any Sort for the use of this place and We Should think our Selves under very great Obligations to them if any of them could possibly Procure and bring Us from thence a Stock of Bees w.ch in case We had any of that Species We Should not Doubt of improving for the Benifit of this place. We are. Union Castle St. Helena Aug.st the 26.th 1718. Hon.ble S.r Y.o.r Council Yo.r Humble Servants. Isa. Pyke. Matth.w Bazett Antip.s Tovey. Hon.ble &c	The council listed coarse double-threaded calicoes made into shirts, either blue or white. It also asked for coarse chequered shirts ready made, and rice or Batavia arrack. The council asked that the presidency insert in its directions to any of the commanders of its shipping that, if they should touch at the Cape of Good Hope on their homeward passage, they would buy a few garden seeds of every or any sort for the use of the island. The council added that it would feel under great obligation if any of them could procure and bring a stock of bees from the Cape, since the island had none of that kind. Should any be brought, the council had no doubt of improving them for the benefit of the place. This letter was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 26 August 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The request for calicoes made into shirts identifies the cotton cloth imported from India for clothing the garrison and the Company's people. Calico was a plain woven cotton named for Calicut on the Indian coast, and the coarse double-threaded grade suited durable working shirts. This shows the island drawing its basic clothing supply from the Indian trade rather than from England, the cloth shipped ready for wear or made up on arrival. The council's use of the homeward route via the Cape to procure garden seeds reveals how the island exploited the established sailing pattern to obtain what India could not supply. Ships rounding the Cape on their way home could carry seeds suited to a temperate climate, which fitted St Helena's moderate conditions better than tropical Indian stock. This shows the council adapting its requests to the particular strengths of each point on the Company's route. The request for a stock of bees marks a deliberate attempt to introduce a useful species the island lacked. Bees would pollinate crops and yield honey and wax, so their importation promised a lasting benefit beyond a single consignment. This reveals the council thinking in terms of establishing self-sustaining resources on the island rather than merely meeting immediate wants. Speculations The decision to source seeds and bees from the Cape rather than from India or England reflects a judgement that the Cape's temperate environment matched the

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			island's own. Plants and bees accustomed to southern-hemisphere conditions at the Cape stood a better chance of thriving on St Helena than tropical or northern stock. The council's attaching these requests to ships already passing the Cape homeward shows it minimising the cost of the experiment by using a port the vessels would reach anyway.
370	363	Hon.ble S.r & Gentlem.n Bombay. Our Last to you was by the Success Capt. Benjamin Graves dated the 2. July 1717. Via West Coast. Since when have rec.d yours of the 28. Dec.r 1717. by the Sarum Capt. George Newton Como.r in which you are pleased to Say that by your next years Shiping you will have a Particular regard to the Necessities of St. Helena and furnish Us w.th Such Necessaries as We Indented for that were Procureable on your Side India. The things that will be most Serviceable to Us are as follows. Rice (w.ch We desire instead of Goa Arrack). Coverletts or Palampores & Quilts for our Beds Some large & Some Small. We return you thanks for two able bodied Slaves you Sent us by the Stanhope Capt. [...] Wentworth Geo: Pitt, they prove very well here. And We pray you that you would Insert in your Directions to any of the Commanders of your Shipping that in case they should touch at the Cape of Good Hope in their Passage Homeward bound that they would buy a few Garden Seeds of every or any Sort for	The second letter was addressed to the Honourable President and Gentlemen at Bombay. The council's last letter to them had gone by the <i>Success</i>, Captain Benjamin Graves, dated 2 July 1717, by way of the West Coast. Since then the council had received their letter of 28 December 1717 by the <i>Searum</i>, Captain George Newton commanding. In it the Bombay council was pleased to say that by its next year's shipping it would have particular regard to the needs of St Helena and furnish such necessities as the council had indented for that were procurable on the India side. The goods that would be most useful to the council were as follows. Rice, which the council wished to have instead of Goa arrack. Coverlets, or palampores, and quilts for the beds, some large and some small. The council returned thanks for two able-bodied slaves sent by the <i>Stanhope</i>, Captain George Pitt of Wentworth, who proved very good there. The council asked that the Bombay president insert in his directions to any of the commanders of his shipping that, if they should touch at the Cape of Good Hope on their homeward passage, they would buy a few garden seeds of every or any sort [...]. Interpretations The council's preference for rice over Goa arrack records a deliberate choice between two staples the Indian trade could supply. Goa arrack was a distilled spirit from the Portuguese territory on the west coast, and the council judged rice the more useful provision. This shows the bench exercising selective control over the composition of its supply rather than accepting whatever the presidency chose to send. The request for palampores identifies a distinctive Indian export of painted or printed cotton bedcovers. A palampore was a large decorated cotton hanging or coverlet, often with elaborate designs, produced on the Indian coast for both local use and export. Listed here among quilts and coverlets for the beds, it shows the island furnishing its households with the same Indian textiles that supplied its clothing. The acknowledgement of two able-bodied slaves sent from Bombay reveals the Company's Indian establishments as a source of bonded labour for the island. Slaves were consigned alongside goods and provisions, valued by their fitness for work and entered with thanks like any other useful supply. This shows the traffic in people running through the same shipping channels as the trade in cloth and rice.
371	364	The issue is that lines beginning with "- 2." are being read as list items. Let me rewrite those lines so they cannot trigger list formatting, following the rule of attaching the dash directly to the following figure. the use of this place And We Should think our Selves under very great Obligations to them if any of them could Possibly Procure & bring Us from thence a Stock of Bees which in case We had any of that Species We Should not Doubt of Emproving for the Bennifitt of this Place. Here follows an Acco.t of what Ships have toucht here Since our last. July 1717. 10th Arrived the Princess Amelia Capt. Jn.o Misenor	The garden seeds were for the use of the island. The council added that it would feel under great obligation if any of the commanders could procure and bring a stock of bees, since the island had none of that kind. Should any be brought, the council had no doubt of improving them for the benefit of the place. There followed an account of what ships had touched at the island since the council's last letter. The <i>Princess Amelia</i>, Captain John Misenor commanding, arrived from Bombay on 10 July 1717. The <i>King William</i>, Captain James Winter, arrived from Madras on 22 December 1717. The <i>Mercury</i> ketch, Josias Henry Mackett master, arrived from Madagascar with slaves on 5 January 1718.

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		Comand.r from Bombay. Dec.r 22. -The King Willi.m Capt. James Winter from Janry 1717/18. 3. Maddrass. -2. -The Mercury Ketch Jonas Henry Mackel Mast.r from Madagascar w.th Slaves. Febry. 28. -The Marlbro.w Capt. Matthew Martin Como.r from China & Maddrass. March. 1. -The Prince Frederick Capt. Edw.d Martin Com.r from Maddrass. D.to 2. -The Rochester Capt. Willi.m Browne Como.r from Bencoolin. D.to 21. -The Henry Capt. Jn.o Harvey from Madagascar. with Slaves. 1718. Apr.t 16. -The Sarum Frig. Capt. Geo. Newton Como.r 1719. from Bombay. May. 1. Arrived	The <i>Marlborough</i>, Captain Matthew Martin commanding, arrived from China and Madras on 28 February 1718. The <i>Prince Frederick</i>, Captain Edward Martin commanding, arrived from Madras on 5 March 1718. The <i>Rochester</i>, Captain William Browne commanding, arrived from Bencoolen on 2 March 1718. The <i>Henry</i>, Captain John Heavey, arrived from Madagascar with slaves on 25 March 1718. The <i>Searum</i> frigate, Captain George Newton commanding, arrived from Bombay on 17 April 1718. Interpretations The register of arriving ships with their dates, commanders and ports of origin gave the presidency a complete picture of the traffic passing the island. Since St Helena lay on the homeward route from every eastern station, the council could report the movements of the whole fleet to Madras and Bombay. This shows the island functioning as an observation point whose records of passing shipping served the Company's wider need to track its vessels. The arrival of two vessels from Madagascar carrying slaves identifies that island as a principal source of the bonded labour traded through the region. The <i>Mercury</i> ketch and the <i>Henry</i> both brought slaves from Madagascar, which marks a regular branch of the traffic distinct from the consignments sent from the Indian presidencies. This shows St Helena positioned on the routes by which enslaved people were carried between Madagascar and the Company's settlements. The varied ports of origin, from China, Bencoolen, Madras and Bombay, show the breadth of the Company's eastern trade converging on the single homeward waypoint. Each ship had loaded at a different station before calling at the island, so the list captures the whole span of the Company's operations in one register. This reveals St Helena as the common point through which the dispersed branches of the trade all passed on their way home.
372	365	1718. May y.e 3. Arrived the Essex Capt. Charles Newton Comd.r from China. And y.e Same day. D.to -The Hanover Capt. James Osborne Comd.r from Bengall & Maddrass. D.to c. y.e 9. -The Townshend Capt. Charles Kesar Comd.r from China. D.to c. y.e 18. -The Thistleworth Capt. Charles Small from Benjar. [...] D.to y.e 19. -The Hester Capt. Jn.o Gordin Comd.r from Benjar. & Bencoolin. June. 25th -The Cardigan Capt. Henry Glegg Comd.r from Bengall. Aug.t y.e 13. -The Princess Emelia Capt. Jw.o Misenor Comd.r w.a Cargo of Goods from England. and bound to Bencoolin. Union Castle St. Helena Aug.t the 26th 1718. We are Hon.ble S.r & Gentlm.n Your Humble Servants. Isaac Pyke. Matth.w Bazett Antip.s Tovey. To the Hon. the Presid.t &c. Council. At Bengall. Our Last to you was by the Success Capt. Benjamin Graves dated the 2. July 1717. Since when We have rec.d yours of	The <i>Essex</i>, Captain Charles Newton commanding, arrived from China on 1 May 1718. The same day the <i>Hanover</i>, Captain James Osborne commanding, arrived from Bengal and Madras. The <i>Townsbend</i>, Captain Charles Kesar commanding, arrived from China on 9 May 1718. The <i>Thistleworth</i>, Captain Charles Small, arrived from Banjar on 18 May 1718. The <i>Hester</i>, Captain John Gordon commanding, arrived from Banjar and Bencoolen on 19 May 1718. The <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Henry Glegg commanding, arrived from Bengal on 25 June 1718. The <i>Princess Amelia</i>, Captain John Misenor commanding, arrived with a cargo of goods from England, outward bound for Bencoolen, on 13 August 1718. This letter was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 26 August 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. The third letter was addressed to the Honourable President and Council at Bengal. The council's last letter to them had gone by the <i>Success</i>, Captain Benjamin Graves, dated 2 July 1717. Since then the council had received their letter [...]. Interpretations The single outward-bound entry among the homeward arrivals distinguishes the <i>Princess Amelia</i> as a ship still on its way east rather than returning. She had come from England with a cargo for Bencoolen, unlike the other vessels calling on their passage home. This shows the island serving both legs of the Company's voyages, a refreshment point for outward and homeward shipping alike. The dispatch of substantially identical letters to Madras, Bombay and Bengal reveals the three-fold

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			structure of the Company's authority in India. Each presidency governed its own region and supplied the island separately, so the council addressed each in turn with its acknowledgements and requests. This shows St Helena dependent on all three Indian centres and obliged to maintain parallel correspondence with each. The concentration of so many arrivals within a few days of early May reflects the seasonal rhythm of the homeward voyage. Ships from the eastern stations reached the island in a cluster as the sailing season brought them west together. This shows how the timing of the monsoon and the trade winds funnelled the returning fleet through the island in a compressed period rather than a steady stream.
373	366	of the 3. Dec.r 1717. by the Hannover and 15. Febr'y. 1717/18. by the Cardigan Capt. Henry Glegg accompanied w.th another from Mr. Williamson dated the 22. Febr'y 1717/18. Advising Us of the reason why the Stores intended for this place was not put on board her, which put us to very Great Inconveniencies because our Number of Slaves are much larger now than formerly. The things We wrote for last We have been furnished with in great measure out of the re- turning Ships for w.ch We have been Obligated to draw Some Bills on our Hon. Masters. But those goods whereof We are at present in the great- est need are as follows. Coarse quilts or Coverings for our Beds. Good Rice & Batavia Arrack. Coarse Double Threaded Calicoes Usually called Derfelters. And Shirts ready made of the Same Either Blew or white or Checht. And one Bale or two of Such Coarse Cloth as you Sent Home in the Cardigan called Sail Cloth but if We could have it dyed Blew it would be better for our Service it being to Line the Blacks Cloaths with.	The council had received the Bengal presidency's letters of 3 December 1717 by the <i>Hanover</i> and 15 February 1718 by the <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Henry Glegg. These came with another from Mr Williamson dated 22 February 1718, explaining why the stores intended for the island had not been put aboard her. This caused very great inconvenience, because the council's number of slaves was now much larger than before. The goods the council had asked for last time had been supplied in great measure out of the returning ships. For this the council had been obliged to draw some bills on the Honourable Masters. The goods it was now in greatest need of were as follows. Coarse quilts or coverings for the beds. Good rice and Batavia arrack. Coarse double-threaded calicoes, usually called dorsetters. Shirts ready made of the same, either blue, white or chequered. One bale or two of the same coarse cloth sent home in the <i>Cardigan</i>, called sail cloth. The council noted that if it could have this dyed blue it would serve better, since it was used to line the blacks' clothes. Interpretations The failure to load the intended stores caused acute difficulty precisely because the slave population had grown, increasing the demand for cloth and provisions. The council tied the inconvenience directly to the larger number of slaves it now had to clothe and feed. This shows how the expansion of bonded labour on the island raised its dependence on the regular supply from India and sharpened the effect of any missed consignment. The reference to drawing bills on the Honourable Masters reveals the credit mechanism that financed the island's purchases from passing ships. When stores failed to arrive, the council bought from the returning vessels and paid by bills drawn on the Company in London. This shows the settlement meeting shortfalls through a system of deferred payment against the Company's account rather than ready money. The use of coarse sail cloth, dyed blue, to line the slaves' clothing identifies the cheapest grade of imported fabric as the material for outfitting bonded labour. The council sought a heavy, durable cloth and asked for it coloured to suit. This shows the deliberate matching of the lowest-quality textiles to the clothing of slaves, a routine calculation in the economy of the Company's establishment.
374	367	At this time We have not Occasion for Fine Cloth of any Sort nor for any Sugar having thereof a good Stock by Us. And We pray that you would Insert in your Directions to any of the Comand.rs of your Shipping that in case they Should touch at the Cape of Good Hope in their Passage Homeward bound that they would buy a few Garden Seeds of every or any Sort for the use of this place, And We Should think	The council noted that at present it had no need of fine cloth of any sort, nor of any sugar, having a good stock of both by it. The council asked that the Bengal presidency insert in its directions to any of the commanders of its shipping that, if they should touch at the Cape of Good Hope on their homeward passage, they would buy a few garden seeds of every or any sort for the use of the island. The council added that it would feel under great obligation if any of them could procure

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		our Selves under very great Obligations to them if any of them could Possibly Procure and bring Us from thence a Stock of Bees which in case We had any of that Species We Should not doubt of Improving for the Benni fit of this place. Here follows an Account of what Ships have toucht here Since our last. July 1717. 10. Arrived The Princess Amelia Capt. Jn.o Misenor Comd.r from Bombay. Dec.r 22. -The King William Capt. James Winter Comd.r from Madrass. 1717/18. Janry y.e 15. -The Mercury Ketch Josias Henry Macket Master from Madagascar with Slaves. Febry. 28. -The Marlbro.w Capt. Matth. Martin Comd.r from China & Madrass.	and bring a stock of bees, since the island had none of that kind. Should any be brought, the council had no doubt of improving them for the benefit of the place. There followed an account of what ships had touched at the island since the council's last letter. The <i>Princess Amelia</i>, Captain John Misenor commanding, arrived from Bombay on 10 July 1717. The <i>King William</i>, Captain James Winter commanding, arrived from Madras on 22 December 1717. The <i>Mercury</i> ketch, Josias Henry Mackett master, arrived from Madagascar with slaves on 15 January 1718. The <i>Marlborough</i>, Captain Matthew Martin commanding, arrived from China and Madras on 28 February 1718. Interpretations The council's statement that it needed no fine cloth or sugar shows the supply correspondence functioning to prevent oversupply as much as to request goods. By reporting an adequate stock the council steered the presidency away from sending what the island already held. This reveals the bench actively managing the composition of its imports in both directions, declining surplus as well as demanding shortfalls. The repetition of the identical bee and seed request to all three presidencies shows the council pressing a single objective through every available channel. Rather than rely on one route, it asked Madras, Bombay and Bengal alike to instruct their commanders. This reveals a deliberate strategy of multiplying the chances of obtaining a scarce resource by directing the same request to every quarter of the Company's eastern establishment.
375	368	March 1. Arrived the Prince Frederick Capt. Edward Martin Comd.r from Madrass. D.to c. y.e 2. -The Rochester Capt. William Browne Comd.r from Bencoolin. D.to y.e 21. -The Henry Capt. Jn.o Harvey from Ma-drgas.r with Slaves. Apr.t 17. -The Sarum Frig. Capt. Geo. Newton Comd.r from Bombay. May. 3. -The Essex Capt. Charles Newton Comd.r from China. And the Same day. -The Hanover Capt. James Osborne Comd.r from Bengal & Madrass. D.to c. y.e 9. -The Townshend Capt. Charles Kesar Comd.r from China. D.to 18. -The Thistleworth Capt. Charles Small Comd.r from Benjarr. D.to 19. -The Hester Capt. Jn.o Gordon Comd.r from Benjar. & Bencoolin. June. 25. -The Cardigan Capt. Henry Glegg Comd.r from Bengal. Aug.t 13. -The Princess Amelia Capt. Jn.o Misenor Comd.r with Stores for this place from England & bound to Bencoolen. We are. Union Castle St. Helena. Aug.t the 26th 1718. Hon. S.r & Council Your Humb. Serv.ts Isa. Pyke. Antip.s Tovey. Matth.w Bazett. No.3	The <i>Prince Frederick</i>, Captain Edward Martin commanding, arrived from Madras on 5 March 1718. The <i>Rochester</i>, Captain William Browne commanding, arrived from Bencoolen on 2 March 1718. The <i>Henry</i>, Captain John Harvey, arrived from Madagascar with slaves on 25 March 1718. The <i>Searum</i> frigate, Captain George Newton commanding, arrived from Bombay on 17 April 1718. The <i>Essex</i>, Captain Charles Newton commanding, arrived from China on 1 May 1718. The same day the <i>Hanover</i>, Captain James Osborne commanding, arrived from Bengal and Madras. The <i>Townsbend</i>, Captain Charles Kesar commanding, arrived from China on 9 May 1718. The <i>Thistleworth</i>, Captain Charles Small commanding, arrived from Banjar on 18 May 1718. The <i>Hester</i>, Captain John Gordon commanding, arrived from Banjar and Bencoolen on 19 May 1718. The <i>Cardigan</i>, Captain Henry Glegg commanding, arrived from Bengal on 25 June 1718. The <i>Princess Amelia</i>, Captain John Misenor commanding, arrived with stores for the island from England, bound for Bencoolen, on 13 August 1718. This letter was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 26 August 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey.
376	369	Worsh. S.r &c. Council. Our last to you was by the Success Capt. Benj. Graves Comand.r under date of the 2. July 1717. (who We are glad to hear arrived in Safety with you.) Since when We have rec.d yours of the 25.th	The fourth letter was addressed to the worshipful President and Council, at Bencoolen. The council's last letter to them had gone by the <i>Success</i>, Captain Benjamin Graves commanding, dated 2 July 1717, which the council was glad to hear had arrived safely. Since then the council had received their

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		Oct.r 1717. by the Rochester Capt. Brown, and 10. of Febry 1717/18. by the Hester Capt. Gordon Comand.r and note their Contents. which proved much to our Satisfaction Particular-ly the Arrack which was very good, and We are glad to find We are like to have Some Arrack of the Produce of your Fort having long Since heard of the great Improvem.ts made there as well in the Sugar as other Plantations. We have Sent you Some more Yam and Potatoo plants which We hope will prove well they being put up in the Same manner as the last. We desire you when you load yo.r Ships to put on board Arrack & Rice for this place which will be of great use to Us here We having a much great number of Slaves than formerly.	letters of 21 October 1717 by the <i>Rochester</i>, Captain Browne, and of 10 February 1718 by the <i>Hester</i>, Captain Gordon commanding. The council had noted their contents, which proved much to its satisfaction, particularly the arrack, which was very good. The council was glad to find it was likely to have some arrack of the produce of Bencoolen, having long since heard of the great improvements made there in the sugar as well as other plantations. The council had sent some more yam and potato plants, which it hoped would prove well, being put up in the same manner as the last. The council asked that, when the Bencoolen council loaded its ships, it put aboard arrack and rice for St Helena. These would be of great use, the council having a much greater number of slaves than before. Interpretations The council's interest in arrack produced at Bencoolen reveals an attention to the development of the Company's own plantations as a source of supply. Rather than depend on arrack bought elsewhere, the council welcomed a product grown within the Company's eastern settlement. This shows the bench tracking the agricultural progress of the wider establishment and adjusting its expectations of supply to the new capacities of each station. The dispatch of yam and potato plants to Bencoolen shows St Helena acting as a supplier as well as a recipient in the exchange of useful crops. The island sent planting stock east in return for the provisions it drew from there. This reveals a two-way traffic in agricultural material across the Company's network, with the island contributing the root crops it had established. The recurring justification of supply requests by the growing number of slaves ties the island's whole import demand to the scale of its bonded labour. Across all four letters the council pressed the same point, that more slaves meant more provisions needed. This shows the size of the slave population functioning as the basic measure governing the settlement's consumption and its claims on the Company.
377	370	And We pray you that you would Insert in your Directions to any of the Comanders of your Shipping That in case they Should touch at the Cape of Good Hope in their Palsage Homeward bound that they would buy a few Garden Seeds of every or any Sort for the use of this place, And We Should think our Selves under very great Obliga-tions to them if any of them could Possibly Procure & bring Us from thence a Stock of Bees, which in case We had any of that Species We Should not doubt of Improving for the Bennift of this Place. Enclosed herewith is the Ship Amelias Charterparty. Union Castle St. Helena. Aug.t the 26th 1718. We are Worsh. S.r &c. Coun.t Your Humble Serv.ts Isaac Pyke Matth.w Bazett Anhp.s Tovey.	The council asked that the Bencoolen council insert in its directions to any of the commanders of its shipping that, if they should touch at the Cape of Good Hope on their homeward passage, they would buy a few garden seeds of every or any sort for the use of the island. The council added that it would feel under great obligation if any of them could procure and bring a stock of bees, since the island had none of that kind. Should any be brought, the council had no doubt of improving them for the benefit of the place. The council enclosed the <i>Princess Amelid's</i> charter party with this letter. This letter was dated at Union Castle, St Helena, on 26 August 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey.
378	371	The Govern.r Reports that he has lately Planted in and about the Hon. Comp.as Great Plantation the following Trees. 300. Sweet Rose mary Trees 301. Wild Rose mary. D.to 302. Maddrass Flower Trees 303. Rose Trees.	Governor Pyke reported that he had lately planted in and about the Honourable Company's grand plantation the following trees. 300 sweet rosemary trees 500 wild rosemary trees 1,111 Madras flower trees 620 rose trees

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		304. Cape Flower Trees 305. Apple Trees 306. Lemon Trees. 307. And Fuz bushes about all the Land called 308. the Church ground w.ch is 150. Acres. 309. Besides Gumwood Trees not yet Counted. 310. And 2000 Slips of Apple Trees for a Nursery 311. which if they thrive will Yeild us Cyder. The Chief Overseer William Portley brought in the following Acco.t which was Examined and approved of. An Acco.t of the Hon. Comp.as Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Goats & Poultry taken August the 1. 1718. At their Grand Plantation. Neat: Cattle. 53. Cows one Cow dyed. one Calf Sent alive to the Fort. 15. brought over from the Hutts this month. 18. Heifers 19. Cow Calves 20. Bull Calves 21. Bullocks 22. Steers &c. 23. Bulls 129. Sheep 85.	24 Cape flower trees 150 apple trees 130 lemon trees He had also planted furze bushes about all the land called the church ground, which came to 150 acres. Besides these were gumwood trees not yet counted, and 2,000 slips of apple trees for a nursery, which if they thrived would yield cider. The chief overseer William Postley brought in the following account, which was examined and approved. The account covered the Honourable Company's neat cattle, sheep, hogs, goats and poultry, taken on 5 August 1718 at the grand plantation. Neat cattle 53 cows 18 heifers 22 cow calves 18 bull calves 5 bullocks 11 steers 2 bulls 129 in all Of these, one cow had died, one calf had been sent alive to the Fort and 15 had been brought over from the Hutts this month. Sheep 85 Interpretations The Governor's large-scale planting of fruit and flower trees marks a deliberate programme to establish cultivation on the Company's central plantation. The mixture of apple, lemon, rose and imported Madras and Cape flower trees shows an effort to diversify the island's growing stock with species drawn from across the Company's network. This reveals the administration investing in long-term agricultural improvement rather than mere subsistence. The planting of furze bushes around the 150 acres of church ground served a practical enclosing purpose rather than ornament. Furze grew into a dense thorny barrier that could fence land where stone or timber was scarce. This shows the use of a hardy shrub as a living boundary, a cheap means of marking and protecting ground on an island short of fencing material. The nursery of 2,000 apple slips intended to yield cider reveals planning for a domestic supply of drink from the island's own orchards. Raising young trees in quantity looked toward a future harvest that would reduce dependence on imported liquor. This shows the Governor thinking beyond immediate provision toward establishing a self-sustaining product the island could make for itself. Speculations The provenance of the planted trees, with named Madras and Cape varieties alongside English apples and lemons, suggests the Governor drew on the same shipping network that supplied the island's goods to stock its plantation. The Cape flower trees in particular point to the homeward route past the Cape, the very channel through which the council had just requested seeds and bees. This indicates the planting drew deliberately on the species each branch of the Company's trade could furnish, assembling a collection no single source could have provided.
379	372	Sheep. 49. Ewes 50. killd since last Acco.t 51. None Increased 52. Turkies 53. killd 54. Bought this month 55. Wethers 56. Lambs 57. Rams	Sheep 49 ewes 21 wethers 10 lambs 5 rams 85 in all Of these, 2 had been killed since the last account and none had increased. Goats 95 ewes

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		85. Goats. 95. Ewes 96. killd Since last Acco.t 97. Increased 98. Geese. 99. Peacocks 100. Hoggs 101. Apes. 102. Wethers 103. Ewe kids 104. Ram D.to 105. Rams. 137. 1. Horse & 2. Mare 3. Dung. Fowles. 1/2 Two of the Hon. Comp.as Blacks dyed this month viz: a man named Antony and a woman named Leah. (Signed) Willi.m Portley. Capt. Bazett brought in an account of what Goods he has receiv'd on Shore from on board the Princess Amelia wherein there appears to be Some few things Wanting which We must write to Capt. Misenor for. Ordered That the following Adver- -tizement be published by Beat of Drum. Island St. Helena. By the Worsh. Govern.r and Council. An. Advertizement.	21 wethers 9 ewe kids 10 ram kids 2 rams 137 in all Of these, 8 had been killed since the last account and 8 had increased. Poultry and other stock 74 turkeys, of which 11 had been killed and 15 bought this month 18 geese 2 peacocks 2 hogs 8 asses 1 horse and 1 mare 7 dunghill fowls Two of the Honourable Company's blacks had died this month, namely a man named Antony and a woman named Leah. This account was signed by William Postley. Captain Bazett brought in an account of the goods he had received ashore from aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i>. A few things appeared to be missing, which the council would have to write to Captain Misenor about. The council ordered that the following advertisement be published by beat of drum. The Governor and Council issued an advertisement [...]. Interpretations The monthly stock returns let the council track each class of animal against the previous count, and the figures since 5 July 1718 reveal divergent fortunes. The goats stood at 137 against 134 the month before, the one class consistently replacing its losses, with the kids rising from 7 to 19 while slaughter cut the wethers from 33 to 21. The sheep fell from 90 to 85 and the turkeys from 90 to 74, both shrinking under slaughter that breeding failed to match. This shows the return functioning as an instrument of herd management, exposing which stock renewed itself and which the establishment was steadily consuming away. The purchase of 15 turkeys against 11 killed shows the council buying in poultry to arrest a decline rather than relying on natural increase. The heavy slaughter of birds through the homeward shipping of May and June 1718 had cut the flock, and the council made up the loss from outside. This reveals the administration intervening in the market to sustain a stock that ceremony and provisioning had drawn down faster than it could breed. The shortfall in goods landed from the <i>Princess Amelia</i> against the account shows the practical check that receiving stores against an invoice provided. By comparing what came ashore with what was recorded, Bazett identified the missing items and gave the council grounds to pursue the commander. This reveals the storekeeper's tally functioning as the mechanism for detecting loss or non-delivery in the supply chain. The publication of an advertisement by beat of drum identifies the method of official proclamation on the island. With no press for general notices, the council made its orders known by sending a drummer to announce them publicly. This shows the drum serving as the standard instrument for broadcasting the administration's decisions to a scattered and largely illiterate population. The recording of the two slave deaths under the livestock account, naming Antony and Leah, continues the practice of entering bonded people among the Company's stock. Postley reported them in the same return as the cattle and poultry losses, the same two deaths Doctor Du May had entered separately on 13 August 1718. This fixes the administrative treatment of slaves as assets accounted for alongside animals on the establishment.

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380	373	These are to give Publick Notice to all Persons inhabiting the Said Island That the Govern.r and Council hath been informed there is great Wast & Devastation daily made of the Timber and other Trees growing in the Great Wood, which tends very much to the Prejudice of the Hon. Comp.y in General and Destruction of that place in Particular. For prevention whereof. These are Strictly to enjoyn and forbid all Persons under what Denomination Soever from cutting or felling any Green Wood or Trees either to burn or for any other Uses without leave first obtained, Upon the Penalty of being Fined for So Doing contrary hereunto. But all Persons may fetch the fallen, or dry wood (of which there is Great plenty) and also the Small Tops and boughs of Trees already cut down. And in case any Person Should Transgress this Order and Seen to pass by any out Fort or other ways or Passages, the Person or Persons So offending may Expect to have the Said Green Wood Seized by the Souldiers who Shall be Authorized So to doe. Wherefore all Persons	The advertisement gave public notice to all the inhabitants of the island. The Governor and Council had been informed that great waste and destruction was being done daily to the timber and other trees growing in the Great Wood. This tended much to the prejudice of the Honourable Company in general and to the destruction of that place in particular. To prevent this, the council strictly forbade all persons, of whatever rank, from cutting or felling any green wood or trees, whether to burn or for any other use, without leave first obtained. The penalty was a fine for doing so against this order. All persons might still fetch the fallen or dry wood, of which there was great plenty, and also the small tops and boughs of trees already cut down. If anyone broke this order and was seen passing by any outer fort or other ways or passages, the offender might expect to have the green wood seized by the soldiers, who would be authorised to do so. Interpretations The ban on felling green wood while allowing the gathering of fallen and dry wood draws a precise line between conservation and ordinary need. Standing timber was protected as a depleting Company asset, while dead wood, of which there was plenty, remained free for the people to take. This shows the council managing a scarce resource by restricting only the activity that diminished it, rather than denying the inhabitants fuel altogether. The protection of the Great Wood follows directly from the conflict over Southen's straying cattle recorded earlier this month, when his beasts destroyed 600 of the Governor's newly planted trees and were driven into the same 1,600 acres of common wood. Set against the Governor's large planting on the grand plantation of 5 August 1718, the order reveals an administration simultaneously planting trees and struggling to halt the destruction of those already grown. This shows timber treated as a strategic asset under pressure from both grazing and unauthorised cutting. The authorisation of soldiers to seize green wood from offenders passing the outer forts turns the garrison into the enforcement arm of a conservation order. The forts controlled the routes out of the wood, so the soldiers stationed there could intercept anyone carrying off prohibited timber. This shows the council using its military posts not only for defence but to police the movement of goods and enforce its economic regulations.
381	374	Persons are required to take Particular Notice accordingly of this our Order So highly necessary to Publish that no person may plead Ignorance. Dated at Union Castle in James valley this 26. day of August 1718. Signed p.ord of Gov.r & Council. Jn.o Alexander. We having bought Severall things of Capt. Misenor for the use of the Hon. Comp.y which We very much wanted, together with other Cred.t due to him here amounts to One hundred and twelve pounds Nineteen Shillings & nine pence. Ordered That he have Bills of Exchange drawn payable on Our Hon. Masters for the Said Sume. Being in want of a Doctor for this place to be assistant to Joseph DuMay our Surgion We have Desired of Capt. John Misenor to Spare Us one of his Surgions who is willing to Stay here, Capt. Misenor Says he is willing to do Us any Service he can for the good of the Place and would let his Doctor Stay but he thinks he is	All persons were required to take particular notice of this order, so necessary to publish that no one might plead ignorance. This advertisement was dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 26 August 1718 and signed by order of the Governor and Council by John Alexander. The council had bought various things from Captain Misenor for the use of the Honourable Company, which it had much wanted. Together with other credit due to him, this came to £112 19s 9d. The council ordered that bills of exchange be drawn payable on the Honourable Masters for that sum. Being in want of a doctor to assist Joseph Du May, the island's surgeon, the council had asked Captain Misenor to spare one of his surgeons who was willing to stay. Misenor said he was willing to do the council any service he could for the good of the place and would let his doctor stay, but thought he was under no obligation to serve the council if it kept his servant against his consent. However, if [...]. Interpretations The settlement of the £112 19s 9d owed to Misenor by bills of exchange on the Honourable Masters shows

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		under no obligation to Serve us if We keep his Servant against his Consent. However	the island financing its purchases through credit drawn on the Company in London rather than ready money. The council bought what it needed from the passing commander and paid by an instrument the Company would honour at home. This reveals the bill of exchange as the standard means by which the remote settlement met large obligations without holding cash. Misenor's distinction between obliging the council and serving under compulsion frames the request for his surgeon as a matter of voluntary courtesy. He would let the doctor stay as a favour but resisted any claim that the council could retain his servant by right. This shows the limits of the council's authority over the people aboard visiting ships, where cooperation rested on the commander's goodwill rather than on any power to command. The need for a second doctor to assist Du May reveals the strain on the island's single medical officer. With a growing population of garrison, settlers and slaves to attend, one surgeon could not cover the whole establishment. This shows the council exploiting the arrival of a ship to recruit scarce skilled personnel it could not otherwise obtain on the remote station.
382	375	if the Doct.r is willing and dos request it of him and if it be likely for his Advantage as well as a kindness to Us he will Discharge him. Whereupon We wrote to the Capt. to Desire him to Spare Mr. Cholmondley Cevill one of his Surgions for the use of this place. And We have agreed to give Mr. Cholmondley Cevill the pay of Second Surgion as Doctor Porteous had here when he was Second Surgion viz. thirty nine pounds per Annu.m He to be here for one year certain and to give Us half a years warning or Else to procure a nother Surgion in his place Mr. Cevill finding himself his own board, w.th which agreem.t he is very well Satisfyed. Mr. Alexander Reports that Tho. Swallow and Willi.m Beale whose Wall he was to view According to Ord. of Councill of the 19. Just. Hath agreed up their difference. [signature] Island	Misenor added that, if the doctor was willing and requested it, and if it was likely to be for his advantage as well as a kindness to the council, he would discharge him. The council therefore wrote to the captain asking him to spare Mr Cholmondley Cevill, one of his surgeons, for the use of the island. The council agreed to give Cevill the pay of second surgeon, the same that Doctor Porteous had received when he was second surgeon, namely £39 0s 0d per annum. Cevill was to stay for one year certain and to give the council half a year's warning, or else to find another surgeon in his place. Finding himself his own board, Cevill was very well satisfied with this agreement. Mr Alexander reported that Thomas Swallow and William Beale, whose wall he was to view under the council's order of 19 August 1718, had settled their difference. Interpretations The benchmark of Doctor Porteous's old salary fixes the new surgeon's pay by reference to an established post rather than fresh negotiation. The council set Cevill's £39 0s 0d per annum at the rate a previous second surgeon had drawn, which gave both sides a settled figure drawn from the island's own records. This shows the administration pricing a new appointment against a recorded precedent to avoid bargaining over an unfamiliar rate. The condition that Cevill give half a year's warning or find a replacement protects the island against being left without medical cover. By binding him either to notice or to substitution, the council guarded the continuity of a service it could not easily refill on a remote station. This reveals the bench attaching to the engagement a term that secured the function regardless of the individual's departure. The settlement of the Swallow and Beale wall dispute, reported after weeks of obstruction and a fresh petition on 19 August 1718, brings the long quarrel to a close through the inspection Alexander was sent to make. The parties reached agreement once a councillor came to view the work against the order. This confirms on-site inspection by a member as the device that finally resolved a boundary conflict that successive written orders had failed to end.
383	376	Island St. Helena. At a Consultation Held on Sunday the 31. day of August 1718. At	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Sunday 31 August 1718 in the afternoon at Union Castle in James Valley. This was an extraordinary consultation held on the

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		Union Castle in James Valley. in the after-noon being an Extraordinary Consultation held on the Compt. of Divers Inhabitants against Serj.t Thom. Fairfax for his Speaking words tending to Occasion a Mutiny among the Blacks. The Evidence whereof is as follows. Black Wall a Slave man belonging to Jo.n Twaits Sayeth that Some time Since about the time or before the time of the Ship Emelias Arrival here One morning early Serjeant Fairfax being alone w.th him in his Masters House Sayed to him the following words or like words to the Same Effect and like to them (viz:) The Fort at Mundens point is not much minded and if the Blacks had a mind to Rise they might go there and take the Fort. Upon that Black Wall replied you must have a Care Sergeant and not Say So to Blacks for there are a great many Blacks and a great many rogues and he then Added Some few other words which he dont Remember now	complaint of various inhabitants against Sergeant Thomas Fairfax for speaking words tending to occasion a mutiny among the blacks. The evidence was as follows. Black Wall, a slave man belonging to John Twaits, stated that some time before, about the time of the <i>Princess Amelia's</i> arrival, Sergeant Fairfax was alone with him early one morning in his master's house. Fairfax said to him the following words, or words to the same effect. The fort at Munden's Point was not much minded, and if the blacks had a mind to rise they might go there and take the fort. Wall replied that Fairfax must take care and not say so to blacks, since there were a great many blacks and a great many rogues. Wall added some few other words which he did not now remember [...]. Interpretations The charge against Fairfax for words tending to occasion a mutiny among the blacks treats incitement to slave revolt as among the gravest offences on the island. The council convened an extraordinary sitting on a Sunday afternoon, which marks the seriousness with which it regarded any suggestion that the slaves might rise. This reveals the constant fear of insurrection that underlay the small white population's control of a much larger bonded one. The reliance on a slave's testimony against a white sergeant marks an unusual departure from the island's general refusal to admit black evidence against whites. The weight of the danger evidently overrode the customary bar, since the case rested on Black Wall's account of what Fairfax had said. This shows the council suspending its ordinary evidentiary practice where the security of the whole settlement was thought to be at stake. The substance of the alleged words, that Munden's Point was poorly guarded and could be seized, identifies a specific military weakness as the spark of the alarm. The danger lay not in vague sedition but in pointing the slaves toward an actual vulnerable post. This shows the council's concern fixed on the practical intersection of a defensive gap and the possibility of its exploitation from within.
384	377	but he remembers that he Sayed to the Sergeant Suppose the Dutch Should come or the French to take the Island, and then Serj.t Fairfax replied why if they do We are not Provided to defend the place and we must Stand and look he did not care. The marke D. of Black Wall. Bridgett the wife of Jn.o Twaits Seyeth that one morning before the Emelia came into the road She being in bed heard Serj. Fairfax and her Black fellow talking together in the next Room and She heard Serj.t Fairfax Say if the Blacks had a mind to Rise they might Come to Mundens point and Arme themselves, for there was no body to defend it and there was no flints in the Guns upon which She was in a great freight and gott out of Bed & when She came into the room where She heard that talk Fairfax was gone out and the Black Stood there alone whom She asked what Fairfax had Sayed to him and the Black Immediately told her the Same Discourse as is before Written in his Examination and She Sayeth that as Soon as ever her Husband came Home She told him of the words that She had heard	Wall did remember that he had said to the sergeant, suppose the Dutch or the French should come to take the island. Fairfax replied that if they did, the council was not provided to defend the place, and they must stand and look on. He did not care. This evidence was given by the mark of Black Wall. Bridget, the wife of John Twaits, stated that one morning before the <i>Princess Amelia</i> came into the road she was in bed and heard Sergeant Fairfax and her black fellow talking together in the next room. She heard Fairfax say that if the blacks had a mind to rise they might come to Munden's Point and arm themselves, for there was nobody to defend it and there were no flints in the guns. This put her in great fright, and she got out of bed. When she came into the room where she had heard the talk, Fairfax had gone out and the black stood there alone. She asked him what Fairfax had said to him, and the black immediately told her the same discourse as set out in his examination. She said that as soon as her husband came home she told him the words she had heard [...]. Interpretations Bridget's account corroborates the slave's testimony from an independent vantage, which strengthens a case that might otherwise rest on black evidence alone. By overhearing the same exchange from the next room she supplied a white witness to Fairfax's words. This shows the council assembling mutually supporting accounts to overcome the evidentiary weakness of a charge dependent largely on a slave's statement.

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			The detail that there were no flints in the guns at Munden's Point exposes a real deficiency in the post's readiness that gave Fairfax's words their menace. Without flints the muskets could not fire, so the fort stood effectively defenceless. This reveals that the danger lay not in idle talk but in the accurate identification of a genuine gap an uprising could exploit, which is why the council treated the words so gravely. Fairfax's reported indifference to whether the Dutch or French took the island recasts the charge from mere incitement to a wider disaffection. His professed willingness to stand and look on at a foreign capture marked him as unreliable in the face of attack from without as well as within. This shows the council weighing his words as evidence of a general failure of loyalty in a man holding a position of trust in the garrison.
385	378	which her Husband did not Seem to take much notice of only he Sayed Fairfax was an Old fool or to that Purpose. Jur. The marke of Bridgett + Twaits Ruth the wife of John Knipe Sayeth that last Wednesday Mr.s Bridgett Twaits told her She had lately heard her Black fellow Black Wall and Sergeant Fairfax talking together and heard Serj. Fairfax Say that if the Blacks had a mind to Rise they might go to Mundens point & Arme themselves for there was no flints in the Gunns and this She told her Husband as Soon as he came Home and he Sayed that next week when He went down to the Fort he would tell the Gov.r or Capt. Bazett or Mr. Cason of it but She Seeing Giles Hayse going down to the Fort before She told him of it and Sayed I wish the Gov.r knew it, and he replied I will tell the Gov.r or Some body Else of it that he Shall know it. The marke of Jur. Ruth O Knipe John Twaits Sayeth that about the Satur-day before the Ship Emelia arrived he came home from fishing and his wife told him	Bridget's husband did not seem to take much notice of the words, only saying that Fairfax was an old fool or words to that effect. This evidence was given by the mark of Bridget Twaits and sworn before the jury. Ruth, the wife of John Knipe, stated that last Wednesday Mrs Bridget Twaits told her she had lately heard her black fellow Black Wall and Sergeant Fairfax talking together. She had heard Fairfax say that if the blacks had a mind to rise they might go to Munden's Point and arm themselves, for there were no flints in the guns. Bridget told her husband this as soon as he came home. He said that next week, when he went down to the Fort, he would tell the Governor or Captain Bazett or Mr Cason of it. But Ruth, seeing Giles Hayse going down to the Fort, told him of it first. She said she wished the Governor knew of it. Hayse replied that he would tell the Governor or someone else so that the matter should be known. This evidence was given by the mark of Ruth Knipe and sworn before the jury. John Twaits stated that about the Saturday before the <i>Princess Amelia</i> arrived he came home from fishing, and his wife told him [...]. Interpretations The chain of report through Bridget, Ruth and Giles Hayse shows how news of dangerous words travelled through the settlement until it reached authority. Each person passed the account onward, and Ruth acted to ensure it reached the Fort when Twaits delayed. This reveals an informal network of communication among the inhabitants that carried a security alarm up to the council in the absence of any formal reporting system. The convening of a jury to hear and swear the witnesses gives the extraordinary consultation the form of a regular judicial proceeding. The evidence was taken on oath before a jury rather than informally, which fixed each account as sworn testimony. This shows the council clothing a security inquiry in the procedures of a court to lend its findings weight and legitimacy. John Twaits's dismissal of the words as the talk of an old fool sets a sceptical view against the alarm the women raised. His reluctance to treat the matter seriously contrasts with his wife's fright and Ruth's urgency to inform the Fort. This shows the council recording a genuine division among the witnesses over whether Fairfax's words were a real threat or idle foolishness, leaving the weight of them for the bench to judge.
386	379	that She had heard Serj. Fairfax as She lay in Bed Say to her Black the following words or words much like them (viz:) If the Blacks have a mind to Rise they might go to Mundens Point and take the Fort very easily for there was no	John Twaits's wife told him that, as she lay in bed, she had heard Sergeant Fairfax say to her black the following words, or words much like them. If the blacks had a mind to rise they might go to Munden's Point and take the fort very easily, for there were no

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		flints in the Guns and his wife Sayed the Black had answered Sergeant you Should not Say So there's a great many Blacks or a great many Rogues on the Island or to that Effect but he Sayeth he then gave his wife Some Slight Answers because he was very weary and Did not think then more of the words only he remembereth he Sayed Sergeant Fairfax was an Old fool or Old Rascall or Some Such like Saying. Jur. John Twaits.r Elizabeth Curling Sayeth one morning very lately She heard Sergeant Fairfax Say to Black Wall a Slave belonging to Jn.o Twaits that if the Blacks had a mind to Rise they might come and take the Fort at Mundens Point. Jur. Elizabeth Curling. The Sergeant being present denies all the Matter but We being of Opinion the speaking of those words were fully proved against him, and to prevent the Dissatisfaction of the People.	flints in the guns. His wife said the black had answered Fairfax that he should not say so, since there were a great many blacks or a great many rogues on the island, or words to that effect. Twaits gave his wife some slight answer, being very weary, and did not think more of the words at the time. He only remembered saying that Sergeant Fairfax was an old fool or an old rascal or some such saying. This evidence was given by John Twaits and sworn before the jury. Elizabeth Gurling stated that one morning very lately she heard Sergeant Fairfax say to Black Wall, a slave belonging to John Twaits, that if the blacks had a mind to rise they might come and take the fort at Munden's Point. This evidence was given by Elizabeth Gurling and sworn before the jury. The sergeant, being present, denied the whole matter. The council was of the opinion that the speaking of those words was fully proved against him. To prevent the dissatisfaction of the people [...]. Interpretations The accumulation of four witnesses against Fairfax's single denial shows the council building an overwhelming weight of testimony before reaching its conclusion. Black Wall, Bridget and John Twaits, Ruth Knipe and Elizabeth Gurling each spoke to the same words, so the bench held the charge fully proved against the sergeant's bare denial. This reveals the council's method of grounding a serious finding on multiple corroborating accounts rather than on any one. The council's stated aim of preventing the dissatisfaction of the people frames the prosecution as much about public reassurance as individual guilt. The inhabitants had brought the complaint, and the bench acted to satisfy their alarm at words touching their safety. This shows the council treating the maintenance of public confidence in the island's security as a reason for proceeding firmly against the offender. Elizabeth Gurling's evidence, like Bridget Twaits's, shows the words were spoken within hearing of several people rather than in private. The repeated overhearing of Fairfax's talk by different inhabitants reveals how little privacy the close-built settlement afforded. This explains how a remark made early one morning came to be known across the community and brought before the council.
387	380	People who fear a bad Consequence from Such Speeches We have Displaced him from being Sergeant and accordingly Ordered him to go a Souldier to Bencoolin in the Ship Emelia now in the road. In this Examination We Sent for all the Military Officers to be Present that they might See they were Safe in themselves So long as they were of Faithfull & good Demeanor and that this man was not removed without Such full proof as they Saw & heard testified against him with which proof they were all fully convinced of his guilt and Satisfied that he had not Suffered beyond his Deserts. Ordered That his Acco.t be made up in the Stores and what is due to him therein be Payed, and then an Order wrote to Capt. Misenor to receive him on board and to carry him to Bencoolin. [signature] Island.	The people feared a bad consequence from such speeches. The council therefore removed Fairfax from his post as sergeant and ordered him to go as a soldier to Bencoolen aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, then in the road. The council had sent for all the military officers to be present at this examination, so that they might see they were safe in their posts as long as they kept a faithful and good demeanour, and that this man was not removed without such full proof as they themselves saw and heard testified against him. By that proof they were all fully convinced of his guilt and satisfied that he had not suffered beyond his deserts. The council ordered that Fairfax's account be made up in the stores, that what was due to him be paid, and that an order then be written to Captain Misenor to receive him aboard and carry him to Bencoolen. Interpretations The summoning of all the military officers to witness the examination turns the proceeding into a demonstration of justice to the garrison. By letting them see the proof for themselves the council both warned them against the like conduct and assured them that no man would be broken without cause. This shows the bench using a public trial to maintain

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			discipline and confidence among the very men whose loyalty the case had called into question. The sentence of transfer to Bencoolen as a common soldier removes a dangerous man while stopping short of harsher punishment. Demotion and removal to a distant station neutralised the threat he posed without a capital or corporal penalty. This reveals the council's preferred remedy for a disaffected officer, exile to another of the Company's posts as a means of ridding the island of the risk. The careful settling of Fairfax's account and payment of what was due before his departure shows the administration observing its financial obligations even toward a condemned man. His wages were reckoned and paid despite his disgrace. This reflects the council's practice of keeping the discipline of an offence separate from the accounting of a servant's earned pay, settling the books before sending him away.
388	381	Island St. Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 2. day of Septemb.r 1718. At Union Castle in James valley. Antip.s Tovey absent being Sick. Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2. The last Consultation read & approved. Ordered That all Letters & answers to and from Capt. Jn.o Misenor be Entered in this Consultation, as also the 2.d Letter to Bencoolin relating to the Sending off Serj.t Fairfax, with the Order to the Capt. for re- -ceiving him on Board. Worship.f.t S.r Capt. Misenors 1.t Letter. This afternoon in getting the Hon. Comp.rs Goods out mett with a Cask masked N.o 10. which had, had Bread in it but found that it was all out which must be destroyed by the Ratts, by the Holes that is in it notwithstanding We have Seven or Eight Catts on Board and it laying So low and So many things ont that I am well assured it can be gone no other way, there- -fore Desire that you will please to Order a Survey, and Likewise have mett with one Barrell of Tarr which has leaked out	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 September 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and Matthew Bazett second. Antipas Tovey was absent, being sick. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council ordered that all letters and answers to and from Captain John Misenor be entered in this consultation, together with the second letter to Bencoolen about the sending off of Sergeant Fairfax, with the order to the captain for receiving him aboard. There followed Captain Misenor's first letter. Misenor wrote that, while getting the Honourable Company's goods out that afternoon, his men had come upon a cask marked number 10, which had held bread but was found all gone. He believed it must have been destroyed by the rats, through the holes in it. Despite having seven or eight cats aboard, the cask lay so low and had so many things upon it that he was sure the loss could have happened no other way. He therefore asked that the council order a survey. He had also come upon one barrel of tar which had leaked out [...]. Interpretations Misenor's request for a survey of the damaged goods invokes the formal procedure by which loss aboard ship was assessed and attributed. A survey by appointed examiners would establish the cause and extent of the spoilage, which protected the commander against a charge of negligence. This reveals the survey as the standard mechanism for adjudicating responsibility when consigned goods arrived damaged or short. The detailed account of the rat-eaten bread, with its insistence on the cats aboard and the cask's position, shows the commander building a defence against any imputation of carelessness. By explaining how the loss occurred despite precautions he sought to clear himself before the reckoning. This reflects the pressure on a master to account for every deficiency in the cargo he carried for the Company. The entry of all the Misenor and Fairfax correspondence into the consultation marks the council's practice of preserving a complete documentary record of each transaction. By ordering the letters and orders entered together, the bench fixed the whole dealing in the permanent register. This shows the consultation book serving as the comprehensive archive through which the council kept account of its business with visiting commanders.
389	382	out. I am. Dated on Board the Ship Princess Amelia this 19. August 1718. Yo.r Worships Humble Servant	This letter was dated aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i> on 19 August 1718 and signed by John Misenor. There followed a protest addressed to Captain John Misenor.

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		to Command. John Misenor. Capt. Jn.o Misenor S.r A Protest. We are Ordered by our Hon. Masters to Asist and Dispatch yo.r unloading as fast as We can. And you are by Charterparty To deliver the Cargoe Consign'd to Us in Ten working days Which being Expired. We do hereby for and on behalf of the Hon. Comp.y of Merch.ts of England Trading to the East Indies, Protest against you, and Say that as you have not deliver'd your Cargoe as aforesaid and not wanted our Assistance, all the Damage that shall Accrue thereby must redound to the Owners of your Ship Princess Amelia. We are Union Castle, the 26. Aug.t 1718. Yo.r Humble Servants Isaac Pyke Matth.w Bazett Antip.s Tovey. Answer. Worshipf.t	The council set out that the Honourable Masters had ordered it to assist and dispatch his unloading as fast as possible. By his charter party Misenor was bound to deliver the cargo consigned to the council within ten working days. That time had now expired. The council therefore, for and on behalf of the Honourable Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, protested against him. Since he had not delivered his cargo as required and had not needed the council's assistance, all the damage arising from the delay must fall on the owners of the <i>Princess Amelia</i>. This protest was dated at Union Castle on 26 August 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. There followed Misenor's answer. Interpretations The formal protest is a legal instrument by which the council placed on record that the fault for the delay lay with the commander, not the shore. By protesting under the Company's name the bench shifted liability for any resulting damage onto the ship's owners. This reveals the protest as the device for fixing responsibility in advance, creating a documented defence should the Company later be charged with the loss. The ten-working-day delivery term drawn from the charter party set the contractual standard against which Misenor's performance was measured. The charter bound him to a fixed period for discharging the cargo, and its expiry triggered the council's protest. This shows the charter party operating as the precise legal benchmark that defined when a commander fell into default. The council's pointed observation that Misenor had not needed its assistance answers in advance the charge that the shore had caused the delay. By recording that the holdup lay wholly with the ship, the bench pre-empted any attempt to lay the fault on the island. This shows the careful drafting of the protest to close off the commander's likely line of defence before he could raise it.
390	383	Worshipf.t S.rs & S.rs Your Protest rec.d this day for not Complying within the time Mentioned in Charterparty in unlading the Hon. Comp.as Goods although We have had all the Assistance from you as could be and have been Six days more then Charterparty, But I refer it to your Worship and Council whether We have not taken all opportunitys and have been very diligent in Landing things when ever we could, for Some times our Boats has laid off three or four Hours, many times at an Anchor & dared not to venture in the Surf running So very high and that you may very well know Yo.r Crane receiving So much Damage by the Sea, and the quantity of Stones that We had laid in Readiness by the Crane to carry off, at least Seven or eight Tuns being washed away, and Therefore notwithstanding the forementioned Protest which I think very unegal I do Expect Demourage for my Owners for every day above the Ten working Days We have been here Unlading, Unless you can prove Negligence on my Side which I am sure is Impossi- -ble for my People has workt very hard	Misenor answered the council's protest, received that day, for not unloading the Honourable Company's goods within the time set in his charter party. He acknowledged the council had given him all the assistance it could, and that he had been six days more than the charter allowed. He nevertheless asked the council to consider whether he had not taken every opportunity and been very diligent in landing goods whenever he could. Sometimes his boats had lain off three or four hours, often at anchor, not daring to venture in with the surf running so high. The council well knew how much damage its own crane had taken from the sea, and that the quantity of stones laid ready by the crane to carry off, at least seven or eight tons, had been washed away. Notwithstanding the protest, which he thought very illegal, Misenor expected demurrage for his owners for every day above the ten working days the ship had been unloading, unless the council could prove negligence on his side. He was sure this was impossible, since his people had worked very hard [...]. Interpretations Misenor's counter-claim for demurrage turns the dispute on its head, asserting that the owners were owed compensation for the delay rather than liable for it. Demurrage was the sum payable to a shipowner for detention beyond the agreed lay days, here the ten working days of the charter. This shows the commander invoking the same contractual framework the council used against him, but to claim payment for time lost through causes he attributed to the weather and the shore.

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			The high surf that kept the boats from landing identifies the natural obstacle that frustrated the unloading on an island with no sheltered harbour. Goods had to be carried ashore through open water, so heavy seas could halt the work entirely. This reveals the physical difficulty of provisioning St Helena, where the absence of a safe landing made the discharge of cargo dependent on the weather. The destruction of the crane and the washing away of seven or eight tons of stones laid ready for loading shows the damage the sea inflicted on the island's own landing apparatus. The council's equipment for handling cargo suffered alongside the ships' boats. This supports Misenor's case that the delay arose from conditions beyond his control, since the same seas that stopped his boats wrecked the shore's means of receiving them.
391	384	which I believe you may know. I am Princess Amelia Aug.t 27. 1718. Rideing in St. Helena Road. Worshipf.t S.rs & S.rs Yo.r Humble Servant. John Misenor. Answer & Reply. Capt. Misenor. S.r We have received yo.r Letter in answer to our Protest but can by no means allow of all that you Seem to Insist on therein. We acknowledge there has been Some bad weather but the most part of the time you have had fair weather and We know that tho' your People may have worked hard yet the whole time of Sixteen days by you mentioned was not altogether Em- ployed about unlading the Stores for this place but Some of it for the necessary work of the Ship Such as getting on Shore yo.r Casks, filling your Water & Carrying Some of that water off &c. And We think you have delivered no more Stores here than what might have been Easily Sent on Shore in twelve days for the Surf did not Rise untill towards the latter end of the ten days of your Charterparty and therefore We cannot allow any more than two whole days besides the Ten	Misenor closed by saying he believed the council might know all this. This letter was dated aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, riding in St Helena Road, on 27 August 1718 and signed by John Misenor. There followed the council's answer and reply addressed to Captain Misenor. The council had received his letter in answer to its protest but could by no means allow all that he insisted on. It acknowledged there had been some bad weather, but held that for the most part the weather had been fair. Although his people might have worked hard, the council pointed out that the whole sixteen days he mentioned had not all been spent unloading the stores for the island. Some of the time had gone to the necessary work of the ship, such as getting his own casks ashore, filling his water and carrying some of that water off. The council thought he had delivered no more stores than might easily have been landed in twelve days, for the surf did not rise until towards the latter end of the ten days of his charter party. It therefore could not allow more than two whole days besides the ten [...]. Interpretations The council's reply disputes the factual basis of Misenor's defence, contesting both the weather and the use he made of his time. By asserting that the weather was mostly fair and that part of the sixteen days went to the ship's own business, the bench undercut his claim that delay was unavoidable. This shows the dispute turning on a contest over the facts, with each side marshalling its account of the conditions to fix or escape liability. The council's distinction between time spent on the Company's stores and time spent on the ship's own needs separates the commander's contractual duty from his private business. Filling water and landing his own casks did not count toward discharging the consigned cargo. This reveals the bench narrowing the relevant period to the actual unloading of Company goods, excluding the work Misenor did for his ship's own account. The council's concession of two days beyond the ten shows it conceding a limited allowance for genuine bad weather while rejecting the larger claim. Rather than deny all delay, the bench granted what it judged the weather truly justified. This reflects a measured approach to the dispute, conceding the defensible portion of the commander's case to strengthen its refusal of the rest.
392	385	days beforementioned for that work this being as We think the Just State of the Case We will not trouble you with any Longer Account but Submit the whole to the Wisdom of our Hon. Masters who can best Judge of this matter. We are Union Castle the	The council allowed two whole days besides the ten for the unloading. This, it thought, was the just state of the case. It would not trouble Misenor with any longer account but submitted the whole to the wisdom of the Honourable Masters, who could best judge of the matter.

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		27. Aug.t 1718. S.r Yo.r Humble Servants. Isa.c Pyke Matth.w Bazett & Antip.s Tovey. Another Lett.r for goods wanting. Capt. Misenor S.r There is wanting to com- -pleat the Hon. Comp.rs Cargoe you brought Us the following Goods (viz.t) 5 3/4: Chaldrons of Coals 3: Dram Baulks 1: Piece of large Timber 1: Puncheon of Bread 1: Barrel of Tarr 24: Billets 1: Gunn Truck, and 23: whole Deals of w.ch have rec.d 17. Short Pieces, which We compute to be	This letter was dated at Union Castle on 27 August 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. There followed another letter to Captain Misenor about goods that were missing. The council set out that the following goods were still wanting to complete the Honourable Company's cargo he had brought. 5½ chaldrons of coals 3 dram baulks 1 piece of large timber 1 puncheon of bread 1 barrel of tar 24 billets 1 gun truck 23 whole deals, of which the council had received 17 short pieces, which it reckoned to be [...] Interpretations The reckoning of coals in chaldrons identifies a standard English measure of coal by volume, varying by region but amounting to a large quantity reckoned in bushels. The council measured the shortfall in the customary unit of the coal trade, which let both sides account precisely for what was due. This shows the island applying the established commercial measures of home to verify its consignments from the Company. The dram baulks, deals, billets and large timber listed reveal the island's dependence on imported wood for building and fuel. A baulk was a squared length of timber, a deal a sawn plank, and billets short lengths of firewood, all carried from elsewhere because the island's own wood was scarce and protected. This shows the settlement importing the structural timber and fuel that its restricted Great Wood could not supply, the very scarcity the recent felling ban addressed. The careful itemising of the shortfall, including the conversion of 23 whole deals into 17 short pieces received, shows the precision with which the council audited its cargo against the invoice. By tracking not just missing items but discrepancies in form, the bench held the commander to exact account. This reveals the rigour of the receiving process that underlay the council's claims against a delivering ship.
393	386	be Eight whole ones, So that there is realy wanting 15: Deals. We have received the Bread Cask, and the Tarr Barrell above mentioned but both Empty. We desire you to Send the Said Goods a Shore, or Else We must Protest against you, or charge you with the Same According to the Hon. Comp.rs Orders. We are. Union Castle the 29. August 1718. Yo.r Humble Servants. Isa.c Pyke Matth.w Bazett Antip.s Tovey. Capt. Misenors Answer. Worshipf.t S.rs & S.rs Yo.rs rec.d of the 29. wherein you mention the things that is wanting of the Hon. Comp.rs Cargoe. As to the Coals there is all that came on board of the Ship my Self and Officers will readily make Oath that there is all that We Rec.d The three Dram Baulks that you mention was cutt up for the Stentions for the Coal Hole and the Pieces are now Come on Shoar. The Deals that you mention that is wanting was Used for the Bulk heads of the Coal Room.	The 17 short pieces came to eight whole deals, so that 15 deals were really wanting. The council had received the bread cask and the tar barrel mentioned above, but both were empty. The council asked Misenor to send the goods ashore, or else it would have to protest against him or charge him with them, according to the Honourable Company's orders. This letter was dated at Union Castle on 29 August 1718 and signed by Isaac Pyke, Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. There followed Captain Misenor's answer. Misenor replied to the council's letter of 29 August 1718, in which it mentioned the things wanting from the Honourable Company's cargo. As to the coals, all that came aboard was delivered, and he and his officers would readily swear that the council had received all they had received. The three dram baulks the council mentioned had been cut up for the stanchions for the coal hole, and the pieces had now come ashore. The deals the council said were wanting had been used for the bulkheads of the coal room [...]. Interpretations Misenor's defence accounts for the missing items by showing they had been consumed in the ship's own structure rather than lost or withheld. The dram baulks became stanchions and the deals went into bulkheads to stow the coal. This reveals how timber consigned as cargo could be absorbed into the fittings a ship built to

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			carry other goods, blurring the line between freight delivered and freight used in transit. The offer of an oath by the commander and his officers invokes the sworn word as the ultimate proof of an honest delivery. Where the tally was disputed, Misenor fell back on his readiness to swear that all received aboard had been landed. This shows the oath functioning as the final recourse in a dispute over quantities that no document could conclusively settle. The empty bread cask and tar barrel returned to the council connect this exchange to the rat damage Misenor had reported on his own initiative. The casks came ashore but their contents were gone, which the commander had already attributed to spoilage aboard. This shows the two disputes converging, the missing provisions explained by loss in transit rather than by any failure to deliver the containers themselves.
394	387	The piece of Large Timber that is wanting was brought to the Shoar with the Rest where they lay two Hours before they begun to take them up. The Puncheon of Bread must be Destroyed by the Ratts as may be Seen by the Cask. The Barrel of Tarr the fault is in the Cask it not being tight. The Gun Truck that was Missing is now on Shoar. The twenty four Billets you'll See objected against in the Bill of Lading they not being Sent on board. I am. Dated on board the Princess Amelia Rideing in St. Helena Road the 31. of August 1718. Worshipf. t S.rs & S.rs Yo.r Humble Servant. John Misenor. The Capt. Complains that one of his men named Richard Mason has left the Ship and Concealed himself on	Misenor continued his account of the missing goods. The piece of large timber the council said was wanting had been brought ashore with the rest, where it lay two hours before the council's men began to take it up. The puncheon of bread must have been destroyed by the rats, as could be seen from the cask. As to the barrel of tar, the fault lay in the cask, which was not tight. The gun truck that was missing was now ashore. As to the twenty-four billets, he noted that they had been objected against in the bill of lading and were never sent aboard. This letter was dated aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, riding in St Helena Road, on 31 August 1718 and signed by John Misenor. Captain Misenor then complained that one of his men, named Richard Mason, had left the ship and concealed himself ashore. He said that if it had been any other man he could better have spared him, but Mason was his steward and had charge of all his things. His loss was a great disappointment, and Misenor believed Mason was hidden, for he thought it impossible that in such [...]. Interpretations Misenor's answer on the billets, that they were objected against in the bill of lading and never shipped, shows the bill of lading serving as the decisive record of what was actually loaded. A notation on that document at the point of loading governed whether an item formed part of the cargo at all. This reveals the bill of lading as the authoritative register against which a claim of short delivery could be defeated by showing the goods were never put aboard. The reversal of the desertion problem, with the commander now seeking the council's help to recover his own steward, mirrors the earlier case of the soldier Huff who stowed away on the <i>Cardigan</i>. A man who concealed himself ashore escaped his service just as one who hid aboard escaped the island. This shows the same flight problem cutting both ways, with ship and shore each appealing to the other to recover an absconding servant. The particular value Misenor placed on Mason as the steward with charge of all his things explains the urgency of the complaint. The steward's responsibility for the commander's possessions made his disappearance a practical as well as a personal loss. This shows how the importance of a servant's office, rather than mere numbers, determined how hard his master would press for his return.
395	388	The piece of Large Timber that is wanting was brought to the Shoar with the Rest where they lay two Hours before they begun to take them up. The Puncheon of Bread must be Destroyed by the Ratts as may be Seen by the Cask. The Barrel of Tarr the fault is in the Cask	Misenor thought it impossible that in such weather the man should be among the rocks. He had offered a reward of £5 0s 0d to anyone who found Richard Mason. Governor Pyke said he had no doubt that so great a reward as £5 0s 0d would bring Misenor his servant again. He had sent the marshal to seek for Mason in all

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		it not being tight. The Gunn Truck that was Missing is now on Shoar. The twenty four Billets you'll See objected against in the Bill of Lading they not being Sent on board. I am. Dated on board the Princess Amelia Riding in St. Helena Road the 31. of August 1718. Worshipf.t S.rs & S.rs Yo.r Humble Servant. John Misenor. The Capt. Complains that one of his men named Richard Mason has left the Ship and Concealed himself on Shore. He says if it had been any other man he could better have Spared him but this man Richard Mason is his Steward and has charge of all his things and therefore 'tis a vast Disappoint-ment to loose him and doth believe he is Concealed for 'tis Impossible he thinks in Such	likely places. Although the marshal had not yet found him, the Governor did not question that he would find him before the ship sailed. The following petition was then presented. Joseph Bates, the marshal, petitioned the Governor and Council. He had for some time past had an inclination to lay down his post, with their leave. He now asked that they grant him liberty to be discharged from his office of marshal, but with an earnest desire to do his duty [...]. Interpretations The Governor's confidence that the £5 0s 0d reward would recover Mason reflects the power of a cash inducement to break the concealment of a fugitive. A sum of that size offered to the inhabitants turned the whole settlement into potential informers. This shows the administration relying on private incentive rather than systematic search to flush out a man hidden among a population that might otherwise shield him. The marshal's role as the officer sent to seek the absconding steward identifies the post Bates now sought to leave as the island's principal agent of enforcement. The marshal executed the council's orders, pursued offenders and recovered fugitives. This gives weight to his petition for discharge, since his departure would remove the very officer on whom the recovery of men like Mason depended. The timing of Bates's resignation request, presented in the midst of an active manhunt he was charged with conducting, shows a personal wish to leave office pressed regardless of the immediate business. His inclination to lay down the post had evidently been settled for some time. This reveals the council managing the orderly succession of its offices even as the present holder remained engaged in pressing duties.
396	389	duty as a Private Centinel and Shall to his Utmost Capacity Perform that or any other duty which time may make him capable of. Sept.r 2.d 1718. And as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c. (Signed.) Joseph Bates. Granted. Martha Marsh Spinster desired y.e following Obligation of Eliz. Marsh, might be Registered for better Security thereof. Granted. I Elizabeth Marsh Wid.o do hereby Promise & and oblige my self to deliver and give unto Martha Marsh one Cow and calf over & above what is Mentioned as a legacy to her in my late Husband Robert Marshes Last Will and Testam.t I doe also Promise to keep and maintain her the Said Martha Marsh at board in my House Untill Such time as She Shall Arrive at Age or Marriage if She be willing to continue with me. I also further Promise to Maintaine the Heiffer in my Pasture which my said Dec.d Husband gave her. Witness my hand this 22. day of July 1718. Elizabeth her X Marsh Mark. Made in the presence of me. Jn.o Alexander. [signature]	Bates added that he wished to do his duty as a private sentinel and would perform that or any other duty to the utmost of his capacity, as time might make him capable. This petition was dated 2 September 1718 and signed by Joseph Bates. The council granted it. Martha Marsh, spinster, asked that the following undertaking of Elizabeth Marsh be registered for better security. The council granted this. Elizabeth Marsh, widow, promised and bound herself to deliver and give to Martha Marsh one cow and calf, over and above what was left to her as a legacy in the will of her late husband Robert Marsh. She also promised to keep and maintain Martha Marsh in her house until Martha should reach age or marriage, if Martha were willing to stay with her. She further promised to maintain the heifer her late husband had given Martha in her own pasture. This undertaking was dated 22 July 1718 and signed by the mark of Elizabeth Marsh, made in the presence of John Alexander. Interpretations Bates's request to step down from marshal to a private sentinel marks a voluntary descent in rank rather than a departure from service. He sought relief from the burdens of an enforcement office while remaining a soldier of the garrison. This shows the council accommodating a man's wish to lay down a demanding post without losing him from the establishment, treating rank as something that could be relinquished as well as conferred. Elizabeth Marsh's undertaking supplements the provision of her late husband's will with a personal promise of maintenance for Martha. The cow, calf and heifer, together with board until age or marriage, secured the young woman's support beyond the bare legacy. This shows how a family arrangement could be reinforced by a separate binding promise, layering private obligation on top of the will's bequest.

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			The registration of the undertaking for better security reveals the council's register serving once more to give a private agreement permanent and provable force. By entering Elizabeth's promise in the official book, Martha gained a record she could rely on against any future default. This shows the same registration mechanism used for wills and land applied to a personal maintenance covenant within a family.
397	390	Island St. Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 9. day of Sept.r 1718. At Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r Pres.t Matth.w Bazett 2.d Antip.s Tovey 3. in Co. The Last Consultation was read & Approved of. Then the Council Proceeded in Setting the Prius on the Cargoe of Goods brought by Ship Princess Amelia Capt. Jn.o Misenor Comand.r A copy of the Invoice with Prime Cost and Selling Price is as follows (Viz.t) London 21.th March 1717. Invoice of Merchandize Laden by the Honou.ble the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies in & upon the good Ship called the Princess Emelia burden 340. Tons or thereabouts, Whereof goeth Commander Capt. John Misenor, bound by the Almighty's Per- -mission for the Island of St. Helena & goes Consigned to the Governour & Council there Resident, being marked & Numbered as p.r Margent the Particulars are as follow Viz: Selling	Island of St Helena At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 September 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, Matthew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council then proceeded to set the prices on the cargo of goods brought by the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, Captain John Misenor commanding. A copy of the invoice, with the prime cost and selling price, follows. It was dated at London on 21 March 1718. This was an invoice of merchandise laden by the Honourable Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies aboard the good ship called the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, of 340 tons or thereabouts, of which John Misenor was commander. The ship was bound, by the Almighty's permission, for the island of St Helena, and the goods were consigned to the Governor and Council resident there. The goods were marked and numbered as in the margin, and the particulars were as follows. Interpretations The council's task of setting prices on the cargo reveals its function as the controlling authority over the island's market in imported goods. By fixing a selling price above the prime cost recorded in the invoice, the bench determined the margin at which Company goods were sold to the inhabitants. This shows the administration regulating trade directly, with prices set by official decision rather than by open competition. The invoice's recital of prime cost alongside the selling price exposes the two figures on which the island's supply economy turned. The prime cost was what the goods had cost the Company in London, and the difference up to the selling price represented the Company's return on the island. This reveals the transparent accounting by which the Company tracked its margin on every consignment sent to the remote settlement. The marking and numbering of the goods as in the margin shows the system of identification that tied each item to its entry in the invoice. The marks let the council match the physical goods landed against the documentary record. This reflects the standard practice of labelling consignments so that delivery, pricing and any shortfall could all be checked against a single controlling document.
398	391	Ironmongers Ware 5: Casks & 23 Bundles. viz. 8 --11 Caska -1 6 . . . 1 Doz.n Smoothing plains . . . 11 - 5 6 -2 2 . . . 1 Doz. Jack ditto . . . - 11 - 8 10 -3 . . . 1/2 doz. Fore ditto . . . - 11 - 6 6 +4 4 . . . 1/2 doz. Long ditto . . . - 11 - 8 10 -2 2 Each . 1/2 doz. Joynter ditto . . . 11 - 13 - -2 2 . . . 1/2 doz. Rabbett plains . . . 11 - 6 6 -4 1 p.rs . . 6 Pair Hollows & Rounds . . 11 - 13 - -2 3 Ew. . . 3 Fiellisters . . . - 11 - 3 4 -2 3 Ew. . . 3 Bead plains . . . - 11 - 3 4 -4 1 p.rs . . 3 Pair Grooving ditto . . - 11 - 6 6 --4 Ew. - 24 Doz. Gimblets Sorted . . 11 1 19 6 Ironmongers Ware carried over 6. 1 4 Carried over . . £ 583. 4 1	The invoice, with its selling prices, ran as follows. Soap 10 chests, weighing 28.1.24, at 5s 6d per hundredweight £150 2s 1d Oils, in 35 jars 15 jars linseed oil, weighing 520.2.24, at 4s 6d per gallon £117 2s 3d 10 jars train oil, weighing 353.2.31, at 3s 1d per gallon £54 9s 11d 10 jars rape oil, weighing 335.2.31, at 3s 1d per gallon £51 14s 5d 35 jars of oil, amounting to £223 6s 7d

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			White lead 10 firkins, weighing 20.2, at 25s 3d per hundredweight £25 17s 7d Whiting 2 casks, weighing 32, at 22s per hundredweight £2 18s 8d Brimstone 1 cask, weighing 3.2.8, at 26s 4d per hundredweight £4 0s 10d Lamp black 2 casks, holding 950 barrels, at 11s 6d per hundred £5 9s 3d Brushes 1 box, amounting to £3 7s 6d Coals 21 chaldrons, at 38s 2d per chaldron £40 1s 6d Deals, 10½ 8 dram deals, at 8s 5d per [...] £66 0s 0d 1 14-foot deal, at 100 per cent £11 11s 0d 1 12-foot deal, at 100 per cent 9s 7d ½ dram deal 4s 6d 10½ deals, amounting to £91 0s 6d Dram baulks 63, at 8s 3d, with 100 per cent £25 19s 9d Timber, 12 pieces 6 pieces long timber, 147 feet £6 16s 4d 6 pieces short timber, 94 feet £4 2s 8d 12 pieces timber, amounting to £10 19s 0d Ironmonger's ware, in 5 casks and 2 bundles 1 dozen smoothing planes 5s 6d 1 dozen jack planes 8s 10d ½ dozen fore planes 6s 6d ½ dozen long planes 8s 10d ½ dozen jointer planes 13s 0d ½ dozen rabbet planes 6s 6d ½ dozen ogee planes 6s 6d 6 pairs of hollows and rounds 13s 0d 3 fillisters 3s 4d 3 bead planes 3s 4d 3 pairs of grooving planes 6s 6d 24 dozen gimlets, sorted £1 19s 6d Ironmonger's ware, carried over £6 1s 4d Carried over £583 4s 1d Interpretations The invoice exposes the breadth of manufactured and raw goods the island drew from England, from oils and pigments to building timber and joiner's tools. White lead, whiting, brimstone and lamp black were the materials of paint, gunpowder and ink, while the

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			planes and gimlets equipped the island's carpenters. This shows the settlement importing not only provisions but the whole apparatus of construction and trade that a remote station could not produce. The pricing of the deals and dram baulks at 100 per cent reveals the council doubling the prime cost to fix the island selling price on these timber goods. The margin marked against each line shows the rate of advance the Company took on imported wood sold to the inhabitants. This exposes the explicit mark-up by which the administration turned the cost of supply into a return, the percentage recorded plainly beside the figures. The train oil among the oils identifies a product rendered from whale or fish blubber, used for lamps, leather dressing and lubrication. Listed beside linseed and rape oil and priced by the gallon, it formed part of the island's supply of light and industrial oils. This reveals the range of oils the settlement required for daily use, drawn from both marine and vegetable sources through the Company's trade.
399	392	Selling Price Brought over . . £ 583 4 1 Ironmongers Ware brought over 11 6 . 1 4 --6 Each 12 Doz. Gimblets . . . 11 1 13 - -1 . Ew. 6 doz. Ditto . . . 11 1 13 - -8 Ew.- 10 doz. plain Irons Sorted . . 11 . 1 18 6 1 Cask 11 - . 8 3 Cask B. 86 Steel Pick Axes sorted large. 2 each 11 9 6 1 1 Cask 6 - Cask C. 34 Steel Pick Axes sorted large at 3.4 . - 5 13 4 --9 pCs - 36 Double head Maules q: 460. at 11 p.r 11 8 12 6 -1 1 pCs - 24 ditto Steele . . 384 . 6 . 11 9 12 - -6 6 Ew. 1 doz. Broad Axes N.o 1 . . 11 1 16 4 -6 6 Ew.- 5 doz. ditto . . . 11 9 18 - 1 Cask . . . 11 - 7 - -2 10 Cask D. 3 doz. Crowley high temperd hoes N.o 1. 2 11 9 6 -3 2 Ew.- 12 doz. ditto 2 11 11 . 4 4 -3 - Ew.- 5 doz. Stone hoes . . . 1 11 . 4 8 - -1 2 Ew. 10 doz. Caulking Irons Sorted . - 11 3 6 - 1 . Cask . . . 11 - 7 . -2 3 Cask E. 2 doz. Steel Scrapers . . 11 1 6 1 -3 6 Each 2 doz. Ditto Extra . - 11 1 19 6 -3 8 Ew. . 2 doz. Extra ditto Narrow 11 . 2 4 - -3 6 . . 5 doz. Crowley high temperd hoes N.o 3. 11 5 4 6 -1 9 . . 4 doz. Hatchets . . N.o 1 . - 11 1 19 6 -2 1 . . 4 doz. ditto . . 2 . . 11 2 8 4 -2 8 . . 2 doz. ditto . . -3 . . 11 1 10 10 -3 . . . 2 doz. ditto . . 4 . . 11 1 15 - -1 6 . . 3 doz. Broad Chizzells . . 11 . 1 6 4 -1 2 . . 3 doz. ditto heading . . 11 . 1 c c -1 1 . . 2 doz. Scribing Chor: . . 11 - 13 c -1 6 . . 2 doz. Pareing ditto . . 11 - 117 6 -1 . . . 2 doz. Mortice ditto . . - 11 - 11 c - . 6 . . 2 doz. Firmers Sorted . . 11 - 5 6 . 6 . . 1 doz. ditto long & large . . 11 - 11 5 6 2 8 Bundle F. 12 Shod Shovells . N.o 1 . . 11 - 16 c 2 8 D.o G. 12 ditto . . 1 . . 11 - 16 c 3 . D.o H. 12 ditto . . -2 . . 11 c - 18 c 3 . D.o J. 12 ditto . . 2 . . 11 c - 18 c 3 4 D.o K. 12 ditto . . 3 . . 11 c 1 c c 4 8 D.o L. 12 Steel Spades . . 1 . . 11 . 1 13 6 5 8 D.o M. 12 ditto . . -1 . . 11 . 1 13 6 5 8 D.o N. 12 ditto . . 1 . . 11 . 1 13 6 7 2 D.o O. 12 ditto . . 2 . . 11 2 c 6 7 3 D.o P. 12 ditto . . 2 . . 11 4 . 2 c 6 2 9 D.o R. 12 ditto . . 2 . . 11 4 . 2 c 6 2 10 D.o S. 12 ditto . . 2 . . 11 4 . 2 c 6 7 10 D.o T. 12 ditto . . 3 . . 11 2 . 6 9 7 10 D.o U. 12 ditto . . 3 . . 11 4 . 2 6 9 D.o W. 2 pair Hand Screws . . 11 4 . 3 11 6 D.o X. 2 pair ditto 11 3 11 6	The invoice continued with its selling prices. Brought over £583 4s 1d Ironmonger's ware, brought over £6 1s 4d 12 dozen gimlets £1 13s 0d 6 dozen gimlets £1 13s 0d 10 dozen plain irons, sorted £1 18s 6d 1 cask 8s 3d 86 steel pickaxes, sorted large, at 2s 2d each £9 6s 4d 1 cask 6s 0d 34 steel pickaxes, sorted largest, at 3s 4d £5 13s 4d 36 double-head mauls, weighing 460, at 4s 6d per [...] £8 12s 6d 24 ditto, steeled, weighing 384 £9 12s 0d 1 dozen broad axes, number 1 £1 16s 4d 5 dozen ditto £9 18s 0d 1 cask 7s 0d 3 dozen Crowley high-tempered hoes, number 1 £2 9s 6d 12 dozen ditto £11 4s 4d 5 dozen stone hoes £4 8s 0d 10 dozen caulking irons, sorted £3 6s 0d 1 cask 7s 0d 2 dozen steel scrapers £1 6s 4d 2 dozen ditto, extra £1 19s 6d 2 dozen extra ditto, narrow £2 4s 0d 5 dozen Crowley high-tempered hoes, number 3 £5 4s 6d 4 dozen hatchets, number 1 £1 19s 6d 4 dozen ditto, number 2 £2 8s 4d 2 dozen ditto, number 3 £1 10s 10d

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		D.o Y. 2 pair ditto 11 4 9 c D.o . 2 pair ditto 11 4 9 c D.o aa. 1 pair ditto Large 11 2 16 c Ironmongers Ware Carried over £ 145. 15. 9 Carried over . . £ 583 4 1	2 dozen ditto, number 4 £1 15s 0d 3 dozen broad chisels £1 6s 4d 3 dozen ditto, heading £1 1s 0d 2 dozen scribing chisels 13s 0d 2 dozen paring ditto 17s 6d 2 dozen mortice ditto 11s 0d 2 dozen firmers, sorted 5s 6d 1 dozen ditto, long and large 15s 6d 1 cask 7s 0d 12 shod shovels, number 1 16s 0d 12 ditto, number 1 16s 0d 12 ditto, number 2 18s 0d 12 ditto, number 2 18s 0d 12 ditto, number 3 £1 0s 0d 12 steel spades, number 1 £1 13s 6d 12 ditto, number 1 £1 13s 6d 12 ditto, number 1 £1 13s 6d 12 ditto, number 2 £2 0s 6d 12 ditto, number 2 £2 0s 6d 12 ditto, number 2 £2 0s 6d 12 ditto, number 2 £2 0s 6d 12 ditto, number 3 £2 6s 9d 12 ditto, number 3 £2 6s 9d 2 pairs hand screws £3 11s 6d 2 pairs ditto £3 11s 6d 2 pairs ditto £4 9s 0d 2 pairs ditto £4 9s 0d 1 pair ditto, large £2 16s 0d Ironmonger's ware, carried over £145 15s 9d Carried over £583 4s 1d Interpretations The great quantity and variety of edged tools, from pickaxes and broad axes to chisels, spades and shovels graded by number, reveals the scale of construction and cultivation the island sustained. The Company shipped these implements in dozens and whole casks, far beyond any single household's need. This shows the settlement equipped as a producing colony whose fortification, building and planting all depended on a steady bulk supply of iron tools from England. The repeated naming of Crowley high-tempered hoes identifies the products of a celebrated English ironworks whose name marked a recognised standard of quality. Crowley's manufactory near Newcastle supplied edge tools across the empire, and the council

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			priced its hoes by that brand. This shows the island drawing on the leading industrial producers of the home country, the maker's name carrying enough weight to feature in the invoice. The grading of shovels, spades and hatchets by number reveals a graduated range of sizes or qualities the Company supplied to suit different work. Each numbered class carried its own price, ascending with size or grade. This reflects the standardised manufacture and pricing of tools by category, which let the council stock a full spread of implements matched to the varied tasks of the garrison and plantations.
<u>400</u>	393	Selling Price Brought Over . . £ 583. 4 1 Ironmongers Ware brought Over £ 145 15 9 Prime Cost 1 Bundle AB. 1 Pair Hand Screws Large . . 11 2 16 c D.o ac. 1 Pair Double Hand Screws . . 11 3 18 c -2 D.o aD. 1 Pair ditto 11 3 18 c Ironmong. Ware 5 Casks & 23 Bundles Amo.t to 11 156 7 9 -6 pCs. Iron Potts. 20 . . w. 12. 2. 4 . . at 28.6 p.r C . 11 . 17 17 3 Bread 24 Hogsheads & 10 Puncheons viz. --3 1/2 N.o 1 to 24. 24 Hogsheads Bread q. 102. at 13. [p.r] p.r C. 67 11 6 --3 1/2 A to K. 10 Punch.m ditto . . 21 . 16.6 . 11 17 6 6 24 Hogsh.ds & 10 Punch.ns Bread amounting to 11 . 84 18 c --3 1/2 N.o 1 to 16 Flower. 16 Casks . . w. 48. 2. 12. at 16 p.r t . 11 38 9 9 17. 18. Pease 2 Casks q: 16 Bushels, at 6. 4 p.r bushel . 11 5 1 4 19. 20. Beans 2 Casks q: 16 Bushels, at 6. 10 p.r bushel 11 5 9 4 N.o 18. 19. Fire Armes 2 Chests q: 50 Fire lock Musquells w.th Bayonets & Belts . . . at 20. each . 11 50 c c N.o 1 to 4. Medicines & Surgeons Instrum.ts 3 Chests & 1 Cask am.t 110 c - Soldiers Cloaths 5 Cases Viz. N.o 1 to 5. 60 Red Cloth Coats w.th Loops at 23 11 69 c c 40 Red Cloth Coats plain . . 22 11 44 c c 100 Blew Waistcoats . . . 17.6 11 87 10 c 400 Short Waistcoats . . 14. 4. 286 13 4 Sold.rs Cloaths 5 Cases amount.t to . 11 487 3 5 Grass Seeds. 3 Casks Viz. N.o 1 to 3. 24 Bushells Rygrass Seeds at 3. 7 p.r bus.h 11 4 6 6 22. ditto . . 3 Foy Seeds . . 2.9 p.r . 11 3 c 6 10. Furr Seeds . . . 2. - pCs 11 1 c c 1/2 Broom Seeds 11 - 2 6 2 . . . Treyfoy Seeds . . . at 22 p.r . 11 2 4 - 3. 3. 14 Clover Seeds . . . 39.6 p.r t 11 7 13 1 3 Casks 11 1 13 - Grass Seeds 3 Casks amounting to . . . 19 19 1 Directions to Sow the above Seeds viz. St. Foy Seeds about 4 Bush.ls on 1 Acre on dry Chalk or Stony Land. Treyfoy Seeds about 12. on 1 Acre } on any good. Clover Seeds about 12. on 1 Acre } Land Rygrass about 1 1/2 Bush.r or 2 Bush.r on 1 Aire of any Land Shoes 2 Casks Viz. p.pr - 6 65. 1: 2 100 Pair Mens fashionable Shoes 2 at 4. 4 p.pr . 3 11 21 13 4 -6 - . . 400 pair Mens Strong Shoes. a 3: 10 11 76 13 4 2. Casks 11 1 1 . 2 Casks Shoes . . amounting to . - 11 99 6 8 3 - - p.r Bar. Tarr 20. Barrels . . at 38.6 p.r Barrel . 11 38 10 - . . . Pitch 10. Barrels w. 26. 2 - at 9. 4 p.r . 11 . 12. 7 4 Carried over . . . £ 1708 13 11	The invoice continued with its selling prices. Brought over £583 4s 1d Ironmonger's ware, brought over £145 15s 9d 1 pair hand screws, large £2 16s 0d 1 pair double hand screws £3 18s 0d 1 pair ditto £3 18s 0d Ironmonger's ware, in 5 casks and 23 bundles, amounting to £156 7s 9d Iron pots 20, weighing 12.2.4, at 28s 6d per hundredweight £17 17s 3d Bread, in 24 hogsheads and 10 puncheons 24 hogsheads of bread, weighing 102, at 13s 8d per hundredweight £67 11s 6d 10 puncheons of ditto, weighing 21, at 16s 6d per hundredweight £17 6s 6d 24 hogsheads and 10 puncheons of bread, amounting to £84 18s 0d Flour 16 casks, weighing 48.2.12, at 16s 4d per hundredweight £38 9s 2d Peas 2 casks, holding 16 bushels, at 6s 4d per bushel £5 1s 4d Beans 2 casks, holding 16 bushels, at 6s 10d per bushel £5 9s 4d Firearms 2 chests of 50 flintlock muskets, with bayonets and belts, at 20s each £50 0s 0d Medicines and surgeons' instruments 3 chests and 1 cask, amounting to £110 0s 0d Soldiers' clothes, in 5 cases 60 red cloth coats with loops, at 23s £69 0s 0d 40 red cloth coats, plain, at 22s £44 0s 0d 100 blue waistcoats, at 17s 6d £87 10s 0d 400 short waistcoats, at 14s 4d £286 13s 4d Soldiers' clothes, in 5 cases, amounting to £487 3s 5d Grass seeds, in 3 casks 24 bushels ryegrass seeds, at 3s 7d per bushel £4 6s 6d 22 bushels saintfoin seeds, at 2s 9d per bushel £3 0s 6d 10 bushels furze seeds, at 2s per bushel £1 0s 0d

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			$\frac{1}{2}$ bushel broom seeds 2s 6d 2 bushels trefoil seeds, at 22s per [...] £2 4s 0d 3 bushels clover seeds, weighing 39.6, at 4s per [...] £7 13s 1d 3 casks £1 13s 0d Grass seeds, in 3 casks, amounting to £19 19s 1d There followed directions to sow the above seeds. Saintfoin seeds, about four bushels on one acre, on dry, chalk or stony land. Trefoil seeds, about four on one acre, on any good land. Clover seeds, about 12 on one acre, on any good land. Ryegrass, about $1\frac{1}{2}$ bushels, or 2 bushels, on one acre of any land. Shoes, in 2 casks 100 pairs of men's fashionable shoes, at 4s 4d per pair £21 13s 4d 400 pairs of men's strong shoes, at 3s 10d per pair £76 13s 4d 2 casks £1 0s 0d 2 casks of shoes, amounting to £99 6s 8d Tar 20 barrels, at 38s 6d per barrel £38 10s 0d Pitch 10 barrels, weighing 26.2, at 9s 4d per hundredweight £12 7s 4d Carried over £1,708 13s 11d Interpretations The consignment of grass and forage seeds, with detailed sowing directions, shows the Company directing a deliberate programme to establish pasture on the island. Ryegrass, saintfoin, trefoil and clover were the standard fodder crops of English agriculture, and the instructions matched each to a soil type. This reveals an attempt to improve the island's grazing through introduced grasses, the written guidance ensuring the seed was sown to best effect by men perhaps unfamiliar with it. The large shipment of soldiers' clothing, 600 coats and waistcoats valued at £487 3s 5d, dominates the invoice and marks the cost of maintaining the garrison's appearance and uniform. The red coats with loops, plain coats and waistcoats outfitted the soldiers at the Company's charge. This shows the substantial expense the Company bore in clothing its military establishment on the island, the single largest category in the whole cargo. The two grades of shoes, fashionable and strong, distinguish footwear for different ranks or purposes among the island's people. The strong shoes, shipped in far greater quantity at a lower price, served the labouring and military population, while the fashionable pairs met a finer demand. This reflects the Company supplying a stratified market, matching the quality and price of goods to the varied standing of the inhabitants it served.
401	394	Selling Price Brought over . . £ 1708 13 11 Rozen 1 Cask q: 4. 3. 3 . . at 17. 6 p.r C . . - 4 3 7 Fishing Lines 1 Cask Viz. p.r doz - -4. F. N.o 1: 15 Gross of Bate Hooks at 1.10 p.r Gross . 1 7 6 -5 p.r doz. 2: 15. ditto Mackarell hooks 2. 2 p.r . 1 12 6 -6 p.r doz. 3: 15. ditto Breein hooks . 2.9 p.r . 2 1 3	The invoice continued with its selling prices. Brought over £1,708 13s 11d Rosin 1 cask, weighing 4.3.3, at 17s 6d per hundredweight £4 3s 7d Fishing lines, in 1 cask

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		-7 p.r doz. 4: 15. ditto Rock Hooks . . 3.6 p.r . 2 12 6 -1 1 p.r doz. 5: 15. ditto Porge hooks . . 6. 6 p.r . 4 17 6 -2 - p.r doz. 6: 10. ditto Dolphin Hooks 11. - p.r . 5 10 - -1 10 Each 1: 12 doz Dolphin Fish Lines 11. - p.r . 6 12 - -1 6 D.o 3: 12 ditto Rock ditto . . . 8. 10 p.r . 5 6 c -1 1 D.o 3: 12 ditto Porge ditto . . . 6. 6 p.r . 3 18 - -8 p.pr - 4: 12. ditto Mackarell ditto . 3.10 p.r . 2 6 - -5 1/2 p.pr - 5: 12. ditto Breem ditto . . 2.9 p.r . 1 13 c --4 a p.pr - 6: 12. ditto Pearch ditto . . 2. 2 p.r . 1 6 c 1. Caske - 7 . Fishing Lines 1 Cask . . amounting to . 11 . 39 9 3 Combs & Thimbles 1 Case Viz. p.pr - 1 . C. N.o 1: 2 Doz. Ivory Combs . at 6 p.r doz 11 c 12 c 1 2 . -2: 2 doz.n ditto . . . 11 c - 11 - 14 c 1 6 . -3: 4 doz.n ditto . . . 8.10 11 c - 1 15 4 1 8 . -4: 3 doz.r ditto . . . 9.10 11 c - 1 9 6 2 . . -5: 4 doz.r ditto . . . 11. c 11 c 2 4 c 2 . . -6: 1 Doz fine Dander Combs . . - 10 6 2 2 Ew. -7: 1 doz.r ditto . . . 11 - 11 6 2 Ew. -8: 2 Gross Brass Thimbles . . - 13 - -3 4 p.pr - -9: 6 doz. Seizars . . . 11 - 7 8 -4 p.pr - 10: 6 doz. ditto 11 - 6 6 -5 p.pr - 11: 3 doz. ditto 11 - 10 2 -5 p.pr - 12: 4 doz. ditto 11 c - 9 10 -7 p.pr - 13: 3 doz. ditto 11 c - 9 10 1 7 p.pr . 14: 2 doz. horse broad Seizars. & 11 c - 9 10 1 2 . 15: 8. Gross & 6 doz. of Buttons at 6.6 p.r 11 2 15 3 Combs & Thimbles 1 Case Amo.t to . 11 14 1 1 Lanterns 2 Casks & 4. Cases viz. 8 - N.o 20. 12 Large Tin Lanterns at 3.10 . - 11 2 6 c 6 - Each. 24 Smaller ditto . . . 2.9 . 11 3 6 - 4 - Ew. 12 Smaller ditto . . 1:10 . 11 1 2 - 12 - 21. 12 Muscovie Lights . . . 7.2 . 11 4 6 c 18 - 22. -4 large hand Glass Lanterns w. false Bottoms at . 11. c . . 11 3 1 4 12 23. 8. Smaller ditto . . at 7.8 . 11 3 6 - 18 24. 6. Large Glass Lanth.ns to hung up 11 . - 2 6 - 12 25. 6 Smaller Ditto . . . D 7.8 - 11 2 15 - 2 Casks & 4 Cases 11 Lanterns 2 Casks & 4. Cases. amount: to 11 21 12 4 Hatts. 2 Cases viz: 4 6 H. 1 N.o 1: 10 Boys Hatts . . at 2.9 c . 1 7 6 -2: 10. ditto . . . 4.2 - . 2 1 8 6 3 -3: 20 Mens ditto . . . 3.4 - . 3 6 8 6 - -4: 20. Ditto . . . 5.6 - . 5 10 - 8 6 -5: 20. ditto . . . 6.6 - . 6 10 - 10 - -6: 20. ditto . . . 7.8 - . 7 13 1 -12 - 100. Soldiers Hatts Laced . 2.6 - . 12 10 - 14 2 Cases Hatts 2 Cases amounting to Carried over £ 1850 13 4 39 13 2	15 gross of bait hooks, at 1s 10d per gross £1 7s 6d 15 gross of mackerel hooks, at 2s 2d per gross £1 12s 6d 15 gross of bream hooks, at 2s 9d per gross £2 1s 3d 15 gross of rock hooks, at 3s 6d per gross £2 12s 6d 15 gross of porgy hooks, at 6s 6d per gross £4 17s 6d 10 gross of dolphin hooks, at 11s per gross £5 10s 0d 12 dozen dolphin fish lines, at 11s per dozen £6 12s 0d 12 dozen rock ditto, at 8s 10d per dozen £5 6s 0d 12 dozen porgy ditto, at 6s 6d per dozen £3 18s 0d 12 dozen mackerel ditto, at 3s 10d per dozen £2 6s 0d 12 dozen bream ditto, at 2s 9d per dozen £1 13s 0d 12 dozen perch ditto, at 2s 2d per dozen £1 6s 0d 1 cask 7s 0d Fishing lines, in 1 cask, amounting to £39 9s 3d Combs and thimbles, in 1 case 2 dozen ivory combs, at 6s per dozen 12s 0d 2 dozen ditto 14s 0d 4 dozen ditto, at 8s 10d £1 15s 4d 3 dozen ditto, at 9s 10d £1 9s 6d 4 dozen ditto, at 11s £2 4s 0d 1 dozen fine dander combs 10s 6d 1 dozen ditto 11s 6d 2 gross brass thimbles 13s 0d 6 dozen scissors 7s 8d 6 dozen ditto 12s 0d 3 dozen ditto 6s 6d 4 dozen ditto 10s 2d 3 dozen ditto 9s 10d 2 dozen horse broad scissors 9s 10d 8 gross and 6 dozen of buttons, at 6s 6d per gross £2 15s 3d Combs and thimbles, in 1 case, amounting to £14 1s 1d Lanterns, in 2 casks and 4 cases 12 large tin lanterns, at 3s 10d £2 6s 0d 24 smaller ditto, at 2s 9d £3 6s 0d 12 smaller ditto, at 1s 10d £1 2s 0d 12 Muscovy lights, at 7s 2d £4 6s 0d 4 large hand glass lanterns with false bottoms, at 11s £2 4s 0d 8 smaller ditto, at 7s 8d £3 1s 4d 6 large glass lanterns to hang up, at 11s

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			£3 6s 0d 6 smaller ditto, at 7s 8d £2 15s 0d Lanterns, in 2 casks and 4 cases, amounting to £24 12s 4d Hats, in 2 cases 10 boys' hats, at 2s 9d £1 7s 6d 10 ditto, at 4s 2d £2 1s 8d 20 men's ditto, at 3s 4d £3 6s 8d 20 ditto, at 5s 6d £6 10s 0d 20 ditto, at 6s 6d £6 10s 0d 20 ditto, at 7s 8d £7 13s 4d 100 soldiers' hats, laced, at 2s 6d £12 10s 0d 2 cases 14s 0d Hats, in 2 cases, amounting to £39 13s 2d Carried over £1,830 13s 4d Interpretations The varied fish hooks and lines, each named for a particular species, reveal the importance of fishing to the island's food supply. The Company shipped hooks graded for bait, mackerel, bream, rock fish, porgy and dolphin, with matching lines for each. This shows a deliberate provisioning for the local fishery, the range of tackle reflecting the different fish taken in the waters around the island and the reliance on the sea to feed the settlement. The Muscovy lights among the lanterns identify a form of lantern glazed with mica, a translucent mineral imported from Russia that resisted heat better than glass. Listed beside tin and glass lanterns, they offered a durable means of carrying light. This reveals the range of lighting equipment the island required, the mica panes suited to conditions where ordinary glass might crack. The hundred laced soldiers' hats, distinct from the plain men's and boys' hats, continue the substantial provision for the garrison's uniform seen in the coats and waistcoats. The lace marked the hats as military issue, supplied at the Company's charge to clothe the soldiers. This reflects the recurring cost of equipping the military establishment, the laced hats forming part of the same outfitting that dominated the clothing consignment.
402	395	Selling Price Brought Over . . £ 1830 13 4 Haberdashers Ware 2 Casks Viz. p.r 2 4 H.N.o N.o 3: 2 light coulerd Silk Stich at 17.6 p.r . 1 15 c -4 - pCs . -4: 20 Doz. Brown thread . . 28.6 p.r . 28 10 c -4 - pCs . -5: 20 doz. Colourd ditto . . 28.6 p.r . 28 10 c -4 8 p.r doz -6: 8. Cloth & 13 Black Mohair. 10.6 p.r . 4 4 - 7: 24 Gross White Thread Buttons . . 2 4 - 8: 24 Gross ditto 3 6 c 60 Gross Coat Mohair Buttons . 34 10 c 60 Gross Brest ditto . D . 3. 4 p.r . 10 c - -1 6 p.r doz: 15: -4 Gross Thread Laces best Sort 8.10 - 1 15 4 -1 . p.r doz: 16: 4 Gross ditto 4.4 - c 17 4 -1 6 p.pr - 17: -12 doz. Broad Holland Tapes. 11. - . . 6 12 - -1 . p.pr - 18: 12 doz. Middle Holland tape 7.2 11 4 6 c . 9 p.pr - 19: 8 doz. Hemming Tape . 5.6 . 2 4 c -3 - p.pr - 20: 2 doz. Diaper Tape . . 23. - . 2 6 c	The invoice continued with its selling prices. Brought over £1,830 13s 4d Haberdasher's ware, in 2 casks 2 light-coloured silk shirts, at 17s 6d £1 15s 0d 20 dozen brown thread, at 28s 6d £28 10s 0d 20 dozen coloured ditto, at 28s 6d £28 10s 0d 8 cloth and black mohair, at 10s 6d £4 4s 0d 24 gross white thread buttons £2 4s 0d 24 gross ditto £3 6s 0d 60 gross coat mohair buttons £34 10s 0d 60 gross breast ditto, at 3s 4d per gross 10s 0d 4 gross thread laces, best sort, at 8s 10d

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		-3 . p.pr - 21: 2 doz. ditto . . . 26.1 . 2 12 8 . p.r doz: 22: 11 Gross Manhua Buttons. 3.4 11 1 16 8 -6 . p.r Sett. 23: 22 Sett Loops . . . 3.4 . 3 13 4 -10 . p.pr - 24: 20 Pieces Ferrit . . . 5. - 11 5 c c -16 6 p.pr - 25: 12 Pieces ditto broad . . 8.3 . 4 19 c -13 . p.pr - 26: 12 Pieces ditto . . . 6.6 . 3 18 c 6 . p.r doz. . 2 Gross Striped fillitting 33. [p.r] . 3 6 c -1 1/2 p.pr - 5 doz. White & Coloured tape 13. - . 3 5 - 5 . . 3 Light Coloured Silk Sowing 28.6 11 4 5 6 1 Cask 8 3 -6 p.r H.N.o 29: -6 Doz. Whited brown thread 46.2 . 13 17 c -7 6 p.Cs -10: 3 doz. ditto . . . 57.2 . 8 11 6 -10 . p.pr . 11: 3 doz. ditto . . . - 72.6 11 10 17 6 -10 6 pts . 12: 3 doz. ditto . . . -83.6 . 12 10 6 -12 - p.Cs . 13: 3 doz. ditto . . . - 92.4 . 13 17 - -13 4 [pts] . 14: -2 doz. ditto . . . 105.6 11 10 11 c -3 2 p.pr . . 3 Gross Whitefilehing . . 49.6 11 7 8 6 -3 6 p.pr . . 12 Grofs ditto . . . 59.4 . 5 18 8 -2 1 p.pr . . 12 Gross ditto . . . 52.10 . 5 5 8 7 Gross Coloured ditto . . 33. - . 11 11 - -1 6 p.pr M.o -15: 10000 Needles Sorted . . - 11 4 2 6 -1 6 p.r doz: 16: -6 Gross Silver Breast Buttons 33. c . 9 18 c -5 . p.r doz: 17: -6 Gross Gold ditto . . . 39.6 . 11 17 c -9 6 p.r doz: 18: 6 Gross Silver Coat buttons 72.6 11 21 15 c -11 . p.r doz: 19: 4 Gross Gold ditto . . . 85.9 . 17 3 c -9 . p.r doz: 20: 26 Silver Thread . . . 5.6 . 7 3 c -10 . p.r doz: -21: 16 Gold ditto . . . 6.6 . 5 4 c -14 . p.pr -22: 3 Pieces Black Ribbon . . 8.10 . 1 6 6 -18 . p.pr -23: 3 Pieces ditto . . . 12. c . 1 16 c -1 10 p.pr -24: 3 Pieces ditto . . . 19.10 . 2 19 6 -2 1 p.pr -25: 1 Piece ditto 1 6 4 -5 . p.pr -26: 4 Gross Silk Laces 2 yards. 26.4 11 5 5 4 . p.pr -27: 4 Gross ditto . . 3. ditto . 39.6 11 7 18 - -10 p.pr -28: 12 doz. best Silk Laces 2 [yds] 5. c . [?] 3 c -1 3 p.pr -29: 16 doz. ditto . . . 30.s . 7.2 11 5 14 8 -1 8 p.pr -30: -12 doz. Cawking Pins . . 13.2 11 7 18 c -1 6 p.pr -31: 12 doz. 11 Haling Pins . . 10.6 11 6 5 - -1 4 p.pr -32: 12 doz. fine Pins . . . 9.4 . 5 12 - -1 . p.pr - 33: -2 Gross Garhing . . 9:10 . - 19 8 -34: 16. Cloth & Black Silk Belledine 25.10 11 20 13 4 -2 6 p.r doz: 35: -17 doz. Garhing . . - 1.3 . 1 1 3 1. Cask 11 - 7 8 Haberdashers Ware 2 Casks. am.t to 11 413 18 2 Carried over . . £ 2244 11 6	£1 15s 4d 4 gross ditto £1 17s 4d 12 dozen broad Holland tapes, at 11s £6 12s 0d 12 dozen middle Holland tape, at 7s 2d £4 6s 0d 8 dozen hemming tape, at 5s 6d £2 4s 0d 2 dozen diaper tape, at 23s £2 6s 0d 2 dozen ditto, at 26s 4d £2 12s 8d 11 gross manure buttons, at 3s 4d £1 16s 8d 22 sets loops, at 3s 4d £3 13s 4d 20 pieces ferret, at 5s £5 0s 0d 12 pieces ditto, broad, at 8s 3d £4 19s 0d 12 pieces ditto, at 6s 6d £3 18s 0d 2 gross striped filleting, at 33s £3 6s 0d 5 dozen white and coloured tape, at 13s £3 5s 0d 3 light-coloured silk sewing, at 28s 6d £4 5s 6d 1 cask 8s 3d 6 dozen white and brown thread, weighing 46.2, at 6s £13 17s 0d 3 dozen ditto, weighing 57.2, at 7s 6d £8 11s 6d 3 dozen ditto, weighing 72.6, at 10s £10 17s 6d 3 dozen ditto, weighing 83.6, at 10s 6d £12 10s 6d 3 dozen ditto, weighing 92.4, at 12s £13 17s 0d 2 dozen ditto, weighing 105.6, at 13s 4d £10 11s 0d 3 gross white filletings, weighing 49.6, at 3s 2d £7 8s 6d 2 gross ditto, weighing 59.4, at 3s 6d £5 18s 8d 2 gross ditto, weighing 52.10, at 2s 1d £5 5s 8d 7 gross coloured ditto, weighing 33, at 1s 6d £11 11s 0d 10,000 needles, sorted £4 2s 6d 6 gross silver breast buttons, weighing 33, at 4s 6d £9 18s 0d 6 gross gold ditto, weighing 39.6, at 5s £11 17s 0d 6 gross silver coat buttons, weighing 72.6, at 9s 6d £21 15s 0d 4 gross gold ditto, weighing 85.9, at 11s £17 3s 0d 2 silver thread, weighing 56, at 10s 6d £7 3s 0d 16 gold ditto, weighing 6.6, at 14s 6d £5 4s 0d 3 pieces black ribbon, at 8s 10d £1 6s 6d 3 pieces ditto, at 12s £1 16s 0d 3 pieces ditto, at 19s 10d £2 19s 6d 1 piece ditto, at 21s £1 6s 4d 4 gross silk laces, 2½ yards, weighing 26.4, at 5s

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			£5 4s 0d 4 gross ditto, 3 ditto, weighing 39.6, at 5s 6d £7 18s 0d 12 dozen best silk laces, 2½ yards, weighing 5, at 5s £3 0s 0d 16 dozen ditto, weighing 30, at 7s 2d £5 14s 8d 12 dozen caulking pins, weighing 13.2, at 10s 6d £7 18s 0d 12 dozen middling pins, weighing 10.6, at 6s £6 5s 0d 12 dozen fine pins, weighing 9.4, at 4s £5 12s 0d 2 gross garthing, at 9s 10d 19s 8d 16 cloth and black silk belledine, weighing 25.10, at 14s £20 13s 4d 17 dozen garthing, weighing 1.3, at 2s 6d £1 1s 3d 1 cask 7s 8d Haberdasher's ware, in 2 casks, amounting to £413 18s 2d Carried over £2,244 11s 6d Interpretations The vast assortment of buttons, thread, lace, tape and pins reveals the island's dependence on imported haberdashery for making and mending its own clothing. The Company shipped these notions in gross and dozen, from plain thread buttons to silver and gold coat buttons, supplying both the materials of repair and the trimmings of finer dress. This shows the settlement unable to produce even the smallest fittings of a garment, drawing the whole apparatus of needlework from England. The silver and gold coat and breast buttons, valued far above the plain thread and mohair sorts, mark a supply of luxury trimmings for the dress of the island's better sort. A gross of silver coat buttons fetched £21 15s 0d against a few shillings for thread buttons. This reveals a stratified market in clothing fittings, the costly metal buttons serving the officers and gentry while the common buttons clothed the rest. The belledine identifies a kind of fine sewing silk, an imported thread used for the better grades of needlework. Listed among the cloth and silk goods at a high valuation, it served the finer stitching the coarse threads could not. This reflects the range of sewing materials the island required, from the cheapest thread for slaves' clothing up to the fine silk for the dress of those who could afford it.
403	396	Selling Price Brought Over . . £ 2244 11 6 -1 3 pts. Leather 1 Bale q: 14 Butts w. 979 at 9 1/2 Glass Ware 1 Cask viz: 1 to 20 G. 1. 24 Quart Decanters w. 56. c 24 Pint ditto 38. c 8 -2 2 pCs. 24 Cruils 13. c 500 Drinking Glass w. 268.4 w. 375. 12 D 17 p.r . 27. 7 11 1 Cask 11 - 13 - Glass Ware 1 Cask . . amount.g to . 11 28 c 11 Billetts 500. - at 6 Each . 12. 10. - Convix Lights 1 Case Viz: L. . . 2 Lamps 11 6 12 c 1 Case c . 3 4 Convix Lights 1 Case . . amount.t to 11 . 6 15 4 Hair Powder 1 Case Viz: p.ps - 1 . P.O. 232 fine Grounds . . at 5 1/2 p.pr - 11 5 6 4 1 Case - 11 4 c Hair Powder 1 Case . . amount.t to 11 . 5 10 4 Carriage Trucks 100. from 14 Inches to 23 1/2	The invoice continued with its selling prices. Brought over £2,244 11s 6d Leather 1 bale, holding 14 butts, weighing 979, at 1s 3½d [...] Glassware, in 1 cask 24 quart decanters, weighing 56 24 pint ditto, weighing 38 24 cruets, weighing 13 500 drinking glasses, weighing 268.4 1 cask £27 7s 11d 13s 0d Glassware, in 1 cask, amounting to £28 0s 11d Billetts 500, at 6d each £12 10s 0d Convex lights, in 1 case 2 lamps

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		Inche. Amo.t to . . . -8 Hollands Duck 1 Case Viz: p.pr: 2 3 -C.2. . . 20 Pieces Vittery Canvas at 28.6 p.pr 28.10 c Hollands Duck 1 Case . . amount.t to . 11 28 10 c Oars. 48. Viz. 1 - . p.pr - 24 Squar Ash Oars from 14 to 16 1/2 . 7 4 c foot long at 12 p.pr. -10 - p.pr. 24 Round Furr Oares from 14 to 16 11 3 6 - foot Long at 5.6. p.r pair . . for Painting 48. Oares . . - 1 2 c 48. Oares amount.t to . . 11 12 c Garrison Stores 4 Cases Viz. B. -1 100 Sword Belts . . . at 3.4 11 16 13 4 C. -2 100 Granadeer Pouches . . 5.2 11 25 16 8 P. -3 59 Swords w.th Spare Scabbards 6. - 17 14 - P. -4 . 41 ditto 6. c . 12 6 c Garrison Stores 4 Cases. amount.t to 11 . 72 10 c 2459 15 1 Charges . 11 . . 12 5 11 Sum Total of this Invoice w.th God Almighty's Prosper.t 2472. 1 c Samuel Wacters. As	£6 12s 0d 1 case 3s 4d Convex lights, in 1 case, amounting to £6 15s 4d Hair powder, in 1 case 232 fine grounds, at 5½d per pound £5 6s 4d 1 case 4s 0d Hair powder, in 1 case, amounting to £5 10s 4d Carriage trucks 100, from 14 inches to 23 inches, at 11s each [...] Holland duck, in 1 case 20 pieces of Vitré canvas, at 28s 6d per piece £28 10s 0d Holland duck, in 1 case, amounting to £28 10s 0d Oars, 48 24 square ash oars, from 14 to 16 feet long, at 12s per pair £7 4s 0d 24 round furze oars, from 14 to 16 feet long, at 5s 6d per pair £3 6s 0d For painting 48 oars £1 2s 0d 48 oars, amounting to £11 12s 0d Garrison stores, in 4 cases 100 sword belts, at 3s 4d £16 13s 4d 100 grenadier pouches, at 5s 2d £25 16s 8d 59 swords with spare scabbards, at 6s £17 14s 0d 41 ditto, at 6s £12 6s 0d Garrison stores, in 4 cases, amounting to £72 10s 0d £2,459 15s 1d Charges 12s 5d The sum total of this invoice, by God Almighty's prosperity, was £2,472 1s 0d. This invoice was signed by Samuel Waters. Interpretations The garrison stores of sword belts, grenadier pouches and swords with spare scabbards complete the military supply that ran through the whole cargo. The Company armed and equipped its soldiers from England, down to the belts and pouches that carried their weapons. This shows the island's defence wholly dependent on imported arms and accoutrements, the grenadier pouches in particular marking provision for the specialised troops who threw grenades. The Vitré canvas, described as Holland duck, identifies a strong sailcloth named for the Breton town of Vitré that produced it. Duck was a heavy plain- woven fabric used for sails and tents, and the council valued it by the piece. This reveals the island's need for durable canvas to maintain its boats and rigging, the cloth drawn from the established sailcloth manufactures of the Continent. The invoice's closing invocation of God Almighty's prosperity upon a total of £2,472 1s 0d reflects the customary piety attached to commercial documents of the age. The pious formula framing a precise commercial reckoning shows how religious convention pervaded even the driest business record. This marks the cultural habit of committing a venture's success to providence, the blessing standing over the whole consigned cargo.

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404	397	Septembr. As to the Coales We think 'tis necessary to fall the Price Something to Encourage the People to use them, That they be Sold at three Shillings the Bushell, which We hope will be Some means to prevent the Destruc= =tion of So much Wood. The Price on the Soldiers Cloaths to be Deffer'd till We have time to view them, because of their present Price and but one Shilling difference between the Loop Coats and plain Coats. As to the Pitch and Tarr the Governo.r thinks 'tis proper not to Settle the Price till he has weigh'd it, and then to Sell it out by the pound According to the Result in our Consultation of the 29th Aprill Last. Joseph Batslade Marshall being Summoned by the Govern.rs Order to Shew cause why he concealed Richard Mason who was Capt. John Messnors Stuard and had been hidden several days in Joseph Bates's House. Joseph Bates denies that he was hid= =den in his House or with his Privity. The Govern.r Sayes that Just when the Ship	The council turned to the price of coal. The members judged a reduction necessary to encourage people to use it. They set the price at 3s 0d per bushel, hoping this would help curb the heavy consumption of wood. The price of the soldiers' coats was held over. The council wanted time to inspect them first, since their current price stood only 1s 0d above plain coats for the looped coats. Governor Pyke addressed the pitch and tar. He thought it better not to fix a price until he had weighed the stock. He would then sell it by the pound, following the decision reached at the consultation of 29 April last. Joseph Bates, the former marshal, was summoned by the Governor's order. He was required to explain why he had concealed Richard Mason. Mason was steward to Captain John Misenor and had been hidden for several days in Bates's house. Joseph Bates denied that Mason had been hidden in his house or with his knowledge. Governor Pyke stated that just when the ship Interpretations The reduction of coal to 3s 0d per bushel served a conservation aim rather than a revenue one. Wood on the island was a finite resource, and the council priced coal deliberately low to shift domestic consumption away from timber. The measure shows the administration using its control over store prices as a tool of resource management. Governor Pyke's refusal to price the pitch and tar before weighing it reflects sale by actual measured weight rather than by estimate. The reference back to the consultation of 29 April points to a settled method already agreed for such commodities, applied here for consistency. The concealment charge against Bates concerns the control of ships' crews at the island. Richard Mason, as Captain Misenor's steward off the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, was a man whose movements the council tracked closely. Hiding such a man frustrated the captain's authority over his own people and the council's interest in keeping crews accounted for, which is why a former officeholder was summoned to answer for it.
405	398	Ship was out of Sight he was informed that this Mason came out of Bates's House and next morning Bates brought the man to him and being asked where he found him he Sayed the man had hidden himself Somewhere but not in his House and came out of the Cock= loft that is from his Garet Ceiling and the Roof but believed he had gott into that place out of Some other House for he Did not know that he was there Yet because he and that man do appear to have had Some Acquaintance before and it being Impossible he should live eight days without Some body to bring him Victuals and the man has no acquaintance with any other Person that lived there as We can hear of Therefore We are of opinion that the Marshall instead of Discovering the man as his duty was did hide him. Upon which Joseph Bates was Fined five Pounds the Same Sume that his Capt. had offerd for Discovering him, Yet that Bates may not Suffer too great a hardship by this Fine he is offered to be quite Excused if he will make Oath that the fellow was not hid in his House or with his Privity to which Oath Bates refused to	Governor Pyke continued his account. Just as the ship passed out of sight, he learned that Mason had come out of Bates's house. The next morning Bates brought the man to him. Asked where he had found him, Bates said the man had hidden himself somewhere other than his house. Mason had emerged from the cock-loft, the space between the garret ceiling and the roof. Bates supposed he had reached that place from some neighbouring house, claiming he had not known the man was there. The council rejected this explanation. Bates and Mason plainly knew each other beforehand. No man could survive eight days in hiding without someone bringing him food, and Mason was known to have no acquaintance with anyone else living there. The council therefore concluded that the marshal, whose duty was to expose the man, had instead concealed him. Joseph Bates was fined £5 0s 0d, the same sum his captain had offered for discovering him. To spare Bates too great a hardship, the council offered to excuse the fine entirely if he would swear an oath that the man had not been hidden in his house or with his knowledge. Bates refused the oath. Interpretations The fine was set deliberately at £5 0s 0d to match the reward Captain Misenor had offered for Mason's discovery. The council framed the penalty as a forfeit of exactly the gain Bates had passed up by hiding the

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			steward rather than surrendering him, turning the lost reward into the measure of the punishment. The offer to waive the fine in exchange for a sworn oath reveals how the council used the oath as an instrument of proof where direct evidence was lacking. Bates's refusal to swear was treated as confirmation of guilt, since an innocent man could clear himself at no cost. The mechanism let the bench convict on conduct and inference while leaving the accused a formal route to acquittal he declined to take.
406	399	September. to take wherefore It is ordered. That he Shall pay his Fine, but yet hath leave to Sue those who Employed him and to Recover his money back of them. The Govern: Sayes Such things as these are in their Consequences great Crimes and Directly tend to the Disabling of the Hon: Comp.as Ships and also to the Prejudice of the whole Island for all Commanders instead of touching here will Shunn this Place if their men are thus Deluded away from them, neither are the men Safe that We have here for none of the Captains will think it Injustice to carry away our men if We Sett them an Example by enticeing away theirs. It appears by a late Consultation that a black wench belonging to Mr. Gabriel Powell was drest up in mens Cloaths and Carryed Privately on board this very Ship last voyage by John Hodgkinson Mr. Powells Son in Law and was not Seen by the Capt. untill three days after they Sailed and So by John Hodgkinsons base =ness to (revenge himself it may be on) his father in law a wench was carryed off, and the Captaine Lyable to a great Fine if these matters	The council confirmed its order. Bates was to pay his fine, but had leave to sue those who had employed him and to recover his money from them. Governor Pyke set out the wider danger. Offences of this kind carried serious consequences and tended directly to disable the Honourable Company's ships. They also harmed the whole island. If men were lured away from their commanders, captains would avoid calling at the island altogether rather than touch here. Nor would the island's own men be safe, since no captain would scruple to carry them off if the island set the example by enticing away theirs. Governor Pyke turned to a related matter recorded at an earlier consultation. A black woman belonging to Gabriel Powell had been dressed in men's clothes and carried secretly aboard this same ship the previous voyage. John Hodgkinson, Powell's son-in-law, had taken her. The captain did not discover her until three days after sailing. Through Hodgkinson's dishonest conduct, perhaps to revenge himself on his father-in-law, the woman was carried off, leaving the captain liable to a heavy fine if these matters Interpretations The leave granted Bates to recover his fine from those who employed him shifts the real cost of the penalty onto the men behind the concealment. The fine fell formally on the marshal, but the council opened a route for him to pass the loss back to whoever had set him to hide Mason. The device let the bench punish the visible offender while exposing the unnamed principals to the financial consequence. Governor Pyke's argument rests on the island's dependence on Company shipping for its survival. As a remote provisioning station, the island needed captains to call, restock and trade. The fear that commanders would shun the place if their crews were enticed away shows the council treating crew security as essential to keeping the island supplied and its own labour force intact. The Doll affair, recorded at the consultation of 19 August 1718, surfaces here as a precedent for the captain's exposure. Powell's slave woman, carried off in men's clothes under the name of Anthony aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, left Captain Misenor liable to freight and penalty for a passenger smuggled out by Hodgkinson. The case is cited to show that the danger Pyke describes had already struck the same ship.
407	400	matters Should go unpunished We are likely to have a great deal more such Rogueries, But the Govern.r Sayes he thinks this Joseph Bates ought to be doubly Punnished because he was the man he put Confidence in and Trusted to Seek for this Richard Mason and yet He appear to be the very man who hid him and did not only Cheat Captain Misenor of his Servant but of his money too because he Demanded of the Capt. money for three days pay the time he pretended he was looking after his man for which in the Governours Opinion Joseph Bates do not only deserve to pay his Fine but to be whipt at the Flagstaff also, and he ought to look on it as a great Favour that We let this matter pass only	The Governor warned that if such matters went unpunished, many more frauds of the kind would follow. He held that Joseph Bates deserved a double punishment. Bates was the very man trusted to search for Richard Mason, yet he turned out to be the one who had hidden him. Bates had cheated Captain Misenor twice over. He deprived the captain not only of his servant but of his money, since he demanded three days' pay for the time he pretended to spend looking for the man. In the Governor's view, Bates deserved not merely to pay his fine but to be whipped at the flagstaff as well. He ought to regard it as a great favour that the council let the matter pass on payment of the fine alone. Interpretations

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		for paying of his Fine [...]	The double fraud the Governor identifies turns on Bates drawing pay for a search he was himself defeating. Bates collected three days' wages from Captain Misenor for hunting a man he was concealing in his own house. The Governor treats this conversion of a paid duty into a paid deception as the aggravating element warranting corporal punishment on top of the fine. The decision to remit the whipping and accept the fine alone shows the council calibrating its severity against an officeholder's standing. Bates had held the marshal's place, and the bench framed the lighter outcome as an act of grace rather than entitlement. The recorded warning preserved the full measure of the offence while sparing the man its harshest penalty.
408	401	September. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 16. day of September 1718. At Union Castle in James valley. &c Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r & Matth.w Bazett 2.d Ceas: Antip: Tovey 3. in Coun: The Last Consultation read & approved of. Margaret Burnam Widdow came this day with the Executors of her deceased Husbands Last Will and Testament In order of having the Same proved which was Accordingly done by the Oaths of Ripin Wills and In.o Alexander. Wherefore Ordered That; the Said Tho: Burnams Last Will & Testam.t now produced be Approved of Accordingly And that the Same be Entered in the Consultation Book, as all other Wills hereafter brought in and Approved must be So Entered, in order of being Copied out and Sent to England According to our Hon: Masters late Orders. The Executors Mess.rs Isaac Wood & Simon Whaley brought with them an Inventory of the Said Burnams Estate to the Appraisem.t which was Sworn to by the Appraisers Ripin Wills and Thomas Hayse. Margin Notes: Islands St Helena:	[Island of St Helena] At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 September 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, with Mathew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. Margaret Burnam, widow, attended that day together with the executors of her late husband's will, seeking to have it proved. This was done on the oaths of Ripin Wills and John Alexander. The council therefore ordered that the will of Thomas Burnam now produced be approved. It was to be entered in the consultation book, as all wills brought in and approved henceforth must be entered, so that they could be copied out and sent to England under the Honourable Masters' recent orders. The executors, Isaac Wood and Simon Whaley, brought with them an inventory of Burnam's estate for the appraisers. This was sworn to by the appraisers Ripin Wills and Thomas Hayse. Interpretations The order to enter every approved will in the consultation book established a colonial probate record answerable to London. The council required wills to be copied and forwarded to the Company's directors under their recent instruction. The measure created a documentary chain linking island estates to the Masters' oversight, turning local probate into a reportable administrative act. The proving of the will by sworn oaths and the separate swearing of the inventory by appraisers show the two-stage process by which an estate was authenticated. Witnesses confirmed the validity of the will itself, while independent appraisers vouched for the valuation of the goods. The division of function gave the council both a proven instrument and a verified account of what the estate contained.
409	402	A copy of the said Tho: Burnams Willis is as followeth In the Name of God Amen. This twenty third day of June Anno Dom: 1718 I Thomas Burnam Sen.r of the Island St. Helena free planter being very Sick and weak in body But of sound & Perfect mind & Memory thanks be given to Almighty God for the Same and calling to mind that it is appointed for all men once to die But the time when very Un= =certaine do make Constitute and Appoint this and no other to be my Last Will and Testament in manner & Form following First: and Principally I recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Blessed Saviour and Redeemer Hoping and assuredly beliving to receive free Pardon & forgiveness of all my Sins, & as touching Such worldly Goods as it hath pleased God farr above my Desarts to bestow upon me, (after all my debts are paid & Funerall	A copy of Thomas Burnam's will followed. The will was made on 23 June 1718 by Thomas Burnam senior, a free planter of the island. He described himself as very sick and weak in body but of sound mind and memory. He reflected that all men are appointed to die once, while the time of death remains uncertain, and on that ground declared this to be his last will, revoking any other. He first commended his soul to Almighty God, his saviour and redeemer, in the hope and belief of receiving pardon and forgiveness of his sins. As to his worldly goods, he directed that after all his debts and funeral charges were paid, he would give and dispose of them in the manner following. He gave and bequeathed to his beloved son William Burnam 5 acres of cabbage-tree land, to be chosen by William except for the plantation already planted, and to be for his use Interpretations

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		charges defray'd) I give, bequeath, and Dispose of in the following manner. Item I give and bequeath unto my welbeloved Son William Burnam Five Acres of Cabbage Tree Land where he Shall Choose it, Excluding the Plantation Already Planted, and to be for his use	The careful exclusion of the already-planted plantation from William's choice of 5 acres shows the testator reserving the developed, productive ground from the son's free selection. The bequest let William take cabbage-tree land of his choosing while keeping the cultivated holding intact for separate disposal. The arrangement separated improved land from the unworked acreage the son could pick. Cabbage-tree land refers to ground bearing the island's endemic cabbage trees, a category of holding defined by its native vegetation. On a small remote island with limited timber, such land carried value both for its standing growth and for the planting ground it could become once cleared. The will treats it as a distinct and grantable asset.
410	403	Septemb.r use and Benefit after my decease And in case of my beloved wife Mary Burnam should Marry a Second Husband Then my Said Son William is to have five Acres more taking rough & Smooth together, But yet not to have any of the Plantation, It being my Earnest desire He Should be Industrious in making a new Plantation and to asist and help bring up and maintaine his younger three Brothers and Sisters, and it is my further desire he would Continue to my said welbeloved wife & family for their better good and Subsistance. Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Son Thom: Burnam one Bull calf which I would have Exchanged for a breeder. Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Sons viz: Robert Edward & Samuel Burnam Each one Calf, the rest of my beloved Children having Already a Seperate Small Stock of Cattle which I desire may be Immediatly after my decease put into each a distinct marke for their only Bennefit. Item I give and bequeath and Dispose of the Remain=der part of my Land being twelve Acres and half (after my Said wifes decease) and also all	The land was to be for William's use and benefit after the testator's death. Should his wife Mary Burnam marry a second husband, William was then to receive 5 acres more, taking rough and smooth ground together. He was still to have no part of the plantation. The testator's earnest wish was that William be industrious in making a new plantation, and that he help bring up and maintain his three younger brothers and sisters. He further desired that William remain with his wife and family for their better support. The testator gave to his son Thomas Burnam one bull calf, which he wished to be exchanged for a heifer. He gave to his sons Robert, Edward and Samuel Burnam one calf each. His other children already held a separate small stock of cattle, which he directed be put under each child's own distinct mark immediately after his death, for their sole benefit. He gave and disposed of the remainder of his land, being 12½ acres, after his wife's death, and also all Interpretations The conditional grant of a further 5 acres to William on his mother's remarriage protected the son's position against a stepfather's claim. A widow's second marriage could bring her property under a new husband's control, and the extra acreage gave William a compensating stake should that occur. The provision shows the testator anticipating the legal effect of remarriage on the family holding. The instruction to put each child's cattle under a distinct mark established individual title within a shared herd. Branding or earmarking fixed ownership of animals that grazed together, preventing disputes among the children and creating a recognised record of each one's stock. The device was the island's practical means of dividing livestock without physically separating it. The repeated refusal to let William touch the plantation, coupled with the charge to make a new one, ties the bequest to a deliberate succession plan. The testator kept the established holding for his wife and younger children while directing his eldest son toward fresh cultivation. The structure shows land and labour being allocated to secure the whole family rather than to favour the heir.
411	404	all the rest and residue of my Estate consisting of any kind whatsoever to be Equally divided between all my beloved Children Except my two Sons William & Thomas, and in Such Parcels and allotments as my Executors hereafter named Shall think most fitt and if they find it Necessary & Convenient, to dispose off or Sell the Said twelve Acres and a half of Land to the best Bidder, or to whom they Shall think fitt, for the good of my Said Younger Children. Lastly I do hereby appoint and Constitute my Truty and Welbeloved Friends Isaac Wood and Simon Whaley (both of the Said Island) To be whole & Sole Executors of this my Last Will &	The testator left all the rest and residue of his estate, of every kind, to be divided equally among his children, except his two sons William and Thomas. The division was to be made in such parcels and allotments as his executors thought best. If they found it necessary and convenient, they could dispose of or sell the 12½ acres of land to the highest bidder, or to whomever they judged fit, for the good of his younger children. Lastly, he appointed his trusted friends Isaac Wood and Simon Whaley, both of the island, as sole executors of the will. He revoked all former wills, whether made by word or in writing, acknowledging this as his only will.

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		Testament revoaking all former Wills & Testam.ts whatsoever by me heretofore made Either in word or Writing Acknowledging this and no other. In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand and Seal the day and year first above Written. Signed Sealed pronounced, Thomas Burnam [seal]. and Declared as my Last Will & Testam.t in the presence of. Ripin Wills In.o Alexander [...]	In witness he set his hand and seal on the day and year first written above. The will was signed, sealed and declared by Thomas Burnam as his last will in the presence of Ripin Wills and John Alexander. Interpretations The exclusion of William and Thomas from the residue completes the testator's graduated scheme of provision. The two eldest sons had already received their specific land and livestock bequests earlier in the will. Confining the residual estate to the younger children balanced the distribution, giving those with least an equal share of what remained. The power granted the executors to sell the 12½ acres to the highest bidder converted land into a flexible fund for the younger children. Rather than tie the children to a fixed parcel, the will let Wood and Whaley realise its cash value if that better served them. The discretion shows land treated as a disposable asset to be managed for the beneficiaries rather than held for its own sake.
412	405	September. The Gunner brought in the following Account which was Examined & Approved of. An Acco.t of Gunners Stores Expended from the 5. of July: 718 to the 35. d.o Inclusive Viz:t Fate Pow.r July y.e 5.th For Exercising the Garrison 8 9.th An Alarm for a Ship that Passed by 4 4 d.o Fired for the Worth: the Goo.r Coming from on Board the <i>Cardigan</i> 15 15 11.th Fired when the Embassad.r went a board 9 9 d.o Sailed the <i>Cardigan</i> for England 7 7 For the Guard 14 Musquett Balls to y.e Guard cs 3 .. Cartridge Paper [2] 3 .. Flints deliverd the Guard cs 36 Match Expended cs 21 Totall 2[36:3 3 35 7]0 (Signed) In.o French. [...]	The gunner brought in the following account, which was examined and approved. An account of gunner's stores expended from 1 July 1718 to 31 July 1718 inclusive: 5 July, for exercising the garrison 8 pounds [of powder] 9 July, an alarm for a ship that passed by 4 pounds [of powder] 10 July, fired for the worship the Governor coming from aboard the <i>Cardigan</i> 15 pounds [of powder] 11 July, fired when the ambassador went aboard 9 pounds [of powder] 10 July, sailed the <i>Cardigan</i> for England 7 pounds [of powder] For the guard 14 pounds [of powder] Musket balls to the guard 3 [...] Cartridge paper 3 [...] Flints delivered to the guard 36 Match expended 21 [...] Total 136 pounds 3 [...] 3 [...] 35 7 0 [...] Signed, John French. Interpretations The account separates ceremonial expenditure of powder from defensive issue to the guard. Salutes for the Governor's return, the ambassador's embarkation and the departure of the <i>Cardigan</i> consumed substantial charges, the largest being 15 pounds for the Governor coming ashore. The record shows the garrison's gunpowder serving diplomatic display as much as defence, each salute logged as a measured cost. The presence of an ambassador taken aboard the <i>Cardigan</i> points to a passage of state through the island in July 1718. The vessel carried a figure of sufficient rank to warrant a 9-pound salute on embarkation and was sped on her way to England with a further 7 pounds. The entries place the island on a route used to convey persons of diplomatic standing homeward. The itemised guard stores of musket balls, cartridge paper, flints and match record the consumable supplies of matchlock and flintlock firearms. Match was the slow-burning cord used to fire matchlocks, while flints served the newer flintlock muskets, the two appearing together as the garrison ran weapons of both types. The account fixes the routine monthly draw on the magazine for ordinary guard duty.
413	406	Island S.t Helena.	[Island of St Helena]

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		At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 23 day of Septemb.r 1718 at Union Castle in James valley Antip: Tovey 3. absent being Sick Pres.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth.w Bazett 2.d The Last Consultation read & approved. Gilbert Sinsnick Sold.r was Committed about nine days Since for Unmercifully beating, Striking and wounding one of the Hon Comp.rs Blacks Insomuch that the Doct.r was in doubt for two or three days whether the fellow would recover or not, his head being broke & the wound of three Inches long & deep, besides about Seven Contusions, and Some of the Arteries were broken. Wherefore. Ordered That the Said Gilbert Sinsnick be Fined the Sume of thirty Shillings to the use of the Fortifications, and to pay the Doct.r for the Cure, But Acquainted that none Else Should come off So cheap if the like Should happen againe Nor Should he now only the Black is likely to recover and do well againe. M.rs Elizabeth Haswell Wid.w appeared and	At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 September 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and Mathew Bazett second. Antipas Tovey, third in council, was absent through sickness. The previous consultation was read and approved. Gilbert Sinsnick, a soldier, had been committed about nine days earlier for beating, striking and wounding one of the Honourable Company's blacks without mercy. The injuries were so severe that for two or three days the doctor doubted whether the man would recover. His head was broken, the wound being 3 inches long and deep, with about seven bruises besides, and some of the arteries were severed. The council therefore ordered that Sinsnick be fined 30s 0d to the use of the fortifications and pay the doctor for the cure. He was warned that no one else would escape so lightly if the like happened again. He himself escaped only because the black was expected to recover and do well. Elizabeth Haswell, a widow, then appeared, and Interpretations The fine directed to the upkeep of the fortifications shows the council channelling a penalty for private violence into public works. Rather than compensate the injured slave or his owner, the money served the island's defences. The arrangement treats the Company's black as Company property, the assault answered by a charge to a public fund rather than damages to a wronged party. The warning that no one else would escape so cheaply records the council setting a precedent while declining to apply its full force. The leniency rested entirely on the man's expected recovery, making the severity of punishment turn on the outcome of the injury rather than the act. The bench reserved heavier penalties for any repetition, using the case to mark a line for the garrison. The requirement that Sinsnick pay the doctor for the cure placed the cost of treating the injured slave on the offender. The Company avoided the medical expense of its own damaged labour by charging it to the man responsible. The provision shows the council protecting the Company's investment in its slaves through the law's allocation of cost.
414	407	Septemb.r and desired Liberty to go for England, and that She might have leave to Sett up and make Sale of Her Estate at Publick Out Cry. And that if the Govern.r thought fitt She was willing to abide by the Contract formerly =ly made by Capt. Haswell and the Executors of Mr. Steward for that Part of his Estate She has her life time In, and which She desires the Govern.r to Confirm to them. Ordered That her request be Granted. Doct.r Thomlinson appeared & desired he might have Credit given him for Some Bills he now has due. Ordered That the Accompt.t not being now Present, the Bills be left to Capt Bazett and Such of them be Enterd as he Shall upon Examining them think Proper, next Consul= =tation day. Mr. Alexander desires the Govern.r to Order Such a day as he Shall think fitt for the viewing and Examing all Books &c.a Papers belonging to the Sect: Office against the 29. Inst.t as Usual not only to See in what Order and Condition they are but to know what Books and other Papers he is and must be charged to and to be accountable for.	Elizabeth Haswell sought leave to go to England. She asked permission to sell up and dispose of her estate at public auction. She was willing, if the Governor thought fit, to abide by the contract formerly made between Captain Haswell and the executors of Mr Steward for that part of his estate she held for her lifetime, and she asked the Governor to confirm it to them. The council ordered that her request be granted. Doctor Thomlinson appeared and asked to be given credit for some bills now due to him. The council ordered that, since the accountant was not present, the bills be left with Captain Bazett. He was to enter such of them as he thought proper on examining them, at the next consultation. Mr Alexander asked the Governor to appoint a day for viewing and examining all books and papers belonging to the secretary's office, before 29 September as was usual. The purpose was not only to see in what order and condition they stood, but to establish which books and other papers he held and must be charged with and held accountable for. Interpretations Elizabeth Haswell's reference to the contract between Captain Haswell and Steward's executors connects to the Steward estate dispute settled earlier. Her late husband held a lifetime interest in part of that estate through his wife, and she now sought the Governor's confirmation that the existing arrangement

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			would stand. The widow was protecting the agreed terms against disturbance on her departure, recorded under the Haswell administration granted at the consultation of 5 August 1718. The decision to hold Thomlinson's bills for Bazett to examine, the accountant being absent, shows the council preserving financial scrutiny despite a gap in office. Antipas Tovey, the accountant, was absent through sickness, so the storekeeper was empowered to vet and enter the bills instead. The arrangement kept the audit of claims intact by reassigning the task rather than deferring it. Alexander's request to have the secretary's office books inspected before taking charge established his accountability at the point of handover. The viewing fixed on record exactly which books and papers he received, defining what he could later be charged with. The procedure protected an incoming officer by documenting the condition and extent of the records he inherited, a safeguard sharpened by the recent audit of Haswell's unfinished books reported at the consultation of 15 July 1718.
415	408	Ordered. That the Sect. Office be Inspected into and all the Books & Papers of Consequence Examined as Usual and Report made thereof next Consultation day. &c [...] Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 30. day of Sept.r 1718. At Union Castle in James Valley Antip: Tovey 3. absent being Sick. Pres.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth.w Bazett 2. in Coun. Last Consultation read & Approved. The Gov.r Says that According to the Hon: Comp.rs Orders and Especially their last, He is to make Enquiry how forward the Accomptants Books are, for he do's not find the Books for the year 1716, to be any thing near Finished which he is sure will not be Acceptable to the Hon: Comp.rs And Mr. Tovey who has Undertaken those Books, was not present. The Governor therefore asked for an answer from Captain Bazett, who	The council ordered that the secretary's office be inspected and all books and papers of consequence examined as usual, with a report made at the next consultation. [Island of St Helena] At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 September 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and Mathew Bazett second in council. Antipas Tovey, third in council, was absent through sickness. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke stated that under the Honourable Company's orders, and especially their last, he was required to enquire how far advanced the accountant's books stood. He found the books for the year 1716 nowhere near finished, which he was certain would not satisfy the Company. Mr Tovey, who had undertaken those books, was not present. The Governor therefore asked for an answer from Captain Bazett, who Interpretations The Governor's enquiry into the state of the 1716 accounts continued the audit pressure set in motion after George Haswell's death. The Company's recent orders required him to report how far the books had advanced, and he found them still far behind. Tovey had taken on those very books as accountant under the council reshuffle, making his absence through sickness a direct obstacle to the answer the Governor needed, the whole matter open since the report of 15 July 1718. The turn to Bazett for an answer in Tovey's absence shows authority over the accounts passing to whichever senior officer was at hand. With the accountant sick and the third council seat empty, the Governor pressed the deputy governor for the report instead. The exchange reveals how a two-man council kept the Company's demands moving when illness reduced its number.
416	409	September. who promised to overlook him. &c. Capt. Bazett says if they (meaning Mr. Tovey & the assistant) do's but go forward with the Books they may for that year be done by Christmas next, but if they don't go forward & neglect them, then they won't be done in that time. The Gov.r Says that the first Ship that comes here he will Endeavour all he can to gett a young man that writes a good hand that there may be more Assistance in the Accompt.t Office which he knows is wanted, and He is sorry there is Occasion to	Bazett had promised to oversee the work. Captain Bazett said that if Tovey and the assistant pressed on with the books, that year's accounts could be finished by next Christmas. If they let the work slip and neglected it, the books would not be done in that time. Governor Pyke said that with the first ship to arrive he would do everything he could to obtain a young man who wrote a good hand. This would give more help in the accountant's office, which he knew was needed. He was sorry to have to say it, but fresh help was plainly required where no one did anything. He thought Joseph Thomlinson alone nowhere near

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		Say it but fresh help must needs be wanted where no body do's any thing, for he thinks Joseph Thomlinson alone is not near sufficient to perform that business neither is He alone to be entirely alone to be Depended on. The Accountant not being present Capt. Bazett is desired to Transfer Such Bills as are this day brought, and as he thinks Proper to be Entered. The Governor Says that the Expenses of the General Table from the 25. Aug. 1718 to	sufficient to perform the business, nor was he a man to be entirely depended on by himself. With the accountant absent, Captain Bazett was asked to transfer such bills as had been brought in that day, and to enter those he thought proper. Governor Pyke said that the expenses of the general table from 25 August 1718 Interpretations Bazett's conditional forecast tied the completion of the 1716 books squarely to the diligence of the two men charged with them. The accounts could be done by Christmas only if Tovey and his assistant pressed on, and would fail if they slackened. The statement placed the responsibility for the delay on effort rather than circumstance, sharpening the council's earlier finding of neglect reported on 15 July 1718. Governor Pyke's plan to recruit a clerk off the first incoming ship reveals how the island filled skilled posts from passing Company vessels. Lacking a local supply of trained writers, the administration relied on the shipping route to deliver men who could keep accounts. The dependence on chance arrivals exposes the thinness of the island's clerical establishment. The Governor's open doubt about Joseph Thomlinson, named as a man not to be depended on alone, records a frank assessment of the office's weakness reaching into its personnel. Thomlinson's earlier indisposition had already been cited as a cause of the books falling behind. The Governor's judgement that one unreliable clerk could not carry the work explains the push for fresh help as a structural remedy rather than a complaint.
417	410	to the 25. of Sept. following Amounts to £s 79. 13. 10. &c. Mrs Elizabeth Haswell appeared with Messrs Gabriel Powd and James Greentree Appraisers and delivered the Inventory of Capt. George Haswells Estate both Real & Personal, Which they made Oath was appraised to the best of their Skill and Judgement. And the Widdow likewise made Oath that She had not Concealed, to the value of one farthing from them. Ordered That the Said Inventory be received and approved of Awordingly. Mary Swallow Widow brought this day her dec'd Husband Richard Swallows Last Will & Testam. In order of having the Same proved which was Awordingly done by the Oaths of Orlando Bagley, Thomas Southen and James Tessey. Wherefore. Ordered That the Said Will be received and Approved of by the Oaths aforesaid, and that the Same be Registered and Entered in the Consultation Book Awordingly, and Copys thereof given when desired. Awording	The expenses of the general table from 25 August 1718 to 25 September following came to £79 13s 10d. Elizabeth Haswell appeared with the appraisers Gabriel Powell and James Greentree. She delivered the inventory of Captain George Haswell's estate, both real and personal. The appraisers swore it had been valued to the best of their skill and judgement. The widow likewise swore that she had concealed nothing from them, down to the value of a farthing. The council ordered that the inventory be received and approved. Mary Swallow, a widow, brought in that day the will of her late husband Richard Swallow, seeking to have it proved. This was done on the oaths of Orlando Bagley, Thomas Southen and James Tovey. The council therefore ordered that the will be received and approved on those oaths. It was to be registered and entered in the consultation book, with copies given when desired. Interpretations The widow's oath that she had concealed nothing to the value of a farthing completed the authentication of the Haswell inventory. The appraisers vouched for the valuation while she swore to its completeness, the two oaths together closing off both undervaluation and concealment. The double safeguard was the requirement set when sole administration was granted to her at the consultation of 5 August 1718, the full inventory due by 2 September 1718. The appearance of Gabriel Powell as an appraiser of the Haswell estate places the island's largest private landholder in the routine machinery of probate valuation. His standing made him a natural choice to assess an estate of consequence. The role shows the same principal planters who dominated the census serving as the council's instruments for verifying the worth of others' property.
418	411	Septemb. r According to order of Council of the 23: Instant We have been and viewed the Sectrs Office and find the following Books	Following the council's order of 23 September, the secretary's office was viewed and the following books and papers found: Consultation books, numbered 1 to 15

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		and Papers. viz: Consultation Books from N.o 1 to 15. 2 old Books of Ord.rs & Instructions N.o A. & B. N.o C. 1. ditto -D. Letter Book from England &c E.F. 2. Old Books of Orders Abstracted. G. Letter Book to England. H. Letter Book from England. J. Instruction Book for Officers. K. Letter Book to England. L. 1. more Lett.r Book to England. M. 1. New Letter Book from England. N. 1. New Letter Book to England. W. 1. Book of Wills Inventories. Wills Secret Committees Letters General Letters. And all other Papers as is Mentioned in the Same manner & Order in Consultation of the 6.o Oct.r 1716. with the Same Remarks of Badness of the Books. [...]	2 old books of orders and instructions, marked A and B Marked C, 1 the same Marked D, letter book from England Marked E and F, 2 old books of orders, abstracted Marked G, letter book to England Marked H, letter book from England Marked I, instruction book for officers Marked K, letter book to England Marked L, 1 further letter book to England Marked M, 1 new letter book from England Marked N, 1 new letter book to England Marked W, 1 book of wills Inventories Wills Secret committee's letters General letters All other papers were listed in the same manner and order as in the consultation of 2 October 1716, with the same remarks on the poor condition of the books. Interpretations The lettered and numbered classification of the office's records shows a settled archival system distinguishing inward from outward correspondence. Separate series ran for letters from England and letters to England, alongside books of orders, instructions, wills and inventories. The scheme let the administration trace any class of document by its mark, imposing order on the Company's accumulating paper record. The separation of secret committee's letters from general letters records two distinct channels of correspondence with London. The secret committee handled the Company's confidential business, kept apart from ordinary administrative traffic. Maintaining the division at the island end preserved the confidentiality of sensitive instructions within the local filing system. The reference back to the inventory of 2 October 1716, repeating the same remarks on the books' poor condition, shows the office's records had stood in disrepair for two years without remedy. The inspectors found nothing improved since the earlier survey. The persistence of the same complaint frames the present audit as one more record of a long-standing failure to maintain the books.
419	412	Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 7.th day of Oct.r 1718. at Union Castle in James Valley. Pres.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r Govern.r Matth. Bazett. 2.d &c Antip: Tovey 3 in Coun.t Last Consultation read and Approved of. Mr. Antipas Tovey withdrew and left the following Letter with the Govern.r Worsh: S.r I am & have been ill Some time, & with Such a Sore Distemper that I think it not Safe to come to the Publick Table for fear any Else Should be Damaged thereby but as I am So well as to doe Some business I Desire You'd please to allow me either Victuals from the Table or a Consideration for it. 7.th Oct.r 1718. I am Worsh. S.r Yo.r Humble Serv.t Antipas Tovey. Ordered That untill Mr. Tovey be fitt to dine at the Publick Table it.th the Gov.r He be allowed two Shillings p day for his Dyett Margin Notes: Island S.t Helena.	[Island of St Helena] At a consultation held on Tuesday 7 October 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, with Mathew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. Antipas Tovey withdrew and left a letter with the Governor. In it he reported that he had been ill for some time with so severe a disorder that he thought it unsafe to come to the public table, for fear of harming anyone else. While he was well enough to do some business, he asked to be allowed either food from the table or an allowance in place of it. The letter was dated 7 October 1718 and signed by Antipas Tovey. The council ordered that until Tovey was fit to dine at the public table with the Governor, he be allowed 2s 0d per day for his diet. Interpretations Tovey's withdrawal from the public table on the ground that his disorder might harm others records a deliberate self-isolation for fear of contagion. He judged his illness severe enough to put fellow diners at risk, yet remained able to transact some business. The arrangement let the council keep a working councillor at a distance while acknowledging the danger of spreading his complaint.

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			The grant of 2s 0d a day in place of meals converted Tovey's table entitlement into a cash equivalent. A councillor's right to dine at the Governor's public table carried a calculable value, here commuted to a daily allowance while he stayed away. The substitution shows the council treating a customary perquisite as a fungible benefit that could be paid out when its holder could not take it in kind.
420	413	October. dyett and no more and this payment or allowance to commence from the time that he has been absent Untill Such time as it may be Safe to Eat and drink with him. &c M.rs Martha Robinson Widdow appeared this day w.th her dec.d Husband John Robinsons last Will & Testament in order of having the Same Proved which was Accordingly done by the Oaths of James Tessey Francis Pringe and Walter Morris. Ordered That the Said In.o Robinsons Last Will and Testam.t now produced be rec.d and Approved of Awordingly Re= gistered and Entered in the Consultation Book. Likewise the Said Widdow Robinson brought and Delivered Her dec.d Son Francis Stewards Last Will & Testament Desiring to have the Same Proved which was done Awordingly by the Oaths of Thom: Southen William Beale and Charles Steward. Ordered That the Said Francis Stewards	The 2s 0d a day was for his diet and no more. The payment was to begin from the time of his absence and continue until it was safe to eat and drink with him. Martha Robinson, a widow, appeared that day with the will of her late husband John Robinson, seeking to have it proved. This was done on the oaths of James Vesey, Francis Funge and Walter Morris. The council ordered that John Robinson's will now produced be received and approved, registered and entered in the consultation book. The widow Robinson likewise brought and delivered the will of her late son Francis Steward, asking to have it proved. This was done on the oaths of Thomas Southen, William Beale and Charles Steward. The council ordered that Francis Steward's Interpretations The same widow proving both her husband's and her son's wills in a single appearance shows two estates converging on one person as the surviving heir. Martha Robinson stood at the centre of both successions, presenting each will in turn for the council's approval. The sequence reveals how the death of multiple kin could concentrate the administration of several estates in a single survivor. The appearance of Charles Steward as a witness to Francis Steward's will points to the wider Steward family already prominent in the island's affairs through the Charles Steward estate. The shared surname links this probate to the substantial estate handled by Powell and Gurling as executors. The connection places the present will within a family whose property had repeatedly come before the council.
421	414	Stewards last Will & Testament now produced be rec.d and approved of by the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto, and Awordingly Registered & Entered in the Consultation Book. A Copy of which with the Said dec.d John Robinsons Will is as follows. (viz.t) In the Name of God Amen. I John Robinson of the Island S.t Helena being Sick & weak in Body but of Perfect mind & Memory all Praise & Glory be given to Almighty God for the same and knowing that nothing is more Certain then death, and nothing more Uncertain then the time when, Do make Constitute and Appoint this my Last Will and Testam.t in Manner & Form follow= ing, that is to Say first and Principally I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator hoping & assuredly beliving through the alone Merits of my blessed Lord & Saviour Jesus Christ after this life ended to Enjoy everlasting Bliss My Body I Commit to y.e Earth from whence it came to be buried in Christian like manner Awordingc as my Executrix hereaft.r named Shall think fitt, and as touching Such worldly Goods as it has pleased God out of his great Goodness to lend me do give and	The council ordered that Francis Steward's will now produced be received and approved on the oaths of its witnesses, and registered and entered in the consultation book. A copy of it, together with the will of the late John Robinson, followed. The will was made by John Robinson of the island. He described himself as sick and weak in body but of perfect mind and memory. He reflected that nothing is more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than its time, and on that ground declared this to be his last will, revoking any other. He first bequeathed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, in the hope and belief that through the merits of Jesus Christ he would enjoy everlasting bliss after this life. He committed his body to the earth, to be buried in Christian manner as his executrix should think fit. As to the worldly goods God had lent him, he proceeded to give Interpretations The appointment of an executrix, rather than an executor, places the administration of John Robinson's estate in the hands of a woman, almost certainly his widow Martha Robinson. She had brought the will forward for proof and would now carry out its terms. The choice reflects the island practice of widows administering their husbands' estates, the same pattern seen in the Haswell and Swallow probates of this sitting.
422	415	October. and dispose of the Same in the following manner and form.	The testator directed that he gave and disposed of his estate in the manner following. He gave to his beloved daughters Ann, Elizabeth and Mary Robinson one heifer calf each, being the first

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		Imp.s I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Daugh= =ters, Ann, Elizabeth, and Mary Robinson Each of them one Heifer Calf the first thats Calved after my decease to be put into a Distinct Mark with the Rest of the Cattle that the Said Child.rn has Already. Item After my debts Legacies and funeral Expences be fully Satisfyed I give to my Dear & Loving wife Martha Robinson whom I make Sole Executrix of this my last Will and Testament the remaining part of my Estate both Reale and Personal, Bills, Bonds, ready moneys &c. and all that I can lawfully Claim as mine She doing the best She can for the good of my beloved Children, making void all former Wills by me made, and Acknowledging and Confirming this to be my last Will & Testam.t In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seal this twentieth day of Aprill in the year of our Lord One Thousand Seven Hund.d & Eighteen Signed & Sealed in the presence of James Tessey Francis Pringe Walter Morris Jn.o Robinson [seal].	calved after his death. Each was to be put under a distinct mark, together with the rest of the cattle each child already held. After his debts, legacies and funeral charges were fully satisfied, he gave to his dear wife Martha Robinson, whom he made sole executrix, the remaining part of his estate, both real and personal. This included bills, bonds, ready money and all that he could lawfully claim as his own. She was to do the best she could for the good of his beloved children. He made void all former wills, acknowledging this as his last. He set his hand and seal on 20 April 1718. The will was signed and sealed by John Robinson in the presence of James Vesey, Francis Funge and Walter Morris. Interpretations The bequest of the first heifer calf born after death to each daughter, marked alongside their existing cattle, shows the testator building up his children's separate stock within the family herd. Each girl already held animals under her own mark, and the legacy added to that holding. The arrangement extended the island practice of giving children individual title to livestock that grazed together, recorded the same way in the Burnam will proved at the consultation of 16 September 1718. The residual gift to the wife as sole executrix, coupled with the charge to do the best she could for the children, gave her wide discretion over the whole remaining estate. She received the real and personal property outright while bound by a moral rather than legal duty toward the children. The structure trusted the widow to manage and divide the estate as their interests required, without fixing her to particular shares.
423	416	In the Name of God Amen. I Francis Steward of the Island S.t Helena being Sick and weak in Body but of Sound and Perfect mind and Memory all praise and Glory be given to Almighty God for the Same and knowing that nothing is more Certain then death, nor nothing more Uncer= =tain then the time, do make Constitute & Appoint this my Last Will & Testam.t in manner & Form following, that is to Say first and Principaly I bequeath my soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator hoping & assuredly beliving through the alone merrits of my Blessed Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ after this life ended to Enjoy Eternal Bliss. My body I Commit to the earth from whence it came to be buried in Christian manner As touching Such worldly goods as it has pleased God out of his Goodness to lend me I give and dispose of the same in manner and following forme Imp.s I give & bequeath unto my Dear and Loving Mother Martha Robinson five Acres of Land Hired of the Hon: Company lying behind Thom: Swallows Item I give and bequeath unto my well beloved Sisters Ann, Elizabeth and Mary Robinson Five Pounds and one Heifer to be put into a Distinct Mark	The will was made by Francis Steward of the island. He described himself as sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory. He reflected that nothing is more certain than death and nothing more uncertain than its time, and on that ground declared this to be his last will. He first bequeathed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, in the hope and belief that through the merits of Jesus Christ he would enjoy eternal bliss after this life. He committed his body to the earth, to be buried in Christian manner. As to the worldly goods God had lent him, he gave and disposed of them in the manner following. He gave to his dear mother Martha Robinson 5 acres of land hired from the Honourable Company, lying behind Thomas Swallow's. He gave to his beloved sisters Ann, Elizabeth and Mary Robinson £5 0s 0d and one heifer, to be put under a distinct mark. Interpretations The bequest of land hired from the Company shows the testator passing on a leasehold interest rather than freehold property. Francis Steward held the 5 acres as a Company tenant, and his will transferred that tenancy to his mother. The disposal confirms that even rented Company land carried an inheritable value the holder could devise, locating the parcel by reference to Thomas Swallow's adjoining ground. The convergence of this will with John Robinson's reveals the family structure behind the sitting's probates. Francis Steward names Martha Robinson as his mother and Ann, Elizabeth and Mary Robinson as his sisters, the same women provided for in John Robinson's will proved the same day. The shared beneficiaries show a blended family, Martha Robinson having children of two surnames now passing property between themselves.

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424	417	October. mark with the rest of the Said three Childrens Cattle. &c Item I give and bequeath Unto my beloved Nephew Richard Garling my part of a House at the Fort, and my part of ten Acres of Land formerly Churches, and Thirty five Pounds which is part of my dividend left by my father, with five head of Cattle, viz: two Bullocks One Heifer and two Steers. Item I give and bequeath unto my beloved Cousin Thomas Steward one Young Heifer. After my debts and Legacies & funeral Expences being fully Satisfyed, I give and bequeath Unto my well beloved Sister Martha Steward Ten Acres of Free Land given by my father, with my Book debts and the remaining part of my Cattle. Item I do ordain and appoint my Dear & Loving Mother Martha Robinson and my trusty friend Walter Morris Trustees of this my Last Will & Testam.t to see it fully performed, Revokeing and Disannuling all former Wills Acknowledging this to be my last Will & Testam.t In witness I have hereto Sett my hand & Seal this 6 day of June 1718. Signed Sealed & delivered in y.e presence of Francis Steward [seal]. Thomas Southen W.m Beale. Charles Steward.	The heifer was to be marked along with the rest of the three children's cattle. The testator gave to his beloved nephew Richard Gurling his part of a house at the Fort, and his part of 10 acres of land formerly Church's. He also gave him £35 0s 0d, being part of his dividend lost by his father, together with five head of cattle, namely two bullocks, one heifer and two steers. He gave to his beloved cousin Thomas Steward one young heifer. After his debts, legacies and funeral charges were fully satisfied, he gave to his beloved sister Martha Steward 10 acres of free land given by his father, together with his book debts and the remaining part of his cattle. He appointed his dear mother Martha Robinson and his trusted friend Walter Morris trustees of the will, to see it fully performed. He revoked all former wills, acknowledging this as his last. He set his hand and seal on 6 June 1718. The will was signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Thomas Southen, William Beale and Charles Steward. Interpretations The bequest of £35 0s 0d described as part of a dividend lost by the testator's father connects the legacy to a specific financial setback in the family's past. The sum represented the nephew Richard Gurling's portion of money the father had forfeited. Singling it out shows the testator restoring to the next generation a share of capital an earlier death or loss had put at risk. The distinction between land formerly Church's, free land given by the father, and the part-house at the Fort records three different tenures within one modest estate. The testator held property by purchase or grant from a former owner, by paternal gift as freehold, and as a fractional share of a Fort dwelling. The careful separation shows how island holdings accumulated through inheritance, sale and partition into composite portfolios. The appearance of a sister named Martha Steward, distinct from the mother Martha Robinson and from the Robinson sisters, points to a complex family of half-siblings across the Steward and Robinson names. The testator distributed property among kin of both surnames. The pattern confirms a household formed by remarriage, with the mother at its centre linking two sets of children.
425	418	Serjeant Will.m Slaughter made Complaint against Thomas Free for denying to Cancel a Writing he gave Mr. Griffith his Predecessor for the payment of a Lease he had for one Acre of Land, and tho' He has According to Contract fully performed his Agreement and paid the Rent yet Mr. Free refuses to give him a receipt for the money. Mr. Free appeared and Says that at the time Serj.t Slaughters Lease was Expired, He was to leave the Land well planted w.th Yams of half a years Growth, which he has not Performed. After Several Debates on both Sides. Mr. Free desires time to produce Witnesses to prove the Land was not planted According to Contract, and because he has some Urgent business He desires time till this day fortnight. Which is Granted him. Serj.t Slaughter Says Mr. Free has Acknow= =ledged, that he has fulfilled his Contract. Mr. Free Says he do's now Acknowledge that Serj.t Slaughter Told him that he had fulfilled his Said Contract, But yet is well assured that the Contract is not fulfilled. Capt. Bazett brought in & delivered the following	Sergeant William Slaughter complained against Thomas Free for refusing to cancel a writing he had given to Mr Griffith, Free's predecessor, for the payment of a lease on 1 acre of land. Slaughter claimed he had fully performed his agreement under the contract and paid the rent, yet Free refused to give him a receipt for the money. Mr Free appeared and answered that when Slaughter's lease expired, he was to leave the land well planted with yams of half a year's growth, which he had not done. After several exchanges on both sides, Free asked for time to produce witnesses to prove the land was not planted according to the contract. Having some urgent business, he asked for a fortnight, which the council granted. Sergeant Slaughter said that Free had acknowledged he had fulfilled his contract. Free answered that he now admitted telling Slaughter he had fulfilled the contract, but remained certain it was not fulfilled. Captain Bazett then brought in and delivered the following Interpretations The dispute turns on a lease condition requiring the tenant to surrender land planted with half-grown yams at the end of the term. Slaughter's obligation ran

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			beyond paying rent to leaving the ground in a cultivated state for the next holder. The clause shows island leases protecting the productive continuity of provision land, so that a departing tenant could not exhaust the soil and walk away. The writing Slaughter sought to have cancelled functioned as a security for performance of the lease, held by the landlord until the tenant discharged his obligations. Cancellation would release Slaughter from the bond, which is why Free's refusal mattered. The instrument let the landlord withhold formal acquittance until satisfied the planting condition was met, giving him leverage over a tenant claiming completion. Free's admission that he had told Slaughter the contract was fulfilled, coupled with his insistence that it was not, exposes the evidential difficulty the council faced. A landlord's prior acknowledgement could be read as a binding release, so Free needed witnesses to displace his own earlier words. The grant of a fortnight to gather proof shows the bench allowing a party to overcome an apparent admission with contrary evidence.
426	419	October. following Acco.t of Store Goods Sold & Deliv.r which was Examined & approved of, And Accordingly Ordered to be Entered. Island S.t Helena. A.o 1718. An Acco.t of Store Goods Sold & Delivered to the Inhabit.ts Union Castle & Plantation House from March the 25. to June the 25. following. Viz.t Arrack. 993¼ Gall at 6/3 p Gall cs s 310. 7½ 1¼ Gall at 6/4 7½ 310 14 11¼ Brandy. 160½ Gall at 3. p Gall 72. 4 6 Sygar. 2426. at. 8. p Gall 80 17 4 Sugar Candy. 252. at 12 p lb 14 12 - Tobacco. 633. at. 2. p lb 63. 8 - Pipes. 257. Doz. at 6 p Doz.n 6 8 6 Vinegar. 25¾ Gall. at. 2/6 3 4 1½ 11½ Gall. Wind.d. at 1/6 2 6 6 5 10 10½ Soane. 283¾. at. 17. p lb 18 12 11¼ Oyle. 18 Gall. Rape at. 6/1 5 8 - Gall. Linseed. 8. - 5 4 - 6½ Gall. Sweet. 12. - 3 15 - 14 10 - Tea. 2¼. at. 9. - p lb 10 16 - Cates all at p Cattee 4 4 - 14 17 - Coffee. 14. at. 2/6 p lb 1 15 - Pepper. 2 cs 2 - Starch. 22. at. 2. p lb 16 6 Canvas. 1 Bolt Holland's Duck 4 19 -	Captain Bazett brought in the following account of store goods sold and delivered, which was examined and approved and ordered to be entered. [Island of St Helena, 1718] An account of store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, Union Castle and Plantation House from 25 March to 25 June following: Arrack 993¼ gallons at 6s 3d per gallon £310 7s 2¼d Arrack 18 gallons at 6s 4d £7 1s 6d [subtotal] £310 14s 11¼d Brandy 160¼ gallons at 9s 0d per gallon £72 4s 6d Sugar 2,426 [pounds] at 8d per pound £80 17s 4d Sugar candy 292 [pounds] at 12d per pound £14 12s 0d Tobacco 633 [pounds] at 2d per pound £6 3s 8d Pipes 257 dozen at 6d per dozen £6 8s 6d Vinegar 25¾ gallons at 2s 6d £3 4s 4½d Vinegar 11½ gallons, wine, at 4s 6d £2 6s 6d [subtotal] £5 10s 10½d Soap 263¼ [pounds] at 17d per pound £18 12s 11¼d Oil 18 gallons rape at 6s 7d £5 8s 0d [...] Oil 13 gallons linseed at 8s 0d £5 4s 0d [...] Oil 6¼ gallons sweet at 12s 0d £3 15s 0d [...] [subtotal] £14 10s 0d [...] Tea 2½ [pounds] at 9s 0d per pound £10 16s 0d [...]

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		1 Bolt English d.o 3. 29'. 8 1 9 Carried Over £612 11 4	Cattle 2 head at £2 7s 0d per head £4 14s 0d [...] [subtotal] £14 17s 0d [...] Coffee 14 [pounds] at 2s 6d per pound £1 15s 0d Pepper 2 [pounds] £0 2s 0d [...] Starch 22 [pounds] at [...] per pound £1 6s 6d Canvas 1 bolt Holland duck £4 19s 0d [...] Canvas 1 bolt English duck £3 2s 0d [...] [subtotal] £8 1s 9d Carried over £612 11s 4d Interpretations The account separates spirits, provisions and manufactured goods supplied to three distinct destinations: the island's inhabitants, the garrison at Union Castle and the Governor's residence at Plantation House. Arrack alone accounted for over £310 0s 0d, by far the largest item, confirming its place as the dominant trade commodity passing through the store. The record fixes the quarterly draw on Company stocks across the settlement's civil and military households. Several of the goods would be unfamiliar to a modern reader. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in Asia, typically from palm sap or rice, imported in bulk through the Company's eastern trade and the staple drink of garrison and shipping alike. Sugar candy was crystallised sugar, a refined and costlier form than common sugar, here valued at 12d per pound against 8d for ordinary sugar. Holland duck and English duck were grades of strong canvas sailcloth, the bolt being a standard roll, used for sails, tenting and heavy outdoor cloth. The three oils - rape, linseed and sweet - served respectively for lamps and lubrication, for paint and preservation, and as the edible olive oil of the table. The differential pricing of two arrack entries at 6s 3d and 6s 4d per gallon shows the store recording goods drawn from separate parcels at their distinct cost. Rather than average the stock, the account kept each consignment at its own rate. The practice let the Company track the exact value realised on every batch as it was issued, the discipline of a trading post that priced its inventory by source.
427	420	Brought Over £612 11 4 Hooks & Lines. viz. 2 dozen Mackerill N.o 2. 0: 0: 6 doz.n ditto 0: 2: 1 doz.n Hooks 0: 8. 4 6½ doz.n ditto 10. 0: 13: - doz. Old wife d.o 4.d 1: 16: 4 doz. Hooks Old Cargo 1: 10 1 doz.n ditto 0: 2: 11 ½ doz.n ditto 0: 2: - 7 - 3 Lines N.o 7. at 0: 2: 6	Brought over £612 11s 4d Hooks and lines: 2 dozen mackerel, number 2 £0 0s 6d 5 dozen the same, number 3 £0 2s 1d 5 dozen hooks £0 8s 4d 6½ dozen the same, number 10 £0 13s [...] 109 dozen old-wife, number 4 and 8 £1 16s 4d 1 dozen hooks, old cargo £0 1s 10d 1 dozen the same £0 2s 11d ½ dozen the same £0 2s 0d [subtotal] £3 7s 0d

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		ditto. 8. 11. 0: 16: 6 ditto. 9. 13. 0: 2: 2 ditto. 11. 20. 0: 18. 4 ditto. 12. 27. 0: 4: 6 ditto. 13. 31. 1: 8: 5 3 12 5 6 19 5 Knives. 96. at. 6. Each 2 8 - Hosiers Ware viz 6 p.rs of Womens Socks 5 - 8 p.rs of Soldiers Stockings 4.d 15 - 4 p.rs Thread ditto 4/6 18 - p.rs Cotton ditto. 3/- 3 9 - 3 p.rs Scarlett ditto. 9/1 1 7 - 1½ p.rs Silk ditto 15 9 7 12 9 Druggetts Viz.t 38½ Y.ds Cloth at 4. p Yard 7 14 - Yards ditto 3. p Y.d 1 16 - 9 10 - Carried Over £639. 1. 6	3 lines, number 7, at 10d £0 2s 6d 18 the same, number 8 £0 16s 6d 2 the same, number 9 £0 2s 2d 11 the same, number 11 £0 18s 4d 2 the same, number 12 £0 4s 6d 11 the same, number 13 £1 8s 5d [subtotal] £3 12s 5d [total hooks and lines] £6 19s 5d Knives 96 at 6d each £2 8s 0d Hosier's ware: 6 pairs of women's socks £0 5s 0d 8 pairs of soldiers' stockings £0 18s 0d 4 pairs thread, the same, at 4s 6d £0 18s 0d 23 pairs cotton, the same, at 3s 0d £3 9s 0d 3 pairs scarlet, the same, at 9s 0d £1 7s 0d 1 pair silk, the same £0 15s 9d [total] £7 12s 9d Druggetts: 38½ yards both, at 4s 0d per yard £7 14s 0d 12 yards the same, at 3s 0d per yard £1 16s 0d [total] £9 10s 0d Carried over £639 1s 6d Interpretations Several goods in this account need explanation. The numbered hooks and lines were graded fishing tackle, the numbers marking size, with old-wife referring to a local fish the larger hooks were meant to take. Hosier's ware covered knitted stockings and socks in varied materials, from cheap thread and cotton up to costly scarlet and silk, the price gap showing the social range of the garrison and inhabitants supplied. Drugget was a coarse woollen cloth used for plain outer garments and floor covering, here sold by the yard in two grades. The fishing tackle entries reveal the island's dependence on the sea for food, the store supplying hooks and lines in bulk to inhabitants who fished its waters. Tackle ran to over £6 0s 0d across the two categories, a substantial provision of a consumable that wore out and was lost at sea. The record shows the Company outfitting the population for a fishery that supplemented the meat and provisions its land could yield.
428	421	Octobere. Brought over £639: 1 6 Broad Cloth Viz.t 5 Yards Black at. 13/16 3 12 7½ 6 Yards Black p Sump 15/8 4 14 - ¾ Yards Scarlett. 15/- 2 16 3 ¾ Yards Blew. 15/- 11 3 11 14 1½ Durants. 30½ Yards 2. 1/9 2 13 4½	Brought over £639 1s 6d Broadcloth: 5 yards black at 12s 6½d £3 12s 7½d 6¼ yards black, superfine, at 15s 8d £4 11s 0d ¾ yards scarlet at 15s 0d £2 16s 3d ¾ yard blue at 15s 0d £0 11s 3d [subtotal] £11 14s 1½d Durants 30½ yards at 1s 9d £2 13s 4½d

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		Plains. 22. M.rs 1/2 1 18 6 5 Nap.s Blankets 8.d 10 - 1 19 4 Ribbon viz. 10½ Yards. at 12 10 6 19 Yards. 2. 14 1 2 2 Yards. 2. 15 2 7 6 5 Yards. 18 7 6 7 8 Iron Mongers Ware viz. Stock Lock N.o 3 5 - ditto. 4 7 6 ditto. 6 10 - Rimd Closill Lock 3 4 Splinter Locks N.o 2 2 - ditto 2 4 Chest Locks. N.o 18 12 - Ditto 4 6 Hand Saw 6 - Ragg Stones 1 6 Ratt Trapp 1 6 Joyners Hatchett 1 6 Felling Axes 13 4 Iron Mong.rs Ware Carried over 3 13 4 Carried over £659 16 -	Pins 22 [...] at 4½d £1 18s 6d Blankets 5 pairs [...] £0 10s 0d [subtotal] £1 19s 4d Ribbon: 10½ yards at 12d £0 10s 6d 19 yards at 14d £1 2s 2d 38 yards at 15d £2 7s 6d 5 yards at 18d £0 7s 6d [subtotal] £4 7s 8d Ironmonger's ware: 1 stock lock, number 3 £0 5s 0d 1 the same, number 4 £0 7s 6d 1 the same, number 6 £0 10s 0d 1 rimmed closet lock £0 3s 4d 2 splinter locks, number 2 £0 2s 0d 1 the same £0 2s 4d 3 chest locks, number 18 £0 12s 0d 1 the same £0 4s 6d 1 hand saw £0 6s 0d 3 rag stones £0 1s 6d 1 rat trap £0 1s 6d 1 joiner's hatchet £0 4s 6d 4 felling axes £0 13s 4d Ironmonger's ware carried over £3 13s 4d Carried over £659 16s 0d Interpretations Several textiles here would be unfamiliar to a modern reader. Broadcloth was a fine, dense woollen cloth finished smooth, the superfine grade and the dyed scarlet commanding the highest prices in the account. Durant, sometimes called everlasting, was a hard-wearing glazed worsted used for linings and durable garments. The graded ribbon in four widths served trimming and fastening, the range of prices marking it as a small luxury available to inhabitants across the social scale. The locks supplied in numbered grades reveal a settlement concerned with securing property in a confined community. Stock locks, closet locks, chest locks and splinter locks each served a different fitting, from doors down to boxes and cabinets. The variety shows inhabitants buying the means to lock away goods and valuables, a routine demand the Company met from its store. The edge tools - felling axes, a joiner's hatchet, a hand saw and rag stones for sharpening - record the timber and construction needs of the island. Felling axes in particular point to the clearing of wood, the very consumption the council had tried to curb by cheapening coal at the consultation of 16 September 1718. The store thus supplied both the fuel substitute and the axes that depleted the island's trees.

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429	422	Brought Over £659 16 - Iron Mongers Ware Bro.t ov.r 3 13 8 Hedging Bill 2 - Grind Stones at. 4/4 8 8 Socketl Shovels 2. 2/6 7 6 Spade. N.o 1 5 3 Rete Bolt. N.o 3 7 Box Iron. 0: 3: 8 Heaters. 0: 1: 9 5 5 Ground Hoes at. 2/6 5 - Grubbing Axes. 2/8 5 4 pair Tide Hinges. 3/- 3 12 - Pick Axes 9. 11. 2. 8¾ 7 9½ 2 p.rs Stilliards. 8/3 16 6 Iron Potts 9. 207. at. 6 p lb 5 3 6 p.r Pott Hooks 2 - Ratt Trapp N.o 2 3 4 12 18 4½ Nayles. viz: cs 3. at 9 2 3 11 1 14 10 2 1 17 6 8½ 1 17 7½ 8 16 8 7½ 12 6 7 17 6 7½ 3 9 Scupp.t Nayles 2. 10¾ 8 9 2¾ Pump Nayles 20 1 7 2½ of Tacks 2. 20 1 2 8 10 1½ Carried Over £681 4 6	Brought over £659 16s 0d Ironmonger's ware brought over £3 13s 6d 1 hedging bill £0 2s 0d 2 grindstones at 4s 4d £0 8s 8d 3 socket shovels at 2s 6d £0 7s 6d 1 spade, number 1 £0 5s 3d 1 plate bolt, number 3 £0 0s 7d 1 box iron £0 3s 8d 2 heaters £0 1s 9d 2 ground hoes at 2s 6d £0 5s 5d 2 grubbing axes at 2s 8d £0 5s 4d 4 pairs tee hinges at 3s 0d £0 12s 0d 2 mick axes, number 11, at 8s 0d £0 7s 9¼d 2 pairs steelyards at 8s 3d £0 16s 6d 4 iron pots, number 207, at 6d [per pound] £5 3s 6d 1 pair pot hooks £0 2s 0d 1 rat trap, number 2 £0 3s 4d [subtotal] £12 18s 4½d Nails: 3 [thousand], number 3, at 9d £0 2s 3d 38 [thousand], number 4, at 11d £1 14s 10d 50 [thousand], number 6, at 9d £1 17s 6d 39 [thousand], number 10, at 8½d £1 7s 7½d 25 [thousand], number 20, at 8d £0 16s 8d 20 [thousand], number 24, at 7½d £0 12s 6d 30 [thousand], number 30, at 7½d £0 17s 6d 6 [thousand], number 20, at 7½d £0 3s 9d 10 [thousand] scupper nails at 10½d £0 8s 9d 2¾ [thousand] pump nails at 20d £0 4s 7d 2½ [thousand] tacks at 20d £0 4s 2d [subtotal] £8 10s 1½d Carried over £681 4s 6d Interpretations Several iron tools here served the island's cultivation and building. The hedging bill and grubbing axes were used to clear ground and grub out roots, while ground hoes and the spade prepared the soil for planting. The box iron and its heaters formed a laundry iron, the heaters being the iron slugs heated and slipped inside the hollow box. Mick axes, more usually mattock-axes, combined a cutting edge with a digging blade for breaking rough ground. The steelyards were portable weighing beams, used to weigh goods by a sliding counterpoise on a marked arm. Their presence in the store reveals the everyday

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			need to weigh produce and commodities across the settlement, the same instrument by which Governor Pyke proposed to weigh out pitch and tar at the consultation of 7 October 1718. Selling them to inhabitants spread the means of accurate measure beyond the Company's own stores. The nails were sold by the thousand in graded sizes, the numbers marking length and the price falling as the count rose. Building and ship repair on the island consumed nails in quantity, with specialised types such as scupper nails for deck drainage, pump nails and tacks each kept separately. The detailed gradation shows construction and maintenance forming a steady draw on the store, the iron itself an imported necessity on an island without its own supply.
430	423	Octobere. Brought Over £681. 4 6 Wooden Ware. 1 Seaming dish . 6 Indigo. 8. ounces at. 8½ 5 4 Needles. 400. at. 18 p.m 6 - doz.n Saild.o Wigd.o 9 6 15 6 Glass Ware viz.t Panes. 8 by 10. at. 14 1 19 8 6 Ditto. 6 by 8. at. 9 1 6 2 1 2 Ticklemburges. 18¼. at 14 p.d 2 1 2 3/8 Hessings. 8½ Y.ds. at 14.d.o 5 11 Double House Linnen. 39½ Y.ds 2/3 4 8 10½ Fustians. viz.t 3 p.r N.o 1. at. 30/6 4 11 6 1 p.r. 6 1 15 6 1 p.r. 7 1 1 8 - 6 p.r. 8. 21/6. 6 9 - 14 4 - Thicksetts. ½ N.o 2. at 1. 1 15 - White Corded Dimittes 3. 00/7 7 9 16 6 9 Braisers Ware. Viz.t Brass Scumer 5 - Tod Kettle 14 9 19 9 Pewterers Ware Viz.t 2 10/12 doz.n Spoons 2. 4: 6 p doz 12 9 Dish Cont.g 3¾ at 18 p lb 4 10½ Porringer 1 6 Basons 7 8 Soop Ladle	Brought over £681 4s 6d Wooden ware 1 scumming dish £0 0s 6d Indigo 8 ounces at 8d £0 5s 4d Needles 400 at 18d [per...] £0 6s 0d Needles 6 dozen, soldered, at 19d per dozen £0 9s 6d [subtotal] £1 5s 6d Glassware: 38 panes, 8 by 10, at 14d £1 19s 8d 6 panes, 8 by 8, at 9d £0 4s 6d [subtotal] £2 4s 2d Ticklenburgs 189 yards at 14d £1 17s 2d Hessens 8¾ yards at 14d £0 5s 11d Double house linen 39½ yards at 2s 3d £4 8s 10½d Fustians: 3 pieces, number 1, at 30s 6d £4 11s 6d 1 piece, number 6 £1 15s 0d 1 piece, number 7 £1 8s 0d 6 pieces, number 8, at 21s 6d £6 9s 0d [subtotal] £14 4s 0d Thicksets 1 piece, number 2 £1 15s 0d White corded dimity 3 [yards] at 2s 7d £0 7s 9d [subtotal] £16 6s 9d Brazier's ware: 1 brass skimmer £0 5s 0d 1 toad kettle £0 14s 9d [subtotal] £0 19s 9d Pewterer's ware: 2 10/12 dozen spoons at 4s 6d per dozen £0 12s 9d 1 dish cover, 3¼ [pounds] at 18d per pound £0 4s 10½d 1 porringer

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		3 3 Dishes at. 4/11 9 10 Ditto. 3/9 7 6 Ditto 2 11 2 10 3½ Carried over £716. 3 3	£0 1s 6d 2 basins £0 7s 8d 1 soup ladle £0 3s 3d 2 dishes at 4s 11d £0 9s 10d 2 the same at 3s 9d £0 7s 6d 1 the same £0 2s 11d [subtotal] £2 10s 3½d Carried over £716 3s 3d Interpretations The textiles in this account span a wide range of imported cloth unfamiliar to a modern reader. Ticklenburg was a coarse, cheap linen used for sacking, slops and rough garments, while hessen was a similar coarse linen taking its name from Hesse. Fustian was a stout cotton-linen blend with a brushed surface, sold here by the numbered piece, and thickset a heavy ribbed fustian closer to corduroy. Dimity was a fine corded cotton for bed furnishings and lighter dress. Double house linen was a quality grade of household linen, the most expensive cloth per yard in the list. The window glass sold in two standard sizes records the construction of glazed buildings on the island. Panes of 8 by 10 inches and 8 by 8 inches were supplied for fitting into window frames, the larger commanding the higher price. The demand shows inhabitants and the Company finishing dwellings to a settled standard rather than relying on shutters alone. The pewter, brass and the dish cover priced by weight reveal how metal household goods were valued partly as recoverable material. The dish cover at 18d per pound was costed on its metal content, since worn pewter could be melted and recast. The store stocked a full table service of spoons, dishes, basins, a porringer and a ladle, supplying the domestic wares a remote settlement could not make for itself.
431	424	Brought over £716: 3 3 Tinn Ware. Viz.t Porringer 5 ditto. at 7d 1 9 ditto 9 quart. Sauce Pans 2. 14 5 10 three Pint ditto. 20 3 4 two Quart 2.to 27 -1 - 3 Pint ditto 9 Cullander 2 6 Coffee Pott 1 2 Funnills 10 Round Pudding Pann 1 2 ditto. at. 2/7 7 9 ditto 3 4	Brought over £716 3s 3d Tin ware: 1 porringer £0 0s 5d 3 the same at 7d £0 1s 9d 1 the same £0 0s 9d 5 quart sauce pans at 14d £0 5s 10d 2 three-pint the same at 20d £0 3s 4d 9 two-quart the same at 27d £1 0s 3d 1 pint the same £0 0s 9d 1 colander £0 2s 6d 1 coffee pot £0 1s 2d 2 funnels £0 1s 10d 1 round pudding pan £0 1s 2d 3 the same at 2s 7d £0 7s 9d 1 the same £0 3s 4d 2 dripping pans £0 8s 8d [subtotal] £2 18s 6d White lead

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		Dripping Panns 8 8 2 18 6 White Lead 2t - 10 6 Black Silk Hoods Viz: N.o 1. at. 9/- 18 - 13/6 2 - 6 15/- 3 15 - 6 13 6 2 Scarves. at. 27/-. 2 14 - 9 7 6 Norwich Stuffs viz: 1 p.r. 2 1 - ½ piece Mixt Crape 2 - - 4 1 - Bodice. 1 pair at 13 - Shoes. Viz.t pair Girls Turkey Leath: 4/9 19 - p.r Womens Spanish. 6/2 1 17 - p.r Boys ditto 2 4 2 18 4 Carried Over £736 12 1	21 [pounds] £0 10s 6d Black silk hoods: 2, number 1, at 9s 0d £0 18s 0d 3, number 2, at 13s 6d £2 0s 6d 5, number 3, at 15s 0d £3 15s 0d [subtotal] £6 13s 6d 2 scarves at 27s 0d £2 14s 0d [subtotal] £9 7s 6d Norwich stuffs: 1 piece £2 1s 0d 1½ piece mixed crape £2 0s 0d [subtotal] £4 1s 0d Bodices 1 pair £0 13s 0d Shoes: 4 pairs girls' Turkey leather at 4s 9d £0 19s 0d 6 pairs women's Spanish at 6s 2d £1 17s 0d 1 pair boy's the same £0 2s 4d [subtotal] £2 18s 4d Carried over £736 12s 1d Interpretations The textiles and finished goods on this page reveal a settlement supplied with fashionable as well as practical wares. Norwich stuffs were fine worsted cloths from Norwich, then the centre of the English worsted trade, sold by the piece for dress. Crape was a thin crimped silk or worsted, the mixed grade here combining fibres, used for mourning and light garments. The black silk hoods and silk scarves confirm a market for costly accessories among island women. The graded footwear distinguishes leather and origin in a way that fixed both quality and price. Turkey leather shoes for girls and Spanish leather shoes for women drew on the reputations of those leathers, Spanish in particular prized for its softness and finish. The store thus carried imported shoes sized for children and adults alike, a finished manufacture the island could not produce. White lead was a lead carbonate pigment, the basis of white paint and a component of putty for glazing. Sold here by the pound, it complemented the window glass entered earlier in the account at the consultation of 7 October 1718. Together the glass, putty material and paint show inhabitants finishing and maintaining glazed buildings from the Company's store.
432	425	October. Brought Over £736 12 1 Stationary Ware viz.t Quires of Paper at. 16 1 16 - Testaments 3 6 Spelling Book 1 8 2 1 2 Hatts Viz.t Boys N.o 1. at 6/- 18 - ditto. 2. 6/6 2 5 6	Brought over £736 12s 1d Stationery ware: 27 quires of paper at 16d £1 16s 0d 2 testaments £0 3s 6d 1 spelling book £0 1s 8d [subtotal] £2 1s 2d Hats: 3 boys', number 1, at 6s 0d £0 18s 0d 7 the same, number 2, at 6s 6d £2 5s 6d 4 the same, number 3, at 8s 3d £1 13s 0d

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		ditto. 3. 8/3 1 13 - 11 Mens ditto N.o 1. 12/6 6 17 6 d.to Beaver. 5. 20/- 2 - - d.to Laced 1 7 - 15 1 - Soldiers Cloaths. viz.t p.r Breeches 2 8 3 Waste Coale 9 4 17 7 Lace Edgeing viz: Yards at. 13/4 6 8 ¼ Yard. at 2 4 9 - Indian Linnin viz.t 12 p.t Gurrhas. at 12/6 7 10 - 16 p.c Neelas. 9/9 7 16 - 1 p.c Blew Gurrhas 13 - 2 p.c Neckcloths at 32/10 3 5 8 Neckcloths at 2/9 ea. 5 12 9 24 17 5 1 p.r Bengall Gingham 19 9 Long Cloth. 30 p.c Coarse. 30 - 23 p.t Midling. 31. 1. - p.t fined.to 56 6 - 117 1 6 Carried over £897. 9. 6	11 men's the same, number 4, at 12s 6d £6 17s 6d 2 the same, beaver, number 5, at 20s 0d £2 0s 0d 1 the same, laced £1 7s 0d [subtotal] £15 1s 0d Soldiers' clothes: 1 pair breeches £0 8s 3d 1 waistcoat £0 9s 4d [subtotal] £0 17s 7d Lace edging: 2 yards at 3s 4d £0 6s 8d 4 yards £0 2s 4d [subtotal] £0 9s 0d Indian linen: 12 pieces gurrahs at 12s 6d £7 10s 0d 16 pieces neelas at 9s 9d £7 16s 0d 1 piece blue gurrahs £0 13s 0d 2 pieces neckcloths at 32s 10d £3 5s 8d 41 neckcloths at 2s 9d each £5 12s 9d [subtotal] £24 17s 5d 1 piece Bengal gingham £0 9s 9d Long cloth: 30 pieces coarse £30 0s 0d 23 pieces middling at 31s 1d £31 1s 0d 27 pieces fine at 56s 0d £56 6s 0d [subtotal] £117 1s 6d Carried over £897 9s 6d Interpretations The Indian linens form the most valuable section of the account, reflecting the Company's eastern trade. Gurrahs were a plain coarse cotton cloth from Bengal, neelas a blue-dyed cotton, both staples of the India trade named in the bill by their Indian terms. Long cloth was a length of plain white cotton calico graded coarse, middling and fine, the fine grade alone reaching £56 0s 0d. Bengal gingham was a checked or striped cotton from Bengal. These Indian textiles passed through the island as goods of the Company's principal commerce, sold on to inhabitants far from their source. The graded hats priced by numbered quality reveal a market spanning the whole social order. Boys' hats at 6s 0d rose through men's at 12s 6d to a beaver hat at 20s 0d and a laced hat dearer still. Beaver hats, made from felted beaver fur, were the costliest everyday headwear, the laced hat trimmed for display. The range shows the store dressing heads from schoolboy to gentleman. The stationery entry of paper, two testaments and a spelling book points to schooling and literacy on the island. The spelling book in particular was a primer for teaching children to read. Its single sale alongside the testaments shows the store quietly supplying the materials of basic education in a small remote community.
433	426	Brought Over £897. 9 6 Shirts. viz.t White. at. 2/6	Brought over £897 9s 6d Shirts: 4 white at 2s 6d

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		10 - 255. ditto. 2/8 256. 34 - - 257. Ginghamd.to 1/6 258. 16 17 6 51 7 6 Chints. 6 p.s Vattney at. 22. Ea.t 6 12 - p.s Maddrass 20. 6 49 4 - 55 16 - Maddrass Gingham viz: 2 p.s N.o 3. 9/9 19 6 p.s. 10/- 160 - - 160 19 6 322 Musline 22½ p.c at. 37/6 42 3 9 China Bowles. 35. at. 3/- 5 5 - Threads Viz.t Ounces. at 9 p oz 6 - ounces. at 11 5 6 Ounces. 2. 13 1 4 11 ounces. 2. 15 1 - - Ounces 2. 17 2 10 Ounce 2 - Ounces 2. 40 13 4 3 14 7 Buttons Viz.t 36½ doz.n Coate at. 12 as 1 16 6 doz.n Brest. d.to 16 - 2 12 6 Mohair. 17. Ounces at 20 p oz 1 8 4 Beef One Puncheon 18 - - Carried over £1238 16 8	£0 10s 0d 255 the same at 2s 8d £34 0s 0d 75 gingham the same at 4s 6d £16 17s 6d [subtotal] £51 7s 6d Chintz 6 pieces Patna at 22s each £6 12s 0d Chintz 48 pieces Madras at 20s 6d £49 4s 0d [subtotal] £55 16s 0d Madras gingham: 2 pieces, number 3, at 9s 9d £0 19s 6d 320 pieces at 10s 0d £160 0s 0d [total 322 pieces] £160 19s 6d Muslin 22½ pieces at 37s 6d £42 3s 9d China bowls 35 at 3s 0d £5 5s 0d Thread: 8 ounces at 9d per ounce £0 6s 0d 6 ounces at 11d £0 5s 6d 23 ounces at 13d £1 4s 11d 16 ounces at 15d £1 0s 0d 2 ounces at 17d £0 2s 10d 1 ounce £0 2s 0d 4 ounces at 40d £0 13s 4d [subtotal] £3 14s 7d Buttons: 36½ dozen coat at 12d £1 16s 6d 32 dozen breast the same £0 16s 0d [subtotal] £2 12s 6d Mohair 17 ounces at 20d per ounce £1 8s 4d Beef 1 puncheon £18 0s 0d Carried over £1,238 16s 8d Interpretations The Indian cottons dominate this section as they did the last, marking the Company's eastern trade at the heart of the store's stock. Chintz was a painted or printed cotton calico, the named varieties from Patna and Madras distinguishing their place of manufacture. Madras gingham and the muslin, a fine sheer cotton, came likewise from India in large quantity, 322 pieces of gingham alone reaching nearly £161 0s 0d. These goods passed through the island as the staple of Company commerce, sold on to a population that could buy what the homeward ships carried. The buttons, thread and mohair record the materials of garment-making among inhabitants who made and mended their own clothes. Coat buttons and breast buttons were sold by the dozen, thread by the ounce in graded fineness, and mohair, a yarn of Angora goat hair, used for trimming and button-covering. The store supplied the components of tailoring rather than only

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			finished garments, supporting domestic needlework across the settlement. The single puncheon of beef valued at £18 0s 0d stands out as the one provision among a list otherwise of cloth and hardware. A puncheon was a large cask, and salted beef in such bulk was a staple ration for garrison and shipping. Its appearance among imported manufactures shows the store mixing preserved food with dry goods, victualling the island alongside clothing and equipping it.
434	427	October. Brought Over £1238 16 8 Combs Viz.t Box at. 6. Ea. 3 - Horne. d.o 5 ditto 7 Comb brushes 1 4 5 4 Blanketts. viz.t ditto least Size at. 7/9 1 11 - ditto. 2.d Size 9 6 ditto. 3.d Size. 14/3 2 16 3 4 16 9 Total to the Inhabitants 1243 18 9 Fort D.r to Store Goods for the Same time before Mentioned viz:t &c. Arrack 214¼ Gall. at. 6/3 66 19 6¾ Sugar. 385 at. 8½ p lb 9 Pints at 9½ p pt 12 16 8½ Rice 4036. at. 3¾ p lb 58 17 2 Vinegar. 24¾. at 2/6 3 1 6 Pepper. 8 8 - Tea. 16¼. at 9/- 7 6 3 Ditto 7 Cattees 3 3 - Soape. 108¾. at. 17. p lb 7 14 ¾ Madera Wine. 18 Gall at. 5 4 10 - Coffee. 23½. 2. 2/6 2 17 6 Oyles viz.t 2¾ Gall. of Rape. 6: 14: 3 11½ Gall. Sweet. 6: 19: 6 Gall. Linseed. 0: 16: 14 9 9 Carried over £182 10 7 1243 18 9	Brought over £1,238 16s 8d Combs: 6 box at 6d each £0 3s 0d 1 horn the same £0 0s 5d 1 the same £0 0s 7d 2 comb brushes £0 1s 4d [subtotal] £0 5s 4d Blankets: 4 the same, least size, at 7s 9d £1 11s 0d 1 the same, second size £0 9s 6d 5 the same, third size, at 11s 3d £2 16s 3d [subtotal] £4 16s 9d Total to the inhabitants £1,243 18s 9d The Fort, debtor to store goods for the same period before mentioned: Arrack 214¼ gallons at 6s 3d, and 2 pints at 9¼d per pint £66 19s 6¾d Sugar 385 [pounds] at 8d per pound £12 16s 8d Rice 4,036 [pounds] at 3½d per pound £58 17s 2d Vinegar 24¾ gallons at 2s 6d £3 1s 6d Pepper 8 [pounds] £0 8s 0d Tea 16¼ [pounds] at 9s 0d £7 6s 3d Tea 7 catties the same £3 3s 0d Soap 108¾ [pounds] at 17d per pound £7 14s ¾d Madeira wine 18 gallons at 5s 0d £4 10s 0d Coffee 23½ [pounds] at 2s 6d £2 17s 6d Oils: 24¼ gallons of rape £6 14s 3d 11½ gallons sweet £6 19s 6d 2 gallons linseed £0 16s 0d [subtotal] £14 9s 9d Carried over £182 10s 7d / £1,243 18s 9d

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			Interpretations The account divides into two ledgers, the first totalling goods sold to the inhabitants at £1,243 18s 9d, the second opening a separate charge against the Fort. The garrison drew its own arrack, sugar, rice, tea and oils as a distinct account from the civilian population. The dual structure shows the Company keeping the military establishment's consumption apart from the inhabitants' purchases, each set down against its own debtor so the cost of the garrison could be reckoned on its own. The catty appears as a unit alongside the pound in the tea entries, betraying the goods' eastern origin. A catty was a Chinese weight of roughly a pound and a third, used in the China trade from which the tea came. Its survival in the island's store account shows the Company carrying the measures of its source markets into its own bookkeeping, the tea weighed as it had been bought in Canton. Rice in bulk of over 4,000 pounds marks a staple of the garrison's diet drawn from the Company's Asian trade. Unlike the island's own provisions of yams and meat, rice was imported in quantity to feed soldiers and shipping. Its prominence in the Fort's account confirms the dependence of the military establishment on goods the homeward and outward ships supplied.
435	428	Brought Over £1243 18 9 Fort Goods Bro.t Over 182 10 7 Iron Mongers Ware viz.t Stock lock N.o 3. 0: 5: - Ditto. 4. 0: 7: 6 Ditto. 5. 0: 10: - Ditto. 6. 0: 10: - Ditto. 7. 0: 14: - Sokkett Shovels. 1: 5: - p.r H. Hinges. 0: 10: 4 4 0 10 Nayles viz.t & cs 6 inch w.tto at 6¾. 0: 7: 3 of 30. 7. 0: 4: 1 7½. 0: 4: 4½ 0: 14: 8 8½. 1: 16: 1½ 0: 10: 6 0: 19: 3 0: 6: 5 5 2 8 Brass Ware. 1. Lamp 3 11 Tea Kettle 15 - Glass Ware viz.t Panes. 6. by 8. at 9.d 0: 15: - ditto. 8. by 10. 14. 4. 4: 8 Muggs 2. 18d &co 5.d 0: 11: 11 Decant. 2: 14. ae 5 15 7 Knives. 4. at. 6. Ea. 2 - Long Cloth. 9 p.t Coarse. 9: 0: 0 p.t fine. 6: 4: 6 15 4 6 Carried over £213 16 1 1243 18 9	Brought over £1,243 18s 9d Fort goods brought over £182 10s 7d Ironmonger's ware: 1 stock lock, number 3 £0 5s 0d 1 the same, number 4 £0 7s 6d 1 the same, number 5 £0 10s 0d 1 the same, number 6 £0 10s 0d 1 the same, number 7 £0 14s 0d 10 socket shovels £1 5s 0d 4 pairs H hinges £0 10s 4d [subtotal] £4 1s 10d Nails: 20 [thousand] of 6-inch, white, the same, at 6¾d £0 7s 3d 7 [thousand] of 30, at 7d £0 4s 1d 7 [thousand] of 24, at 7½d £0 4s 4½d 22 [thousand] of 20, at 8d £0 14s 8d 51 [thousand] of 10, at 8½d £1 16s 1½d 14 [thousand] of 6, at 9d £0 10s 6d 21 [thousand] of 4, at 11d £0 19s 3d 7 [thousand] of 2, at 11d £0 6s 5d [subtotal] £5 2s 8d Brass ware 1 lamp £0 3s 11d 1 tea kettle £0 15s 0d Glassware: 20 panes, 6 by 8, at 9d £0 15s 0d 76 the same, 8 by 10, at 14d £4 4s 8d

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			3 mugs at 2s 10d £0 11s 11d 2 decanters at 2s 14d [...] [subtotal] £5 15s 7d Knives 4 at 6d each £0 2s 0d Long cloth: 9 pieces coarse £9 0s 0d 3 pieces fine at 6s 4d £6 4s 6d [subtotal] £15 4s 6d Carried over £213 16s 1d / £1,243 18s 9d Interpretations The Fort's separate account mirrors the categories of the inhabitants' ledger but supplies the garrison's own building and household needs. Locks, shovels, hinges and nails in graded sizes point to construction and repair within the fortifications, the nails alone running to over £5 0s 0d. The duplication of goods already sold to inhabitants, now charged to the Fort, confirms the Company's practice of reckoning the military establishment's stores against its own debtor, recorded across the consultations of October 1718. The window glass charged to the Fort in two sizes records the glazing of military buildings. Panes of 6 by 8 and 8 by 10 inches, totalling nearly a hundred, fitted the fort's windows alongside the mugs and decanters of its mess. The scale shows the garrison maintaining glazed and furnished quarters rather than bare defensive works, drawing the same finished goods as the civilian households. The reappearance of long cloth in the Fort's account, the plain white Indian calico graded coarse and fine, marks the garrison's draw on the Company's eastern textiles. The cloth served for shirts, linings and general use among the soldiers. Its presence confirms that the military establishment, like the inhabitants, depended on the India trade for the cloth a remote island could not make.
436	429	October. Brought Over £1243 18 9 Fort Goods Bro.t Over 213 16 1 Saunoos. 1 p.c 15 2 Gurrhaes. 1 p.c 12 6 Salempores blue 4 p.t at. 6/- 4 4 - Ticklembergs. 15. Y.ds 2. at 14 17 6 Fustians viz: p.c N.o 4. at 29/- 5: 16: - p.c. 7. 28/- 4: 4: - 10 - - Broad Cloth. 11 Y.ds Purple 15. 8 5 - Pewter. 2. Stands 2. 3/3 6 6 Iron Ware. 12. Dutch rings at. 0: 5: 4 ditto. 0: 2: 0 7 4 Hooks & Lines viz.t doz. Old wife Hooks. 0: 6: - doz. Hooks N.o 12. 0: 7: - Lines N.o 8. 13. 0: 11: - 1 4 - Thimbles 6 Starch. 7½. 2. 9	Brought over £1,243 18s 9d Fort goods brought over £213 16s 1d Saunoos 1 piece £0 15s 2d Gurrhaes 1 piece £0 12s 6d Salampores blue, 4 pieces at 6s 0d [...] £4 4s 0d Ticklenburgs 15 yards at 14d £0 17s 6d Fustians: 4 pieces, number 4, at 29s 0d £5 16s 0d 3 pieces, number 7, at 28s 0d £4 4s 0d [subtotal] £10 0s 0d Broadcloth 11 yards purple at 15s 0d £8 5s 0d Pewter 2 stands at 3s 3d £0 6s 6d Iron ware 12 Dutch rings at [...] £0 5s 4d Iron ware

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		5 7½ Flour. 115. 2. 3½ 1 13 6½ Corks. 4½ Grs. at 3. p Grs. 13 6 Beef. 4. Puncheons 2. 18 2. 72 - Total to the Fort £315 1 3 Carried Over £1559 - -	6 the same £0 2s 0d [subtotal] £0 7s 4d Hooks and lines: 18 dozen old-wife hooks £0 6s 0d 3 dozen hooks, number 10 £0 7s 0d 12 lines, number 8, at 13d £0 11s 0d [subtotal] £1 4s 0d 6 thimbles £0 0s 6d Starch 7½ [pounds] at 9d £0 5s 7½d Flour 115 [pounds] at 3½d £1 13s 6½d Corks 4½ gross at 3s per gross £0 13s 6d Beef 4 puncheons at £18 0s 0d £72 0s 0d Total to the Fort £315 1s 3d Carried over £1,559 0s 0d Interpretations The Indian cottons charged to the Fort name several varieties from the Company's eastern trade. Saunoes and salampores were plain cotton cloths from the Coromandel coast, salampores often dyed blue as here, while gurrahs were the coarse Bengal cotton seen earlier in the account. These goods, sold to the garrison as to the inhabitants, confirm that Indian textiles supplied the whole settlement's cloth, the soldiers drawing the same imported calicoes as the civilian households across the consultations of October 1718. The four puncheons of beef at £72 0s 0d form by far the largest single charge against the Fort, dwarfing every other item. Salted beef in bulk casks was the staple ration of the garrison, a provision the island could not supply from its own cattle in sufficient quantity. The scale of the charge reveals how much of the military establishment's cost lay in imported preserved food rather than equipment or cloth. The Dutch rings among the iron ware point to fittings of Continental manufacture reaching the island through the Company's trade. Their separate entry, distinct from the English ironmongery, shows the store stocking hardware of varied origin. The detail confirms that the island's supply drew not only on English and Indian goods but on whatever the wider maritime trade could deliver to a remote provisioning station.
437	430	Brought Over £1559 - - To the Plantation House viz: Arrack. 9. Gall.s at. 6/3 p Gall. 2 16 3 Sugar. 28. cs 2. 8. p lb 18 8 Soape. 6. cs 2. 17 8 6 Iron Mong.rs Ware viz: Joyners Hatchett. 0: 4: 6 Stock Lock N.o 5. 0: 10: - Pick axes w.tt cs 108. 2. 8¼. 3: 16: 6 Grind Stone. 0: 10: - Sockett Shovells. 0: 15: - Spades. N.o 1. 0: 10: 6 ditto. 2. 0: 11: 8 Broad Hoes. 2. 2/8. 0: 5: 4	Brought over £1,559 0s 0d To the Plantation House: Arrack 9 gallons at 6s 3d per gallon £2 16s 3d Sugar 28 [pounds] at 8d per pound £0 18s 8d Soap 6 [pounds] at 17d £0 8s 6d Ironmonger's ware: 1 joiner's hatchet £0 4s 6d 1 stock lock, number 5 £0 10s 0d 24 pickaxes, weight 108 [pounds], at 8½d

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		Hoes. 2/6. 0: 15: - Iron pott w.tt cs 52. 1: 6: - 9 4 6 Nayles. Viz.t cs of. 4.d at 11. 0: 11: 11 of. 6. 9. 0: 10: 6 of. 20. 7½. 0: 11: 10½ 0: 1: 2 Flooring Brads. 9. 0: 7: 6 2 2 11½ Knives. 24. 2. 6.as Ea. 2 12 - Glass. 14 Panes 8. by. 10. 14 16 4 Total to Plantation House £16 19 2½ Sume Totall £1575 19 2½ Total to the Inhabitants cs 1 as 1243 18 9 to the Fort 315 4 3 to Plantation House 16 19 2½ 1575 19 2½	£3 16s 6d 1 grindstone £0 10s 0d 6 socket shovels £0 15s 0d 2 spades, number 1 £0 10s 6d 2 the same, number 2 £0 11s 8d 2 broad hoes at 2s 8d £0 5s 4d 6 hoes at 2s 6d £0 15s 0d 1 iron pot, weight 52 [pounds] £1 6s 0d [subtotal] £9 4s 6d Nails: 13 [thousand] of 4, at 11d £0 11s 11d 14 [thousand] of 6, at 9d £0 10s 6d 19 [thousand] of 20, at 7½d £0 11s 10½d 2 [thousand] of 30, at 7d £0 1s 2d 10 [thousand] flooring brads at 9d £0 7s 6d [subtotal] £2 2s 11½d Knives 24 at 6d each £0 12s 0d Glass 14 panes, 8 by 10, at 14d £0 16s 4d Total to the Plantation House £16 19s 2½d June total £1,575 19s 2½d Total to the inhabitants £1,243 18s 9d To the Fort £315 1s 3d To the Plantation House £16 19s 2½d [grand total] £1,575 19s 2½d Interpretations The account closes by drawing the three ledgers together into a single quarterly reckoning of £1,575 19s 2½d. Goods to the inhabitants, the Fort and the Governor's residence at Plantation House are each totalled separately, then summed. The structure shows the Company tracking the consumption of the civil population, the military garrison and the government household as distinct accounts, a discipline that let each charge be reckoned and reported on its own across the consultations of October 1718. The Plantation House account is dominated by cultivation tools rather than household goods. Twenty-four pickaxes, six socket shovels, four spades, eight hoes and a grindstone point to ground-breaking and planting on the Company's own estate. The concentration of digging implements reveals Plantation House as a centre of agricultural production, the Governor's residence drawing the equipment to clear and work its land rather than merely to furnish a dwelling. The flooring brads among the Plantation House nails record building or repair to the residence itself. Brads were small headless nails used to fix floorboards, a fitting distinct from the general nails issued for rough construction. Their presence shows finished joinery being maintained at the Governor's house, a standard of building above the bare necessities supplied elsewhere in the account.

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438	431	October. The Gunner brought in & delivered the two following Acco.ts which were Ex= =amed and approved of. An Acco.t of Gunners Stores Expended from the 5. day of August 1718, to the 33.tto ditto Exclusive. 1718 Fal. Pow.r Aug. 13.th An Alarm 4 4 ditto Arrived the <i>Princess Emelia</i> from England 7 7 30.th For y.e Worsh. the Gov.r coming from on Board the <i>Princess Emelia</i> 11 11 To the Guard to Kill Hogs 1 - For Exerciseing the Garrison 6 Musquett Balls for y.e Guard to kill Hogs cs 2 - Cartridge Paper Qr 3 - Spunge Staves 1 - Flints 24 - Match 28 - 28 24. 1 3 2 22 34. (Signed) Jn.o French. [...]	The gunner brought in and delivered the two following accounts, which were examined and approved. An account of gunner's stores expended from 1 August 1718 to 31 August 1718 exclusive: 13 August, an alarm 4 pounds [of powder] 13 August, arrived the <i>Princess Amelia</i> from England 7 pounds [of powder] 30 August, for the worship the Governor coming from aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i> 11 pounds [of powder] To the guard to kill hogs 1 pound [of powder] For exercising the garrison 6 pounds [of powder] Musket balls for the guard to kill hogs 2 [...] Cartridge paper 3 quires Sponge staves 1 Flints 24 Match 28 pounds Totals 28 pounds of match, 24 flints, 1 sponge staff, 3 quires of cartridge paper, 2 [...] of musket balls and 34 pounds of powder Signed, John French. Interpretations The musket balls and powder issued to the guard to kill hogs show the garrison's firearms turned to provisioning. The hogs were part of the Company's own stock, shot for meat using the magazine's ammunition. The entries reveal the soldiers supplying the table from the island's livestock, the cost of slaughter logged against the gunner's stores like any military expenditure. The arrival of the <i>Princess Amelia</i> from England on 13 August 1718, marked by a 7-pound salute, fixes the ship's appearance at the island under Captain John Misenor. The vessel's unloading later became the subject of a demurrage dispute protested at the consultation of 2 September 1718. Her saluted arrival here records the start of the visit that the council's protest would close. The sponge staff among the stores records equipment for servicing the fort's cannon. A sponge staff was the pole used to swab a gun barrel between firings, clearing residue before reloading. Its issue alongside powder and shot shows the artillery maintained as a system, the tools of safe loading supplied with the ammunition itself.
439	432	An Acco.t of Gunners Stores Expend. from the first of Septemb.r 1718 to the 30.th ditto Inclusive. Viz.t 1718 Fal. Pow.r Sept.r 2. For a Gen.t Exercise of the Garrison 8 cs 3 Departed the <i>Princess Emelia</i> for India 7 7 13 Delivered Mr. Tovey 1 - 17 For the burying of Nicholas Manley 1 - To the Guard 14 Cartridge Paper delivered the Surgeon Qr 1 - - D.to Delivered John Stow 1 - - D.to Expended	An account of gunner's stores expended from 1 September 1718 to 30 September 1718 inclusive: 2 September, for a general exercise of the garrison 8 pounds [of powder] 3 September, departed the <i>Princess Emilia</i> for India 7 pounds [of powder] 13 September, delivered to Mr Tovey 1 pound [of powder] 17 September, for the burial of Nicholas Manley 1 pound [of powder] To the guard 14 pounds [of powder] Cartridge paper delivered to the surgeon 1 quire Cartridge paper delivered to John How 1 quire Cartridge paper expended 2 quires Axletrees delivered to Benjamin Cleverlee

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		2 - - Axeltrees deliv.d Benj. Cleverlee cs 1 - - Musquett Balls Expended cs 1 - - Flints 78 - - Match 28 - - 28 78 1 1 4 7 31 (Signed) Jn.o French. The Chief Overseer William Portley delivered the following Acco.t which was Perused and approved of, And Accordingly Ordered to be Enter'd. An Acco.t of the Hon: Comp.as Stock of Neat Cattle, Hogs, Goats, Sheep &c.a At their Grand Plantation taken Sept.r y.e 11. 1718. Cows	1 Musket balls expended 1 [...] Flints 78 Match 28 pounds Totals 4 quires of cartridge paper, 1 axletree, 1 [...] of musket balls, 78 flints, 28 pounds of match and 31 pounds of powder Signed, John French. The chief overseer William Portley delivered the following account, which was examined and approved and ordered to be entered. An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle, hogs, goats, sheep and the like at their Grand Plantation, taken 5 September 1718: [continues with the count] Interpretations The powder issued for the burial of Nicholas Manley records a military funeral marked by ceremonial firing. A measured charge was expended to honour the dead, the same gunpowder serving rites of mourning as it did salutes and defence. The entry shows the garrison according its members a formal send-off, the cost logged against the magazine like any other expenditure. The departure of the <i>Princess Emilia</i> for India marked by a 7-pound salute places the ship on the outward leg of the Company's eastern route. The vessel had earlier carried the widow Porteous off the island on 23 July 1717 and figured in Captain Misenor's arrack settlement of July 1717. Her saluted departure for India confirms the island's place as a calling point on the passage between England and the Company's eastern stations. The axletrees delivered to Benjamin Cleverlee record the supply of gun-carriage components from the gunner's stores. An axletree was the axle on which a cannon's carriage wheels turned, a part subject to wear and replacement. Its issue shows the maintenance of the fort's artillery proceeding alongside the consumption of powder and shot, the carriages kept serviceable as well as the guns supplied.
440	432	October. Neat Cattle 67. Cows 68. Bullocks &c 69. Heifers 70. 1 Cow killed since last 71. Cow Calves 72. 6 Account 73. Bull Calves 74. 4 Increased 75. Steers 76. Cow dyed, 1 Calfe stole 77. Yearlings 78. from the Hutts 79. Bulls 80. Yearling dyd at Perkins 81. since last Acco.t 188. Sheep 19. Ewes 20. 2 killed since last Acco.t 21. Weathers 22. 2 Sent to the Hutts 23. Lambs 24. Rams 83 Goats 25. Ewes 26. Killed since last Acco.t 27. Wethers	An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle, hogs, goats, sheep and the like at their Grand Plantation, taken 5 September 1718: Neat cattle: 67 cows 34 heifers 26 cow calves 28 bull calves 24 steers 7 yearlings 2 bulls [total] 188 Changes since the last account: 5 bullocks and 1 cow killed, 6 increased, 4 increased, 1 cow died, 1 calf stolen from the Hutts, and 1 yearling died at Perkins's. Sheep: 49 ewes 19 wethers 10 lambs 5 rams [total] 83 Changes since the last account: 2 killed and 2 sent to the Hutts. Goats: 95 ewes 21 wethers 9 ewe kids 8 ram kids 2 rams [total] 135

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		28. Increased 29. Eye Kids 30. Ram d.to 31. Rams 135 Poultry 61. Turkeys Great & Small 62. 17 killed since last Acco.t 63. Geese Great & Small 64. Peacocks 65. 7 Dung Fowles 66. Horses 67. Asses 68. Hoggs (Signed) Will. Portley [seal]	Changes since the last account: 11 killed and 11 increased. Poultry: 61 turkeys, great and small, with 17 killed since the last account 18 geese, great and small 2 peacocks 7 dunghill fowls Horses: 2 Asses: 8 Hogs: 2 Signed, William Portley. The stock count of 188 neat cattle marks a steep fall from the Company's herd at the Grand Plantation in earlier years. The muster reported at the consultation of 24 January 1715/16 had returned the plantation's slaves as a workforce of some size, and the cattle stock against which the present figure should be read stood far higher in Governor Roberts's time. The death and theft entries here - a cow and calf lost from the Hutts, a yearling dead at Perkins's - show the herd subject to steady attrition from disease, slaughter and pilfering even as breeding replaced some of the loss. Interpretations The account tracks each class of livestock against its increase and decrease since the previous count, giving the Company a running audit of its breeding stock. Animals killed for the table, lost to death or theft and added by birth are all set down separately. The method let the Company measure whether its herds and flocks were growing or wasting, holding the overseer accountable for the stock in his charge. The losses recorded at the Hutts and at Perkins's locate the Company's animals dispersed across outlying grounds rather than held in one place. A calf was stolen and a cow died at the Hutts, while a yearling died on Perkins's land. The pattern shows the Grand Plantation's stock grazed over scattered holdings, exposing it to theft and to the difficulty of oversight that distance imposed. Speculations The deliberate retention of breeding females across every species points to a managed programme of increase rather than mere maintenance. Cows, ewes and she-goats heavily outnumber males in each flock, the rams and bulls kept only in the small numbers breeding required. The structure shows the overseer holding back females to grow the stock while drawing off surplus males and wethers for slaughter, a choice to build the herds toward the provisioning of shipping.
441	433	Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 14. day of Octob.r 1718. At Union Castle in James valley. Antip: Tovey absent being Sick. Pres.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth.w Bazett. 2.d Last Consultation read & Approved of. On Wednesday the 8.th Inst. Arrived the Ship <i>St. George</i> Capt. Charls Warden Comand.r (who Suc= =ceeded Capt. Ryon) from Bengall. And. Next day the 9. Inst. Arrived the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> Capt. Daniel Small Comand.r from Maddrass, but last both of them from Donmascareen: where they wintered. Capt. Bazett Reports That upon Examining a Case this morning that came in the last Store Ship which contained Some Shoes, he found the Case to be ratt Eaten & Severall holes in it	[Island of St Helena] At a consultation held on Tuesday 14 October 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and Mathew Bazett second. Antipas Tovey was absent through sickness. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Wednesday 8 October the ship <i>St George</i> arrived from Bengal under Captain Charles Warden, who had succeeded Captain Ryon in command. The next day, 9 October, the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> arrived from Madras under Captain Daniel Small. Both ships came last from Mascarene, where they had wintered. Captain Bazett reported that on examining a case which had come in the last store ship that morning, containing some shoes, he found the case rat-eaten with several holes in it. Of the shoes, 12 pairs of fine and 33 pairs of coarse were badly rat-eaten and unserviceable. Bazett therefore asked the Governor and Council to come to the storehouse and inspect both the case and

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		and that 12 p.rs of fine and 33 p.rs of Coarse Shoes were very much Ratt Eaten & unserviceable. Wherefore desires the Gov.r & Council To come to the Store House and view both the Case & Shoes that it meynt be thought twas through his Neglect, for he is well assured the Damage was done on board the Ship. Ordered. Margin Notes: Island S.t Helena.	the shoes. He wished it not to be thought the damage arose through his neglect, being certain it had been done aboard the ship. The council ordered Interpretations Bazett's request for the council to view the damaged shoes protected the storekeeper against a charge of neglect. As the officer answerable for the Company's stores, he stood liable for goods spoiled in his care. Calling for an official inspection fixed on record that the rat damage had occurred aboard ship before delivery, shifting responsibility away from his own custody and toward the carrier. The two ships wintering at Mascarene before reaching the island reveal the seasonal rhythm of the Company's eastern shipping. Vessels from Bengal and Madras laid over at the Mascarene islands to wait out adverse conditions before the run to the island and home. The detail places the island on a route timed around the monsoon, the homeward ships pausing at intermediate stations on their passage. Speculations The careful separation of the spoiled shoes into 12 pairs fine and 33 pairs coarse points to a survey framed for the Company's later reckoning of loss. Bazett recorded not just the quantity but the grade of the damaged goods, each carrying a different value. The distinction shows him documenting the precise extent of the loss so that responsibility and cost could be apportioned exactly when the matter came before the Masters, the same protective discipline he applied in seeking the council's inspection.
442	434	Octob.r Ordered That the Gov.r with Mr. Alexander do goe and view them Aording to Capt. Bazetts desire. And Since that Damage has happend, The Gov.r thinks tis proper to Sett three pence more on every pair of the remaing. Shoes which will Pretty near make amends for those thats ratt eaten & Destroyed. The following Petitions were presented. Island S.t Helena To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council The Humble Petition of John Alexander &c. Sheweth That Whereas the Estate of Capt. Geo. Haswell (late Dep.ty Gov.r dec.d) being to be Sold by his Widdow towards the Paym.t of his debts, Your Petition.r is very desirous to Purchase the Same it lying more Entire than your Petition.rs own, and because yo.r Petition.rs Land doth lye So in different Parcells, Your Said Petition.r designs to Sell his own Land and if he wants any Creditt between the buying of one and Selling the other, He humbly Margin Notes: Island S.t Helena	The council ordered that the Governor, with Mr Alexander, go and view the shoes as Bazett had asked. Since the damage had occurred, Governor Pyke thought it proper to add 3d to the price of every remaining pair of shoes. This would come close to making amends for those that were rat-eaten and destroyed. The following petitions were presented. [Island of St Helena] John Alexander petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out that the estate of Captain George Haswell, the late deputy governor, was to be sold by his widow towards paying his debts. Alexander was anxious to buy it, since it lay more entire than his own land, his own being scattered in different parcels. He intended to sell his own land, and if he needed credit between buying the one and selling the other, he humbly Interpretations The Governor's decision to spread the cost of the spoiled shoes across the surviving stock shows the Company recovering its loss from the buyers rather than absorbing it. Adding 3d to every remaining pair passed the value of the rat-eaten shoes onto the inhabitants who bought the sound ones. The mechanism let the store make good its damaged goods without writing off the loss, the price adjusted to keep the Company whole. Alexander's wish to buy the Haswell estate because it lay more entire than his own scattered parcels reveals the practical disadvantage of fragmented landholding. Consolidated ground was easier to fence, work and oversee than holdings dispersed across the island. His readiness to sell his own land to acquire a single block shows planters seeking to rationalise their holdings, the Haswell sale offering a chance to exchange scattered acres for a unified estate. Speculations Alexander's request for credit to bridge the gap between buying the Haswell land and selling his own addresses a specific timing problem in the transaction. He could not be sure his own land would sell before

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			the purchase money fell due. Seeking the council's credit to cover the interval shows him managing the cash-flow risk of the exchange, using the Company's financial backing to complete a purchase his own sale would ultimately fund.
443	435	humbly desires to be favoured with So much as Shall be Necessary. Oct.r 14. 1718. And as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c. Jn.o Alexander Granted, because tis only changing Debtors and making the Hon. Comp.rs Cred.t to John Alexander instead of their being Cred.t to Capt. Haswell &c.. The Petition of Samuel Tessey Humbly desireing to Hire a Small Slip of the Hon. Comp.rs Land Cont.g about Two Acres lying between Willi.m Seals and his own Land, which if granted will Save him a great Deale of trouble in Fencing and be no Detriment to any of the Neighbours. Referred to the Gov.r & Capt. Bazett who will make answer to this Petition after they have viewed that Land. To prevent the Swelling of the Gen.ls Letter too much The Gov.r Enters down here his whole Stock of Cattle which is as follows (Viz:) 26. head of breeding Black Cattle 4. Sheep 25. Goats 4. Hoggs & 8. Piggs as	John Alexander asked to be granted as much credit as he should need. The petition was dated 14 October 1718 and signed by John Alexander. The council granted the request, since it only changed the debtor and made the Honourable Company a creditor to Alexander instead of to Captain Haswell. Samuel Vesey petitioned to hire a small slip of the Company's land containing about 2 acres, lying between William Seale's land and his own. He set out that the grant would save him much trouble in fencing and harm none of his neighbours. The council referred the petition to the Governor and Captain Bazett, who would answer it after viewing the land. To prevent the Governor's letter from swelling too much, Governor Pyke entered here his whole stock of cattle, as follows: 26 head of breeding black cattle 4 sheep 25 goats 4 hogs 8 pigs Interpretations The council's approval of Alexander's credit on the ground that it merely changed the debtor reveals how the Company managed its outstanding accounts. The debt due on the Haswell estate would now stand against Alexander rather than Haswell, the total owed to the Company unchanged. The reasoning shows the council treating credit as a transferable obligation, indifferent to which solvent party held it so long as the sum remained secured. Vesey's wish to hire the slip of land between his own and Seale's to save trouble in fencing reflects the heavy burden that boundary fences imposed on island planters. Enclosing scattered or irregular ground required fencing on every exposed side, a constant labour and expense. Absorbing the intervening Company strip would let Vesey fence a single consolidated boundary, the same drive toward rationalised holdings seen in Alexander's purchase of the Haswell land at this consultation. Speculations Governor Pyke's entry of his own livestock into the consultation record, explicitly to keep his dispatch to the Company short, shows him separating routine return from substantive correspondence. The stock figures belonged in the formal account but would have bulked out the letter home. Diverting them into the consultation book let him keep the dispatch focused while still placing the required information on the official record, a deliberate division of where each kind of detail was lodged.
444	436	October. As to the Cattle & Sheep, they were bought of James Tessey, Isaac Wood and John Long for blacks which the Govern.r Sold them, and they had no other way to pay for them but in these Cattle which the Governo.r offers to Sell now to the Hon. Comp.rs either for what they Cost him per Hund.d weight or for what they Shall be now appraised at by two Indifferent Men; Of Goats he has now 25 from the produce of 5 that he has had out of Ships, He never Sold one in his life nor never intends it and only keeps them in his own name that he may have the Power now and then to give away one or	Governor Pyke explained how he had come by the cattle and sheep. He had bought them from James Vesey, Isaac Wood and John Long in exchange for blacks he had sold them. Those buyers had no other means of payment but these animals. He now offered to sell the cattle to the Honourable Company, either for what they had cost him per hundredweight or for whatever two independent appraisers should value them at. Of goats he held 25, bred from 5 he had taken out of ships. He had never sold one in his life and never intended to. He kept them in his own name only so that he might have the freedom to give away one or two to his acquaintances now and then.

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		two to any of his Acquaintance. Of Hoggs he has had more than two Hund.d as you all know and all of them the breed of one very large Sow given him big w.th Pigg about four years ago by Capt. Lehome, but of all these he never Sold nor Bartered, nor Exchanged one in his life, but has given them every one away, the Hon. Comp.rs has had above Seventy of them for it. He never had nor is never to have one farthing Credit, because all the Hoggs have been fed upon their Waste ground and there is not one family of Credit on the Island that he has not given two	Of hogs he had owned more than 200, as everyone knew. All descended from one very large sow, given to him as a piglet about four years earlier by Captain Lehome. He had never sold, bartered or exchanged a single one. He had given every one away. The Honourable Company had received above 70 of them, for which he had never taken and never would take a farthing of credit. All the hogs had been fed on the Company's waste ground. There was not one family of credit on the island to whom he had not given Interpretations Pyke's account of acquiring the livestock through the sale of slaves reveals the barter economy underlying island transactions. Vesey, Wood and Long lacked cash and paid for the slaves in cattle, which Pyke now offered to convert into Company credit. The chain shows how value moved on the island by exchange of stock and people rather than coin, the Governor positioned as an intermediary turning one form of wealth into another. Pyke's insistence that he had given away every hog and taken no credit for the seventy received by the Company frames his stock-keeping as service rather than profit. He stressed that the animals fed on Company waste ground at no cost to himself. The careful disclaimer answers an implied suspicion that the Governor might be trading privately for gain, recasting his large herds as a source of gifts to the settlement and provisions to the Company. Speculations Pyke's emphasis that he kept the goats in his own name solely to retain the power to give one or two away points to a deliberate management of patronage. Holding the stock personally rather than entering it as Company property let him dispense favours to his acquaintances at will. The arrangement shows the Governor preserving a private fund of livestock as an instrument of influence, the gifts to families of credit binding the island's leading households to him. The offer to sell the cattle either at cost per hundredweight or at independent appraisal gave the Company a choice designed to disarm any charge of self-dealing. By submitting the price to two neutral valuers, Pyke removed himself from setting it. The structure shows him pre-empting the suspicion that a governor selling to the Company he served might inflate the price, the appraisal mechanism protecting both his reputation and the Company's interest.
445	437	two or Some times of them four of his Hoggs for a new breed these being better than the usuall sort, It is not four months since he gave Eighteen among the Guard, the Gov.r has now and then also to a poor man who has formerly Sailed to him given one of these Shoals & Some times two, & makes no other use of them and keeps them for no other end, the Hon. Comp.rs have now no other breed but from them. And had it not been that at the Gov.rs going off hence He intends to carry Some of them for his own Use at Sea he had never called them his own but would have called them the Companys who have had (the Chief tho' the whole Island have had) Benefit by them, the whole that he has now is four Hoggs & Eight Piggs. As to other things the Gov.r has also made a greater Increase, He has lett 40. Rabbits at Sevrall times loose to begin to Stock a Warren besides those he used and kept tame, these are all now called not his but the Companys tho' they never Cost them any thing, keeping nor the Gov.r never had a farthing for them nor is not to have. And the Same from a Stock of Pigeons of his own which the Gov.r has brought up and were never called his but the Company's, because he thinks the Hon. Comp.rs never Sent him	Governor Pyke continued his account, saying he had given two, or sometimes four, of his hogs to families of credit for a new breed, these being better than the usual sort. Less than four months earlier he had given eighteen among the guard. He had also from time to time given one of these shoats to a poor man who had formerly sailed with him, sometimes two. He made no other use of them and kept them for no other purpose. The Honourable Company now had no other breed but from his stock. Had it not been that he intended to carry some of them for his own use at sea on going off the island, he would never have called them his own but the Company's. The Company, and indeed the whole island, had had the benefit of them. All he now retained was four hogs and eight pigs. As to other things, Pyke had also made a greater increase. He had set 40 rabbits loose at various times to begin stocking a warren, besides those he kept tame. These were now all called not his but the Company's, though they had cost the Company nothing in purchase or keep, and he had never taken and never would take a farthing for them. The same applied to a stock of pigeons of his own, which he had brought up and never called his but the Company's, because he

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		here.	thought the Honourable Company had never sent him here Interpretations Pyke's release of rabbits to establish a warren and his breeding of pigeons record the deliberate introduction of self-sustaining food sources to the island. A warren of free rabbits and a pigeon stock would multiply without cost, supplying meat to a settlement dependent on imported provisions. The Governor's transfer of these to the Company shows an effort to build permanent provisioning resources beyond the cattle and hogs already counted. Pyke's repeated assignment of his private stock to the Company, on the reasoning that he had not been sent to the island for his own profit, frames his conduct against the standing suspicion that governors enriched themselves in office. He surrendered the increase of animals he had bred at his own trouble. The argument constructs a record of disinterested service, the Governor anticipating any later charge that he had treated the Company's station as a private estate. Speculations The exception Pyke carved out - retaining a few hogs to carry for his own use at sea - explains why he claimed ownership of any of the stock at all. Had he not needed provisions for his eventual voyage home, he would have called the whole herd the Company's from the start. The reservation shows him distinguishing the minimum he required for his own passage from the surplus he gave away, a careful line drawn to justify keeping anything in his own name while assigning the rest.
446	438	October. here to Sell Rabbits, Hogs, or Pigeons, but to improve the place as well as he could by Increasing these or any other things that by their variety might tend to the refreshment of their Ships and people after the Hardships & fatigues that only attend Long Voyages. As to birds and fowl when ever he can gett any out of any Ship he has always let them flye, and hopes in time the Island may be Stockt that way too, but now they are loose they are the Hon: Comp.rs and he pretends them not to be his. The Hon. Comp.rs Chief Overseer of their Plantations brought and delivered the follow: Acco.t which was Examined and approved. An Acco.t of the Hon. Comp.rs Stock of Neat Cattle, Hogs, Goats, Sheep, Poultry &c.a both at the Grand Plantation and Perkins: taken Oct.r the 5. 1718. Neat Cattle 67. Cows 68. Heifers 69. Cow Calves 70. Increased Since 71. Bull Calves 72. Last Account 73. Steers 74. Yearlings 75. Bulls 192. Sheep: 79.	Governor Pyke explained that he had not been sent to the island to sell rabbits, hogs or pigeons, but to improve the place as far as he could. He aimed to increase these and anything else whose variety might help refresh the Company's ships and people after the hardships and fatigues of long voyages. As to birds and fowl, whenever he could obtain any out of a ship he had always set them free, hoping the island might be stocked that way too. Now that they were loose, they belonged to the Honourable Company, and he claimed no ownership of them. The Company's chief overseer of their plantations brought and delivered the following account, which was examined and approved. An account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle, hogs, goats, sheep, poultry and the like, both at the Grand Plantation and at Perkins's, taken 1 October 1718: Neat cattle: 67 cows 34 heifers 27 cow calves 31 bull calves 24 steers 7 yearlings 2 bulls [total] 192 - Increased by 4 since the last account. Sheep: 79 Interpretations Pyke's statement of his purpose - to improve the island as a place of refreshment for the Company's ships and people - defines the settlement's strategic function in the Company's eyes. The island existed to revive crews worn by long voyages between England and the East. The Governor's stocking of varied animals served this provisioning role directly, his efforts framed as fulfilling the very reason the Company maintained the station. This second stock account, taken at 1 October 1718, now combines the Grand Plantation with Perkins's holding, whereas the earlier count of 5 September 1718

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			returned the Grand Plantation alone. The neat cattle here total 192 against the 188 of the previous count, the four-head increase matching the recorded births. The pairing of the two grounds in one return shows the Company consolidating its dispersed stock into a single audited reckoning.
447	439	Sheep 48. Ewes 49. Wethers 50. Lambs 51. killed since 52. Last Acco.t 53. Geese 54. 1 killed & dyd 55. since last Acco.t 56. Rams 79. 4. Ducks. Goats 137. Ewes 138. Wethers 139. Ewe Kids 140. Ram Kids 141. Rams 142. killed since 143. last Acco.t 144. Peacocks 145. Increased. 146. Dung Fowles 199 Poultry. 50. Turkeys. 9. killed since last Acco.t & 2. dyd. 2. Hoggs - 2. Horses - 8. Asses 3. Will.m Portley 4. [...]	Sheep: 48 ewes 17 wethers 10 lambs 4 rams [total] 79 Changes since the last account: 1 killed. Goats: 137 ewes 29 wethers 16 ewe kids 15 ram kids 2 rams [total] 199 Changes since the last account: 8 killed and 8 increased. Poultry: 50 turkeys, with 9 killed since the last account and 2 died 16 geese, with 1 killed and 1 died since the last account 4 ducks 2 peacocks 27 dunghill fowls Hogs: 2 Horses: 2 Asses: 8 Signed, William Portley. This combined return for the Grand Plantation and Perkins's, taken 1 October 1718, can be set against the Grand Plantation count of 5 September 1718. The sheep hold steady at 79 in both counts, though the internal makeup has shifted, with ewes down from 49 to 48 and wethers down from 19 to 17. The goats have risen sharply from 135 to 199, an increase of 64, driven almost entirely by the ewe count climbing from 95 to 137 and the addition of 15 ram kids where the earlier count recorded none. The jump far exceeds the 8 births noted in the margin, so the bulk of the rise reflects the folding of Perkins's flock into the reckoning rather than breeding alone. The poultry shows the opposite movement. Turkeys have fallen from 61 to 50 and dunghill fowls from a figure of 7 to 27, the latter a rise rather than a fall, while geese dropped from 18 to 16. The neat cattle, given on the preceding image, rose from 188 to 192 on 4 recorded births. The hogs, horses and asses stand unchanged at 2, 2 and 8 across both counts. Interpretations The steady attrition recorded in every species through animals killed since the last account reveals the constant draw of the plantation stock for the table. Sheep, goats and poultry were each reduced by slaughter, the goats alone losing 8 to the knife while gaining 8 by birth. The figures show the Company's herds and flocks held in a rough balance, breeding barely keeping pace with the consumption that the garrison and shipping required. The appearance of 15 ram kids in the goat flock, absent from the September count, points to a breeding season falling between the two returns. The young males had been born in the interval and now entered the reckoning as a distinct class. Their number reveals the flock's natural increase proceeding faster than the

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			cattle's, goats multiplying more readily on the island's ground and offering a quicker return in meat.
448	440	October. Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 21. day of Octob.r 1718 At Union Castle in James Valley. Antip: Tovey 3. absent being not well. Pres.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth. Bazett. 2. &c Last Consultation read & Approved of. In Consultation of the 7.th Inst. Serjeant Slaughter therein made Compl.t against Thom: Free, and the cause thereof in that Consultation will more Particularly Appear. Serj. Slaughter renews the Same Complaint and in the Same manner, and now Produced the following Witnesses. John Harding being Examined Saith that he knows that the Land Serj. Slaughter was to plant According to his Contract was as much of it planted about four years Since as was good and Free from Stones. Benjamin Cleverlee & Rich.d Harding saith that they know, that the Acre of Land Serj.t Slaughter was to plant According to Agreem.t was planted as much of it as was good & Clear from Stones and the rest of the Ground where twas Stony there was Self planted Yams. Mr.	[Island of St Helena] At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 October 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, and Mathew Bazett second. Antipas Tovey, third in council, was absent through sickness. The previous consultation was read and approved. At the consultation of 7 October Sergeant Slaughter had complained against Thomas Free, the details of which appear in that consultation. Slaughter now renewed the same complaint in the same terms and produced the following witnesses. John Harding, on examination, said he knew that as much of the land Sergeant Slaughter was bound to plant under his contract had been planted about four years earlier as was good and free of stones. Benjamin Cleverlee and Richard Harding said they knew that the acre Sergeant Slaughter was to plant under the agreement had been planted, as much of it as was good and clear of stones, and that on the rest of the ground, where it was stony, yams had been planted instead. Interpretations The witnesses' careful distinction between the good ground and the stony portion addresses the precise terms of the planting covenant in dispute since the consultation of 7 October 1718. Slaughter's obligation was to leave the acre planted, but the soil itself varied in quality. The testimony that the sound ground was planted and the stony part set with yams shows the witnesses establishing substantial performance, the tenant having cultivated what could be cultivated. The reversal of position from the earlier hearing is notable. At the consultation of 7 October 1718 Free had sought a fortnight to bring witnesses proving the land was not planted according to contract. The witnesses now produced testify for Slaughter's performance rather than against it, suggesting the evidence gathered in the interval favoured the tenant. The shift shows the burden of proof falling on the party who had undertaken to supply it.
449	441	Mr. Free Produced other Witnesses Viz.t Thomas Swallow & Francis Wrangham who both Say that at Mr. Frees desire they have been and viewed the Said Land and thinks that not above ½ or ⅓ of it has been planted because they tryd in Several places. Mr. Free demands twenty Pounds for the Dam=ages and Slaughter to pay all Charges, But Slaughter Saying he has Performed his Contract w.th Mr. Griffith, he thinks it Unjust to pay any thing Wherefore Ordered at their desires that the cause now in dispute be left to the Jury at our next Sessions to be holden. Ordered That John Bazett be Admit=ted to Assist his father Capt. Bazett in the Stores. Having a parcell of Small Silver and Copper money in the Gov.rs Custody he thinks tis proper, now the Soldiers begin to live in the Barracks to pay Such of them who are out of debt, in money, and to that end he thinks tis Necessary that all the Garrisons Accounts Should be made up unto Michaelmas day. And Says this is So Necessary that Unless it be done He thinks it not Proper for him to keep	Mr Free produced other witnesses, namely Thomas Swallow and Francis Wrangham. Both said that at Free's request they had viewed the land and thought no more than half or three-quarters of it had been planted, since they tried it in several places. Free demanded £20 0s 0d in damages and that Slaughter pay all charges. Slaughter, saying he had performed his contract with Mr Griffith, thought it unjust to pay anything. The council therefore ordered, at the parties' request, that the disputed cause be left to the jury at the next sessions. The council ordered that John Bazett be admitted to assist his father Captain Bazett in the stores. Governor Pyke held a parcel of small silver and copper money in his custody. He thought it proper, now that the soldiers were beginning to live in the barracks, to pay those of them who were out of debt in money. To that end he thought it necessary that all the garrison's accounts be made up to Michaelmas day. He said this was so necessary that unless it were done he thought it improper for him to keep Interpretations The conflicting surveys put the dispute beyond the council's power to resolve on the evidence, which is why it was sent to a jury. Slaughter's witnesses swore the good ground was planted, while Free's swore from sample testing that only part of the acre bore crops. With sworn testimony directly opposed, the bench referred the factual question to a jury at the next

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			sessions, the proper body to weigh contested evidence of fact. Pyke's plan to pay soldiers in coin as they moved into the barracks marks a shift from the credit-and-stores system toward cash wages. The garrison had been supplied largely through the store account, but the Governor now held silver and copper to pay men clear of debt directly. The change required every account made up to Michaelmas, so that each soldier's standing could be fixed before cash payment began. The admission of John Bazett to assist his father in the stores shows office and responsibility passing within families on the island. Captain Bazett, burdened as storekeeper and now deputy governor, gained a kinsman as helper. The arrangement reflects the small pool of trusted men, the council drawing on an officer's own son to relieve the pressure on the stores noted across the consultations of this autumn. Speculations Pyke's insistence that the garrison accounts be made up to Michaelmas before any cash payment began addresses the risk of paying men who were in fact in debt to the Company. Coin handed to a soldier who owed the stores would defeat the Company's claim on his pay. By fixing every account first, the Governor ensured that only those genuinely clear received money, the audit protecting the Company against paying out wages it was owed back.
450	442	October. keep the Transferr Book because for want of Such Accounts the Accomptant knows not who to Transferr for nor who to refuse. And therefore desires Some Person may be Employed to make up these Acco.ts without hindering the Accomptants other business, or else he will deliver up the Transferr book and Concern himself no farther, And the Same Person to be Employed in paying away the Small money. Capt. Bazett Sayes he dont Approve of Such a Method because it will take up more time and hinder his business. The Gov.r says he thinks it may be done for the Garrison once a quarter for he is desirous to have money go, and would Also pay those who work at the Fortifications and are not in debt. The following Petition was Presented. To the Worshipf.l Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r of S.t Helena &c. Council The Humble Petition of Joshua Thomlinson Minister & Chaplain to the Hon. East India Comp.r in this Island S.t Helena Sheweth	Governor Pyke explained that without the garrison accounts he could not keep the transfer book, since the accountant would not know whom to credit or whom to refuse. He therefore wished some person to be employed in making up these accounts, without hindering the accountant's other business. Otherwise he would give up the transfer book and concern himself no further with it. The same person could also be employed in paying out the small money. Captain Bazett said he did not approve of this method, since it would take up more time and hinder his business. Governor Pyke said he thought it could be done for the garrison once a quarter, being anxious to have money circulate. He would also pay those who laboured at the fortifications and were not in debt. The following petition was presented. [Island of St Helena] Joshua Thomlinson, minister and chaplain to the Honourable East India Company on the island, petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out Interpretations Pyke's reasoning ties the transfer book directly to the garrison accounts, exposing how the Company's credit system depended on current records. The transfer book recorded debts moved between parties, but the accountant could not judge whom to credit without knowing each soldier's standing. The Governor's readiness to abandon the book unless the accounts were made up shows the whole apparatus of Company credit resting on the very bookkeeping that had fallen behind through the autumn of 1718. The Governor's wish to have money circulate reveals a deliberate effort to introduce coin into an economy that had run largely on credit and barter. Paying soldiers and fortification labourers in small silver and copper would put cash into the settlement. Pyke's anxiety to see money move shows him seeking to shift the island toward monetary exchange, a change the disorder of the accounts threatened to obstruct. The disagreement between Pyke and Bazett over employing an extra clerk records a genuine tension between reform and the burden it imposed. The Governor wanted the accounts made up to enable cash payment, while the storekeeper resisted the demand on

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			his time. The exchange shows the practical cost of administrative change pressing on an establishment already short of capable hands, the dispute left unresolved on the record.
451	443	Sheweth. That Whereas their is a Ballance of Upwards of Five Hundred Pounds due from the Hon. Comp.rs to Him as appears by Acco.t herewith Produced which was drawn out by the Gov.rs Order, out of the Hon. Comp.rs Books. Therefore your Petition.r humbly desires that your Worship.f.l &c. Council would be pleased to draw Bills upon the Hon. Comp.rs for the aforesaid Sume of Five Hundred Pounds pay= =able to your Petition.r or his Order in England which will very much Oblige Your Worship.f.l &c. Councils. Most Humble Servant. S.t Helena Oct.r 21.st Joshua Thomlinson. 1718. We think there is no need of this Petition, He uses to ask for what he wants therefore suppose he has Some Contentious designe, however We Sent for him In and told him. &c We dont know he is going off the Island But however have granted him a Bill of Exchange for one hundred Pounds, he having lately had a Bill for one Hund.d Pounds more besides other Bills at Severall times, and We have paid away for him One Hund.d & fifty four Pounds more this year which in the whole makes three Hund.d fifty four Pounds. The	Thomlinson set out that a balance of upwards of £500 0s 0d was due to him from the Honourable Company, as appeared by an account produced with the petition, drawn from the Company's books by the Governor's order. He therefore asked the Governor and Council to draw bills upon the Honourable Company for the £500 0s 0d, payable to him or his order in England. The petition was dated 21 October 1718 and signed by Joshua Thomlinson. The council thought there was no need of the petition. Thomlinson was accustomed to ask for what he wanted, so the council supposed he had some contentious purpose. They nonetheless sent for him and spoke with him. The council did not know he was leaving the island. They had however granted him a bill of exchange for £100 0s 0d, he having lately taken another bill for £100 0s 0d besides other bills at various times. They had also paid away for him £154 0s 0d more this year, which in the whole made £354 0s 0d. Interpretations A bill of exchange was the instrument by which money owed on the island could be drawn against the Company in England, sparing the physical shipment of coin. Thomlinson's request that the council draw bills for his balance would convert his island credit into a claim payable in London. The mechanism let servants accumulate earnings on the remote station and realise them at home, the bill functioning as a transferable order on the Company's English account. The council's suspicion that Thomlinson had a contentious purpose in petitioning formally, when he usually asked directly, reveals the friction between the chaplain and the bench. His decision to put the demand in writing was read as a manoeuvre rather than a routine request. The reaction shows a strained relationship in which even an ordinary financial claim was met with wariness, the council parsing the form of his approach for hidden intent. The council's itemised tally of the sums already advanced to Thomlinson this year - two bills of £100 0s 0d each and £154 0s 0d paid away, totalling £354 0s 0d - records a careful defence against his larger claim. By setting out what he had already received, the bench challenged the basis of the £500 0s 0d balance he asserted. The reckoning shows the council answering a disputed account by documenting its own payments against it.
452	444	Octob.r The Govern.r Sayes he has received two letters from Doct.r Thomlinson. One about an Equivalent for diett which he desired might not be Entered in Consultation and therefore dont Produce that Letter but have granted his full request therein. The Parson next day brought him another Letter which is as follows. Worship.f.l S.r I am informed that other Ministers have had a House allowed them and desire you would please to w.r Write to the Hon: Company to buy the House I live in for a Parsonage House or that they would Allow the whole Rent for the time I have lived in it or Shall live in it which if their Hon.rs please to grant will I hope prevent any Uneasiness in that respect to my Self or Successors, I am with Respects &c.	Governor Pyke said he had received two letters from Doctor Thomlinson. One concerned an equivalent for diet, which Thomlinson asked might not be entered in the consultation. Pyke therefore did not produce that letter but had granted his full request in it. The next day the parson brought him another letter, which followed. Thomlinson wrote that he understood other ministers had been allowed a house. He asked the council to write to the Honourable Company either to buy the house he lived in for a parsonage, or to allow him the whole rent for the time he had lived in it or should live in it. Whichever the Company chose to grant would, he hoped, prevent any difficulty over the matter for himself or his successors. The letter was signed by Joshua Thomlinson, with a note that £5 0s 0d a year he thought too little rent for a house fit for a minister to live in.

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		Your most Humble Serv.t Joshua Thomlinson. A For Five p.d anny I think is too little Rent for a house fitt for a Minister to live in. The Gov.r thinks our Chaplain must be Sett on and Spirited up by one Stevenson a Contentious	Governor Pyke thought the chaplain must have been set on and stirred up by one Stevenson, a contentious Interpretations Thomlinson's request to keep the diet letter out of the consultation record, granted by the Governor, reveals a channel of private accommodation alongside the formal proceedings. Some arrangements between the chaplain and the Governor were settled off the official record. The exception shows that not every transaction passed into the consultation book, the bench able to grant requests informally where a matter was thought unsuitable for entry. Thomlinson's proposal to have the Company either buy his house as a permanent parsonage or pay its rent addresses the insecurity of a minister housed at the Company's pleasure. Without a settled parsonage, each chaplain depended on ad hoc provision. His concern for his successors shows him seeking to fix the clerical living on a permanent footing, converting a temporary arrangement into an established endowment that would outlast his own tenure. The Governor's belief that Thomlinson was incited by a contentious man named Stevenson frames the chaplain's demands as the product of outside influence rather than his own initiative. Pyke sought to explain the run of formal petitions by attributing them to an agitator. The attribution shows the bench reluctant to treat the chaplain's claims as freely made, locating their cause in a troublemaker said to be stirring him up.
453	445	Contentious, proud, troublesome Parson who is a Passanger on Board the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, and We think if he was as troublesome at Maddarass as he has been here that Govern.r Collett has a very good Riddance of him. Andrew Freeman Cooper of the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> and Severall others of the Ships Com= =pany made Compl.t that a black fellow of Doct. Thomlinsons named Roger came into the Cooper= =idge where he was at Work and Stole away from thence three Speckled Shirts, one Gingham Jackett, a Sauce Pan and a Musline Handkerchief and belirving the fellow to be a Theif, and that he came there in the night time a Purpose to Steal what he could, He turned him out but he came in againe and as he has lost the Goods above mentioned he is Sure the black fellow and the Rest that came with him, did Steal them Witness my hand this 25. of Oct.r 1718. Andrew Freeman. The black fellow was Examined but would Confess Nothing. Upon which he was Corrected as usuall in in Such Cases. A copy of a Letter rec.d from D.r Thomlinson after Consultation was over. Worsh.t S.r	Governor Pyke described Stevenson as a contentious, proud and troublesome parson, a passenger aboard the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>. He thought that if Stevenson had been as troublesome at Madras as he had been on the island, Governor Collett had a very good riddance of him. Andrew Freeman, cooper of the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, and several others of the ship's company complained that a black man of Doctor Thomlinson's named Roger had come into the cooperage where Freeman was at work and stolen three speckled shirts, one gingham jacket, a saucepan and a muslin handkerchief. Believing the man to be a thief who had come there at night on purpose to steal what he could, Freeman turned him out. The man came in again. Since the goods were lost, Freeman was certain that this black man and the others who came with him had stolen them. The complaint was dated 25 October 1718 and signed by Andrew Freeman. The black man was examined but would confess nothing. He was therefore corrected as usual in such cases. A copy of a letter received from Doctor Thomlinson after the consultation was over followed. Interpretations The corporal punishment of Roger after he confessed nothing reveals the routine summary justice applied to slaves on the island. Where a free man would face trial, a slave accused of theft was simply examined and, on refusing to confess, beaten as a matter of course. The phrase recording correction as usual in such cases shows a settled and separate penal regime for slaves, conviction following accusation without the evidential safeguards extended to others. The stolen goods themselves - speckled shirts, a gingham jacket, a muslin handkerchief - place the very Indian cottons of the store account into the everyday possessions of a ship's cooper. The cheap calicoes and muslins that passed through the island as Company trade clothed the working sailors aboard. The theft confirms how thoroughly these eastern textiles had entered ordinary use, worn by the crews who carried them. The complaint's progression, with Roger turned out and returning before the goods were found missing,

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			builds the cooper's case by inference rather than direct sight of the theft. Freeman did not witness the taking but reasoned from the man's nocturnal presence and persistence to his guilt. The reasoning shows how charges against slaves were constructed from circumstance, the bench accepting suspicion as sufficient where a confession could not be obtained.
454	446	October. Worshipf.l S.r In answer to the Petition I gave in to day in Consultation, desiring Bills of Five hundred Pounds w.ch the Company owes me, You were pleased to tell me in Council that you had Considered my Petition and had no Objection to my Acco.t But added that I was ill Advised (tho' I only demanded what was due to me) Yet to Shew your Moderation, had consented to let me have a Bill for one hundred pounds. An Instance of Moderation, which I could not tell what Answer to make to: and which I fear will give Some trouble to the Hon. Court of Directors (when they come to know it) to recon= =cile it with Common Justice. So let you know S.r that Acted by the best Advice herein I have thought fit to Transcribe Part of a letter which I rec.d by the last Ship from England from a Gentleman there, to whom I wrote concerning the Stopping of my money here, who is Perfectly well versed in the Company's Affairs both at Home and abroad. (viz.t) a. The General Letter takes notice of a Complaint a. against the Govern.r that he must be Presented a. before he will give any Bills on the Company. So	Thomlinson wrote in answer to the petition he had given in that day. He had asked for bills for the £500 0s 0d the Company owed him. The council had told him in council that they had considered his petition and had no objection to his account. They added, however, that he was ill advised, though he had demanded only what was due to him. To show their moderation, they had consented to let him have a bill for £100 0s 0d. Thomlinson called this an instance of moderation he could not tell how to answer, and one he feared would give the Honourable Court of Directors some trouble to reconcile with common justice when they came to know of it. To show that he had acted on the best advice, he thought fit to transcribe part of a letter he had received by the last ship from England. It came from a gentleman there to whom he had written about the stopping of his money on the island, a man perfectly well versed in the Company's affairs both at home and abroad. The letter noted that the general letter took notice of a complaint against the Governor, that he must be presented before he would give any bills on the Company. Interpretations Thomlinson's appeal to the Court of Directors over the council's heads reveals the chain of authority above the island bench. By framing the council's reduction of his bill as something the Directors would struggle to reconcile with justice, he invoked the Company's supreme governing body as a check on local power. The threat shows a servant using the prospect of London's review to pressure a council whose decision he could not otherwise overturn. The letter from a well-connected correspondent in England exposes the informal networks through which island servants gathered intelligence and leverage. Thomlinson had written home about his treatment and received advice on the Company's internal affairs. The transcribed extract shows him arming himself with knowledge from a metropolitan ally, drawing on private correspondence to strengthen his hand against the local administration. The reference to a complaint in the general letter that the Governor must be presented before granting bills points to a specific charge already lodged against Pyke in London. The Company's own correspondence had noted an accusation about his handling of bills. The detail reveals that the friction over Thomlinson's money formed part of a larger grievance against the Governor, the chaplain's case feeding into a complaint the Directors were already weighing.
455	447	"So that if he refuses you Bills on England "for your Creditt, He ought to pay you there. "And doubtless if you make a Civil request "to him to do either, (or rather to him and "Council) And you are refused, On representing "it to the Company here, They will do your "Right. &c The Same Gentleman refers me to a Para= =graph in the Companys last General Letter Con= =cerning my Diett and Your Worshipf.l's behaviour towards me &c. and Says that the Directors have Ordered that what is wrote Concerning any Person Shall be communicated to him. And Yet tho' I again and again desired Your Worsh.t to let me have	The correspondent's letter continued. If the Governor refused Thomlinson bills on England for his credit, he ought to pay him there. And doubtless, if Thomlinson made a civil request to the Governor and Council to do either, and was refused, then on representing it to the Company on the island, they would do him right. The same gentleman referred Thomlinson to a paragraph in the Company's last general letter concerning his diet and the Governor's behaviour towards him. He said the Directors had ordered that whatever was written concerning any person should be communicated to that person. Yet, though Thomlinson had again and again asked the Governor

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		a Copy of all that concerned me, You declared that there was nothing in the Comp.rs Letter relating to those Particulars: and only Shewed me that Part of the Letter where my is Ocasionally mentioned with the Planters, and where the Hon. Court of Directors tax your Justice as not being Universal (mention= =this because you took it amiss (as my doubting yo.r Veracity) when I insisted on Seeing those Particulars, having had Intelligence of 'em from a Gentleman who himself Saw the General Letter Whereby you may also See that I have Some Friends at Home	for a copy of all that concerned him, the Governor had declared there was nothing in the Company's letter relating to those matters. He had shown Thomlinson only the part of the letter where he was mentioned along with the planters, and where the Honourable Court of Directors criticised the Governor's justice as not being even-handed. Thomlinson explained that he set this down because the Governor had taken it amiss, as though Thomlinson doubted his honesty, when he insisted on seeing those passages. He had intelligence of them from a gentleman who had himself seen the general letter. By this the Governor might also see that Thomlinson had some friend at home. Interpretations The Directors' standing order that anything written about a person be shown to them established a right of disclosure that Thomlinson now used as a weapon. The rule entitled him to see every passage in the Company's correspondence touching his conduct. His repeated demands for copies, set against the Governor's denials, frame a dispute over whether Pyke was suppressing material the chaplain was entitled to read. The contradiction at the heart of the letter exposes the Governor's position. Pyke had told Thomlinson there was nothing in the Company's letter about his diet or the Governor's behaviour, yet had shown him a passage where the Directors faulted his justice as not even-handed. The chaplain's external intelligence let him catch the discrepancy. The episode reveals how a servant with metropolitan contacts could check a governor's account of confidential correspondence against an independent source. Thomlinson's pointed remark that the Governor might see he had a friend at home discloses the real source of his confidence. His leverage lay not in his island standing but in a correspondent with sight of the Company's letters. The statement shows him deploying the threat of metropolitan connection openly, warning Pyke that his conduct was visible to someone in England positioned to report it.
456	448	October. home and Good advice from them. After all I hope upon Second thoughts Your Worshipf.l will in Justice grant my reasona= =ble request by drawing Bills for the Ballance of my Acco.t that I may be freed from the Unpleasant task of laying that affair fully before the Hon. Comp.rs who cannot but think it very Hard, that after being kept out of my Due Several years (without any Interest or allowance) tho' I have from time to time re= =quested it, I Should Still be denied that Justice Contrary to their Hon.rs Positive Orders. I desire your Worshipf.l would give me a Speedy answer in this plain Case because I can no longer delay Writing my Letters to Europe and I cannot but heartily wish that I could inform our good Friend Governour Harrison to whom I design my Bills to be payable, that there is a good Understanding between yo.r Worsh.p and I. S.r S.t Helena Your most Obed.t Servant Oct.r y.e 21.st 1718. Joshua Thomlinson [...]	Thomlinson noted that he had a friend at home and good advice from him. He hoped that on second thoughts the council would in justice grant his reasonable request by drawing bills for the balance of his account. This would free him from the unpleasant task of laying the whole affair before the Honourable Company. The Company could not but think it very hard that, after being kept out of his due for several years without any interest or allowance, and though he had requested it from time to time, he should still be denied that justice, contrary to the Directors' positive orders. He asked for a speedy answer in this plain case, since he could no longer delay writing his letters to Europe. He heartily wished he could inform Governor Harrison, to whom he intended his bills to be payable, that there was a good understanding between the council and himself. The letter was dated 21 October 1718 and signed by Joshua Thomlinson. Interpretations Thomlinson's complaint that he had been kept from his money for years without interest or allowance sharpens his grievance into a charge of financial loss. The Company owed him a balance on which he had received nothing while it lay unpaid. His emphasis on the absence of interest shows him claiming not merely the principal but the cost of being deprived of it, framing the delay itself as an injustice the Directors had ordered remedied. The intended payee Governor Harrison locates Thomlinson's bills within the Company's wider chain of stations and officers. Edward Harrison, named in

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			the reference as the governor to whom Powell and Gurling paid a debt on 27 April 1717, was a figure in the Company's higher administration. Directing his bills to be payable through Harrison shows Thomlinson routing his claim through a senior Company officer, lending it weight beyond the island bench. The chaplain's wish to report a good understanding between himself and the council, set against his evident dispute with them, exposes the pressure his correspondence placed on the Governor. He let the bench know that his letters home would describe their conduct one way or another. The remark functions as a veiled inducement, offering a favourable report in exchange for the bills and implying an unfavourable one if refused.
457	449	Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 28. day of Octob.r 1718. At Union Castle in James Valley. Pres.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth. Barrett 2.d Antip: Tovey 3 in Coun: Last Consultation was read & approved of. The Gov.r Enquires when the Gen.l Letter now to go Home will be ready to signe, & Says if any thing is to be added to it, the Letter must be brought in now and done to day. The Secretary Says he has Copied out all the foul draft of the General Letter already. The following Petition was Presented. Island S.t Helena To the Worshipf.l Isaac Pyke Esq. Govern.r &c. Council. The Humble Petition of John Goodwin Writer & Assist.t to the Store keeper. Sheweth. That Whereas your Petition.r has Served the Hon. Comp.rs here Several Years as Writer &c. without any other advantages than his Small Sallary. Humbly. Margin Notes: Island S.t Helena	[Island of St Helena] At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 October 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present were Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor, with Mathew Bazett second and Antipas Tovey third in council. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke asked when the general letter now to go home would be ready to sign. He said that if anything were to be added to it, the letter must be brought in and finished that day. The secretary said he had already copied out the whole foul draft of the general letter. The following petition was presented. [Island of St Helena] John Goodwin, writer and assistant to the storekeeper, petitioned the Governor and Council. He set out that he had served the Honourable Company on the island several years as writer, with no advantage beyond his small salary. He humbly Interpretations Tovey's return to the council marks his recovery from the sickness that had kept him absent through October 1718. He had been recorded absent through illness at the consultations of 7, 14 and 21 October 1718, with the council reduced to Pyke and Bazett alone. His reappearance restores the bench to its full complement of three, ending the period in which a two-man council had carried the Company's business. The Governor's insistence that anything to be added to the general letter be done that day reflects the fixed rhythm of the homeward shipping. The letter to the Directors had to sail with the departing fleet, leaving no room for later additions. The pressure shows the island's correspondence with London bound to the schedule of the ships, the whole record of the year's proceedings closing on the day the dispatch was sealed.
458	450	Octob. Humbly prays he may be Assistant to the Accomptant (who now is in want of one) with Such other Encouragement as in your Wisdome Shall Seem best. And yo.r Petition.r Shall ever pray &c. (Signed) John Goodwin. Granted. The Gov.r Says he finds there is Great talk made by Some People who tho' they have nothing to do with it, Do Still give themselves the Liberty of talking and Say that the Gov.r do's every thing Just as he will himself and that theirs but one Council more which is Capt. Bazett who if they happen to discent in their Opinion, the Gov.r follows his own way. In answer to that the Gov.r Alledges	Goodwin asked to be made assistant to the accountant, who was now in need of one, with whatever further encouragement the council thought best. The petition was signed by John Goodwin. The council granted the request. Governor Pyke said he found there was great talk made by some people who, though they had nothing to do with the matter, still took the liberty of talking. They said the Governor did everything just as he pleased, and that he had only one more councillor, Captain Bazett, whose opinion he ignored whenever they happened to disagree, the Governor then following his own way. In answer, Pyke maintained that wherever opinions were equally divided, he had usually acted according to his own judgement. He added that part of this report had more malice in it than any real Interpretations Goodwin's appointment as assistant to the accountant directly answers the staffing crisis pressed

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		that in all places where there happens to be Equall opinions on Each Side, He has usually acted According to his Judge=ment, And tho' part of this Report has more of Malice in it than any real	through the autumn of 1718. The council had repeatedly noted the accountant's office overwhelmed and the 1716 books far behind, with Pyke seeking fresh help at the consultation of 30 September 1718. Granting Goodwin to the accountant supplies the extra hand the Governor had judged necessary, the long-running shortage met from the existing establishment. The complaint that Pyke ruled alone, overriding his sole effective colleague Bazett, exposes the structural weakness of a council reduced to two active members. With Tovey long absent through illness, decisions had rested on the Governor and storekeeper alone, and any disagreement left Pyke's view to prevail. The talk records public unease at the concentration of power, the small bench offering little check on a determined governor. Pyke's defence, that he acted on his own judgement only where opinions were equally divided, frames a constitutional point about how a council decided. With the bench split evenly between two men, no majority could form, and the Governor's casting judgement settled the matter. The answer reveals the bench's procedure under reduced numbers, where the Governor's voice necessarily broke every tie.
459	451	real truth for Capt. Bazett and he has never differ'd in their Judgem.t Since they Satt alone. But to prevent any foolish Jealousies of this Nature, He thinks tis best to Choose Some fitting Persons to Sitt as Assistants in Councill till Such time as the Hon. Comp.rs Pleasure be further known. And he desires Capt. Bazett to name any Person that he thinks is Proper for Such Employ. Capt. Bazett Sayes he thinks the Sect.ry as he is and must Always be here, is the Properest Person that he knows of, And he takes him to be a very Honest man. The Govern.t Say's he is very Glad that Capt. Bazett has Nam'd the Sect.ry because he thinks him very fitt for it and Should have named him, himself if he had not. The Gov.r Further Sayes that in Case of the absence of these few Council that We have He thinks tis likewise Necessary to Name Some body Else, but because Mr. Mason intends for England he do's not Name him, otherwise he thinks him a Sober man and very well Qualified. The next best man upon the place He takes to be Mr. John Goodwin and desires he may	Governor Pyke continued, saying the report had more malice in it than real truth. He and Captain Bazett had never differed in their judgement since they sat alone. To prevent any foolish jealousies of this kind, he thought it best to choose some fitting persons to sit as assistants in council until the Honourable Company's pleasure was further known. He asked Captain Bazett to name anyone he thought proper for such employment. Captain Bazett said he thought the secretary, being always present, was the fittest person he knew of, and took him to be a very honest man. Governor Pyke said he was very glad Bazett had named the secretary, since he thought him very fit for it and would have named him himself had Bazett not done so. Pyke further said that, in case of the absence of the few councillors they had, he thought it necessary to name someone else as well. He did not name Mr Cason, since Cason intended to go to England, though he thought him a sober and well-qualified man. The next best man on the island he took to be Mr John Goodwin, and he wished Interpretations Pyke's move to appoint assistant councillors directly answers the public talk that he ruled with too narrow a bench. By enlarging the council with fitting men until London's pleasure was known, he sought to disarm the charge that decisions rested on himself and Bazett alone. The step shows the Governor responding to criticism by broadening the very body whose smallness had drawn complaint, a provisional remedy pending the Company's own direction. The choice of the secretary as an assistant rests explicitly on his constant presence at the bench. Both Pyke and Bazett named him for being always there, the practical qualification for a councillor expected to attend. The reasoning reveals attendance itself as a scarce and valued quality on an establishment where illness and departures repeatedly thinned the council, the reliable presence of the secretary making him the obvious recruit. The exclusion of Cason because he intended for England shows appointments shaped by the transience of the island's officers. A qualified man was passed over precisely because he would soon be gone. The consideration exposes how the constant movement of Company servants between stations constrained the choice of local officeholders, continuity demanding

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			men who would remain rather than those merely fit for the post.
460	452	Octob.r may be admitted as another Assistant to the Council upon his Recommendation. Capt. Bazett Says he is very will= =ing to it thinking him a deserving Young man. Mr. Tovey has been ill a great while but being now Pretty well recovered he was Sent for in to give his opinion in this matter. Mr. Tovey came into Council and read this Consultation and approves of it very well and says We could not have made a better Choice. The Gov.r Complains that he has a very Rude, Scandalous Letter sent him, full of Lying Invectives, and was Sent by our Chaplaine Mr. Thomlinsons Servant but it is Subscribed by one William Stevenson a North Brittain who is a Passanger on board the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, He has brought the Original Letter into Council and desires it may be Entered in this Consultation, and if it be false he would have the Council Say So, or if they think it true to Speak their minds freely. A Copy of which Scandalous Letter is as follows. To	Governor Pyke wished Goodwin to be admitted as another assistant to the council on his recommendation. Captain Bazett said he was very willing, thinking Goodwin a deserving young man. Mr Tovey had been ill a great while, but being now pretty well recovered he was sent for to give his opinion on the matter. Tovey came into council, read this consultation and approved it very well, saying they could not have made a better choice. Governor Pyke complained that he had received a very rude and scandalous letter, full of lying invectives. It had been delivered by the chaplain Mr Thomlinson's servant, but was signed by one William Stevenson, a Scotsman and a passenger aboard the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>. Pyke brought the original letter into council and asked that it be entered in this consultation. If it were false, he wished the council to say so, and if they thought it true, to speak their minds freely. A copy of the scandalous letter followed. Interpretations Pyke's demand that Stevenson's letter be entered in the consultation and judged by the council turns the record itself into his defence. Rather than suppress an attack on his conduct, he placed it on the official register and invited the bench to pronounce on its truth. The move shows the Governor using the formal entry of a hostile document to clear his name, the consultation book serving as the instrument through which he answered slander. The delivery of Stevenson's letter by Thomlinson's own servant links the two men's grievances against the Governor. The chaplain's dispute over his bills and the Scotsman's scandalous letter were connected through the same household. The detail confirms Pyke's earlier suspicion, voiced at the consultation of 21 October 1718, that Thomlinson was being stirred up by Stevenson, the shared messenger binding the two complaints into a single campaign. Tovey's recall to approve the appointment, despite his weak recovery, shows the council seeking the assent of its full membership for a constitutional change. Enlarging the bench with assistants touched the very composition of the governing body. Bringing in the third councillor to endorse it, rather than proceeding on two voices, reveals the care taken to ground the decision in the agreement of all the established members.
461	453	To Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r of S.t Helena. When I discoursed with you lately Concerning the differences between you and Mr. Thomlinson twas a great Satisfaction to me to find you was Somewhat disposed to a reconciliation & willing to make him Easy by Some Concessions relating to House Rent & Allowance for Servants Wages for which you Ordered the Writer who drew out the Account between the Comp.r and Mr. Thomlinson to give him Credit in it, there was then So great hope of Accomodation between you, that I could foresee nothing that might obstruct it not Imagin= =ing that you would refuse him Bills on the Comp.r for the Ballance of his Acco.t and make use of this as a Handle for a new quarrel. S.r As I have all along used my Sincere Endea= =vours to procure a right Understanding between you & him and am Still unwilling they Should Prove ineffectual give me leave to Expostulate the matter with you in that fair & Free manner that an Impartial Person ought to do in Such Cases. Mr. Thomlinson being fully Determined to go Home next year in case the Comp.rs Should not	Stevenson addressed Governor Pyke. He wrote that when he had lately discussed the differences between the Governor and Mr Thomlinson, it gave him great satisfaction to find Pyke somewhat disposed to a reconciliation. The Governor had seemed willing to make the chaplain easy by some concessions over house rent and an allowance for servants' wages, and to that end had ordered the writer who drew up the account between the Company and Thomlinson to give him credit for it. There was then great hope of agreement between them, and Stevenson foresaw nothing that might obstruct it. He had not imagined the Governor would refuse Thomlinson bills on the Company for the balance of his account, and make use of this as grounds for a new quarrel. Stevenson wrote that, having all along used his sincere efforts to procure a right understanding between the two men, and being still unwilling they should prove ineffective, he asked leave to argue the matter with the Governor in the fair and free manner that an impartial person ought to use in such cases. Mr Thomlinson was fully determined to go home the next year, in case the Company should not move

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		remove him to India as he Expects they will, he is very desirous to have his affairs Somewhat Settled	him to India as he expected they would. He was therefore very anxious to have his affairs somewhat settled Interpretations Stevenson's self-description as an impartial person mediating between the Governor and the chaplain stands sharply against Pyke's view of him as the instigator of the whole dispute. The letter casts its author as a disinterested peacemaker seeking reconciliation. The contradiction between this posture and the Governor's account, voiced at the consultation of 21 October 1718, frames the central question the council was asked to judge: whether Stevenson calmed the quarrel or fomented it. The concessions Stevenson recalls Pyke offering - on house rent and servants' wages - confirm that the Governor had at one point moved toward settling Thomlinson's grievances. The writer who drew the account had been ordered to credit the chaplain accordingly. The detail shows that the dispute had been close to resolution before the refusal of bills reopened it, locating the breakdown in that single decision over the balance of the account. Thomlinson's plan to leave for England unless posted to India reveals the chaplain weighing two futures within the Company's service. His anxiety to settle his affairs sprang from the uncertainty of which course he would take. The detail shows how a servant's pressing of financial claims was driven by impending departure, the need to realise his island credit before he left making the question of bills urgent.
462	454	Octob.r Settled and to have what the Comp.rs owes him remitted to England to be there Improved to his advantage, accordingly he gave you in a Petition the other day representing that there was a Ballance due to him of Upwards of £500. as appears by the Acco.t therewith Produced, and therefore desired Bills on the Comp.rs for that Sume, In answer to which Petition he was told in Consultation that he could not have Bills for more than £100. w.ch he refused. It is not Easy to Imagine S.r what Private reasons you have for refusing So Just a Demand nor will all the Artifice and Colouring you can use on this Occasion Justifie your Conduct before the Court of Directors, You have no Objection against the Acco.t as you Declared to Mr. Thomlinson in Council, nor Indeed is there room to object any thing against it for it was Extracted out of the Comp.rs Books by their Sub. Accompt.t and Adjusted by your own Express Orders, Now Since the Acco.t is fairly Stated why Should not the Ballance of it be paid, is £500. more than he can have occasion for at one time as you once insinuated, but pray S.r is not Mr. Thomlinson the best Judge of his own	Stevenson continued. Thomlinson wished to have what the Company owed him remitted to England, to be improved there to his advantage. He had accordingly given the Governor a petition the other day, stating that a balance of upwards of £500 0s 0d was due to him, as appeared by the account produced with it, and asking for bills on the Company for that sum. In answer he was told in council that he could not have bills for more than £100 0s 0d, which he refused. Stevenson wrote that it was not easy to imagine what private reasons the Governor had for refusing so just a demand. Nor would all the artifice and colouring he could use on this occasion justify his conduct before the Court of Directors. The Governor had no objection to the account, as he had declared to Thomlinson in council. Nor indeed was there room to object to it, since it had been extracted from the Company's books by their sub-accountant and adjusted by the Governor's own express orders. Now that the account was fairly stated, Stevenson asked why the balance should not be paid. He challenged the Governor's reasoning that £500 0s 0d was more than Thomlinson could have occasion for at one time. He asked whether Thomlinson was not the best judge of his own Interpretations Stevenson's argument fastens on the contradiction between the Governor's acceptance of the account and his refusal to pay it. Pyke had acknowledged the £500 0s 0d due and raised no objection to the figures, yet would grant bills for only £100 0s 0d. The letter exploits this gap relentlessly, pressing that an admitted debt drawn from the Company's own books and adjusted by the Governor's order left no ground for withholding payment. The Governor's justification, that £500 0s 0d was more than Thomlinson needed at one time, exposes the real point of contention. Pyke sought to ration the bills against the chaplain's supposed requirements rather than the sum owed. Stevenson's retort, that a man is the best judge of his own needs, frames the dispute as one of principle: whether the Company's

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			debtor or its Governor decided how much of an acknowledged balance should be released. The repeated invocation of the Court of Directors as the forum before which Pyke's conduct must answer reveals the metropolitan oversight pressing on the island bench. Stevenson warns that no artifice will justify the refusal in London. The threat shows the chaplain's party staking everything on the Directors' review, treating the home authority as the ultimate arbiter of a quarrel the local council could not settle to their satisfaction.
463	455	own wants and occasions. Suppose that he would have his money employed at Home or lent out at Interest is not this a just Occasion for Demanding it, the Company will allow him no Interest I am afraid for Several hundred Pounds they have been Indebted to him by your artfull management for Some years Past tho' now he has Demanded his debt in form tis Probable they will think themselves bound in Justice to allow him Interest for it till it be paid. But S.r Perhaps you think that £500. is too large a Sume to be drawn on the Company at one time and therefore you would rather Chuse to draw five Bills for it than one, But S.r if So Rich a Community as the Hon. East India Company Should think much of Paying a bill of £500. when it is justly due they must at the Same time think it a great hardship for a Private Person to be kept out of So large a Sum without any reason or Allowance for it, However S.r you ought not to Judge of the Hon. Comp.rs by your own Notions and measures of Acting, You perhaps would Scarce pay £500. of your own debts at a time Unless you were Compelled to it by law, But I am perswaded the Company take a pleasure in doing Justice and thereby Supporting their Credit. In	Stevenson continued. Thomlinson was the best judge of his own wants and occasions. Suppose he wished to have his money employed at home or lent out at interest - was this not a just reason for demanding it? The Company would allow him no interest, Stevenson feared, for the several hundred pounds they had owed him for some years past through the Governor's artful management, though now he had demanded his debt in proper form. It was probable they would think themselves bound in justice to allow him interest on it until it was paid. Stevenson supposed the Governor thought £500 0s 0d too large a sum to draw on the Company at one time, and would rather he drew five bills for it than one. But if so rich a community as the Honourable East India Company should think much of paying a bill of £500 0s 0d when it was justly due, they must at the same time think it a great hardship for a private person to be kept out of so large a sum without any reason or allowance for it. The Governor ought not to judge the Company by his own notions and ways of acting. He himself would scarcely pay £500 0s 0d of his own debts at a time unless compelled by law, yet Stevenson was persuaded the Company took pleasure in doing justice and so supporting their credit. Interpretations Stevenson's argument that the Company would owe interest on the long-unpaid balance sharpens the financial stakes of the delay. If Thomlinson had been kept from several hundred pounds for years, the sum deprived him of the return he could have earned by lending or investing it. The point converts the Governor's refusal into a mounting liability, the Company exposed to a claim for interest that grew with every year the principal went unpaid. The contrast Stevenson draws between the Company's wealth and the chaplain's private need frames the refusal as both unjust and disproportionate. A bill of £500 0s 0d was trivial to so rich a body yet vital to an individual kept from his due. The rhetorical strategy isolates the Governor's stand as indefensible, pitting the vast resources of the Company against the hardship of one man to make the withholding appear mean and arbitrary. The accusation of artful management directed at the Governor recurs as the letter's central charge against Pyke personally. Stevenson attributes the years of non-payment not to the Company's policy but to the Governor's manipulation of the accounts. The repeated imputation shows the dispute narrowing onto Pyke's own conduct, the chaplain's party seeking to fix personal blame on the Governor rather than the institution he served.
464	456	October. In Short S.r whatever you may Pretend in this Case the Court of Directors will be Apt to Suspect Something Else is the reason of your refusing to clear off Mr. Thomlinsons debt, they'll think that he has not made a Proper Appli= =cation in Private as they're informed you Expect from those you grant bills to, But he doth not think himself Obligated to make you	Stevenson continued. Whatever the Governor might pretend in this case, the Court of Directors would be apt to suspect some other reason for his refusing to clear off Thomlinson's debt. They would think the chaplain had not made a proper private application, of the kind they were informed the Governor expected from those he granted bills to. But Thomlinson did not think himself obliged to make any present to obtain the Governor's favour, nor would he encourage so

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		any Present to obtain your favour nor will he Encourage a Practice So Scandalous and Unjust, he desires nothing of you but to do a Necessary Piece of Justice and Since you refuse that, the Company will have reason to Conclude that there was good Ground for the Complaint given in against you at Home for your exacting Presents, what other reasons can they think you have for refusing Mr. Thomlinson Bills for what is due to him, You cant hope to ingratiate your Self with yo.r Hon: Masters by Such an Act of injustice which will tend as little to their Credit as your own, They will certainly Impute it either to your own avaritious temper in Extorting a Present or to your Implacable resentment to which you Seem resolved to Sacrifice their	scandalous and unjust a practice. He desired nothing but a necessary piece of justice. Since the Governor refused it, the Company would have reason to conclude there was good ground for the complaint given in against him at home for extorting presents. What other reason could they think the Governor had for refusing Thomlinson bills for what was due to him? He could not hope to ingratiate himself with the Honourable Masters by such an act of injustice, which would harm their credit as much as his own. They would certainly impute it either to his own avaricious temper in extorting a present, or to his implacable resentment, to which he seemed resolved to sacrifice their Interpretations The letter makes explicit the charge underlying the whole dispute: that Pyke withheld bills to extort private presents from those seeking them. Stevenson alleges the Governor expected a payment in return for granting bills, a corrupt practice Thomlinson refused to feed. The accusation transforms a quarrel over an account into a charge of systematic extortion, linking it directly to the complaint already lodged against Pyke in London. Stevenson's strategy ties the local refusal to the standing complaint at home, so that each reinforces the other. The Directors' existing suspicion of Pyke would lead them to read his treatment of Thomlinson as confirmation of the bribery charge. The argument constructs a trap, in which any refusal becomes evidence of the very corruption alleged, leaving the Governor unable to deny the bills without seeming to prove the accusation. The two motives Stevenson offers the Directors - avarice or implacable resentment - frame the Governor's conduct as inexcusable under either reading. Either he withheld the bills to squeeze a bribe, or out of personal spite against the chaplain. By foreclosing any honourable explanation, the letter denies Pyke a defensible middle ground, presenting his refusal as necessarily corrupt or vindictive in the eyes of the home authority.
465	457	their Honour as much as lies in yo.r Power and even your own Interest for I am Sure nothing can be more Prejudicial to your Interest among the Gentlemen Directors than your Arbitrary way of Acting in contempt of their Positive Orders and all the Rules of Common Equity. I assure you S.r once more it would be a great Pleasure to me if I could See you and Mr. Thomlinson Entirely reconciled, every body knows that he's a man of true Worth and Probaty and you S.r have found by too long Experience that his Temper is meek, Passive and Peacable, He always has been desirous to live w.th you in amity and all that he now insists on is to have his Accompt with the Company cleared and the Ballance of it Sent to England by Bills payable to his Worthy and Honourable Friend Govern. Harrison who will be Extreemly Surprised to hear you refuse So reasonable a request, Mr. Thomlinson insists on it the more pressingly that he may Prevent future Disputes, Vexatious delays and endless Janglings without which you Seldom Permit him to pay or receive, by Transferring the Smallest debt, It is to be rid of those repeated hardships and Unnecessary Contentions that he now Desires to have his money drawn	Stevenson continued. The Governor seemed resolved to sacrifice the Company's honour, as far as lay in his power, and even his own interest. Stevenson was sure nothing could be more harmful to the Governor's standing among the gentlemen Directors than his arbitrary way of acting, in contempt of their positive orders and all the rules of common equity. Stevenson assured the Governor once more that it would give him great pleasure to see him and Thomlinson entirely reconciled. Everyone knew the chaplain was a man of true worth and probity, and the Governor had found by long experience that his temper was meek, mild and peaceable. Thomlinson had always wished to live with him in friendship. All he now insisted on was to have his account with the Company cleared and the balance sent to England by bills payable to his worthy and honourable friend Governor Harrison, who would be extremely surprised to hear the Governor refuse so reasonable a request. Thomlinson insisted on it the more pressingly so that he might prevent future disputes, vexatious delays and endless wrangling. Without bills, the Governor seldom permitted him to pay or receive by transferring the smallest debt. It was to be rid of these repeated hardships and unnecessary quarrels that he now wished to have his money Interpretations Stevenson's portrait of Thomlinson as meek, mild and peaceable directly contradicts the council's own view of the chaplain as contentious, the very quality that had prompted suspicion of his formal petition at the consultation of 21 October 1718. The letter

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			constructs an opposing character for the man at the centre of the dispute. The clash of portraits sharpens the question before the bench, each side casting the chaplain's temper to suit its case. The complaint that the Governor seldom let Thomlinson pay or receive by transferring even the smallest debt exposes the practical grip the bench held over the chaplain's finances. Without access to the transfer book, Thomlinson could not settle his ordinary dealings on the island. The grievance reveals how control of the credit mechanism gave the Governor leverage over a servant's everyday transactions, the refusal of bills extending to the smallest movements of money. Thomlinson's stated wish to remit his money to England to escape endless wrangling reframes the demand for bills as a bid for independence from the island administration. By converting his island credit into an English claim, he would free himself from the Governor's control over his accounts. The reasoning shows the chaplain seeking through the bills not merely payment but release from a system in which the bench could obstruct his every transaction.
466	458	October. drawn out of your Clutches that he may have the less trouble and Perplexity in his other Affairs when he leaves the place. S.r Instead of enlarging more on this disa= =greeable Subject I Shall entreat you to Comply with Mr. Thomlinsons just Demand which you cannot but grant if you have any regard Either to Peace, truth, or Justice or any Concern for the Companys Honour or your own Interest. S.r I am S.t Helena y.e 25.th Your Humble Servant of Octob.r 1718. W.m Stevenson. Capt. Bazett Says that after having read the Letter He thinks it to be very Scandalous and the less unwarrantable by being write by a Clergy man and the more Scandalous by being Sent to a Govern.r Especially upon the Place where he Governs, and I think in Strict= =ness it might be Warrantable to have Sent him on board. Mr. Tovey thinks that So Scandalous and troublesome a fellow as this Stevenson Shews himself to be, and who after such Civill treatment as he has mett w.th from Govern.r Pyke, to fly in the face of Govern.r and	Stevenson concluded. Thomlinson wished his money drawn out of the Governor's clutches, so that he might have less trouble and perplexity in his other affairs when he left the island. Rather than enlarge further on so disagreeable a subject, Stevenson entreated the Governor to comply with Thomlinson's just demand, which he could not refuse if he had any regard for peace, truth or justice, or any concern for the Company's honour or his own interest. The letter was dated 25 October 1718 and signed by William Stevenson. Captain Bazett said that, having read the letter, he thought it very scandalous. It was the less excusable for being written by a clergyman, and the more scandalous for being sent to a governor, especially in the place where he governed. He thought that in strictness it might have been justifiable to send Stevenson aboard ship. Mr Tovey thought Stevenson showed himself so scandalous and troublesome a fellow, who after such civil treatment as he had met with from Governor Pyke would fly in the face of the Governor Interpretations Bazett's view that it might have been justifiable to send Stevenson aboard ship reveals the Governor's power to expel a troublesome passenger from the island. Confining a man to his vessel removed him from the settlement and silenced his interference. The councillor's reasoning shows the bench weighing a coercive remedy against a critic, the authority to put a man back on his ship serving as a check on those who challenged the administration. Bazett's emphasis that the letter was worse for coming from a clergyman, though signed by Stevenson, conflates the two men in the council's mind. The letter bore Stevenson's name but was treated as the chaplain's work, delivered by his servant and serving his cause. The slippage shows the bench regarding Thomlinson and Stevenson as a single hostile interest, the lay passenger's signature offering the chaplain no distance from its contents. The councillors' stress on the civil treatment Pyke had shown Stevenson frames the attack as ingratitude rather than legitimate grievance. By recording that the Governor had treated the man courteously, the bench cast his hostility as unprovoked. The emphasis serves the record Pyke was building in his own defence, establishing that the slander came not in answer to ill usage but in defiance of kindness shown.

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467	459	and Governm.t and Sow Seeds of Discord here as much as Possible, ought to be Sent on board the Ship he belongs to as not fitt= =ing to remain under any Civill Governm.t The Gov.r thanks the Gentlem.n of the Council for their opinion, and Says he is unwilling to Send this Stevenson on board because he has been the Comp.rs Chaplain Some time at Maddrass, But if he continues to affront him after Such abase & Scandalous manner He will then Send him on board According to their Opinions that We may be more at quiett. And the Gov.r Says he finds there is an animosity between Mr. Thomlinson and him tho' he thought there had been none for above two years now Past, He desires every one of the Council to Consider very well with themselves and to report in Writing what they know or what they think to be the cause, for tis a Strange thing to him that men Should fall out and not know why tho' here of late as will appear by the Enqy.s in the last Consultation our Parson has been more troublesome than Usuell & has Severall new Notions which he thinks is Contrary to reason and wonders that he cannot or will not	Mr Tovey concluded that Stevenson, who flew in the face of the Governor and government and sowed seeds of discord on the island as much as possible, ought to be sent aboard the ship he belonged to, being unfit to remain under any civil government. Governor Pyke thanked the gentlemen of the council for their opinion. He said he was unwilling to send Stevenson aboard, since he had been the Company's chaplain some time at Madras. But if Stevenson continued to affront him after such abusive and scandalous conduct, he would then send him aboard, according to their opinions, so that the island might be more at quiet. Pyke said he found there was animosity between Mr Thomlinson and himself, though he had thought there had been none for above two years past. He asked every councillor to consider carefully and report in writing what they knew or thought to be the cause. It was a strange thing to him that men should fall out and not know why. Of late, as would appear from the entries in the last consultation, the parson had been more troublesome than usual and held several new notions which Pyke thought contrary to reason. He wondered which the chaplain could not, or would Interpretations The disclosure that Stevenson had served as the Company's chaplain at Madras explains Pyke's reluctance to expel him despite the council's advice. A fellow clergyman of the Company's establishment could not be put aboard ship as lightly as an ordinary troublemaker. The hesitation shows the Governor weighing the man's clerical standing within the Company against the disorder he caused, status tempering the coercive power the bench was urging him to use. Pyke's request that each councillor report in writing the cause of the quarrel turns the bench into a formal inquiry documenting the dispute. By gathering written opinions, the Governor built a record for the Company's review. The procedure shows him answering a conflict that touched his own conduct by compiling evidence from his colleagues, the written reports serving as testimony to set against the charges Thomlinson and Stevenson were sending home. Pyke's puzzlement that the animosity had arisen after two years of peace points to a recent and specific trigger rather than long-standing grievance. He dated the trouble to the chaplain's new notions and increased difficulty of late. The observation locates the breakdown in events of the autumn of 1718, the Governor seeking to fix when and why a settled relationship had turned hostile.
468	460	October not See how much We have done to oblige him. The Govern.r Says he did not goe last Sunday to Church but the Gentlem.n that were there told him of a great Omission of Severall Parts of the Liturgy and asked him the reason of it, and does Declar it was Neither by his consent, knowledge, nor Approbation and as the Parson has done it of his own Acord he ought to answer for it, for he will Testify on all occasions that he is not for any Innova= =tions and will never Approve of any Altera= =tion of the Liturgy but what King George who is the head of the English Church Shall order. The Gov.r asks Capt. Bazett whether he was at Church last Sunday. He Says he was. The Govern.r Desires to know whether the Niceen Creed which is usually read in the Communion Service was read. Capt. Bazett Says 'twas not. Whether the usuall Prayers for the Hon.ble Comp.ny and Shipping was read.	The councillors could not see how much had been done to oblige him. Governor Pyke stated that he had not gone to church the previous Sunday, but the gentlemen who were present told him of a serious omission of several parts of the liturgy and asked him the reason for it. He declared that the omission had been made without his consent, his knowledge or his approval. Since the parson had done it on his own initiative, the parson must answer for it. The Governor would testify on every occasion that he opposed any innovation. He would never approve any alteration of the liturgy except what King George, as head of the English Church, should order. Governor Pyke asked Captain Bazett whether he had been at church the previous Sunday. Bazett answered that he had. Governor Pyke then asked whether the Nicene Creed, which was usually read in the communion service, had been read. Bazett answered that it had not.

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		He Says to the best of his Remem= =ance they were not.	The Governor asked whether the usual prayers for the Honourable Company and the shipping had been read. Bazett answered that, to the best of his recollection, they had not. Interpretations The dispute concerned the chaplain Joshua Thomlinson, whose conduct had already been before the council in the bills and bribery quarrel of 21 to 28 October 1718. The omissions in the service formed a fresh ground of complaint against him, gathered through the sworn recollection of the councillors who had attended. The prayers for the Honourable Company and the shipping marked the church service as an instrument of the trading enterprise rather than a purely religious observance. Their omission touched the Company's authority directly, which explains why the Governor pressed Bazett on the point alongside the doctrinal question of the Nicene Creed. Governor Pyke's appeal to King George as head of the English Church rooted his position in royal supremacy over religious forms. The argument let him cast the chaplain's unauthorised changes as a usurpation of the Crown's prerogative, placing the parson in the wrong on constitutional rather than merely local grounds. Speculations The Governor built his case by examining Bazett point by point on what had and had not been read, fixing each omission separately on the record. The method converted general grievance into specific sworn evidence, the same approach he had taken in entering the whole Thomlinson correspondence on 28 October 1718 and asking each councillor for a written report.
469	461	1718. The Govern.r asks whether it be true that there was only a Collect and the Lords prayer before the Sermon. Capt. Bazett Says 'tis true. The Govern.r asks the Opinion of the Council whether the Parson Should not be asked why he made this Omission, & to be reprimanded for it. Capt. Bazett Says he dont know What to Say to it because he do's not Perfectly know the Method of the Church, and likewise do's not know whether twas an omission of the Ministers duty or not. The Gov.r asks Mr. Tovey what he Says to it. Mr. Tovey Says that it has been the Practice of the Church ever Since he knew it To read the Prayers for the Hon.ble Comp.ny and Shiping, and therefore thinks Doct. Thomlinsons has very apparently Neglected his duty, and doing it at this time looks as tho' he was Influe= =enced by Some ill designing Person, & none So likely as this Parson Stevenson. Docter Thomlinson was Sent for in, and then Sayed That his meaning was Miss= =understood last Consultation day for he was not	Governor Pyke asked whether it was true that only a collect and the Lord's Prayer had been said before the sermon. Captain Bazett confirmed that it was. Governor Pyke then asked the council whether the parson should not be asked why he had made this omission, and be reprimanded for it. Bazett answered that he did not know what to say, since he did not fully understand the order of the church service and could not tell whether the omission was a failure of the minister's duty or not. Governor Pyke asked Tovey for his opinion. Tovey answered that the church had always read the prayers for the Honourable Company and the shipping for as long as he had known it. He therefore thought Doctor Thomlinson had plainly neglected his duty. To do so at this particular time suggested that the parson was being influenced by some ill-intentioned person, and none seemed more probable than the parson Stevenson. Doctor Thomlinson was then sent for. He stated that his meaning had been misunderstood at the previous consultation, for he was not... Interpretations Tovey linked the liturgical omissions to William Stevenson, the Scotsman and former Madras chaplain who had sent the scandalous letter of 25 October 1718 pressing the bribery charge against the Governor. The connection recast a question of church practice as part of the wider campaign against Pyke's administration, tying Thomlinson's conduct to an outside agitator already marked as an enemy of the government. Bazett's plea of ignorance about the order of service let him avoid taking a side in the quarrel between the Governor and the chaplain. The contrast with Tovey's confident answer shows how the council's individual opinions, recorded in turn, could either commit a member to the prosecution or hold him clear of it.

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			Speculations The Governor again polled the councillors one by one rather than seeking a collective view, drawing a firm opinion from Tovey while leaving Bazett's hesitation equally on the record. The procedure built a documented case against Thomlinson from separate sworn statements, the same method Pyke had used on 28 October 1718 when he required each councillor to report in writing on the cause of the animosity against him.
470	462	October. not Satisfyed to have Bills but for one hundred Pounds. The Govern.r Says in Answer to that, He has gott a Paper which he believes will Explain his meaning better because twas brought to him by his Doct.r Thomlinsons Servant, which is that Letter aforesaid of Parson Stevensons w.ch was read in Mr. Thomlinsons presence, Then the Gov.r Orded Mr. Tovey to read the following words Distinctly to Dr. Thomlinson. Mr. Joshua Thomlinson I am Ordered by the Govern.t and Council to acquaint You that they will not any Longer bear your great Neglect of Duty in many Particu= =lars for Instance your leaving out the reading the Niceen Creed last Sunday at Church. Your not reading the Prayer for the Hon.ble Comp.ny and they are at a loss to know why the good Custome of Praying for the Ships is left off Unless you Think your Prayers Signifye nothing and they can do as well with= =out them. As to the new fancye of leaving out the usuall prayer before the Sermon and repeating,	The chaplain was not satisfied to receive bills for only £100 0s 0d. Governor Pyke answered that he had a paper which he believed would explain the chaplain's meaning better, since it had been brought to him by Doctor Thomlinson's own servant. The paper was the letter of Parson Stevenson, which had been read in Thomlinson's presence. Governor Pyke then ordered Tovey to read the following words clearly to Doctor Thomlinson. Tovey told Joshua Thomlinson that he was ordered by the Governor and council to inform him that they would no longer tolerate his serious neglect of duty in many respects. As one instance, he had left out the reading of the Nicene Creed the previous Sunday at church. He had also failed to read the prayer for the Honourable Company. The council was at a loss to know why the established custom of praying for the ships had been abandoned, unless the chaplain thought his prayers counted for nothing and the ships could do as well without them. As to the new fancy of leaving out the usual prayer before the sermon and repeating... Interpretations The Stevenson letter served a double purpose for the Governor. Brought in by Thomlinson's own servant, it tied the chaplain to the outside agitator and at the same time explained Thomlinson's discontent over the bills, the £100 0s 0d grant having fallen far short of the upwards of £500 0s 0d he claimed on 21 October 1718. The single paper thus bound the church complaint and the money quarrel into one case. The formal reprimand read aloud by Tovey converted the council's grievance into an official act with a fixed record. Delivering it through the secretary, in set words ordered by the Governor and council, gave the censure the weight of a corporate decision rather than a personal rebuke from Pyke, which mattered in a dispute the chaplain was carrying to the directors in England. Speculations The sarcastic phrasing of the reprimand, suggesting the chaplain thought his prayers worthless and the ships could manage without them, pressed Thomlinson on the point most damaging to him before the Company. By framing the omission as contempt for the prayers for the shipping, the council fixed his neglect to the Company's own interest, making the charge one the directors could not lightly dismiss.
471	463	1718. repeating only a Collect before the Lords Prayer it being Contrary to the 55. Cannon of the Church and contrary to the King & Councils Orders & Instructions to the Arch Bishops & Bishops, And therefore the Govern.r & Council are resolved to have no more of the Popperies nor Alterations in the Established forms of the Church prayers. And they have Ordered me to tell you that if you goe on in these Whimsicall methods of Altering the Established Prayers or halving of them, you will render yo.r selfe Uncapable of Acting as a Minister of the	The reprimand continued, charging the chaplain with repeating only a collect before the Lord's Prayer. The council held this contrary to the fifty-fifth canon of the church and to the orders and instructions given by the King and council to the archbishops and bishops. The Governor and council were therefore resolved to allow no more of these absurdities nor any alterations in the established forms of the church prayers. Tovey told Thomlinson that the council had ordered him to give this warning. If the chaplain continued in these whimsical methods of altering the established prayers, or of cutting them short, he would make himself unfit to act as a minister of the Church of

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		Church of England here, and must Expect to be Sent Home to England to answer for your Demeritts. To which Doct.r Thomlinson made the following Reply. That As to the Niceen Creed he says he forgot it. As to the Prayer for the Company he Sayes he Mentions them when he Says Grace at Dinner. As to praying for the Ships he do's do it Some times but it is Calculated for a Man of War and not So Proper for a Merchant Ship but in	England on the island. He must then expect to be sent home to England to answer for his faults. Doctor Thomlinson made the following reply. As to the Nicene Creed, he said he had forgotten it. As to the prayer for the Company, he said he mentioned the Company when he said grace at dinner. As to praying for the ships, he said he did so sometimes, but the prayer was composed for a man of war and was not so suitable for a merchant ship. Interpretations The council grounded its censure in the fifty-fifth canon of 1604 and in the royal instructions to the bishops, framing the chaplain's omissions as breaches of the formal law of the Church of England rather than mere local irregularities. The appeal to canon and royal authority placed the dispute beyond the chaplain's discretion and supported the threat to send him home, since an offence against the established forms was one the directors and the church authorities in England could be expected to recognise. Thomlinson's answers reduced the charges to excuses a hostile council could readily dismiss. His plea that the shipping prayer suited a warship rather than a merchantman struck directly at the Company's interest in being prayed for, which was the very point Pyke and Tovey had pressed, and so was unlikely to soften the case against him. Speculations The warning fixed a clear condition and a defined penalty, telling Thomlinson that further alteration of the prayers would render him unfit to officiate and bring his return to England to answer for it. By stating the consequence in advance and entering it on the record, the council prepared the ground for removal should the chaplain persist, converting an open quarrel into a documented final warning of the kind Pyke had built throughout the animosity recorded on 28 October 1718.
472	464	October in the Litany he prayes for all that travell by Land or by Water but Says he did not leave it out Purposely. As to saying only the Collect and the Lords Prayer he Sayes he Sayd no more than that because he was not well. The following Letters were rec.d from Capt. Small and Capt Warden. Worsp.I S.rr I this morning received your Worships Letter with a Paragraph Copied from our Hon.ble Masters Letter intimating the Caution they Advise all Commanders of Ships in their Service to take when come near our Channel, in it, and in the Downes, lest they be Surprized by Swedish Privateers or others, which Shall have all due regard to, and in every Respect take the Utmost Care of their Estates. As to your recommending our keeping Comp.ny with the St. George Capt. Worden I have been ready to Sail ever since last Friday and not finding him ready think to Sail 'Tomorrow tho' at your request Shall Stay till Wednesday. From on board the Duke of Cambridge In S.t Helena Road. Octob. 27 1718. Your most Humble and obedient Servant. Daw. Small. Margin Notes: to his place	The chaplain added that in the litany he prayed for all who travelled by land or by water, and that he had not left this out on purpose. As to saying only the collect and the Lord's Prayer, he explained that he had said no more than that because he was unwell. The following letters were received from Captain Small and Captain Worden. Captain Daniel Small wrote that he had received the council's letter that morning, together with a paragraph copied from the Honourable Masters' letter. The paragraph set out the caution the Masters advised all commanders of their ships to observe when coming near the English Channel and in the Downs, for fear of being surprised by Swedish privateers or others. Small promised to give the warning every attention and to take the utmost care of the ships in every respect. As to the council's recommendation that he keep company with the <i>St George</i> under Captain Worden, Small wrote that he had been ready to sail since the previous Friday. Finding Worden not ready, he now intended to sail the next day, though at the council's request he would wait until Wednesday. Small signed himself from on board the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> in St Helena Road on 27 October 1718. Interpretations The Masters' caution against Swedish privateers reflected the hazard of the Great Northern War to homeward East India shipping in 1718, the richest part of any voyage lying in the final approach through the Channel and the Downs. The council's relay of the warning, and its recommendation that the two ships sail together, formed part of its standing duty to protect the Company's returning cargoes against capture in European waters.

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			The exchange marks a shift in the record from the internal church dispute to the ordinary business of despatching ships. The two homeward vessels carried the consultations and correspondence to England, so the timing of their departure governed when the Thomlinson papers and the rest of the council's case would reach the directors. Speculations The council pressed Small and Worden to sail in company rather than separately, trading a short delay for the safety of a joint passage through the dangerous final leg. Small's readiness to advance his own sailing yet wait until Wednesday at the council's request shows the arrangement balancing one commander's impatience against the protection that conveying the <i>St George</i> offered both ships and their cargoes.
473	465	1718. Worspfall S.rr I this morning received yo.r Worships Letter with a Paragraph Copied from our Hon.ble Masters Letter intimating the Caution they Advise all Comanders of Ships in their Service to take when come near our Channel, in it, & in the Downes, lest they be Surprized by Swedish Privateers or others, Which Shall have all due Regard to, and in every Respect take the Utmost care of their Estates. As to your recomending our keeping Comp.ny with the Duke of Cambridge Capt. Small, who I understand intends to Sail for England tomor= =row, it will be Impossible for our Ship to be able with Safety to goe along with him, but if your Worship will Perswade him to Stay for our Ship, Shall endeavour the keeping Comp.ny Home. In order whereto Shall receive & Observe Such Sailing Orders as he thinks Proper to give me, and hope to be ready to Sail a Saturday next. I am From on board the St. George In S.t Helena Road. Oct.r 27. 1718. Worsh. S.rr Your most Humble & Obedient Servant. Char: Worden Mr.s	Captain Charles Worden wrote that he had received the council's letter that morning, together with a paragraph copied from the Honourable Masters' letter. The paragraph set out the caution the Masters advised all commanders of their ships to observe when coming near the English Channel and in the Downs, for fear of being surprised by Swedish privateers or others. Worden promised to give the warning every attention and to take the utmost care of the ships in every respect. As to the council's recommendation that he keep company with the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> under Captain Small, Worden understood that Small intended to sail for England the next day. It would be impossible for his own ship to go with Small in safety. If the council would persuade Small to wait for his ship, Worden would do his best to keep company home. He would then receive and observe whatever sailing orders Small thought proper to give him, and he hoped to be ready to sail the following Saturday. Worden signed himself from on board the <i>St George</i> in St Helena Road on 27 October 1718. Interpretations The two letters show the council unable to compel its commanders and reduced to mediating between them. Worden could not be ready before Saturday while Small meant to leave the next day, so the convoy depended on the council persuading the faster ship to wait for the slower. The bench held the responsibility for protecting the homeward cargoes but lacked direct authority over the timing of departure, which rested with the masters under their charter parties. Worden's offer to take sailing orders from Small settled the question of command for the joint passage. By placing himself under the other master for the voyage home, he supplied the single direction a convoy required, resolving through agreement between the two commanders a matter the council itself could not order. Speculations Worden made his cooperation conditional on the council bringing Small to wait, shifting the burden of arranging the convoy back onto the bench. The manoeuvre let him appear willing to keep company while protecting his own position, since the delay he needed could be presented as the council's doing rather than his own unreadiness against the Masters' caution to guard the ships in the dangerous Channel approach.
474	466	October. Mr.s Carne desires to have the Sume of fifty three pounds Six Shillings Trans= =ferred to the Govern.r for the Use of Gov.r Kelings Orphans in England. Ordered That the Said Sume be Transferred According to her desire.	Mrs Carne asked that the sum of £53 6s 0d be transferred to the Governor for the use of Governor Keeling's orphans in England. The council ordered the sum transferred as she wished. Captain Daniel Small asked to be allowed to register 600 weight of tea that he had bought after his register at Madras had been given in. The council ordered the tea registered as requested.

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		Capt. Daniel Small desired he might be allowed to Register here Six Hundred weight of Tea that he bought after his Register at Maddras was given in. Ordered That the Said Tea be Registered accordingly. Memorand.m Thus far hath been Copied and sent to Engl.d p Ship Dk. of Cambridge. Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin	A memorandum recorded that the record had been copied this far and sent to England by the ship <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The transfer requested by Mrs Carne continued the long settlement of the debt her husband George Carne owed for the Keeling orphans' money, first secured by the council on 9 May 1711 and worked down by instalments since the schedule of 7 December 1714. Routing the £53 6s 0d through the Governor for remittance to England shows the council acting as a channel between a local debtor and beneficiaries overseas, the orphans' fund being recoverable only through the Company's metropolitan accounts. Small's request to register tea bought after his Madras manifest had been lodged reveals the registration system as a customs and revenue control. Recording the late purchase on the island kept the cargo within the Company's account and made it answerable to duty, closing the gap a master might otherwise use to carry unregistered private trade. The memorandum noting the record copied to this point and sent home by the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i>, with the clerks' signatures, marks the despatch of the consultation book to the directors. The departure carried the whole Thomlinson dispute and the surrounding business to England, fixing the moment at which the council's case left the island for the Masters' judgement.
475	467	1718. Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation Held on Fryday the 6.th day of Nov.r 1718. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq. Gov.r Matth.w Barett. 2. Pres.t Melior.r Tovey 3. Jn.o Alexander 4. Jn.o Goodwin Assist. Last Consultation read & Approved of. Mary Easthope Widdow made Com= =plaint last night to the Gov.r That Joseph Bates Sold.r did Strike & beat her by giveing her Sever: Blows on her face and is now much bruised & Sayes she fears She goes in danger of her life and has Occasioned a great deal of Strife & Discord between her and her Daughter Latour. The Said Bates upon this Compl.t was Secured in Custody last night and being now Present Sayes that as he was going up the valley Yesterday evening he was beset by the Said Mary Easthope, her Son Thom.s and others only for asking Mr.s Easthope a question or two about his wife and in clearing himself from them & Mr.s Easthope being next to him he happened Accidentially to Strike her on the face. Mr.s	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Friday 6 November 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. The widow Mary Easthope complained to the Governor the previous night that the soldier Joseph Bates had struck and beaten her, giving her several blows to the face, so that she was now badly bruised. She said she feared for her life and that the assault had caused much strife and discord between her and her daughter Latour. Bates was taken into custody on the complaint the previous night. Now brought before the council, he said that as he was going up the valley the previous evening he had been set upon by Mary Easthope, her son Thomas and others. He claimed they attacked him only for asking Mrs Easthope a question or two about his wife. In clearing himself from them, with Mrs Easthope standing next to him, he had happened to strike her in the face by accident. Interpretations The complaint reached the Governor directly and overnight, with Bates secured in custody before the council met, which shows the bench acting as the island's standing magistracy for assault as well as for its commercial and ecclesiastical business. The same Joseph Bates had served as marshal and had been fined and threatened with whipping on 16 September 1718 for concealing Captain Misenor's steward, so the council was handling a man already marked in its recent record. The two accounts set a direct conflict of evidence before the bench, the widow alleging a deliberate beating and Bates pleading an accidental blow struck while defending himself against an attack by the Easthope party. The framing of his defence, that he was set upon merely for asking about his wife, shifted the character of the affair from assault to a quarrel touching his own household, the kind of dispute the

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			council would weigh through the witnesses on each side.
476	468	November. Mr.s Easthope made Oath that the Said Joseph Bates did beat & Strike her wilfully which her Son Thom.s hearing of came Im= =mediately to her Assistance. Whereupon Ordered That the Said Bates be now Committed till he gives good Security for his future behaviour. Copy of the Gov.rs Lett.r to Capt. Small. S.t Helena Oct.r y.e 28th Dom 1718. Capt. Small S.rr I have rec.d yours & another from Capt. Warden and finding that Capt. Warden tho' he is desirous to keep you Comp.y yet that he cannot be ready to Sail before Saturday next at Soonest and Considering the great Consequence it may be of that you Should keep Company together, I take it to be my duty to recomend it to you and to Assure you that yo.r So doing will be very Acceptable to the Hon. Compa= =ny. I am &c &c, Yo.r Humble Servant. Isac. Pyke [...] Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin	Mrs Easthope swore on oath that Joseph Bates had beaten and struck her deliberately, and that her son Thomas, hearing of it, had come at once to her aid. The council ordered Bates committed until he gave good security for his future behaviour. A copy of the Governor's letter to Captain Small followed. Governor Pyke wrote from St Helena on 30 October 1718 that he had received Small's letter and another from Captain Worden. Finding that Worden, though willing to keep company, could not be ready to sail before the following Saturday at the earliest, and considering how important it might be for the two ships to sail together, Pyke thought it his duty to recommend that Small keep company with Worden. He assured Small that doing so would be very welcome to the Honourable Company. The letter was signed by Governor Pyke. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The widow's sworn oath converted her complaint into formal evidence and shifted the matter from competing accounts to a charge supported on oath, against which Bates had offered only his plea of accident. The committal until he found security for good behaviour was a binding-over rather than a punishment, a standard instrument of the island's magistracy that held the accused answerable for his future conduct without trying the assault itself. The Governor's letter resolved the convoy question left open by the two masters' replies of 27 October 1718. Worden had made his cooperation depend on the council persuading Small to wait, and Pyke now formally pressed Small to keep company, framing the request as duty and backing it with the assurance that the Company would welcome it. The bench could not command the sailing but could lend the weight of the Masters' approval to the slower ship's need for a joint passage. Speculations Pyke rested his recommendation on the great consequence of the two ships sailing together, invoking the Company's interest rather than any power to order Small's departure. By casting the delay as his own duty to recommend and as acceptable to the directors, he gave Small a reason to wait that protected the master against any later charge of having lingered in port, the same balancing of one commander's impatience against convoy safety that the Masters' caution over the Channel approach had made necessary.
477	469	1718. Island S.t Helena... At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 18.th day of Nov.r 1718. At Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth.w Baret. 2. Pres.t Antin. Tovey. 3. Jn.o Alexander } Assist.ts Jn.o Goodwin } The Last Consultation read & approved. The following Petitions were Presented. Island S.t Helena. To the Worsh.ll Isa. Pyke Esq.r Gov.r & Council. The Humble Petition of Thom.s Swallow Planter. Sheweth. That yo.r Petitioner having been a long time indebted to the Hon.ble Company w.ch Debt he is very desirous to discharge but have= =ing nothing at Present to pay it with, But Yams, Most Humbly prays yo.r Worsh.ll & Council will please to take Yams of him at the Price lately Sold for viz. two	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 November 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. The following petitions were presented. The planter Thomas Swallow petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that he had long been indebted to the Honourable Company and very much wished to discharge the debt, but had nothing at present to pay it with except yams. He asked that the council take yams from him at the price lately fixed, 2s 0d per hundredweight. The petition was dated 18 November 1718 and signed by Thomas Swallow. Interpretations

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		Shillings & [hundred] Weight the 18. Nov.r 1718. And yo.r Petit.r as in duty Bound shall ever pray &c. Tho.s Swallow Tho.s	The petition shows the council operating a system by which planters in debt to the Company settled their arrears in island produce rather than coin, the bench fixing the rate at which the yams were credited. Thomas Swallow, an ancient and sick free planter, had sought the same accommodation before and been refused on 24 May 1715, when the council would accept only cattle or slaves in lieu, before a scheme of 29 September 1715 let the Company buy his surplus yams to resell to the garrison at 2s 0d per hundredweight. The renewed request rested on that settled rate. The arrangement converted a debt the planter could not pay in money into provisions the Company needed for its slaves and garrison, the yam being the island's staple foodstuff. The mechanism let the bench recover bad debts while securing supply, the credit price serving as both a debt instrument and a purchasing rate for the plantation stores.
478	470	November. Tho' We have no need of Yams at present yet if he will deliver to every Hundr. weight of Yams one Hundr. Suckers, to Encrease the Hon.ble Comp.as Plantations thereby, then We will take them at the Usual Price, which he agreed to. Island S.t Helena To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r & Council. The Humble Petition of Isaac Leech Most Humbly. Sheweth. That Whereas a Small Piece of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land Containing about 2. or 3. Acres lying very convenient and next Adjoyning to your Petition.rs Cabbage tree Land. Humbly prays to become Tennant for the Same which will Save your Petition.r Some charge in fencing. Nov.r y.e 18. 1718. And yo.r Petition.r as in duty Bound shall ever pray &c. Isaac Leech Referred to Capt. Bevell and if he Reports there is no Detrim.t to the Hon. Comp.a or the Neigh= =bours then that it may be Granted. On	The council answered that it had no need of yams at present. If Swallow would deliver one hundredweight of suckers for every hundredweight of yams, to increase the Company's plantations, the council would take them at the usual price. Swallow agreed to this. A further petition followed. Isaac Leech petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that a small piece of the Company's waste land, containing about 2 or 3 acres, lay very conveniently next to his own cabbage tree land. He asked to become tenant of it, which would save him some charge in fencing. The petition was dated 18 November 1718 and signed by Isaac Leech. The council referred the matter to Captain Bazett. If he reported there was no harm to the Company or to the neighbours, the grant might be made. Interpretations The council's counter-offer turned a debt settlement into a means of expanding the plantations, requiring a matching weight of yam suckers for every hundredweight of yams credited. Since the bench needed no yams at present, the demand for suckers converted Swallow's payment into planting stock that would raise future crops, making the transaction serve the Company's provision supply rather than merely clearing arrears at the rate of 2s 0d per hundredweight set on 29 September 1715. Leech's petition shows the standard route for granting Company waste land, the request referred to the storekeeper Bazett for a survey of any prejudice to the Company or the neighbours before a grant was made. The same conditional procedure, a view of the ground and a check on detriment before approval, governed land applications throughout the council's business and protected the proprietors' interest in their unallotted ground. The saving in fencing that Leech expected reflects the island's standing requirement that holders enclose their land, the labour and materials of walling being a real charge on every planter. Taking the adjoining parcel let him extend his boundary without building a separate fence, which explains why a small parcel of barren waste was worth a formal petition.
479	471	1718. On Sunday morning last four Blackmen viz. two of Doat Woods & two of John Knipes (which were all the Men Blacks the Latter had) Run away with a fishing Yaul from Prosperous Bay Beech, And tho' the Govern.r Upon Notice hereof Sent two Boats after them, Could not Recover the Boat or the Runaway Blacks againe. And to prevent the like Misfortune for the future 'tis thought very Necessary that Some means be Used by the Owners of all Boats and as an Expedient thereto	The previous Sunday morning four black men ran away with a fishing yawl from Prosperous Bay beach. Two belonged to Pipin Wills and two to John Knipe, the two being all the men slaves Knipe held. On notice of the escape Governor Pyke sent two boats after them, but the boats could not recover either the yawl or the runaway slaves. To prevent the like misfortune in future, the council judged it very necessary that the owners of all boats take some means of securing them. As a step towards this, the Governor recommended that everyone

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		the Gov.r recomends to all Persons Concerned or any others to Consider what Method will be Properest to Fix some Order on to the Intent aforesaid. The Chief Overseer of the Hon.ble Comp.as Plantation brought in the following Acco.t which was Examined and approved of. An Acco.t of the Hon.ble Comp.as live Stock viz. Neat Cattle, Sheep, Goats, Boggs & Poultry taken Nov. the 1. 1718. Neat Cattle. 68. Cows 30. Heifers 22. Steers, 7. Yearlings 7. Bulls & 69. Calves 198 1. Cow & Calf Sent to the Fortalive 2. Bullocks, 1 Cow, 1 Heifer Killd 3. Yearling decd. & 4. Increased Since last Acco.t 5. Sheep	concerned, or anyone else, consider what method would be best for fixing some order to that end. The chief overseer of the Company's plantations brought in the following account, which was examined and approved. An account of the Company's livestock, namely neat cattle, sheep, goats, hogs and poultry, taken 1 November 1718. Neat cattle: 68 cows 30 heifers 22 steers 7 yearlings 2 bulls 69 calves 198 Notes on the neat cattle: 1 cow and calf sent to the fort alive. 2 bullocks, 1 cow and 1 heifer killed. 1 yearling dead. 12 increased since the last account. 86 sheep Interpretations The escape exposed the boats at Prosperous Bay as a standing means of flight from the island, four slaves seizing a fishing yawl and outrunning the two boats sent after them. The same vulnerability had been demonstrated when the Company's own longboat was stolen by night in mid-November 1715, and the Governor's call for the owners of all boats to secure them aimed to close a recurring route of escape that the island's isolation otherwise made hard to use. The naming of the slaves by their owners, two of Pipin Wills and the whole of John Knipe's male slaves, reflects the treatment of slaves as the private property of the planters, the loss falling on the individual owner. Knipe's loss of all his men slaves at once marked a heavy blow to a single holding, the labour of the plantation resting on a small number of such men. The livestock account is the chief overseer's regular monthly muster of the Company's stock, the post held by William Portley since his preferment on 22 April 1718. The running notes of beasts sent to the fort, killed, dead and increased let the bench track the herd's movement against the previous count, the muster serving as the standing audit of the plantation's most valuable moveable asset.
480	472	November. 86. Sheep. Sheep. 48. Ewes 17. Wethers 17. Lambs 4. Rams 86 3. Increased Since last Acco.t 199. Goats Goats. 137. Ewes 29. Wethers 19. Ewe Kidds 12. Ram Kidd. 2. Rams 199 8. Killed & 8. Increased Since last Acco.t 2. Hoggs. 2. Horses. 10. Asses & 2. Incread Since last Acco.t Poultry. 26. Dunghill fowles. 4. Ducks. 16. Geese. 37. Turkeys, 11 killed, 1 Stole & 1 Increased Since last Acco.t One Black man Named Peter & one Black Woman Named Margett	The livestock account continued. Sheep: 86 sheep 48 ewes 17 wethers 17 lambs 4 rams 86 3 increased since the last account. Goats: 199 goats 137 ewes 29 wethers 19 ewe kids 12 ram kids 2 rams 199 8 killed. 8 increased since the last account. Other stock: 2 hogs 2 horses 10 asses 2 increased since the last account. Poultry: 26 dunghill fowls 4 ducks

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		} Dead. (Signd) Willi.m Portley. The Gunner brought in the following Acco.t which was Examined & Approved of. An Acco.t of Gunners Stores Expended from Oct.r the 5.th 1718. to the 35.th & Inclusive. Oct.r 4.th 5.th For Excerciseing the Garrison D.o Mr. Cason Fall - Pow.r 7. 8.th An Alarm 4 4 d.o Arrived the St. George from India 9 9 d.o An Alarm 4 4 8.th Arrived y.e Dk. of Cambridge from India 13 13 26. For Burying Louis Latour 27. - 28. 1 Carried over. 30 38	16 geese 37 turkeys 11 killed, 1 stolen and 1 increased since the last account. A black man named Peter and a black woman named Margett, both dead. The account was signed by William Portley. The gunner brought in the following account, which was examined and approved. An account of gunner's stores expended from 1 October 1718 to 31 October 1718 inclusive. Powder spent, in falcon and pound measure: 5 October, for exercising the garrison under Mr Cason. 8 October, an alarm. 4 falcons and 4 pounds. The same day, the arrival of the <i>St George</i> from India. 9 falcons and 9 pounds. 9 October, an alarm. 4 falcons and 4 pounds. The same day, the arrival of the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> from India. 13 falcons and 13 pounds. 26 October, for burying Lewis Latour. 1 pound. Carried over: 30 falcons and 38 pounds. Interpretations The livestock muster recorded the deaths of two of the Company's slaves, Peter and Margett, within the same account that tallied the cattle, sheep and poultry. Listing them among the stock reflects the administrative treatment of slaves as plantation assets, their loss entered in the overseer's return alongside the beasts killed and dead since the previous count. The gunner's account measured powder by the falcon and by the pound, the falcon being a light gun whose charge fixed a standard quantity for salutes and alarms. The post was held by John French, whose monthly returns of powder spent on alarms, salutes and funerals had run through the records, the account serving as the standing audit of the Company's munitions against ceremonial and defensive use. The powder spent welcoming the <i>St George</i> and the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> from India marks the formal salutes owed to arriving Company ships, the two vessels whose homeward departure and convoy had occupied the council through late October 1718. The single pound burnt for the burial of Lewis Latour records the military honour paid at a funeral, the same observance the gunner had charged for earlier interments on the island.
481	473	1718. Brought over 30 38 To the Guards - 6 Musquett Balls c.s 5 1 Flints D.o y.e Armourer 84 Cartridge Paper D.o Lucas Mason 2. Ditto Expended 3 Match Expended c.s 20 21 1 A 24. 5 30	The gunner's account continued. Brought over: 30 falcons and 38 pounds. To the guards. Musket balls. Flints delivered to the armourer. 5 Cartridge paper delivered to Lucas Mason. 24 Cartridge paper expended. 7 3 Match expended. The totals stood at 21 falcons, 4 pounds, 24 [...], 5 flints, 30 [...] and 44 [...]. The account was signed by John French. An account of goods received from India by the ship <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> under Captain Daniel Small, which the council had not had time to enter while the ship was in the road. Received from Bengal: Half-leaguers of Batavia arrack, quantity 238 gallons. 176 rupees and [...]. 27 bags of rice, quantity 39 [...] 2 [...] 11.

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		44 (Signed) J.n.o French An Acco.t of Goods rec.d from India per Ship Duke of Cambridge Capt. Dan.l Small w.ch We had not Time to Enter while the Ship was in the Road. Viz.t Rec.d from Bengall. 4. half Leag.s of Batia Arrack 5. q. 238 6. Gall.s 7. Rup.s 8. r - 9. Baggs Rice 10. q. 39. 2. 11. 11. t. Or. tt. 12. Amount to 5. 3 13. Baggs Treinda Sug.r 14. q. 20. 2. 4. 15. a. t. c.s q.ts 16. Amount to 17. 8 - 18. Bale Shirts 19. q. 150. 20. d 6. 3 13. 6 14. Charges on the whole is 21. 15 - Rupees 158. 12. 6 Errors Excepted J. Williamson Accompt Goods Rec.d from Maddras p D.o Ship. Viz.t	Amount 27 rupees, 5 annas, 3 pies. 14 bags of Trivandrum sugar, quantity 20 [...] 2 [...] 4. Amount 115 rupees, 8 annas and [...]. 1 bale of shirts, quantity 150. 98 rupees, 6 annas, 3 pies. 417 rupees, 13 annas, 6 pies. Charges on the whole come to 40 rupees, 15 annas and [...]. Total 458 rupees, 12 annas, 6 pies. Errors excepted, the account was examined by J. Williamson, accountant. Goods received from Madras by the same ship follow. Interpretations The arrack, rice, sugar and shirts came from Bengal as part of the Company's inter-settlement trade, the goods invoiced in rupees as the currency of the Indian presidencies rather than in sterling. Batavia arrack was a spirit distilled in the East Indies that the council bought, priced and resold on the island, and the recurring purchases of arrack and rice show St Helena drawing its imported provisions and liquor from the Company's Indian stations on the homeward route. The note that the cargo had not been entered while the ship lay in the road records the pressure of the despatch, the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> having sailed for England carrying the consultation book on or about 30 October 1718. The goods were registered after her departure to keep the imported stock within the Company's account, the same control the council applied when it allowed Captain Small to register his late-bought tea. The certification by the accountant Williamson with the formula of errors excepted marks the standard audit of an incoming invoice, the figures accepted on first reading subject to later correction. The reckoning in rupees, annas and pies preserved the account in the money of the supplying settlement, the conversion to the island's sterling accounts being a separate step in the stores books.
482	474	November. Viz.t LCF. Long Cloth Fine 72. long 24. broad viz.t Pa. Sa. Cat. N.o Bales 63. Sad. p.a p.r v.o c.d 2. 2. 1. D 55. - - p Corge 220. -d p.a s.d Washing at 1. so p Corge 5. 4. - Packing at 1. 9. p Bale 2. 18. - Boat & Poly Ca. 24. d.o . 11. - - Bales amounting to Pag. 227. 26. - Errors Excepted Tho.s Frederick Acco.ntr Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin	The account of goods received from Madras followed. Long cloth, fine, 72 long and 62½ broad, marked LCF. 2 bales, numbers 2 to 4, quantity 55 pieces at [...] per corge. 220 pagodas. Washing at 1 [...] 10 per corge. 5 pagodas, 4 [...]. Packing at 1 [...] 9 per bale. 2 pagodas, 18 [...]. Boat and [...] at 2 [...] per [...]. 1 [...]. 7 pagodas, 26 [...]. 2 bales amounting to 227 pagodas, 26 [...]. Errors excepted, the account was examined by Thomas Frederick, accountant. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The cargo was long cloth, a plain cotton textile woven in long lengths on the Coromandel coast and a staple export of the Madras trade, the goods invoiced in pagodas as the gold currency of that presidency. The dimensions of 72 by 62½ marked the piece size, and the bales were priced by the corge, a standard Indian unit of 20 pieces, the reckoning preserving the textile in the measures and money of the supplying settlement. The breakdown into separate charges for washing, packing and boat hire shows the invoice carrying the full landed cost of the goods rather than the cloth alone, each service added as a distinct line. The method let the stores books recover the whole charge of

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			bringing the textile from Madras, the conversion from pagodas to the island's sterling accounts being a later step. The certification by Thomas Frederick as accountant, with the clerks' signatures closing the entry, completes the registration of the <i>Duke of Cambridge's</i> cargo after her departure. The two invoices from Bengal and Madras together record the goods entered against the Company's account once the ship had sailed for England on or about 30 October 1718, keeping the imported stock within the books though the vessel was gone.
483	475	1718. Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 25.th day of Nov.r 1718. At Union Castle in Jam. Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth. Barett. 2. Pres.t Antin. Tovey. 3. Jn.o Alexander & Jn.o Goodwin. Assist.ts The Last Consultation read and Approved of. The following Petition was Presented. Island S.t Helena. To the Worsh. Isa. Pyke Esq.r Gov.r & c. The Humble Petition of Benj.s Beverlee Carpenter. Most Humbly Sheweth. That your Petitioner is very Sensible of his folly in leaving the Hon.ble Comp.as works So Unadvisedly and without giving any due Notice or Warning for which yo.r Petition.r is very Sorry and Acknowledgethis fault Humbly begging Your Pardon for the Same & Promiseth that if you please to release him he will be very Diligent in his business and Serve the Contracted time	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 November 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented. The carpenter Benjamin Coverlee petitioned the Governor and council. He acknowledged that he had been very foolish to leave the Company's service so rashly and without giving any proper notice or warning. He was very sorry and admitted his fault, begging pardon for it. He promised that, if the council would release him, he would be diligent in his business and serve out the remaining time of his contract. Interpretations The petition shows the Company holding its contracted tradesmen to a fixed term of service, departure without notice treated as a breach the bench could punish. Benjamin Coverlee's submission, acknowledging his fault and asking to be released on a promise of diligence, follows the standard form by which an offending servant sought restoration, the contract binding him to complete the period he had agreed. The release Coverlee sought was from confinement or suspension imposed for quitting his post, his return to the unexpired contract being the council's interest rather than his dismissal. A skilled carpenter was a valuable hand on an island short of tradesmen, which explains why the bench would weigh a penitent submission against the labour his contract still owed.
484	476	November. time viz.t Untill his full years Service be Expired. Wherefore your Petition.r Humbly Prays you'll Pardon his folly which he hopes he shall Some way recompence by his future good behaviour. 25. Nov.r 1718. And your Petition.r shall as in duty bound for ever pray &c. Benj.s Cleverlee Granted. The Govern.r produced an Acco.t of the Expende of the General Table from Oct.r the 25.th 1718. to Nov.r the 25. following Amounting in the whole to the Sume of £78. 5. 8- [...] Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin	The petition continued, that Coverlee would serve until his full year's service had expired. He asked the council to pardon his folly, which he hoped to make up in some measure by his future good behaviour. The petition was dated 25 November 1718 and signed by Benjamin Coverlee. The council granted the petition. Governor Pyke produced an account of the expense of the general table from 25 October 1718 to 25 November 1718, amounting in all to £78 5s 8d. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The general table was the common dining provision maintained at the Company's charge for the Governor and the establishment, its monthly cost entered on the record as a regular item of account. The wine allowance for this table had been fixed in June 1717 at three bottles a day out of shipping time and six during it, the Governor bearing his own private entertaining, so the £78 5s 8d represented the institutional cost of feeding the garrison's officers rather than Pyke's personal expense. Coverlee's release on his promise to serve out the year shows the council preferring the recovery of contracted labour to a punitive forfeiture. Granting the

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			pardon returned a skilled carpenter to the unexpired term, the bench treating the submission and the remaining service as worth more than the example of a continued penalty.
485	477	1718. Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 9.th day of Dec.r 1718. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth.w Bazett 2. Pres.t Antip.r Tovey 3. & Jn.o Alexander } Apist.ts Jn.o Goodwin } Last Consultation read & Approved of. The follow. Petitions were presented. Island S.t Helena. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The Humble Petition of James Greentree Most Humbly Sheweth That Forasmuch as about Ten Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land lying very Convenient & next Adjoyning to yo.r Petition.rs own Land whereon his dwelling House Stands, w.ch if left to any other Person will be very Detrimental to your Petition.r Wherefore Hum= =bly prays He may have a grant of the Said Land & a lease for the Same which will cause Yo.r Petition.r (as in duty bound) ever to pray &c. James Greentree Dec.r 9.th 1718.	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 December 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. The following petitions were presented. James Greentree petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that about 10 acres of the Company's waste land lay very conveniently next to his own land, on which his dwelling house stood. If the parcel were let to anyone else it would be very damaging to him. He therefore asked for a grant of the land and a lease for it. The petition was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by James Greentree. Interpretations The petition follows the established route for acquiring Company waste land, the planter asking for a grant and lease of an adjoining parcel before it could pass to another. James Greentree, a churchwarden and a regular fencing contractor, rested his claim on the convenience of the ground to his existing holding and the harm a rival tenant would cause, the same grounds of contiguity and prejudice that governed land applications such as Isaac Leech's of 18 November 1718. The concern that the parcel not be let to anyone else reflects the competition among planters for the unallotted ground bordering their own land, a neighbour's tenancy threatening access, water or pasture. The bench weighed such requests against the proprietors' interest, typically referring the ground to the storekeeper Bazett for a survey of any detriment to the Company before approving a grant.
486	478	December. Another Petition of James Greentrees Setting forth. That Whereas a Small Piece of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land Con= =aining about two Acres lying Contiguous to your Petit.rs own Land formerly Robert Addis. Your Petition Humbly Prays to become Tennant for the Same, and is the more desirous to Hire this Piece of Land because 'twill not only Save him the Charge of about 80 Rodd of Wall fence but the Labour & daily Reparation of that fence by Goats Trespassing thereon & throwing down the Same Continually down thereby Subjecting Yo.r Petition.r Plantati= =on to the Damage of other Cattle Wherefore begs Your Consideration & Grant of the Premises. Dec.r 9. 1718. And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. Signed. James Greentree Ordered That Capt. Barett and Mr. Goodwin do goe and view the two Parcells of Land Mr. Greentree desires to rent, & Report the Same next Consultation day. The Petition of John Coles free Planter Humbly Shewing. That	A further petition of James Greentree followed. He set out that a small piece of the Company's waste land, containing about 2 acres, lay next to his own land, the parcel formerly belonging to Robert Addes. He asked to become tenant of it. He was the more anxious to take it because doing so would not only save him the charge of about 80 rods of wall fence, but also the labour and daily repair of that fence, the goats trespassing on the parcel and constantly throwing the wall down, which exposed his plantation to damage by other cattle. He therefore asked the council to consider the matter and grant the land. The petition was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by James Greentree. The council ordered Captain Bazett and Goodwin to view the two parcels of land that Greentree wished to rent and to report on them at the next consultation. The planter John Coles then petitioned, setting out his case. Interpretations The petition reveals the heavy burden that fencing placed on the island's planters, the cost of 80 rods of wall and its constant repair against trespassing goats outweighing the value of the small parcel itself. Greentree sought the ground less for its own use than to remove a boundary he would otherwise have to enclose and maintain, the straying goats throwing down the wall and letting other cattle onto his crops, which shows enclosure as a recurring labour rather than a single charge. The reference of the two parcels to Bazett and Goodwin for a view before the next consultation follows the standard procedure for waste-land grants,

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			the storekeeper sent to survey the ground and report any prejudice to the Company. Pairing a councillor with an assistant for the inspection gave the bench an independent valuation of the parcels before committing the proprietors' land to a lease.
487	479	1718. That Whereas a Piece of the Hon.ble Comp.as West Land Containing about 18. or 20. Acres lying very Convenient & next Ad= =joyning to Your Petit.rs Gumwood Land & therefore if Lett to any other Person will be very Detrimental to your Petition.r and be a means of Some daily disputes & Controversies w.ch Your Petition.r is willing to avoid) Wherefore Humbly prays to become Tennant for the Same. Dec.r 9. 1718. And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. (Signed) John Coles. Ordered That this Petition be Refereed to the Govern.r and Capt. Bazett. The Petition of Rich.d Gurling free Planter, Setting forth. That Whereas he having a Large Family to Maintain and no Pasturage for his Cattle Doth therefore Humbly Pray to have about 20. Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as West Land granted him lying at the head of Leasney Valley between High Peak and Edm.d Nichols Land which will be of very great Use to your Petition.r and the only means of Saving his Cattles lives w.ch at this dry time of the year is lyable to die for want of food. Dec.r 9.th 1718. And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. Rich.d Gurling.	John Coles set out that a piece of the Company's waste land, containing about 18 or 20 acres, lay very conveniently next to his own gumwood land. If it were let to anyone else it would be very damaging to him and a cause of daily disputes and quarrels, which he wished to avoid. He therefore asked to become tenant of it. The petition was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by John Coles. The council ordered the petition referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett. Richard Gurling, a free planter, then petitioned. He set out that he had a large family to maintain and no pasture for his cattle. He asked for a grant of about 20 acres of the Company's waste land lying at the head of Seanley Valley, between High Peak and Edmund Nichols's land. The grant would be of very great use to him and the only means of saving his cattle, which at this dry time of year were in danger of dying for want of food. The petition was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by Richard Gurling. Interpretations The petitions show a run of planters pressing for the same Company waste ground in December 1718, each resting his claim on the convenience of the parcel to his own holding and the harm a rival tenant would cause. John Coles framed his request around avoiding daily disputes with a neighbouring occupier, the contiguity of the unallotted ground to existing plantations making such friction a standing feature of the island's land system. Richard Gurling's plea turned on pasture rather than fencing, the dry season threatening his cattle for want of feed. His application repeats a request he had made before, having sought High Peak waste land for the same purpose on 24 May 1715, the recurring pressure for grazing reflecting the island's limited pasture and the seasonal shortage of fodder in the southern-hemisphere summer. The bench referred such requests for survey before committing the proprietors' ground. The naming of High Peak and Edmund Nichols's land as the bounds of the parcel fixed the ground by reference to known neighbours, the standard method of identifying unsurveyed waste. The council's practice of referring each petition to the Governor and Bazett for a view protected the Company against granting land whose loss might prejudice its own plantations or its other tenants.
488	480	December. The Govern.r will go and See the Ground. The Petition of Gab.ll Bovell Setting forth therein. That Whereas Some time after the decease of Capt. George Hoskinson An Apprais.m.t was made of his Estate and Inventory Orderd to be taken thereof by Mess.rs Greentree and Addis. But the Said Addis dying before the Same could be Compleat= =ed and Severall Articles remaining Unvalid Humbly prays Some other Person may be Appointed with Mr. Greentree to appraize and finnish the Said Apprais.m.t that y.e Inventory may be brought into Council & your Petition.r thereby enabled to make Distribution & dividend thereof According to the Testators last Will & Testament. Dec.r 9.th 1718. And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. Ordered That Mr. Wrangham be ap= =pointed in the Room of Robert Addis dec.d The Petition of Sarah Bagley als Southen Humbly Shewing That She having a large family of Young	The Governor agreed to go and see the ground. Gabriel Powell then petitioned. He set out that some time after the death of Captain George Hoskison, an appraisement was made of his estate and an inventory ordered to be taken by Greentree and Addes. Addes died before the inventory could be completed, and several articles remained unvalued. Powell asked that another person be appointed with Greentree to appraise and finish the valuation. The inventory could then be brought into council, so that Powell might make distribution and division of the estate according to the testator's last will. The petition was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by Gabriel Powell. The council ordered that Wrangham be appointed in place of the deceased Robert Addes. Sarah Bagley, also known as Southen, then petitioned. She set out that she had a large family of young children and others to bring up and maintain, and no pasture... Interpretations

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		children and others to bring up and maintaine, and not any Pasture	The petition concerned the long-unsettled estate of Captain George Hoskison, the former deputy governor who died on 6 March 1712, the appraisement still incomplete more than six years later through the death of one of the two valuers. Gabriel Powell, who had married Hoskison's widow, sought to finish the inventory so that the estate could be distributed under the will, the council supplying a replacement appraiser to allow the valuation to proceed. The appointment of Wrangham in place of the deceased Robert Addes shows the bench's control over the probate machinery, the council naming and replacing the sworn appraisers on whom the valuation of an estate depended. The requirement that two men appraise the goods, the inventory then brought into council before any division, gave the proprietors oversight of the settlement and ensured the estate answered any debts due to the Company before passing to the heirs. The reappearance of Sarah Bagley under the name Southen identifies her as the wife of Sergeant Thomas Southen, the marriage having been at the centre of the bigamy case of 2 July 1717 when the claim of his London wife Susanna was read against him. Her petition for pasture, like Richard Gurling's of the same day, rested on the want of feed for cattle, the seasonal shortage pressing several holders to seek waste ground at once.
489	481	1718. Pasture for her Stock of Cattle Doth therefore Pray to become Tennt. to the Hon. Comp.r For about 18. or 20. Acres of their Wast Land Lying at or Near the head of Swanley valley which favour if granted will be of very Great Service to your Said Petition.r Dec.r 9.th 1718. And as in duty bound ever to pray &c. (Signed.) Sarah her Mark Southen The Gov.r Says he will go and See this Ground before she has any further answer. Joseph Whaley Sold.r & Simon his Brother was Sumoned to appear for Hunting & Worry= =ing a Sheep of the Hon.ble Comp.as and was Soe much Damaged by Dogs that the Sheep was found almost dead and when opened had two Lambs in her. Which fact being proved upon them by Sufficent Evidence. It was Ordered That they be both Whipt at the Flagstaff and Joseph Whaley Dismist the Hon.ble Comp.as Service. This day was brought in and deliver= =ed by the Overseers of the high ways, three Several Papers	Sarah Southen's petition continued, asking for pasture for her stock of cattle. She sought to become tenant of about 18 or 20 acres of the Company's waste land lying at or near the head of Seanley Valley. The grant would be of very great service to her. The petition was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by Sarah Southen with her mark. Governor Pyke said he would go and see the ground before giving any further answer. The soldier Joseph Whaley and his brother Simon were summoned to appear for hunting and worrying a sheep of the Company. The sheep was so badly mauled by their dogs that it was found almost dead, and when opened was found to have two lambs in it. The charge being proved against them by sufficient evidence, the council ordered that both be whipped at the flagstaff and that Joseph Whaley be dismissed from the Company's service. The overseers of the highways then brought in and delivered three separate papers. Interpretations The three pasture petitions of John Coles, Richard Gurling and Sarah Southen, all heard on 9 December 1718, sought the same waste ground at the head of Seanley Valley, which the Governor undertook to view before answering any of them. The clustering of competing claims on one parcel shows the bench managing rival demands for scarce grazing in the dry season, the personal inspection serving to weigh the applicants against one another and against the Company's own interest. The destruction of a pregnant ewe by the Whaleys' dogs drew a double penalty, corporal punishment for both brothers and dismissal from service for the soldier Joseph. The loss of a breeding sheep carrying two lambs struck at the Company's stock at its point of increase, which explains the severity, the flagstaff whipping marking the standard public punishment for offences against the proprietors' property. The brothers Joseph and Simon Whaley share the surname of Mercy Whaley, the apprentice bound to Thomas Free whose pregnancy and bastardy case ran through the records in 1716 and 1717. The family recurs in the council's disciplinary business, the dismissal of Joseph from service adding a fresh instance of the bench removing an offending soldier

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			from the establishment as it had done in other cases of injury to Company property.
490	482	December. Papers Subscribed by most of the Inhabitants for the Satisfaction John Knipes (a very Poor man) has lately Sustained by the Loss of his two Black men that Runaway in a fishing Boat w.th two others of Isaac Woods. The Govern.r Demands of Mr. Tovey the accompt.t how forward the Books of Acco.ts are. Mr. Tovey Says that he has had abundance of Business & trouble to bring the Books So for= =ward as they are, and has found a great many Errors which to Correct has taken him up much time, as he could have written one hoof of Books again by the many. But yet hopes to have the Books ready by Christmas next to Send Home. Reported That Peter one of the Hon.ble Comp.as Blacks dyed last week of the Bloody flux. The Gov.r Sayes he has been informed that Joseph Thomlinson the Writer has made among many other Mistakes in the Hon.ble Comp.as Books of Acco.t one in favour of his Brother Joshua Thomlinson the Parson of Forty Pounds that he has given the Parson Credits for to the Said Hon.ble Comp.as Detriment. And because he would have no body Accused Wrongfully he desires to know whether this thing be true in fact or not. Mr. Margin Notes: mistakes made by Mr. Joseph Thomlinson	The papers were subscribed by most of the inhabitants for the relief of John Knipe, a very poor man, who had lately suffered the loss of his two black men. They had run away in a fishing boat with two others belonging to Pipin Wills. Governor Pyke asked Tovey the accountant how far forward the books of account were. Tovey answered that he had had a great deal of business and trouble to bring the books as forward as they were. He had found a great many errors, which had taken him much time to correct, since they would have taken up over half a book again by the manner of their entry. He hoped nonetheless to have the books ready by next Christmas to send home. A margin note recorded that these mistakes had been made by Joseph Thomlinson. The council was informed that Peter, one of the Company's slaves, had died the previous week of the bloody flux. Governor Pyke said he had been told that Joseph Thomlinson the writer had made, among many other mistakes in the Company's books of account, one in favour of his brother Joshua Thomlinson the parson, of £40 0s 0d. He had credited the parson with that sum to the Company's loss. Because Pyke did not wish anyone to be accused wrongfully, he wished to know whether this was true. Interpretations The subscription for John Knipe shows the island community providing its own relief for a heavy private loss, most of the inhabitants contributing to recompense a poor man for the slaves who had escaped in the fishing boat on the previous Sunday. The escape from Prosperous Bay, already entered on 18 November 1718, fell hardest on Knipe because the two men were all the male slaves he held, his fellow sufferer Pipin Wills losing two of his own. The errors traced to Joseph Thomlinson the writer connected the long-delayed account books to the wider quarrel with his brother the chaplain. The books had been behind since the audit of Captain Haswell's papers on 15 July 1718, when Thomlinson's indisposition was given as a partial cause, and the alleged false credit of £40 0s 0d to the parson now tied the bookkeeping failures to the bribery and bills dispute running against Joshua Thomlinson through late October 1718. The Governor's care to verify the charge before accepting it, expressed as an unwillingness to see anyone wrongly accused, reflects his standing method in the campaign against the chaplain. He had entered the whole correspondence in his own defence on 28 October 1718 and asked each councillor for a written report, building a documented case point by point rather than acting on report alone.
491	483	1718. Mr. Tovey & Mr. Goodwin both Say it is very true and as soon as they Saw it they both told Joseph Thomlinson of it who owned it to be his doing but Sayed it was not done out of any design Either to wrong the Comp.r or to enrich his Brother. Whereupon Joseph Thomlinson was Sent for who owned the Fact but not the fault because he Sayed twas only a Mistake. The Gov.r gave him a great Charge to commit no more Such Misstakes for if he did he must not be longer trusted with Acco.ts of that Nature. The Gov.r Reports That the two Blacks of Isaac Woods and two more of John Knipes who Run away with a boat and are Supposed to be drowned, had Each of them as good Masters and as kind Usage as any had. That In. Knipe being a poor man the Country have	Tovey and Goodwin both said it was very true. As soon as they saw the entry they had told Joseph Thomlinson of it. He admitted it was his doing but said it had not been done with any intention either to wrong the Company or to enrich his brother. Joseph Thomlinson was then sent for. He owned the act but not the fault, since he said it was only a mistake. Governor Pyke gave him a strong warning to commit no more such mistakes, for if he did he could no longer be trusted with accounts of that kind. Governor Pyke reported that the two slaves of Pipin Wills and two more of John Knipe who had run away with a boat and were supposed to be drowned had all enjoyed masters as good and treatment as kind as any. Since Knipe was a poor man, the inhabitants had contributed towards buying him two more slaves. The

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		Contributed towards buying him two more Blacks, and he thinks it very proper to Regulate making Collections in case of the like Misfortune. The Gunner brought in the following Acco.t which was Examined and Approved of. An Account of Gunners Stores Expended from Novemb.r the 5. 1718. to the last Ditto Inclusive. (Viz.t) Delivered	Governor thought it very proper to regulate the making of such collections in case of the like misfortune. The gunner brought in the following account, which was examined and approved. An account of gunner's stores expended from 1 November 1718 to the last day of November inclusive. Delivered... Interpretations The examination of Joseph Thomlinson before the bench confirmed the false credit of £40 0s 0d to his brother on the testimony of Tovey and Goodwin, who had reported the error at the time they found it. The distinction Thomlinson drew, owning the act but denying any design, let the Governor treat the matter as negligence rather than fraud, the warning that he could no longer be trusted with such accounts placing his bookkeeping on probation without dismissal. The Governor's wish to regulate the inhabitants' collections for losses such as Knipe's reveals an attempt to bring an informal charitable practice under formal order. The spontaneous subscription for a poor man's escaped slaves was useful relief, but Pyke saw the need to fix rules for such gatherings, perhaps to guard against abuse or to set a consistent footing for compensation in a community repeatedly exposed to the loss of slaves and boats. The note that the runaway slaves had enjoyed kind masters and good treatment served to forestall any suggestion that ill usage had driven them to flee. Recording the point on the bench's own report protected the owners and the island's regime from blame, casting the escape as opportunism rather than a response to cruelty, the boats at Prosperous Bay offering a route the Governor had already moved to close on 18 November 1718.
492	484	December. Nov: 4: 5. Delivered to Capt. Warden Comand.r of the St. George 2. Small Guns L.est q. 8: 1: 22 Fal. Pow.r 7. 8. 14 c.r g.ts 16. 1. 8 Falion Carridges Expended 2 Axeltrees 4 Trucks 8 Bedds 2 11. Departed the Dk. of Cambridge Capt. Daniel Small for Engl.d 12. 11 13. 11 D.o 1a. Departed y.e St. George Capt. Warden 9 9 5.th Ditto Mr. Cason for y.e Gen. Muster 7 Expended in the Guards c.s 7 Muskett Balls Expended 3 Cartridge Paper 3 Flints 24 Ramer Rodds 12	The gunner's account of stores expended through November 1718 followed, measured in falcon and pound. 1 November, delivered to Captain Worden, commander of the <i>St George</i>, 2 small guns, quantity 8 [...] 1 [...] 22. 7 [...] 8 [...] 14, equal to 16 [...] 8. Falcon cartridges expended. 2 Axletrees. 4 Trucks. 8 Beds. 2 11 November, the departure of the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> under Captain Daniel Small for England. 11 falcons and 11 pounds. The same day, the departure of the <i>St George</i> under Captain Worden. 9 falcons and 9 pounds. 5 November, the same, for Mr Cason for the general muster. 7 Expended in the guards. 7 Musket balls expended. 3 Cartridge paper. 3 Flints. 24 Rammer rods. 12 Match. 28 Total: 28, 12, 24, 3, 3, 2, 8, 4, 2, 16, 0, 8, 20 and 34. The account was signed by John French.

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		Match 28 Totall 28 12 24 3 3 28 4 2 16: 1: 8 20 34 (Signed) J.n.o French. [...] Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin Island	The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The two small guns delivered to Captain Worden of the <i>St George</i> show the council supplying departing Company ships with ordnance from the island's stores, the homeward voyage through hostile European waters making armament a prudent provision. The transfer fell within the same concern for the safety of the returning vessels that had driven the Masters' caution against Swedish privateers and the council's pressing of the two ships to sail in company through late October 1718. The powder charged for the departures of the <i>Duke of Cambridge</i> and the <i>St George</i> records the salutes paid as the ships left for England, matching the salutes burnt on their arrival entered in the previous month's account. The same gunner John French rendered both returns, the muster of powder spent on salutes, alarms and the general muster under Mr Cason serving as the standing audit of the Company's munitions.
493	485	1718. Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 16. day of December 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth. Bazett. 2. Pres.t Antip.r Tovey. 3. & Jn.o Alexander } Apist.ts Jn.o Goodwin } The Last Consultation read & approved of. Capt. Bazett & Mr. Goodwin According to an Order of Council of the 9. Inst. Reports they have been and viewed the Land Petitioned for by James Greentree, and are of opinion as followeth. Capt. Bazett Says that the letting of that two Acres of Land in Sandy Bay will be a Detriment to John Coles by hindering his Cattles Passage to the Waste Land that lies beyond him. Mr. Goodwin Says he believes 'twill be a Detrim.t not only to Mr. Coles but the rest of the Neighbours likewise, and its as great an Incon= veniency to Mr. Greentree if he has it not. But both of them Say that there's a Moul of Trees on it behind Mr. Greentrees House & Plantation w.ch if Cutt down (as is already begun) would be	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 December 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. Captain Bazett and Goodwin, following the council's order of 9 December 1718, reported that they had viewed the land petitioned for by James Greentree. Their opinion was as follows. Bazett said that letting the 2 acres of land in Sandy Bay would harm John Coles by blocking his cattle's passage to the waste land lying beyond him. Goodwin said he believed it would harm not only Coles but the other neighbours as well, and that it would be just as great an inconvenience to Greentree if he did not have it. But both men reported that there was a stand of trees on the parcel, behind Greentree's house and plantation, which if cut down, as had already been begun, would be... Interpretations The survey ordered on 9 December 1718 set the two councillors' findings against one another, the convenience of the parcel to Greentree weighed against the harm its loss would do to John Coles and the neighbouring holders. The report shows the bench's practice of viewing contested waste land before granting it, the inspection turning on whether a lease would block a neighbour's access to the further waste, the cattle passage being a shared interest the grant might cut off. The stand of trees on the parcel introduced a separate concern beyond the rival claims to the ground. The island's standing anxiety over timber depletion made the felling of the wood, already begun, a matter for the council's attention, the conservation of trees against the heavy consumption of the island's stock having driven measures such as the coal price reduction of 16 September 1718. The presence of the wood gave the bench a reason to weigh the grant on grounds of preservation as well as of pasture and access.
494	486	Decemb.r be of great Detriment to the Said Greentrees Plantation. They likewise Report they have also viewed the other Parcell of Land and think tis no De=	The felling of the wood would be of great harm to Greentree's plantation. The two councillors also reported that they had viewed the other parcel of land. They thought there would be no harm if it were granted to James Greentree, the parcel lying very conveniently next to part of his own free land.

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		=triment if Granted to the Said James Greentree, it lying very convenient & next Adjoyning to Some Part of his own Free Land. Upon the whole The Govern.r is of Opinion That Some part of the two Acres of Land be Lett to Mr. Greentree but a Sufficient breadth to be left out for the Passing & repassing of Cattle. But he thinks 'tis Proper to talk with Both Partys before any grant of the Land be made. And as for the other Parcell of Land Petiti=oned for by Mr. Greentree Ordered. That the Same be granted him, and a Lease to be made out Accordingly. The following Petitions were Presented. Island S.t Helena. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. S.t Helena. The Humble Petition of Christopher Hell. Humbly Sheweth. That your Petitioners only Black Running away in a Boat Some time Since which is	On the whole, Governor Pyke was of the opinion that part of the 2 acres might be let to Greentree, but that a sufficient width should be left out for the passing and repassing of cattle. He thought it proper to talk with both parties before any grant of the land was made. As for the other parcel petitioned for by Greentree, the council ordered that it be granted to him and a lease made out accordingly. The following petitions were presented. Christopher Hell petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that his only slave had run away in a boat some time before, and... Interpretations The Governor's compromise on the Sandy Bay parcel reserved a strip for the passage of cattle while letting Greentree have the rest, resolving the conflict between his claim and the neighbours' access. The decision to talk with both parties before any grant shows the bench seeking agreement rather than imposing a division, the cattle passage to the further waste being a shared right the council protected by keeping a way open through the leased ground. The clean grant of the second parcel, lying next to Greentree's own free land and found to harm no one, contrasts with the divided handling of the first and illustrates the test the council applied to waste-land petitions. Where the survey found no prejudice to the Company or the neighbours, the grant and lease followed at once, the detriment to others being the controlling consideration throughout. The petition of Christopher Hell over his only slave run away in a boat connects to the escape from Prosperous Bay entered on 18 November 1718, when four slaves seized a fishing yawl. The loss of a sole slave fell heavily on a small holder, the same disproportionate blow that the subscription for the poor man John Knipe had answered on 9 December 1718, the runaway boats stripping individual owners of labour they could ill spare.
495	487	1718. is every great loss to him being very Poor and two Motherless Children to Maintain Most Humbly prays Your Worsh. &c. will grant him a Brief to gett the Charity of Such well disposed Persons who are willing to give him Something towards his relief. the 9. Dec.r 1718. And your Petit.r as in duty bound shall for ever pray &c. (Signed) Christoph.r Kell Upon the following Certificate Ordered. That his request be granted &c. Island S.t Helena. We whose names are Underwritten humbly represent to Your Worsh. that the above Petition.r Christopher Kell is a Person who counts it and is one that is Worthy of Such Charity as is therein Mentioned. the 9. Dec.r 1718. John Goodwin Rich.d Gurling. John French Will.m Slaughter. Gab.t Bovell. James Greentree. Island S.t Helena. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The Humble Petition of Mary Harper	The loss was a very great one to Christopher Hell, being very poor and having two motherless children to maintain. He asked the council to grant him a brief, so that he might gather the charity of well-disposed persons willing to give something towards his relief. The petition was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by Christopher Hell. On the following certificate, the council ordered that his request be granted. The signatories certified to the Governor that Christopher Hell was a person in need of charity and worthy of the relief mentioned in his petition. The certificate was dated 9 December 1718 and signed by John Goodwin, Richard Gurling, John French, William Slaughter, Gabriel Powell and James Greentree. Mary Harper then petitioned the Governor and council. Interpretations The brief granted to Christopher Hell was a formal authority to solicit charitable contributions across the island, the council licensing an organised collection for a poor man's loss. The instrument shows the bench regulating relief through a recognised procedure, the same concern to bring such collections under order that the Governor had expressed on 9 December 1718 when the inhabitants subscribed for John Knipe's escaped slaves. The supporting certificate, signed by six inhabitants vouching for Hell's need and worth, supplied the council with independent confirmation before it authorised the appeal. Requiring such testimony guarded the charitable system against fraudulent or undeserving claims, the signatures of established planters such as Gabriel Powell, James Greentree and

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			William Slaughter lending the weight needed to satisfy the bench of a genuine case. The repeated losses of slaves in boats, falling on poor holders like Hell and Knipe who could least bear them, pressed the council towards a settled method of compensation. The escape from Prosperous Bay of 18 November 1718 had stripped several small owners of their few slaves at once, the brief and the subscription marking two routes by which the community answered a misfortune the island's isolation made hard to prevent.
496	488	Decemb.r Harper Jun.r Widdow. Humbly Sheweth. That your Petition.r did Soon after the Decease of her late Husband Tho.s Harper (for Satisfaction) take an Inventory & Appraised all his Said Estate. But by the Last Will & Testament of the Said Harper She is obliged to Appraize the Said Estate in case of her Second Marriage and not Else, that as the Estate Shall then remaine it may be divided between her and her and her Children by her Said late Hus= =band as by his Said Will is appointed. Wherefore your Petition.r Humbly prays that the Said Estate of the Said Tho.s Harper, as it now is may be Appraised According to his Said Will She having now thought of Altering her Condition by Marriage. 11. Dec.r 1718. And your Petit.r as in duty bound Shall for ever pray &c. (Signed) Mary Harper Mr. Bovell Executor to the Last Will & Testam.t of Thom.s Harper dec.d appeared and made Ob= =jection against the Said Mary Harpers Petition alledging that it has been the Custome of this Island for all Estates to be Appraised Immediately after Margin Notes: married Richard [...] Jan.y [...] 1718 as note	Mary Harper, the younger, a widow, set out her case. Soon after the death of her late husband Thomas Harper, she had taken an inventory and appraised all his estate. Under his last will, however, she was bound to appraise the estate only in the event of her second marriage and not otherwise. The estate would then be divided between her and her children by her late husband, as the will directed. Mary Harper asked that her late husband's estate be appraised as it now stood, according to his will, since she was now thinking of changing her condition by marriage. The petition was dated 11 December 1718 and signed by Mary Harper. Powell, as executor to the last will of the deceased Thomas Harper, appeared and objected to Mary Harper's petition. He argued that it had been the custom of the island for all estates to be appraised immediately after... Interpretations The petition turned on a condition in Thomas Harper's will tying the valuation of his estate to his widow's remarriage, the inventory becoming due only when she changed her condition. Mary Harper's request to have the estate appraised as it stood, now that she contemplated marriage, sought to fix the division between herself and the children before her new husband's interest attached, the will's provision protecting the children's shares against absorption into a second marriage. Powell's objection on the custom of the island, that all estates were appraised immediately after the death, set a local rule of probate against the particular terms of the will. The dispute exposed a tension between the testator's directions and the bench's settled practice, the timing of the appraisement governing what passed to the children and what the widow carried into her remarriage. The same Gabriel Powell had long acted as an executor in island estates, his appointment to finish the Hoskison valuation entered on 9 December 1718. A margin note recorded that Mary Harper married Richard [...] on 8 January 1719, the marriage she here anticipated taking place within a month of the petition. The note confirms that her contemplated change of condition was imminent, which explains the urgency of settling the valuation before the new husband's claim arose.
497	489	1718. after the Testators decease, and then the division of his Estate to be According as in his Last Will is Appointed which if otherwise he Says will be an ill President. Mr.s Harper Replyed and Says that She always Understood, that no Division or Appraisem.t ought to be made of her Husbands Estate till She married a Second time, and that for this and other reasons She hopes Mr. Bovells Objec= =tion to her Petition will be of no force Submitt= =ing her Self to her dec.d Husbands Last Will & the Gov.r & Councils Judgments thereon. The Gov.r asks the Council their opinion what is Properest to be done in this Case. It is the opinion of all the Council Since the Express words in the Said Thom.s Harpers Will Runs thus. That	Powell argued that estates were appraised immediately after the death of the testator, the division then made according to the will. To do otherwise, he said, would set a bad precedent. Mary Harper replied that she had always understood no division or appraisement of her husband's estate ought to be made until she married a second time. For this and other reasons she hoped Powell's objection to her petition would carry no weight, submitting herself to her late husband's will and to the judgment of the Governor and council. Governor Pyke asked the council for their opinion on what was best to be done in the case. The whole council was of one opinion, since the express words of Thomas Harper's will ran that the whole estate be kept together until his wife married,

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		the whole Estate be kept together till my wife Marries, but then to be Divided. That there be a new Inventory taken of his Estate as is now remaining, and a dividend made thereof According to the Tenor of the Said Harpers Will, And that the man She marries be obliged to give Sufficient Bond for the Childrens Estate, and the Appraisment thereof to be made by the Same Men as before, with	but then be divided. They held that a new inventory should be taken of the estate as it now remained, and a division made according to the terms of the will. The man she married must be bound by sufficient bond to secure the children's estate. The appraisement was to be made by the same men as before, and... Interpretations The council resolved the dispute by reading the express words of the will against the island's general custom, the testator's direction that the estate stay together until the widow married and then be divided governing the case. The decision shows the bench giving the particular terms of a will priority over its settled probate practice where the language was clear, the conflict between Powell's appeal to custom and Mary Harper's reliance on the will turning on which controlled the timing of the valuation. The requirement that the widow's new husband give bond to secure the children's estate provided the mechanism by which their shares were protected through her remarriage. The bond bound the incoming husband to preserve the portions due to the children, preventing the second marriage from absorbing what the will reserved to them, the same device of security the council used throughout its handling of orphans' and dependants' property. The direction that the appraisement be made by the same men as before maintained continuity in the valuation, the original appraisers resuming the inventory now ordered afresh. The council's close management of who valued an estate, evident in its appointment of Wrangham to replace the deceased Robert Addes in the Hoskison appraisement on 9 December 1718, ensured the division rested on a consistent and answerable assessment.
498	490	December. with Mr. Nichols or any two of they three. The Petition of Francis Wrangham Setting forth therein That he having a Small quantity of Land lying in Peak Gutt, Humbly Prays he may have about 18. or 20. Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land granted him that lies Adjoyning to his own, and which if lett to any person Else would be of Prejudice to him. Wherefore begs his request may be granted. Dec.r the 16.th 1718. And as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c. (Signed) Fran.s Wrangham. The Petition of Robert Gurling Setting forth the Land whereon he now lives being not Capable of Producing Provisions Sufficient for the Maintenance of his family Notwithstanding his Utmost Industry. Humbly prays he may have two Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as Wask Land granted him lying in Proderley valley where he hopes to make a Small Plantation otherwise he must of Necessity dispose of that Land now in Possession. Dec.r 16.th 1718. And as in duty bound ever to pray &c. Rob.t Gurling	The appraisement was to be made with Nichols or any two of the three. Francis Wrangham then petitioned. He set out that he held a small quantity of land in Peak Gut. He asked for a grant of about 18 or 20 acres of the Company's waste land lying next to his own. If the land were let to anyone else it would be damaging to him. He therefore asked that his request be granted. The petition was dated 16 December 1718 and signed by Francis Wrangham. Robert Gurling then petitioned. He set out that the land on which he now lived was not capable of producing provisions enough to maintain his family, despite his utmost effort. He asked for a grant of 2 acres of the Company's waste land lying in Bredenley Valley, where he hoped to make a small plantation. Otherwise he would have to give up the land he now held. The petition was dated 16 December 1718 and signed by Robert Gurling. Interpretations The two petitions continue the steady stream of applications for the Company's waste land, each resting on the convenience of the adjoining parcel and the harm a rival tenant would cause. Francis Wrangham, a churchwarden and a regular fencing contractor, framed his request on the standard ground of contiguity, the unallotted land bordering his Peak Gut holding being worth securing against another applicant. Robert Gurling's plea rested on the inadequacy of his present land to feed his family, the threat to surrender it unless granted better ground giving the council a reason to keep an industrious tenant settled. The argument shows the bench balancing the proprietors' interest in retaining cultivators against the quality of the land it had let, a holding too poor to support a family being of little use to the Company if abandoned. The naming of Bredenley Valley and Peak Gut fixed each parcel by its known locality, the method by which unsurveyed waste was identified before a view. The

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			council's settled practice of referring such requests for inspection, evident in the survey of Greentree's parcels reported on 16 December 1718, governed these applications as it did the rest, the grant turning on whether the loss would prejudice the Company or its neighbours. Speculations Robert Gurling pressed his case by threatening to abandon his present holding unless granted the better ground in Bredenley Valley, turning his own poverty into leverage over the council. The manoeuvre put the bench to a choice between supplying additional waste land and losing a settled cultivator altogether, framing the grant as the means of keeping his family on the land and his plantation in production rather than as a simple favour.
499	491	1718. The Govern.r Sayes He will goe & See the Land Petitiond for by Fran.s Wrangham and Robert Gurling and then make report of it. The Gov.r Says when he Arrived here in the Rochester We had Instructions in the Hon. Companys General Letter for Regulateing the Street by making it Uniform, and now he thinks is a very Proper time to Sett about it because one Side is done Already But by taking away Some Walls which are an Encroachm.t that come out towards the Middle of the Street twill be Some Inconvenien= =cy, and perhaps Some Detriment to Severall Persons Especially to Mr.s Carne and therefore as it will be Necessary to pull down these old Walls Some of which came a great deal further out than the others in Some parts, there must be Some new wall Built to make the Street Streight and come into a Line and therefore he thinks the new wall to be built ought to be at the Comp.as Charge and asks the Councill their opinions in it. It is the opinion of the whole Council That for the Regulateing the Street they think tis Proper and reasonable for every Body that Pulls down any walls to rebuild new ones in their Stead. Tho'	Governor Pyke said he would go and view the land petitioned for by Francis Wrangham and Robert Gurling, and then report on it. The Governor said that when he had arrived on the <i>Rochester</i>, the council had received instructions in the Company's general letter to regulate the street by making it uniform. He thought the present a very proper time to set about it, since one side was already done. Taking away some of the walls that encroached towards the middle of the street would cause some inconvenience, and perhaps some harm to several persons, especially to Mrs Carne. Since it would be necessary to pull down these old walls, some of which ran a great deal further out than others in some parts, new walls would have to be built to make the street straight and bring it into line. The Governor therefore thought the new walls ought to be built at the Company's charge, and asked the council for their opinion. The whole council was of the opinion that, for regulating the street, it was proper and reasonable that everyone who pulled down any walls to rebuild new ones in their place... Interpretations The street regulation rested on a direct instruction in the Company's general letter, the directors having ordered the thoroughfare made uniform and the Governor judging the moment ripe with one side already finished. The scheme shows the proprietors' authority reaching into the physical layout of James Town, the encroaching walls that narrowed the street to be pulled back and the line straightened under a metropolitan directive carried out locally. The Governor's proposal that the Company bear the charge of rebuilding the displaced walls addressed the harm the works would do to private holders, especially Mrs Carne. Since the encroachments stood on land the owners had enclosed at their own cost, requiring them to set the walls back without compensation would impose a real loss, the Company's offer to fund the new building serving to reconcile the public improvement with the private interest it disturbed. The dating of the Governor's arrival to the <i>Rochester</i> fixes the origin of the instruction, the general letter that vessel carried having set the regulation of the street among the directors' orders. The same letter had governed the slave-labour opinions the council gave in February 1717, the <i>Rochester</i> being the established carrier of the directors' general letter whose paragraphs shaped the bench's business. Speculations The Governor timed the works to the completion of one side of the street, presenting the moment as proper precisely because half the task was done. By framing the remaining works as the natural continuation of an improvement already begun, he gave the council a reason to commit to the disruptive pulling down of the old walls, the partial progress making the further

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			charge easier to justify than a scheme started from nothing.
500	492	Dec.r tho' perhaps it may happen to be in different Places. Thom.s Bryant Sold.r went Yesterday to gett Salt out of the Rocks and fell from the Side of the Hill and broke one of his thighs and one of his Leggs, and has bruised his head and Body in Several places So that he is in great danger of dying. The Gov.r Says that every year or two, there has as bad or worse Accidents happened by Peoples going for Salt in Dangerous Places and therefore he thinks there must be Some order Made to restrain the Soldiers from going to fetch it which they the ofner do, at the desire of the People where they quarter. It is therefore Referred to the Govern.r to make Such a Necessary Order therein as he Shall think fitt. And the Gov.r Desires every one of the Council to bring in In writing next Tuesday what is their opinion to prevent Blacks Run= =ing away w.th Boats for the future. [...] Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin Island.	The council added that everyone who pulled down walls should rebuild them, though perhaps in different places. The soldier Thomas Bryant had gone the previous day to gather salt out of the rocks. He fell from the side of the hill and broke one of his thighs and one of his legs, bruising his head and body in several places, so that he was in great danger of dying. Governor Pyke said that every year or two as bad or worse accidents happened through people going for salt in dangerous places. He thought some order must be made to restrain the soldiers from going to fetch it, which they often did at the request of the people where they were quartered. The matter was therefore referred to the Governor to make whatever order he thought necessary. The Governor also asked every member of the council to bring in their opinion in writing the following Tuesday on how to prevent slaves running away in boats in future. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The salt-gathering accidents reveal a recurring hazard the council sought to manage by regulation, the soldiers fetching salt from dangerous rocks at the request of the householders where they were quartered. The Governor's wish to restrain them shows the bench treating the safety of the garrison as a matter of order, the practice exposing the Company's men to injury for the private convenience of the planters who lodged them, which gave the proprietors an interest in stopping it. The request that each councillor bring a written opinion on preventing slaves running away in boats carries forward the concern raised by the Prosperous Bay escape on 18 November 1718. The method of requiring separate written reports from every member, rather than seeking a single resolution, repeats the Governor's established practice of building a documented record point by point, the same approach he had used in the animosity against the chaplain on 28 October 1718. Speculations The Governor split the two problems by reserving the salt-gathering order to himself while putting the question of the runaway boats to the whole council in writing. The salt accidents called only for a restraint on the soldiers within his own authority over the garrison, whereas the loss of slaves touched the private property of many planters and the security of the island, a matter on which he sought the council's collective opinion to ground any general regulation that would bind the inhabitants.
501	493	1718. Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 23.d day of Dec.r 1718. At Union Castle in Jam.s Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth. Bazett 2. Pres.t Antip.r Tovey. 3. & Jn.o Alexander } Apist.ts Jn.o Goodwin } Last Consultation read and approved of. According to an Order of Council of the 16.th Inst.t the Council brought in their Opinions in Writing as follows. Worsh. S.r & Gentlem.n As We believe the Blacks (the most Stupid) will run away with a Boat without Sails, We think the only way to prevent them So doing is not to Suffer any one on	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 December 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. Following the council's order of 16 December 1718, the council brought in their opinions in writing as follows. Bazett and Tovey reported their view to the Governor and council. Since they believed that even the most ignorant slaves would run away with a boat that had no sails, they thought the only way to prevent it was to allow no one, on any pretext, to keep masts

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		any Pretence whatsoever to have Masts and Sails to their Boats Except only Such as keep them Constantly in this road in Sight of the Fort & always lock them up the Masts & Sails in their houses when the Boats are at the moaring here. Union Castle Jam.s Valley 23. Dec.r 1718. We are Worsp. S.r & Yo.r obed. Serv.t Matt. Bazett Antip.r Tovey	and sails on their boats, except those who kept their boats constantly in the road in sight of the fort. The masts and sails were always to be locked up in the owners' houses while the boats lay at their moorings. The report was dated 23 December 1718 and signed by Matthew Bazett and Antipas Tovey. Interpretations The written opinion of Bazett and Tovey answered the Governor's request of 16 December 1718 for each councillor's view on stopping slaves escaping by boat. Their remedy fixed on the masts and sails rather than the boats themselves, the vessels being useless for a long passage without rigging, the practical measure being to separate the means of propulsion from the hull and keep it under lock at the owners' houses. The exception for boats kept constantly in the road in sight of the fort shows the proposal balancing security against the working needs of the island's fishery and landing service. Boats that lay where the garrison could watch them posed less risk, so the restriction fell only on those moored out of view, the scheme targeting the opportunity for escape that the Prosperous Bay yawl had supplied on 18 November 1718 without halting legitimate use.
502	494	December. Worth. S.r & Gent.m For the preventing of Blacks Runing away from this place in Boats (as they very lately done in two of the Fishing Yauls) It is our opinion that no Boat whatsoever (Except the Hon.ble Comp.as) be hereafter Permitted to use any Sails in them Unless the owners of Such Boat or Boats at the Coming In from Fishing will engage, Upon Such a Fine or Forfeiture as Shall be agreed on in Consultation, to Secure the Sails every night from any rogueish Blacks design of getting them, because Sometimes it So happens that Sails is the only means of Saving both Boat & mens lives when they are at Some great distance from the Shore and a Strong Gale & Sea rises of a Sudden as very often it hath been Experienced and found to be Matter of Fact. Wherefore Submit this our opinion to your Worships better Judgement and are. Dec.r 23. 1718. Worsh. S.r &c. Yo.r humble & obed. Serv.ts Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin	A further written opinion followed, on preventing slaves running away from the island in boats, as had lately happened with two of the fishing yawls. The signatories held that no boat whatever, except the Company's, should in future be allowed to use sails, unless the owners of such boats engaged, on coming in from fishing, to secure the sails every night against any roguish slaves' attempt to take them. The engagement was to be enforced by such a fine or forfeiture as the council should agree. They allowed an exception because sails were sometimes the only means of saving both the boat and the men's lives, when they were a great distance from the shore and a strong gale and high sea rose suddenly, as had very often been found to happen. They submitted this opinion to the council's better judgment. The report was dated 23 December 1718 and signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The opinion of Alexander and Goodwin took a different line from that of Bazett and Tovey, permitting boats to keep their sails on condition the owners secured them every night under penalty. The two reports show the council weighing rival methods of control, the one removing the sails to the owners' houses, the other leaving them with the boat but binding the owner by a fine or forfeiture to lock them away, the choice turning on how strict a restriction the fishery could bear. The exception for safety at sea reflects the practical hazard of the island's fishing, the sudden gales off an exposed coast making sails the only means of bringing a boat and its crew home from a distance. The councillors balanced the security risk of leaving rigging available against the danger to life of denying it, the qualification showing the bench reluctant to impose a measure that might cost the fishermen their lives in a squall. The reliance on a fine or forfeiture left to be agreed in council shows the enforcement resting on a financial penalty against the owner rather than on physical removal of the means of escape. Placing the burden on the boat owner to secure his own sails, answerable in money for any lapse, made each holder responsible for guarding against the use of his vessel for flight, the mechanism shifting the cost of failure onto the person best placed to prevent it.
503	495	1718.	Governor Pyke received and approved the opinions and said he would draw out an order accordingly.

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		The Govern.t rec.d and approved of the aforesaid opinions and Sayes he will draw out an Order pursuant thereto. Sarah Latour Widdow brought this day her dec.d Husband Lewis Latours Last Will and Testam.t In order of having the Same proved which was Accordingly done by the Oaths of William Beal, Joseph Bates and Joseph Thomlinson. Ordered That the Said Will now Pro=duced be rec.d and approved of and Accordingly Entered in the Consultation Book and is as follows. Island S.t Helena. In the Name of God Amen I Louis Latour of Said Island belonging to the Garrison being in a very weak Condition of Body but of Sound & Perfect memory for which I praise and Magnify Almighty God, and Considering the Uncertainty of this present life, make and Ordains this my last Will & Testam.t In manner and form following, that is to Say. First I commit my Soul into the hands of Almighty God my Creator, and my Body to the Earth, to Decently Buried at the Discretion of my Executrs hereafter mentioned, trusting thro' the Mercys	The widow Sarah Latour brought in the last will of her late husband Lewis Latour to have it proved. This was done on the oaths of William Beale, Joseph Bates and Joseph Thomlinson. The council ordered that the will now produced be received, approved and entered in the consultation book. It ran as follows. Lewis Latour of the island, belonging to the garrison, made his will while very weak in body but of sound and perfect memory, for which he praised Almighty God. Considering the uncertainty of his present life, he made and ordained his last will in the following manner. First, he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God his creator, and his body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of his executor named below, trusting through the mercies... Interpretations The proving of Lewis Latour's will on the oaths of three witnesses follows the standard probate procedure of the island, the council receiving the document and entering it in the consultation book once the witnesses had sworn to its execution. The same bench that governed land, trade and discipline served as the island's court of probate, the formal entry giving the will the authority needed for the estate to be administered. The witnesses William Beale, Joseph Bates and Joseph Thomlinson all recur in the council's recent business, Beale as a punch-house keeper, Bates as the former marshal lately before the bench over the Easthope assault on 6 November 1718, and Thomlinson as the writer whose account errors had been examined on 9 December 1718. Their attendance as witnesses shows the small circle of literate inhabitants who served repeatedly in the island's legal and administrative acts. The will recorded the death of Lewis Latour, whose burial had been marked by a pound of powder in the gunner's account for October 1718 entered on 18 November 1718. The funeral honour and the probate together close the record of a garrison man, the powder spent at his grave and the proving of his will marking the two formal observances the island made on his death.
504	496	Decembr mercys of God and the Passion of my Redeem=er that the Same will be raised up again to Enjoy a Glorious Immortality. And for Such worldly Goods and Substance which it hath pleased God to Bless me with I give and Bequeath as follows, that is to Say. I give and Bequeath to my loving wife Sarah Latour, (my debts & funerall Charges being first Discharged) all and Singular my both Real and Personal Estate Under what Denomination Soever consisting, Particularly my House in James Valley with all the Priviliyes & Properties thereunto belonging and all the Goods & Chattles therein whether Moveable or Immoveable, together with one Black Boy now in my Possesion, and all my ready money, Wearing Apparrell, Bonds, Bills debts, or any other thing that may lawfully become mine, to Her my aforesaid beloved wife Sarah Latour to have & to hold for ever without trouble or Mollestation according to the true design and Intent of this my Last Will Provided my loving Mother in Law Mary Easthope have the Benefit of the Black boy before mentioned one day in every week for her own Use and Service. Lastly	The will continued, that Latour trusted through the mercies of God and the passion of his redeemer to be raised again to enjoy a glorious immortality. As for the worldly goods God had blessed him with, he gave and bequeathed them as follows. He gave to his loving wife Sarah Latour, his debts and funeral charges being first discharged, all his real and personal estate of every kind. In particular he gave her his house in James Valley, with all the privileges and properties belonging to it, and all the goods and chattels in it, whether moveable or immoveable. He also gave her one black boy now in his possession, all his ready money, wearing apparel, bonds, bills, debts and anything else that might lawfully become his. His wife Sarah was to have and hold all of this for ever, without trouble or disturbance, according to the true intent of his will. He provided, however, that his mother-in-law Mary Easthope should have the benefit of the black boy one day in every week, for her own use and service. Interpretations The will left the whole estate to the widow Sarah Latour, charged first with the debts and funeral expenses, the testator passing his house in James Valley, his goods, his money and his slave to his wife absolutely. The reservation that the debts be discharged before the bequest took effect shows the standard ordering of an estate, the creditors satisfied ahead of the legatee, the wife taking what remained.

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			The bequest of a black boy as part of the estate, alongside the house and goods, reflects the treatment of slaves as heritable property passing under a will like any other chattel. The provision that the testator's mother-in-law Mary Easthope have the use of the boy one day each week divided the slave's labour between two households, a partial interest carved out of the property the widow otherwise held in full. The naming of Mary Easthope as the beneficiary of the weekly service connects the will to the assault case of 6 November 1718, when the widow Easthope complained that Joseph Bates had beaten her and spoke of strife between herself and her daughter Latour. The bequest shows the family relationship behind that dispute, Sarah Latour being Easthope's daughter, the shared use of the slave binding the two households the quarrel had set at odds.
505	497	1718. Lastly and to conclude, Do Constitute Appoint and Ordain my loving wife Sarah Latour my whole and Sole Executrix to perform & Execute the within mentioned Premises to the Ends and Purposes therein declared. In Witness whereof I have hereunto put my hand & Seal this 11.th day of Oct.r Anno Dom. 1718. Signed Sealed Published and Declared in the presence of Us. Louis [seal] Latour Will Beal Joseph Bates Joseph Bates. Thomlinson William Beal & Joseph Bates and Joseph Thomlinson made Oath this 23. of Dec.r 1718. that they were pres.t and Witnesses to this Writ= =ing which they saw Louis Latour Sign, Seal, Publish, and Declare to be his last Will and Testam.t and Whereas there are two Names of Joseph Bates Signed here, Joseph Thomlinson made Oath that he Signed the last instead of his own Name by Mistake but owns his hand writing & Says his true Name is Joseph Thomlinson. (Signed) Joseph Thomlinson. The Petition of James Greentree was Presented. Island.	Lastly, Latour appointed his loving wife Sarah Latour his whole and sole executrix, to carry out the terms of his will. He set his hand and seal to it on 11 October 1718. The will was signed, sealed and declared in the presence of the witnesses William Beale, Joseph Bates and Joseph Bates. It was signed by Lewis Latour with his mark. William Beale, Joseph Bates and Joseph Thomlinson swore on 23 December 1718 that they had been present and had witnessed the document, which they had seen Lewis Latour sign, seal and declare to be his last will. Since the name of Joseph Bates appeared signed twice, Joseph Thomlinson swore that he had signed the second instead of his own name by mistake, but acknowledged the handwriting as his own and confirmed that his true name was Joseph Thomlinson. The correction was signed by Joseph Thomlinson. The petition of James Greentree was presented. Interpretations The appointment of the widow as sole executrix completed the will's design of placing the whole estate and its administration in Sarah Latour's hands, the testator entrusting both the property and its settlement to his wife. Making the principal legatee the executrix was a common arrangement, the person who took the estate also charged with discharging the debts and carrying out the bequests. The sworn correction of the duplicated signature shows the care the council took over the formal validity of a proved will, the error in the attestation resolved by Joseph Thomlinson's oath that he had written the wrong name. Recording his acknowledgement of his own hand and his true name closed a defect that might otherwise have cast doubt on the witnessing, the bench ensuring the document stood proof against challenge before entering it.
506	498	Decemb.r Island S.t Helena. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Coun.t The Petition of James Greentree free holder Most humbly. Sheweth. That Whereas your Petition.r hath for Some time past and frequently doth re= =ceive great damages by the Continual Trespas= =ing of Severall head of Cattle belonging to John Coles in Particular and Severall Goats to others in General, and that daily. And Whereas your Petit.r hath a plantation wherein he has Planted Severall fruit Trees (and doth intend to Plant more) besides Provisions which thrive and grow the better by being Sheltered by a Grove of Gumwood Trees that Stands to the Windw.d part which being Unenclosed & Upon the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land is Subject to be Cutt down & destroyed to your said Petit.r great Prejudice & Discouragem.t of planting of Such fruit Trees as may	The freeholder James Greentree petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that he had for some time, and frequently still, suffered great damage from the continual trespassing of several head of cattle belonging to John Coles in particular, and of various goats belonging to others in general, and that this happened daily. He held a plantation in which he had planted several fruit trees and intended to plant more, besides provisions, which thrived and grew the better for being sheltered by a grove of gumwood trees standing to the windward. That grove lay unenclosed on the Company's waste land and was therefore liable to be cut down and destroyed, to his great harm and to the discouragement of planting such fruit trees as might be useful for the refreshment of the shipping. John Coles, having equal right with everyone else to the Company's waste land on which... Interpretations

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		be usefull & Necessary for the Refreshm.t of Shipping. And Whereas the Said John Coles having Equall Priveledge w.th all others of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land whereon	The petition exposes the conflict between open access to the Company's waste land and the interests of a planter improving the ground next to it. Greentree's fruit trees and provisions depended on the shelter of an unenclosed gumwood grove, which any holder with equal right to the waste might fell, the want of enclosure leaving his cultivation exposed both to wandering cattle and to the destruction of the windbreak. The argument tied the planting of fruit trees to the refreshment of the shipping, casting Greentree's private improvement as a service to the Company's vessels calling at the island. Linking his case to the supply of fresh provisions for the ships gave the bench a proprietorial reason to protect his trees, the encouragement of planting useful crops being a recognised interest the council weighed against the common right to the waste. The complaint of damage from John Coles's cattle and others' goats reflects the recurring problem of straying livestock on unfenced ground, the same nuisance that ran through the island's land disputes. The grove's standing on open waste, where the trespassing animals roamed and the wood lay open to felling, made Greentree's holding vulnerable on two fronts, which drove his petition for some security over the adjoining ground.
507	499	1718. whereon his Cattle doth daily Graze and thereby So very often Trespassing as aforesaid. Your Petition.r doth therefore Humbly Pray to become Tennt. to the Said Hon.ble Comp.a for a Certain Peice of their Waste Land that lies next adjoyning to yo.r Petition.rs Land, which brings the Said Hon.ble Comp.r not one farthing Profit. Whereas if lett would Yeild them five Shillings p Acre p Annum. And the Same Land being of farr greater Damage to Yo.r Petition.r than any Profit or Advantage to John Coles who is the only Person that made any Objection against the Hire of about two Acres as in a former Petition is desired, and he having a drift way allotted him through yo.r Petition.r Pasture to all Parts Adjacent, doth farther Pray he may have his request Granted, and the Said Mr. Coles groundless reasons & Pretentions no longer Lookt on but as a Private Interest to himself. Dec.r 23. 1718. And as in duty bound Shall ever pray &c. (Signed) James Greentree. Referred to the Govern.r who will go & view the Land Petitioned for and then make Report thereof.	The petition continued, that John Coles's cattle grazed daily on the waste land and so trespassed very often. Greentree therefore asked to become tenant of a certain piece of the Company's waste land lying next to his own, which at present yielded the Company not a farthing of profit, whereas if let it would bring them 5s 0d per acre each year. The land was of far greater damage to Greentree than any profit or advantage to John Coles, who was the only person to object to the hire of about 2 acres sought in an earlier petition. Coles had a right of way allotted him through Greentree's pasture to all the adjoining parts. Greentree therefore asked that his request be granted and that Coles's groundless objections be regarded no longer as anything but a private interest of his own. The petition was dated 23 December 1718 and signed by James Greentree. The council referred the matter to the Governor, who would go and view the land and then report on it. Interpretations The petition pressed the case by setting the Company's gain against Coles's loss, arguing that the waste yielded the proprietors nothing while a lease would bring 5s 0d per acre a year. Casting the grant as profitable to the Company and the objection as merely Coles's private interest, Greentree sought to align his own advantage with the proprietors', the revenue from the rent serving as the institutional reason for the bench to favour him over the neighbour who blocked the earlier request. The point that Coles already held a right of way through Greentree's pasture answered the objection that a grant would cut off his access to the adjoining waste. By showing Coles secured by an allotted passage, Greentree removed the practical ground of the complaint, leaving the objection to rest, on his account, on nothing but self-interest, which the council would weigh in its view of the land. The reference to the Governor for a personal view repeats the bench's settled procedure for contested waste-land grants, the same inspection ordered on the rival pasture petitions of 9 December 1718. The recurrence of Greentree's request, twice obstructed by Coles, shows the council unwilling to grant disputed ground without a fresh view, the Governor's report being the means by which competing claims to the same parcel were resolved.

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508	500	December. The Govern.r delivered the following Advertizem.t In order of having the Same Published by beat of Drum, which was very well approved of by all the Council. Island S.t Helena. By the Worsh. Gov.r & Council. An Advertizement. Whereas many Sad Accidents have happened yearly by the Soldiers of the Garrison going to the Dangerous Parts of the Mountains to Digg Salt & fetch Salt by which divers of them have been Pre= =viously bruised & Maimed and Sevrall Lost their lives no Season having Passed without Some Such fatall Example. Wherefore for the Prevention thereof for the future, The Gov.r & Council do hereby Strictly forbid any of the Sold.rs of the Garrison from Digging & fetching any Salt on any Pretence Whatsoever Under the Penalty of twenty Shillings for each offence. Unless they forthwith bring all the Salt which they have dugg and fetched away and deliver it up at the Fort for the Hon.ble Comp.as use for which Salt nothing Shall be paid them. And the Gov.r & Council do hereby Declare that the Intent of this Order to take the Salt without paying for it is not to gain any Salt for themselves but only to discourage as= =much	Governor Pyke delivered the following advertisement to be published by beat of drum, which the whole council approved. The Governor and council issued an advertisement. Many serious accidents had happened every year through the soldiers of the garrison going to the dangerous parts of the mountains to dig and fetch salt, by which several had been badly bruised and maimed and several had lost their lives, no year passing without some such fatal example. To prevent this in future, the Governor and council strictly forbade any soldier of the garrison from digging or fetching any salt on any pretext whatever, on penalty of 20s 0d for each offence. If they did fetch salt, they were at once to bring all of it in and deliver it up at the fort for the Company's use, for which nothing would be paid to them. The Governor and council declared that the purpose of taking the salt without paying for it was not to gain any salt for themselves, but only to discourage... Interpretations The advertisement converted the salt-gathering hazard raised on 16 December 1718 into a formal prohibition, the order published by beat of drum to bind the garrison. The penalty of 20s 0d for each offence, with forfeiture of any salt fetched, shows the bench enforcing the safety of the soldiers through a financial deterrent, the recurring deaths and injuries on the mountain rocks giving the proprietors cause to stop the practice. The provision that confiscated salt be delivered to the fort without payment served as the mechanism of deterrence rather than a source of supply. By stripping the soldier of both the salt and any reward for fetching it, the order removed the incentive to gather it, the council's express declaration that it sought no salt for itself making clear the forfeiture was a penalty designed to discourage the conduct, not a means of profit. The targeting of the soldiers reflects the particular pressure on the garrison, the men fetching salt at the request of the householders where they were quartered, as the Governor had noted on 16 December 1718. Restraining the soldiers addressed the point at which the danger arose, the private convenience of the planters being met at the cost of the Company's men, which the proprietors had an interest in ending.
509	501	1718. much as in them lies, the digging & fetching of it by the Garrison. And that the Industrious part of the Garrison may not want due Encouragement the Govern.r & Council Proposes & Promises to all those who are willing to work that they Shall be Employed at the Fortifications, And that Altho' the Wages for Labouring Blacks being now fallen & are fixed to twelve pence p day Yet the Garrison that work shall have the Same Wages as formerly. But as to the free Holders & other Inhabitants of this place who are not of the Garrison Nothing is hereby intended to Prohibitt or restrain them or their Servants from the digging & fetching Salt for their Sevrall Uses from any Parts where it is to be found, it being to be hoped they will not Expose themselves to any Imminent dangers in those Hazardous Affairs they having been So often Eye Witnesses not only of the Danger to w.ch every one is Subject on that Acco.t but of the Destruction of Sevrall Rash Adventures who would not take warning by other mens Misfortunes. Dated at Union Castle in James Valley this 23. day of Dec.r Dom. 1718. Signed p order of Gov.r & Council. Jn.o Alexander Sec.ry Tho.s	The advertisement continued, that the purpose was to discourage the digging and fetching of salt by the garrison as far as possible. So that the industrious part of the garrison should not lack proper encouragement, the Governor and council promised all those willing to labour that they would be employed at the fortifications. Although the wages for labouring slaves had now fallen and were fixed at 12 pence a day, the soldiers who laboured would still have the same wages as before. As for the freeholders and other inhabitants of the island who were not of the garrison, the order was not intended to forbid or restrain them or their servants from digging and fetching salt for their own uses from any place where it could be found. They were trusted not to expose themselves to such dangers, having so often witnessed both the danger to which everyone was subject in the task and the destruction of several rash adventurers who would not take warning from other men's misfortunes. The advertisement was dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 23 December 1718 and signed by John Alexander by order of the Governor and council. Interpretations The order coupled its prohibition with an offer of alternative employment at the fortifications, providing the soldiers a lawful means of earning in place of the forbidden salt-gathering. The promise that labouring

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			soldiers would keep their former wages, even though the rate for labouring slaves had fallen to 12 pence a day, shows the bench protecting the garrison's pay against the lower slave rate, the inducement set against the penalty to channel the men's effort into Company work rather than the dangerous rocks. The exemption of the freeholders and other inhabitants confined the restraint to the garrison alone, the free planters left at liberty to fetch salt for their own use at their own risk. The distinction shows the proprietors' authority over the soldiers as their servants being firmer than over the free inhabitants, the council restraining its own men while merely trusting the planters to heed the danger they had so often seen. The fixing of the labouring slave rate at 12 pence a day records a fall in the cost of slave labour on the island, the soldiers' wage held above it by the order. The separate rate for the garrison men maintained their earnings as a deliberate exception, the bench treating the soldiers' pay as a matter of policy distinct from the market value of slave labour at the fortifications.
510	502	December. Thomas Bryant who in last Consultati= =on was Reported to have broken one Thigh & one Legg by a fall, dyed on fryday last, and the Docter brought in the following Acco.t of the cause of his death by that fall. Memorand.m of Tho.s Bryant aged about 16. Years who dyed of Severall wounds & Fractures rec.d by a fall from a Precipaus. Dec.r the 15.th 1718. 1: Two Fractures of the Head, & one Fissur; a Large contusion on the Sincipit, wound of the forehead. 2: A Dislocation of the Cubitts w.th a Large Contusion, & one wound on the hand. 3: On the left side the 9.th & 10.th Ribs Fractured. 4: Two of the Vertebra of the Loyns Luxation. 5: Two Fractures of the Right thigh w.th a Dislocation of the knee. 6: A Dislocation of the Tibia & Fibuba. 7: A Fracture of the left Foot Close to the head of the two fasills, a dislocation of the Metatarsus in geneuill. 8: The Internal Parts, Worms in great quantities, Particularly in the Pilorious. The Docter Reports That James Whaley, who was with the Said Bryant when he fell from the Rocks, being very much affrighted thereat	Thomas Bryant, who at the last consultation was reported to have broken one thigh and one leg by a fall, died the previous Friday. The doctor brought in the following account of the cause of his death from that fall. A memorandum on Thomas Bryant, aged about 16 years, who died of several wounds and fractures received by a fall from a precipice, dated 15 December 1718. 1: Two fractures of the head and one fissure, a large contusion on the upper skull and a wound to the forehead. 2: A dislocation of the elbow with a large contusion, and one wound on the hand. 3: On the left side, the ninth and tenth ribs fractured. 4: Two of the vertebrae of the loins dislocated. 5: Two fractures of the right thigh with a dislocation of the knee. 6: A dislocation of the tibia and fibula. 7: A fracture of the left foot close to the heel of the two bones, and a dislocation of the metatarsus in general. 8: The internal parts, worms in great quantities, particularly in the stomach. The doctor reported that James Whaley, who was with Bryant when he fell from the rocks, being very much frightened at it... Interpretations The medical memorandum recorded the cause of death in clinical detail, the doctor cataloguing the fractures and dislocations sustained in the fall from the precipice. The entry shows the council's practice of taking a formal account of a sudden death, the itemised injuries serving to fix the cause on the record, the same procedure of establishing how a man died that governed the inquests held on the island. The death of Thomas Bryant supplied the immediate occasion for the salt-gathering prohibition of 23 December 1718, his fall while fetching salt being the latest of the fatal accidents the advertisement was framed to prevent. The clinical record of his injuries, dated 15 December 1718, gives the particular case behind the Governor's observation that no year passed without such a fatal example.
511	503	1718. thereat, he has been ever Since afflicted with a violent fever But is now in a fair way of doing well againe. [...] Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 30.th day of Dec.r 1718. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r	James Whaley had ever since been afflicted with a violent fever from the fright, but was now in a fair way of recovery. Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 December 1718 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor

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		Matth. Bazett. 2. Pres.t Antip.r Tovey. 3. & Jn.o Alexander } Apist.ts Jn.o Goodwin } The Last Consultation read & Approved. On yesterday the 29.th Inst.t Early in the Morning Arrived the Ship Princess Ann Capt. Nicholas Lethorne Comand.r from Mocha & Madras but last from the Cape of Good Hope. He came in to the Leword of this Island which has not been done near twenty years Since.	Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. The previous day, 29 December 1718, early in the morning, the ship <i>Princess Ann</i> under Captain Nicholas Lihorne arrived from Mocha and Madras, but last from the Cape of Good Hope. She came in to the leeward of the island, which had not been done for nearly 20 years. Interpretations The arrival of the <i>Princess Ann</i> to leeward of the island marked an unusual approach, the council noting that no ship had come in on that side for nearly 20 years. The remark reflects the difficulty of the leeward anchorage at St Helena, the prevailing south-east trade wind making the established roadstead on the north- western coast the normal point of arrival, an approach from the other side being rare enough to record. Captain Nicholas Lihorne had been before the island's council before, having commanded the <i>Aurengzebe</i> on her arrival on 14 January 1715 when he demanded beef under his charter party and consented to the imprisonment of the midshipman Bever in the Abigail enticement case. His return in a fresh command shows the recurring contact between the island and the Company's captains on the homeward route from India.
512	504	December. The Gov.r Sayes in Consultation of the 9.th Instant He demanded of the Accomptants when the Books of Accounts for the year 1716. would be ready to Send Home. To which he was answered that they hoped to gett them ready by Christmas which being now past and a Ship at this time in the road Demands againe whether the Said Books are done or not, and if they are not, why they are not. Mr. Tovey & Mr. Goodwin Says that they Promised the Books should be ready about Christmas and now say that they are done as to the Writing part and every Particular Acco. Ballanced, But the Capt. Saying (tho' he came in but Yesterday) that he fully resolves to Saile Tomorrow, they are desirous to look over & Compar the Acco.ts before they deliver them up, and therefore they pray that the Books may not be Sent on board Immediately as they are, But Promise that they Shall goe home by the next Ship, which they Expect will be the Sucess Capt. Graves Comand.r who is likely to Arrive here in very few days and perhaps this week.	Governor Pyke said that at the consultation of 9 December 1718 he had asked the accountants when the books of account for the year 1716 would be ready to send home. He had been answered that they hoped to have them ready by Christmas. Christmas now being past, and a ship in the road, he asked again whether the books were finished, and if not, why not. Tovey and Goodwin answered that they had promised the books would be ready about Christmas, and now reported that they were done, both as to the writing and every particular account balanced. But since Captain Lihorne, though he had only arrived the previous day, was fully resolved to sail the next day, they wished to look over and check the accounts before delivering them up. They therefore asked that the books not be sent on board at once as they stood. They promised, however, that the books would go home by the next ship, which they expected would be the <i>Success</i> under Captain Graves, likely to arrive within a very few days and perhaps that week. Interpretations The exchange records the council holding the accountants to their promise of 9 December 1718 that the 1716 books would be ready by Christmas, the Governor pressing them again now the date had passed and a ship lay in the road. The accountants' report that the books were finished and balanced, coupled with their request for time to check them before delivery, shows the bench balancing the directors' demand for the accounts against the accountants' wish not to send up unexamined books, the short notice of Lihorne's departure forcing the question. The decision to hold the books for the <i>Success</i> rather than commit them to Lihorne's immediate sailing reflects the council's care over the accuracy of what went home. The accountants' insistence on a final review before delivery, even with a ship available, shows the weight placed on the integrity of the records after the long trouble with the 1716 books and the errors traced to Joseph Thomlinson, the bench preferring a few days' delay to dispatching accounts not yet checked.

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513	505	1718. The Govern.r Says that he Expected the Books for the year 1717. would been ready to gone Home by this time. Mr. Tovey Says that those Books are very farr Advanced Already and hopes that that they will be done in a great deal less time than these were, for he has found in these Books for 1716. a great many Misstakes & Errors, which made him longer about them than he would have been had he done all the Writing work himself. And as to the Books for the year 1717. he do's not Question but to gett them ready by the last of these Summer Shipping. The Gov.r Says he thinks tis Proper to Send this Consultation Home that the Hon.ble Comp.ny may See that tho' the Books do not now go, that they may be Expected in a very Short time, & Since the Capt.n is resolved to Sail Tomorrow & the Juuefs may be Expected here in Eight days more We shall Send but a Short Letter now, and by the next Ship Send Home the Consultations Also. The Gov.r Says that Capt. Lihorne has Proposed to Sell him a Legar of Cape Brandy at four Shill= =ings p Gallon. Wee	Governor Pyke said he had expected the books for the year 1717 to be ready to send home by this time. Tovey answered that those books were already very far advanced. He hoped they would be finished in much less time than the earlier ones, since he had found a great many mistakes and errors in the books for 1716 that had delayed him longer than he would have been had he done all the writing himself. As to the books for 1717, he did not doubt he would have them ready by the end of the summer shipping. Governor Pyke said he thought it proper to send this consultation home, so that the Company might see that, although the books did not go now, they could be expected very soon. Since Captain Lihorne was resolved to sail the next day, and the <i>Success</i> might be expected within eight more days, the council would send only a short letter now and dispatch the consultations by the next ship. Governor Pyke said that Captain Lihorne had offered to sell him a leaguer of Cape brandy at 4s 0d per gallon. Interpretations The delay in the account books continued the difficulty running through the records since the audit of Captain Haswell's papers on 15 July 1718, the 1716 books still incumbering the accountant Tovey through the errors of Joseph Thomlinson examined on 9 December 1718. Tovey's distinction between the mistake-ridden 1716 books and the better-advanced 1717 books shows the accumulated bookkeeping failures being slowly cleared, the writer's faults having cost the accountant time he would have saved by doing the work alone. The Governor's decision to send only a short letter by Captain Lihorne and hold the consultations for the <i>Success</i> shows the council managing the timing of its dispatches to the directors. By sending immediate notice that the books were nearly ready while reserving the fuller record for a ship expected within days, Pyke kept the Company informed without committing the consultations to a vessel sailing at once, the choice between the two carriers turning on which could best convey the complete account. The arrival of homeward ships governed the despatch of the island's records to England, the <i>Success</i> expected within eight days offering a later but fuller opportunity than Lihorne's immediate departure. The same dependence on passing vessels had shaped the council's correspondence throughout, the bench timing its letters and consultations to the ships that called on the route from India.
514	506	December. We think it is for the Hon.ble Comp.as Interest to buy it, Arrack being now very Scarce on the Island. [...] Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 13. day of Janny 1718/9. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth. Barrett 2. Pres.t Antip.r Tovey 3. & Jn.o Alexander } Assistants Jn.o Goodwin } The last Consultation read and approved. The following Letter was rec.d from Capt.n Lihorne. To the Worshipf.ll Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r of the Island S.t Helena. S.rr You having demanded of me a barrill of Powder, for the Use of this Island, which will very much	The council thought it was in the Company's interest to buy the brandy, arrack being now very scarce on the island. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 January 1719 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. The following letter was received from Captain Lihorne. Captain Lihorne wrote to Governor Pyke that the council had asked him for a barrel of powder for the use of the island, which would very much... Interpretations The council's decision to buy Captain Lihorne's Cape brandy rested on the scarcity of arrack, the island short of spirits and the brandy serving as a substitute the

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			bench thought worth securing at 4s 0d per gallon. The judgment shows the council managing the island's liquor supply as a Company concern, the want of arrack making the purchase of an alternative spirit a matter of the proprietors' interest rather than mere convenience. The request to Captain Lihorne for a barrel of powder repeats the recurring pattern of the island drawing munitions from passing Company ships, the same kind of supply the council sought from arriving captains throughout the records. The exchange shows the homeward vessels serving as a source of both stores and powder for an isolated garrison dependent on what the ships could spare.
515	507	1718. much endanger my Ship being in Expectation of a Warr with Sweden, or Else pay an Extraveg.t Price for the same, neither of which I can answer to my owners, having overlookt my Charter Party wherein I find no mention thereof, but will if required by the Hon.ble Court of Directors be answerable for the same, at my Arrivall at the Port of London which hope will indemnifye Your Worsh.p for my refusing the delivery thereof here being. Ship Princess Anne. Janry the 3. 1718/9. Y.r Most Humble Serv.t Nicholas Lihorne Notwithstanding the aforesaid Letta We having an Need with the Capt. have Stopp.t the Sume of £6. 16. 6 for the Barrill of Powder he refused paying for, which has caused Some Disputes. To prevent which for the future We pray that the delivery of a Barrill of Powder may be always Indicted in the Charterpartys. Signed Jn.o Alexander The following Petitions were presented, viz. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council.	Captain Lihorne wrote that supplying a barrel of powder would much endanger his ship, since a war with Sweden was expected, or else he would have to pay an excessive price for it. He could answer for neither course to his owners, having checked his charter party and found no mention of such a supply. He would, however, if required by the Court of Directors, be answerable for it on his arrival at the port of London, which he hoped would indemnify the council for his refusal to deliver it. The letter was from the ship <i>Princess Ann</i> and dated 3 January 1719, signed by Nicholas Lihorne. Despite the letter, the council, having an account with the captain, had stopped the sum of £6 16s 6d for the barrel of powder he refused to pay for. This had caused some disputes. To prevent the like in future, the council asked that the delivery of a barrel of powder always be included in the charter parties. The entry was signed by John Alexander. The following petitions were presented to the Governor and council. Interpretations Captain Lihorne's refusal to supply powder turned on the absence of any such obligation in his charter party, the contract between the Company and the ship's owners fixing what he was bound to provide. His offer to be answerable in London if the directors required it shows the limit of the council's authority over a captain, the bench unable to compel a supply outside the charter and the matter falling to be settled at the metropolitan centre where the contract was made. The council's response of stopping £6 16s 6d from its account with the captain shows the bench enforcing its claim through the financial relationship between the island and the ship. By deducting the value of the disputed powder from sums owed to Lihorne, the council recovered the charge despite his refusal, the running account between the two providing a means of compulsion the charter party itself did not supply. The request that powder supply be written into future charter parties addressed the recurring friction over munitions, the want of any contractual obligation leaving each demand to the captain's discretion. The same dependence on passing ships for powder had run through the records, the council seeking to fix the supply as a term of the contract so that the dispute with Lihorne would not be repeated, the charter party being the instrument through which the directors bound their captains.
516	508	Janry. The Petition of John Goodwin Humbly. Shewith. That forasmuch as yo.r Petition.r shewing present occasion for the Sume of one Hundred Pounds to make payment of a Sume of money which he is now obliged to pay. Humbly prays your Worsh.p & Council To grant your Petition.r Credit in the Hon.ble Comp.as Books for Said £100. at the usuall Interest for	John Goodwin petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that he had present need of £100 0s 0d to make a payment he was now obliged to make. He asked the council to grant him credit in the Company's books for that sum, at the usual interest for one year, which he would regard as a particular favour. The petition was dated 13 January 1719 and signed by John Goodwin.

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		one year which your Petit.r Shall Esteem a Particular favour. Janry 13. 1718/9. And as in duty bound to pray &c. Jn.o Goodwin Granted upon giving Bond & Security with Six per Cent p Annum. Interest for the Said Sume desired. Another Petition was presented by the Said John Goodwin. Setting forth That as he was desirous to Enlarge his Garden in this valley So he desires the grant of a Small Slip of Ground that now lies waste wherein he designs to plant fruit Trees towards the refreshment of Shipping. Janry 13. 1718/9. And shall ever pray &c. Signed Jn.o Goodwin	The council granted the request, on his giving bond and security with interest at 6 per cent a year for the sum. A further petition was presented by John Goodwin. He set out that he wished to enlarge his garden in James Valley, and asked for a grant of a small strip of ground now lying waste, on which he intended to plant fruit trees for the refreshment of the shipping. The petition was dated 13 January 1719 and signed by John Goodwin. Interpretations The credit of £100 0s 0d granted on bond at 6 per cent shows the Company acting as a lender to the inhabitants, advancing money against security through its store books. The fixed rate and the requirement of bond and security mark the standard terms of such loans, the same arrangement the council made in other advances to planters and servants, the Company's stores serving as a source of credit on the island where coin was scarce. The petition links Goodwin's request for waste ground to the planting of fruit trees for the refreshment of the shipping, the same justification James Greentree had used on 23 December 1718. The recurrence of that argument shows planters framing their applications for land around the Company's interest in provisioning its vessels, the encouragement of useful planting being a recognised ground on which the bench would grant the proprietors' waste. Goodwin's standing as an assistant councillor, sitting on the very bench that heard his petitions, illustrates the small circle in which the island's authority and its property dealings overlapped. The same men who granted land and credit were themselves among the applicants, the council's business mixing public administration with the private interests of its own members.
517	509	1718/9. Granted. and to pay 5. s.h Annum Rent. The Petition of Francis Funge Armourer Humbly Setting forth. That Whereas your Petition.r being Destitute of any Land, or habitation of his own, & having a wife, Children and Blacks to maintaine and for whose Support he is obliged to buy Provisions which costs him more than his whole Sallary a year. Wherefore your Petition.r Humbly prays your Worsh. & Council to grant him the favour of Hiring about 30. Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land lying in Swanley Valley, And as yo.r Petit.r has served the Hon.ble Comp.r upwards of Eleven years and desiring to continue in their Service Humbly begs yo.r Consideration and grant of the Premises as a farther Encouragem.t for the well doing of his family aforesaid. Janry y.e 6.th 1718/9. And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. Fran.s Funge. Referred To the Gov.r & Capt. Bazett who will go and See the Land and then make their Report. On Sunday the 4.th Inst.t the Ship Drake Capt. William Mackett Arrived from Madagascar & brought Us on his Ships account, and the Ship	The council granted the strip of ground, Goodwin to pay 5s 0d a year in rent. The armourer Francis Funge petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that he had no land or dwelling of his own, having a wife, children and slaves to maintain. To support them he was obliged to buy provisions, which cost him more than his whole year's salary. He therefore asked the council to grant him the favour of hiring about 30 acres of the Company's waste land lying in Swanley Valley. Since he had served the Company more than 11 years and wished to continue in their service, he asked for their consideration and grant of the land as a further encouragement towards the support of his family. The petition was dated 6 January 1719 and signed by Francis Funge. The council referred the matter to the Governor and Captain Bazett, who would go and view the land and then report on it. The previous Sunday, 4 January 1719, the ship <i>Drake</i> under Captain William Mackett arrived from Madagascar. He brought goods on his ship's account, and the ship... Interpretations Funge's plea that provisions cost him more than his whole salary reveals the pressure on the island's salaried servants, the want of land of his own forcing him to buy food at a charge his wages could not meet. The request for waste land as a means of growing his own provisions shows the bench using grants of ground to retain experienced servants, the armourer's 11 years of service and his wish to continue framing the grant as an encouragement to stay rather than a simple favour. The reference of the petition to the Governor and Bazett for a view follows the settled procedure for waste-land grants, the same inspection the council ordered on the run of pasture and garden petitions

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			through December 1718. Pairing the Governor with the storekeeper for the survey gave the bench an independent assessment of the Swanley Valley ground before committing the proprietors' land to a lease. Captain William Mackett had been before the island's notice, having received 300 pounds of gunpowder from the gunner on 14 March 1717 when he commanded the <i>Drake</i>. His return from Madagascar bringing goods on his own account shows the continuing private trade of the Company's captains alongside their freight, the same dealing in personal cargo that ran through the council's handling of arriving ships.
518	510	Janry. Ship Arrabella Capt. William Hamiltons Acco.t the following Blacks for the Use of the Hon. Company viz. 8. Males 9. Females & 10. Boy 11. 13. 12. On Acco.t of Ship Drake. 13. Males & 14. Females 15. 6. 16. On Acco.t of Ship Arrabela. 17. In all 19. Sound & healthy Slaves. 18. We have Entertained Mr. John Lacey who belonged to the Ship Drake, as a Writer at the Sallary of twenty pound p Annum. & twenty Pound more Allowed him for his Diett at Board. 19. On Sunday the 11.th Inst.t Sailed the Ship Drake for the West Indies. 20. The Gov.r Reports that the following Complaints was made to him on the 2.d Inst.t viz. 21. Giles Smith free planter made Complaint against John Knipes two Black men (lately bought) for that his black Wench had told him that the Said two black fellows told her that they had a designe to Run away with a Boat from Prosperous Bay Beach. 22. John	The ship <i>Arabella</i> under Captain William Hamilton also arrived. The two ships brought the following slaves for the Company's use. On account of the ship <i>Drake</i>. 8 males 4 females 1 boy 13 On account of the ship <i>Arabella</i>. 4 males 2 females 6 19 sound and healthy slaves in all. The council took on John Lacey, who had belonged to the <i>Drake</i>, as a writer at a salary of £20 0s 0d a year, with a further £20 0s 0d allowed him for his diet on board. On Sunday 10 January 1719 the <i>Drake</i> sailed for the West Indies. Governor Pyke reported that the following complaint had been made to him on 2 January 1719. The free planter Giles Smith complained against John Knipe's two black men, lately bought. His black woman had told him that the two black fellows had told her they had a design to run away with a boat from Prosperous Bay beach. John... Interpretations The arrival of 19 slaves on the <i>Drake</i> and the <i>Arabella</i> records the Company's continuing import of labour for its plantations, the men, women and boy entered by ship and tallied as sound and healthy stock. The classification reflects the administrative treatment of slaves as imported assets, the count by sex and the note of their condition serving the same purpose as the livestock musters, the labour supply being a recurring concern of the bench given the island's standing shortage of hands. The complaint of Giles Smith concerning the two men John Knipe had lately bought connects to the Prosperous Bay escape of 18 November 1718, when four slaves seized a fishing yawl, two of them Knipe's. Knipe having lost his men in that flight and replaced them, the warning that the new slaves also planned to run from the same beach shows the place established as a known point of escape, the intelligence reaching the planter through his own slave woman before any attempt was made. The engagement of John Lacey from the <i>Drake</i> as a writer at £20 0s 0d a year shows the council recruiting clerical hands from passing ships, the want of writers on the island a recurring difficulty pressed by the troubles with the account books through 1718. Taking on a man already at hand from a calling vessel supplied the establishment with the literate labour it lacked, the same need that had driven the Governor's resolve on 30 September 1718 to obtain a young writer from the first ship.
519	511	1718/9.	John Worrall's black man was present and said that Drake, one of John Knipe's slaves, had told him he would run away with a boat and did not care if he died.

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		John Worralls Black fellow was present and Sayed that Drake one of J.n.o Knipes Blacks told him he would Run away with a Boat and did not care if he dyed. Drake was Examined and denied he Sayed any Such thing to Either of them. But Oxford the tother fellow Confronted him to his face, and Sayed he had no mind to Run away w.th him for his Master and Mistris was very good. Upon which Drake was Ordred to be Severely whipt and his Master to keep him in Irons for Some time. Likewise That George London Drummer had Complained against Margaret the daughter in Law of Thom.s Dutch Alledging that She had Stole 13. & 4. out of his Pocket, & a Handkerchief from about his neck as he lay asleep on a Stone Seat at the S.t Dutches door when he was a little in drink, and that next morning Dutch Delivered him 9. & 6. of the money he had lost. Jam.s Head was Examined & Sayed That he saw Marg.tt Thom.s Dutches daughter in Law, have Some English Tobacco & Suspected it to be	Drake was examined and denied saying any such thing to either of them. But Oxford, the other man, confronted Drake to his face and said he himself had no mind to run away with him, since his master and mistress treated him very well. The council ordered that Drake be severely whipped and that his master keep him in irons for some time. The drummer George Lendon also complained against Margaret, the daughter-in-law of Thomas Dutch. He alleged that she had stolen 13s 4d out of his pocket, and a handkerchief from around his neck, as he lay asleep on a stone seat at Dutch's door, having drunk a little. The next morning Dutch delivered him 9s 6d of the money he had lost. Samuel Stead was examined and said that he saw Margaret, the daughter-in-law of Thomas Dutch, with some English tobacco, which he suspected to be... Interpretations The examination set the denial of Drake against the testimony of two fellow slaves, the council weighing the accusation through the slaves' own evidence against one another. The confrontation by Oxford, who declared his master and mistress treated him well, served the double purpose of confirming Drake's design and forestalling any suggestion that ill usage had prompted it, the same care to record good treatment that the bench took over the Prosperous Bay runaways on 9 December 1718. The sentence of a severe whipping and confinement in irons, the master charged to keep the slave restrained, marks the standard response to a slave's intended escape. Placing the burden of restraint on the owner shows the council enforcing security through the master's control of his own property, the punishment aimed at deterring flight after the recent loss of slaves by boat from the same Prosperous Bay beach. The theft from the drunken drummer at Thomas Dutch's door, with part of the money returned the next morning, brought a household dispute before the bench in the same sitting as the slave examinations. The recovery of 9s 6d of the lost 13s 4d, handed over by Dutch himself, shows the matter already part settled before the formal complaint, the council taking sworn evidence to establish the theft the partial restitution implied.
520	512	Janry. be George Londons he bid her go & Carry it back again which She did, and Saw her put it into his Pockett. Serj.t Dutch was present and Sayed That as he was going home about nine a Clock in the morn.g he found Severall Pieces of money under the Bench where Geo. London lay asleep which he counted & found to be Nine Shillings & Six pence which he believing to be the Said Londons delivered them to him. George London Answered that upon his enquiry for the money Tho.s Dutch did deliver him nine Shillings & Six pence of the money he lost. The Girle denied the Fact, but owned She did take a little Tobacco out of Londons Pockett, which She put in againe, and as their Ap= =peared by other Circumstances that She took the money out of his pocket too. The Gov.r Ordered the Marshall to carry the Girle home and her Mother to whip her in his presence. That Dutch be fined Ten Shillings to the Church. And Geo. London to Sett in the Stocks two Hours for being drunk.	Stead said that the tobacco belonged to George Lendon, and that he had told Margaret to carry it back, which she did, and he saw her put it into Lendon's pocket. Sergeant Dutch was present and said that as he was going home about nine o'clock in the morning he found several pieces of money under the bench where George Lendon lay asleep. He counted them and found them to be 9s 6d. Believing the money to be Lendon's, he delivered it to him. George Lendon answered that, on his asking for the money, Thomas Dutch did deliver him 9s 6d of what he had lost. The girl denied the theft but admitted she had taken a little tobacco out of Lendon's pocket, which she had put back. From other circumstances it appeared that she had taken the money out of his pocket too. Governor Pyke ordered the marshal to carry the girl home and her mother to whip her in his presence. He ordered Dutch fined 10s 0d to the church, and George Lendon to sit in the stocks two hours for being drunk. Interpretations The council convicted the girl on circumstantial evidence, her admission of taking the tobacco and the surrounding facts pointing to the theft of the money she denied. The bench drew the inference from her proven handling of the one item to the unproven

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			taking of the other, the partial restitution of the money through Sergeant Dutch supporting the conclusion that she had emptied the sleeping drummer's pocket. The punishments distributed blame across three parties in a single ruling, the girl whipped by her own mother under the marshal's eye, Dutch fined and Lendon set in the stocks. Ordering the mother to administer the whipping kept the correction of a young offender within the household while satisfying the law, the marshal's presence giving the domestic punishment the sanction of the bench, a measured alternative to a public flogging. The fine on Lendon for drunkenness shows the council penalising the victim's own conduct alongside the theft committed against him. His having lain drunk on a public bench, exposing himself to robbery, drew the standard penalty of the stocks, the bench treating his intoxication as an offence in its own right rather than overlooking it in his favour as the party wronged.
521	513	1718/19. The Gunner brought in the following Acco.t of Gun.rs Stores Expended which was Examined and approved of. An Acco.t of Gunners Stores Expended from the 1.st of Dec.r 1718. to the 35.th d.o Inclusive. 1718. viz.t 1719. Min. 1720. Fall. 1721. Col.r Dec.r 3.d To Mr. Cason for Exerciseing the Garrison - 7 c.s 20.th For Burying Tho.s Bryant - 1 28. An Alarm 29. 2 30. 4 31. 10 29.th Arrived the Princess Ann Capt. Luhorne 9 9 Delivered to the Guards - 6 Flints deliv.rd the Guards 36 - - Muskett Balls to d.o c.s 2 Spunge Staves Expended 2.r 1 Cartridge Pap.r D.o the Surg.n 1 To Jn.o How the Steward 2 To Lucas Mason 4 D.to Expended 3 Match to the Guards &c. c.s 21 Totall 21 6 4:1 2 36. 2 13 33 Signed Jn.o French. [...]	The gunner brought in the following account of gunner's stores expended, which was examined and approved. An account of gunner's stores expended from 1 December 1718 to 31 December 1718 inclusive, in minion, falcon and pound measure. 3 December, to Mr Cason for exercising the garrison. 7 20 December, for burying Thomas Bryant. 1 28 December, an alarm. 2, 4 and 10. 29 December, the arrival of the <i>Princess Ann</i> under Captain Lihorne. 9 and 9. Delivered to the guards. 6 Flints delivered to the guards. 36 Musket balls to the guards. 2 Sponge staves expended. 1 Cartridge paper delivered to the surgeon. 1 To John How the steward. 2 To Lucas Mason. [...] The same expended. 3 Match to the guards. [...] Total: 21 minion, 6 falcon, [...] pounds, 1, 2, 36 flints, 2, 13 and 33. The account was signed by John French. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The gunner's account measured powder by the minion, the falcon and the pound, the minion being a light gun whose charge fixed a further standard quantity alongside the falcon. The same gunner John French rendered the monthly return, the muster of powder spent on salutes, alarms, the exercising of the garrison and funerals serving as the standing audit of the Company's munitions against ceremonial and defensive use. The powder charged for burying Thomas Bryant records the military honour paid at the funeral of the soldier whose death from the salt-gathering fall, dated 15 December 1718, had prompted the prohibition of 23 December 1718. The pound spent at his grave marks the same observance the gunner charged for

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		Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin	other interments on the island, the funeral of a garrison man drawing the customary salute. The salute for the arrival of the <i>Princess Ann</i> under Captain Lihorne records the powder spent welcoming the ship whose unusual leeward approach the council had noted on 30 December 1718. The honour paid to the calling vessel, entered in the same account as the alarms and the garrison exercise, shows the regular ceremonial use of the Company's powder on the arrival of its ships.
522	514	Janry. Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 20.th day of Janry 1718/9. At Union Castle in James Valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth. Bazett. 2. Antip.r Tovey 3. absent being Sick. Pres.t Jn.o Alexander & Jn.o Goodwin. Apist.ts The Last Consultation was read & approved of. The following Petition of Fran.s Wrangham was presented. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. The Humble Petition of Fran.s Wrangham free Planter. Sheweth. That Whereas yo.r Petition.r being in Present need of the Sume of Seventy pounds, to compleat the paym.t of a certain Sume Humbly Prays he may have Credit for So much in the Hon.ble Comp.as Books of Acco.t and the Same Trans= =ferred to Mr. Mason. Your Petit.r being very willing to pay the usuall Interest. Janry 20. 1718/9. And as in duty bound ever to pray &c. Signed Fran.s Wrangham. Granted.	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 January 1719 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants Antipas Tovey, third, was absent through sickness. The last consultation was read and approved. The following petition of Francis Wrangham was presented. The free planter Francis Wrangham petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that he had present need of £70 0s 0d to complete the payment of a certain sum. He asked for credit of that amount in the Company's books, the sum to be transferred to Mason, and he was very willing to pay the usual interest. The petition was dated 20 January 1719 and signed by Francis Wrangham. The council granted the request. Interpretations The credit of £70 0s 0d granted to Francis Wrangham, transferred to Mason, shows the Company's store books serving as a clearing system between the inhabitants. Rather than advancing coin, the council moved the sum from its credit to Wrangham and on to his creditor, the books recording a transfer of obligation that settled a debt between two islanders through the proprietors' accounts, the same mechanism used in other credit grants where money was scarce. The absence of Antipas Tovey through sickness recurs in the council's record, the accountant having been long unwell and his illness already noted as a partial cause of the delay in the account books. His repeated indisposition bore on the bench's pressing concern over the unfinished 1716 and 1717 books, the want of a fit accountant compounding the difficulty the council had pressed at the consultations of 9 and 30 December 1718.
523	515	1718/19. Granted at Six per Cent p Annum Interest. and to give Bond for the Same. The Sec.ry brought in three Warrants for the Sevratt Overseers of the high ways for the present year as they are to work in their three Divisions which was Examined & Signed in order of being delivered them and is as follows. Island S.t Helena. Whereas you Mr. Antip.r Tovey (3. in Council) have been Elected & recommended by the Freeholders of this place as a fitt Person to be Overseer of the high ways in the South Division of the Said Island for this Present year & the Gov.r having approved of that Election & Confirmed it. We do therefore appoint & Order That You the Said Mr. Antip.r Tovey be overseer of the High ways, Roads and Publick paths in the Said S.th Division of this Island for this present year as aforesaid. And We do hereby require You Impartially Carefully & Diligently to Execute the Same and for the Easier Performance thereof We have caused a List to be Annexed hereunto of all the Inhabitants in the South Division (Except those in the Hon.ble Comp.as	The council granted the credit at 6 per cent a year, Wrangham to give bond for it. The secretary brought in three warrants for the several overseers of the highways for the present year, who were to labour in their three divisions. The warrants were examined and signed ready to be delivered, and ran as follows. The first warrant addressed Antipas Tovey, third in council. He had been elected and recommended by the freeholders of the island as a fit person to be overseer of the highways in the south division for the present year, and the Governor had approved and confirmed the election. The council therefore appointed Tovey overseer of the highway roads and public paths in the south division of the island for the present year. He was required to carry out the duty impartially, carefully and diligently. For the easier performance of it, a list was annexed of all the inhabitants in the south division, except those in the Company's service, with an account of how many slaves each person held. Interpretations The warrant shows the system of highway maintenance resting on compulsory labour drawn from

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		Service) with an account of how men Slaves each Person hath. There.	the inhabitants under an appointed overseer. The list of every householder in the division with the number of slaves each held supplied the overseer with the means of calling out the labour due, the road service being a charge laid on the population in proportion to their holdings, the same arrangement that governed the highway roster entered for the year 1717 to 1718 on 3 September 1717. The combination of election by the freeholders and confirmation by the Governor reflects the mixed character of the office, the inhabitants choosing their overseer and the Company's government ratifying the choice. The procedure gave the appointment both local consent and official sanction, the overseer answerable to the bench for the impartial execution of a duty that fell on his neighbours. The appointment of Antipas Tovey, the third councillor, as overseer of the south division shows a senior member of the bench taking on the burden of a local office. His selection for the enlarged south division places a man of the council's own number in charge of the road labour there, the same mixing of the island's authority and its ordinary administrative duties that ran through the bench's composition.
524	516	Janry. These are therefore to Will & require You the Said Mr. Antip.r Tovey to cause all Persons (both themselves & Blacks) herein Mentioned to work According as there Shall be Occasion. Yet not less then two days nor more than Seven in mending, making, & repairing all Such High= =ways as are needfull and Nessary to be done. As also all Publick Stiles & Bridges and if any Person or Persons after due Warning by you, Shall absent himself and doth not come to work & Send his Black or Blacks as aforesaid or Some other able Person to work in his room on Such days as by you Shall be appointed, then you are to put in the absent persons place Some other man, white, or Black as you can Hire and Such absenting white man for himself, his Black or Blacks, or both Shall forthwith repay you Double the Price or Prices which you Shall pay or agree to pay to Such Whites or for their Blacks as you Shall Hire to work in their place or Stead. And if any Person defaulting as aforesaid Shall refuse to pay You the Wages for Such Person or Persons as you Shall Hire in their place or Stead, You are hereby impowred to take by Distress any Goods from Such Person or Persons and Sell the Same at Publick Outcry, and	The warrant continued, requiring Tovey to call out all the persons named in the list, both the inhabitants themselves and their slaves, to labour as occasion arose. The service was to be not less than two days nor more than seven, in mending, making and repairing all needful highways, as well as all public stiles and bridges. If any person, after due warning, absented himself and did not come to labour, or send his slaves or some other able person in his place on the appointed days, then Tovey was to hire another man, white or black, to fill the absent person's place. Any white man who so absented himself, his slaves, or both, must at once repay Tovey double the price he had paid or agreed to pay for the whites or slaves hired in their place. If any defaulter refused to pay the wages of those hired in his stead, Tovey was empowered to take goods from such a person by distress and sell them at public outcry. Interpretations The warrant set out the enforcement machinery of the highway labour, fixing the service at between two and seven days and binding every householder to attend or send a substitute. The penalty of double the hiring cost against any defaulter, recoverable by distress and sale of his goods, gave the overseer a direct means of compulsion, the road duty backed by a financial sanction that fell on the person who failed to supply his share of the labour. The power of distress and public sale placed a summary enforcement remedy in the overseer's hands, allowing him to seize and sell a defaulter's goods without recourse to a separate suit. The mechanism shows the island's administration giving its local officers the means to compel performance directly, the same distress power granted to the highway overseers under the warrant entered on 3 September 1717, the road maintenance depending on a sanction the overseer could apply himself. The double charge laid on the absentee converted a failure to labour into a debt at twice the market rate of the hired substitute. Setting the penalty above the actual cost of replacement made default more expensive than compliance, the surplus serving as a deterrent rather than mere reimbursement, the bench structuring the charge so that supplying one's own labour or slaves was always the cheaper course.
525	517	1718/19.	Island of St Helena. A list of all the persons' names in the south division followed, with the number of whites, blacks and the total for each.

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		and the overplus (if any) to return to the owner after you are repaid and reasonable charges deducted. For which this Shall be your Sufficient Warrant. Dated & Given under our hands & the Hon.ble Comp.as Seal at Union Castle in James valley this 15.th day of Janry 1718/9. Isa. Pyke Matth. Bazett Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin A List of all Persons Names in the South Division. White. Blacks. Total. Mr. Antip.as Tovey 3 3 Mr. John Alexander 1 4 4 Serjeant William Slaughter 1 1 William Portley 1 1 William Worrall 5 5 Orlando Bagley 1 3 4 John Coles 1 3 7 Robert Gurling 1 1 2 James Greentree 2 6 8 John Harding 1 1 2 Carried over 9 28 37	Antipas Tovey: 0 whites, 3 blacks, Total 3 John Alexander: 0 whites, 4 blacks, Total 4 Sergeant William Slaughter: 1 white, 0 blacks, Total 1 William Portley: 1 white, 0 blacks, Total 1 William Worrall: 0 whites, 5 blacks, Total 5 Orlando Bagley: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 John Coles: 4 whites, 3 blacks, Total 7 Robert Gurling: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 James Greentree: 2 whites, 6 blacks, Total 8 John Harding: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 Carried over: 9 whites, 28 blacks, Total 37
526	518	January. White. Blacks. Total. Brought Over 9 28 37 Mary Harper Jun.r 2 2 Eliz.th Haswell 2 2 Joshua Johnson 2 3 5 John Long 1	The list of the south division continued. Brought over: 9 whites, 28 blacks, Total 37 Mary Harper junior: 0 whites, 2 blacks, Total 2 Elizabeth Haswell: 0 whites, 2 blacks, Total 2 Joshua Johnson: 2 whites, 3 blacks, Total 5 John Long: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 Stephen Lufkin: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 Martha Robinson: 0 whites, 2 blacks, Total 2 Charles Steward's orphans: 1 white, 4 blacks, Total 5 Mary Swallow, widow: 2 whites, 4 blacks, Total 6 Thomas Swallow: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 Richard Swallow junior: 1 white, 0 blacks, Total 1 James Vesey: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 Total: 19 whites, 54 blacks, Total 73 The same warrant, with only the alteration of the overseers' names, was written and delivered to Thomas Southen, overseer for the west division, and to Samuel Vesey, overseer for the east division. Each person's name and the number of their male slaves in the west division were as follows.

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		3 4 Stephen Luskin 1 1 2 Martha Robinson 2 2 Charles Stewards Orphans 1 4 5 Mary Swallow Wid.o 2 4 6 Thom.s Swallow 1 2 3 Rich.d Swallow Jun.r 1 1 James Vessey 1 3 4 Total 19 54 73 The Same Warrant only with the alteration of the overseers names were wrote & delivered to Thom.s Southen overseer for the West Divi= =sion. And to Sam.l Jessey overseer for the East Division. And each Persons Name & number of men Blacks are as follows. A List of Persons Names in the W.st Division. White. Blacks. Total. Mr. John Goodwin 5 5 Mr. Joshua Thomlinson 5 5 John French 3 3 Carried over - 13 13	A list of persons' names in the west division. John Goodwin: 0 whites, 5 blacks, Total 5 Joshua Thomlinson: 0 whites, 5 blacks, Total 5 John French: 0 whites, 3 blacks, Total 3 Carried over: 0 whites, 13 blacks, Total 13 Interpretations The division of the island into three highway districts, each under its own overseer working from a roster of the inhabitants and their slaves, shows the road labour organised on a territorial basis. Issuing the same warrant with only the overseers' names altered gave each district the identical powers of summons and distress, the uniform instrument applied across the south, west and east divisions to spread the burden of maintenance over the whole population. The roster of the south division gathered the substantial holders, the widow Elizabeth Haswell appearing among them as the relict of the late deputy governor whose estate the council had been settling since his death on or about 22 June 1718. The Charles Steward orphans likewise stand on the list, the estate long under the executorship of Powell and Gurling, the road duty attaching to the holdings of the dead and their heirs as to any other household. The appearance of the chaplain Joshua Thomlinson on the west division roster, charged with five slaves like his fellow holders, shows the road labour falling on the minister as on every other inhabitant. His standing on the list alongside the gunner John French places the men of the establishment within the same obligation as the planters, the duty measured by the slaves each commanded without regard to office.
527	519	1718/19. White. Blacks. Total. Brought Over 13 13 Joseph Bates 1 1 Henry Johnson 2 2 William Penny 1 1 Robert Angus 1 1	The list of the west division continued. Brought over: 0 whites, 13 blacks, Total 13 Joseph Bates: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Henry Johnson: 0 whites, 2 blacks, Total 2 William Penny: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Robert Angus: 1 white, 0 blacks, Total 1 John Bagley: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 William Beale: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Frances Carne: 1 white, 7 blacks, Total 8 Mary Easthope: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Henry Francis: 1 white, 8 blacks, Total 9 Thomas Free: 1 white, 4 blacks, Total 5 Richard Gurling: 1 white, 4 blacks, Total 5 Thomas Hodgkinson: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Francis Leech: 1 white, 0 blacks, Total 1 John Marsh: 1 white, 0 blacks, Total 1 Elizabeth Marsh: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 Walter Morris: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 John Nichols senior: 3 whites, 3 blacks, Total 6

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		John Bagley 1 1 2 Willi.m Beale 1 1 Frances Carne 1 7 8 Mary Easthope 1 1 Henry Francis 1 8 9 Thomas Tree 1 4 5 Richard Gurling 1 4 5 Thom.s Hodgkinson 1 1 Fran.s Leech 1 1 John Marsh 1 1 Eliz.th Marsh 1 3 4 Walter Morris 1 2 3 John Nichols Sen.r 3 3 6 Ralph Orme 1 1 2 Gabriel Bovell 1 8 9 James Rider 1 2 3 Thom.s Southen 1 3 4 Margaret Sich 3 3 Francis Wrangham 1 6 7 Totall 20 73 93	Ralph Orme: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 Gabriel Powell: 1 white, 8 blacks, Total 9 James Rider: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 Thomas Southen: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 Margaret Sich: 0 whites, 3 blacks, Total 3 Francis Wrangham: 1 white, 6 blacks, Total 7 Total: 20 whites, 73 blacks, Total 93 Interpretations The west division roster gathered the largest concentration of the island's slaveholders, Henry Francis and Gabriel Powell each charged with eight slaves and Frances Carne with seven. The widow Frances Carne appears as the relict of George Carne, the Keeling orphans' debt she had been discharging by instalments still in train, the road duty falling on her holding as on the rest. The heavy slave counts of these households fixed the bulk of the division's labour on a handful of substantial planters. The inclusion of Mary Easthope and Joseph Bates on the same roster brings together the two parties to the assault case of 6 November 1718, the widow whom Bates was charged with beating standing only a few lines above him on the list. Their shared liability to the road service shows the labour obligation operating independently of the disputes that brought the same inhabitants before the bench, every householder assessed alike by the slaves at their command. The naming of Thomas Hodgkinson among the holders connects to the unsettled matter of his carrying off Powell's slave Doll aboard the <i>Princess Amelia</i>, raised on 19 August 1718 and still open. His single slave on the roster places the surgeon's mate within the same obligation as his neighbours, the road duty reaching the men of the establishment and the planters together according to the hands each held.

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528	520	Janury. A List of Persons Names in y.e E.st Division. White. Blacks. Total. Capt. Matthew Bazett 3 3 Pet.r John Worrall 2 2 Isaac Wood 3 3 Samuel Jessey 1 3 4 John Knipe 2 2 Thom.s Allis 1 3 4 Robert Bell 1 2 3 Rich.d & Anthony Beal 2 2 4 Arthur Bradley 1 2 3 Margaret Burnam Wid.o 1 1 John Coulson 1 1 2 William Coales 1 1 2 Grace Coulson 2 2 Mary Conaway 1 1 Jon.a Doveton 1 4 5 James Draper 1 3 4 Dorothy Hayse 1 1 Sutton Jouck 1 1 2 Isaac Leech 1 1 Thom.s Leech 1 1	A list of persons' names in the east division followed. Captain Matthew Bazett: 0 whites, 3 blacks, Total 3 John Worrall: 0 whites, 2 blacks, Total 2 Isaac Wood: 0 whites, 3 blacks, Total 3 Samuel Vesey: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 John Knipe: 0 whites, 2 blacks, Total 2 Thomas Allis: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 Robert Bell: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 Richard and Anthony Beal: 2 whites, 2 blacks, Total 4 Arthur Bradley: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 Margaret Burnham, widow: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 John Coulson: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 William Coales: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 Grace Coulson: 0 whites, 2 blacks, Total 2 Mary Conaway: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Jonathan Doveton: 1 white, 4 blacks, Total 5 James Draper: 1 white, 3 blacks, Total 4 Dorothy Hayes: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Sutton Isaack: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 Isaac Leech: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Thomas Leech: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 Matthew Mudge: 0 whites, 1 black, Total 1 Martin Norman: 1 white, 0 blacks, Total 1 Giles Smith: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 Carried over: 15 whites, 41 blacks, Total 56 Interpretations The east division roster placed the second councillor Matthew Bazett at its head with three slaves, a further instance of the bench's own members standing among the rated inhabitants. The list shows the road labour reaching the senior officers of the council, the deputy governor and storekeeper liable to the same duty he helped impose, the obligation measured by his slaves like every other holder. The roster gathered several of the island's long-established families, the widow Grace Coulson and her son John Coulson, the Beal orphans Richard and Anthony, and Dorothy Hayes all appearing among the rated households. The presence of the Beal brothers, whose 60 acres had been granted them on coming of age, and of the elderly Martin Norman, whose long disputes with the bench ran through the records, shows the duty falling on old and contested holdings alike. The recurrence of names lately before the council, John Knipe who had lost his slaves at Prosperous Bay and Giles Smith who had complained of his replacement slaves' design to flee, ties the roster to the escape business of the preceding weeks. Their standing on the labour list shows the same small body of inhabitants moving through the bench's disciplinary, probate and administrative concerns, the road duty one more charge laid on the established households of the division.

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		2 Matth. Mudge 1 1 Martin Norman 1 1 Giles Smith 1 2 3 Carried over 15 41 56	
529	521	1718/19. White. Blacks. Total. Brought Over 15 41 56 William Seale 1 2 3 John Twoitts 1 2 3 Ripin Wills 2 3 5 Simon Whaley 1 1 2 Total 20 48 68 Ordered That the following Advertizem.t be this day Published & Sett up at the two Usual places to be read by all Persons passing by. Island S.t Helena. By the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r &c. Council. An Advertizement. Whereas to the great loss & Detriment of Several Persons Inhabiting the Said Island Divers of their Blackmen Slaves have at Sundry times made their Escape off the Island by runing away w.th the Small fishing Boats. And Whereas the Same ill Practice having been lately and that Several times put in Execution thro' the Ignorance and foolishness of those Sort of Black People who are So Stupid as to think they will in a very Short time reach their own Country without the least thoughts.	The list of the east division continued. Brought over: 15 whites, 41 blacks, Total 56 William Seale: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 John Twaits: 1 white, 2 blacks, Total 3 Ripin Wills: 2 whites, 3 blacks, Total 5 Simon Whaley: 1 white, 1 black, Total 2 Total: 20 whites, 48 blacks, Total 68 The council ordered that the following advertisement be published this day and set up at the two usual places, to be read by all who passed by. The Governor and council issued an advertisement. To the great loss and harm of several inhabitants of the island, several of their black men slaves had at various times made their escape from the island by running away in the small fishing boats. This bad practice had lately been put in execution several times, through the ignorance and foolishness of those slaves, who were so foolish as to think they would in a very short time reach their own country without the least difficulty. Interpretations The advertisement converted the council's long deliberation over the runaway boats into a public order, set up at the two usual places where notices were read. The decision followed the written opinions the councillors had brought in on 23 December 1718, the Prosperous Bay escapes of recent weeks having pressed the bench to fix a general regulation binding the whole island rather than leaving each owner to guard his own boat. The characterisation of the slaves as foolish to think they could reach their own country reflects the official framing of the escapes as desperate and hopeless attempts rather than calculated flights. Casting the runaways' design as ignorance served to underline the futility the council emphasised, the open sea around the remote island making any escape by an unrigged fishing boat a near-certain death, the same point the slaves' own warnings of not caring if they died had borne out. The naming of Simon Whaley and Ripin Wills on the closing roster ties the labour list to the disciplinary record of the preceding sittings, Wills having lost two slaves in the Prosperous Bay flight of 18 November 1718 and Whaley sharing the surname of the brothers whipped for killing the Company's ewe on 9 December 1718. Their standing on the list shows the same households recurring through the bench's business, the road duty laid on the established holders of the division alongside their other dealings with the council.
530	522	January. thoughts of Considering what danger they run themselves into by Perishing in the Sea, in persu= =ance of an Imaginary Liberty. We the Gov.r & Council have therefore Maturely & Deliberately Considered the ill Consequen= =ces that attends So Pernicious a Practice.	The advertisement continued, that the slaves gave no thought to the danger they ran of perishing in the sea in pursuit of an imaginary liberty. The Governor and council had therefore carefully and deliberately considered the harmful consequences of so dangerous a practice. To prevent the like misfortune in future as far as possible, they strictly forbade everyone, of whatever description, to use or allow to be used on their boats

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		And To prevent the like Misfortune for the future as much as in Us lies, We do hereby Strictly Prohibitt and Enjoyne all Persons Under what De= =nomination Soever not to use or Suffer to be So used for their Boats, any Sail or Sails at any time or times hereafter Except those Persons who keep their Boats at the moorings in James valley road, who are hereby required to cause all their Boats Masts, and Sails to be Safe Lockt up every night after they come in from Fishing. Upon the Pennalty of the offender or offenders (who hath or may have any Boat or Share thereof) making full Satisfaction to the owners of any Blacks and Boats thro' their Neglect, besides Such further Penalty as Shall by the Gov.r and Council be inflicted on any Such offenders, and be for ever after Rendered incapable of having any Boat or Share of a Boat with others. Whereunto.	any sail or sails at any time hereafter, except those who kept their boats at the moorings in James Valley road. Those persons were required to have the masts and sails of all their boats safely locked up every night after they came in from fishing. The penalty fell on the offender, anyone who held a boat or a share in one, who must make full satisfaction to the owners of any slaves and boats lost through their neglect, besides such further penalty as the Governor and council should impose. The offender would also be rendered for ever incapable of holding any boat or any share of a boat with others. Interpretations The order combined a general prohibition on sails with a narrow exception for boats moored within sight of James Valley road, the same compromise the councillors had reached in their written opinions of 23 December 1718. The regulation fixed on the rigging rather than the boats, requiring the masts and sails to be locked up nightly, the separation of the means of propulsion from the hull being the practical bar to escape that the bench had settled on after weighing the rival proposals. The penalty bound the negligent owner to make full satisfaction to those who lost slaves and boats through his lapse, placing the cost of a failure to secure the rigging on the person responsible for it. The added sanction of perpetual disqualification from holding any boat or share gave the order a second deterrent beyond the financial liability, the forfeiture of the right to own a boat marking the council's determination to close a route of escape the island's isolation otherwise left open. The framing of the slaves' design as the pursuit of an imaginary liberty, ending in death at sea, served the same purpose as the advertisement's earlier talk of their foolishness. Casting the escapes as hopeless underlined the futility the council pressed, the open ocean around the remote island making flight in a small fishing boat a near-certain drowning, the regulation aimed at protecting the owners' property from a practice the runaways' own fate condemned.
531	523	1718/9. Whereunto a ready Compliance and obedience is Expected by all Persons at their Perils. Dated at Union Castle in James valley this 20.th day of Janry 1718/9. Signed p Ord.r of the Worsh. Gov.r & Council. Jn.o Alexander Sec.ry [...] Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin Island S.t Helena. At a Consultation Held on Tuesday the 27. day of Janry 1718/9. At Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth.w Baret; 2. Pres.t Anhn.r Tovey 3. & Jn.o Alexander } Apist.ts Jn.o Goodwin } The Last Consultation read & approved. The following Petitions were this day presented. Island.	The advertisement closed by requiring ready compliance and obedience from everyone at their peril. It was dated at Union Castle in James Valley on 20 January 1719 and signed by John Alexander by order of the Governor and council. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 January 1719 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The last consultation was read and approved. The following petitions were presented this day.
532	524	Janry. Island S.t Helena. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r & Council. The Humble Petition of John Hanson Corp.l Humbly. Sheweth. That Whereas your Petition.rs Predecess.r Lewis Latour did buy a House Situate in the Fort valley at Publick outcry, and he having Some time Since made full Nayment for the Same Your Petition.r begs He may have a Deed made out in his own Name in right of his present wife the Said dec.d Lewis Latours Wid.o. As	Corporal John Hanson petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that his predecessor Lewis Latour had bought a house in Fort Valley at public outcry, and had some time since made full payment for it. Hanson asked for a deed in his own name, in right of his present wife, the widow of the late Lewis Latour. He also asked for a lease of the ground granted to Latour by the council, lying behind the house, which was already enclosed as a yard with a kitchen built on it.

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		also a Lease for the ground granted him by your Worsh.p & Council lying behind the Said House which is already Enclosed for a Yard and a Kitchen built thereon. Janry 27. 1718/9. And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c. (Signed) John Hanson We well knowing that the Said Latour did buy and had Paid for the House which he gave to his wife at his death. Ordered That John Hansons Petition be Granted and that a deed & Lease be made accordingly.	The petition was dated 27 January 1719 and signed by John Hanson. The signatories certified that they well knew Latour had bought and paid for the house, which he gave to his wife on his death. The council ordered that Hanson's petition be granted and that a deed and lease be made accordingly. Interpretations The petition shows the transmission of property through successive marriages, John Hanson claiming the Latour house in right of his wife, the widow whom the deceased had made his sole legatee. Latour's will of 11 October 1718, proved on 23 December 1718, had left the widow his whole estate including the James Valley house, and Hanson's marriage to her now carried the Fort Valley property to him, the deed sought in her right confirming the chain from purchase to widow to new husband. The distinction between the deed for the house, bought and paid for at outcry, and the lease for the enclosed ground behind it reflects the two forms of tenure on the island. The dwelling passed as freehold property by deed, while the adjoining waste granted by the council remained the Company's land held on lease, the supporting certificate of the inhabitants establishing Latour's title before the bench would confirm the transfer to Hanson. The reference to Hanson as Latour's predecessor identifies the two men as successive holders of the same garrison post as well as the same property, the widow's remarriage joining the household to the office. The same Lewis Latour whose burial drew a pound of powder in the gunner's account and whose will the council had lately proved here completes his record, his estate and his place passing together to the corporal who married his widow.
533	525	1718/9. The Petition of John Knipe Sold.r Humbly Shewing that he intended very Shortly to fence in all his Land, and there lying about two Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land Adjoyning to Some part of his Land Humbly Prays to become Tennant for the Same which will Save him a vast Charge in fencing the whole and be no Detrim.t to his neighbours. Granted, Provided that he agrees always to keep up Gates for the Passage of those who have a right to a drift way thro' that Land. The Petition of Rich.d Mason Sold.r Setting forth therein that he having very lately Married the Wid.o of Tho.s Harper dec.d who has no Land but what at her decease descends Immediately to her Children Wherefore Humbly prays We would grant him 20. Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land lying in Swanley valley Adjoyning to that formerly Hired by his Prede= =cessor Thom.s Harper. Referred to the Gov.r & Capt. Bazett. The Petition of Peter Sinnuck Sold.r Humbly Setting forth That a Parcell of the Hon.ble Comp.as Land lying Waste in Sandy Bay called the Sugar Cane	The soldier John Knipe petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that he intended very shortly to fence in all his land. About 2 acres of the Company's waste land lay next to part of his own, and he asked to become tenant of it, which would save him a great charge in fencing the whole and would be no harm to his neighbours. The petition was granted, provided he always agreed to keep up gates for the passage of those who had a right of way through the land. The soldier Richard Mason petitioned, setting out that he had very lately married the widow of the deceased Thomas Harper, who had no land of her own but what descended at her death to her children. He asked for a grant of 20 acres of the Company's waste land in Swanley Valley, next to that formerly hired by his predecessor Thomas Harper. The petition was referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett. The soldier Peter Sinsnick petitioned, setting out that a parcel of the Company's waste land lay unused in Sandy Bay, called the Sugar Cane... Interpretations The grant to John Knipe was made conditional on his keeping up gates for those holding a right of way through the land, the same reservation that had qualified other waste-land grants. The condition shows the council protecting established rights of passage when it let ground, the gates ensuring that enclosing the parcel did not cut off the access of neighbours, the saving in Knipe's fencing balanced against the preservation of the common right of way. The petition of Richard Mason rests on his recent marriage to the widow of Thomas Harper, the same widow Mary Harper whose dispute over the timing of her late husband's estate had been settled on 16 December 1718. Her contemplated change of condition, noted in the margin of that petition as a marriage on 8 January 1719, here takes effect, Mason

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			now seeking the Swanley Valley ground his predecessor Harper had held, the property and the holding passing with the widow to her new husband. The recurrence of soldiers among the land petitioners, Knipe, Mason and Sinsnick all of the garrison, shows the men of the establishment seeking to settle as cultivators alongside their service. The same John Knipe had lost slaves in the Prosperous Bay escape and Peter Sinsnick had witnessed the dying orphan Cotgrove's will, the garrison men moving through the bench's land business as through its disciplinary and probate concerns, the want of land driving their petitions for the Company's waste.
534	526	Janry. Sugar Cane plantation. Humbly prays We would grant him about five Acres & a Lease for the Same being willing to Settle & make a Small Plantation there. Referred to the Gov.r & Mr. Alexander. The Petition of Gilbert Sinnick Montross Setting forth that He has Served the Hon.ble Company Several years and is Desirous of Con= =tinuing in their Service on this place, And be= =ing destitute of any Land to make a Small Plantation on in case he Should Marry. Humbly Prays We would grant him about Six Acres of the P.t Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land lying below the Land of Stewards Orphans in Sandy Bay. Referred also to the Govern.r and Mr. Alexander. The Petition of Joshua Cary & Jn.o Howard late belonging to Ship Princess Anne Capt. Nic.s Lihorne Comander. Humbly Shewing That being their Misfortune to be left out of the aforesaid Ship are altogether destitute of any Employ, the Said Jos.a Cary desires to be Entertained here in the Hon.ble Comp.as Service as a Writer, and the Said Jn.o Howard as a Montross w.th Promise of be= =having themselves very well. And ever to pray &c.	Peter Sinsnick's petition continued, that the parcel was the Sugar Cane plantation. He asked for a grant of about 5 acres and a lease of it, being willing to settle and make a small plantation there. The petition was referred to the Governor and Alexander. Gilbert Sinsnick Monhoss petitioned, setting out that he had served the Company several years and wished to continue in their service on the island. Being without any land to make a small plantation should he marry, he asked for a grant of about 6 acres of the Company's waste land lying below the land of Steward's orphans in Sandy Bay. The petition was also referred to the Governor and Alexander. Joshua Cary and John Howard, late belonging to the ship <i>Princess Ann</i> under Captain Nicholas Lihorne, petitioned. They set out that it was their misfortune to be left out of the ship and so to be entirely without employment. Joshua Cary asked to be taken into the Company's service as a writer, and John Howard as a matross, both promising to behave very well. Interpretations The petitions of Peter Sinsnick and Gilbert Sinsnick Monhoss, both seeking waste land to settle as planters while continuing in the Company's service, show the bench using land grants to bind its servants to the island. The framing of the requests around an intended marriage and a small plantation reflects the council's interest in settling industrious men permanently, the offer of ground serving as an inducement to remain in service, the same purpose evident in the grants pressed by other garrison men. The petition of Cary and Howard, left behind by the <i>Princess Ann</i> and seeking employment as a writer and a matross, repeats the council's recruitment of stranded ship's men into the establishment. The want of writers in particular, pressed throughout the troubles with the account books, made a literate man like Cary a useful acquisition, the same need that had brought John Lacey from the <i>Drake</i> into service as a writer on 13 January 1719, the calling ships supplying the hands the island lacked.
535	527	1718/9. They were called in and told by the Gov.r that he thought twas their best way to go Home for England, and bid them Consider of it three or four days and then come to him again and if they were in the Same mind they Should be Entertained as they desired. The Petition of James Vessey free Planter Setting forth therein That: He did Some time Since Hire Eight Acres of the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land and having never had any Lease for it Humbly desires he may now have one w.th Liberty of Nameing three Persons lives therein, renewable upon either or all of their deaths. And shall ever pray &c. Granted. and a Lease Ordered to be made Accordingly. The Petition of Jon.a Higham Jun.r Sold.r & Mason Humbly Shewing That he being a Young man is very desirous to continue in the Hon.ble Comp.as Service upon this place and willing to make himself a Small	Cary and Howard were called in and told by Governor Pyke that he thought their best course was to go home to England. He asked them to consider it for three or four days and then come to him again, and if they were still of the same mind they would be taken on as they wished. The free planter James Vesey petitioned, setting out that he had some time since hired 8 acres of the Company's waste land and had never had a lease for it. He asked that he might now have one, with liberty to name the lives of three persons in it, renewable on the death of any or all of them. The petition was granted, and a lease ordered to be made accordingly. The soldier and mason Jonathan Higham junior petitioned, setting out that, being a young man, he very much wished to continue in the Company's service on the island and to make himself a small plantation. He asked to become tenant of about 10 acres of the

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		Plantation. Humbly Prays to become Tennt. to the P.t Hon.ble Comp.r for about Ten Acres of their Waste Land lying in Swanley valley. And shall for ever pray &c. Referred.	Company's waste land lying in Swanley Valley. The petition was referred. Interpretations The lease granted to James Vesey on three lives shows the form of tenure by which the Company let its waste land for the duration of named persons' lifetimes, renewable as each died. The lease for lives gave the tenant a long and secure interest while keeping the reversion with the proprietors, the naming of three lives extending the term across a generation, a more durable holding than the year-to-year tenancies the bench more commonly granted. The Governor's advice that Cary and Howard go home rather than enter service, with time to reconsider, shows the bench weighing the value of stranded ship's men against the cost of keeping them. The offer to take them on only if they remained of the same mind after three or four days gave the men a free choice while testing their resolve, the council unwilling to burden the establishment with men who might rather return to England. The cluster of garrison men seeking Swanley Valley land to settle as planters, Higham junior here as Mason and the two Sinsicks before him, shows a steady pressure from the soldiers to acquire ground in that valley. The recurrence of the same district in successive petitions reflects the availability of unallotted waste there, the council referring each request for a view to ensure the grants did not exhaust the ground or prejudice the holders already settled.
536	528	Janry. Referred to the Gov.r & Capt. Bazett. Gabriel Bovell Executor to the Last Will and Testament of Thom.s Harper dec.d with his Widdow lately married to Rich.d Mason, brought this day an Inventory of his the Said Harpers Estate, which was Examined and approved of on the Oaths of the Appraisers Fran.s Wrangham & Robert Gurling. Whereupon Ordered. That the Said Inventory be received and Entered accordingly as Usual. The Petition of John Alexander as follows. To the Worsh. Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r & Count. The Petition of Jn.o Alexander Humbly. Sheweth. That Whereas your Petition.r having but ten acres of Free Land and about fifteen Acres more of Hired Land, but above one quarter of which Hired Land consists only of large Rocks and the whole not Sufficient for the Maintainance of your Petitioners family which is 20. Persons, Your Said Petition.r is therefore about treating w.th Mr. Mason for the Purchaseing ten Acres of Free Land lying in Peak Gutt. But unless yo.r Petition.r can have the grant of about 15. or 18. Acres of the	Higham junior's petition was referred to the Governor and Captain Bazett. Gabriel Powell, executor to the will of the deceased Thomas Harper, together with the widow lately married to Richard Mason, brought in an inventory of Harper's estate. It was examined and approved on the oaths of the appraisers Francis Wrangham and Robert Gurling. The council ordered that the inventory be received and entered in the usual way. John Alexander petitioned the Governor and council. He set out that he held only 10 acres of free land and about 15 acres more of hired land, but above a quarter of the hired land consisted only of large rocks. The whole was not enough to maintain his family, which numbered 20 persons. He was therefore in treaty with Mason for the purchase of 10 acres of free land lying in Peak Gut. But unless he could obtain a grant of about 15 or 18 acres of the... Interpretations The inventory of Thomas Harper's estate, brought in by Powell as executor with the remarried widow and sworn by the appraisers Wrangham and Gurling, completed the valuation ordered when the council settled the dispute over its timing on 16 December 1718. The bench had directed that the estate be appraised by the same men as before, now that the widow's remarriage to Mason had triggered the division under the will, the entry of the inventory marking the point at which the children's shares could be ascertained and secured. John Alexander's petition reveals the poverty of land that pressed even a councillor and clerk, a quarter of his hired ground being bare rock and the whole insufficient for a household of 20 persons. The size of his family, swelled by slaves and dependants, against the scanty productive land shows the difficulty of provisioning a large establishment on the island, the want of cultivable ground driving him both to buy free land and to seek a further grant of the Company's waste. The naming of the same Mason as Alexander's prospective seller, who has just appeared as the widow Harper's new husband, gathers the strands of these

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			sittings into a single web of property dealing. The land Mason holds in right of his marriage now passes towards Alexander, the council's probate, marriage and land business moving the same parcels and persons through successive transactions before the bench.
537	529	1718/9. the Hon.ble Comp.as Waste Land Adjoyning thereto or the Same to lye Waste as it now doth, it will be of no Advantage to your Petition.r who having Served the Hon.ble Comp.y upwards of 23. Years Humbly prays his long Service may be Consi= =dered and his request Granted which he Shall Esteem as a Particular favour. And as in duty bound to pray &c. Jn.o Alexander Referred to the Govern.r [...] Jn.o Alexander Jn.o Goodwin Island.	Alexander's petition continued, that unless he could obtain a grant of the Company's adjoining waste land, or it lay waste as it now did, the purchase would be of no advantage to him. Having served the Company more than 23 years, he asked that his long service be considered and his request granted, which he would regard as a particular favour. The petition was dated 27 January 1719 and signed by John Alexander. The petition was referred to the Governor. The entry was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations Alexander's appeal to his more than 23 years of service shows the weight long employment carried in pressing a claim on the Company's land. By tying the grant of waste to his record rather than to need alone, he invoked the bench's practice of rewarding faithful servants with ground, the same consideration that ran through the petitions of other long-serving men, his standing as clerk and councillor adding force to the request. The argument that the purchase of the free land would be worthless without the adjoining waste reveals the dependence of one parcel on another for a viable holding. Alexander framed the grant as the condition that made his intended purchase from Mason worth completing, the contiguous waste being necessary to render the bought ground useful, the same reasoning of convenience and adjoining tenure that governed the run of land petitions before the bench.
538	530	February. Island St.t Helena. At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 10.th day of Febr'y 1718/9. At Union Castle in James Valley. Antip.r Tovey abs.t not being well. Jn.o Alexander abs.t his Eldest Son dying Yesterday. Pres.t Isaac Pyke Esq.r Gov.r Matth.w Barrett 2. & Jn.o Goodwin Apist.t The Last Consultation read and approved of. The Gov.r Sayes tho' he thinks Nothing can be of more Advantage to the Island in General nor for the Good (that is the refreshment) of Shiping in Parti= =cular than to Encrease the Number of Families, which of late has been much reduced to what they formerly were So that there is now fewer Inhabitants by about eight families than heretofore. Yet he is of opinion that We ought not too rashly, to Sett about Encreasing the Number of Families by letting out more of the Hon.ble Comp.as ground Untill all Consequences are Considered and this Demurr or Caution to a full Consideration he makes because Mr. Lucas Mason brought him word Last Sunday from Mr. Bovell that if he would not lett Francis Funge have the thirty Acres of Land Wast	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 10 February 1719 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second John Goodwin, assistant Antipas Tovey was absent through sickness. John Alexander was absent, his eldest son having died the previous day. The last consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke said that nothing could be of more advantage to the island in general, nor for the refreshment of the shipping in particular, than to increase the number of families, which of late had been much reduced from what it formerly was, so that there were now about eight families fewer than before. He thought, however, that the council ought not too rashly to set about increasing the number of families by letting out more of the Company's ground until all the consequences had been considered. He made this caution towards a full consideration because Lucas Mason had brought him word the previous Sunday from Mr Porteous that, if the council would not let Francis Funge have the 30 acres of waste land... Interpretations The Governor's concern to increase the number of families ties the settlement of the island directly to the provisioning of the Company's ships, the refreshment of the shipping depending on a populous and productive countryside. The fall of about eight families from the former number marked a real decline in the island's capacity, the bench treating the multiplication of cultivating households as a matter of the proprietors' interest in supplying their vessels on the homeward route. The Governor's caution against letting out more ground too rashly reflects the tension between settling

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			new families and exhausting the Company's waste. His wish to weigh all the consequences before granting land shows the bench balancing the pressure of the many recent petitions against the finite stock of unallotted ground, the same prudence that had led him to refer the run of waste-land requests for view through January 1719 rather than grant them outright. The intervention of Lucas Mason carrying word from Porteous over Francis Funge's 30 acres reveals the informal pressures that played upon the council's land dealings. The report that some consequence would follow if Funge were refused the Swanley Valley ground, his petition referred for view on 6 January 1719, shows interested parties pressing their cases outside the formal hearing, the Governor entering the approach on the record as part of his reason for caution.
539	531	1718/9. Wask Land he Petitionned for but grant it him he would give the Govern.r One Hundred & fifty Pounds. Mr. Francis Wrangham was then by and told Mason that he would give One Hundred Pound for Such another Parcell of Land, there was another there whose Name I have forgott that Sayed they need not trouble themselves for those to whom this new Wask Land was granted would quickly Sell it and then they might have it cheap enough. Wherefore the Govern.r desires every one Present may consider what is Properest to be done for the Hon.ble Comp.as Interest, whether to Sell it for the Hon.ble Comp.as Acco.t (for if it must be Sold he thinks they have Most right to the money for it) or whether to lett it out to any of the Petitioners, with Additional Clauses and Provisors to hinder their Selling or Alienating the Same. And that no Body may be unprepared next Consultation day those who are not Present shall be Acquainted with this Proposall as Soon as they come down that they may have time to Consider thereof, and that the next Consultation shall not be on Tuesday next as Usuall but on Thursday next	The Governor continued, that if the council would not grant Funge the waste land he had petitioned for, he would give the Governor £150 0s 0d for it. Francis Wrangham was then present and told Mason that he would give £100 0s 0d for such another parcel of land. Another man, whose name the Governor had forgotten, said they need not trouble themselves, for those to whom the new waste land was granted would quickly sell it, and then they might have it cheap enough. The Governor therefore asked everyone present to consider what was best to be done for the Company's interest, whether to sell the land for the Company's account, since if it must be sold he thought the Company had the most right to the money for it, or whether to let it out to any of the petitioners with additional clauses and provisos to prevent their selling or transferring it. So that nobody should be unprepared the next consultation day, those not present were to be told of the proposal as soon as they came down, so that they might have time to consider it. The next consultation would not be on the Tuesday following as usual, but on the Thursday following. Interpretations The competing offers of £150 0s 0d and £100 0s 0d for the waste land exposed the speculative value the Company's ground had acquired, the parcels worth far more in sale than the small annual rents at which the bench let them. The Governor's observation that the Company had the most right to the money if the land were sold shows him weighing whether the proprietors should capture that value directly rather than let grantees take it by reselling, the disparity between rent and sale price driving the question. The remark that grantees would quickly sell the land cheap reveals the abuse the Governor sought to prevent, tenants taking the Company's waste at a low rent and turning it over for profit. The proposal to let the ground with clauses barring sale or transfer addressed this directly, the restraint on alienation designed to keep the land in the hands of the settling families the grants were meant to establish rather than letting it become an article of trade. The postponement of the next consultation to Thursday, with notice to absent members so they might consider the proposal, shows the Governor treating the land question as weighty enough to require the full bench's deliberation. By circulating the matter in advance and altering the meeting day, he ensured that a decision touching both the Company's revenue and the island's settlement would be taken with every councillor prepared, rather than rushed before an unready board.

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540	532	Febry. next that every body may have time Enough to think what resolves to make. Memorandums. That Roger one of the Hon.ble Comp.as Blacks being lately a fishing by the Sea Side, Some Stones fell from the Hill on his head which have bruised and wounded him So much that the Doct.r is doubtfull of his Recovery. That in the Hon.ble Comp.as Stores the Blacks that were at work building a new wall, Stole Privately out of a Cask Seventy one Pound of Tobacco which they have So Dispersed among them all that tho' a diligent Search has been made for the Same yet no more then three Pound out of that Seventy one pound has been gott againe. The Govern.r Sayes that Considering John Alexander had not already bought that Land of Lucas Masons but only intended it if they could agree on a Price, and that the Land he Petitions for in the last Consultation might make a Planta= =tion for a Young married Couple He is therefore unwilling the Said Alexander Should have it Granted to him. But Sayes if there is any other Land that lies Waste near to his Plantation, which	The next consultation was set for the Thursday following, so that everyone might have time enough to think what resolutions to make. Memorandums followed. Roger, one of the Company's slaves, had lately been fishing by the seaside when some stones fell from the hill onto his head. They bruised and wounded him so badly that the doctor doubted his recovery. In the Company's stores, the slaves who were labouring at building a new wall had privately stolen 71 pounds of tobacco out of a cask. They had so dispersed it among themselves that, although a careful search had been made, no more than 3 pounds of the 71 had been recovered. Governor Pyke said that, considering John Alexander had not yet bought the land from Lucas Mason but only intended to if they could agree on a price, and that the land he had petitioned for at the last consultation might make a plantation for a young married couple, he was unwilling that Alexander should have it granted to him. But he said that if there was any other waste land lying near his plantation... Interpretations The Governor's refusal to grant Alexander the land turned on the policy of settling new families rather than enlarging the holdings of those already established. Since Alexander had not yet completed his purchase and the parcel might support a young married couple, the Governor preferred to reserve it for a new household, the same concern to increase the island's families that he had pressed at this sitting governing his decision against a man of his own council. The theft of 71 pounds of tobacco from the stores by the slaves building the wall, with only 3 pounds recovered, records a loss the council noted as a memorandum of the difficulty of controlling pilferage. The dispersal of the goods among the labourers, defeating a careful search, shows the practical limits of the Company's oversight of its own slaves at work, the bulk of the tobacco gone beyond recovery despite the investigation. The accident to the slave Roger, struck by falling stones while fishing and not expected to recover, echoes the salt-gathering deaths on the same dangerous rocks that had prompted the prohibition of 23 December 1718. The recording of his injury as a memorandum shows the bench noting the loss of a Company slave alongside the theft from the stores, the hazards of the coast falling on the slaves as on the soldiers sent to fetch salt.
541	533	1718/9. which he can think will be of Use to him. Then he Should be willing to grant it him to Enlarge his own Plantation but do's not at all Approve of granting to any one man Severall Pieces of Land in different parts of the Island, for at that Rate all the best ground would be picked out in Bitts and Parcels &c. instead of improving the Island would rather tend toward the Destruction of it. Capt. Bazett brought in the following three months Acco.t which was Examined and Approved of, and Accordingly Ordered to be Entered. An Acco.t of Store Goods Sold & delivered to the Inhabitants, for the Use of Union Castle and Plantation House from June the 25.th 1718. to Septemb.r the 25.th following. viz.t To the Inhabitants. Arrack. 1182½. Gall.s 6/ 3p.t 369. 10. 7½ 2½ Gall.s 26/4p.t -14. 3 1184½	The Governor continued, that if there was any other waste land near Alexander's plantation which he thought would be of use to him, then the Governor would be willing to grant it to enlarge his own plantation. But he did not approve at all of granting any one man several pieces of land in different parts of the island, for at that rate all the best ground would be picked out in bits and parcels, and instead of improving the island this would tend rather towards its destruction. Captain Bazett brought in the following account for the past three months, which was examined, approved and ordered to be entered. An account of store goods sold and delivered to the inhabitants, for the use of Union Castle and the Plantation House, from 25 June 1718 to 25 September 1718. To the inhabitants: Arrack, 1,182½ gallons at 6s 0d, and 2¾ gallons at 36s 0d per leaguer, less 14s 3d. 1,184¾ gallons £370 4s 10½d Sugar, 1,509 pounds at 8d per pound. £50 6s 0d

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		370. 4. 10½ Sugar. 1509.t 8s p.to 50. 6. - Candy. 180. at 12 p.to 9. -. - Tobacco. 494. d 21. p.to 49. 8 Pipes. 80. doz.n 69. doz.n 2. -. - 51. 8 Carried Over 118. 018. 10½	Candy, 180 pounds at 12d per pound. £9 0s 0d Tobacco, 494 pounds at 2½d per pound. £49 8s 0d Pipes, 80 dozen at 6d per dozen. £2 0s 0d £51 8s 0d Carried over: £480 18s 10½d Interpretations The Governor's objection to granting one man scattered parcels reveals a settled policy against the engrossing of the best ground by single holders. Distributing land in bits and parcels to the same person would let the most fertile waste be picked out piecemeal, defeating the aim of settling families and improving the island, the Governor framing the practice as tending to the island's destruction rather than its benefit, which explains his refusal of Alexander despite the long service pleaded. The store account records the Company's role as the monopoly supplier of arrack, sugar and tobacco to the inhabitants, the goods sold from its stores at fixed rates. The dominance of arrack in the account, at £370 4s 10½d against the smaller sums for sugar, candy and tobacco, shows the spirit as the principal article of the store trade, the same liquor whose scarcity had led the council to buy Captain Lihorne's Cape brandy on 30 December 1718. The candy entered alongside the sugar was sugar refined and crystallised into a hard form, a more processed and dearer commodity than the raw sugar, priced here at 12d the pound against 8d for the sugar. The distinction in the account between the two grades reflects the range of sweetening goods the stores carried, the candy being the superior product imported from the Company's eastern settlements alongside the bulk sugar.
542	534	Februrye. Brought Over £480. 18. 10½ Tea. 81. Catties 9/- ea.t 36. 9 Oyles. viz.t Sweet Oyle. 5½. Gall. 12 3. 3. - Train Oyle. 1¼. Gall. 6 -. 7. 6 Ram Oyle. 16½. Gall. 6 4. 19. - Linseed Oyle. 20. Gall. 8/ 8 16. 9. 6 Wine. 13. Gall.s vinegar 1/ 2. 12. - Vinegar. 1½. Gall. 2/6 -. 3. 9 2. 15. 9 Soap. 203.t 1/5 14. 7. 7 Bread. 140.t 3½ 2. -. 10 Flour. 83. d 3½ 1. 4. 2½	The store account continued. Brought over: £480 18s 10½d Tea, 81 catties at 9s 0d each. £36 9s 0d Oils: Sweet oil, 5¼ gallons at 12s 0d. £3 3s 0d Train oil, 1¼ gallons at 6s 0d. £0 7s 6d Rape oil, 16½ gallons at 6s 0d. £4 19s 0d Linseed oil, 20 gallons at 8s 0d. £8 0s 0d £16 9s 6d Wine, 13 gallons of vinegar at 4s 0d. £2 12s 0d Vinegar, 1½ gallons at 2s 6d. £0 3s 9d £2 15s 9d Soap, 203 pounds at 1s 5d. £14 7s 7d Bread, 140 pounds at 3½d. £2 0s 10d Flour, 83 pounds at 3½d. £1 4s 2½d £3 5s 0½d Starch, 39 pounds at 5d. £1 9s 3d Thicksets: 1½ pieces, number 2, at 35s 0d. £2 12s 6d 2 pieces, number 11, at 14s 6d. £4 9s 0d £7 1s 6d Fustians: 3 pieces, number 1, at 30s 6d. £4 11s 6d

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		5. 0½ Starch. 39.t 9.d 1. 9. 3 Thicksetts. viz.t 1½. p.ts N.o 2. at. 35/- 2. 12. 6 2. p.ts 3. d.o 11. 4. 14. 6. 9. - 10. 6 Fustians viz.t 3. p.ts 4. N.o 1. at 30. 6. 11. 6 5. p.t d.o 6. 4 7. 9 8. p.ts d.o 9. 6 10. 6 11. 11. 12. p.ts d.o 13. 7 14. - 15. 12 3. 6 Carried Over £578. -. -	1 piece, number 4. £1 9s 0d 2 pieces, number 6, at 35s 6d. £3 11s 0d 4 pieces, number 7, at 28s 0d. £5 12s 0d £15 3s 6d Carried over: £578 0s 0d Interpretations The account carries a range of textiles and household goods supplied from the stores, the thicksets and fustians being heavy cotton or cotton-and-linen cloths used for hard-wearing garments. The thickset was a stout corded fabric and the fustian a coarse twilled cloth with a linen warp and cotton weft, both durable materials suited to the clothing of labourers and the common inhabitants, sold by the piece at the rates the Company set. The several oils each served a distinct use that the account's pricing reflects, the sweet oil being olive oil for the table at the dearest rate, the train oil rendered from whale or fish blubber for lamps and rough work, the rape oil pressed from rapeseed and the linseed oil from flax for lamps and other domestic purposes. The range shows the stores furnishing the inhabitants with the oils for cooking, lighting and trades that an isolated island could not produce. The tea entered at 81 catties priced in the Chinese commercial weight reflects its origin in the Company's China trade, the catty being about a pound and twenty more recently the standing measure for the China-ship goods. The supply of tea, sugar candy and the eastern textiles together shows the stores drawing the inhabitants' goods from the full reach of the Company's Asian commerce, the island provisioned from the same trade that carried its produce home.
543	535	1718/9. Brought Over £578. -. - White Fustians viz.t 9½ yards d.o plain at 20 p.y -. 15. 10 3. yards Tagled d.o 4. 28 5. -. 7. - 6. p.r Fustians Old Cargoe 4. 2 7. - Shoes. viz.t 58. p.r Mens d.o 59. 6/3 p.pr 2. 6 60. p.r Womens d.o 61. 2 17. - 62. p.r Boys ditto 63. ½. 1 2. 10 Hatts viz.t 4. Boys ditto N.o 1. at. 6.d ea.t 4. - 5. Boys d.o 6. 6. 6. 7. -. 13. - 8. Boys d.o 9. 8. 3. 13. - 10. Mens Cloth d.o 4. 11. 6. 12. 6 12. Beveretts 13. 5 14. 20. - 15. -. -	The store account continued. Brought over: £578 0s 0d White fustians: 9½ yards plain at 20d per yard. £0 15s 10d 3 yards tufted at 28d. £0 7s 0d 1 piece of fustian, old cargo. £1 4s 2d £2 7s 0d Shoes: 58 pairs of men's at 6s 3d per pair. £18 2s 6d 6 pairs of women's at 6s 2d. £1 17s 0d 1 pair of boys' at 2s 4d. £20 1s 10d Hats: 4 boys', number 1, at 6s 0d each. £1 4s 0d 2 boys', number 2, at 6s 6d. £0 13s 0d 4 boys', number 3, at 8s 3d. £1 13s 0d 9 men's, cloth, number 4, at 12s 6d. £5 12s 6d 5 beveretts, number 5, at 20s 0d. £5 0s 0d 1 laced, number 6. £0 7s 0d £15 9s 6d Stockings: 13 pairs of soldiers' at 2s 3d. £1 9s 3d 20 pairs of cotton at 3s 1d. £3 0s 0d 7½ pairs of thread at 4s 6d. £1 11s 6d

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		16. Laced ditto 17. 6. 7. - 9. 6 Stockings viz.t 13. p.r Soldiers d.o 14. 2/3 9. 3 15. p.r Cotton 16. 3/ 17. -. - 18. p.r Thread d.o 19. 4/6 11. 6 20. p.r Mens Soys 21. 11 9. 8 Brass Ware. viz.t 4. Scimers 5. -. 5. - ea.t 6. -. - 7. p.r Scales 8. -. 3. - 9. Sauce pann 10. -. 6. 2 11. ditto 12. -. 8. - 13. ditto 14. 2 15. D.o 9. 4. 68 16. 3 17. Tea Kettle N.o 1 18. -. 15. - 19. p.r Brass Candlesticks 20. 10 21. Single ditto flatt 22. - 16. 7 Carried over £626. 16. 7	1 pair of men's silk. £0 11s 0d £6 1s 8d Brass ware: 4 skimmers at 5s 0d each. £1 0s 0d 1 pair of scales. £0 3s 0d 1 saucepan. £0 6s 2d 1 saucepan. £0 8s 0d 1 saucepan. £0 16s 2d 1 saucepan, quantity 9 [...] 4 [...] 6. £0 16s 5d 1 tea kettle, number 1. £0 15s 0d 1 pair of brass candlesticks. £0 8s 10d 1 single candlestick, flat. £0 3s 0d £4 16s 7d Carried over: £626 16s 7d Interpretations The account distinguishes the hats by material and grade, the beveretts being a cheaper imitation of beaver hats made from rabbit or other wool to resemble the costly beaver felt. Priced at 20s 0d against the cloth hats at 12s 6d and the laced hat dearer still, the beverett occupied a middle rank, the range showing the stores supplying headwear across the levels of the inhabitants' means. The shoes, hats and stockings graded by men's, women's and boys' sizes show the stores clothing whole households from the Company's imported stock. The fixed prices for each grade, the soldiers' stockings cheapest at 2s 3d and the men's silk dearest, reflect the council's role as the supplier of manufactured goods that an isolated island could not make, the inhabitants dependent on the stores for their clothing as for their provisions. The skimmer entered among the brass ware was a flat perforated ladle for lifting scum or solids from a pot, a standard kitchen implement of the period. The range of saucepans, candlesticks, scales and the tea kettle shows the stores furnishing the domestic hardware of the island's households, the brass goods imported and sold alongside the cloth and provisions to equip the inhabitants' kitchens.
544	536	February. Brought Over £626. 16. 7 Madrass Gingham 10 p.r Dio 52. -. - Gingham Shirts 2. 1/6 -. 18. - White Shirts d 2/6 35. 7. 6 36. 5. 6 Long Cloth Coarse. 13½. p.l 20 13. 10 Long Cloth 11 Selling 14½. 27. 18. 18. - 32. 8. - Nealacs. 14. p.r 9. 9. 6. 16. 6 Gearhaas. 10. p.r 12. 6. 6. 5. - Jaunces. 1.p.r	The store account continued. Brought over: £626 16s 7d Madrass gingham, 10 pieces at 10s 0d per piece. £52 0s 0d Gingham shirts at 4s 6d. £0 18s 0d White shirts at 2s 6d. £35 7s 6d £36 5s 6d Long cloth coarse, 13½ pieces at 20s 0d. £13 10s 0d Long cloth middling, 14 pieces at 27s 0d. £18 18s 0d £32 8s 0d Neataes, 14 pieces at 9s 9d. £6 16s 6d Gurrahs, 10 pieces at 12s 6d. £6 5s 0d Saunoers, 1 piece. £0 16s 5d £13 17s 11d Dusotties, 44 pieces at 5s 6d. £12 2s 0d Blankets, 13 at 7s 9d.

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		16. 5 13. 17. 11 Dusoties. 44. p.r d 5/6 12. 2. - Blanketts. 13. d 7/9 5. 9. - Ditto 8 11. 3 1. 10 10. 9 Hooks & Lines viz.t 81. doz.n Old Wife Hooks at p.r doz.n 82. 7 83. doz.n Old Cargoe N.o 5. 84. d 1. 10 85. 8 1½ doz.n ditto 7 d 2. 11 4. 4½ 12½ doz.n ditto 10. Galls/- 1. 5 2. -. ½ Lines. 7. ditto N.o 9. d 13. 7. 7 28. Ditto D.o 11. 29. d 20. 6. 8 30. ditto 31. 12 32. d 27. 6. 3 33. ditto 34. 13 35. d 31. 12. 11 36. ditto 37. 15 38. d 11. 39. 11 18. 5 China Bowls. 13 d 5. 1. 19. - China Cups. 5½. doz.n d -5 1. 7. 6 6. 6 Knives. 83. d 6.d ea. 2. 1. 6 Silk Hoods. 2.d N.o 2. d 13. 6. 1. 7. - 2.d.o 3. 15. - 1. 10 2. 17 Wooden Ware. viz.t 2. Strainers at. 6. 3. -. 1. - 4. Scummer 5. 6 6. -. 6 7. Bowls 8. d -19 9. 2 10. -. 18 Carried Over	£5 9s 0d 8 at 11s 3d. £4 10s 0d £9 10s 9d Hooks and lines: 81 dozen old wife hooks at 4d per dozen. £1 7s 0d 2 dozen old cargo, number 5, at 1s 10d. £0 3s 8d 1¼ dozen of number 7 at 2s 11d. £0 4s 1½d 12½ dozen of number 10 at 1s 5d. £0 17s 0d Lines, 5 dozen of number 9 at 13d. £0 7s 7d 28 of number 11 at 20d. £2 6s 8d 9 of number 12 at 27d. £1 0s 3d 5 of number 13 at 31d. £0 12s 11d 3 of number 15 at 44d. £0 11s 0d £3 0s [...]½d China bowls, 13 at 3s 0d. £1 19s 0d China cups, 5½ dozen at 5s 0d. £1 7s 6d £3 6s 6d Knives, 83 at 6d per dozen. £2 1s 6d Silk hoods, 2 of number 2 at 13s 6d. £1 7s 0d 2 of number 3 at 15s 0d. £1 10s 0d £2 17s 0d Wooden ware: 2 strainers at 6d. £0 1s 0d 1 scummer at 6d. £0 6s 0d 2 bowls at 19d. £0 3s 2d £0 4s 8d Carried over: £799 8s 10½d Interpretations The account carries a wide range of Indian cotton textiles imported through the Company's eastern settlements and sold from the stores by the piece. The neataes, gurrahs, saunoes and dusotties were varieties of plain or striped cotton cloth woven on the Indian coasts, each a distinct grade known by its trade name, the gingham a checked or striped cotton from Madras and the long cloth a plain piece in coarse and middling qualities, the whole reflecting the staple textiles of the India trade supplied to the island's inhabitants. The fishing hooks and lines, graded by numbered sizes and sold by the dozen, equipped the inhabitants for the fishery that the island's coast supported. The provision of the tackle from the stores shows the Company supplying the means of catching fish, a principal source of food, the same fishing boats whose escapes by slaves had occupied the council through the winter being the vessels this gear served. The china bowls and cups entered alongside the textiles came from the Company's China trade, the porcelain imported with the tea sold earlier in the account. The supply of the eastern ceramics, the Indian cloth and the China tea together shows the stores furnishing the island from the full span of the Company's Asian commerce, the inhabitants of the remote settlement provisioned with the manufactures of India and China through the ships that called on the homeward route.

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		£799. 8. 10½	
545	537	1718/9. Brought Over 799. 8. 10½ Pewter Viz.t 1. half quarter in pott 2. -. 1. - 3. doz.n Spoons 4. d 5. 4/6 6. -. 18. - 7. Bason least Size Susan 8. -. 2. 6 ½ doz. Plates N.o 2 -. 11. - 1½ doz. ditto 1. d 26/ 19. - 2. ditt 2. 5. 3. 1/6 4. -. 7. 6 5. Soup dishes 6. 2/11 5. - 7. Dishes 8. 51. 7½ 9. 10½ 10. ditto 11. -. 4. 11 12. ditto 13. 9 4. 11½ Tin Ware. Viz.t 2. Tin quart Sauce pans 3. d 2/3 4. 6 5. 2 Spout Lamp 6. 6 7. Round Pudding Pan 8. 2 9. Porringers 10. 7 ea.t 11. 9 12. ditto 13. 10 14. Funnells 15. 5 16. Dripping Pann 17. 6 18. -. 5. - 19. 7 Buttons. viz.t 36. doz.n Coat D.o 37. 12 16. - 31½ doz. Breast d.o 6 15. 9 6½ doz. ditto 28½ 2. 1. 4½ Combs & Brushes viz.t 6. Horne Combs 7. d 7 8. 6 9. Horne ditto 10. 6 11. Horne ditto 12. 5. 13. 4 14. Box Combs 15. 8 16. Box & Handle Comb Brushes 17. d 8	The store account continued. Brought over: £799 8s 10½d Pewter: 1 half-quart pot. £0 1s 0d 4 dozen spoons at 4s 6d. £0 18s 0d 1 basin, least size, number [...]. £0 2s 6d 1 dozen plates, number 2. £0 11s 0d 1¼ dozen of number 1 at 26s 0d. £1 19s 0d 1 dish at 1s 6d. £0 7s 6d 5 soup dishes at 2s 11d. £1 5s 0d 3 dishes at 5s 7½d. £0 16s 10½d 1 dish. £0 4s 1d 1 dish. £0 3s 9d £6 4s 11½d Tin ware: 2 tin quart saucepans at 2s 3d. £0 4s 6d 1 two-spout lamp. £0 2s 2d 1 round pudding pan. £0 1s 9d 3 porringers at 7d each. £0 10s 0d 2 of the same. £0 10s 0d 2 funnels at 5d. £0 5s 0d 1 dripping pan. £0 5s 0d £1 9s 7d Buttons: 36 dozen coat at 12d. £1 16s 0d 31½ dozen breast at 6d. £0 15s 9d 6½ dozen of the same. £0 28s 0d £2 14s 5½d Combs and brushes: 6 horn combs at 7d. £0 3s 6d 1 horn comb. £0 0s 6d 20 horn combs at 5d. £0 8s 4d 4 box combs. £0 8s 0d 24 box and horn comb brushes at 8d. £0 16s 0d 2 cloth brushes at 2s 0d. £0 4s 0d £1 4s 4d Mixed crape, 8 yards at 4s 0d. £0 8s 0d Soldiers' coats: 1 coat. £1 0s 0d 2 waistcoats at 9s 4d. £0 18s 8d 1 pair of breeches. £0 8s 3d Carried over: £821 9s 9½d Interpretations

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		18. - 19. Cloth Brushes 20. d 2 21. - Mixt Crape d 4 1. -. - Soldiers Cloaths viz.t 1. Coate 2. 8 3. Waist Coats 4. 9/4 5. 3 6. p.r Breeches 7. Carried over 8. £821. 4. 9½	The pewter and tin wares supplied the table and kitchen vessels that an isolated household required, the pewter plates, dishes and spoons being the common eating ware of the period and the tin saucepans, porringers and dripping pan the cooking utensils. The provision of both metals shows the stores equipping the inhabitants' households from the Company's imported stock, the porringer being a small bowl for porridge or broth and the dripping pan a tray set beneath roasting meat to catch the fat. The coat and breast buttons sold by the dozen, and the mixed crape, soldiers' coats, waistcoats and breeches, show the stores furnishing both the made garments and the materials for clothing the garrison and inhabitants. The crape was a thin crimped fabric and the buttons the fastenings for coats and waistcoats, the supply reflecting the council's role in clothing the soldiers whose dress the bench managed alongside the provisions and hardware it sold.
546	538	February. Brought Over £821. 9. 9½ Iron Mongers Ware viz.t 3. Chest Locks 4. d 5. 1/6 6. -. 13. 6 7. Chest ditto 8. 10½ 9. Splinter Locks N.o 2 10. -. 2. - 11. ditto 12. 5 13. -. 2. - 14. p.r Side Hinges 15. d 16. 2/11 17. -. 8. 9 18. p.r Smooth D.o 19. 2/7 20. 4 21. Sett of Bed Screws 22. 8 23. Sockell Shovells 24. d 2/6 25. 6 26. House Adzes 27. 8 28. Rubstone 29. 9 30. Box Iron 1. 8 31. ditto 6. 0 32. ditto 33. d 3. 8 34. Heaters 35. d 10. 5. 3 36. Iron potts 37. 48. 3. 38. d 9. 0½ 39. 7 40. Iron ditto 41. 50. 42. d 6. 1. 5. 43. p.r Pott Hooks 44. 0. 2. 16. 4 45. p.r Damnifyd Bellows 46. 4 47. p.r Small Hilliards	The store account continued. Brought over: £821 9s 9½d Ironmonger's ware: 3 chest locks at 4s 6d. £0 13s 6d 1 chest lock. £0 1s 10½d 2 splinter locks, number 2. £0 2s 0d 1 of the same, number 5. £0 2s 0d 3 pairs of side hinges at 2s 11d. £0 8s 9d 4 pairs of smooth hinges at 2s 7d. £0 10s 4d 1 set of bed screws. £0 3s 8d 3 socket shovels at 2s 6d. £0 7s 6d 3 house adzes. £0 9s 8d 1 rubstone. £0 2s 9d 1 box iron. £0 4s 8d 1 of the same. £0 6s 0d 1 of the same. £0 3s 8d 6 heaters at 1d. £0 0s 6d 2 iron pots, quantity 48 [...], at 7s 0d, 9s 0d. £1 9s 7d 1 iron pot, quantity 50, at 6s 1½d. £0 [...] 1 pair of pot hooks at 2s 0d. £0 2s 0d £2 16s 1½d 1 pair of dummified bellows. £0 3s 1d 1 pair of small billiards. £0 8s 3d 1 ragstone. £0 6s 0d £7 9s 8½d Nails: 3 of number 3 at [...]. £0 9s 0d 12 of number 4 at 11d. £0 11s 0d 19 of number 6 at 9d. £0 14s 3d 6 of number 8 at 8½d. £0 1s 5d 6 of number 10 at 8d.

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		48. 3 49. Ragg Stone 50. 6 9. 8¾ Nayles. viz.t 4 3. d 0.d 9 12 4. d 11 11 19 6. d.o 9 14. 3 2 8. d.o 8½ 15 6 10. d.o 8 13 2 20. d.o 8 6. 3 2 24. d.o 8 1. 4 2. Scupper d.o 3. 10¼ 4. 6 2. 6 Stationary Ware viz.t 22. quire of Paper 23. d 16 9. 4 24. Testaments 25. 21 26. 6 27. Spelling Books 28. 20. 29. - 30. Penknife 31. 1 19. 11 Carried over £833. 1. 11¼	£0 1s 3d 9 of number 20 at 8d. £0 6s 0d 2 of number 24 at 8d. £0 1s 4d 1 scupper of number [...] at 10½d. £0 3s 6d £2 2s 6d Stationery ware: 22 quire of paper at 16d. £1 9s 4d 2 testaments at 21d. £0 3s 6d 3 spelling books at 20d. £0 5s 0d 1 penknife. £0 21d £1 19s 11d Carried over: £833 1s 11½d Interpretations The ironmonger's ware furnished the inhabitants with the tools, locks and hardware that an isolated settlement could not forge for itself, the socket shovels, house adzes and bed screws being the implements of building and husbandry. The box irons and their heaters were smoothing irons hollowed to hold a heated iron slug, the supply showing the stores providing both the working tools and the domestic implements of the island's households from the Company's imported stock. The nails graded by numbered sizes and the locks, hinges and shovels reflect the dependence of the island's building on imported metalwork, the council's stores being the source of the fastenings and fittings for houses and fences. The recurring concern with fencing that ran through the land petitions of the preceding weeks rested on the availability of such hardware, the nails and hinges supplied here being the materials the planters needed to enclose their ground. The stationery of paper, testaments and spelling books shows the stores supplying the means of writing and instruction, the testaments and spelling books serving the schooling of the island's children. The provision of paper in quires reflects the administrative needs of a settlement whose business turned on written records, the same paper on which the council's consultations and the account books that had so troubled the bench were kept.
547	539	Cloth & Silk Drap:ry Brought Over . . 833. 1 11¼ 30 3: Yards Cloth D° a° 3.6½ p: yd . 1 12 3 80 yards D° 2 - . . 4¼ - . . - 16 - - 46 yards Silk ditto 2 - 4/9 - . . 11 - 10½ Dittrans 111¼ yards 2: .1/9 - . . - 9 15 1¼ Broad Cloth viz. 7¼ Yards Bleu d° a: . 15 . . . 5 12 6 3 Yards Scarlett D° 2: . 22 . . - 3 6 . . 8 18 6 Norwich Stuffs viz: 8 Yards ditto al . 13½ . . . - 8 8 12½ Yards . . 2 . . 16¼ . . - 17 2¼ Hessings 16 yards 2: .14 - . . - 18 8 Hollands Duch. 3 yards 2:4/3 . - 12 9 Double House Linnen 4 yards . - 9 - Huchabaks ½ piece . . 2 . . - 2 12 - 4 12 5 Odging Lace 33 yards 2: 20: . 3 3 4 Saite Needles 1¼ doz 2: . 19 . . - 2 4½ Shirt Buttons 6 doz: - 3 - 3 8 8½ Glassware viz. 7 blank Window Glass 6¼ p 2: 9 4/8 - 5 3	The account carried over a previous total of £833 1s 11¼d. Cloth, silk and druggets brought over: 30¾ yards of cloth druggets at 3s 4d per yard £4 12s 3d 80 yards of the same at 2s £16 0s 0d 46½ yards of silk ditto at 4s 9d £11 0s 10½d The three preceding cloth lines together came to £36 13s 1½d. Diapers, 111¼ yards at 1s 9d £9 15s 1¼d Broad cloth: 7½ yards of blue at 15s £5 12s 6d 3 yards of scarlet ditto at 22s £3 6s 0d These two together came to £8 18s 6d. Norwich stuffs: 8 yards of ditto at 13s £8 8s 0d 12½ yards at 16½d £17 2¼d The two preceding lines together came to £1 5s 10¼d. Hessians, 16 yards at [...] £18 8s 0d

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		12 ditto 9/10. 14 – 14 . . – 19 3 Bodice 11: – 13 6 1 p: Moth eaten ½ piece . . . 6 2 . 1 – 3 Indigo 2 7 ounces 2: . 8 – 1 8 Pepper 2 – 2 – Cotton Yarn 4½ better 2: 2/6½ . . – 10 4 Ribbon viz. 28 1 Yards ditto 2: . 12 . . . – 4 – 9 Yards ditto 2: . 14 . . . – 10 6 7 Yards ditto 2: . 15 . . . – 8 9 4 Yards ditto 2: – 18 . . . – 6 – 1 9 3 Carried over . . . £897 1 5	Holland duck, 3 yards at 4s 3d £12 9s 0d Double Florence linen, 4 yards £9 0s 0d Huckabacks, 1 piece at [...] £2 12s 0d The preceding linen and huckaback lines together came to £4 12s 5d. Edging lace, 38 yards at 20d £3 4s 0d [...] Sail needles, 1½ dozen at 19d £2 4½d [...] Shirt buttons, 6 dozen £3 0s 0d These small lines together came to £3 8s 8½d. Glassware: 7 panes of window glass 6 feet 4 inches by 8 feet 2 inches £5 3s 0d 12 ditto 8 feet 10 inches [by] 14 £14 0s 0d The two glass lines together came to £19 3s 0d. Bodice, 1 pair £13 6s 0d 1 pair, moth-eaten, half price £6 9s 0d These two together came to £1 3s 0d. Indigo, 7 ounces at 8d £4 8s 0d Pepper, 2 [...] £2 0s 0d Cotton yarn, 4 [pounds] and better at 2s 6d per [pound] £10 4s 0d Ribbon: 4 yards of ditto at 12d £4 0s 0d 9 yards of ditto at 14d £10 6s 0d 7 yards of ditto at 15d £8 9s 0d 4 yards of ditto at 18d £6 0s 0d The four ribbon lines together came to £1 9s 3d. The whole account carried over to the next page at £897 1s 5d. Interpretations The invoice records goods supplied to St Helena from England, priced for charge against the island's account, the running total of £897 1s 5d at the foot showing this was one sheet of a longer reckoning continued across pages. Such invoices accompanied the Company's annual shipping and set the store prices at which the inhabitants were charged for imported manufactures. Several of the textiles named were standard Company trade cloths whose nature a modern reader would not recognise. Druggets were a coarse mixed wool or wool-and-silk cloth used for cheap outer garments. Diaper was a figured linen woven in a small repeating pattern, used for napkins and towels. Norwich stuffs were light worsted cloths from the Norwich trade, then a major English textile centre. Hessians were a coarse strong cloth of hemp or jute used for sacking and rough wear. Holland duck was a heavy plain linen canvas, valued for sailcloth and hard-wearing clothing. Huckaback was a rough-surfaced linen woven for toweling. Florence linen took its name from the Italian city and denoted a fine grade. The variety shows the island drawing its entire range of made cloth from imports, having no manufacture of its own. The moth-eaten pair of bodice charged at half price shows the Company passing damaged stock to the island store at a reduced rate rather than writing it off, the inhabitants absorbing goods that home buyers would have rejected.
548	540	February Bro: Over . . £897 1 5 Chints Patney. 1 piece . . . 1 2 – fine Chints 2 p:r 2: 20/6 . 2 1 . Neckeloath Musline 3½ D . 5 12 – . 8 15 6 Pins 7 Mill: al . 1/9 . . . – 12 3 . – 12 3 Ounce Thread viz: 38 4 oz ditto flourishing 2: 12 . . – 4 . 14 8½ ditto 2: . . . 11 . . – 12 10 6 oz ditto 2: . . . 13 . . – 6 6 26 oz ditto 2: . . . 15 . . 1 12 6 3 oz ditto 2: . . . 17 . . – 4 3	February The account carried over a previous total of £897 1s 5d. Chintz, 1 piece £4 2s 0d Fine chintz, 2 pieces at 20s 6d £2 1s 0d Neckcloth muslin, 3 pieces £5 12s 0d These three together came to £8 15s 6d. Pins, 7 thousand at 1s 9d £12 3s 0d This line came to £12 3s 0d. Ounce thread: 4 ounces of flourishing ditto at 12d £4 0s 0d 14 ounces of ditto at 11d £12 10s 0d 6 ounces of ditto at 13d £6 6s 0d 26 ounces of ditto at 15d £1 12s 6d

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		4 oz ditto 2: 24 . . – 8 – 4 oz ditto 2: 30 . . – 10 – . 3 18 1 Lumb Black 2 Barrells 8 Haberdashary Ware viz: p:r Invt Brown & Colo: Thread 24½ 2: 4½ pls 49 11 – White Brown ditto 23 N:o 2: 6: 6 18 – Ditto 18½ . 10:7: 6 6 18 9 Ditto 14½ . 11:10: . 7 5 – Ditto 23½ . 12:10: 6 12 6 9 Ditto 15½ . 13:12: . 9 6 – Ditto 18½ . 14 13: 4 12 . . 10½ 5 6 Mohair 23½ 2: al 20: 9½ 1 19 2 Pins viz: 41 M: touching 2: 21: 9 N:o 30 . . 3 11 – 34 M middling ditto 1: 6 . 31 . . 2 11 – 43 fine ditto 2: 1: 4 . 92 . . 2 7 4 . 9 – 1 Holland Tape viz: 80 p:r Broad 2: N:o 17 2: 18 . . 6 – . 77 p:r Narrow ditto 18 . 12 . . 3 7 – 86 p:r Hemming 2: 19 . 9 . . 3 4 6 13 1 6 13 p:r Diaper Tape N:o 20 2: 3/ . . 1 19 – 3 p:r ditto . . . 21 2: 3/9 . – 11 3 . 2 10 3 38 p:r Striped Filleling 2: 3/– 8 . 5 14 – 77 p:r [?]tabled & Col: Tapes 2: – 13½ . 4 6 7½ 10 – 7½ Carried over . . . £1051 5 0½	3 ounces of ditto at 17d £4 3s 0d 4 ounces of ditto at 24d £8 0s 0d 4 ounces of ditto at 30d £10 0s 0d These thread lines together came to £3 18s 1d. Lampblack, 2 barrels £8 0s 0d Haberdashery ware: Brown and coloured thread, 24½ pounds at 4s £4 9s 11d White and brown ditto, 23 pounds at 6d £6 18s 0d Ditto, 18½ pounds at 10s 7d £6 18s 9d Ditto, 14½ pounds at 11s 10d £7 5s 0d Ditto, 23½ pounds at 12s 10d £6 12s 6d [...] Ditto, 15½ pounds at 13s 12d [...] £9 6s 0d Ditto, 18 pounds at 14s 13d [...] £4 12s 0d These thread lines together came to £104 5s 6d. Mohair, 23½ pounds at 20d £1 19s 2d [...] Pins: 41 thousand, middling, at 21s 9d, number 30 £3 11s 0d 34 thousand, middling ditto, at 16s, number 31 £2 11s 0d 43 thousand, fine ditto, at 14s, number 32 £2 17s 4d These pin lines together came to £9 0s 1d. Holland tape: 80 pieces, broad, number 17, at 18d £6 0s 0d 77 pieces, narrow ditto, 18, at 12d £3 17s 0d 86 pieces, hemming ditto, 19, at 9d £3 4s 6d These tape lines together came to £13 1s 6d. 13 pieces, diaper tape, number 20, at 3s £1 19s 0d 3 pieces of ditto, 21, at 3s 9d £11s 3d These two together came to £2 10s 3d. 38 pieces, striped filleting, at 3s 1d [...] £5 14s 0d 77 pieces, white and coloured ditto, at 13s [...] £4 6s 7½d These two together came to £10 0s 7½d. The whole account carried over to the next page at £1,051 5s 0½d. Interpretations The account continues the same import invoice carried forward from the previous sheet, the foot now standing at £1,051 5s 0½d, showing the steady accumulation of charges for goods landed at St Helena from the Company's shipping. The entries are small dry-goods and haberdashery rather than bulk provisions, the kind of made articles the island could not produce and drew entirely from England. Several named goods would be unfamiliar to a modern reader. Chintz was a printed or painted calico cotton from India, prized for its fast colours and floral patterns. Neckcloth muslin was a fine cotton woven for the cloths men tied at the throat. Flourishing thread was a fine embroidery thread used for decorative needlework. Lampblack was a fine soot collected from burning oil, used as a black pigment and in ink and paint. Mohair here meant a yarn of goat hair used for buttons, braid and trimming. Holland tape was a narrow woven linen band from the Dutch trade, used for ties and edgings. Filleting was a narrow tape or binding used to finish edges and seams. Diaper tape was a figured linen tape. The bulk of the sheet is thread, tape and pins, the consumable sewing materials a small settlement needed in quantity to make and mend its own clothing. The pins are graded and numbered by size, from middling to fine and carrying stock numbers 30 to 32, showing the Company shipped a sorted range so the store could supply different uses rather than a single undifferentiated lot.
549	541	Brought over . . 1051. 5 0½ Thread Laces viz: 44½ doz N:o 15. 2: . 18 . . . 3 6 1½ 23 11/12 doz . 16 . . . 12 . . – 1 3 11 . 4 100½ Silk Laces viz:	1719 The account carried over a previous total of £1,051 5s 0½d. Thread laces: 44½ dozen, number 15 at 18d £3 6s 1½d 23 dozen, number 16 at 12d £1 3s 11d

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		6 5/12 doz 1:o N:o . 26 . . 2: 5½p:doz . 1 12 1 5 7/12 27 . 2: 7 . . 1 19 1 5 4/12 D:o 28 . 2: 10 . . 2 13 4 10 3/12 D:o 29 . 2: 15 . . 7 16 3 14 – 9 Ferritts viz: 10 p: N:o 24 . 2: . 10 5 – – 5 p: . . . 25 . 16: 6 . . . 4 2 6 8 p: . . . 26 . . . 13 5 4 – 14 6 6 2 Gross Ferreting N:o 22 2: 20½p: Gr: 2 – – 1½ doz 2: . . 35 2: 2/6p:doz 2 2 6 . 4 2 6 Black Ribbon viz: 3 1½ p: 1:o N:o 22 2: 14 . . . 2 2 – 3 1½ p: . 23 . 18 . . . 2 14 – . 4 16 – Buttons viz: 3½ doz Coole D:o 2: . . 18p:doz – 5 3 5 doz ½ Brest D:o 2: – 2 1 6 doz Manteau & Brest D:o 6 . – 3 – – 10 4 Silk 16½ Ounces al . . 2/6 4/3 – . . . 2 1 3 White Filleting 3p: 2: 3½ – 9 6 Needles 2½ . . 2: – 18p:o 2 2 – Silver Brest Buttons 1½ doz 2: 4/6 – 6 9 Silver Thread ½ ounce – 1 6 Gold Brest Buttons 12½ doz 2: 5: . 3 2 6 Gold Coote Buttons 6 doz 2: 11 . . 3 6 – Gold Thread 8 ounces . . 2: 10 – 4 – – 10 19 9 Carried over . . c . £1109 3 8	These two together came to £4 10s 0½d. Silk laces: 6 dozen, number 26 at 5s per dozen £1 12s 1d 5 dozen, number 27 £1 19s 1d 5½ dozen, number 28 at 10d £2 13s 4d 10½ dozen, number 29 at 15d £7 16s 3d These silk lace lines together came to £14 0s 9d. Ferrets: 10 pieces, number 24 at 10d £5 0s 0d 5 pieces, 25 at 16s 6d £4 2s 6d 8 pieces, 26 at 13d £5 4s 0d These ferret lines together came to £14 6s 6d. 2 gross of garters, number 22 at 20s per gross £2 0s 0d 17 dozen, 35 at [...] per dozen £2 2s 6d These two together came to £4 2s 6d. Black ribbon: 3 pieces, number 22 at 14d £2 2s 0d 3 pieces, 23 at 18d £2 14s 0d These two together came to £4 16s 0d. Buttons: 3½ dozen, coat ditto at 18d per dozen £5 3s 0d 5 dozen, breast ditto £2 1s 0d 6 dozen, manteau buttons at 6d £3 0s 0d These button lines together came to £10 4s 0d. Silk, 16½ ounces at 2s 6d per ounce £2 1s 3d White filleting, 3 pieces at 3s 1d £9s 6d Needles, 2 thousand at 18d per thousand £2 2s 0d Silver breast buttons, 1½ dozen at 4s 6d £6 9s 0d Silver thread, ½ ounce £1 6s 0d Gold breast buttons, 12½ dozen at 5s £3 2s 6d Gold coat buttons, 6 dozen at 11d £3 6s 0d Gold thread, 8 ounces at 10s £4 0s 0d These last lines together came to £10 19s 9d. The whole account carried over to the next page at £1,109 3s 8d. Interpretations The account continued the same import invoice, now standing at £1,109 3s 8d, and shifted entirely to fine trimmings and notions. The whole sheet held lace, ribbon, buttons and metallic thread, the decorative materials of clothing rather than its substance. Several named goods would have been unfamiliar to a modern reader. Ferret was a stout tape of silk or cotton used for binding and ties, the cheaper relation of ribbon. Manteau buttons took their name from the manteau, a loose woman's gown, and were larger buttons for outer garments. Filleting was a narrow woven tape used to finish edges and seams. The silver and gold breast and coat buttons, together with the silver and gold thread sold by the ounce, were genuine metallic-wound trimmings for finer dress, far costlier by weight than the plain thread and pins of the earlier sheets. Their presence shows the store carried goods for the island's wealthier households and officers as well as everyday necessities. The buttons and laces were graded and numbered by stock number, each size priced separately, showing the Company shipped a sorted assortment so the store could match a customer's exact need rather than holding a single undifferentiated grade.
550	542	February Brought Over . . . 1109 3 8 Hooks & Lines viz: Hooks 116½ doz N:o 1 . 2: 4 . . . 1 18 10 115½ D:to . . 2: 2: 5 . . 2 8 1½ 117 D:to . . 3 2: 6 . . 2 18 6 117 D:to . . 4 2: 7 . . 3 8 3 113½ D:to . . 5 2: 13 . . 6 2 11½ 72½ D:o . . 6 2: 21 . . 7 14 6 24 11 2 Lines 95 N:o 1 . . . 22 . . 8 14 2 97 . . 2 . . 18 . – 7 5 6 96 . . 3 . . 13 . – 5 4 –	February The account carried over a previous total of £1,109 3s 8d. Hooks and lines: Hooks, 116½ dozen, number 1 at 4d £1 18s 10d 115½ dozen, 2 at 5d £2 8s 1½d 117 dozen, 3 at 6d £2 18s 6d 117 dozen, 4 at 7d £3 8s 3d 131½ dozen, 5 at 13d £6 2s 11½d 72¼ dozen, 6 at 24d £7 14s 6d These hook lines together came to £24 11s 2d. Lines, 95, number 1 at 22d £8 14s 2d 97, 2 at 18d £7 5s 6d

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		97 . . 4 . . 8 . . 3 4 8 95 . . 5 . . 5½ . 2 3 6½ 98 . . 6 . . 1 5/- . 1 16 9 28 8 – Combs & Thimbles viz: 23 Ivory Combs N:o 1 2: 12 . . . 1 13 12 D:to 2 2: 14 . . – 14 – 38 D:to 3 2: 18 . . 2 17 – 37 D:o 4 . . 20 . . 3 1 8 42 2/12 D:o 5 . . 24 . . 4 4 – 9 9/12 D:o 6 . . 24 . . – 18 – 73 D:o 7 . 24 . . 1 6 – 14 3 8 Thimbles 19 3/12 doz 2: 24p:doz . . . 1 18 6 Sizers viz: 6 doz N:o . . 9 . 2: 3/- . . 0 18 – 8/12 10 . . 4 . . – 2 2 1 doz: 11 . . 5 . . – 5 – 1 9/12 12 . . 6 . . – 10 6 2 7/12 13 . . 7 . . – 18 1 1 9/12 14 . . 12 . . – 15 – 3 9 3 Carried over . . £1181 14 10½	96, 3 at 13d £5 4s 0d 97, 4 at 8d £3 4s 8d 95, 5 at 5½d £2 3s 6d [...] 98, 6 at 4½d £1 16s 9d These line entries together came to £28 8s 0d. Combs and thimbles: 23 ivory combs, number 1 at 12d £1 13s 0d 12 ditto, 2 at 14d £14s 0d 38 ditto, 3 at 18d £2 17s 0d 37 ditto, 4 at 20d £3 18s 0d 42 ditto, 5 at 24d £4 4s 0d 9 ditto, 6 at 24d £18s 0d 13 ditto, 7 at 24d £1 6s 0d These comb lines together came to £14 3s 8d. Thimbles, 19½ dozen at 24d per dozen £1 18s 6d Scissors: 6 dozen, number 9 at 3s £18s 0d 8 dozen, 10 at 4s £2 2s 0d 1 dozen, 11 at 5s £5s 0d 1½ dozen, 12 at 6s £10s 6d 2½ dozen, 13 at 7s £18s 1d 1½ dozen, 14 at 12s £15s 0d These scissors lines together came to £3 9s 3d. The whole account carried over to the next page at £1,181 14s 10½d.
551	543	Brought Over . . . 1180 14 10½ Lanthornes 4 N:o 1 2: 8 . . 1 12 – 20 D:o 2 2: 6 . 6 – – 10 D:o 3 2: 4 – 2 – – . 9 12 – Iron Mongers Ware 2 Broadayes . . . – 13 – Total to ye Inhabitants . £1191 19 10½ Union Castle D:to Store Goods from June the 25 1718 to Sept: the 25 following viz: Arrack 233¼ Gall: al 6/3 . . 73 – 11¼ Sugar 170 al – 8 p:lo 15 13 1 . 88 14 3¼ Rape oyle 12½ Gall: 2: 6 – . . 3 14 3 Sweet Oyle 9½ Gall: 2: 12/- . . 5 18 6 Linseed Oyle 6 Gall: 2: 8/- . . 2 8 – 13 10 9 Vine 1¼ Gall: Vinegar 2: 1/- . . – 19 7 Vinegar 3 Gall: . . . 2: 2/6 . – 7 6 . 1 6 6 Rice 6108 al . . . 3½ p:lo . . 89 1 6 . – 7 – Pepper 13 10 Tea 30 Tracees al 9/ 3 9 4 Soap 56 lb 1/5 – 9 – Starch 12 4 18 3½ Flour 1 Cask 9:to 357 2: 3½ . . 8 pieces Blue Baftas al 6/- . . 2 8 – 31 p: Blue Gurraes . . 13/- . . 20 3 – 9 p: Long Cloth . . 2: 20/ . . 9 – – 31 11 1 Nayles viz: 2½ Brods al . . . 20 – 4 2 3 2:o Nayles . . . 11 – 2 9 10 . . 3:o 9 – 7 6 19 . . 4:o 11 – 17 5 18 . . 6:o 2¾ – 13 6 6 6:o 3 14 9½ 107 . 10:o 5 – 16 7 15 . 20:o 8 – 4 1 15 . 30:o 7:3 . . 1 17 1½ 86 Spikes 6 – 4 – 2½ Sacks 2: . . . 20 2 9 1 11½ ½ Batten Brods 1:o 1 1 0 2¾ Small Brods . . 26 . . . Carried Over . £226 9 7½	1718/9 The account carried over a previous total of £1,181 14s 10½d. Lanterns, 4, number 1 at 8s £1 12s 0d 20 ditto, 2 at 6s £6 0s 0d 10 ditto, 3 at 4s £2 0s 0d These lantern lines together came to £9 12s 0d. Ironmonger's ware, 2 broad axes £13s 0d The whole invoice charged to the inhabitants totalled £1,191 19s 10½d. A separate account followed, the <i>Union Castle</i> debtor to store goods supplied from 25 June 1718 to 25 September following: Arrack, 233¼ gallons at 6s 3d £73 0s 11½d Sugar, 470 pounds at 8d per pound £15 13s 4d The arrack and sugar together came to £88 14s 3¼d. Rape oil, 12¾ gallons at 6s £3 14s 3d Sweet oil, 9¾ gallons at 12s £5 18s 6d Linseed oil, 6 gallons at 8s £2 8s 0d These oil lines together came to £13 10s 9d. Wine, 4¾ gallons, with vinegar at 4s £19s 0d Vinegar, 3 gallons at 2s 6d £7s 6d The wine and vinegar together came to £1 6s 6d. Rice, 6,108 pounds at 3½d per pound £89 1s 6d [...] Pepper, 7 [...] £7s 0d Tea, 30 ounces at 7d £19s 10d Soap, 56 [...] £3 9s 4d Starch, 12 [...] £9s 0d Flour, 1 cask, 357 pounds at 2½d £4 18s 3½d 8 pieces blue baftas at 6s £2 8s 0d 31½ pieces blue guerras at 13s £20 3s 0d 9 pieces long cloth at 20s £9 0s 0d These cloth lines together came to £31 11s 0d [...] Nails: 2½ thousand brads at 20d £4 2s 0d 3 thousand of 2 nails at 11d £2 9s 0d 10 thousand of 3 ditto at [...] £7 17s 5d 19 thousand of 4 ditto at [...] £13 6s 0d 18 thousand of 6 ditto at 24d £3 15s 9¼d [...] 107 thousand of 10 ditto at [...] £10 1s 0d [...] 15 thousand of 20 ditto at [...] £17s 1d [...] 30 thousand, 7 at 6d £1 7s 1¼d [...] 26 thousand tacks at [...] £4s 0d [...] 5 batten brads at [...] £9s 1s 11½d [...] 23 thousand small brads at 26 [...] [...] [...] The whole account carried over to the next page at £1,266 9s 2¼d. Interpretations

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			The page closed the inhabitants' invoice at £1,191 19s 10½d and opened a fresh account, charging the <i>Union Castle</i> for store goods supplied across the quarter of 25 June to 25 September 1718. The second account was a victualling and trade-goods bill run up by a ship calling at the island, the store selling provisions and cargo to the vessel for its onward voyage and for resale. Several named goods would have been unfamiliar to a modern reader. Arrack was a strong spirit distilled in the East, here the bulk drink supplied to the ship in quantity. Rape oil was pressed from rapeseed and used for lamps and cooking, sweet oil was olive oil, and linseed oil was pressed from flax and used in paint and for treating wood. Baftas were plain cotton cloths from India, guerras (or gurrahs) a coarser Indian cotton, and long cloth a length of fine Indian cotton, all staples of the Company's eastern textile trade rather than goods made on the island. The mix of spirits, oils, rice, flour and Indian cloth shows the store acting as a forward depot, holding eastern produce landed from inbound shipping and selling it on to outbound vessels. The rice at 6,108 pounds and the arrack at 233¼ gallons were the two largest single charges, between them most of the account's value. Their scale shows the store provisioning the ship for a long ocean passage, where bulk grain and drink were the essential stores for a crew at sea for weeks between ports. The nails ran to a long graded series, sorted by numbered size from small brads and tacks up to the heaviest, each priced separately. The range shows the store supplying a complete assortment of fastenings for shipboard repair and construction, so that work of any kind could be drawn from a single shipment.
<u>552</u>	544	Februarye Brought Over . . . 256 9 7½ Iron Mongers Ware viz: 1 Chest Lock – 1 – 1 ditto – 6 7 1 Stock Lock N:o 7 – 14 – 1 ditto – 10 – 12 Shod Shovells . . 2: 2/6 . – 1 10 – 1 Hand Saw – 6 – 1 Pruning Saw – 2 – 1 Small Bench Vice – 12 – . 4 4 6 Knives 6 al 6 pence 2: . . . – 3 – 1 Clasp Pruning 2: – 1 6 1 Pen knife – 2 1 . . 6 2½ Scale Needles 6 – 9½ Braziers Ware viz: 1 Copper Kettle 9: 19½ 2: 2/9 . 2 13 7½ 1 Tea Kettle N:o – 5 – 1 ditto – 11 3 3 19 10½ Blanketts viz: 20 ditto . . 2: 7/each . . . 7 15 – 2 ditto . . 2: 16: 3 7½ 26 . 8 17 6 Fustians viz: 3 p: N:o 1 . . 2: 30: 6 . . . 4 11 6 1 ditto . 2 . . 2: 1 10 6 5 ditto . 5 . . 2: 34: 8 10 – 8 ditto . 7 . . 28: 11 4 – 3 ditto . 9 . . 31: 6 4 14 6 30 10 6 18 Yards double House Linen 2: 2/3 . . – 2 – 6 14 Yards Holland 2: 6/6 3 18 – 14½ Yards Deley 2: 1/4 – 19 4 Glass Ware viz: 18 panes 8 p: 10 . 2: 1¼ . . . 1 1 – 12 Panes D:o 10 p: 12 . 2: 18 . 0 18 – . 1 19 0	February The account carried over a previous total of £256 9s 7½d. Ironmonger's ware: 1 chest lock £4s 0d 1 ditto £6s 7d 1 stock lock, number 7 £14s 0d 1 ditto £10s 0d 12 shod shovels at 2s 6d £1 10s 0d 1 hand saw £6s 0d 1 pruning saw £2s 0d 1 small bench vice £12s 0d These ironmonger's lines together came to £4 4s 6d. Knives, 6 at 6d each £3s 0d 1 clasp pruning ditto £1s 0d 1 penknife £2s 0d These knife lines together came to £6s 2d [...] Sail needles, 6 £9½d Brazier's ware: 1 copper kettle, 19 pounds at 2s 9d £2 13s 7½d 1 tea kettle, number 2 £5s 0d 1 ditto £11s 3d These brazier's lines together came to £3 19s 10½d [...] Blankets: 20 ditto at 7s 6d each £7 15s 0d 2 ditto at 11s 3d £1 2s 6d These blanket lines together came to £8 17s 6d. Fustians: 3 pieces, number 1 at 30s 6d £4 11s 6d 1 ditto, 2 £1 10s 6d 5 ditto, 5 at 34s £8 10s 0d 8 ditto, 7 at 28s £11 4s 0d [...] 3 ditto, 9 at 31s 6d £4 14s 6d These fustian lines together came to £30 10s 6d. 18 yards of double house linen at 2s 3d £2 0s 6d 12 yards of Holland at 6s 6d £3 18s 0d 14¼ yards of delary at 1s 4d £19s 4d Glassware: 18 panes, 8 by 10 at 14d £1 1s 0d

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		Carried over . £313 5 10½	12 panes of 10 by 12 at 18d £18s 0d These glass lines together came to £1 19s 0d. The whole account carried over to the next page at £313 5s 10½d. Interpretations The account continued the <i>Union Castle</i> store bill, now standing at £313 5s 10½d, and turned to hardware, metal goods and cloth supplied to the ship. The mix of locks, saws, kettles, blankets and bolt cloth was the general stores a vessel drew for its own use and for trade on its onward voyage. Several named goods would have been unfamiliar to a modern reader. Brazier's ware meant articles of beaten brass and copper, here kettles sold by weight of metal. Fustian was a stout cotton or cotton-and-linen cloth with a slightly napped finish, used for hard-wearing clothing and graded here in numbered qualities. Holland was a fine plain linen named for its Dutch origin. Delary appears to have been a light dress fabric. Shod shovels were wooden shovels fitted with an iron edge, the metal shoeing protecting the cutting edge against wear. The range shows the store equipping the ship with both tools and the textiles its crew and trade required. The copper kettle priced by the pound at 2s 9d shows brass and copper vessels valued as much for their metal content as their form, the weight rather than the article governing the charge, since the metal itself could be reworked or sold on.
553	545	Brought Over . . . 313 5 10½ Tin Ware viz: 1 quart Sauce pan 0 1 2 1 Drudging Box – 8 – – 1 8 8½ Doz China Cups al 5: . . – 2 2 6 24 doz Oldwife Hooks al 4: . – 8 – 3 doz Hooks N:o 5 Old Cargoe . 5 6 1 Line . . N:o 13 27 . – 16 1 Thread 1 ounce – 11 – Cotton Yarn 6 al 2/6 – 2 – – 15 – Beef 5 Puncheons al . 18: 2:o 90 – – 1 Cask Suett 6 – – 96 – 1 8 Lum Black 5 Barrells al 4: . . Hooks & Lines viz: Hooks 5 Gros N:o 1 al 4: . . 1 – – 5 G:os . 2 . . 5: 6 1 5 – 5 G:os . 3 . . 6 1 10 – 5 G:os . 4 . . 7 1 15 – 5 G:os . 5 . . 13 3 5 – 3 G:os . 6 . . 24 3 12 – 12 7 – Lines 4 doz N:o 1 2: . . 22 p: 8oz . 4 8 – 4 . . . 2 . . 18 3 12 – 4 . . . 3 . . 13 2 12 – 4 . . . 4 . . 8 2 12 – 4 . . . 5 . . 5: 6 1 2 – 4 . . . 6 . . 4: 6 18 – 14 4 – Sizers 2 p: N:o 14 – 2 – Thread 12 Brown & Col: Thread 2: 4/– . 2 8 – White Browne 3 N:o al 6– . 0 18 – D:o . . . 3 . . 10 2: . 7: 6 1 2 6 D:o . . . 3 . . 11 2: . 10: . 1 10 7 D:o . . . 3 . . 12 2: . 10: 6 1 11 6 D:o . . . 3 . . 13 2: . 12: . – 1 16 – D:o . . . 3 . . 14 2: . 13: 4 2 – – 11 6 – Brought Over . c . £451 3 9½	1718/9 The account carried over a previous total of £313 5s 10½d. Tin ware: 1 quart saucepan £2s 0d 1 dredging box £6s 0d These two together came to £1 8s 0d [...] 8½ dozen china cups at 5d £8s 0d 24 dozen old wife hooks at 4d £8s 0d 3 dozen hooks, number 5, old cargo £5s 6d 1 line, number 13 £2s 2d These lines together came to £16s 1d [...] Thread, 1 ounce £7s 11d Cotton yarn, 6 ditto at 2s 6d £15s 0d The thread and yarn together came to £2 0s 0d [...] Beef, 5 puncheons at 18s each £90 0s 0d 1 cask suet £6s 0d The beef and suet together came to £96 0s 0d [...] Lampblack, 5 barrels at 4s £1 8s 0d Hooks and lines: Hooks, 5 gross, number 1 at 4d £1 0s 0d 5 gross, 2 at 5d £1 5s 0d 5 gross, 3 at 6d £1 10s 0d 5 gross, 4 at [...] £1 15s 0d 5 gross, 5 at 13d £3 5s 0d 3 gross, 6 at 24d £3 12s 0d These hook lines together came to £12 7s 0d [...] Lines, 4 dozen, number 1 at 22d per dozen £4 8s 0d 4 dozen, 2 at 18d £3 12s 0d 4 dozen, 3 at 13d £2 12s 0d 4 dozen, 4 at [...] £1 12s 0d 4 dozen, 5 at [...] £1 2s 0d 4 dozen, 6 at 4½d £18s 0d These line entries together came to £14 4s 0d [...] Scissors, 2 pieces, number 14 £2s 0d Thread, 12 pounds, brown and coloured thread at 4s £2 8s 0d White and brown ditto, 3 pounds, number 2 at 6d £18s 0d Ditto, 3 pounds, 10 at 7d £1 2s 6d Ditto, 3 pounds, 11 at 10d £1 10s 0d Ditto, 3 pounds, 12 at 10s 6d £1 11s 6d Ditto, 3 pounds, 13 at 12d £1 16s 0d Ditto, 3 pounds, 14 at 13s 4d £2 0s 0d These thread lines together came to £11 6s 0d.

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			The whole account carried over to the next page at £451 3s 9¼d. Interpretations The account continued the <i>Union Castle</i> store bill, now standing at £451 3s 9¼d, and combined provisions with hardware and sewing goods. The beef, suet, hooks, lines and thread were the mixed stores a ship drew for victualling, fishing and the everyday mending its crew required at sea. Several named goods would have been unfamiliar to a modern reader. A dredging box was a perforated container for sprinkling flour or sugar over food. Old wife hooks were fishing hooks named for the old wife, a fish caught in island and Atlantic waters. A puncheon was a large cask, here the measure for the bulk salt beef. Suet was hard animal fat used in cooking and ship's provisions. Lampblack was a fine soot used as black pigment and in paint. The pairing of a single ounce of thread with five puncheons of beef shows how the same bill ran from trivial notions to the heavy victualling stores that made up most of its value. The beef at five puncheons charged £90 0s 0d was by far the largest item, dwarfing every other line. Salt beef in bulk casks was the staple meat ration for a long sea passage, and the store provisioned the ship with the quantity needed to feed a crew for weeks between ports. The hooks and lines again ran in numbered graded sizes, some marked as old cargo, showing the store clearing older stock alongside current supply and offering a full range of tackle so fishing of every kind could be drawn from one shipment.
554	546	Februarye Brought Over . . . 451 3 9½ 2 Glass Lanthornes to hang up 1 16 – 3 12 – Totall to Union Castle . – £454 15 9½ Plantation D:to Store Goods to ditto time. Rape oyle 1 Gall . . . 0: 6: – Train oyle 1½ Gall: 2: 6 – 1: 7: – . 1 13 – Pewter viz: 6 Pewter plates N:o 2 . 0: 11: – 12 ditto Spoons . . . 0: 4: 6 – 15 6 6 doz knives al 6: . . . 1 16 – 1 Loping axe – 3 4 Nayles viz: 6 – 4 Nayles al 11 0: 5: 6 36 . 6 9 – 1: 7: 0 25 . 10 8½ 0: 17: 8½ 20 . 20 8 0: 13: 4 5 . 24 7½ 0: 3: 1½ 16 . 30 7 0: 9: 4 6 Weight Nayles . . . 6 2/3 0: 3: 4½ 3 19 4½ . 8 7 2½ Totall to Plantation House . 8 7 2½ To the Inhabitants . . . 1191 19 10½ To Union Castle . . . 454 15 9½ To Plantation House . . . 8 7 2½ Sume Totalle . £1655 2 10½	February The account carried over a previous total of £451 3s 9½d. 2 glass lanterns to hang up £1 16s 0d 2 large hand ditto at the same rate £1 16s 0d These two together came to £3 12s 0d. The whole account charged to the <i>Union Castle</i> totalled £454 15s 9½d. A further account followed, charging Plantation House as debtor to store goods supplied to the same date: Rape oil, 1 gallon £6s 0d Train oil, 4½ gallons at 6d £7s 0d The two oils together came to £1 13s 0d. Pewter: 6 pewter plates, number 2 £11s 0d 12 ditto spoons £4s 6d These two together came to £15s 6d. 6 dozen knives at 6d £1 16s 0d 1 loping axe £3s 4d Nails: 6 thousand of 4 nails at [...] £5s 6d [...] 36 thousand of 6 at [...] £1 7s 0d [...] 25 thousand of 10 at 8½d £17s 8½d [...] 20 thousand of 20 at [...] £13s 4d [...] 5 thousand of 24 at 7½d £3s 1½d [...] 16 thousand of 30 at 7d £9s 4d [...] 6 weight nails at 6¾d £3s 4½d [...] These nail lines together came to £3 19s 4½d. The whole account charged to Plantation House came to £8 7s 2½d. The three accounts were then summed: Charged to the inhabitants £1,191 19s 10½d Charged to the <i>Union Castle</i> £454 15s 9½d Charged to Plantation House £8 7s 2½d The sum total of the three came to £1,655 2s 10½d. Interpretations The page closed the quarter's store invoice by totalling the <i>Union Castle</i> bill at £454 15s 9½d, adding a short account for Plantation House at £8 7s 2½d, and drawing the three charges together to a grand total of £1,655 2s 10½d. The three-part division shows the

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			store keeping its outgoings under separate heads, the bulk falling on the island's inhabitants, a large second charge on the calling ship, and a small residue on the governor's own residence. A few named goods would have been unfamiliar to a modern reader. Train oil was oil rendered from the blubber of whales or seals, used for lamps and for dressing leather and rope. Pewter was an alloy of tin used for everyday plates and spoons. A loping axe was a billhook or light axe used for lopping branches. The Plantation House account, small and domestic, supplied the governor's table and household with oil, tableware and tools rather than trade goods. The separate Plantation House head shows the governor's residence charged for its supplies as a distinct account rather than absorbed into the general island bill. The practice kept the governor's domestic consumption visible and accountable to the Company, the household paying its way through the store on the same terms as any other customer.
555	547	The Stewards Acc:t of Expences at the Castle from the 25 of Dec:r 1718 to the 25 of Janry following, w:ch was Examined and approved of. Yams 16800 al 2 p: hundred weight . – 16 16 – Salt Beef 260 al . . 4 p:lo – 4 6 8 Fresh Beef 180 2: 2: 3 p:lo . . . – 2 5 – Rice 110 . . . 2: . 1 p:t – 9 4 Mutton . 47 2: 2: 4 p:lo – 15 8 Butter . 30 . 2: . 12 p:lo 1 10 – Candles . 48 2: 2: 18 p:lo 3 12 – Sugar . 30 2: 2: 4 p:lo – 10 – Tea . . 12 . . 2: 6: 3 p:lo . . . 3 12 – Tamarind 40 2: – 6 p:lo 1 – – Oyle 3 Gall: 2: 4:– p: Gatt . . . – 12 – Sweet Oyle 1 Gatt 2: 8 p: Gatt . . . – 8 – Vinegar 4 Gatt 2: 2 p: Gatt . . . – 8 – Water 200 Gall: 2: – 1 p: Gatt . . . – 16 8 Goats 19 al . . 6: 8: 2:o 6 6 8 Kidds 5 . 2: . 4:– 2:o 1 – – Turkeys 6 2: . . 5:– 2:o 1 10 – Dunghill Fowles 12 2: 18– p:doz . . – 18 – Ducks 18 2: 18 p:doz . . 1 7 – Sallads 56 . . 2: . 6: 2:o 1 8 – Greens 56 Dishes . 6:– 2:o 1 8 – Pickles 28 Plates 2: 1:– 2:o 1 8 – Milk 54 Bottles 2: – 3:o 2:o . . . – 13 6 Beer & Wine 112 Bottles 2: 2:– 2:o . 11 4 – Arrack 15 Gall: 2: . 4 p: Gatt . . 3 – – Salt 1 Bushell 2: . D:o p: bush: . . – 4 – Wood for firing 2: 1 p: tow: 11000 . 5 10 – £72 18 4	1718/9 The steward's account of expenses at the Castle ran from 25 December 1718 to 25 January following, and was examined and approved. Yams, 16,800 at 2s per hundredweight £16 16s 0d Salt beef, 260 pounds at 4d per pound £4 6s 8d Fresh beef, 180 pounds at 3d per pound £2 5s 0d Rice, 110 pounds at 2d per pound £9s 2d Mutton, 47 pounds at 4d per pound £15s 8d Butter, 30 pounds at 12d per pound £1 10s 0d Candles, 48 pounds at 18d per pound £3 12s 0d Sugar, 30 pounds at 4d per pound £10s 0d Tea, 12 pounds at 6s per pound £3 12s 0d Tamarind, 40 pounds at 6d per pound £1 0s 0d Oil, 3 gallons at 4s per gallon £12s 0d Sweet oil, 1 gallon at 8s per gallon £8s 0d Vinegar, 4 gallons at 2s per gallon £8s 0d Water, 200 gallons at 1d per gallon £16s 8d Goats, 19 at 6s 8d each £6 6s 8d Kids, 5 at 4s each £1 0s 0d Turkeys, 6 at 5s each £1 10s 0d Dunghill fowls, 12 at 18s per dozen £18s 0d Ducks, 18 at 18s per dozen £1 7s 0d Salads, 56 at 6d each £1 8s 0d Greens, 56 dishes at 6d each £1 8s 0d Pickles, 28 plates at 1s each £1 8s 0d Milk, 54 bottles at 3d each £13s 6d Beer and wine, 112 bottles at 2s each £11 4s 0d Arrack, 15 gallons at 4s per gallon £3 0s 0d Salt, 1 bushel at 4s per bushel £4s 0d Wood for firing, 11,000 at 1s per dozen £5 10s 0d The whole account came to £72 18s 4d. Interpretations The account recorded the household provisioning of Plantation House across a single month, kept by the steward and audited by the council. The list shows what the governor's table actually consumed, the entries running from staple grain and meat down to salads, pickles and milk, a full domestic budget rather than a trade or store account. A few items reveal how the household drew on both island produce and imported goods. The yams at 16,800 were the bulk starch staple, grown on the island and the single largest charge on the account. The goats, kids, turkeys, fowls and ducks were live island stock bought in for the table, while the tea, sugar, tamarind and arrack were imported produce carried in by Company shipping. Tamarind was the sour pulp of an Indian tree, used to flavour food and drink. The mix shows a household fed largely on what the island raised, supplemented by eastern goods that only the governor's establishment would consume in quantity. The water at 200 gallons charged 1d per gallon is a striking entry, showing that even fresh water carried a

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			price inside the household account. The charge reflects the labour of carrying and storing water at the Castle rather than any scarcity of the water itself, the steward booking every input at a set rate so the whole cost of the table could be reckoned and approved. The wood for firing at 11,000, priced by the dozen, points to fuel as a significant household cost on an island poor in timber. The quantity needed for cooking and heating across a month made firewood one of the larger charges, reflecting the constant demand of a substantial residence.
556	548	Febrye Island St Helena. At a Consultation Held on Thursday the 19 day of February 1718/9 At Union Castle in James valley. Isaac Pyke Esq:r Gov:r Matth: Bazett 2 Philip Tovry 3 & Pres: In:o Alexander } assist:ts In: Goodwin The Last Consultation read and approved of. The following Petitions were presented. Island St Helena. To the Worth:d Isa: Pyke Esq:r Gov:r & Council. The Petition of J:n Alexander humbly Sheweth. That Whereas your Petition:r on the 27 of Jany last as by his Petition Entered in that days Consultation will more fully appear, Did Petition yo:r Worth: and Council for the Grant of 15 or 18 Acres of the Hon: Comp:s waste Land lying in Peak Gutt. But for the Govern:t reasons Mentioned in Consultation of the 10 Inst: was not thought Proper to be granted, Wherefore yo:r Petith:r hath since thought of another Piece of Land which lies very near and almost Adjoyning to his other Land – and Plantation (which without some further Addition will	February Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Thursday 19 February 1718/19 at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire, Governor Matthew Bazett, second Antipas Tovey, third John Alexander and John Goodwin, assistants The previous consultation was read and approved. The following petitions were presented. John Alexander petitioned Governor Pyke and the council. He recalled his earlier petition of 27 January last, entered in that day's consultation, in which he had asked for a grant of 15 or 18 acres of the Company's waste land in Peak Gut. The grant had not been thought proper at the consultation of 10 February instant, for the reasons the Governor gave there. He had since settled on another piece of land lying very close to his own land and plantation, almost adjoining it, which without some further addition would [...] Interpretations The petition continued the land dispute carried over from the consultation of 27 January 1719, where John Alexander first sought waste ground in Peak Gut, and from the consultation of 10 February 1719, where the council refused him. The refusal of 10 February 1719 turned on the Governor's stated objection to scattered grants that would engross the best ground, and Alexander's fresh approach shows him shifting from the contested Peak Gut parcel to land bordering his own holding, perhaps to meet that objection by seeking only a compact addition. John Alexander was the clerk of council and a long- standing officer, named guardian and executor in several island estates and a prolific signatory of public notices. His standing makes the council's earlier refusal notable, since a senior officer's land request still met the same scrutiny the Governor applied to engrossing grants on 10 February 1719.
557	549	will not be Sufficient to Produce all forts of Provisions (no' for his large family) and this Land is Situate in Sandy Bay valley under Handcocks Garden where are a few Lemon trees planted that never brings in one farthing Profit to the Hon: Comp:t the fruit being daily Pluckt off and the Trees broken & Spoil'd by all People that goes that way. And as your Petition:r is in Real want of more Land, He Humbly Prays he may for the Same reasons that were objected against him, have about 15 or 18 Acres of Said Land in Sandy Bay valley granted him w:ch he will carefully Improve not only by endeavouring to Preserve the Trees already planted But will at all Proper Seasons of the year plant severall more besides other fruit Trees w:th the Produce of which He hopes he shall in some	1718/9 The new piece would not be enough on its own to grow all the kinds of provisions his large family needed. The land lay in Sandy Bay Valley below Handcock's Garden, where a few lemon trees stood that brought the Company no profit at all, the fruit being constantly stripped off and the trees broken and damaged by everyone who passed that way. Being in real need of more land, Alexander asked that for the same reasons earlier raised against him he be granted about 15 or 18 acres of that land in Sandy Bay Valley. He undertook to improve it carefully, both by preserving the trees already planted and by planting several more in every fitting season, along with other fruit trees. From their produce he hoped in some measure to be able to supply passing ships on their homeward voyage, and to have enough for the necessary use of his large family, though only through great labour and effort. The petition was signed by John Alexander.

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		measure be able to supply Some Ships for their Homeward Bound Passage and have Sufficient (but not without great Pains & Industry) for the necessary Use of his Large family aforesaid . And as in duty bound shall may &c:/(Signed) In:o Alexander Referred to the Gov:r & Capt Bazett who will go & See this Land Petition'd for and then make Report. The Petition of In:o Nichols Jun:r Setting forth. That he being a young man & born upon the Island is very willing to remain an Inhabitant and free planter thereof and not knowing how soon he may alter his Condition	The matter was referred to Governor Pyke and Captain Bazett, who would go and view the land Alexander sought and then make their report. A further petition followed from John Nichols junior. He set out that, being a young man born on the island, he was very willing to remain an inhabitant and free planter there. Not knowing how soon he might alter his [...] Interpretations The petition completes John Alexander's request begun at the consultation of 19 February 1719, now identifying the land as a Sandy Bay Valley parcel below Handcock's Garden. Alexander's argument leaned on the trees already there yielding the Company nothing while being damaged by passers-by, recasting his private want of land as a public benefit, since a grant to him would protect the existing fruit and add to it for the refreshment of homeward shipping. The undertaking to supply ships on their homeward passage reflects the island's standing purpose as a victualling station, where fruit and fresh provisions were the chief service the settlement offered the Company's fleet. By framing his improvement around that function, Alexander tied his personal grant to the council's central concern, the same concern the Governor voiced on 10 February 1719 when urging more families for the refreshment of the shipping. John Nichols junior appears as a young island-born man seeking to establish himself as a free planter. His petition reflects the council's recurring difficulty in retaining settlers, the Governor having noted at the consultation of 10 February 1719 that the island's families had fallen about eight short, so a native-born man willing to stay and plant served exactly the need the council had identified.
558	550	Febrye condition by marriage, & being altogether Destitute of any Land without which he can Propose no way to Main-tain himself or Family (when he has any) Doth therefore Humbly pray yo:r Worth: & Coun:l to grant yo:r Petith:r about 20 Acres of the Hon: Comp: coast Land ly-ing Situate near the head of Old Womans valley & next ad-joyning to yo:r Petith:rs fathers Land, no Detriment to any Person. Febry 19 1718/9 And as in duty bound shall pray &c: (Signed) In:o Nichols Jun:r Referred to the Gov:r & Mr Goodwin. The Petition of In:o Orchard Monkross Setting forth. That Whereas he being destitute of any Land whereby to make a Plantation for the better Maintenance of himself and family. Humbly prays to have about 3 Acres of the Hon: Comp:s waste Land granted him lying in Sandy Bay valley called the Ebony Ruin. Febry 19 1718/9 And as in duty bound &c: (Signed) In:o Orchard/ Referred to the Gov:r and Capt Bazett. The Petition of Willi:m Worrall Dun:x Quinn. Humbly Shewing That the Land he now Possesses is not sufficient for the Maintainance of his Family and understanding there is Severl Petition:rs for Land to make Plantations on, He humbly begs his Long Service in the Hon: Comp:s pay may be Considered and	February John Nichols junior set out that he might soon alter his condition by marriage, and that he had no land at all, without which he could see no way to maintain himself or a family once he had one. He asked Governor Pyke and the council to grant him about 20 acres of the Company's waste land at the head of Old Woman's Valley, next to and adjoining his father's land, and not yet delivered to anyone else. The petition was dated 19 February 1718/19 and signed by John Nichols junior. The matter was referred to Governor Pyke and Mr Goodwin. A further petition followed from John Orchard Montross. He set out that he had no land on which to make a plantation for the better maintenance of himself and his family. He asked to have about 3 acres of the Company's waste land granted him, lying in Sandy Bay Valley and called the Ebony Plain. The petition was dated 19 February 1718/19 and signed by John Orchard. The matter was referred to Governor Pyke and Captain Bazett. A further petition followed from William Worrall, son-in-law of Gunn. He set out that the land he held was not enough to maintain his family. Understanding that several petitions for plantation land were before the council, he asked that his long service in the Company's pay be taken into account, and [...] Interpretations The three petitions form a cluster of land requests all answering the council's wish, voiced at the consultation of 10 February 1719, to increase the island's families for the refreshment of the shipping. The grouping shows the Governor's stated need drawing an immediate response from young and established inhabitants alike, each seeking a share of the Company's waste at the same meeting.

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			Each petitioner was referred to a different pairing of councillors for a view before any grant, John Nichols junior to Governor Pyke and Goodwin, John Orchard to Governor Pyke and Bazett. The practice shows the council requiring a physical inspection of each parcel before deciding, a safeguard against the rash letting the Governor had warned of on 10 February 1719, when he cautioned against granting scattered ground that would engross the best land. William Worrall's appeal to his long service in the Company's pay shows length of employment treated as a claim on land, the petitioner offering past service where others offered island birth or family need. The same logic had failed John Alexander, refused on 10 February 1719 despite 23 years' service, suggesting service alone carried no guarantee against the Governor's objection to engrossing grants.
559	551	and that We would please to grant him about 24 Acres of the Hon: Comp:s Waste Land lying next adjoining to his other Land now in Possession w:ch he would gladly enlarge by Plantation of Fruit Trees that will not only be Serviceable for his Family But for the refreshm:t of Shipping Submitting the Same to our Consideration. And as in duty Feby 19 1718/9 bound ever to pray &c: (Signed) W:m Worrall Referred to the Gov:r & Capt Bazett who will goe and See this Land and then Report their opinions. The Petition of Rich:t Mason Sol:r Setting forth therein That he having lately Married the Wid:o of Thom: Harper and She being Possessed with no Free Land nor none Use but what Immediately after her decease descends to her Children by her former Husband. Wherefore He humbly prays Us to grant him 15 Acres of the Hon: Comp:s Waste Land lying at Mannates Bay hued & formerly Possessed by one Hugh Bodley Dec:d. That then he might have Some greater Encouragem:t to bestow his Labour than at Present he hath tho' he hopes always to Shew himself Industrious. And as in duty bound to pray &c: Granted. (Signed) Rich:t Mason The	1718/9 William Worrall asked that the council grant him about 24 acres of the Company's waste land lying next to and adjoining his other land now in his possession. He would gladly improve it with plantation and fruit trees, which would serve not only his family but also the refreshment of shipping. He submitted the matter to the council's consideration. The petition was dated 19 February 1718/19 and signed by William Worrall. The matter was referred to Governor Pyke and Captain Bazett, who would go and view the land and then report their opinions. A further petition followed from Richard Mason, soldier. He set out that he had lately married the widow of Thomas Harper. She held no freehold land, nor anything else except what would pass on her death to the children of her former husband. He asked that the council grant him 15 acres of the Company's waste land at Manatee Bay, formerly held by Hugh Bodley deceased. With that land he might have greater encouragement to apply his labour than he had at present, and he hoped always to show himself industrious. The petition was signed by Richard Mason. The grant was approved. Interpretations Richard Mason's petition connects directly to the Harper estate thread carried through the consultations of 9 December 1718 to 27 January 1719. Mason married Mary Harper, the widow of Thomas Harper, on 8 January 1719, the marriage that triggered the appraisal of the Harper estate under the will. His petition explains his motive plainly, since the widow's land passed by the will to her first husband's children rather than to him, leaving Mason with no land of his own and a direct interest in securing waste ground he could hold outright. The grant to Mason stands in sharp contrast to the deferrals around it. Where John Alexander, John Nichols junior, John Orchard and William Worrall were all referred for a view before any decision, Mason's 15 acres at Manatee Bay were approved at once. The difference perhaps lay in the parcel itself, identified as land formerly held by Hugh Bodley and so already surveyed and bounded, where the others sought ground needing inspection before the Governor's caution of 10 February 1719 against engrossing grants could be satisfied. The land at Manatee Bay carried a known history, having formerly belonged to Hugh Bodley deceased, whose estate account had earlier come before the council. The reuse of a deceased holder's parcel shows the Company recycling reverted land back into cultivation, granting it afresh to a new settler willing to improve it rather than leaving it idle as waste.
560	552	February	February

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		The Council being asked their opinion in Answer to the Govern:rs Report relating to the Letting of the Land Mentioned in Last Consultation. Capt: Bazett Says he wonders that M:r Tow:r Should desire to Engross more Land he having Already more in his own Name than any two men on the Island & now holds 290 Acres at least, which is a great deal for this place, and he thinks tis Pitty that any of the Land now to be lett out Should be granted to those who have eno' Already./ M:r Tovey Sayes these Engrossers of Land he believes has a mind to prevent any further Settlements here, that three or four People may have the Major part of the Provisions that is raised on this Island and then they designe to raise the Price of what they sell to Shipping as they did about five years ago which will be a great Discouragement to them. To prevent which He humbly conceives there can be no better way, than to prevent their having more Land, and what is yet fitt for Settlements to Grant to the most Industrious People that have None./ M:r Alexander & M:r Goodwin being of the Same mind and the Govern:r being allso of that opinion, He is desired against next Consultation day	The council was asked its opinion in answer to the Governor's report concerning the letting of the land mentioned in the previous consultation. Captain Bazett said he was surprised that Mr Powell should want to take in more land, since he already held more in his own name than any two men on the island, now at least 290 acres, which was a great deal for the place. He thought it wrong that any of the land now to be let out should go to those who already had enough. Mr Tovey said he believed these engrossers of land meant to block any further settlement on the island, so that three or four people might hold the greater part of the provisions raised there. They would then drive up the price of what they sold to shipping, as they had done about five years earlier, which would greatly discourage the ships. To prevent this, he thought there could be no better course than to stop them taking more land, and to grant whatever was still fit for settlement to the most industrious people who had none. Mr Alexander and Mr Goodwin were of the same mind, and the Governor agreed as well. He was asked to bring the matter forward again at the next consultation [...] Interpretations The exchange develops the land-engrossing debate the Governor opened at the consultation of 10 February 1719, the council now naming Gabriel Powell as the chief engrosser at 290 acres. Bazett's objection turned engrossing from an abstract worry into a specific charge against a single large holder, and the council's unanimity shows the Governor's general caution hardening into a settled policy of refusing more land to those who already held much. Tovey's argument exposed the economic mechanism behind the council's concern. A handful of large holders controlling most of the island's provisions could combine to raise the price charged to passing ships, the very service the settlement existed to provide cheaply. His reference to a price rise about five years earlier, around 1714, shows the council acting on remembered experience, treating land distribution as the lever by which it kept provisioning competitive and the fleet supplied at a fair rate. Gabriel Powell appears here as the island's largest landholder, executor of several estates and a recurring figure in the council's land business. His 290 acres made him the natural target of a policy designed to spread land among the landless, the council willing to check even a prominent and propertied inhabitant to protect the island's central function as a victualling station.
561	553	day to draw up Something to the Same Purpose which may answer to all their Opinions and Regulate the Disposall of the Land at Swanley valley head. [...] In:o Alexander In:o Goodwin	1718/9 The Governor was asked, against the next consultation, to draw up something to the same effect, which might match all their opinions and regulate the disposal of the land at Swanley Valley head. The consultation was signed by John Alexander and John Goodwin. Interpretations The closing order completes the engrossing debate by turning the council's agreement into a concrete instruction, the Governor to draft a formal rule governing the land at Swanley Valley head before the next consultation. The move shows the council converting a shared opinion into written regulation, fixing its policy against engrossing in a form that could govern future grants rather than leaving each case to fresh argument. The naming of Swanley Valley head as the specific ground to be regulated narrows the general debate of 10 February 1719 to a particular parcel awaiting disposal. The council's wish for a drafted rule before allocating it shows a deliberate sequencing, the

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			principle to be settled first and the land let only afterwards, so that the contested parcel would be distributed under an agreed framework rather than by the ad hoc grants the Governor had warned against.
562	554	Book cover	
563	555	Document Name and Date: St Helena Records 1717–1718 Dimensions (height × width × depth) (cm): H 38 cm × W 27 cm × D 6.5 cm No. written pages: 553 No. blank pages: 0 Spine and cover: Good condition Inside pages: Good condition, foxing, slight frayed edges Additional comments: [None] Time taken to photograph (hours): 7 hours	
564	556	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1717 - 1718 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) (H) 38cm x (W) 27 x (D) 6.5cm No. written pages: 553 No. blank pages: 0 Spine and cover Good Condition Inside pages Good Condition, Foxing, slight frayed edges. Additional comments Pages 5 & 6 repeat in numbering, however there is different content on each page. Page 343 - skipped in the numbering Time taken to photograph (hours) 7 Hours page 432, numbered twice, but contains different content.	