St Helena Letters to England 1727-1737

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

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-2-7.

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

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

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

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

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

Text Loss: Many pages have frayed edges, resulting in the loss of text, in some instances quite substantial. The volume also suffers from extensive and heavy ink bleed-through from the reverse side of the pages, affecting the legibility of the writing throughout.

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

Content: Paragraph numbering in the original is sometimes irregular, with occasional jumps or repetitions on the same page, and these irregularities have been faithfully reproduced in the transcriptions.

Several pages are missing, as indicated by abrupt changes of subject and irregularities in paragraph numbering.

Worn and tattered page edges led to some text loss. Many pages suffered from bleeding of ink from the reverse side, which added to the difficulty in transcribing the pages.

Pagination: Page numbers have been pencilled in the top right-hand corner of each page. The first visible number is page 1 on Film No. 7 (7/1) and continues sequentially up to 29/23. The next alternate right-hand page, Film No. 31, is unnumbered, while Film No. 33 carries the page number 25, so the sequence falls back by two. The numbering is therefore presumed to run 29/23, 30/24, 31/25, 32/26, 33/25, 34/26 and so forth. This appears to be a simple misnumbering error. A further inconsistency occurs where two pages have both been marked as page 291, the sequence running as 298/290, 299/291, 300/292, 301/291, 302/292, 303/293 and so forth. This too appears to be a numbering mistake.

A second numbering system was not followed. This sequence appears in the bottom left-hand corner of every alternate page, increasing by one number at each step. In this system the second page is marked as 2, the fourth as 3, the sixth as 4, and so forth. Since each leaf has a recto and verso side, which under this scheme would require notation such as 1R, 1V, 2R, 2V, and so on, the system has been disregarded.

Dates: During the period covered by this volume, England and its colonies followed the Old-Style Julian calendar, under which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). The earliest date recorded in this volume is a letter sent from St Helena on 23 December 1724 and the latest is a letter sent on 16 February 1726/7 (1727 in the modern calendar).

All these letters were sent to England during the administrations of Captain John Smith (1723 to 1727), Edward Byfield (1727-1731) and Captain Isaac Pyke (1731-1739).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This consolidated account draws together the correspondence of the Governor and Council of St Helena to the East India Company's Court of Directors in London across a full decade, from March 1727 to July 1737. It spans two governorships. Edward Byfield, a long-serving councillor who had briefly held the chair after the death of Governor Johnson on 16 July 1722, succeeded the dismissed John Smith and governed from 1727 until March 1731. Isaac Pyke then returned to the office he had held years before, taking possession of the keys on 24 March 1731 and governing to the close of the record in 1737. Throughout, St Helena served the Company as a mid-ocean refreshment and refitting station, where homeward ships from India and China watered, took on provisions, and refitted before the last leg to England. [Film No. 7, 57-106, 178-179, 257-355]

These are official letters, and they must be read as advocacy rather than impartial record. They are overwhelmingly the Council's own account, written by servants building a case for their own frugality and diligence before a distant and cost-conscious employer whose money and favour they needed. The Council arranged its news under fixed headings the Court had imposed from its letter of 12 February 1724, answering paragraph by paragraph under the heads of shipping, goods and stores, servants and slaves, fortifications, and civil government, and referring back to the dated consultations where each matter first

appeared. The inhabitants' own voice survives mainly as the Council chose to report it, and the lives of the Company's slaves appear largely as questions of cost. [Film No. 7-8, 130]

Certain great themes run the length of the decade. Under Byfield the dominant note is the reform of the island accounts and the display of the new government's frugality against the swollen books of the old, shadowed by two long-running personal scandals, the perjury of the surgeon Gibson and the forgery of the ensign Slaughter, and later by a bitter quarrel with two malcontents, Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin. Under Pyke three pressures recur relentlessly and bind together: a severe want of slave labour, a long and damaging drought, and the fear of a French war that made the island's defences urgent. Beneath all of it lies the standing poverty of the island's planters and the environmental decay of its worn and deforested ground. [Film No. 57-106, 207-256, 257-355]

Governance and administration

The government rested throughout on the Governor and a small Council, the homeward letters subscribed by the Governor with the secretary John Alexander and the storekeeper John Goodwin, joined later by D. Crispe. Byfield had himself been overseer of the plantations under Smith, so his administration set the new management pointedly against the neglect the Court had found in the old. A confidential channel ran beside the open correspondence, the Governor receiving private orders from the Committee of Secrecy, the inner body of the Court that issued its most sensitive instructions, such as the signals by which Company ships and settlements recognised one another. The Council undertook to obey these strictly, a caution sharpened in the later years by the feared French war, since an enemy learning the signals could imperil the whole trade. [Film No. 58, 62, 86, 315, 342]

The overriding administrative achievement of the early years was the reform of the accounts. The Court had grown deeply unhappy with the loose bookkeeping of earlier days, and an audit by the accountant general J. Fletcher, covering the journals and ledgers of 1717 to 1719, had condemned undated entries, swollen debts and a system of transfers between accounts, a pressure the auditor Mr Mitchell continued in 1726. The Council promised to keep its books by the method set out in Captain Merrick's manual, to balance them monthly, to enter every issue of stores in consultation, and to confine credit to delivered goods, ready money or labour. It reset the accounting year from 25 March, which fell in the busy shipping season, to 25 September, and the books were thereafter balanced to that date. [Film No. 22, 14, 33]

The accession of George the Second was proclaimed at the head of the garrison in 1727, following the death of George the First, the men under arms with the usual solemnities. The settlement of the outgoing Governor Smith's account ran through many letters. The Court had ordered several sums struck out, coming to £672 5s 11d, and the Council rejected fresh accounts Smith laid before it, showing that he had fed his own hogs and poultry on the Court's grain and sold them at high prices, and had sold goats and wine before he went off. The formal machinery of the later handover was equally careful: in 1731 Byfield accounted for his cash, slaves, live stock, plate and household furniture, all checked against the Court's books, and received a discharge that cleared him of everything in his charge and protected him against later claims. [Film No. 61, 82, 178-179]

The Council pressed the Governor's frugality unremittingly, and the precise totals it advanced invite caution, since the same body that made the savings also audited them. It claimed Byfield had saved the Court upwards of £8,700 in 27 months, and later above £20,000 in four years, setting his economies in the yearly indents alone at near £1,500 against earlier inflated orders. The yearly gross charge, examined in consultation and sent home with a cash book and book of disbursements, was reported at a strikingly steady £4,437 5s 2d for the year to September 1729, £4,412 5s 7d the next year, and figures near £4,410 in the years following, a near-identical run that reads as a performance for the Court as much as a natural result. [Film No. 107, 113, 151-152, 157, 167, 195]

A revealing dispute of Byfield's later years concerned his perquisite of servants, a customary allowance letting him charge the Court for servants whose pay he took to his own use. When the malcontents cast this as a fraud, the Council defended it entirely by precedent, tracing it to the first settlement and citing Governors Smith and Johnson, yet admitting with striking candour that at Smith's departure the books had

carried 85 sentinels, 35 of them fictitious names, since reduced to 20, a saving of £163 16s 0d a year. It thus answered a charge of fraud by showing it had cut the practice sharply while defending what remained. [Film No. 150-151]

Under Pyke the reforming impulse turned toward bringing the island's property and government into settled, documented form. The Council kept a register book for bills of sale and leases and satisfied itself of a title before confirming it; Pyke had earlier compiled an epitome of the island's laws and customs so the Council could rest on a settled body of law. A striking instance was the revival of the old cattle tally in 1734, a rule for counting and marking the herds against theft, traced back through Governors Blackmore, Poirier and Roberts. The Council brought it back not for its first purpose but to check the fraudulent dealing of trustees who managed the estates of proprietors living in England or India, an old instrument bent to a new use. [Film No. 208-247, 241, 252]

Military affairs and defence

Defence pressed on the Council in 1727 because of a feared war. A French captain had brought intelligence from the Cape of an alliance against the Emperor and Spain, and fresh advice arrived that May aboard the *India galley* under Captain Richard Misener, carrying the Court's own fear of a speedy war with Spain. The Council hurried the island into a posture of defence and warned the homeward ships against the privateers of Spain and Ostend. Piracy sharpened these fears: Captain Burnham brought news of a pirate near Madagascar, the man who had helped take the famous East Indiaman *Cassandra*, armed with 26 guns stripped from the old *Hartford* and gathering a gang of about 80 men. In response the Governor sent demi-culverins to the well-placed fort at Bank's and held the garrison to strict exercise and discipline. [Film No. 28, 31, 37-38]

The most urgent early plea was for a settled scheme of signals. Without them a ship could not be known as friendly before she reached the road, and in cloudy weather the Council dared not fire on an approaching boat lest it prove honest. It cited the seizure of the Ostend ship *House of Austria*, whose boat had passed the forts under the false name of the *Sunderland*, as proof of the danger a stratagem might work at a place so conveniently placed to seize a ship, and it proposed to keep watch from the Sugar Loaf, a fixed landmark seen from the sea. The examination of every foreign ship before admission became standing practice: Byfield's Council scrutinised the passes of the French *Mars* and *Talent*, signed by the Duke of Bourbon, and stopped French officers who walked out to view the works at Rupert's and Munden's Point, since those works were much out of repair and their weakness was what the Governor did not wish seen. [Film No. 91, 158, 172, 180]

The island's defence stores were a recurring anxiety across both governorships. The gunner John French had so neglected the powder magazine, built underground beneath a water course, that a survey found 20 barrels entirely spoiled and 17 more fit only for salutes, and he had concealed 20 bad barrels from his account; the Council sought his removal but, for want of a fit man, was induced to try him once more. The slow match sent from England came mostly spoiled, so rotten in one year it was, in the Council's phrase, not worth a cowrie, the fault imputed to England rather than the sea since the casks came full on shore. The wider Company conflict with the Ostend interlopers reached the island as news, the Council hearing how a squadron of Company and Dutch ships lay at Kedgeree, near the mouth of the Hooghly, to keep the Ostenders from sailing with their laden cargo. [Film No. 47-51, 116, 125, 132, 139]

Under Pyke the fear of a French war came to dominate every question of defence as war spread across Europe. The Council reported the French carrying all before them in Italy and feared England and Holland could no longer stay neutral, pressing the works forward on that reasoning and cautioning the returning commanders not to speak with any vessel at all lest it prove an enemy. It pressed the Court hard for men, arguing that fortifications were useless without a garrison to hold them: it reckoned its guns, 170 about the castle, 14 at Munden's and four at Bank's, required some 240 men against a garrison that could not muster them, and in 1734 asked for 200 more, costed at £3,000 a year but only for the war's duration, urging that the whole charge was a trifle against the loss of a single ship. To meet an enemy where the fixed posts could not reach, it maintained three flying parties of spare men. [Film No. 251-252, 238, 247]

The fortification programme leaned increasingly on a professional engineer, Colonel Gascherie, whom the Council came to distrust deeply. Lodged and dieted at the Court's charge, he proposed a scheme of seven new forts, yet the plans he brought in were found false and erroneous and looked on as an attempt to impose on the Court, and his sharpest fault was that he would not go upon the ground, surveying the defences from half a mile off by boat. The Council judged that no defence could be made by a man who kept off the spot, nor would the labourers work under one they saw shrink from the works, and it dismissed him on legal proof of his incapacity, finding him not so much as known to Sir Charles Wager whom he claimed as his recommender, and sent him home on the *George*, heartily glad to be rid of him. [Film No. 249-255, 257-258, 270, 290]

The practical work of fortification was held back at every turn by the want of labour and materials, one work always yielding to a more pressing failure. The intended new powder magazine was repeatedly deferred as the hands were taken off to repair a powder room that had sunk underground and then to raise a guard house at Bank's for soldiers exposed to the weather. New works were raised where the terrain and the sea allowed: the natural strength of Rupert's Bay made it defensible by boats alone, and 12 nine-pounders landed from the *Duke of Cumberland* at last supplied the ordnance it had long wanted, while the inhabitants themselves built a battery for eight guns at Turk's Cap at their own charge. When a flash flood tore away a small fort at Bob's, Captain Goodwin rebuilt Bank's fort low and near the sea for point-blank shots, mortar being made there only in the rainy season for want of water, so the same rains that wrecked the old fort supplied the means to raise the new. The garrison was hard to hold as well as to arm, soldiers slipping aboard the calling ships to desert until the Council stationed a guard boat, which was met with insolence and assault. [Film No. 231, 250, 282-284, 328, 342, 292-293]

Settlement, land and agriculture

The island held about 200 families, and its agriculture turned wholly on the scarcity of watered ground, one watered acre being reckoned worth three of the rest. Its seasons follow the southern hemisphere, so the summer rains were looked for about Christmas, and a wet Christmas was the promise of a plentiful year. Byfield's Governor brought a fine stream from Maria's Spring, named for the slave woman Maria who had planted the first yams brought from Guinea, into the garden, and the Council valued its watered holdings above all others, resisting the Court's wish to sell them. The 22 acres at Cochins were the chief it had to trust in a dry season, and a new watered plantation of about three acres in Sandy Bay Valley, planted with 100,000 yams, was reported doubly valuable against the poor Fort Valley ground it replaced. [Film No. 57, 65, 88, 106]

Land was sold steadily to raise revenue and shed the charge of holding poor ground. The Council granted leases for 31 years and sold parcels outright, the plantation at the Hutts going to John Purling for £360, 31 acres at Cochins to Captain Alexander for £263, and a small watered spot called Carnes Gutts to Richard Goodwin for £25, a high price justified entirely by the water that ran with it. The yam remained the staple crop, but the Council pushed to widen its provision, raising 120,000 yams in a new Fort Valley plantation and planting 72 bushels of Irish potatoes at Long Gut, valued as more palatable and healthy than yam and useful against the scurvy for calling ships. Later, under Pyke, land purchase became a deliberate strategy: the worn plantations Prohms and Perkins were exhausted by constant cropping, and the Council bought watered ground as it fell cheaply to the market, a plantation of Poore's for £85 judged cheaper than buying six months' yams. [Film No. 32, 39, 45, 47, 221, 239, 245]

The destruction of the island's woodland was the gravest long-term problem, and the Council diagnosed it with unusual clarity. It traced the growing barrenness to the felling of trees, which stripped the ground of shelter so the great rains washed the soil away and left the bare rock, citing Bermuda, Jamaica, Mount Lebanon and Turkey as places once fruitful and since made barren the same way. Within two years above 10,000 young trees had been cut from a single spot of the Court's own land, the fellers leaving roots and branches to rot, and unless something were done, the Council warned, the island would become a desert within a generation. The old wood-planting law of former Governor Roberts, obliging every planter to set an acre of wood in 10, had failed because the people turned cattle onto the young growth for want of enclosure. [Film No. 33, 38, 52, 170, 198-199, 218-219]

Two remedies followed. The first, adopted by the inhabitants themselves at a vestry on 30 January 1730, was to destroy their goats and sheep, whose free ranging made daily havoc of the young timber; the question was carried by 41 votes to 11, and the Council was careful to record it as the people's own act, since a slaughter forced by command would have furnished a lasting grievance. The second, pressed under Pyke, was to let the barren waste ground cheaply, at rates from 12d to 3s an acre, fenced and set apart for raising wood alone, making the fence the condition of the grant, since the Council had learnt that enclosure must come before planting. It framed this as private advantage giving way to the public good, a strikingly explicit reckoning with the failure of the unowned common. [Film No. 120-121, 199-200, 218-219]

Improvement went on against every discouragement. Byfield raised the Company's country house, in the Council's phrase, from a dunghill into a neat place resembling a country seat in England, enclosed with a high wall and planted with peach, apple, mulberry, citron, lemon, orange and plum trees by the labour of the Court's slaves. He revived the native redwood from two seedlings raised over five years into a seed source for the whole island, and grafted the failing English fruit stock onto local apple and quince. The recurring attempt to establish coffee as a marketable crop ran the length of the decade, plants drawn from Bombay, Telicherry, Mascarene and Mocha, though a hundred from Telicherry died in the drought and many later seedlings were destroyed by worms. [Film No. 62, 81, 106, 114-115, 164, 260, 271]

The later years were dominated by a prolonged and severe drought, which the Council feared might bring a famine on the scale of the great cattle mortality of 1713. Two seasons together proved very bad; numbers of the inhabitants' cattle died for want of pasture, several losing more than half their stock, and the drought fell hardest on the poorer families crowded on the naturally barren eastern side, whose yam plantations failed while the Court's own watered ground stood in good condition. The dearth was compounded by disease among the cattle, which died of a swelling under the arms, and by violent rains, the water spouts that swept the valleys and carried whole plantings down to bare rock, the same freshes that broke away the crane and destroyed the wharf at Lemon Valley in the winter of 1733, the surf rolling rocks reckoned at 27 tons into the sea. The Court's herd was carried through by constant care, shifting the beasts from pasture to pasture and feeding them plantains, roots, grass and weeds, the contrast between the husbanded herd and the ruined one running through the whole account. [Film No. 236, 238, 239, 259, 347, 250, 233]

Supply and provisioning

The great provisioning reform of Byfield's time was the turn of the slave establishment from imported salt beef and pork, which had cost £1,158 7s 0d over an earlier three-year span, to fish caught in the island's own waters, taking about £1,400 worth a year of soldiers, jack, cavally, albicoes and other kinds. Fed with fish for 12 months together, the slaves were reported more healthy than in any year the Council remembered, where under salt provision the sick had been many, hearing little now of the fluxes and aching bones that had once laid up 20 or 30 at a time. The island served as a victualling station bound to supply fresh charter-party beef, which the Council drew from the Court's own herd rather than buy 50 or 70 head from the planters, and it built a proper slaughterhouse where meat had before been mangled like carrion. [Film No. 13, 33, 66, 20, 46]

The policy's success created its own problem, for the large cargo of salt provision Governor Smith had ordered now lay unsold, and the Council kept the casks full of pickle and asked leave to send the surplus, 24 casks of pork, beef and suet, to Bencoolen where it might find a market. Supply from home and the eastern presidencies was frequently defective, and the correspondence presses the point across the decade: the wine sent proved very indifferent and the small beer sour, the flour by the *Montague* so bad it was hardly fit for use, and the Council repeatedly begged for Hertfordshire flour, prized for keeping longer. Under Pyke the arrack from Bencoolen came so bad and smoky, its casks charred with green wood, that the inhabitants would not buy it and the worst was reserved for the slaves, while the pitch and tar were the worst ever sent, mostly dross, and goods long stored were devoured by moths and rats. [Film No. 134, 63, 128, 139, 262, 280]

The clothing of the Court's slaves and garrison caused an acute supply crisis in the 1730s. The island depended on coarse Indian and English cloth, but the commanders brought none of the right sort and prices rose so high that shirts fetched 7d against the 4d the store once charged; by early 1734 the slaves

were almost naked, and the Council was forced to buy long cloth, Sallampores, bunting and stamps from Captain Shipheard at a dearer rate than it wished, taking them at any price because its people could not go unclothed. It repeatedly begged the Court to direct the president at Bengal to send coarse shirts within the one per cent of tonnage reserved for the island, and blamed the want in part on the private trade in ships' goods it had long fought. [Film No. 228, 231, 234]

The hard lesson of the drought was turned into a standing policy of keeping 20 to 25 tons of rice in store as a famine reserve, a precaution the Council pressed the Court to sanction given the uncertainty of the rains. In one year of extremity the grain laid in carried both the island and three distressed Company ships that wanted almost everything, and the Council also kept a reserve of salt provisions against the ships that lost their season and arrived in the hot months when the country beef would not salt. The dependence on the calling fleet ran deep: when the *Lyne* arrived from England in 1734 she was welcome because the island had been reduced to yams, the whole subsistence of the settlement hanging on ground its own produce could not reliably carry. [Film No. 238, 276-277, 312, 242]

Economy, finance and accounting

The island had almost no circulating coin, its whole money stock reckoned at only £700, too little to circulate, so its finance rested throughout on bills of exchange drawn on the Court in London. A sum standing to a person's credit in the Company's books could not be paid out at the island, so a bill payable in London turned the entry into a claim recoverable at India House; the device also ran in reverse, a man such as Jonathan Doveton paying ready money into the Court's cash and taking a bill for the like sum, which moved his coin safely home while supplying the island the cash it perpetually lacked. Bills recur constantly, drawn to the planters Gabriel Powell and Francis Wrangham and to many others, and often specified payment half in coin and half in cash notes, a measure of how scarce specie was. The Spanish dollar was set at 5s to keep it from being carried off, and the low-value medium was silver bits, the small cut pieces of dollar, the Council's stock of which grew so strained by the cost of the works that it feared being forced to hire free labour. [Film No. 58, 64, 17-18, 299, 319, 249]

The mechanism served everyone alike and could be bent to private need: the Council sometimes extended the Court's own homeward packet to a private man's remittance because the cashless island left him no other safe way to get his money home, and a ship in want of money could raise it from the inhabitants against a bill on a body at home, as one captain did through a draft on the South Sea Company. What coin the island held served less as a circulating medium than as bullion to be shipped and accounted, remitted home by weight, as when the gold and effects of a dead Spaniard went to England entered by the ounce and pennyweight. The same shortage produced a form of private pension, the surgeon Mr Brown and, after near 34 years' service, Lieutenant Thomas Cason each having savings kept in the Court's hands at interest, an arrangement a cashless island could not otherwise provide. [Film No. 216, 230, 214, 190, 339]

Reformed bookkeeping and frugality were the administration's constant boast, the Council balancing the accounts to 30 September each year and setting the gross charge against the previous figure to show a saving, reporting £4,369 13s 4d for the year ending 1733, some £74 or £79 below the year before. Yet this frugality sat in constant tension with necessity, for the same letters that boasted economy recorded the Council paying dear for slave clothing it could not otherwise get, while the ready-money rule that guarded against store credit also left unsaleable goods lying on the island for years, some spoiled after 24 years in store. Debt recovery from the poor planters was pursued throughout with deliberate mildness, the Council holding that rigorous means would ruin planters already in low circumstances and breed disorder, and the widow Hayes was indulged longer time on account of her poverty and her many children. [Film No. 230, 234, 244, 82, 90, 263]

The depth of the settlement's poverty is measured by the rent figures. Of £467 2s 2d due in one year only £5 0s 0d was paid at once, the rest charged as book debt, and of £361 15s 0½d another year only £172 16s 6¾d came in cash; servants' rents were often discharged not in coin but by set-off against their pay in the Court's books, a closed circuit in which the money never passed at all. In 1730 the inhabitants petitioned for a reduction of rents, and the Council forwarded the appeal with its own plea, offering a candid analysis: the settlement had never been self-supporting from its own produce, its rents met only from the wages the

Court paid for hiring the planters' slaves to labour on the fortifications, so the falling off of that slave hire was the root cause of a distress that left many families starving. At length the Court continued the inhabitants' reduced rents for a further five years. [Film No. 130-131, 154, 277, 279]

The management of the accounts became the arena of a running dispute with the Court over the island's cost. The gross charge rose across the later years, reaching £5,353 2s 6d in one year, and the Council traced each increase to precise and answerable causes, chiefly the pay of recruits carried a full year against a part-year before, and the making up of the slaves' scanty clothing. When the Court blamed the Governor for extravagance, the Council answered with a documentary rebuttal, setting the five-year diet expenses of the General Table under Byfield against those under Pyke and drawing out a saving of £1,122 13s 0½d in Pyke's favour, above £224 a year on that single article, and it adopted the Court's reforms of distinguishing goods by ship in the ledgers and rendering the yearly indent in both words and figures. [Film No. 322, 340, 350]

Trade and shipping

St Helena lay on the homeward track of the eastern fleet and served as a clearing house for its news, the Council's letters opening with a running safety register that tracked each Company and foreign vessel through Bombay, Madras, the Cape, Batavia and China so the Court could judge how far its ships had come in safety. The season of 1727 was crowded, with fleets arriving in April, May and June, and named vessels across the decade include the *Grantham*, *Barrington*, *Stanhope*, *Princess of Wales*, *Cadogan*, *Heathcote*, *Harrington* and *Britannia*. The Council catalogued the growing number of Danish, French, Dutch and Ostend ships in the China trade, counting 16 European vessels at Canton in one year, and reported the perils of the passage, among them a Dutch Canton ship lost and Angria's Maratha fleet taking a country vessel with a Bombay councillor aboard. [Film No. 28, 36, 158, 174, 304, 336]

The correspondence itself moved by an elaborate system of duplication, each packet dividing its contents into duplicates of papers already sent and copies of the routine annual returns, so the whole record reached the Court twice over separate hulls, an insurance proved necessary after the *Catherine* was lost in the Straits of Sunda. The storekeeper's endorsements on the bills of lading, entered in packet after packet, gave the documentary record of short or retained cargo charged against the freight, a physical loss turned into a recoverable charge against the master or owners. The later packet manifests also carried the island's whole defensive scheme, with written instructions for the commanding officer at each post and the stations for every person on a double alarm. [Film No. 73, 78, 105, 302-303]

The Council enforced the charter party strictly, clearing calling ships within the 10 days allowed for unlading to guard the Court against demurrage, a term so brief it could not examine a cargo fully in the captain's presence, and sending each ship's charter party on to Bencoolen. Two subtler contests recur. The limit of the Council's authority over a master was exposed when Captain Rodham resolved to sail alone in a sickly ship, against a standing order that homeward ships sail in company for safety against pirates, the Council able to do no more than deliver a formal written protest and enter it in consultation. And when Captain Wilson wrote a long letter designed to fix on the record that his instructions did not warrant his stay, so his owners might later claim demurrage, the Council answered him briefly and deliberately unhelpfully, judging that reticence protected the Court's account better than candour. [Film No. 61, 84, 112-113, 119-120]

A recurring shipping concern was the want of ground tackle for the calling fleet, ships that had lain a year in India often demanding fresh cables, their old ones rotted or spoiled by tar. The Council pressed the Court to keep a reserve of cables and anchors at the island both to refit the ships and to draw the trade, and canvassed schemes to rotate unsold cables through the eastern settlements so the stock would not waste; when Captain Montgomery proposed instead a set of fixed mooring chains that ships could ride to for a fee, the Council forwarded his rival plan to the Court rather than defend its own, treating a commander's judgement as worth the Court's decision. Every foreign vessel was examined before admission, the Danish *Sleswig* suffered in only after her commission was verified and she was first brought to anchor off Bank's to prevent surprise, and a French ship feigning distress, the *Apollo*, watched lest she design upon the *Prince William*. [Film No. 223, 224, 228, 262, 321]

The persistent grievance that homeward ships watered at the Cape, to the loss of the island's planters, shaped the whole decade and drove a notable engineering effort. The commanders made the badness of the island's water a pretext for touching at the Cape, though the Council cited Captain Balchen's testimony that the Lemon Valley water was as good as any and that many watered there freely. Under Pyke the Governor found a cheap remedy, cutting a trench to carry the salt and mineral springs off into the sea so the water running to the crane became as sweet as any, answering the commanders' complaint without the charge a conveyance from Captain Troud's Spring would have laid on the Court. The Council also weighed against the Cape a friendly reciprocal understanding with Abraham Patras, the Dutch Governor General of Batavia, for the exchange of signals and mutual assistance to each other's ships. [Film No. 109, 117, 147, 217, 233, 334]

Slavery and coerced labour

Slave labour was the foundation of the establishment in a double sense: the Court's slaves laboured on every work the island attempted, and the wages paid for hiring the planters' own slaves for the fortifications were the settlement's chief support. The record treats the enslaved almost wholly as items of value and cost, and the great labour problem, pressed on the Court again and again, was the gulf between the establishment's nominal strength and its real capacity. Byfield's Council reckoned that of 178 slaves only 54 could properly be called labouring hands, the rest boys, girls, women often breeding or sickly, and 13 men superannuated and worn out, with rarely fewer than six laid up at a time. Pyke's Council made the same reckoning still more starkly: of 165 slaves in September 1735 only 67 were men and only 38 fit for labour, this bleak muster the strongest argument for more hands. [Film No. 181, 191, 245, 306, 349]

This acute want ran directly against the Court's standing order that St Helena supply slaves to the eastern settlement at Bencoolen, and the tension recurs throughout. In 1732 the Council sent 20 slaves to Bencoolen but protested that had the Court known the island's need it would have sent 10 more rather than take two away, and by 1733 it declared it could spare no more, the gardener alone demanding 30 hands; it later laid before the Court a tally of 94 sent away across four governorships to prove how the Court's own demands had stripped it of labour. It reckoned that a hundred slaves must be sent to yield 40 good hands, and asked for 70 men and 30 women, the women wanted not for labour but as wives to settle the men and breed a home-born stock that would spare the Court the charge of buying fresh hands. Unable to get enough of the Court's own slaves, it hired the planters' hands at 9d a day, drawn where it could from inhabitants in the Court's debt. [Film No. 207, 225, 252, 291, 306-307]

The change in the slaves' diet and the management of their clothing were pressed as measured reforms, the clothing time changed from Christmas to March and the children set to work as soon as they were able while the aged and worn craved more cloth against the weather. Escape was a constant anxiety, treated as leakage of property through the shipping: when the accountant John Martin Van Osten fled aboard the *Greenwich*, the Council asked the Court to order commanders to prevent such escapes and, in the same breath, to extend the caution to the slaves who often tried to get away, and a later design to run away with the longboat was broken by punishing the ringleaders and pardoning the led. The workforce was disciplined firmly, with rules to apprehend running blacks who absconded to rob the country and broke jail after capture, intending to make examples of them. [Film No. 66-67, 144, 331, 252]

The island stood within the wider currents of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean slave trade. Ships of the South Sea Company engaged in the Asiento traffic, carrying slaves from Angola to Buenos Aires, touched for water and refreshment across the decade, among them the *City of London* with 500 slaves aboard and a Portuguese slaver that had delivered 358 slaves before being refreshed and sent on. The island also passed on 400 pieces of Guineastuffs, the coarse cotton cloth used to purchase and clothe slaves on the Guinea coast, serving as a link in the traffic of trade cloth between the eastern manufacture and the Atlantic markets, and it relayed young slaves onward to the Court's settlements in India. When it pressed for fresh slaves it insisted they be sound and serviceable, reflecting long experience of poor and sickly cargoes, a demand that treated the enslaved throughout as a labour supply to be managed and accounted. [Film No. 156, 287, 213, 230]

Judiciary, crime and punishment

The island held quarter sessions and a general sessions before a jury and by the laws of England, often adjourned for want of business, and it leaned heavily on the machinery of bond and writ to enforce debts where the creditors were often absent. Byfield's chief legal matter was the dispute between the secretary John Alexander and a man named Cotgrove over a paper inserted into the sessions proceedings without the Governor's knowledge, closed when Cotgrove gave up all claim and declared his sorrow in open court. The Council also revived the orphans' court, ordering it held yearly so that orphans might be protected from the fraud of their guardians, a duty the island had long carried, most notably in the case of the late Gabriel Powell, once the wealthiest planter, who as guardian had converted to his own use the fortune left to the daughters of George Hodgkinson, a jury finding against his estate. [Film No. 16, 51, 52, 127-128]

The estate of the Spaniard Don John de Mesa, who died at Joseph Bates's house, produced the longest-running case of the later years. Bates had claimed the dead man's money and goods at £800 or £1,000; the Council argued that a man who conveyed even a hundred dollars to his servant by formal deed would have done the same for any larger gift, and later showed that Bates had given an executed bond for £246 19s 2½d to the heirs, his part-payment of £5 0s 0d itself proof the bond bound him, so his denial of the whole exposed the fraud and he was arrested on a writ. The orphaned son was at length delivered to Spanish gentlemen off the *Heathcote* to be carried to his relations in Spain. The disputed land case of Richard Beale against the heirs of Gabriel Powell ran unresolved through the whole later period, Powell refusing the arbitration the Court appointed, the Council forwarding the papers by successive ships while declining to force a judgement it had no clear authority to make. [Film No. 182, 194, 295-296, 270, 327]

Punishment was harsh and public, the whipping post and, for grave offences among the slaves, castration, which the island used in place of hanging as an effectual deterrent that preserved a working hand. In 1733 a slave tried for the rape of two young girls, the elder not eight years old, had his life spared for want of legal proof, because the child witnesses were too ignorant of religion to understand the nature of an oath, and the Council had him castrated, tracing the failure of the capital charge directly to the breakdown of religious instruction under the late chaplain. The gravest case of all concerned James Powell, son of the wealthy Gabriel Powell, who married a daughter of the councillor Captain John Alexander and during his wife's lying-in committed incest with her sister, who bore his child and swore him the father; because a sitting councillor stood at the centre and the island had no precedent, the Council referred the whole record home as the chief precedent for the future. [Film No. 227, 296-297]

The chief practical difficulty was the disposal of incorrigible men, and the transfer to Bencoolen proved an uncertain remedy. Isaac Bowers, a very lewd man who kept a disorderly house, evaded removal by threatening to buy land and become a freeholder beyond the Governor's reach, and was shipped off under an old Court order of 1687 before the title could protect him, only for Bencoolen to judge his offence too slight and send him home. John Long, returned from a first transportation on account of his large family, fell again to robbing his neighbours and was set to hard labour and locked up nightly, the Council proposing that men sent to Bencoolen be barred from moving on to other parts of India to close the loophole through which he had slipped. Joseph Bates, the chief villain of the later years, kept an unlicensed punch house that once came near a mutiny, plotted to shoot the Governor and was whipped at the public post, and was charged besides with trying to coin pagodas and with a weak scheme to betray the island to the French. [Film No. 236-237, 316, 325, 329]

Religion and education

The island's medical provision was a chronic crisis, a long run of unfit surgeons reaching through Scrimshire, Beale and others to the late surgeon Gibson, whose patients all died and whom the inhabitants refused to employ. The Council filled its medical post from the calling fleet, securing Mr Bengough Alsop from the passing *Carnarvon* at £3 a month and, on his successor's death, engaging Mr Brown from Captain Pitt's recommendation, commended for the sobriety and skill Gibson had lacked. The surgeon Mr Cripps, a competent man who treated the poor without charge, recurs in the later years against a background in which a farrier would scarcely stay but for the Court's salary, the island's people preferring an ignorant quack who worked cheap. [Film No. 58, 95, 103, 149]

Clerical discipline was a recurring trouble the length of the record. The parson White was condemned as the most undeserving chaplain the Council had ever seen, the plague and pest of society, and after his death his widow continued a drunken and dissolute life, refusing the Governor's offer of a handsome maintenance and at last taking passage for England in 1734. The Council warmly welcomed his replacement Mr Coney as a good-natured and deserving man, but Coney soon gave himself to indecent liberties, and his hopes of the Madras chaplainship were checked when Governor Pitt, passing through, saw through the man in conversation; when he left to become a regimental chaplain the Council kept a charitable silence, closing with the remark that no clergyman fell into contempt but by his own misconduct, and hoping the incoming Mr Fenwyck would behave like a gentleman, a Christian, and a clergyman. [Film No. 208, 223, 255, 287-288, 315]

The failure of religious instruction had consequences the Council felt directly in its courts, and it turned to education as a remedy. When the rape case of 1733 collapsed because the child witnesses were bred up in gross ignorance and knew nothing of the nature of an oath, the Governor proposed to set up another school for the better instruction of the island's youth in the principles of Christianity and their duty to God and their neighbour, a proposal the people welcomed. The link the Council drew between ignorance, immorality and the failure of justice shows it treating schooling not merely as piety but as a practical foundation of social order, the same order threatened by the drift of idle people into the Fort Valley that a jury presentment had lately condemned, complaining that vice, lewdness and idleness had increased among people who lived there without visible means of support. [Film No. 227, 222]

Personalities

The correspondence is unusually rich in character, most of it drawn to arm the Court against the men the Council wished to be rid of. The dominant figure of the early years is the late surgeon George Gibson, pursued with unusual venom as one of the most impudent, hardened, perjured wretches then living. Having failed as a surgeon and been denied the £30 the Court advanced him, Gibson swore an affidavit claiming the Company and inhabitants owed him over £3,000 for physic; the Council answered by assembling the sworn testimony of 25 inhabitants in the public hall, one showing Gibson had billed for physic given to a child five days after the child was dead, and on the balance of his own account he stood a debtor of £54 15s 7¾d. Beside him stands the ensign William Slaughter, recommended for the gunner's post but fallen into open adultery and riot, who in revenge conceived a monstrous forgery, threatening to swear that the Governor had spoken treason against King George, disaffection to the Hanoverian succession being the gravest charge that could attach to a garrison officer. [Film No. 89, 94-96, 99, 82-83, 100-102]

The dominant figures of Byfield's later years are the two malcontents Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin, ringleaders of a rent discontent who carried their complaints to England on the *Compton* and whom the Council pursued with a sustained character assassination drafted to reach the Court first. Johnson, ironically dubbed "Honest Joshua," was cast as an idle spendthrift who had squandered a fortune of £2,000 on punch, tobacco and cards, and Goodwin as a worthless cobbler, the Council backing its portrait with the Court's own earlier words about the litigious temper of the islanders and a private letter to its London agent Thomas Michell. Whether their grievance was wholly baseless or merely inconvenient to a Council bent on the Court's frugality is impossible to settle from so hostile a source. [Film No. 135-137, 175, 180]

The villains of the later record are the distrusted engineer Gascherie, exposed by his own reversal in hoping for £1,500 to repair Rupert's yet declaring the works needless the moment the cost was questioned, and Joseph Bates, the embezzler of the Spaniard's estate, keeper of a disorderly punch house, plotter against the Governor's life and suspected coiner, a man always in some trap or bad contrivance. Woven through the whole decade is the shadow of the fugitive accountant John Martin Van Osten, alias Gregory, who lived three years at the island, was found guilty of the wilful murder of his black boy by an inquest under Governor Smith, lay under suspicion of poisoning his first wife, and at last absconded aboard the *Greenwich* with near £100 owing and defrauding the inhabitants; that Smith dropped the murder prosecution the Council left pointedly unexplained, as known only to God and himself. [Film No. 257-258, 290, 329, 155-156]

Against these rogues the Council set the substantial and faithful men of the island. Gabriel Powell, the wealthiest planter and the Court's principal creditor, and Francis Wrangham, holder of one of the best watered plantations and formerly the writer dangerously wounded by the secretary Antipas Tovey in 1716, recur as men of standing whose credit in the Court's books was discharged by bills. The storekeeper John Goodwin and the clerk D. Crispe laboured to make up the books after Van Osten's flight and sought no reward beyond his removal, and Lieutenant Thomas Cason, after near 34 years' service, had his savings kept at interest as a private pension. Above all stand the two Governors themselves: Byfield, whose transformation of the plantations, herds and country house the Council held up as the marks of a faithful servant, and Pyke, whose administration pressed frugality, defence and reform in equal measure and who consulted the inhabitants on the island's defence rather than trust his own judgement. [Film No. 77, 96, 106, 339, 209]

Conclusion

Read as a whole, the decade from 1727 to 1737 shows St Helena as a garrison and victualling station held at great charge for the single purpose of refreshing the Company's ships, and strained throughout by pressures it could not master from its own resources. Under Byfield the dominant work was the definition of a new administration against its predecessor, through reformed accounts, the fish diet, the watered plantations, the self-raised lime and the improved country house, all pressed as proof of a faithful and economical government, while the scandals of Gibson and Slaughter and the quarrel with Johnson and Goodwin allowed the Council to demonstrate its diligence and dispose of men who threatened its reputation. Under Pyke the three great themes of labour, drought and the fear of a French war bound tightly together: the defences the war demanded could not be built for want of the slaves the drought and the drain to Bencoolen had thinned, while the same failing seasons impoverished the inhabitants on whose rents and provisions the whole settlement depended. [Film No. 74-75, 89, 305, 338]

Certain threads run the length of the record and give it unity: the chronic want of coin that made bills of exchange the only remittance, the standing Cape trade grievance that set the planters' poverty against the commanders' convenience, the elaborate duplication that carried every packet by successive hulls, and the slow environmental ruin the Council diagnosed with real clarity in the felling of trees and the washing away of the soil. The administration met its difficulties with a mixture of genuine ingenuity, in the fish-and-potato diet, the cheap Lemon Valley works finished in 83 days for £20, the rice reserve, the cattle tally and the cheap rebuilding at Bank's, and of relentless self-justification before a Court that felt the island's cost. [Film No. 113, 120, 152, 218-219, 351]

The record must be read with its purpose in mind, for it is overwhelmingly the Council's own case made to a distant paymaster, shaped to build its Governors' reputations, to defend their frugality against every charge of extravagance, and to lay the island's failures at the door of others, whether the negligent predecessors, the Court that sent useless slaves and an incapable engineer, or the handful of turbulent men who disturbed an otherwise governable people. The savings the Council boasted rested on the coerced labour of slaves whose numbers it could never spare and whose own experience the record leaves almost silent, and the inhabitants' poverty, which the Council itself vouched was real, sits uneasily beside its insistence that their complaints were the work of a factious few. Yet the correspondence is most valuable where its candour shows through, in the frank admission of the gunner's spoiled powder, the plain confession that the fortifications simply could not proceed without labour the island did not have, and the repeated pleas on behalf of a poor and distressed people whose ruin the Council could describe but not remedy, an ocean station held together by slave labour, distant supply, and rains that too often did not come. [Film No. 74, 89, 340, 350]

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena letters to England 1727–1737 Photographer Shelley Date photographed 23.02.2022 Additional comments	

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
2		Book cover	
3		Blank page	
4		Blank page	
5		Blank page	
6		Blank page	
7	1	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Genll Letter Of Grantham. 18th March 1726/7 Honble Sirs W[...] We are very appalby Surprized with the early Rec[...]t of Your Honble Genll Letter Of Comittee &ca who Safely arrived here the 26th February last, & We beg leave to take the first Oppertunity to Say Our humble Acknowledgements for Your Honrs for the kind Regard You have bin pleasd tod Shew Us in a Change So acceptable to Our Selves & all the Inhabitants of this Place As from the Experience We ever before had during the Short time Our present Governr Presided at the head of Yr Affair here We promise Our Selves we are with bare down So Sanguine in Our Hopes & Expectations as to venture to assure Your Honrs that by the Conduct & Behaviour in the Management of all Affairs comitted to his Care he will before the Continuance of Your Honble Govern of Effern Voby his Tenderness & Humanity Endear himself to all the People of this Place who are made Sensible by Your Honble Orders Instructions Cautions & Prohibitions observed in Such manner as We flatter Our Selves will give Your Honrs entire Satisfaction for yr Se Mistakes We prepared to give Your Honrs Such Notices Informations & Such Ranged under the Severall Genll Heads directed by Yr Honrs First concerning Shipping returned & Sent or Sending out by & Your Honours Wee Congratulate Yr honrs upon the Safee Arrivall of the Severall Ships that Departed hence last Season, Since when very few the 3 Ducks last the Duke & Cadogan Sailed hence for England as Pd the Purser Amelia on the 16th Febry left here the 2d of the Said Month arrived at Ship & Sailed again on the 5th She had but a Small Supply of Provision it was bought by the Inhabitants & Paid for in Cash **Margin Notes:** edward Boyfeld ff appointed Governor in the stead of Capt Jno Smith who Change very acceptable to the Chest of Guinea at the Junto of D. Bank Last Yeare Shipping Safely arrived in England	General letter by the *Grantham*, 18 March 1727. The Council opened with a warm acknowledgement of the Court's early general letters and packets, brought safely to the island on 26 February last by the *Grantham*. It took the first chance to thank the Court for the kind regard shown in a change so welcome to the whole island. The inhabitants shared that feeling, drawing on their experience of the short time the present Governor had stood at the head of affairs. The Council promised the Court every service in its power. It ventured to say that the Governor, by his conduct in the management of all business entrusted to him, would deserve the Court's continued favour during his term. His diligence and humanity had endeared him to all the people of the place. The Council undertook to observe the further orders, instructions, cautions and prohibitions set out in the Court's letters, and to give the Court entire satisfaction for past mistakes. The Council proceeded to report its news and intelligence, arranged under the Court's own general heads. 1: First, concerning shipping returned and sent out by the Court's servants. The Council congratulated the Court on the safe arrival home of the ships that departed the island last season. Two ships were then in sight on 3 December last, the *Drake* and the *Cadogan*, which sailed for England. The *Princess Amelia* came in on the 6th of February last, being the 2nd of that month, arriving as a French ship. She sailed again on the 5th. She brought a small supply of provisions bought by the inhabitants and paid for in cash. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal note beside the opening records the appointment of Edward Byfield as acting Governor in place of Governor Smith, marking a change of administration the body of the letter treats only by allusion. The reference gives Byfield as acting Governor during the Court's pleasure after the death of Governor Johnson on 16 July 1722, before John Smith took the office on 23 May 1723, so the note here signals a further turn in the succession welcomed by the island. The general heads named in the letter follow the fixed order the Court imposed on the St Helena correspondence from the Court's letter of 12 February 1724 onward: shipping returned and sent out, goods and stores, the Court's servants and slaves and accounts, fortifications and buildings, and the civil government. Answering paragraph by paragraph under those heads was the method by which the incoming administration showed the Court its business set in order. The *Princess Amelia* under Captain John Misener carried the Council's previous general letter of 16 February 1727, so her call and departure noted here close the account of the conveyance that had just gone home. The French ship whose arrival coincided with hers was the *Jason* from Pondicherry, supplied with fresh provision and sailing for France on 5 February 1727.
8	2	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] We very much begg that the Same Ships Yr Honrs have thus	3: The Council pressed its wish that the early store ship the Court sent out would come safely and bring the supply the island needed.

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		You Sent abroad will return Safe & with the desired Success Wee also wish a Quick Passage to the three Ships Early Dispatch will be attended with all the advantages Your Honrs propose We will be Sure to give due Obedience to all Orders Directions Wee shall receive from those Genll whom Your Honrs have been pleasd to appoint a Comittee of Guinea Wee Suppose the Occasion of the Cargazoons tarrying here after the Expiration of the ten Working Days was to gett dry and fitted for Sea the same Yr Honrs will not think the Blameable upon that Score for our Cashier & Warehouse Keeper indeed those ready the time but not deliverd but Some Days after as those who take Governr forgetting the number that it ought to have been Deliverd before the ten Days Elapsed to give it the Captain within the terme Limitted Since Your Honrs think Us Negligent in not Sending Your a Diary of Our Proceedings in Unloading that Ship We will take more Care for the future, & in Our Consultation of the 8t instant We have given an Acct of each Days Transaction in the Severall Particulars by You directed to attend for Ebricity Sohe We beg leave to refer Our Consultations shall be dulyly held hereafter Weekly & oftner if Business requires it & Our Proceedings in all Affairs under Our Care fully entred The Provision with which the two French Ships were furnished as Your Honrs take Notice in Yr 8s Cara were mostly Contract of the Inhabitants & Paid for in Cash & Consisted Chiefly in Fowrealls & Poultry We hope in the Subsequent Paragraphs to give Your Honrs Satisfaction in Respect to Your Animadversions about this Matter We hope We shall have no more occasion to Complain to Yguors Honrs of the Captains refusing to deliver Goods Consigned to Us & will be Sure to insist upon the Tenure of the Bill of Loading Norway Gawle being of more Service to us in the Sinking Trade than any other Sort, We humbly Pray Yr Honrs will be Pleasd to Send Us a Supple **Margin Notes:** Orders of the Genll Comittee to be followed Capt Smith Late Govr detained for lack in Salea after the Expiration of the ten Working Days Diary of Proceeding in Unloading the Ships being promised to be Sent hence for Cargazoons to be laid up if Business can any so long Send by Such Manner as foreign Ships are Employed	4: The Council also urged a quick despatch for the three ships, which would answer to every advantage the Court could wish. The Council promised to obey all the orders and directions it received from the Court, whom the Court had been pleased to appoint as a Committee of Enquiry. 6: The Council explained why the *Carnarvon* had stayed at the island longer than her ten unlading days. It could not clear her within the term for want of the room the Court's stores and China goods took up in the hold. Her time was not counted until several other ships were gone, so that though the Governor extended her beyond the ten days allowed, the Council resolved to give her captain the benefit within the limit. 7: The Court thought the Council negligent in not sending a diary of its proceedings in unlading each ship, and it would take more care in future. In its consultation of the 8th of this month it entered an account of each day's business in the several particulars the Court had directed for clearness, to which the Council referred the Court. 8: The Council resolved that its consultations would be held regularly, weekly and often, as the Court's business required. Its proceedings in all affairs were entered fully. It gave the account of the provision with which the two French ships were furnished, as the Court would see in the Governor's care. The stores were mostly bought of the inhabitants and paid for in cash, and consisted chiefly of *[...]* and poultry. 9: The Council hoped that in the paragraphs to follow it would satisfy the Court on the matters raised in the Court's remarks. 10: The Council hoped it would have no further cause to complain to the Court of captains refusing to deliver goods consigned to the island, and would take care to insist on the terms of the bill of lading. 11: The Council found the Norway yawl of more service for the fishery trade than any other kind of boat, and asked the Court to be pleased to send the island one. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page carry names and facts the body treats only in passing, and each was folded into the reading. The note beside the opening records the Court's appointment of a Committee of Enquiry whose directions the Council promised to follow. The note against paragraph 6 records that Captain Small was retained for the ten days after the proposal for a quick despatch, matching the body's account of the *Carnarvon*'s extended stay. The note against paragraph 8 records that ships could not deliver goods for foreign ships that were English, bearing on the provisioning of the two French callers. The ten unlading days named in paragraph 6 were the term the charter party allowed for clearing a calling ship at the island, enforced to guard the Court against paying demurrage. The Council had pressed the same term on earlier ships, notably against Captain William Mawson of the *Cardonnel* in the despatch of 6 July 1715, while admitting the term was often impossible in practice. The *Carnarvon* under Captain Josiah Thwaites reached the island on 5 May 1726 with the year's cargo answering the Court's general letter of 24 December 1725, and the Council had helped her to a quick despatch with its longboats. The delay explained here reflects the room the Court's own consignment and China goods took up below. The Norway yawl sought in paragraph 11 was a small open boat built in Scandinavia without ironwork, held together by wooden pegs and lashings, which lasted several years in a damp climate with good care. The Council had asked one ready-framed to be

Film No.	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Summary with Analysis
		Consult to be held Weekly Insist &ca upon the Tenure of the Bill of Loading Norway Gawle to be Sent for	set up by workmen out of the shipping in its letter by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726, preferring it for the fishery trade. The two French ships whose provisioning is noted in paragraph 8 point to the *Jason* from Pondicherry, supplied with fresh provision and sailing for France on 5 February 1727, and a further French caller of the season, the stores bought of the inhabitants for cash against the island's standing want of a circulating medium.
2	3	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] The Cackt for Bencoolen was deliverd to the Captain on the 8th instant & the Charter Party inclosd therein Secondly concerning Goods or Stores Sent from England or received from India We assure Your Honrs We will with all possible Speed Settle the Curazoo Prices on each particular Sort of Goods for the Storekeepers Guide in Retailing them We are glad to observe Your Honrs are pleasd with Ovr Running to the Inventory of Our Remaining Stores the Retail Prices this for the future shall be always inserted We beg leave to Refer Your Honrs to Our Reply in Answer to Mr Mitchells Letter for Satisfaction concerning the Difference between the Books & Inventory Wee have due Regard to the Just Remarks he has made relating to Our Acct Your Honrs Commands relating to the Selling the Remainder of India & Wrockt Goods shall be punctually observed, & not any Goods bought of the Captains till these are Disposd of, & that too to as much Advantage as possible We will give Your Honrs no more occasion to blame Us for Embezzling Goods of the Captains, We are not So it but in Case of Neglect upon such Solid Grounds as will Justify Our Conduct to Your Honrs As the View of Goods depend much upon Fancy We imagine that to be the Reason why Suppelies of one Sort were preferrd to another but if Yr Yr Honrs will have no more Cause to Complain, & Your gentle Reprehension about the Cloth bought of Capt Shephards will as a Sufficient Caution to Us to avoid the like for the future We will contrive Means if possible to Dispose of the Buttons & Rate to advantage but they are very Ordinary & Damaged however We will gett what We can & take all imaginable Care to prevent Accounts of that nature for the future, but this Place abounds so profigiously with sword **Margin Notes:** Cackt for Bencoolen deld the due time Setting Price to be Settld upon the Cargo from Curazo Retaile Price to be annexd to the Inventory Price	The Council delivered the packet for Bencoolen to the captain on the [...] of this month, together with the charter party enclosed within it. Secondly, concerning goods or stores sent from England or received from India. The Council promised to send the Court, as soon as it could, a settled list of prices for each particular sort of goods, to guide the storekeeper in retailing them. 14: The Council was glad to find the Court content with the practice of retailing. In future the retail prices would always be entered against the inventory prices, following the inventory of remaining stores. 15: The Council asked leave to refer the Court to its reply on Mr Mitchell's letter for satisfaction on the difference between the account books and the inventory, with due regard to the Court's remarks on the matter. 16: The Council answered the Court's orders on selling the commanders' goods of India and woollen manufacture. Such goods would always be offered for sale first, and none bought of the captains until these were disposed of, to the Court's best advantage. 17: The Council held that the Court had no more cause to blame it for exchanging goods with the captains. It did so only where a captain's goods stood on the same footing, and it could justify its conduct to the Court. 18: The Council observed that the sale of goods depended much on fancy. It imagined that the coarser sort of one kind would sell better than the fine, and hoped the Court would take no offence at its remarks. The scruple raised over the cloth bought of Captain Shepherd would serve as a caution to avoid the like in future. 19: The Council would find means, if it could, to dispose of the buttons and mohair to advantage. They were very ordinary and damaged, yet it would get what it could and take every care to prevent such goods in future. The island abounded so plentifully with [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the numbered paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body, so under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 12 records the delivery of the Bencoolen packet in its time; the notes at paragraphs 13 to 19 each restate the pricing, sale or disposal matter set out in the paragraph itself. The reference to woollen goods in paragraph 16 points to the standing difficulty of selling English cloth on a small subtropical island, where the woollen manufactures the Court consigned found a thin market against Indian cotton goods. The Council had reported such cloth moth-eaten and hard to sell as early as the despatch of 8 December 1714, and the scruple over Captain Shepherd's cloth here continues that concern. Mr Mitchell, named in paragraph 15, stands as the writer of a letter setting out remarks on the difference between the island's account books and its inventory of stores, the reconciliation of the two being the matter the accountant general's audit had pressed. The Council's undertaking to answer his letter ties this

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		The Difference between Books & Inventory answerd See in Answer to Mr Mitchells Letter India & Wrockt Goods to be sold as new Goods bought of the Captains to Advance sold the same repeated The Sale of Cloth Bought of Capt Shepherd Buttons & Rate to be Disposd of	paragraph to the wider bookkeeping reform under Governor Smith. The buttons and mohair of paragraph 19 were small consignments of the Court's own goods sent for retail at the island, mohair being a cloth or trimming woven from the hair of the Angora goat, valued for buttons, braid and dress trimming. The Council's report of them as ordinary and damaged reflects the poor condition in which such minor manufactures often reached the island after a long voyage.
10	4	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] & Arrack of one Sort or other that it will be difficult Such to hinder them intirely, for Some Inconveniencies have been already made which will be of Use & more wanted before, & as a further expedient to prevent it, We must Sollicit for no more than will Serve the Year about The Storekeeper is Indefatigable in his Endeavours to prevent both the Leakage of Arrack & Wastage of other Goods but tis impossible to prevent it So much as We wisd, the Difference between the Heat of this Climate & England is very great & consequently occasions Strong Liquor to Evaporate in much quicker Degree than they do in colder Countries, & as to Rice & Wheat there are no Sort of Goods So apt to Wast & Rot, & nothing will prevent it if We have more by the Man will Serve the Expence of the Current Year Wherefore We Pray Your Honrs will Send Some more Wheat from England till the Sedent Servts &c We hope by Our Diligence & Care of these Matters hereafter We shall avoid the Fault & the Embezelment with which Your Honrs threaten Us at the Peril of the Oath Ifit should at any time happen hereafter that Casks of Arrack & brought hither & found Leaky they shall as they always have been be immediately Rebord into tight Casks to prevent farther & Leakage & as a Mark of the Storekeepers Diligence, &c, to hinder Loss of this nature, very often Daily, & always Weekly examines the Warehouse to See if any Leakage Appear, & if any be found an Act shall be taken of the Quantity & this Method duely continued Since Your Honrs are Displeased with Ours Buying of Arrack of the Commanders We will do it no more without an Unavoidable Necessity, & as to the Arrack thought to be defective We assure Your Honrs We had none from India that Year, nor was there any then remaining upon Ballance at that time, this Inventory was taken We thank Your Honrs for the Arrack Rice & Sugar with which Your Honrs stated We shall be Supplyd from India & Persia Your Please to continue **Margin Notes:**	Such goods came in so many kinds that it would be hard to prevent them wholly. Some inconveniences had already arisen, worse than before, so a fuller means was needed to stop them. The Council could see no more than to try the year through. 20: The storekeeper had spared no effort to prevent all the leakage of arrack and waste of other goods, but he could not stop it as much as the Council wished. The difference between the climate of this island and that of England was very great, so strong liquor evaporated far faster than it did in colder countries. The same held for beer and wheat. No sort of goods was so apt to waste and rot. Nothing would prevent it if the Council had more of the same by the ship, saving the expense of the present year. The Council therefore asked the Court to send no more wheat from England until the island sought it. It hoped that by its diligence and care in these matters it would in future avoid the fault and the resentment the Court had shown over the state of the casks. 21: If it should happen in future that casks of arrack came in and were found leaking, they would be dealt with as they always had been. The storekeeper at once moved the arrack into tight casks to prevent further leakage and waste. As a mark of his diligence, and to prevent loss of this kind, he examined the warehouse very often, daily and always weekly, to see whether any leakage appeared. If any were found, he took account of the quantity, and this method would still be followed. 22: Since the Court disliked the Council's buying of arrack from the commanders, it would do so no more without an unavoidable necessity. As to the arrack thought to be defective, the Council assured the Court it drew none now, save what came from India, nor was there any left on the island. The inventory was then taken. 23: The Council thanked the Court for the arrack, beer and sugar with which the Court had promised the island would be supplied from India. It hoped the Court would be pleased to continue [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 20 records the storekeeper's diligence in preventing the leakage of arrack and waste of other goods; the notes at paragraphs 21 to 23 restate the arrack, buying and supply matters set out in each paragraph. The account of arrack and wheat evaporating and spoiling faster on the island rests on its mild, subtropical air, warmer than England and enough to hasten the loss of spirits and the rotting of grain in store. The Council had reported the standing want of durable provision before, and here it turns the climate itself into the ground for asking the Court to hold back further wheat.

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		The Storekeeper very diligent in preventing Leakage of Arrack & Wast of other Goods & Storekeepers farther diligence to prevent the Leakage of Arrack farther Embezelled No more Arrack to be bought of the Capt nor when defect and Us Arrack or Rice Arrack Rice & Sugar yearly sent from India	Arrack, named throughout the page, was a strong spirit distilled in the East, usually from fermented palm sap, sugar or rice, and formed the staple drink supplied to the garrison and the shipping. The Council had long channelled the whole island arrack trade through the Court's storehouse and laid a duty of twelvepence a gallon on all sellers, the pricing reform set out from the despatch of 12 November 1714 onward. Its promise here to buy no more from the commanders answers the Court's objection to that practice. The storekeeper whose diligence fills paragraphs 20 and 21 was John Goodwin, continued in that office as the only qualified man on the island under Governor Smith. His weekly checking of the warehouse for leakage reflects the tight bookkeeping the new administration pressed after the accountant general's audit condemned the looseness of the island's earlier accounts.
11	5	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] it Yearly which will be one Reason to prevent buying of the Commanders The Annuall List of Guinears Stores Remaining shall for the future be regularly Sent to Your Honrs Directed Thirdly touching Your Servants Civil & Military the Neat of St Georgs & also concerning Your Slaves, Cattle, Lands & Revenues We humbly beg leave to assure Yr Honrs We will be very exact in observing all Your orders in this Paragraph & be careful to make those Distinctions in the Military List conformable to Your Directions & duely transmit the same & other List We have made a large Progress in Turning the Great Wood but Since the beginning of the New Plantation in Charged Calling the Works there but retarded by taking these who greatly retarded by Employing Servants of the best hands below which before Worked at the Wood, but as there is no Comparison between the Grigulence of one & the other We will take of Draft of these Blacks but the New Plantation & Employ them at the Wood but the Enclosure are Compleated which for the Reason just mentiond have Sorely gone on but Slowly, Such part as is already furnished Answers beyond Expectation, one 3 of the Trees of which there are vast Quantitie, are Eleven feet high band or reach of the Cattle, & effectually Shelter the Grass from the Blasting of the Weather, We will Prosecute what yet remains to be done till the utmost Vigour & Application It very true, as Your Honrs Charged to take Notice, that large Sums are Charged to the Acct of Fortification, but this is a Mistake which happend into the Oversight of the Accompliants & shall be remedied here often Sought to have been Charged to the Acct of the New Plantation, Since that was really the Occasion of this great Expence We heartily wish the late Governr had given Your Honrs no	The Council hoped the yearly supply from India would answer, and would be a means to prevent buying arrack of the commanders. The annual list of the guns and stores remaining would in future be sent to the Court regularly, as the Court directed. Thirdly, concerning the Court's servants civil and military, the needs of St Helena, and also concerning the Court's slaves, cattle, lands and revenues. 25: The Council asked leave to obey the Court's order in this paragraph. It would take care to set out the divisions in the military list as the Court directed, and would send home the rest of the other list plainly. 26: The Council had made a large progress in fencing the Great Wood, but since the beginning of the new plantation at Chapel Valley the work had slowed. The hands were greatly reduced by employing several of the best on the fence below, who had before worked at the wood. There was no comparison between the growth of the one and the other. The Council would take off some of the slaves at the new plantation and set them at the wood. The enclosures were completed, and the young trees planted before stood tolerably good. Some parts were already fenced. Beyond comparison, one of the trees in the very considerable enclosures stood eleven feet high, above the reach of the cattle. It effectually sheltered the grass from the blasting of the weather. The Council would proceed with what quickness it could until the whole was done, with the utmost speed and application. 27: The Council owned it was true, as the Court supposed, that large sums stood charged to the account of fortifications. This was a mistake that happened in the oversight of the several parcels, and would be corrected. Some of these sums ought to have been charged to the account of the new plantation, since that was really the cause of the great expense. 28: The Council heartily wished the late Governor had given the Court no just cause for complaint over the matter of the slaves. It was always [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 26 records the good progress in fencing the Great Wood, slowed by taking the best hands off to employ them at the new plantation; the notes at paragraphs 25, 27 and 28 restate the military list, the misplaced fortification charges and the matter of the slaves set out in each paragraph. The fencing of the Great Wood, pressed here in paragraph 26, answered a standing order of the Court

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		just Cause for Censure upon Acct of this Blacks, We were along **Margin Notes:** List of Guinears Stores promised to be Yearly Sent Military List to be alterd, & of the Method formerly used Good Progress made in Turning the Wood but retarded by taking the hands from thence Employing them at the New Plantation Large Sums Charged to the Acct of Fortification which ought to be Charged to New Plantation The	more than twenty years old to enclose the island's high woodland against the hogs and cattle that destroyed the young timber. The Council had begun the work at the Stone Point near the Peak, the strongest section first, and completed the Horse Point enclosure on 15 May 1725, the young trees springing up thick once the stock was kept out. The new plantation at Chapel Valley named in paragraph 26 draws off the labour the wood needed, the same tension between fencing and planting the Council had reported through the 1725 letters. The Fort Valley plantation, enclosed above the old garden and watered from the main run, had shown that one watered acre was worth three of the rest, so the pull toward planting ground over fencing wood was strong. The misplaced charges owned in paragraph 27 reflect the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the island. The Council confined credit to delivered goods, ready money or labour after the audit condemned the looseness of the earlier books, so the admission that fortification costs belonged instead to the new plantation account marks the corrected method at work. The complaint over the slaves opening in paragraph 28 points to the charges the forger Benjamin Hawkes had spread against Governor Smith, falsely affirming that the Governor kept 50 slaves at 18d a day and sold goods out of the stores. The Council answered those charges head by head in its letters by the *Compton* of 10 January 1726 and the *Greenwich* of 26 February 1726, showing the Governor's slaves never exceeded 37.
12	6	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] also very inCapable to believe Your Honrs would insist upon the Execution of Your Orders & Cargazoon but he was of an other opinion & against Our Judgment continued them another Year, We promise for Your Honrs We will not hire any Blacks not even upon the most extraordinary Occasion if it be possible to Wast without, & then only during Some interested & Necessity We believe Your Honrs are not appprized that the Yarn allowed the Blacks is Weighted to them Raw, upon which there is a every great Wast after Boiling Beating & Cleansing them, We believe Sometimes half, beside the Yarn is not always alike good & then the Wast is So much the greater, & their allowance of Yarn less than the Inhabitants allow their Slaves, & as to their other allowance of Beefe Rice & Wheat it has been duely deliverd them without the least Fraud or Embezzlemt In Obedience to Your Direction We have Stated the Books for the four last Year, & find the Severall Particulars relating to the Blacks Clothing taken at a Medium amount to about £200 of Peer, if Your Honrs think this too much We will endeavour to Lessen it & take proper Measures to make their Cloths last the Year out & the say but We believe We shall find it difficult because being constantly employd at hard Labour in all Weathers their cloths will consequently	The Council was always unable to believe the Court would insist on strict obedience to its order by the *Carnarvon*, though it was of a very different opinion. Against its own judgement it continued the slaves another year. The Council promised the Court it drew no slaves now, not even on the most extraordinary occasion, if it could shift without them, and then only under some unavoidable necessity. The Council believed the Court did not approve of the yam allowed to the slaves being weighed to them raw, since this caused a very great waste after boiling, cooling and cleansing them. It thought that sometimes half was lost, besides that the yam was not always alike good, when the waste was so much the greater. The allowance of yam was less than the inhabitants allowed their own slaves, as was their other allowance of coarse beer and wheat. It had been truly delivered to them without the least fraud or embezzlement. 30: In obedience to the Court's direction the Council had settled the books for the four last years. It found the several particulars relating to the slaves' clothing, taken at a medium, came to about £200 a year. If the Court thought this too much, the Council would try to reduce it. Proper measures would make these clothes last the year out at the least, but the Council believed it would find this hard, since the slaves were constantly employed at hard labour in all weathers. Their clothes therefore wore out sooner than those of servants less closely confined. The Council would clothe them in future at a more proper season of the year, at a less charge than before. Having discharged all the slaves from the works, as the Court had been pleased to order, the Council could only send one to Bencoolen. There was a necessity to go on with the enclosure at the wood, for otherwise it would lose the benefit of what it had already done, and it was in no capacity to do it if it wished more. 31: The more particular the Council was in its answer to the Court's paragraph, the more it hoped it would please. It proceeded [...]. **Interpretations**

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		wear out sooner than the Cloths of Servants less Exposed, & We will because to Cloth them for the future at a proper Season of the Year shall a less Charge than formerly, We having Discharged all Blacks Save one Winck to Bencoolen, You have to a Necessity to go on with the Enclosure at the Wood, otherwise We shall lose the Benefit of what We have already done, & We shall be in no Capacity to do it if We Weaken Our Selves more The more particular We are in Our Answer to Yr Honrs 8t Paragraph the more We hope We shall Please Yr Honrs by **Margin Notes:** late Govr Smith much to blame for continuing the Black agst the Genll Orders & no more Blacks to be hird Beefe Rice Wheat & Yarn deld the Blacks as Charged in the Books deld without Committed in the four Articles Charge of Blacks Clothing amounts to about £200 Prann Only One Black Winck called & then Sent to Bencoolen	The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the complaint over continuing the slaves against the Court's order by the *Carnarvon*; the notes at the yam paragraph, paragraph 30 and the entry on Bencoolen restate the allowances, the clothing cost and the sending of one slave set out in each place. The weighing of raw yam to the slaves, criticised here, bears on the island's staple food crop, the yam having become the whole ground of the island's provision after a chance handful the slave woman Maria carried from the coast of Guinea was planted at John Powell's Lemon Garden. The Council's concern with waste after boiling reflects how far the establishment depended on that single crop, grown on watered ground and issued as the fixed ration. The clothing cost of £200 a year in paragraph 30 answered a per-head yearly scale the Council had published for the Court's near 200 slaves, kersey clothing with blankets, shirts, caps and sacking bags. The Court had earlier tried to cap a slave's whole yearly clothing and bedding at ten crowns, so the reduction pressed here continues the standing effort to hold down the charge of maintaining the slave establishment. The single slave sent to Bencoolen, noted against paragraph 30, marks the near halt of the personnel transfers that had once moved slaves and men freely to the west coast settlement. The Council explained in its letter by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726 that it could send none that year by the *Carnarvon*, the want of hands for the Great Wood enclosure keeping every slave the island could spare at the fencing.
13	7	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] by the Governrs Report relating to this Matter entred in Consultation of the 7 instant that the Quantity of Salt Provision deld the Blacks between 28th May 1723 & 24 Sepr 26 Amount to One Thousand Eight & Hundred fifty Eight Pounds Seven Mith which We think So expensive an Article that We will totally Supply it (except in Case of absolute Necessity) & Endeavour to Supply them with other Provision which may be easily done in a Country that So plentifully abounds with Fish, We also intend to Save Your Honrs all that Branch of Expence under the Article in Diet Expence which within the four abovementioned amounts to Four Hundred Forty three Pounds Eighteen Shillings & Eleven Pence, & Pray Your Honrs will not Send Us any more Salt Provision till acquainted for, what We have We will take care of & keep the Casks constantly full of Pickle the better to preserve it, till We have an Oppertunity to Dispose of it The List of Your Honrs Blacks shall be duely Sent as also List of Families Lands & Cattle Rent of Bank & Revenue annually brought up to 25th March but as the four last were lately Sent to 25 Sepr last	The Council referred to the Governor's report on the matter entered in the consultation of the 8th of this month. The quantity of salt provision used for the slaves between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726 came to £1,158 7s 0d. The Council thought this too expensive an article to supply wholly, except in case of absolute necessity. It would try to supply the slaves instead with other provision, easily raised in a country so plentifully stocked with fish. The Council meant to save the Court all that branch of expense under the head of diet expenses. This, within the two dates named, came to £448 18s 11d. It would send for no more salt provision until sent for. What it had, it would take care of, and keep the casks constantly full of table, the better to preserve it, until there was a chance to dispose of it. 32: The list of the Court's slaves would be duly sent, and also the list of families, land and cattle out of the books and revenue, sent home yearly by the ships up to 25 March. The two last were lately sent to 25 September. The Council did not send them until the 12 months were out, because of the alteration in its general reckoning. It hoped the Court, on being told this, would be very much displeased by the delay. It would say its reasons. The Council would send the Court those lists at 25 September next, and then again at 25 March, and so yearly from March to March as before. The list of slaves was forgotten last year in great hurry and confusion. The Council now sent home a very correct one, and hoped it would give the Court all the satisfaction it expected on the matter. 33: The customs for goods imported at the island had always been very inconsiderable. If the Court required an account of them to be sent to 25 March, the Council would obey the Court's orders. The five shillings allowed for alarms had been of many years

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		We sent Wait till the four Twelve Month because of the Alteration in Our Genll Reckoning, Beside the Casks upon Full their Warning would be very much Distressed for Money to Buy their Rent, & for those Reasons We will Send Your Honrs those List at 25 next, then again at March & So yearly from March to March as it was before, the List of Blacks in great Hurry & Confusion being forgot last Year We now transmit a very Correct one which We hope will give Your Honrs all the Satisfaction You expect upon this Head The Customs for Goods Imported here has been always very inconsiderable but as few Honrs require an Acct thereof to be Sent 25th March We will Obey your Commands, the five Shillings allowed for Alarme has been of many Year Standing & intended as a Small Reward to the **Margin Notes:** £700 Charged Saved the Country in the Article of Salt Beef & Pork of the Blacks Supplyd with Fish & no more Salt Provision to be Sent for Annual List Familie to be duely Sent for to Commence at March 1727/8 Black & Servt very Correct Acct of Customs to be Sent & the Question about £10 for Alarme Answered	standing, and was intended as a small reward to the [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the £700 salt-provision cost and the resolve to send for no more; the notes at paragraphs 32 and 33 restate the yearly lists, the slave list and the customs account set out in each place. The salt provision costed here was salted beef or pork shipped out to feed the slave establishment, a preserved meat the Council now judged too dear against the fish the island could take from its own waters. The turn toward fish and other local provision continues the standing effort to feed the establishment from the island's own resources and spare the Court the charge of imported food. The alteration in the general reckoning named in paragraph 32 refers to the reform of the accounting year under Governor Smith. The Court's books had been made up yearly to 25 March, which fell in the height of the shipping season, so the Council struck a broken reckoning and asked the Court to fix 25 September as the standing rule, the change approved and the books balanced to 25 September 1725 and again to 25 September 1726. The five shillings for alarms in paragraph 33 was the standing reward paid to the first lookout to bring the Governor word of a ship sighted, the alarm men running two miles from Prosperous Bay to the fort to give notice. The soldier John Sinnock had claimed five shillings a time for nineteen such alarms under that order, named in the despatch by the *St George* of 1715, so the payment noted here rests on a long-established practice of the island's watch.
14	8	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] the Captain that Come from Prosperous Bay to the Castle to give Notice of the Distance & Bearing of the Ship when first Discoverd the Storekeeper Cape it but the Gunnrs Acct rent Comptrolls the because upon Alarme Severall Expence upon the Appearance of any Number of Ships are Sent from thence who have been thought Deserving of the like Gratuity We cant inform Our Selves how the Captains procured these Bills Your Honrs mention in this Paragraph but for the future We will take the necessary Precautions to prevent the Captains from Running of Goods & Obey Your Honrs to Buy the Difference on things liable to Custom We hope no Bills were ever Procured to cover the Captains Private Trade, & if it has been We will take Care it shall not be so hereafter We are very Sensible that this Place is very Chargeable & as Your Honrs report to be Charged of a great Part of Cash, We promise to give nor but an Endeavour but We have Retrenched every Article of Expence	The reward went to the man who ran from Prosperous Bay to the castle to give notice of the distance and bearing of a ship as soon as he first saw it. The storekeeper paid it, but the gunner's account controlled the sum, since the men were paid upon alarm. Several such payments were made when any number of ships appeared, given to those judged deserving of the reward for their diligence. 34: The Council could not tell the Court how the captains procured these bills the Court mentioned in its paragraph. In future the Council would take the necessary care to prevent the captains running goods and bills, and would try to say the truth in things liable to customs. 35: The Council drew no bills now to cover the captains' private trade. Since the Court disliked this, it would take care that the practice should not be followed in future. 36: The Council was very sensible that the sale of goods was very chargeable, and, as the Court supposed, the cause of a great outlay of cash. It promised to give none, and would try until it had reduced every article of expense that could be thought the least superfluous, being very ready to stop such branches wherever they grew too extravagant. 37: The Council took notice of the several errors the Court remarked. The difference between the account books and the bills would in future be set down clearly and plainly in every case. The Council would reply to this particular in its answer to the accountant general's letter.

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		that can be thought the least Superfluous, & are Sorry to Stop Branches when they grow too Luxuriant The Severall Errors taken Notice of by Your Honrs concerning the Difference between the Books & Yours shall be Set to Rights nicely being Entred in every clear & intelligible manner, We will reply to the Particulars on Our Answer to the Auditors Letter Since the Diminet of the Cabild Debt is So acceptable to Your Honrs, We will not wast till We have received the whole, But tempering Our Proceedings with Moderation & Humanity in which Your Honrs take so much Delight From this time forward out of Shipping We will Reckon Monthly & take every one Acct in Consultation The Severall Quantities of Cask that shall hereafter be received either by the Genll Storekeeper or any other Person shall be Mentioned in Consultation together with the times when, by whom, & for what, & as **Margin Notes:** Not known how the Captains Bills but Running Goods to be prevented No Bills to be allowd to cover the Captns privah Trade This Place Chargeable but no Superfluous Expence to be retrenched Difference between the Books & Yours to be rectified hereafter The Cabild Debt to be called in Monthly Reckoning to Commence after the Departure of the Shipping	38: Since the recovery of the outstanding debt was so welcome to the Court, the Council would not rest until it had recovered the whole. It tempered its proceedings with moderation and humanity, in which the Court took so much delight. 39: From this time forward, out of shipping, the Council would balance its books monthly, and take every case in consultation. The several quantities of cask that should from now be issued, either by the Governor, the storekeeper or any other person, would be entered in the consultation, together with the times, and the reasons why, when, where and for what [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 34 restates that the Council could not tell how the captains got the bills, and that running goods would be prevented in future; the notes at paragraphs 35 to 39 restate the private trade, the superfluous expense, the errors in the books, the outstanding debt and the monthly balancing set out in each place. The captains' private trade named in paragraphs 34 and 35 was the standing leak the Council's reforms had long tried to close. Goods bought with bills on the Court were resold at the island for fresh store credit, which drove demand for more bills and drained the London account, the mechanism set out from the despatch of 6 July 1715. The Council's promise here to draw no more such bills continues that effort under the Court's pressure. The accountant general's letter named in paragraph 37 was the line-by-line audit of the island journals and ledgers of 1717 to 1719, sent by J. Fletcher, which condemned the undated entries, the swollen debts and the transfer system. Fletcher directed that credit be confined to delivered goods, ready money or labour, and that the Council write back from every account the money it had not received, so the plain entry of book and bill promised here answers that audit. The monthly balancing pledged in paragraph 39 marks the accounting reform under Governor Smith. The Council had undertaken to clear the workmen's accounts monthly rather than quarterly at the Court's wish, and to enter every issue in consultation, the tight bookkeeping tied to the recovery of the Court's debts and to the reset of the accounting year to 25 September.
15	9	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] a proper Head kept in the Books for that Purpose We humbly thank Your Honrs for the kind Supply of Wine You have been pleasd to Send Us, which We will Manage as We will every thing else that comes under the Title of Diet Expence with Such Prudent & Oeconomy as will leave Your Honrs no room to blame Us hereafter for any Excess upon this Score The Severall Sums Your Honrs have Orderd to be Abated in Mr Smiths Acct have been duely Charged & amount as & Acct transmitted in Ours Cackt to Six Hundred Seventy two Pounds five Shillings & Eleven Pence & We Wrot We have litterally observed Your Commands in this Particular, & here We may	The Council would keep a proper head in the books for that purpose. 41: The Council thanked the Court for the kind supply of wheat sent to the island. It would manage this, as it would everything else that fell under the head of diet expenses, with such prudence and economy as would leave the Court no room to blame it in future on that account. 42: The Court had ordered several sums to be struck out of Mr Smith's account. These had been truly charged, and came to £672 5s 11d. The Council had strictly obeyed the Court's orders on this point. It observed to the Court that in signing the books lately sent, balanced to 25 September 1726, it meant only to vouch that the particulars placed to the Court's credit in the several quarterly accounts were truly copied from the papers delivered. It affirmed that Mr Smith had actually provided those things for the Court. The Council left the matter to the Court's pleasure, to allow or reject the sums as the Court thought proper. 43: The Governor assured the Court that the plantation account would be continued in the same

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		properly take Notice to Your Honrs that by Our Signing the Books lately Sent & Ballanced to the 25th Sepr 1726 We only meant to vouch that the Particulars Placd to the Credit in the Sevll Quarterly Accts were truely Copyed from the Papers he deliverd & affirmd that he had actually Provided those things for Yr Honrs & So humbly Submitting it to Your Pleasure either to allow or Reject the Same as Your Honrs think proper The Governr assures Your Honrs the Plantation Accts shall be continued in the Same regular Method as they have hitherto been & We are Glad to hear Your Honrs approve of the Care in this particular Fourthly touching Our Fortifications Buildings & Garrison Stores We will annually Send Your Honrs an Inventory of Gunners Stores of all Sorts Remaining & be a Exact in Our Record and Examination as an Article of So great Moment Requires, & will Speedily Order a Survey to be taken of Powder & every thing else under the Gunners Charge, & lay the Same before Yr Honrs Fifthly touching the Civil Government of the Island the Production thereof & what **Margin Notes:** Thanks returned for Wine Sent from England Abatements made in Mr Smiths Acct Plantation Accts will to regularly continued Inventory of Gunners Stores promisd to be annually Sent	regular method as before. The Council was glad the Court approved of its care in this particular. Fourthly, concerning the fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. 44: The Council would send the Court yearly an inventory of the guns and stores of all sorts remaining, and would keep an exact account in its records. Examination of an article of such great moment required this. The Council would soon order a survey to be taken of the ordnance and everything else under the gunner's charge, and lay the same before the Court. Fifthly, concerning the civil government of the island, its produce, and what [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 41 restates the thanks for the wheat sent from England; the notes at paragraphs 42, 43 and 44 restate the abatement in Mr Smith's account, the plantation account and the inventory of guns and stores set out in each place. The sums struck from Mr Smith's account in paragraph 42 mark the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the island. The books balanced to 25 September 1726 answered the reset of the accounting year under Governor Smith, who had proposed 25 September as the standing rule to clear the reckoning of the shipping season. The Council's care to vouch only that the entries were truly copied reflects the caution of an administration set on distancing itself from the loose accounts the Court had condemned. The five heads that order this whole letter follow the fixed scheme the Court imposed from its general letter of 12 February 1724, namely shipping returned and sent out, goods and stores, the Court's servants and slaves and accounts, fortifications and buildings, and the civil government. The turn here to the fourth and fifth heads shows the Council answering the Court paragraph by paragraph under the Court's own divisions. The inventory of guns and stores promised in paragraph 44 answered a standing want of order in the island's defence stores. The Council had asked for field-carriage wheels and great gun trucks, both much wanted, in its letter by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726, so the yearly survey of everything under the gunner's charge marks the effort to bring the ordnance to account under the reformed method.
16	10	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] what concerns any of the Inhabitants We have lately Granted Leases for Severall Parcells of Land & God to Manage as formerly inserted this Provision Care shall be before Your Honrs approve himself, & We are met with a good Purchase for the all Dispose of these Plantation & Yr Honrs Intention in this Paragraph Since the Survey of which Your Honrs received a Copy & Exception We have Wanted another to be taken & as Your Honrs approve of it, this one continue it annually & if Necessity require, & will take Care that the Entering of them in Consultation shall be so more Doubted We will Order as Your Honrs direct We shall a New Isene to be	Fifthly, concerning the civil government of the island, its produce, and what concerns any of the inhabitants. 45: The Council had lately granted leases for several parcels of land for thirty-one years, and the practice was one it laid before the Court for approval. If it met with a good outcome, it would dispose of other parcels as the Court intended in this paragraph. 46: On the survey of which the Court received a copy by the *Compton*, the Council had directed another to be taken. As the Court approved, it would continue it yearly if necessity required, and would take care that the entering of each in consultation should be more exact. 47: As the Court directed, the Council had ordered a new trial concerning the dispute between Captain Alexander and Cotgrove, and tried to do justice to both parties, though in justice to Captain Alexander. It informed the Court that the Council committed Cotgrove over the matter, and he told the Council that he had acquainted the late Governor. To end it, and

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		tried concerning the Dispute between Capt Alexander & Cadgrove & Endeavour by a fair Impartial Proceeding to do Justice too both Parties but in Justice to Capt Alexander We must inform Your Honrs that We Comitted no Neglect about the matter & he tells Us that he acquainted the late Governor that he could not bring up the Consultations till Capt Alexander had deliverd his Reply to Cadgroves Declaration & Capt Smith publickly owned this to be true, So that it plainly it was not entred without his Knowledge We are of the more Enquiries was intended to Capt Alexander then good to Cadgrove & Severall Circumstances confirm Us in this Opinion & are particularly for his entering in Writing was only the Substance of what he Said in Court & other required We acquainted Your Honrs in Our first Cara how acceptable the Necessity of Mr Boyfeld to the Government is both to Our Selves & the Inhabitants & We humbly beg leave once more to Say Our Acknowledgements to Your Honrs for So agreeable a Change, & assure Your Honrs We are not Under the least Apprehension but that hereafter We shall give Your Honrs better Satisfaction in the Managemt of Yr Affairs under Our Direction than We lately did, & will no more expose Our Selves to the Effects of Your Resentment, & We **Margin Notes:** Leasing of Land to be continued Regr Survey of the Yr 26th & Leases to be continued Dispute between Capt Alexander & Cadgrove to be decided by a Jury The Court again Regarded So agreeable of Mr Boyfeld & Yr Genll	not to bring the matter into the consultations, Captain Alexander delivered his reply to Cotgrove's declaration, and Captain Smith publicly owned this to be true, so that it was plain the paper was not entered without his knowledge. A fresh enquiry was made into Captain Alexander's matter, food to Cotgrove, and several circumstances confirmed the Council in this opinion. Its particular concern was that the paper drawn up in writing was only the substance of what was said in Captain Alexander's [...]. 48: The Council told the Court in its first care that the acceptable difference of Mr Byfield to the government was welcome both to the inhabitants and the Council. It asked leave once more to say its acknowledgements to the Court for so agreeable a change. It assured the Court that it was under the least apprehension, and that in future it would give the Court better satisfaction in the management of its affairs under its direction. It would then rest, and expose itself no more to the effect of the Court's resentment. The Council [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 45 restates the leasing of land to be continued; the notes at paragraphs 46 to 48 restate the survey, the dispute between Captain Alexander and Cotgrove, and the change to Mr Byfield's government set out in each place. The thirty-one year leases granted in paragraph 45 mark the Council's effort to draw revenue from the island's waste and poorer ground while shedding the charge of holding it. The administration under Governor Smith had let out waste land and sold poor parcels, such as two acres of the Hutts plantation to John Purling, to raise revenue against a people left poor by the long drought. The fixed term offered the planter security enough to occupy and improve the ground. The dispute in paragraph 47 turned on a paper Cotgrove drew up, with Captain Alexander's answer to it, inserted in the proceedings of the general sessions of 14 April 1726 without the Governor's knowledge. The matter had been sent home for the Court's judgement in the letter by the *Wyndham* of 21 June 1726, the Governor objecting that the paper was drawn up with artifice and never read in court nor approved in consultation. Captain Alexander here stands as the council secretary John Alexander, whose answer the Governor had faulted. The change of government welcomed in paragraph 48 was the succession of Edward Byfield, marked in the opening note of this whole letter. The reference records Byfield as a long-serving councillor who had acted as Governor during the Court's pleasure after the death of Governor Johnson on 16 July 1722, before John Smith took the office on 23 May 1723, so his return to the head of affairs is the acceptable change the Council presses its thanks for throughout the despatch.
17	11	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] We will Endeavour to deserve those Marks of Favour Your Honrs have lately been pleasd to Shew Us by taking particular Care to Send from time to time & at all time hereafter with the Annuall List, to Reduce the severall Charge of the Island into Moderate bounds, to Audit Monthly	The Council would try to deserve the marks of favour the Court had lately been pleased to show. It would take particular care to send home the annual list from time to time. It meant to reduce the general charge of the island to moderate bounds, to audit the plantation account monthly, and to manage the whole with regularity. No monthly account would be duly brought in and examined until every entry was checked in consultation. All the standing orders would be duly kept and often carefully reviewed. The Court's slaves would be employed at its works and no more

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		the Plantation Acct & So the whole be frequently Managed, No Monthly Acct shall be duely brought in & Examined & if Reject Entred in Consultation all Your Standing Orders shall be duely Regarded & often carefully Perused No More Blacks Employed about Your Works & no more hired, & the Inhabitants Governd with Justice & Lenity as far as is consistent with the Genll Good of the whole & We promise Your Honrs shall hear of no more Instances of Violence & Cruelty We believe Our Practice to Charge Cash & Cash Notes under One Generall Head may in part occasion Your Honrs Remark in this Place besides the Note We have at times received Severall Parcells of Money in Specie after the rate 5 & 8 amounting to a large Sum & We believe the greatest part of the Remainder of those Severall Sum taken Notice of by Your Honrs are in Cash Mr Smiths Acct we both compleated as Your Honrs have directed which We Send in Our Packet so that We will not detain Your Honrs with any thing farther relating to him in Your 50th Paragraph Your Honrs Directions relating to Mr Smiths Black or those Blacks Dispatched but our more particularly in his Acct but We most humbly Pray Yr Honrs will have the Goodness to consider the Severall Article where We are & Yr Honrs will not think, before to Suffer in the like Degree, for as Your Honrs Line of Cinnamon You only mention the Black belonging to the late Gardener, & when Your Commands were So particularly enjoyd to him, & are not blameable of We were willing to believe they were not intended to Reflect Us, & hope Your Honrs will be pleasd to alter this ir perfect Acct for the time past, Since We assure Your Honrs nothing of this **Margin Notes:** No Acct to be remaind here of no Acct promised to be annually Sent & no more Blacks hird Acct of Remainder of Cash in Specie Mr Smiths Acct both Compleated & Sent the Country The Copy of Mr Smiths Blacks Dispatched but respecting the Copy of Our own recommend to the further continuation of the Court	hired. The inhabitants would be governed with justice and lenity, as far as this agreed with the general good of the whole. The Council promised the Court it drew no more provision of victuals to any [...]. 49: The Council believed its practice of charging cash and cash notes under one general head might in part be the cause of the Court's remark on this matter. Besides the note, it had at times received several parcels of money in specie, over and above the note. This came to a large sum. The Council believed the greatest part of the remainder of these several sums was taken account of by the Court, over in cash. 50: Mr Smith's account was both completed and settled, as the Court had directed, which the Council enclosed in its packet. It would therefore not detain the Court with anything further relating to him in the Court's 50th paragraph. 51: The Court's directions related to Mr Smith's slaves, or those slaves dispersed. The copy of Mr Smith's slaves had been exactly rounded, and their copy distributed, as the Court more particularly saw in its account. The Council asked the Court to have the goodness to consider the several places where the copy of the Court's own commands was continued. The Council did not think, before, to fall into the like degree, for by the Court's letter by the *Carnarvon* the Court had mentioned only the slaves belonging to the late gardener. Since the Court's commands were never so particularly confined to him, the Council was not to blame. It was willing to believe the commands were not intended to affect it, and hoped the Court would be pleased to alter its direction in future. Since the Council asked the Court's notice of this [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the resolve to send home the annual account and draw no more slaves for the works; the notes at paragraphs 49 to 51 restate the account of remaining money in specie, the settlement of Mr Smith's account and the direction over his slaves set out in each place. The charging of cash and cash notes under one general head in paragraph 49 marks the accounting reform the Court had pressed. A cash note was paper issued by the Council for coin or credit received at the island, the holder made debtor for it at once and given credit on paying it out, redeemed by bills drawn on the Court in London against a cashless island economy. The method tied the tight bookkeeping of Governor Smith's administration to the standing want of a circulating medium, set out in the letter by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726. The specie named in paragraph 49 was coined money in hand, scarce on the island and distinguished here from the paper cash notes that stood in its place. The whole island money stock had been reckoned at only £700 0s 0d against a garrison and labour cost of some £2,400 0s 0d each a year, too little to circulate, so the parcels of coin received over and above the notes were worth the Council's separate account. The dispute over the late gardener's slaves in paragraph 51 turned on the Court's letter by the *Carnarvon*, which the Council read as confined to those particular slaves rather than to its own. This continues the answer to the forger Benjamin Hawkes, whose false charge that Governor Smith kept 50 slaves at 18d a day the Council had rebutted in the letters by the *Compton* of 10 January 1726 and the *Greenwich* of 26 February 1726, showing the Governor's slaves never exceeded 37.

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18	12	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] this Nature will ever be attempted again, & a Sad Circumstance to lose the Benefit of their Labour for So long a time, & the Benefit of others Failed, & therefore flatter Our Selves Your Honrs will not Perish all for the Extravagancy of One, We had only Seventeen among the Three & Negroes Strong Lusty & Robust, were constantly at Work & So grow Serious We will never upon any occasion be Guilty of any Outrageous or Unwarrantable Action, but Governr Our Selves with Such Temper and Moderation as We hope will please Your Honrs & every body else We are glad to observe Your Honrs are pleasd to take favourable Notice of Mr Smith, the late Governr at his first arrivall, & many times Since, Recommended him to Us a very Capable Man So well versd in Business, & upon which he was early appointed Clerk of the Councill, this through Mistake entitled to be Copyed & however Firm acted in that Action & in every Respect assured the Acct Mr Smith gave of him, We have had a good deal of & prime of his Fidelity by Abilities in Writing & Acct & gave Your Honrs he will deserve Encouragement for his Diligence & Dispatch of every thing that gave this his Hands & We humbly recommend him to Your Honrs as worthy of an Employ of more Advantage & As to the Pay Your Honrs allowe to be allowed him to receive just the Same as Others did, & Mr Warehe received the like & for Reasons may be found where more than double the Sum hath been allowed of the Preceding Cargazoon We humbly thank Your Honrs for Your Goodness in appointing a Surgeon at Our Request of whom We were really in great want Our Cash Notes are as Current as Cash & daily Circulating & as We receive them Pay them away again to the Garrison, So that We are not able to give Your Honrs the Satisfaction You Require in this Case & must therefore defer it to another Oppertunity **Margin Notes:** No Outrageous Actions to be hereafter Committed Mr Smiths Confirmed & farther Recommended to the Court Thanks returned for a New Surgeon Cash Notes daily Circulating, no Acct Can be given of the No of them	The Council would not attempt anything of this nature again. It was a set circumstance to keep the benefit of the slaves' labour for so long a time, and the benefit of their being sailed. The Council therefore assured the Court it drew none at all, for the extravagance of one. It had only 17 among the three, and required strong lusty fellows, now constantly at work, and no others besides. 52: The Council would not now be guilty of any outrageous or unaccountable action, but would govern its slaves with a proper temper and moderation, as it hoped would please the Court in every part. 53: The Council was glad to find the Court pleased to take favourable notice of Mr Leigh. The late Governor, at his first arrival and many times since, recommended him to the Council as a very capable person, well versed in business, on which he was early appointed clerk of the council. Though Mr Leigh was entitled to be the Court's servant, the Council concurred in that action, and in every respect confirmed the account Mr Smith gave of him. The Council had had good proof, and was assured of his fidelity and diligence in writing and business. It asked the Court to give him further encouragement for his diligence and despatch in everything that passed his hands. The Council recommended him to the Court as deserving of an employ of larger advantage. As to the pay the Court had before allowed him, it asked leave to secure him just the same as others received. Mr Leigh received the like, and instances might be found where more than double the sum had been allowed for preceding clerks. 54: The Council thanked the Court for its goodness in appointing a surgeon at its request, of whom it was really in great want. 55: The cash notes were as current as cash, and were daily circulating. The Council found them carried away again to the garrison, so that it could not give the Court the satisfaction it required in this matter. It must therefore defer it to another chance. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 52 restates the resolve to commit no outrageous action in future; the notes at paragraphs 53 to 55 restate the confirming of Mr Leigh, the appointment of a surgeon and the daily circulation of the cash notes set out in each place. The surgeon named in paragraph 54 answered a long medical want the island had endured through a run of unfit men. The Council had pressed the Court for a sober and able surgeon by the next store ship in its letters by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726 and the *Wyndham* of 21 June 1726, the surgeon Thomas Wignall then serving being rendered useless by a drunken and disorderly course of life. The Council's thanks here mark the relief of a crisis that had stretched from Scrimshire through Beale and Civilly to Wignall. The cash notes of paragraph 55 were paper issued by the Council for coin or credit received at the island, redeemed by bills drawn on the Court in London against a cashless economy. The Council had reckoned the whole island money stock at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate, so the notes passed as current as cash and returned at once to the garrison, the very want of coin that made the paper necessary defeating the Court's call for an exact account of it. The clerk Mr Leigh, confirmed in paragraph 53, had been appointed clerk of the council on the late Governor Johnson's recommendation and continued under Governor Smith. The Council's plea that he be

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			secured his pay and marked for advancement reflects the pressure the single-clerk office bore, the whole business of the secretary's work resting on one qualified hand against the standing want of assistants the island had complained of before.
19	13	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Your Honrs will observe in Mr Smiths Acct that We have Stopt his Gratuity according to Order According to Your Honrs Direction We have Sent two Ploughs to Bencoolen the other two will be Serviceable here We are glad to hear there is Probability that the Debt due to Your Honrs by Wm Worrall is likely to be Satisfied by the Legacy left him by Mr Tomlinson We will take Care to Reduct the £30 advanced Mr Warehe out of his Salary as We have taken Care to Secure the £100 advanced Mr Smith in England We have Searched the Books & find the Bills Payable to Jonas Warehe was for Salary due to him, & are Sorry We should forget to give Your Honrs timely Notice of them We have now Replyed as fully as We could in So Short a time to the Severall Article required of Us in the Method Prescribed by Your Honrs but if it shall appear upon farther Consideration that We have been Defective in Our Answers We will be Sure to give Your Honrs Satisfaction in Our next, & here We might conclude, but the Enclosure at the Wood are of So much Consequence to this Place, & also the Setting off all the Land with Leasing of greater Importance than ever, that We presume to detain Your Honrs a moment longer & ingeniously Confess that one third Part of the Work remains yet to be perfected, but yet We have So much Confidence in Yr Goodness as to believe Your Honrs will not think Us culpable for this when You Reflect upon the Transactions of the Last four Years, & It was very much Our Opinion Deeper that this should have been finished before any thing else was begun but an other Work of small Moment compared to this was taken in hand, & the reason why it could not be done is Plain from the List of Blacks herewith transmitted as they have been Employed for the last two Years but from this time forward We will take care this Work shall be prosecuted with such Vigour & Application & will be our own **Margin Notes:** Mr Smiths Gratuity Stopt 2 Ploughs Sent to Bencoolen Worrall's Debt likely to be Satisfied £30 to be Reducted out of Mr Warehes Acct Bills to Warehe were	The Court would see in Mr Smith's account that the Council had stopped his gratuity, as ordered. 57: As the Court directed, the Council had sent two ploughs to Bencoolen. The other two would be serviceable at the island. 58: The Council was glad to learn there was a probability that the debt due to the Court from William Worrall would be satisfied by the legacy left him by Mrs Thomlinson. 59: The Council would take care to deduct the £30 0s 0d advanced Mr Smith out of his salary, as it had taken care to secure the £100 0s 0d advanced Mr Smith in England. 60: The Council had searched the books and found the bills payable to Mr Wakeford were for salary due to him. It was sorry it had forgotten to give the Court timely notice of them. The Council had now replied as fully as it could, in so short a time, to the several articles the Court required in the method the Court prescribed. If on further consideration it should appear that the Council had been defective in its answer, it would be sure to give the Court satisfaction in its account. The Council might have concluded here, but the enclosure at the wood was of such consequence to the island, and to the settling of all the land, that leaving it would be of greater importance than ever. The Council therefore chose to detain the Court a moment longer. It frankly owned that one third of the work still remained to be finished. Yet it had much confidence in the Court's goodness to believe the Court would not think it culpable, when the Court reflected on the transactions of the four last years. It was very much the Council's opinion, and it was deeper than this, that the enclosure should have been finished before anything else was begun. But another work of great moment, compared to this, was taken in hand, and the reason why the enclosure could not be done was plain. The list of slaves was herewith sent home, as they had been employed for the last two years. From this time forward the Council would take care that the work should be pushed on with such speed and application, and it was not its own [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the stopping of Mr Smith's gratuity; the notes at paragraphs 57 to 60, and the note against the closing passage on the wood, restate the ploughs, William Worrall's debt, the £30 0s 0d deducted from Mr Smith's salary, the bills to Mr Wakeford and the enclosure to be finished for want of hands, each set out in the body. The legacy in paragraph 58 answered a standing debt William Worrall owed the Court. He was the capable overseer of the Court's plantations who had ended the siege of the armed runaways in the cave under Lot, now indebted to the Court in £95 13s 5d and awaiting a legacy left him by Mrs Thomlinson in the hands of Mr Feake, the whole set out in the letter by the *Compton* of 10 January 1726. His request that any sum due to him go toward the debt marks the Council's effort to recover the Court's money in kind. The ploughs sent to Bencoolen in paragraph 57 continue the standing supply of plants, tools and stock the island passed on to the west coast settlement by

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		for Salary One third Part of the Wood remains Unfinished, Reason why but to be Compleated out of Hand	the Court's order. St Helena had relayed yam plants, Irish potatoes and Cape garden seed to the Governor of Bencoolen in the memorandum for Captain Benjamin Graves of 3 July 1717, so the ploughs here mark the same relay of agricultural means to the eastern station. The enclosure of the wood pressed in the closing passage was the fencing of the Great Wood, an order of the Court more than twenty years old, begun at the Stone Point near the Peak with the strongest section first. The Council had completed the Horse Point enclosure on 15 May 1725, but the new plantation at Chapel Valley and the want of hands slowed the rest, the same tension between fencing wood and planting ground that runs through the whole letter.
20	14	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] own Blacks as will Soon put an End to all Expence upon this Acct & give Us the Pleasure to acquaint You that it will entirely Answer the End for which it was designd, & the first Fruits of it We hope will Save the Charge of Purchasing Fifty or Sixty Head for Charter Party Draft to Shipping with which We shall Speedily Supply them out of Your Honours own Stock Your Honrs will observe (Supposing You should allow Mr Smith Acct as they Stand 25 Sepr 1726 which We are hardly believe) that his the Ballance on 26th February last after all Abatements is £323.17.4½ for which We will not give him Credit without Your Honrs Directions least We should incur Your farther Displeasure Beside this he has laid before Us an & & & Acct which in one Quarter amounts to £331.5.7, a Copy of which Your Honrs will receive in the Packet, which We entirely reject as We do the other Acct at the foot of this Amounting to £16.7, We cant think of any thing after the Invention of these Disagreeable Articles So Wholly to be acceptable as fresh Allowances that We will not Suffer any thing of this kind to be Practised hereafter, nor will We allow or connive at the least Excess or Extravagancy but faithfully Discharge Our Duty & make good all these Engagements to Your Honours We have now So Sternly Entred into Your Honrs will receive the Military List in the Packet & before the Shipping are all returned We propose to reduce the Charges to two or three Hundred Pounds & one less than it is & this We think We can do without Prejudice to any one Capt Said acquaint Us that he has red a Letter from his Speers & Pr Winds in which he tells him the Bills Payable to him for £150 Sterling dated 20th July 1725 art yet Uncataful, but as Your Honrs have not taken Notice of this We believe it a Mistake, We So by Our Books Such Bills were Drawn for the Sum Mentioned under that Date & if they are	It was not the Council's own slaves that would soon put an end to all expense on this account. It was the Council's pleasure to tell the Court that the work would fully answer the end for which it was intended, and the first fruits of it were what the Council hoped. It meant to save the charge of buying fifty or seventy head of cattle for the charter-party beef due to the shipping, with which it would speedily supply the ships out of the Court's own stock. 62: The Court would find, supposing it allowed Mr Smith's account as it stood at 24 September 1726, which the Council partly believed, that his balance on 26 February last, after all abatements, was £323 17s 4½d. The Council would not give him credit for this without the Court's directions, lest it fall into further difficulty. Besides this, he had laid before the Council another account, which in one quarter came to £331 5s 7d, a copy of which the Court would receive in the packet. The Council wholly rejected this, as it did the other account at the fort, which came to £16 7s 0d. It could think of nothing further after the mention of these disagreeable articles, so wholly meant to be acceptable as fresh allowances. It would suffer nothing of this kind to be practised in future, nor would it allow or connive at the least error or extravagance. It faithfully discharged its duty, and made good all the engagements to the Court it had now so solemnly entered into. 63: The Court would receive the military list in the packet. Before the shipping was all returned, the Council meant to reduce the charge to two or three hundred pounds, or something less than it was, wherever it thought it could do so without prejudice to anyone. 64: Captain [...] told the Council he had received a letter from his [...] owners, in which they told him the two bills payable to him for £150 0s 0d sterling, dated 30 July 1725, were still unsatisfied. As the Court had not taken notice of this, the Council believed it a mistake. It found by its books that such bills were drawn for the sum mentioned under that date. If they were [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. Under the governing rule the body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 62 restates Mr Smith's balance of £323 17s 4½d and the rejected accounts; the notes at paragraphs 63 and 64 restate the military list to be reduced and the disputed bills for £150 0s 0d set out in each place. The charter-party beef named in the opening paragraph was the fresh provision the Council was bound to supply to calling ships under the terms of their charter. The Council meant to draw it from the Court's own cattle rather than buy fifty or seventy head from the planters, a saving that answered the

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		Margin Notes: Ballance of Smiths Acct £323.17.4½ his the other Acct Rejected Military List Sent thought Practicable to to be considerably reduced Acct given of those Bills formerly drawn & Payable to Capt Smith	standing effort to shed the charge of provisioning the shipping. The island had long served as a victualling station, the beef reckoned by the hundredweight and issued to named ships under a separate account. The abatements to Mr Smith's account in paragraph 62 mark the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the island. J. Fletcher directed that credit be confined to delivered goods, ready money or labour, and that the Council write back from every account the money it had not received. The Council's rejection of the fresh accounts, and its refusal to allow credit without the Court's direction, reflects the caution of an administration set on clearing itself of the loose accounts the Court had condemned. The disputed bills in paragraph 64 turned on a claim brought by a calling captain whose London owners reported two bills for £150 0s 0d unpaid. A ship's master commonly drew a bill on the Court or on the London merchant who had financed his outward voyage, so an unanswered bill of this kind pointed either to a delay at India House or to a mistake in the accounts. The Council's search of its own books to trace the drawing marks the reformed method of verifying every credit against the record.
21	15	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] are yet Unpaid We hope Your Honrs will give them Credit We also find by Our Books that Bills was drawn Payable to Capt Thabike for the Sum of £192.10, & are Sorry no Notice was Sent, but these & all other Errors & Mistakes shall be rectified for the future & We hope Yr Honrs will Please to Pay the Same We have drawn the following Sett Bills of Exchange upon Yr Honrs One Sett Payable to John Bazette or Order for £260 One Ditto Payable to A Wingham or order 55.13 One Ditto Payable to A Goodwin or Order 230.5, for Cash & Note paid into Your Honrs Cash here & are all dated 18th instant Capt Gough intends to Sail to Morrow & would have done it Sooner but the high Surfs hindred him from getting his Water on board Your Honrs will receive the Gold Dust in Our Packet We have transmitted Your Honrs Copy of Our Genll Letter of Princess Amelia, Copies of Consultations from 26 Sepr to 14 March both inclusive, List of Blacks, List of Cattle at the Table, Governrs Plantation & Monthly Acct, Mr Smiths Acct & Inventory of Wrockt Goods & all other List as Orderd by Your Honrs, We are Honble Sires Island St Helena 18th March 1726/7 Your most Dutyfull Most Obedt & Most faithfull Servts E Boyfeld Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin **Margin Notes:** Advice given of the Bills Payable to Capt Thabike Bills drawn Gold dust Sent	If the bills were still unpaid, the Council hoped the Court would give them credit. 65: The Council also found by its books that bills were drawn payable to Captain Thwaites for the sum of £192 10s 0d. It was sorry no second bill was sent, but this and all other errors and mistakes would be rectified in future. It hoped the Court would be pleased to pay the same. 66: The Council had drawn the following bills of exchange upon the Court. One set payable to John Bazette or order, £260 0s 0d One set payable to Francis Wrangham or order, £55 13s 0d One set payable to John Goodwin or order, £230 5s 0d These were for cash notes paid into the Court's cash at the island, and were all dated 18 of this month. 67: Captain Gough meant to sail the next day, and would have done so, but the high surf hindered him from getting his water on board. 68: The Court would receive the gold dust in the packet. 69: The Council had sent the Court a copy of its general letter by the *Princess Amelia*, copies of its consultations from 26 February to 14 March, both enclosed, the list of slaves, the list of eaters at the table, the Governor's plantation monthly account, Mr Smith's account, the inventory of remaining goods, and all other lists ordered by the Court. The letter closed from the island of St Helena on 18 March 1727, subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 65 restates the advice of the bills payable to Captain Thwaites; the notes at paragraphs 66, 68 and 69 restate the bills drawn, the gold dust and the account of papers sent in the packet. Captain Thwaites, named in paragraph 65, was Josiah Thwaites, commander of the *Carnarvon*, who reached the island on 5 May 1726 with the year's cargo answering the Court's general letter of 24 December 1725. The bill for £192 10s 0d continues the run of drawings on his account, the second part sent by a

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		Acct of Papers &ca Sent in the Packet	later ship so that each half stood of no effect until its fellow reached London, the standing safeguard against the loss of a bill on the passage. The gold dust of paragraph 68 marks a rare export from the island, small quantities of gold obtained through the African and Madagascar trade rather than mined at St Helena. The Council had earlier pursued mineral prospects at the Turk's Cap with Monsieur Olivero, judging a dug earth a signal of metal, but the island yielded no worked mine, so the dust sent here probably came through the slave and goods traffic with the Guinea coast. The list of eaters at the table in paragraph 69 answered the Court's standing concern over the cost of the General Table, the daily dining gathering of senior officers supplied at Company expense. The roll had run to 77 eaters in Governor Bouchier's time and stood at 40 in Governor Pyke's year 1715, the expense audited and cut in the reply of 3 November 1718, so the yearly list of eaters marks the Court's continued watch over that charge. Captain Gough, named in paragraph 67, points to the master of the *Swallow*, George Pitt having drawn his bill on Henry Gough of London, though the reading of the name against the surf-bound departure rests on fine judgement and an alternative commander cannot be ruled out.
22	16	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Genll Letter to Mr Mitchell, Auditor Of Grantham 18th March 1726/7 Sirs We received in Our Packet Your Letter of Consultation upon Our Books & N & O & P of the 26th Sepr 1726 to which We are ready as full an Answer as We believe can be now expected from Us in so Short a time & for the future We will take Care that the Acct of St Helena shall be kept in a Regular Method & So of all these Errors & Defects which have expressd it to Refuse, & We will as You will Communicate this to the Court We are Sorry You dont approve of the Method of Bookkeeping in Use here, as We are to hear of So many Defect & Errors in those We have already transmitted but will take care hereafter to give Little Occasion for future Complaints by Strictly observing those Directions as fully expressd in the Severall Cargo We received in Our Packet We can say but Little to excuse the Negligence of those who transmitted their Books but for the time to come all Journall Bartells shall be particularly expresd & fill up, & assure You We will avoid all those Mistakes You Point at in Your Consultation For the time to come Our Journall Cargazoons shall fully Explain the reason why such & such Article are bought, & the Prices of Goods be fully Expressd & a particular Acct given of all & except & Disposn each of Money We assure You Our Books shall so more be Casted Backward, & for the future We will avoid those Oversights of which You take Notice in this Article We will contrive that Bookkeepers to be exact even in the Minutest	General letter to Mr Mitchell, auditor, by the *Grantham*, 18 March 1727. The Council received in its packet Mr Mitchell's letter on its books, numbered 1 to 4, of 26 September 1726, to which it now referred as fully as it could in so short a time. It believed it could copy the particulars from the papers delivered. In future it would take care that the account of St Helena should be kept in a regular method, free of all those errors and defects the Court now complained of. This it would try to correct, and it would communicate the same to the Court. The Council was sorry the auditor did not approve of the method of bookkeeping used at the island. It would take care, if any defect appeared in what it had already sent home, to give the auditor better satisfaction in future. It would strictly obey these directions, as fully set out in the several papers sent home in its packet. 2: The Council could say little to excuse the negligence of those who sent home the books. From this time forward all the journal balances would be particularly copied and set up. It assured the auditor it would avoid all those mistakes the Court complained of, and be careful of its answer. 3: For the time to come, the Council's journal balances would fully explain the reason why each and every article stood as it did. The parcels of goods would be fully set out in a particular account, given for all except the several sorts of money. The Council would keep its books so that no article stood backward, and would in future avoid those oversights the auditor remarked in this matter. 4: The Council would take care that the bookkeeping should be exact, even in the minutest matters. Comparison showed that the smallest matters of moment were overlooked. The account of profit and loss should, for the future, be stated according to the directions in Captain Merrick's book. The Council asked leave to tell the auditor that the waste and leakage of goods so much complained of in the same comparison had, as it had always alleged, been more or less. It was so fully convinced of the fidelity of the storekeeper that it could not do so much as suspect him. There had been the least fraud in this or any other article. 5: The Council was surprised to find so great an error in the account of profit and loss. Yet since it was

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		Concerns Since We find Matters of the smallest Moment are observed The Acct of Profit & Loss shall for the future be Stated according to the Directions in Capt Mitchell B, & under this Article We beg leave to acquaint You that the Wast & Leakage of Arrack is charged in the Sand Cargazoon, & as it hath been always allowed one more, & Wee are So fully convinced of the Fidelity of the Bookkeeper that We have never been ever so much as to Suspect their has been the least Fraud Committed in this or any other Article We are Surprized to find So great an Error in the Acct of Profit & Loss, but as now too late to be Rectified this shall be a Sufficient Warning to Us for the time to come, & believe the Copyist omitted to **Margin Notes:** A New Method promised to be observed in keeping the Books Journall Parcells promisd to be fully Expressd with Capt in Price of Goods to be inserted in all Journall Parcells Books for the future to be right Casted Bookeeper to be Exact even in the Smallest Matters Acct of Profit & Loss promised to be Stated according to the Auditor See the B in Paper No 3 Care promised to be taken to prevent Errors in the Acct of P & Loss	now too late to be rectified, this should be a sufficient warning for the future. It believed the errors omitted to [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the new method of bookkeeping promised in keeping the books; the notes at paragraphs 2 to 5 restate the journal balances, the parcels of goods, the exact bookkeeping and the profit and loss account set out in each place. Mr Mitchell, addressed here, was the Company's auditor at India House, whose letter of 26 September 1726 set out a line-by-line review of the island books numbered 1 to 4. His office continued the work of the earlier audit by J. Fletcher, the accountant general, whose report on the journals and ledgers of 1717 to 1719 had condemned the undated entries, the swollen debts and the transfer system in the reply by the *Desbouverie* of 17 March 1723. The profit and loss account named in paragraphs 4 and 5 was the ledger head on which the auditor had found a great error, the reckoning of gain and loss on the Court's goods traded at the island. Captain Merrick's book, cited as the standard for stating it, was a manual of Company bookkeeping the auditor directed the Council to follow, marking the effort to bring the island accounts to a uniform method the Court could inspect. The waste and leakage defended in paragraph 4 bears on the island's mild, subtropical air, warmer than England and enough to hasten the evaporation of arrack and the spoiling of stored goods. The Council had made the same argument in its general letter by the *Grantham* of the same date, turning the climate into the ground for the loss the auditor charged to the storekeeper, John Goodwin, whose fidelity it here defended.
23	17	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] to bring Some Article to Acct for We find Our Journall here for Pr 90 & 91 to make the Sum of £2035.5.0¼ or ditto Choose a Necessity for a Ditto again which to Place Severall little Article that must be brought to Acct & We could think of no more proper than Generall Charge but by this We are very far from intending to conceal any Fraud or Embezelment was any such thing designd, this in it entirely expose Your Notice & Observation, the Candle Mentiond in this Article were as usual, Charged at Once to Genll Charge, & great Part remaining at Closing the Books We no farther Acct of, & given of them they being Sett a part for the Hospitals, but this shall be So no more The Acct of the Heat & Cash & Blacks shall be added in Our New Books to Acct Charge of the New Cash & Blacks Since as You Remark it negligerd & Distinct Acct of them kept in the Books in Severall Columne & each moderately valued the better ascertain this Acct, As to the Expence Complaind of upon their Acct We have the Pleasure to tell You	The Council found in its journal that some articles remained to be brought to account, and folio 90 made the sum of £2,025 5s 0¾d. 9: The Court chose a useful form for the details in each account, though this raised little articles that had to be brought to account. The Council could think of no more proper head than general charges, but by this it was very firm in intending to conceal any fraud or embezzlement. That was the only thing it disliked, since it could escape the Court's notice and observation. The candles named in this article were, as usual, charged at once to general charges. A great part remained on hand at the closing of the books. The Council had no further account to give of them, being kept as a part for the island's use, but this should be no more. 10: The account of the Court's slaves would be set out in the island's new books, to keep the charge of the Court's slaves distinct. Since the Court's remark, it had been neglected. Each was distinct, and each kept in the books in several columns, moderately valued, to a certain account. As to the expense complained of on this account, the Council had the pleasure to tell the Court that the Governor had already reduced the greatest branch of it. The particulars the Court would see in the account in the packet, the amount between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, £1,158 7s 0d. Besides this, the Council would save another considerable sum under the head of diet expenses. It hoped this good beginning would be acceptable both to the Court and the Company. The particulars of

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		that the Governor has already Retrencht the greatest Branch of it, the particulars You will See in Our Acct in the Packet & Acquaint before 28th May 1723 & 24 Sepr 1726 to £1858.7, beside this he will Save an other Considerable Sum under the Article of Diet Expence & We hope this good Beginning will be acceptable both to Your & the Comittee the particulars of every thing Deliverd the Blacks shall be Monthly Charged & Clearly entred in the Journall All Excess under the Head of Diet Expence will for the future reduced to Such Moderate bounds as will give no Occasion for Exception During the times of Shipping every thing will be Managed with Such Prudence & Frugality as will leave no Grounds for Reproach, the Storekeeper has not as You Seem to think, been been twice Satisfied for these Loss Accts of which in Yr 12th Cara You take Notice, that Acct as at first given it was Wrought too great to be Charged at once & as the late Govr Refuses it was Divided with the addition of Some Small Matters to make it very a little from the other, & this is what leads You into a Suspicion that they have been twice paid, the Acct of Diet Expence for the time to come shall be Monthly Deld as You Invention at the Close of this Article The Entry of Our Journall Parcells relating to Materials & People Keept Employed about the Fortifications not giving Satisfaction, We will Yet Yr next they shall be hereafter Entred in Such manner as We meet with your Approbation **Margin Notes:** Candles not all Expended to be brought to Acct at once, & no Debt, Genll Charge meant to Conceale any Fraud Table of Blacks to be added in New Books & every thing to be Sett to & monthly Charged Expence of Salt Provn deld the Blacks Saved Charge of Diet Expence will be reduced for the future Suspicion that the Storekeeper was twice paid for the Same thing Erroneous, the Occasion of this Suspicion Materials & Workmen Acct of them Wages to be more particularly Entred	everything relating to the slaves would be monthly charged and clearly entered in the journal. 11: All expenses under the head of diet expenses would in future be reduced to such moderate bounds as would give no occasion for exception. 12: During the time of shipping, everything would be managed with such prudence and frugality as would leave no ground for reproach. The storekeeper had not, as the Court seemed to think, been twice satisfied for these two accounts, of which the Court took notice. That account, at first, the Council never thought too great to be charged at once, but the late Governor refused it. It was divided, with the addition of some small matters, to make it vary a little from the other. This was what led the Court into a suspicion that the storekeeper had been twice paid. The account of diet expenses, for the time to come, would be monthly debited, as the Court intended, at the close of this article. 13: The entry of the journal balances relating to materials and the people employed at the fortifications did not give satisfaction. From this time forward they would be entered in such a manner as would meet with the Court's approbation. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 9 restates the candles not all issued and charged to general charges; the notes at paragraphs 10 to 13 restate the account of slaves, the salt provision cost, the suspicion over the storekeeper and the entry of materials and labour set out in each place. The salt provision costed at £1,158 7s 0d in paragraph 10 was salted beef or pork shipped out to feed the slave establishment, the same sum entered in the general letter by the *Grantham* of 18 March 1727. The Council judged it too dear against the fish the island could take from its own waters, the turn toward local provision continuing the standing effort to feed the establishment without the charge of imported food. The suspicion over the storekeeper in paragraph 12 answered the accountant general's audit, which had condemned the transfer system and the loose entries of the island books. The account had been divided under the late Governor Johnson, with small matters added, so that one charge appeared as two and gave the Court cause to think the storekeeper John Goodwin twice paid. The Council's explanation marks the reformed method of tracing every credit through the journal to clear the officer of fraud. The candles held on hand in paragraph 9 were a stored article charged at once to general charges rather than issued in the year, a great part remaining at the closing of the books. Wax candles had come to the island among the relief cargoes, the *Monmouth* bringing four chests in 1726, so the stock kept back marks the Council's care to account for goods carried over rather than write them off as spent.
24	18	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] The Charge of Salary of Governr & Councill shall be kept Separate from the Military conformable to the System of other Factories The Governr in this Yr Cargazoon having Signified & their Blackers	14: The charge of salary for the Governor and Council would be kept separate from the military, in line with the practice of other factories. 15: The Governor, having discharged all the slaves from the works, the same had been reduced accordingly. The Council hoped this would put an end to all doubts that might arise on that account.

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		to Employ all Blacks from the Works, the same has been accordingly Done & We hope We will put an End to all Doubts that may arise upon that Acct The Roa B taken Notice of in this Article was for So much paid the Captain who Came from Prosperous Bay to the Castle with Advice, of the Number Distance & Bearing of the Ships when first Discoverd, this a Custom of long Standing, but this Acct cant be Comptrolled by the Gunnrs because oftentimes Expences came into the Roa of the Ships as they make them one after an other, & they are thought to Deserve the like Gratuity & We believe amounts to the Sum mentiond, but Since Even thinck it not Charged under its proper head it shall be alterd & Placd to Garrison We have red with due attention & Regard Yr 17th Paragraph & assure You We will put an effectual Step to all growing Extravagancy & give no more Oppertunity for Animadversion upon their any other Acct The Work at the Wood being now Solely to be Perfected by the Facts Blacks, We will Save Your the trouble of Comparing any thing We might Send You in Answer to this Article We have Orderd an Acct of Plate to be Spend in Our Books & that which We lately bought amounting to £51.10.6½ that So much of from Genll & Charge & Placd to it proper Acct The Mistake in not giving Yr Honrs Comptrs Rect for all their Articles mentiond in this Cara was occasioned by the like negligence of the Attempt but they are all now brought to their proper Acct It was great Carelessness not to Enter the Comptr for the three Article You take Notice of, the two first are misbrought to the Acct of the late Governr & the later to the Acct of Capt Jonas Goodwin The Acct of Ships Comptrs Comptrolld deld shall be Displayd the first by Credit & the last by Acct, & our London For the future We will Strictly Examine the Books & our Acct & prevent all Mistakes of this & any other Nature The Gunnrs Store & all Sort shall hereafter be duely Entred in Our Books & Our Care for the future in an Article of So much moment We hope will give Satisfaction **Margin Notes:** Salary of Governr & Councill kept Separate Blacks brought from the Companys Works Money paid Alarme Men Charged to Acct of Comptrolln, & given of it deld, Placd All Extravagancy to be prevented Work to be Perfected with the Companys own Blacks	16: The reward named in this article was so much paid to the man who ran from Prosperous Bay to the castle, with notice of the number, distance and bearing of the ships as soon as he first saw them. This was a payment of long standing. But it could not be controlled by the gunner, because several such payments were made when the ships appeared. They were made when any number of ships appeared, given to those judged deserving of the reward. This came to the sum named. Since it was not charged under a proper head, it would in future be entered under the account of the garrison. The Council would give due attention and regard to the Court's paragraph. If it could put an effectual stop to all extravagance, it would give no more cause for it in future. 17: Extravagance would be prevented. 18: The work at the wood, now to be fully carried on by the Court's own slaves, the Council would give the Court the trouble of nothing further it might send on the matter. The Council sent its answer to the article. 19: The Council had ordered an account of the plate to be set out in its books. That plate, which it lately bought, came to £51 19s 6¾d. This was the account of it from the general charges, and would be placed to a proper account. 20: The Court's mistake in not giving the Council particular credit for all those articles remarked in the Court was owing to the like negligence of the account. But they were now brought to their proper account. 21: It was a great satisfaction not to entail the charge on the Court in this article. The Court would find that the two first accounts brought to the account of the late Governor, and the latter to the account of Mr John Goodwin. 22: The account of ships entertained at the island would in future be discharged, the first by credit and the last by account and cash to London. 23: For the future, the Council would strictly examine the books and account, and prevent all mistakes of this or any other nature. 24: The gunner's stores, of all sorts, would in future be duly entered in the island's books, and kept an account of, an article of such moment. The Council hoped it would give satisfaction. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 14 restates the salary of the Governor and Council kept separate; the notes at paragraphs 15 to 24 restate the slaves discharged from the works, the alarm payment charged to the garrison, the extravagance to be prevented, the work carried on by the Court's own slaves, the plate entered in the books, the money allowed for other things, the account for other matters, the ships entertained, the books to be examined and the gunner's account, each set out in the body. The reward in paragraph 16 was the standing payment to the first lookout to bring the Governor word of a ship sighted, the alarm men running two miles from Prosperous Bay to the fort to give notice. The soldier John Sinnock had claimed five shillings a time for nineteen such alarms under that order, named in the despatch by the *St George* of 1715, so the payment moved here to the garrison account rests on a long practice of the island's watch. The plate costed at £51 19s 6¾d in paragraph 19 was wrought silver in the Court's service at the island, plate being a standing form in which a remote establishment held value and settled debts where coin

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		Acct of Plate to be Placd in the Books Comptrs money allowed Receipt for things formerly Charged Acct for other things omitted Acct of Ships Comptrs deld how to be Charged by both Books to be carefully Examined Gunners Acct formerly to be duely Entred	was scarce. The Council had once recovered part of George Carne's debt through a composite settlement of land, cattle, goats, slaves and plate, named in the despatch of 8 December 1714, so the separate account of it here marks the reformed method of entering each asset under its proper head. The salary kept separate in paragraph 14 answered the Court's call to divide the island charge under distinct heads. The Council had undertaken to set out the divisions in the military list as the Court directed, marking the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration under Governor Smith after the loose accounts of the earlier regime.
25	19	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] Joshua Johnson was Tenant of the House a little above two Year at £6 Pr Ann of which he paid £4.10, & Book & in the Same Book he was Debit for £9 more Cash in the Storekeepers hand & the Ledger & Pr 20 & Annum for £8, his Acct is Charged with the Ballance by the Book lately Sent Inclosd comes the Rect of Beef Pork & Yea Objected So in the Disposition of the Acct in Papy Marked & which We hope will give You full Satisfaction in those particulars Give Us leave to answer this Article to the Same Effect as We have Done to one in the Honrs Genll Cara Genll Letter, All their Affairs will now be brought into a New Channell & an entire Stop put to every thing that has the least tendency to Extravagancy, & We to assure You that the Acct formerly Run high, We have not the least reason to believe that any ill Practice have been Committed of that any Injustice has been done in either of the Particulars by You take Notice of in Your 27th Paragraph The Same Careless as You have as long observed in Our Bookkeeper has occasiond the Difference You point at relating to the Plantation Acct to Agree, the doubt yet, for the future Care will be taken that the Books & Chief Acct shall exactly Agree, those two Sums of £16.4, 13.9, & £236.4½ were duely Casted in Consultation in the Governrs Books, but omitted to be entred in the Companies, but the Governr never received that £16.4.13.9 in Cash nor any Part of it he only gave Plantation Credit for So much & longer amounting to that Sum after the Wast Charard The Chief Occasion of the Difference between the Books & the Storekeepers Inventory of Goods Remaining arose from his omitting to bring to Acct Severall Article amounting to the Sum Genll Mention, as Seales & Cough, Engines & Gunners Stores, Bear, Bears bed, but the Inventory Sum Sent agree with Our Coffer Sett of Books & Smiths & Comptrs Amelias 16th Fifty List	Joshua Johnson was tenant of the house a little above two years at £6 0s 0d, of which he paid £4 10s 0d by book 3 in the same book. He stood debtor for £9 0s 0d more cash in the storekeeper's hand. Like ledger 6, folio 20 and journal folio 18, his account is charged with the balance by the book lately sent. The Council enclosed the list of the profit and loss book it objected to in the disposition of the account, plainly marked, on which it hoped it would give the Court full satisfaction in those particulars. 27: The Council asked leave to answer this article to the same effect as it had done to the one in the Court's general letter. All its affairs were now brought into a new channel, or given an entire stop, put to everything that had the least tendency to extravagance. The Council assured the Court, as to the account formerly kept high, that it had not the least reason to believe that any ill practice had been committed, or that any injustice had been done in either of the particulars the Court took notice of in its 27th paragraph. 28: The same Council asked, as it had long observed in its bookkeeping, that it had one friend and creditor. The Court's point relating to the plantation account it doubted not, for the future, would be taken care of, so that the books and the account should half exactly agree. These two sums of £6 0s 0d, 13s 0d, 9d, and £236 6s 0d, would in future be more duly entered in consultation in the Governor's books. But another was to be entered in the Company's books. The Court now saw that £57 8s 0d in cash, nor any part of it, gave only plantation credit for so much. It reluctantly amounted to the sum, over in the Court's account. 29: The chief cause of the difference between the books and the storekeeper's inventory of goods remaining arose from his omitting to bring to account several articles, amounting to the sum the Court named, namely scales and clough, engines, gunner's stores, beer, beans and bed. But the inventory came to a sum agreeing with the Court's set of books, the storekeeper's and the gunner's balances, folio 16 and folio 15, plainly. 30: The Council was concerned it omitted to send advice of the bills payable to Captain Thwaites, without doubt, as it now saw, forgot in a hurry. But this should not happen again, with these and Joshua Johnson's, which were for cash or cash notes paid into the Court's account, or cash in the hands of the late Governor. 31: The Council was very agreeably pleased that the Company had appointed a new Governor. It would give its whole self no rest, but it had brought their account into [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates Joshua Johnson's payment of the rent of the

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		We are convinced We Omitted to Send Advice of the Bills Payable to Captain Thoaikes, without doubt it was forgot in a hurry but shall not be so again & with his & Joshua Johnsons were for Cash or Cash Note paid into the Comptrs Acct & Cash in the hands of the late Governr We are very agreably Pleasd the Company have Appointed a New Governour & he will give himself no rest till he has brought their Acct **Margin Notes:** Josh Johnson paid the Rent of the House as Pr Book & & Acct of Beef, Pork Yea & Yea in respect to the Disposition of this Acct & Auditors All Excess & Extravagancy apromiseld to be prevented & See Acct formerly run high yet no ill Practice Committed Books & Plantation Acct to Agree, the doubt yet about £16.4.13.9, 236.4.10 Explaind Occasion of the Difference between the Books & Storekeepers Inventory Advice of Bills formerly omitted to have given & Capt Thoaikes & Josh Johnson A New Governr promises to bring all Accompts to good Order & Method	house; the notes at paragraphs 27 to 31 restate the ill practice to be prevented, the plantation account, the difference between the books and the storekeeper's inventory, the advice of the bills forgotten and the new Governor set out in each place. Joshua Johnson, named in the opening, was the second son of the late Governor Edward Johnson and an inhabitant of the island. He had offered the house of the late Governor Joseph Johnson for the use of the Court's fort blacks at £6 0s 0d a year, named in the Council letter by the *Stanhope* of 13 January 1724, so the rent traced here rests on that same holding. Captain Thwaites, named in paragraph 30, was Josiah Thwaites, commander of the *Carnarvon*, who reached the island on 5 May 1726 with the year's cargo. The bills payable to him continue the run of drawings on his account, the advice forgotten in the hurry of a quick despatch, the same omission the Council apologised for in its general letter by the *Grantham* of 18 March 1727. The difference between the books and the storekeeper's inventory in paragraph 29 answered the accountant general's audit, which had condemned the loose entries of the island accounts. The storekeeper John Goodwin had omitted several articles from the reckoning, so the books and the inventory did not agree, the reconciliation of the two being the matter the auditor Mr Mitchell had pressed in his letter of 26 September 1726. The new Governor welcomed in paragraph 31 was Edward Byfield, whose return to the head of affairs the Council presses its thanks for throughout this correspondence. The reference records Byfield as a long-serving councillor who had acted as Governor during the Court's pleasure after the death of Governor Johnson on 16 July 1722, before John Smith took the office on 23 May 1723.
26	20	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] into a more regular & Satisfactory Method than they have hitherto been kept & tis already Severely Reprimanded the Bookeeper for the numberless Instances of his Carelessness & Negligence, & if this will not quicken his Diligence We will also & also Intend to make him do his Duty & observe those Directions to keep his Books as Marked in Capt H As you very well observe Our Books were Sent Month advanced after Our usuall Method before the Arrival of the Princess Anne, & Wherefore till We begin a New Sett We cant Propose to give You entire Satisfaction in the Severall Matter recommended to Our Notice The Cash Book You desire may be kept Sepnally, notwithstanding Our Monthly Entry in Our Journall shall be done in the most exact Method that is possible & be annually transmitted to the Company We are with great Esteem Sir Island St Helena 18th March 1726/7 To Mr Mitchell, Auditor Yr most humble Servts E Boyfeld J Alexander	The Council would bring its account into a more regular and satisfactory method than had been kept before. It had already severely reprimanded the storekeeper for the countless instances of his carelessness and negligence. If this did not quicken his diligence, the Council also meant to make him do his duty, and to keep his books as directed in Captain Merrick's book. 32: As the Court would very well observe, the island's books were sent home some months in advance of the settled method, before the arrival of the *Princess Ann*. The Council therefore began a new set. It could not now give the Court entire satisfaction in the several matters brought to its notice. 33: The cash book the Court wished might be kept separately, notwithstanding the monthly entry in the journal. This would be done in the most exact method possible, and would be sent home yearly to the Company. The letter closed from the island of St Helena on 18 March 1727, addressed to Mr Mitchell, auditor, and subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and neither adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 32 restates the new set of books to be more satisfactory once the method of keeping was changed; the note at paragraph 33 restates the cash book kept in the most exact method and sent home yearly.

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		Jno Goodwin **Margin Notes:** New Sett of Books will be more Satisfactory the Method of keeping being Changed Cash Book kept in the most exact Method & will be annually transmitted	Mr Mitchell, addressed at the close, was the Company's auditor at India House, whose letter of 26 September 1726 set out a review of the island books numbered 1 to 4. His office continued the earlier audit by J. Fletcher, the accountant general, whose report on the journals and ledgers of 1717 to 1719 had condemned the undated entries and the transfer system in the reply by the *Desbouverie* of 17 March 1723. The cash book pressed in paragraph 33 answered the reform of the island accounts under the new administration. A cash book kept separately, alongside the monthly entry in the journal, gave the Court a distinct record of coin and cash notes received and paid, the tight bookkeeping tied to the standing want of a circulating medium on a cashless island. The storekeeper reprimanded in the opening was John Goodwin, continued in that office as the only qualified man on the island. The Council's threat to make him do his duty by Captain Merrick's book marks the pressure the audit placed on the single officer who kept the stores, his accounts long a ground of the Court's complaint.
27	21	List of the Packet Of Grantham Capt Timo Gould Comdr 18th March 1726/7 Genll & Comittee Genll Lettr dated 12th Sepr and 1726/7 Copy of Genll Genll Genll Lettr 16th Febry 1726/7 Pr Princess Amelia Copy of Consultations from 26 Febry to 24th March 1726/7 both incl in dive Duplicate of the Governrs Monthly Acct of the Honble Comps Cara Stock &ca for the Months of Novr Decr & Jany last Copy of Governrs Monthly Acct Pr Ditto for Febry List of the Honble Comps Blacks with their Cha Employment &ca List of Salaries at St Helena 27th Sepr 1726/7 List of Cattle at the Genll Table Copy of Acct of Cash in Genll Smiths hand Copy of Mr Smiths whole Acct Copy of Inventory of Wrockt Goods Signed by Genll Smiths Copy of Invoice Pr Sundry Sent to Bencoolen & Princess Anne Bill of Lading of Sundry Shipp on the Pr Anne for Bencoolen Capt Goughs Receipt for the Packet to India Mr Smiths Acct Objected to Yr Genll Lettr Duplicate of Ship Dracha Acct Ditto of Ship Cadogan Acct 3 Do 1726 Duplicate of Ship Princess Amelia Acct 16th Febry Copy of Ship Grantham Acct 18th March 1726/7 Copy of Ship Princess Anne Acct 9th Ditto Gold Dust Acct of Beef Pork &ca Answer to Auditors Letter List of the Packet	List of the packet by the *Grantham*, Captain Timothy Wild, commander, 18 March 1727. 1: Governor and Committee general letter, dated 18 March 1727 2: Copy of the Council general letter of 16 February 1727 by the Princess Amelia 3: Copy of consultations from 26 February to 14 March 1727, both inclusive 4, 5, 6: Duplicates of the Governor's monthly accounts of the Court's live stock for the months of November, December and January last 7: Copy of the Governor's monthly accounts for February 8: List of the Court's slaves, with their ages and employments 9: List of salaries at St Helena, 27 February 1727 10: List of eaters at the General Table 11: Copy of the account of cash in Governor Smith's hand 12: Copy of Mr Smith's whole account 13: Copy of the inventory of remaining goods, signed by Governor Smith 14: Copy of invoices of sundries sent to Bencoolen by the Princess Amelia 15: Bill of lading of sundries shipped on the Princess Amelia for Bencoolen 16: Captain Gough's receipt for the packet to India 17: Mr Smith's account objected to by the Court's general letter 18: Duplicate of the Drake ship's account, 3 December 1726 19: Duplicate of the Cadogan ship's account, 3 December 1726 20: Duplicate of the Princess Amelia ship's account, 16 February 1727 21: Copy of the Grantham ship's account, 18 March 1727 22: Copy of the Princess Amelia ship's account, 9 March 1727 23: Gold dust 24: Account of the profit and loss book 25: Answer to the auditor's letter 26: List of the packet **Interpretations** The *Grantham* under Captain Timothy Wild carried this packet home. He had arrived at the island on 3 July 1725 after a tedious passage with the year's cargo, bringing the Court's general letter of 12 February 1724, and the ship recurs in the homeward trade. Items 2, 14, 15 and 20 name the *Princess Amelia* under Captain John Misener, which reached the island

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			on 6 February 1727 from Mocha and carried home the Council general letter of 16 February 1727. Her call links this packet to the conveyance that had just gone home, the duplicate of her ship's account sent again here so that the record should survive the loss of any one hull. Items 11, 12, 13 and 17 concern the account of Governor Smith, the Worshipful John Smith who took the office on 23 May 1723 and gave place to the acting administration of Edward Byfield. The Court had ordered several sums struck from his account, coming to £672 5s 11d, so the copies of his whole account and the disputed articles mark the settlement of an outgoing governor's reckoning. Item 25 answered the letter of Mr Mitchell, the Company's auditor at India House, whose review of the island books numbered 1 to 4 of 26 September 1726 the Council replied to in its general letter to him of 18 March 1727. His office continued the earlier audit by J. Fletcher, the accountant general, whose report condemned the loose accounts of the earlier regime. Captain Gough, named in item 16, points to the master of the *Swallow*, George Pitt having drawn his bill on Henry Gough of London, though the reading of the name here rests on fine judgement and an alternative commander cannot be ruled out.
28	22	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Genll Letter Of Cornsteed Capt Philip Wroth Comdr 29th March 1727 Honble Sires We We have now an early Oppertunity to transmitt Your Honrs Duplicate of the Severall Cargos & how We lately Sent Of Grantham who Sailed hence the 20 instant & Copies of Consultation &ca Since the time of her Departure to the 28th of this Month indispen in all which We have been So Carefull & exact as We possibly could in So short a time & in the midst of So great hurry & Variety of Business We have the Pleasure to acquaint Your Honrs that it hath Pleasd God to bless Us with a very fine Season & the Island is now in So Flourishing a Condition as hath been known for many Year & the Great Wood & the Castle therein will Afford Us all the benefit We can reasonably propose, & Wee will continue to improve it to all the Advantage that is possible We have heard various Rumours & Reports of an Approaching Warr, if the Flame should break out, We beg leave to acquaint you that We are apprehensive Your Ship will be exposed to Danger for want of Signals before they are Suffered to come in, & We thinck Our Suspicions were Grounded for Suppose any of Your Ships should by in distress & by Misfortune had Lost their Books Wrock the Island at a time when other of Your Ships are in the Road We in that Case shall be obliged So Fort her to Bear away & so possibly occasion the Loss of the Ship & his Company board to whom had We Signals to Guide Us We could have given sufficient	General letter by the *Cornwood*, Captain Philip Wood, commander, 29 March 1727. The Council took an early chance to send the Court duplicates of the several copies and account it lately sent by the *Grantham*, which sailed the 20th of this month. It added copies of consultations since her departure to the 28th of this month, both inclusive. In all these it had been careful and exact, as far as it could in so short a time, in the midst of so great a hurry and variety of business. 2: The Council had the pleasure to tell the Court that it had pleased God to bless the island with a very fine season. The island was now in as flourishing a condition as had been known for many years. The Great Wood and the enclosure within would afford all the benefit the Council could occasionally propose. It would continue to improve them to every advantage it could. 3: The Council had heard various rumours and reports of an approaching war. If this should break out, it asked leave to tell the Court that it feared the Court's ships would be exposed to danger for want of signals before they were suffered to come in. It was of this opinion, since one of the Court's ships might be in distress. By misfortune, several of them had lately borne through the island road at times when other ships were in the road. The Council was in that case obliged to force them to bear away, and so perhaps lose the ship, though the Company bore it. To such a ship, had the Council a signal to guide it, it could have given sufficient help. It therefore asked the Court to consider the matter, for there was no trusting to colours and boats. If the Court thought proper to order the captains to make signals, then, since the island had to guard against stratagem and surprise, they might do it as soon as they came in sight of the Sugar Loaf, for Bencoolen's security and more timely defence. The Council believed guns would be best, because the weather was often hazy, and colours could not so easily be perceived at a distance. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 2 restates the season proving favourable; the note at

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		Assistance We therefore Pray Your Honrs Consideration of this Matter, for there is no trusting to Colours & Boats & tho are willing to Guard against Stratagems & Surprizes, & if You think proper to Order the Captains to make Signals We Believe they may do it as soon as they come in Sight of the Sugar Loaf, for Our better Security & more timely Defence, Guns We believe will be best because the Weather is often Hazey & Colours not So easily perceived at a Distance **Margin Notes:** Season proves favourable Rumour of War occasions Apprehensions of Danger to Shipping for want of Signals Proposals about Signals	paragraph 3 restates the rumour of war, the danger to shipping for want of signals, and the proposals about signals set out in the body. The rumour of war in paragraph 3 answered intelligence a French captain had brought from the Cape, reporting an alliance of England, France and Prussia against the Emperor and Spain, with war proclaimed at Plymouth the beginning of March 1726. The Council had been unwilling to credit the report in its letter by the *Wyndham* of 21 June 1726, but the danger to the Court's ships pressed it here to seek a settled scheme of signals. The Sugar Loaf named in paragraph 3 was a point on the north side of St Helena, grouped with King William's Fort and Bank's platform under the guard schedule of the *King William* reply. Its use here as the place a ship should first make its signal marks the Council's plan to tie the island's warning system to a fixed landmark seen from the sea. The forcing away of the Court's own ships bears on the standing danger of a weakly manned ship in the island road, the same fear that had run through the ship-seizure conspiracy of 3 March 1716, when plotters meant to seize a ship while most hands were ashore. The Council's wish for a signal to guide a distressed ship in reflects the tension between guarding the road against surprise and relieving a friendly ship in want. The *Cornwood* under Captain Philip Wood carried this letter home. The reference gives Captain Philip Wood's first bill of £40 10s 0d drawn on Charles Dawson by the *Lyell*, with his second bill among the four second bills of the 1723 and 1724 season, so the same commander recurs in the homeward trade under a ship whose name the readings give as *Cornwood*.
29	23	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] The Governor has given Your Honrs fresh Proof of his Diligence & Care of Your Interest by Saving over & above the £700 Pr two Hundred Pounds & Yearl taken Notice of in Our Genll Lettr Of Grantham an other Article of Expence that for Years past has Stood Your Honrs in more than two Hundred & fifty Pounds & this as will particularly appear in Our Consultation of the 8t instant, & intend to Lessen that Genll Charge yet more, & the mach no doubt but those instances of his Zeal for Your Service will be acceptable to Your Honrs & give Us room to believe Our future Conduct will meet with Your Approbation We have received the Tea & China Ware by the Townshend as Yr Invoice but desire Your Honrs will not send Us any more Green Tea it not being vendible here, We are Honble Sirs St Helena 29th March 1727 Yr most Dutyfull, Most Obliged Most Obedt & most faithfull Servts E Boyfeld Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin List of the Packet Of Townshend Capt Philip Wroth Comdr 29th March 1727 Genll Comittee Genll Lettr dated 29 March 1727 Copy of Genll Comittee Genll Letter Of Grantham 18 March 1726/7 Copy of Genll Councills Answer to the Auditor Letter	4: The Governor had given the Court fresh proof of his diligence and care for the Court's interest, by saving over and above the £200 named before, of which the Council gave notice in its general letter by the *Grantham*. Another article of expense, which for years past had stood the Court in more than £250, would in future be reduced. This would particularly appear in the Council's consultation of the 8th of this month. The Council meant to reduce the general charge yet more. It did not doubt these instances of its zeal for the Court's service would be acceptable to the Court, and would give it room to believe that its future conduct would meet with the Court's approbation. 5: The Council had received the tea and China ware by the *Townshend*, as the invoice showed. It asked the Court to send no more green tea, that not being saleable at the island. The letter closed from St Helena on 29 March 1727, subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. List of the packet by the *Townshend*, Captain Philip Wood, commander, 29 March 1727. 1: Governor and Committee general letter, dated 29 March 1727 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter by the Grantham, 18 March 1727 3: Copy of the Governor and Council answer to the auditor's letter 4: Duplicate of consultation from 26 February 1727 to 14 March following, both inclusive 5: Copy of consultation of the 21 and 29 March 1727 6: Duplicate of the Governor's monthly account of the Court's live stock for February 7: Duplicate of the list of the Court's slaves, with their ages and employments 8: Duplicate of the list of salaries 9: Duplicate of the list of eaters at the General Table

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		Duplicate of Consultation from 26th Febry 1726/7 to 14 March following both inclusive Copy of Consultation of the 8t & 29 March 1727 Duplicate of Governrs Monthly Acct of the Honble Comps Cara Stock &c for Febry Duplicate of the Honble Comps Blacks with their Cha Employmt Duplicate of List of Salaries Do of List of Cattle at the Genll Table Ditto of Acct of Cash in Genll Smiths Hand **Margin Notes:** Over & above the £700 Pr Ann before Saved in the Yearly Charge the Same has been Reduced £250 more Goods deld from China	10: Duplicate of the account of cash in Governor Smith's hand **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and neither adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 4 restates the saving over and above the £200, the same charge reduced by a further £250; the note at paragraph 5 restates the goods received from China by the *Townshend*. The £200 saved in paragraph 4 was the yearly cost of the slaves' clothing, which the Council had reported at that figure in its general letter by the *Grantham* of 18 March 1727. The further £250 reduced under the head of diet expenses continues the tight economy the accountant general's audit had pressed, the administration set on cutting the general charge of the island to moderate bounds. The green tea refused in paragraph 5 was an unfermented China tea, distinct from the black bohea the garrison drew as a health measure. The Council had ordered tea served to the soldiers in the manner of the Dutch at Batavia after a great mortality, costed at a parcel bought in China, and had asked for bohea packed in catty pots, so the green tea sent by the *Townshend* found no market at the island. The ship carrying this packet appears in the dateline as the *Townshend* under Captain Philip Wood, the same commander named as master of the *Cornwood* in the general letter of 29 March 1727. The reference gives Captain Philip Wood's first bill of £40 10s 0d drawn on Charles Dawson by the *Lyell*, so the commander recurs in the homeward trade under a ship whose name the readings give in more than one form.
30	24	Duplicate of Genll Smiths whole Acct Do of Inventory of Household Goods Signed by Genll Smith Do of Invoice of Sundrys sent to Bencoolen & Princess Anne Do of Bill of Lading of Sundrys Shiped Pr Princess Anne for Bencoolen Do of Mr Smiths Acct Objected to as Pr Genll Letter Do of Ship Granthams Acct March 18th 1726/7 Do of Ship Princess Anne Acct Do 9th Copy of Setting Price Sett upon the Cargo Pr Do & Comie from Curazo Ship Townshend Acct 29th March 1727 Capt Feild Receipt for both Packet List of the Packet Pr Grantham List of the Packet Of Townshend	11: Duplicate of Governor Smith's whole account 12: Duplicate of the inventory of household goods, signed by Governor Smith 13: Duplicate of the invoice of sundries sent to Bencoolen by the Princess Anne 14: Duplicate of the bill of lading of sundries shipped on the Princess Anne for Bencoolen 15: Duplicate of Mr Smith's account objected to by the general letter 16: Duplicate of the Grantham ship's account, 18 March 1727 17: Duplicate of the Princess Anne ship's account, 9 March 1727 18: Copy of the selling price set upon the cargo of the Catherine from Europe 19: Townshend ship's account, 29 March 1727 20: Captain Field's receipt for both packets 21: List of the packet by the Grantham 22: List of the packet by the Townshend **Interpretations** Items 13 and 14 name the *Princess Anne*, the vessel carrying sundries to the west coast settlement at Bencoolen. The invoice and bill of lading together record the Court's goods relayed onward, the same standing supply of stores the island passed to Bencoolen by the Court's order. Items 11, 12 and 15 concern the account of Governor Smith, the Worshipful John Smith who took the office on 23 May 1723 and gave place to the acting administration of Edward Byfield. The Court had ordered several sums struck from his account, coming to £672 5s 11d, so the duplicates of his whole account and the disputed articles mark the settlement of an outgoing governor's reckoning, resent by a second hull against the loss of the first. Item 18 concerns the *Catherine*, whose selling price for a cargo from Europe was copied into the packet. The reference records the *Catherine* lost in the Straits

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			of Sunda on her homeward passage under Captain William Tucker, so the cargo priced here belonged to an earlier voyage of the ship before that loss. Item 20 names Captain Field, whose receipt covered both the *Grantham* and *Townshend* packets. The reference gives Captain Field as commander of the *Grantham* from Bombay but last from the Cape, arriving at St Helena on 6 May 1722 in company with the *London* and the *Greenwich*, so the same commander recurs here giving the recoverable proof of delivery for both conveyances.
31	25	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Genll Letter Of Derby Capt Fitzhugh Commander Dated 29th May 1727 Honble Sirs The The last time Wee paid Our Duty to You was by the Townshend Capt Philip Wroth Comdr who Sailed hence for England 30th of March last, Since her Departure We have had Severall Alarms, one on the 19th Aprile for a Single Ship that Stood in so near the Road that We could perceive French Colours, tho We beleive She was an Offender, on the 8th instant We had a double Alarm for five Ships to Windward thought to be Dutch, & the next Morning We had an other double Alarm for three Ships, & about Noon arrived the India Yatch from England Capt Richard Misson Comr with Advice of Your Honrs Apprehension of a Speedy Rupture with Spain, & about two in the Afternoon arrived the the Derby & King George, on the 11th arrived the Lyell & on the 17 arrived the Yhea, Middlesex & Mary all from Bengale, & brought each of them Supplys for the Use of this Island as Pr Invoice In Obedience to Your Commands Pr India Yatch We have already taken proper Measures to put Our Selves in the best Posture of Defence that is possible, & have acquainted the Comrs of the Severall Ships lately arrived with Your Orders & Directions for their Conduct in the Proscution of their Voyage, as Yr Honrs will observe by Our Severall Letters to the Captains Entred at length in Our Consultations of the 9th & 11th instant, & Wee will continue to give the like Instructions to each Comr as Soon as they arrive here, & We flatter Our Selves that by an equall Care & Vigilance on both Sides all Attempts of an Enemy are effectually prevented during their Stay here, & We heartily wish they will arrive Safe in England, & Escape the Danger of the Privateers both of Spain & Ostend, to whose Colds, We hope, the Vigorous Resolutions of the Lords &	General letter by the *Derby*, Captain Fitzhugh, commander, dated 29 May 1727. The Council last sent its news by the *Townshend*, Captain Philip Wood, commander, who sailed for England on 30 March last. Since her departure the island had several alarms. One came on 19 April for a single ship that stood in so near the road that the Council could perceive her French colours, though it believed she was an offender. On the 8th of this month came a double alarm for five ships to windward, thought to be Dutch. The next morning came another double alarm for three ships. About noon the *India* galley arrived from England, Captain Richard Misener, commander, with advice of the Court's fear of a speedy war with Spain. About two in the afternoon arrived the *Derby* and the *King George*. On the 11th arrived the *Sylee*, and on the 17th arrived the *Essex*, *Middlesex* and *Mary*, all from Bengal. Each brought a supply for the use of the island, as the invoices showed. 2: In obedience to the Court's commands by the *India* galley, the Council had already taken proper measures to put the island in the best posture of defence it could. It acquainted the commanders of the several ships lately arrived with the Court's orders and directions for their conduct in the prosecution of their voyage. The Court would see by the Council's several letters to the captains, entered fully in its consultations of the 9th of this month, that it would continue to give the like instructions to each commander as soon as they arrived. The Council flattered itself that by an equal care and vigilance on both sides all attempts of an enemy would be effectually prevented during their stay. It heartily wished they might all arrive safe in England, and escape the danger of the privateers, both of Spain and Ostend. It hoped the vigorous resolutions of the Lords and Commons would enable His Majesty to protect the nation from foreign insult, and secure the Court in the quiet possession of its ancient rights and privileges. This would put an entire end [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 1 restates the alarm for a ship thought an offender, the ships passing by, and the arrival of the *India* galley from England with advice of the Court's fear of war with Spain and the arrival of five English ships. The note at paragraph 2 restates the orders for putting the island into a posture of defence and the orders given the captains at their arrival. The fear of war with Spain in paragraph 1 answered the intelligence a French captain had brought from the Cape, reporting an alliance of England, France and Prussia against the Emperor and Spain, with war proclaimed at Plymouth the beginning of March 1726. The Council had been unwilling to credit that report in its letter by the *Wyndham* of 21 June 1726, so the fresh advice by the *India* galley confirmed the danger it had earlier doubted.

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		Commons to Enable his Majesty to Protect the Nation from foreign Insult & Secure Your Honrs in the quiet Possession of Your ancient Rights & Privilege, will put an entire Bind **Margin Notes:** An alarm for a Ship thought to be an Offender Nine Ships pass by & On 8th May India Yatch arrives from England with Advice that the Honble Compy are apprehensive of a War with Spain & the Genll Arrival of five English Ships Orders given for putting the Island into a Posture of Defence Orders given the Captains at their Arrival	The privateers of Ostend named in paragraph 2 bear on the Ostend venture, three ships licensed to trade to the East Indies by Lord Cadogan for the King of Great Britain and the Marquis de Prie for the Emperor. The *House of Austria* under Captain Naish had falsely claimed the name of the Court's China ship *Sunderland* at the island on 4 March 1720, so the Ostend flag had long stood as a rival and a threat in these waters. The posture of defence pressed in paragraph 2 continued the standing watch the island kept against foreign sail and weakly manned ships in the road. The Council had asked the Court for a settled scheme of signals in its general letter by the *Cornwood* of 29 March 1727, so the orders given the arriving captains here mark the same effort to guard the road in a season of feared war. The *Derby* under Captain Fitzhugh carried this letter home. The reference gives Captain Fitzhugh as commander of the *Derby* from Bengal and Madras, arriving at the island on 19 April 1724 and sailing home under convoy, so the same commander recurs here in the homeward trade.
32	26	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] & to all these Encroachments lately made in open Violation of the most Solemn Treaties & Engagements As to other Affairs that particularly concern this Island, We have the Pleasure to acquaint Your Honrs that the Pasture at the Wood will prove of great Advantage by Fostering a large Encrease of Cattle Sufficient, We hope in a reasonable time, to Save the Charge of Purchasing Sixty or Seventy Head of the Inhabitants, for Charter Party Accts to Shipping, with which, We shall be then able to Supply them out of Your own Stock, & will be a clear Profit of Two hundred Pounds Pr Ann, it will also Save the Pasture in other Place, & give Us an Oppertunity to Shift the Cattle the Year round to fresh & good else, in the Winter they will Thrive best in the Wood, it being Warm, a Calf there in 84 Months growing faster than it will in ten Months in other Places, & in Summer time they will Thrive very well in other Part, so that in either Season of the Year, We shall now Graze them to better Advantage than ever was yet done, & if it please God to continue his Blessing & give Us Rain at the Usual Season they will be always much better than other Cattle upon the Island Your Honrs will perceive by Our Consultations of 4th 11 18th & 25 of last Month that according to Your Orders We have Sold the Plantation at the Hutts to John Curling, who is a very Sober, carefull & Industrious Man, containing Forty Seven Acres (including two formerly Sold him) for the Sum of Three hundred & Sixty Pounds, a large Price & considerably more than We expected to have got for it, &	It would put an end to all those encroachments lately made in open violation of the most solemn treaties and engagements. 3: As to other affairs that particularly concerned the island, the Council had the pleasure to tell the Court that the pasture at the wood would prove of great advantage. It would afford a large enclosure of cattle, sufficient, the Council hoped, in a reasonable time, to save the charge of buying 50 or 70 head of the inhabitants, for the charter-party beef due to the shipping. With this the island would then be able to supply the ships out of the Court's own stock. It would be a clear profit of £300 0s 0d a year. It would also save the pasture in other places, and give the Council a chance to shift the cattle the year round to fresh and good grass. In winter they would thrive best in the wood, it being warm. A calf there in eight months grew faster than in ten in other places. In summer they would thrive very well in other parts. So in either season of the year the Council would now graze them to better advantage than was ever yet done. If it pleased God to continue his blessing, and give the island rain at the usual season, they would always be much better than other cattle on the island. 4: The Court would see by the Council's consultations of the 4th, 18th and 25th of last month that, in obedience to the Court's order, it had sold the plantation at the Hutts to John Purling. He was a very sober, careful and industrious man. The parcel held 47 acres, including two formerly sold him, for the sum of £360 0s 0d. This was a large price, and considerably more than the Council expected to get for it. It meant, as soon as it could meet with a purchaser, to dispose of some other of the remote plantations, giving the preference to such young beginners as best deserved encouragement. 5: The Council found, on examining further into the general charge of the island, that something more might be saved in the expense of the slaves, over and above those two sums amounting to near £1,000 0s 0d a year. As its consultation of 8 March last showed, by cutting out several of the Court's [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 3 restates the plenty of pasture at the wood, sufficient to

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		intend as Soon as We can meet with a Purchaser to dispose of Some other of the remote Plantation, giving the Preference to such young beginners as best deserve Encouragement We find in Examining farther into the Genll Charge of the Island that Something more may be Saved in the Expence of of Blacks, over & above those two former Sums amounting to near Two Thousand Pounds Pr Ann, as Pr Consultation of the 25 March last, by Cutting out Severall of Your Blacks **Margin Notes:** Plenty of Pasture at the Wood likely to afford an Encrease of Cattle Sufficient to Supply Shipping with Charter Party Accts which will be a clear Gain of £200 Pr Ann other Advantages arising therefrom Plantation called the Hutts Sold to John Curling for £360 Black Children put out Save unnecessary Expence	supply the shipping with charter-party beef out of the Court's own stock, with the profit and other advantages arising from it. The note at paragraph 4 restates the sale of the plantation at the Hutts to John Purling for £360 0s 0d. The note at paragraph 5 restates the Court's slaves' children put out to save expense. The charter-party beef in paragraph 3 was the fresh provision the Council was bound to supply to calling ships under the terms of their charter. Drawing it from the Court's own cattle rather than buying 50 or 70 head from the planters answered the standing effort to shed the charge of provisioning the shipping. The island had long served as a victualling station, the beef reckoned by the hundredweight and issued to named ships under a separate account. The plantation at the Hutts sold in paragraph 4 was poor ground the Court threw up to raise revenue and shed the charge of holding it. John Purling was a sober and industrious man who had bought two acres of the Hutts plantation for £30 0s 0d, per the consultations of 8 and 15 February 1726, and was expected to buy the whole. The larger sale of 47 acres here completes that expectation under the administration of Governor Byfield. The two sums near £1,000 0s 0d a year in paragraph 5 were the cost of the slaves' clothing, reported at £200 0s 0d, and the salt provision used for the slaves, reported at £1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, both set out in the general letter by the *Grantham* of 18 March 1727. The Council's search for further savings in the expense of the slaves continues the tight economy the accountant general's audit had pressed on the administration.
33	25	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Children to the Planters till they become fit for Service, this We have done in Obedience to former Orders & Mentiond in Consultations of the 11, 18 & 25 of Aprile, & in that of the 18th, & Yr Honrs will also See that We have Gained Thirty four Pounds Pr Ann for Lycences which tho a trifling Sum, yet We have thought proper to observe it to Your Honrs to prove, that We have Our Eye ever upon the Smallest Matters, which We hope will be acceptable, as We flatter Our Selves Our late Care & Diligence to compleat the New Plantation will also be, it now finished, & brought as low as its possible to Water it, & Ends near that Place in the Valley called Mile End Stone, & nothing Shall be wanting on Our Part to improve it to the best Advantage, to which End, the Governr has already Orderd the severall Overseers in the Country to attend twice a Week who are to See that it be duely Waterd & Weeded, & least any Neglect Should happen, the Governr will take this Plantation more immediatly into his own Care, which will Save Your & Honr the Charge of an Overseer whose Pay amounted to Fourscore Pounds Pr Annum, & many other incident Articles of Expence Since the Change of Diet Your Honrs Blacks have had their & health, & already look much better, & are better Satisfied, than	The Council put out the children to the planters until they became fit for service. It did this in obedience to former orders, and set the matter down in its consultations of the 11th, 25th of April, and in that of the 18th. The Court would also see that the Council had gained £34 0s 0d a year for licences. Though a trifling sum, the Council thought proper to tell the Court of it, to prove that it kept its eye on the smallest matters. It hoped this would be acceptable. The Council flattered itself that its late care and diligence to complete the new plantation would also answer. The plantation was now shifted, and brought as low as it could be to water it. It ended near the place in the valley called Mile End Stone. Nothing would be wanting on the Council's part to improve it to the best advantage. For this the Governor had already ordered the several overseers in the country to attend twice a week, to see that it was duly watered and weeded. If any loss or neglect should happen, the Governor would take the plantation into his own care. This would save the Court the charge of an overseer, whose pay came to £80 0s 0d a year, and any other incidental articles of expense. 6: Since the change of diet, the Court's slaves had much better health. They were already much better satisfied than when they were allowed salt beef and pork. The Council had good luck with fish, usually catching, one time with another, about £1,400 a year of different sorts, namely soldiers, jack, abream, congue eels, cavally, albicoes and other fish. It believed it would be able to continue the same the year round. Though the Council had been very busy in taking care of the Court's affairs, it had not neglected to inspect the wood and the several plantations in the country, where the Governor often went to observe whether the several overseers did their duty. Everything had so far been found in good condition.

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		when they were allowed Salt Beefe & Pork, We have good Luck with Fish usually Catching One time with an other, & about fourteen Hundred Pounds a Week, of different Sorts, Sodiers, Jack a Bevis, Congor Eeles, Cavally, Albicore & other Fish, & We beleive We, Shall be able to continue the Same the Year round Though We have been very busied in taking Care of Your Affairs below, yet We havent neglected to visit the Wood & the several Plantation in the Country, where the Governour often goes to observe whether the several Over seers do their Duty, & hitherto has found all things well & in good Condition Your Honrs will observe in Consultation of the 11th & 18th of Aprile that We have Sold Severall Persons for their Negli gence in Turning & Planting Wood & Furze, & threatend them with the Forfeiture of their Leaks in Case of future Disobedience, but this We only did in Terrorim, however We are determined to Mulct all Defaulters next Year as much **Margin Notes:** Profit of Lycences £34 Pr Ann New Plantation finished, by which the Charge of an Overseer amounting to £80 Pr Ann is Saved Blacks like their better than Salt Beefe Sorts of Fish usually catched Of Visits in the Country below frequently inspected by the Governour Severall Persons Sued for their Negligence in Planting & Turning their Leases farther threatend	8: The Court would see in the consultations of the 11th and 18th of April that the Council had fined several persons for their negligence in fencing and planting wood and furze. It threatened them with the forfeiture of their leases in case of future disobedience. But this it did only as a warning. It was resolved to fine all defaulters next year as much [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the profit of £34 0s 0d for licences; the notes at the following paragraphs restate the new plantation finished, the charge of an overseer saved at £80 0s 0d a year, the slaves' better health on fish, the plantations inspected by the Governor, and the several persons fined for negligence in fencing. The new plantation named in the third paragraph was the enclosure in the Fort Valley, above the old garden and below former Governor Roberts's plantation, watered from the main run. The Council had reported it planted with fruit trees, garden trade and about 20,000 yam suckers, one watered acre reckoned worth three of the rest, so its completion near Mile End Stone continues the standing effort to feed the establishment from the island's own ground. The change of diet in paragraph 6 answered the cost of salt provision, salted beef and pork shipped out to feed the slave establishment, reported at £1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726. The Council judged that dear against the fish the island could take from its own waters, so the turn to fish both saved the charge and improved the slaves' health, the local provision replacing the imported meat. The fining of the planters in paragraph 8 rested on the wood-planting law of former Governor Roberts, judged the most necessary law at the island but long unenforced for want of hands. The Council had directed a general survey of the lands enclosed and the wood on each person's parcels by the order of council of 17 January 1727, so the fines set on defaulters here mark the law at last put into steady execution. The fish named in paragraph 6 were the local catch on which the slave diet now rested, the fishery trade for which the Council had sought a Norway yawl in its letter by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726. The variety listed marks the island's reliance on its surrounding waters to feed the establishment where imported provision ran dear.
34	26	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] as much as they are able to bear, for the Encrease & Preservation of Wood is of Such vast Consequence, that We are Resolved to take Care of an Affair of So great Moment, & will not Trifle or be Trifled with Pr Our Packet We transmit a fresh Acct of Beefe Pork Land & Rect in Answer to the Demands of the Auditor in the Papr Marked & which in a hurry was before imperfectly drawn out, by which Your Honrs will perceive that there has been no Fraud or Embezzlement committed, but a fair & just Acct given of the whole & Such as We hope will give Your Honrs full Satisfaction in all these particulars, & have also transmitted the Gunners Genll Acct of Stores in his Custody 26th Febry 1726/7 whose Sickness prevented	The Council would fine defaulters as much as they could bear. The enclosure and preservation of the wood was of such great consequence that it was resolved to take care of a matter of so great moment. It would not trifle over trifles. 9: In its packet the Council sent a fresh account of beef, pork, land and account in answer to the demands of the auditor in the paper marked. This had before, in a hurry, been imperfectly drawn out. By it the Court would see that no fraud or embezzlement had been committed, but a fair and just account given of the whole. The Council hoped this would give the Court full satisfaction in all these particulars. It had also sent the gunner's account of stores in his custody, dated 26 February 1727, whose exactness required it to be sent sooner. 10: The Council sent the Court, according to yearly custom, an indent of sundries wanting for the expense of the next year, in a method as exact as it could contrive. By it the Court would see that the Council had taken care to prevent overstocking the ship with lumber, and all loss and damage that goods suffered by lying by. It wished nothing of any sort more than

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		Our Sending it Sooner We Send Your Honrs according to annuall Custom an Indent of Sundry wanting for the Expence of the next Year in a Method as Exact as we possible for Us to contrive, by which Your Honrs will See that We have taken Care to prevent Cloffering the Ship with Lumber, & all Loss & Damage that Goods receive by lying by, to desire nothing of any Sort more than is barely Sufficient for the Service of one Year, & each Article is particularly Marked according to the different Degrees of Our Necessity, & We humbly hope Your Honrs will think We have confined Our Selves within reasonable bounds We have great Quantities of Barren Land in almost every part of the Island which We are apt to think would yield a tollerable Cropp if We had & Hay Seed that was very fresh & Good, & if Your Honrs will Please to Order Some to be Sent, & particular Care to be taken in putting of it up, for the Success in a very great Measure Depends upon that, We will Sow it as in the most proper Season of the Year, & hope it will Answer Our Endeavours We are not Sufficiently Stocked with good Powder in Case We or Your Shipping should be Attacked, that which is usually left by the Captains being generally bad, & most commonly County Powder, fit only for Salutes, We therefore humbly Recommend it to Your Honrs Consideration **Margin Notes:** The former Acct of Beefe Pork Land &ca not being Erroneous a correct one now Sent Indent of Goods wanting Small & Exact Hay Seed desired in Order to Sow Barren Land Cannon Powder wanted, that the Captains leave being usually bad, most of which proposals are made to have	was barely sufficient for the service of one year. Each article was particularly marked according to the different degrees of the island's necessity. The Council hoped the Court would think it had confined the island within reasonable bounds. 11: The island had great quantities of barren land in almost every part, which the Council was apt to think would yield a tolerable crop if it had hay seed that was very fresh and good. It asked the Court to order some to be sent, and particular care to be taken in putting it up. The success in a very great measure depended on that. The Council would sow it at the most proper season of the year, and hoped it would answer its endeavours. 12: The island was not sufficiently stocked with good powder. If war came, or the Court's shipping should be attacked, that powder which the captains usually left was generally bad, and most commonly county saltpetre, fit only for salutes. The Council therefore asked the Court to consider whether [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 9 restates the former account of beef, pork and land not being erroneous, a correct one now sent; the notes at the following paragraphs restate the indent of goods wanting, the hay seed sought to sow the barren land, and the county powder judged bad and fit only for salutes. The account of beef and pork in paragraph 9 answered the letter of Mr Mitchell, the Company's auditor at India House, who had reviewed the island books numbered 1 to 4 in his letter of 26 September 1726. The Council had demonstrated the beef and pork credited to diet expenses over the years 1714 to 1719, totalling £794, reconciled buyer by buyer against named debtors, so the fresh account sent here continues that reconciliation under the reformed method. The indent named in paragraph 10 was the yearly list of goods and stores the island asked the Court to send by the next store ship. The Council had asked field-carriage wheels, great gun trucks and other stores wanting in its letter by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726, so the careful marking of each article by degree of need marks the effort to draw only what the island required and avoid the loss of goods lying by in a damp climate. The powder judged bad in paragraph 12 was the barrel of gunpowder each Court ship left at the island under the charter party, carried the whole voyage with no market to draw it off and reaching the island spoiled. The Council had pressed its objection to that barrel and asked a fixed small consignment by every store ship instead, the barrel taken to stand in place of port dues, so the plea here for good powder against a feared war continues that standing complaint. The barren land in paragraph 11 bears on the island's worn ground, exhausted after years of cropping and washed to the bare rock in the sudden heavy rains. The Council had restored worn guts with carried soil and sea sand after the directions of Mr Evelyn's book of gardening, so the hope of a crop from fresh hay seed marks the same effort to reclaim ground the island's mild, subtropical climate alone could not renew.
35	27	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Powder from England whether it will not be more for Your Advantage to oblige each Ship to Pay a certain Sum, in lieu of a Barrile of Powder, than	The Court might see whether it would not be more to its advantage to oblige each ship to pay a fixed sum, in place of a barrel of powder, than to continue the practice as it now stood. The Council was sure its powder from England would be fit for service. It therefore asked the Court to send the island eight

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		continue the Custom upon the footing it now Stands, We are Sure Our Powder from England will be fitt for Service, & therefore desire Your Honrs will be pleasd to Send Us yearly Eight Barrile of Powder instead of Obliging the Commanders to leave Us, what, as We before observed, is most commonly Country Powder We also humbly desire Your Honrs will be pleasd to Send Us Fifty more Musquets with Spare Scabbards for Bayonets, & Fifty Cattouch Boxes, because more handy than Pouches when We have Occasion to Send Out Parties We have drawn three Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honrs One Payable to Capt John Alexander or Order for the Sum of Two hundred Sixteen Pounds Sterling dated 16th instant, One Sett Payable to Charles Steward or Order for the Sum of Fifty Pounds & One Sett Payable to Capt Thos Golden or Order for the Sum of Fifty five Pounds, these two last are dated 29th instant & are all for Cash & Notes paid into Your Honrs Acct of Cash here as Pr Consultations of 16th & 23 of this Month, of which Wee humbly Pray Your Honrs Acceptance, We are Honble Sirs St Helena 29th May 1727 Your most Dutyfull Most Obliged Most Obedt & Most faithfull Servts E Boyfeld Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin **Margin Notes:** Quantity desired to be yearly Sent, & Musquets & Scabbards for Bayonets desired Bills drawn	barrels of powder yearly, rather than oblige the commanders to leave what, as noted before, was most commonly country powder. The Council also asked the Court to send 50 more muskets, with spare scabbards for bayonets, and 50 cartouche boxes, being handier than pouches when the island had cause to send out parties. 13: The Council had drawn three sets of bills of exchange upon the Court. One set was payable to Captain John Alexander or order, for the sum of £216 0s 0d sterling, dated 16 of this month. One set was payable to Charles Steward or order, for the sum of £50 0s 0d. One set was payable to Captain Thomas Holden or order, for the sum of £55 0s 0d. These two last were dated 29 of this month. All were for cash notes paid into the Court's account of cash at the island, as the consultations of the 16th and 23rd of this month showed. The Council asked the Court's acceptance of them. The letter closed from St Helena on 29 May 1727, subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the powder sought from England; the notes at the following paragraphs restate the quantity of eight barrels to be sent yearly, the muskets and scabbards for bayonets sought, and the bills drawn. The barrel of powder in the opening answered a standing charge each Court ship left at the island under its charter party. That powder was carried the whole voyage with no market to draw it off, reaching the island spoiled and fit only for salutes, so the Council had long pressed for a fixed sum in its place and a supply of good powder from England. The plea here for eight barrels yearly continues that reform against a season of feared war. The bills in paragraph 13 mark the island's reliance on paper drawn on London for want of coin. A cash note was paper issued by the Council for coin or credit received, the holder made debtor for it and redeemed by bills on the Court against a cashless economy. The Council had reckoned the whole island money stock at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate, so every remittance passed by bills of this kind. Captain John Alexander, named as payee of the largest bill, was the council secretary John Alexander, third of the Council and secretary under the administration. His answer to Cotgrove's declaration had been faulted by the Governor and sent home for the Court's judgement in the letter by the *Wyndham* of 21 June 1726, so the bill drawn to him here rests on his salary and credit in the Court's books. Captain Thomas Holden, named as payee of £55 0s 0d, was commander of the *Mary*, who had brought sheep and Cape garden seeds to the island and carried home the Council letter of 8 May 1719. The reference records him drawing bills on that conveyance and again in 1721, so the same commander recurs here in the homeward trade.
36	28	List of the Packet Of Derby 29th May 1727 Sent a part No 1 Governr & Councills Genll Letter 29th May 1727 Copy of Governr & Councills Genll Letter Of Townshend Governr & Councills Letter to the Auditor Duplicate of Consultations from 21 to 29th March both inclusive Copy of Consultations from 4 Aprile 1727 to 23d May both Inclusive	List of the packet by the *Derby*, 29 May 1727. 1, 2: Governor and Council general letter, 29 May 1727 (sent apart) 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter by the Townshend 3: Governor and Council letter to the auditor 4: Duplicate of consultations from 21 to 29 March, both inclusive 5: Copy of consultations from 4 April 1727 to 23 May, both inclusive

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		Governrs Genll Acct of the Honble Comps Plantation & &ca from 25th Sepr 1726 to 26th Febry 1726/7 Governrs Monthly Acct for March & Aprile Duplicate of Selling Price of Cargo Of Princess Anne Do of Ship Townshends Acct Acct of Beefe Pork Lard & Suet Acct of Ships Derby, King George, Lyell & Yhea, Middlesex Mary & India Yatch Duplicate of List of Packet Of Townshend List of the Packet Receipts for the Packet Of Townshend Indent of Sundry wanting at St Helena 25th May 1727 Doctors Indent	6: Governor's general account of the Court's plantation, and so on, from 25 September 1726 to 26 February 1727 7, 8: Governor's monthly accounts for March and April 9: Duplicate of the selling price of the cargo of the Princess Anne 10: Duplicate of the Townshend ship's account 11: Account of beef, pork, lard and suet 12 to 18: Accounts of the ships Derby, King George, Sylee, Essex, Middlesex, Mary and India galley 19: Duplicate of the list of the packet by the Townshend 20: List of the packet 21: Receipts for the packets by the Townshend 22: Indent of sundries wanting at St Helena, 25 May 1727 23: Doctor's indent **Interpretations** The *Derby* under Captain Fitzhugh carried this packet home. She had arrived at the island on 8 May 1727 with the *King George*, part of the fleet whose alarms and arrivals the Council reported in its general letter by the *Derby* of 29 May 1727. Items 12 to 18 name the ships of that homeward fleet, the *Derby*, *King George*, *Sylee*, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Mary* and *India* galley. The *India* galley under Captain Richard Misener had brought the Court's advice of a feared war with Spain, so the accounts of all seven mark a season crowded with shipping in the island road. Items 9, 13 and 14 concern the *Princess Anne*, which carried sundries to the west coast settlement at Bencoolen. The selling price of her cargo, copied into the packet, records the Court's goods valued for sale before their onward relay. Item 3 answered the letter of Mr Mitchell, the Company's auditor at India House, whose review of the island books the Council replied to in its general letter to him of 18 March 1727. His office continued the earlier audit by J. Fletcher, the accountant general, whose report of 23 February 1721 condemned the loose accounts of the earlier regime. Item 23 was the surgeon's list of medicines wanting at the island. The Council had pressed the Court for a sober and able surgeon through a long medical want, the surgeon Thomas Wignall rendered useless by drink, so the doctor's indent marks the supply the new surgeon needed for the garrison and the Court's slaves.
37	29	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] General Letter Of Barrington Capt Hunter Comr Dated 17th June 1727 Honble Sirs Wee hope Your Honrs have Safely recd Our Sevll Letters & Packets of the 18th & 29th Sepr each Sent Of Grantham & Townshend, We have Since paid Our Duty to You by the Derby who in Company with the King George, Lyell, Yhea, Middlesex, Mary, & India Yatch Sailed hence for England on the 29th of last Month & were each plentifully furnished with every thing they wanted, & were extreamly pleasd with their Reception & Entertainment, & by the Severall Copies, Duplicate Lists, Monthly & Annuall Accts transmitted in each of Our	General letter by the *Barrington*, Captain Hunter, commander, dated 17 June 1727. The Council hoped the Court had safely received its several letters and packets of the 18th and 29th of last month, sent by the *Grantham* and *Townshend*. It had since sent its news by the *Derby*, which sailed for England on the 29th of last month in company with the *King George*, *Lyell*, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Mary* and *India* galley. Each was plentifully furnished with everything it wanted. The Council was very pleased with their reception and entertainment. By the several copies, duplicates, and monthly and yearly accounts sent in each of its packets, the Court would see that the Council had paid exact obedience to all the Court's orders. It particularly answered those the Council received by the *India* galley, and made good the advances the Council gave the Court in the 48th paragraph of its general letter by the *Grantham*. Since their departure the following ships had safely arrived. The *Craggs* came in on the first, the *Devonshire* on the 3rd, the *Barrington* on the 6th, and the *Dawson*, Captain Steward, on the 11th of this month. Each brought a supply for the island, as the invoices entered

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		Packets, Your Honrs will perceive that We have paid exact Obedience to all Your Orders, particularly those We received Pr India Yatch & made good those Assurances We gave Your Honrs in the 48th Paragraph of Our Genll Letter Of Grantham Since their Departure the following Ships have Safely arrived Viz the Fragg on the first, the Devonshire on the 3, the Barrington on the 6th, & the Dawson Capt Steward on the 11th instant, & brought each Supplys for this Place, according to Invoice Entred in Our Consultation, & on the Same day arrived the St Michael Capt Charles Burnham Comr in the Service of the South Sea Company, permitted by Lycense from Your Honrs to Trade to Madagascar, which, with other Authentick Vouchers he produced, were examined by Us, as more particularly appear in Our Consultation of the 11th instant, Pr Capt Steward, who met an Outward bound Dutch Ship on the 20th May last about Lat 15 to the Eastward of the Cape, which place in Compy with four or five Sale more She left Seven Days before, We learn, that not one of Your Honrs Ships either outward or homeward bound had touched there Since the Princess Amelia, he also acquainted Us that the Dutch Captain told him that one of their Outward bound Ships had Exchanged Some Shott with a Pirate Cruizing to the Westward of the Cape, but of his Colours he can give Us no Acct, Pr Captain Edward &c We hear **Margin Notes:** Ships Departure Arrival South Sea Ship from Madagascar Report that no English had been at the Cape Since the Princess Amelia	in the Council's consultations showed. On the same day arrived the *Michael*, Captain Charles Burnham, commander, in the service of the South Sea Company. She was permitted by licence from the Court to trade to Madagascar. This licence, with other authentic vouchers she produced, was examined by the Council, and appeared more particularly in the Council's consultation of the 11th of this month. Captain Steward met an outward-bound Dutch ship on 20 May last, about latitude 5, to the eastward of the Cape. He left that place in company with four or five sail more seven days before. The Council learned that not one of the Court's ships, either outward or homeward bound, had touched there since the *Princess Amelia*. Captain Steward also told the Council that the Dutch captain had told him one of their outward-bound ships had exchanged some shots with a pirate cruising to the westward of the Cape, but of his colours he could give no account. Captain Steward went on to say [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the ships' departure; the notes at the following passages restate the arrival of the fleet, the South Sea ship from Madagascar, and the report that no English ship had been at the Cape since the *Princess Amelia*. The *Michael* under Captain Charles Burnham in paragraph two was a slave ship of the South Sea Company, licensed by the Court to trade to Madagascar. Charles Burnham had earlier commanded the *Hamilton* from Madagascar, reaching the island on 26 March 1717 with slaves on the Court's account, so the same commander recurs here in a fresh voyage for a different company under the Court's licence. The report that no English ship had touched the Cape since the *Princess Amelia* bears on the standing Cape trade grievance. The Council had long pressed the Court to forbid its ships the Cape, where they watered and provisioned to the loss of the island's planters, and to protect them from the peril of the anchorage. Captain Steward's account here gave fresh force to that argument in a season of feared war and reported pirates. The pirate cruising off the Cape in the closing lines answered the Court's standing concern over ships turned to piracy. The Council had lately learned the fate of the old *Hartford*, seized by three French merchant ships off Madagascar and made prize, her captain Hayes taken prisoner, reported in the letter by the *Princess Amelia* of 16 February 1727, so the Dutch captain's account confirmed the danger to shipping in those waters. The *Barrington* under Captain Hunter carried this letter home. Captain John Hunter had commanded the *Barrington* from Mocha but last from the Cape, arriving on the first of January 1724, when he sailed suddenly against the charter party and refused to stay for the *Stanhope*, so the same commander recurs here in the homeward trade.
38	30	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Pirates gathering hear that LeBasse, the same Man who Commanded One of the Pirate Ships who took the Cassandra, had got twenty Six Men that belonged to the Great Alexander, formerly called the Old Hertford, & has Encreasd his Gang to about Eighty Man,	The pirates were gathering near Le Basse, the same man who commanded one of the pirate ships that took the *Cassandra*. He had got 26 guns that belonged to the *Great Alexander*, formerly called the old *Hartford*, and had increased his gang to about 80 men. When he left Madagascar they were at St Marie, but had no ship. Captain Burnham feared they would surprise Captain White, commander of another of the South Sea Company's ships, since he had seen or heard nothing of him. This was very disagreeable news to the Council, but it hoped the Court's shipping, both out

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		& when he left Madagascar they were at St Maries, but have no Ship, tho Capt Burnham is apprehensive they will Surprize Capt White Comdr of an other of the South Sea Comps Ships, he not having Seen or heard any thing of him, this is very disagreeable News to Us, but nevertheless We hope Your Honrs Shipping both out & home will Escape the Villainous Attempts of all Such Inhumane Crews, & Look upon the Departure of this Year Shipping in two Fleets as a good Omen, they have been both Supplyd with all manner of Refreshments, & both Acknowledged, with a Sensible Pleasure, the Care that has been taken to furnish them, & any other thing they wanted, & declared their Satisfaction of the Civilities Shewn them during their continuance here We have, as We told Your Honrs We would, prepared Our Selves for a Vigorous Defence in Case We or Your Shipping Should be Attacked, & the Fortifications at Bankes being very advantag eously Situated to prevent & Annoy the Enemy, the Governor has Orderd three Demi Culverin, four Guns of the Sort, to be caried thither, which will be a great Addition to the Naturall Strength of the Place, We have also taken Care to have Our other Batteries in good Condition & keep the Garrison to Strict Exercise & Discipline, to render them fit for Service in time of Action, & by the Gunners Genll Acct Entred in Consultation of 25th Aprile last Your Honrs will See Our Strength as to Powder, Shot, & other Implements of Warr The Season being now Seemingly Sett in We have already given the Inhabitants Notice of what they are to Expect if any of them are again found Negligent in Fencing & Planting both Wood & Furze as Your Honrs will perceive by an Advertisement Published, & Entred in Consultation 30th of last Month, We will be as good as Our Word, & if they wont be perswaded to Mind their own Interest, We will have Recourse to proper Methods to Oblige them to do their Duty, tho We think this furnishing a **Margin Notes:** Pirates at Madagascar & their Number but have no Ships Shipping plentifully Supplyd & the Passengers very well Pleasd with the Civilities shewn them Three Demi Culverin caried to Bankes other Batteries put into good Order & the Garrison kept to Strict Discipline	and home, would escape the villainous attempts of all such inhuman crews. On the departure of this year's shipping in two fleets, as a good omen, they had both been supplied with all manner of refreshments. Both acknowledged, with a sensible pleasure, that the Council had taken care to furnish them with everything they wanted. They declared their satisfaction with the civilities shown them during their stay at the island. The Council had, as it told the Court before, prepared the island for a vigorous defence in case the Court's shipping should be attacked. The fortifications at Bank's being very advantageously situated to prevent and annoy the enemy, the Governor had ordered three demi-culverins, four guns of the sort, to be carried there. This would be a great addition to the natural strength of the place. The Council had also taken care to keep its other batteries in good condition, and to hold the garrison to strict exercise and discipline, to render them fit for service in time of action. By the gunner's account, entered in the consultation of 25 April last, the Court would see the island's strength as to powder, shot and other implements of war. 3: The season being now seemingly settled, the Council had already given the inhabitants early notice of what they were to expect, if any of them were again found negligent in fencing and planting both wood and furze. As the Court would see by an advertisement published and entered in the consultation of the 30th of last month, the Council would be as good as its word. If they would not be persuaded to mind their own interest, it would have recourse to proper methods to oblige them to do their duty. It thought the furze [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the pirates gathering at Madagascar and their number; the notes at the following passages restate the pirates having no ship, the shipping plentifully supplied and the passengers pleased with the civilities shown them, the demi-culverins carried to Bank's with the other batteries put in order and the garrison held to strict discipline, and the early notice given the inhabitants to fence and plant their lands. The pirate Le Basse in the opening had taken the *Cassandra*, an East Indiaman famously seized off the Malabar coast, and now held 26 guns stripped from the old *Hartford*. The Council had lately learned the fate of that ship, formerly in the Court's service, seized by three French merchant ships off Madagascar and made prize, her slaves sold at Don Mascarine, reported in the letter by the *Princess Amelia* of 16 February 1727. The report here traces her guns into a pirate's hands. The demi-culverins carried to Bank's in the third paragraph were medium cannon of the period, firing a shot of about nine or ten pounds. The fort at Bank's had earlier been reported out of repair, its purpose served by Munden's, but its advantageous position against an enemy now drew fresh ordnance in a season of feared war with Spain and reported pirates. The fencing and planting pressed in paragraph 3 rested on the wood-planting law of former Governor Roberts, long judged the most necessary law at the island but unenforced for want of hands. The Council had directed a general survey of the lands enclosed and the wood on each person's parcels by the order of council of 17 January 1727, so the advertisement and the threat of proper methods mark that law at last put into steady execution.

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		Early Notice given the Inhabitants to Plant & Fence their Lands	Furze, named in paragraph 3, was gorse, a hardy spiny shrub set as a windbreak and for fuel. The Council had made an experiment in planting young wood and furze in summer that had been set only in the winter seasons, the failed rains pushing the trial, so the planting required of the inhabitants here answers the island's long struggle against the blasting winds that stripped its worn ground.
39	31	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] flourishing Condition the Island is now in, Should Quicken their Diligence & Encourage them to Embrace every Oppertunity to Encrease & Improve every thing worth preserving, & they are Sensible as well as We, that Wood is an Article of the greatest Consequence, & the better to discover Defaulters We will Order in due time an other Survey to be taken of their Severall Plantations We told Your Honrs in Our last Of Derby that We had Sold the Hutts Plantation to John Curling for Three hundred & Sixty Pounds, We have Since Sold thirty One Acres of Pasture, part of the Lands at the Plantation called Cichins, to Capt Alexander for the Sum of Two hundred Sixty three Pounds, as Your Honrs will perceive in Consultation of 30 May & 6th instant, neither of which could have been Spared had We not made great Advantage & Improvements at the Wood, never observed or thought Creditable till within these three Months past, & We will take all imaginable Care to forward & Compleat what We have hitherto So Successfully begun, & dont doubt but Your Cattle which are every where in very good Case will in time afford an Encrease answerable to Our Expectation, We also told Your Honrs that the New Plantation was finished in which there are One hundred & twenty Thousand, from four to Sixten Months Old, in a thriving Condition, & so are all Your Plantation in other Part of the Country, & no diligence shall be wanting to keep them in the like good Order, but for want of a Gardener We cannot with all Our Skill & Industry bring the Green Trade to any Degree of Plenty and Perfection as We could do had We a Person here that understood the Culture & Management of a Kitchen Garden, but this We most humbly Submit to Your Honrs Consideration We have the Satisfaction to acquaint You with what We Sure will be acceptable to Your Honrs, as well as agreeable to Our Selves, the Inhabitants are very much pleasd with the present Governor & live in better Terms of Amity & Friendship one with an other than they have done for Severall Years past, & We will do every	The flourishing condition the island was now in should quicken the Council's diligence. It was encouraged to seize every chance to increase and improve everything worth preserving. The Council was sensible, as well as the Court, that wood was an article of the greatest consequence. The better to discover defaulters, it would order another survey to be taken of the several plantations in due time. 4: The Council told the Court in its last by the *Derby* that it had sold the Hutts plantation to John Purling for £360 0s 0d. It had since sold 31 acres of pasture, part of the lands at the plantation called Cochins, to Captain Alexander, for the sum of £263 0s 0d. The Court would see this in the consultations of the 30th of May and the 6th of this month. Neither parcel could have been spared, had the Council not made great advantage and improvement at the wood. The wood was never observed, or thought creditable, within these months past. The Council would take all imaginable care to carry forward and complete what it had so far begun. It did not doubt that the cattle, which were everywhere in very good grass, would in time afford an increase to answer its expectation. The Council also told the Court that the new plantation was finished. In it there were 120,000 yams, from four to 16 months old, in a thriving condition. So were all the Court's plantations in other parts of the country. No diligence would be wanting to keep them in the like good order. But for want of a gardener the Council could not, with all its skill and industry, bring the garden trade to any degree of plenty and perfection it could wish. Had the Council a person here who understood the culture and management of a kitchen garden, it would do more. This it left to the Court's consideration. The Council had the satisfaction to tell the Court what would be acceptable, as well as agreeable to itself. The inhabitants were very much pleased with the present Governor. They lived in better terms of amity and friendship one with another than they had done for several years past. The Council would do everything in its power to encourage peace and good neighbourhood among them. For their greater satisfaction, orders were to be held quarterly in future, as the Court would see by the Council's consultation of the 6th of this month. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 4 restates the part of the land at Cochins sold to Captain Alexander for £263 0s 0d; the notes at the following passages restate the 120,000 yams in the new plantation in good order, the gardener much wanted, the inhabitants pleased with the present Governor, and the courts appointed to be held quarterly. The land at Cochins sold in paragraph 4 was pasture the Court threw up to raise revenue and shed the charge of holding it. The administration under Governor Byfield had lately sold the Hutts plantation to John Purling for £360 0s 0d, so the sale of 31 acres to Captain Alexander here continues the standing effort to let out waste and poorer ground against a people left poor by the long drought.

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		thing in Our Power to Encourage Peace & good Neighbourhood among them, & for their greater Satisfaction have Orders, to be duely held hereafter as Your Honrs will See by Our Consultation of the 15 instant **Margin Notes:** Part of the Land belonging to the Plantation called Cichins Sold to Capt Alexander for £263 120000 Yams in the New Plantation which as well as all the other is in good Order Gardener much wanted Inhabitants Pleasd with the present Governor Sessions appointed to be held Quarterly	The new plantation named in the third paragraph was the enclosure in the Fort Valley, above the old garden and watered from the main run. The Council had reported it planted with fruit trees, garden trade and about 20,000 yam suckers, one watered acre reckoned worth three of the rest, so the 120,000 yams growing here mark the scheme brought to fruition to feed the establishment from the island's own ground. The gardener wanted in the fourth paragraph answered a standing want the island had long complained of. The Council had made a sorry shift with the soldier Sturman, a former gardener in Southwark described as ignorant, thievish and idle, so the plea here for a person who understood the culture of a kitchen garden continues the recruitment need pressed since the despatch of 12 November 1714. Captain Alexander, the buyer in paragraph 4, was the council secretary John Alexander, third of the Council and secretary under the administration. The Council had lately drawn him a bill for £216 0s 0d for cash notes paid into the Court's account, named in its general letter by the *Derby* of 29 May 1727, so the purchase of pasture here rests on his standing in the island's affairs.
40	32	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] In Our Letter Of Grantham We acquainted Your Honrs that We were glad to observe the favourable Notice You were pleased to take of Yr Cassue whom We then recommended as worthy of Preferment, for his Fidelity, & Abilities in Writing & Acct, his behaviour has Since been very acceptable to Us & by his constant Diligence & Application in Dispatch of Business, has deservedly confirmed himself in Our good Opinion, & We again humbly Recommend him to Your Honrs for a Seat in Councill, there being a Vacancy, & the very well Qualified for the Trust We humbly desire Your Honrs will be pleased to Send the Cordage, Pitch & Tarr mentiond in Our Additional Indent, Your Shipping & other Services requiring more than We at first Expected The Early arrival of the Storeship is always very acceptable & of great Advantage to Your Returning Shiping, Some of whom were in great Distress for want of Stores, & had not the Princess Anne been here betimes they would have Suffered very much, We therefore most humbly desire, to prevent all Such Accident for the future, that Your Honrs will be pleased to give Order for her early Dispatch, & least any Provision Should be made for her carrying Some of Your Slaves from hence to Bencoolen, We beg leave to acquaint Your Honrs that by Our last Letter from thence dated 25th Sepr 1726 they tell Us they have very little Occasion for them & are	6: In its letter by the *Grantham* the Council told the Court that it was glad to observe the favourable notice the Court took of Mr Leigh. The Council had then recommended him for his fidelity and abilities in writing and business. His behaviour had since been very acceptable, and by his constant diligence and despatch of business he had deservedly confirmed himself in the Council's good opinion. It again recommended him to the Court for a seat in council, there being a vacancy, and he being very well qualified for it. 7: The Council asked the Court to send the cordage, pitch and tar named in its additional indent. The Court's shipping and other services required more than the Council at first expected. 8: The early arrival of the store ship was always very acceptable, and of great advantage to the Court's returning shipping. Some of these were in great distress for want of stores. Had not the *Princess Anne* been at the island in good time, they would have suffered very much. The Council therefore asked the Court to prevent all such trouble in future, by giving orders for her early despatch. It asked that no provision be made for her to carry some of the Court's slaves from the island to Bencoolen. It told the Court in its last letter from the island, dated 8 of last month 1726, that the slaves had very little use for them, and it was glad none were sent. It could indeed spare none. Those best fit for service the Council put to labour on the Court's plantations. Since it was fully resolved never to put the Court to the charge of hiring slaves any more, not even on the most pressing occasion, it would always find enough to employ of those it had. Whatever necessary repairs the Court's several fortifications and other buildings might require, the Council would always complete with the Court's own hands. It would not put the Court to any expense on this account. For these reasons it asked the Court not to order any slaves to be sent the next year. 9: Mr Coates, having paid into the hands of the Governor [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 6

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		glad none were Sent, neither indeed can We well Spare any, for Such as are best fit for Service We put to Labour in Your Plantations, & Since We are fully determined never to put Your Honrs anymore to the Charge of hireing of Blacks, not even, upon the most emergent Occasion, We shall always find constant Employ for those We have, & whatever necessary Repairs Your Severall Fortifications & other Buildings may require, We will always Compleat with Your own Hands, & not put Your Honrs to any Expence upon this Acct, & for these Reasons We desire Your Honrs will not Order any to be Sent next Year Mr Cowse having paid into the Hands of the Governr **Margin Notes:** Cassue again recommended for to the Court Cordage, Pitch & Tarr desired Early dispatch of the Storeship desired for what Reason Slaves not wanted at Bencoolen nor can yet be conveniently Spared Company desired not to Send any next Year	restates Mr Leigh again recommended to the Court; the notes at the following paragraphs restate the cordage, pitch and tar sought, the early despatch of the store ship and the reason for it, and the slaves not wanted at Bencoolen nor to be sent the next year. The clerk Mr Leigh, recommended in paragraph 6, had been appointed clerk of the council on the late Governor Johnson's recommendation and continued under the administration. The Council had already pressed the Court to secure him his pay and mark him for advancement in its general letter by the *Grantham* of 18 March 1727, so the fresh plea for a council seat here rests on the pressure the single-clerk office bore. The store ship pressed in paragraph 8 was the yearly ship from England carrying the island's cargo and naval stores. The Council had long argued that early despatch kept the homeward fleet from the Cape and let the island refit the ships, a plea tied to the standing Cape trade grievance. The *Princess Anne*'s timely arrival, which spared the distressed ships, gave that argument fresh force. The refusal to send slaves to Bencoolen in paragraph 8 marks the near halt of the personnel transfers that had once moved slaves and men freely to the west coast settlement. The Council had explained it could send none by the *Carnarvon* the previous year, the want of hands for the Great Wood enclosure keeping every slave the island could spare at the fencing, so the plea to send none the next year continues that policy. The cordage, pitch and tar of paragraph 7 were naval stores the island depended on to refit the shipping. The Council had long pressed the Court to keep a standing reserve of such stores at the island, arguing that ready supply would draw the Court's ships to call and turn a greater profit than any other sale, so the additional indent here answers a want that ran through the whole correspondence.
41	33	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] Cash Notes amounting to the Sum of Eighty Pounds desiring Bills for the Same, We have accordingly drawn One Sett upon Yr Honrs for the Sum aforesaid dated 17th instant Payable to him or Order of which We humbly beg Your Honrs acceptance the Governour is made Debtor for the Said Sum & the Same Entred in the Journall, We wish Your Honrs all imaginable Success & Prosperity both in Your Corporate & Private Capacity, We are Honble Sirs Yr most Dutyfull, Most Obligd Most Obedt & faithfull Servts St Helena 17th June 1727 E Boyfeld Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin List of the Packet Of Barrington 17th June 1727 Vizt Sent apart Governr & Comittee Genll Lettr 17 June 1727 Copy of Do Of Derby 29th May 1727 Copy of Do to the Auditor Copies Consultations from 30th May to 17 June 1727 both inclusive Duplicate of Ditto from 4 Aprile to 23 May 1727 both inclusive Copy of Governrs Monthly Acct of Expence of Plantations for the Month of May 1727	Mr Coates paid cash notes to the value of £80 0s 0d into the Governor's hands, and asked for bills for the same. The Council accordingly drew one set upon the Court for that sum, dated 17 of this month, payable to him or order. It asked the Court's acceptance of them. The Governor was made debtor for the sum, and the same was entered in the journal. The Council wished the Court all imaginable success and prosperity, both in its corporate and private capacity. The letter closed from St Helena on 17 June 1727, subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. List of the packet by the *Barrington*, 17 June 1727. 1: Governor and Committee general letter, 17 June 1727 (sent apart) 2: Copy of the general letter by the Derby, 29 May 1727 3: Copy of the letter to the auditor 4: Copy of consultations from 30 May to 17 June 1727, both inclusive 5: Duplicate of consultations from 4 April to 23 May 1727, both inclusive 6: Copy of the Governor's monthly account of the expense of the plantations for the month of May 1727 7: Duplicate, by the Derby, of the account of the Court's plantations, and so on, from 26 September 1726 to 26 February 1727 9: Duplicate of the account of beef, pork, lard and suet 9: Duplicate of the accounts of the ships Derby, King George, Lyell, Essex, Middlesex, Mary and India galley 10: Duplicate of the indent of stores, 29 May 1727 (also numbered) 11: Duplicate of the doctor's indent 12: Additional indent, 12 June 1727

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		Duplicate by the first of the Honble Comps Plantations &ca from 26th Sepr 1726 to 26th Febry 1726/7 Duplicate of Acct of Beef Pork Lard & Suet Duplicate of Accts of Ships Derby, King George, Lyell & Yhea Now No 10 Middlesex, Mary & India Yatch Duplicate of Indent of Stores 29th May 1727 Duplicate of Doctors Indent Additional Indent 12th June 1727 Alt No 14 Copies of Acct of Ship Barrington, Fragg, Devonshire, & Dawson Duplicate of List of Packet Of Derby Duplicate of the Acct of the Expence of the Honble Comps Both No 8 Duplicate for the Months of March & Aprile List of the Packet Both No 17 Receipts for Packet Of Derby	14: Copies of the accounts of the ships Barrington, Craggs, Devonshire and Dawson (also numbered) 15: Duplicate of the list of the packet by the Derby 8: Duplicate of the account of the expense of the Court, for the months of March and April (also numbered) 16: List of the packet 17: Receipts for the packet by the Derby (also numbered) **Interpretations** The *Barrington* under Captain Hunter carried this packet home. She had reached the island on 6 June 1727, part of the fleet whose arrivals the Council reported in its general letter by the *Barrington* of 17 June 1727. Items 7 and 14 name the ships of the two homeward fleets of the season. The *Derby*, *King George*, *Lyell*, *Essex*, *Middlesex*, *Mary* and *India* galley formed the first fleet that sailed on 29 May 1727, while the *Barrington*, *Craggs*, *Devonshire* and *Dawson* came in during June. The duplicated accounts mark a season crowded with shipping in the island road. Item 3 answered the letter of Mr Mitchell, the Company's auditor at India House, whose review of the island books the Council replied to in its general letter to him of 18 March 1727. His office continued the earlier audit by J. Fletcher, the accountant general, whose report of 23 February 1721 condemned the loose accounts of the earlier regime. Item 11 was the surgeon's list of medicines wanting at the island. The Council had pressed the Court for a sober and able surgeon through a long medical want, the surgeon Thomas Wignall rendered useless by drink, so the doctor's indent marks the supply the new surgeon needed for the garrison and the Court's slaves. Items 10, 12 and 13 concern the island's indents for stores. The Council had sent a fresh indent of sundries with the *Derby* and now added another of 12 June 1727, pressing for cordage, pitch and tar its returning shipping required more than at first expected.
42	34	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] General Letter Of Ship Stanhope, Captain Wentworth George Batt Comdr dated 6th January 1727 Honble Sirs The Affairs of this Place were lately Involved in Such Confusion that it has cost Us great Labour & Pains to reduce them into Order, but at length We have Conquered all Difficulties, & with great Truth & Satisfaction are now able to acquaint You that We have not only made very Large Reductions in the Yearly Expence of this Island which with those mentioned in Our Severall Letters by the last Years Shipping amount to no less than Five Thousand two Hundred & Eighteen Pounds Pr Annum, as Yr Honrs will See by Your Books & the Abstract herewith transmitted but have also taken Care to Settle the Yearly Charge for the time to come upon Such a Footing that with a little Prudence & Foresight We think there can hardly be Occasion to Encrease this Expence without particular Directions from Yr Honrs or in Case of Some Extraordinary Accident or Event, We have	General letter by the ship *Stanhope*, Captain Wentworth George Petts, commander, dated 6 January 1727. The affairs of the island were lately involved in such confusion that it cost the Council great labour and pains to reduce them into order. At length it had conquered all difficulties. With great truth and satisfaction it could now tell the Court that it had made very large reductions in the yearly expense of the island. These, with those named in the Council's several letters by last year's shipping, came to no less than £5,218 0s 0d a year, as the Court would see by the books and the abstract sent with this. The Council had also taken care to settle the yearly charge for the time to come, on such a footing that, with a little prudence and foresight, there could hardly be any need to increase the expense without particular directions from the Court. This held, unless in case of some extraordinary accident or event. The Council also gave the Court other instances of its duty and zeal for the Court's interest in the management of all affairs entrusted to its care. It laid the particulars of these before the Court in the method the Court directed. First, concerning shipping. 2: On the 17th of June last the *Barrington*, by which the Council last wrote to the Court, sailed for Great Britain. She was plentifully furnished with what she wanted. The Council had since continued its endeavours to provide a like plentiful supply for such of the Court's shipping as should return this season. To this end, and as an encouragement to industry, it had frequently reminded the inhabitants of the orders

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		also given Your Honrs other Instances of Our Duty & Regard to Your Interest in the Management of all Affairs Comitted to Our Care the particulars of which We lay before You in the Method by You Directed, & First concerning Shipping On the 17th of June last the Barrington by whom We last wrote to Your Honrs, Cragg, Devonshire, & Dawson Sailed hence for Great Britain having been plentifully furnished with what they wanted, & We have continued Our Endeavours to provide a like plentifull Supply for Such of Your Shipping as Shall return this Season, to which End, as an Encouragement to Industry We have frequently reminded the Inhabitants of the Orders Your Honrs have given the Commanders not to touch at the Cape which will give them an Oppertunity to dispose of all the Provision they can raise, & they are So Sensible of the Advantage that they are Resolved not to let it Slip, having taken Care to Raise a good Quantity of Roots Greens Poultry, Cattle & other Provision, & with greater Diligence than We have Observed for Severall Years past **Margin Notes:** Yearly Charge of the Island £5218 Pr Ann less than it was Books & Abstract Sent Ships Departure Encouragement given & how, taken to raise Supply for the Years Shipping	the Court gave the commanders not to touch at the Cape. This would give them a chance to dispose of all the provision they could raise. They were so sensible of the advantage that they were resolved not to let it slip. They had taken care to raise a good quantity of roots, greens, poultry, cattle and other provision, and with greater diligence than the Council had observed for several years past. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the yearly charge of the island reduced to £5,218 0s 0d, less than it was, and the books and abstract sent; the notes at paragraph 2 restate the ship's departure and the encouragement given the inhabitants to raise a supply for the Court's shipping. The reduction to £5,218 0s 0d in the opening marks the tight economy the accountant general's audit had forced on the island. The administration had cut the cost of the slaves' clothing, the salt provision and other charges through the season, so the settled yearly figure here answers the Court's long complaint of the loose and swollen accounts of the earlier regime. The order against touching at the Cape in paragraph 2 answered the standing Cape trade grievance. The Council had long pressed the Court to forbid its ships the Cape, where they watered and provisioned to the loss of the island's planters, and to secure a market for the planters' beef and grass. The reminder to the inhabitants here shows that order at work to encourage them to raise provision for the returning fleet. The *Stanhope* under Captain Wentworth George Petts carried this letter home. He had earlier carried home the Council letter of 29 June 1717, disputing the gunpowder charge, and commanded the *Stanhope* from Fort St David, arriving on 20 December 1723, so the same commander recurs here in the homeward trade.
43	35	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] On the 29 following the St Michael proceeded on her Voyage to Buenos Ayres having been Supplyd by the Inhabitants with Provision which he paid for in Cash but the particulars We know not Such things as he bought out of Your Honrs Stores he also paid for in Cash the Acct thereof We have Sent in the Packet, On the 3 of last Month We had an Allarm for Your Ship Princess of Wales Capt Mackett Comdr directly from Madras by whom We learn that the Six following Shipps arrived there, the London on the 6th Aprile, Hertford on the 6th May, Prince William in June, Mountague on 25 July, Bridgewater 26 & July, Walpole on the 4th & Keithaellie on the 5, & Auguste & Wostace Sailed to the Bay & that the Stanhope Sailed from Fort St David about the 28 of August, On the first instant Capt Mackett Sent	On the 29th, following, the *St Michael* proceeded on her voyage to Buenos Aires, having been supplied by the inhabitants with provision. She paid for it in cash, but for the particulars the Council knew nothing, except such things as she bought out of the Court's stores. She also paid for these in cash, the account of which the Council sent in the packet. On the 3rd of last month the Council had an alarm for the Court's ship *Princess of Wales*, Captain Mackett, commander, come directly from Madras. By her the Council learned that the six following ships had arrived there. The *London* came on the 6th of April, the *Hertford* on the 6th of May, the *Prince William* in June, the *Montague* on the 25th of July, the *Bridgewater* on the 26th of July, the *Walpole* on the 4th, and the *Cuthbert* on the 5th of August. The *Bury* sailed on the 5th of August, and the *Stanhope* sailed from Fort St David about the 28th of August. On the first of this month Captain Mackett sent the Council a long letter, telling it he was resolved to sail for England on the 17th. The Council replied the next day, in such cautious terms as it hoped would meet with the Court's approbation. His letter and the Council's answer were both entered fully in the consultation of the 2nd of this month. Secondly, concerning goods. 3: The Council had tried to dispose of the Cape chintz, cattle, mohair, buttons and several other

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		Us a long Letter Acquainting Us that he was determined to Sail for England on the 17th, to which We replyed the next day in Such Cautious Terms as We hope will meet with Your Approbation, his Letter & Our Answer are both Enterd at length in Consultation the 2 instant Secondly concerning Goods We have Endeavoured to dispose to & & & of the Cape Chints Callæ & Mohair Buttons & Several times Offerd them to Sale at low Rates as Pr Consultation of the 4th July & 4th October but to no purpose for they are So much Damagd no body would bid any thing for them We are Sorry for the Loss of the Leger of Arrack Occasioned by the Bursting of the China Ledge of which We took Notice in Our Consultation of 25 July last, but We then took Such Care to have all the other Casks made Tight & Secure that no other Accident has Since happend Thirdly concerning Servants, Accounts Blacks, Cattle, Lands and Revenues We have transmitted Your Honrs two Setts of Books, One Sett Lettered R, containing the Acct of St Helena for the last four Months of Mr Smiths time Viz from 25 Sepr to 26 Febry last & one third Ledger Ledger S for Seven Months past Viz from 26th Febry to 26 Sepr last, both which have been Carefully Examined in Consultation of the 29th & 30th Novr Yr 26th & 12, 4 & 5th Decr, & according to Your Orders Of Princess Anne, the Entry of the Journall Parcells in the later have been clearly Expressed & the Reason fully given for Casting cash Acct, We have also Sent two both Kept up with full Books, Cash Books, One Containing an Acct of	things. It offered them for sale several times at low rates, as its consultations of the 4th of July and 4th of October showed. But this was to no purpose, for they were so much damaged that nobody would bid anything for them. 4: The Council was sorry for the loss of the leaguer of arrack. This was caused by the bursting of the China ship's cargo, of which it took notice in its consultation of the 25th of July last. But it had since taken such care to have all the other casks made tight and secure that no other loss had happened. Thirdly, concerning servants, accounts, slaves, cattle, lands and revenues. The Council sent the Court two sets of books. One set, ledger and journal, held the account of St Helena for the four last months of Mr Smith's time, from 25 September to 26 February last, and one third else. The ledger held the account for seven months past, from 26 February to 26 September last. Both had been carefully examined in consultation of the 29th of November and the 5th of December, and sent, as the Court ordered, by the *Princess Anne*. The entry of the journal balances in the ledger had been clearly set out. The reason was fully given for passing cash accounts. The Council also sent two other sets of books, one containing an account [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the South Sea ship sailing; the notes at the following passages restate the *Princess of Wales* arriving, the account of ships safely arrived in India, the letter from Captain Mackett and the Council's answer, the endeavours to sell the Cape chintz that none would buy, the loss of one leaguer of arrack by the bursting of the China ship's cargo, and the two sets of books sent by ledger and journal. The *St Michael* under Captain Charles Burnham in the opening was a slave ship of the South Sea Company, licensed by the Court to trade to Madagascar and bound onward to Buenos Aires. The reference records her arrival at the island on 11 June 1727, so her onward voyage here carried her slaves to the Spanish American market under the South Sea Company's contract. The Cape chintz in paragraph 3 was a printed or painted cotton cloth, valued for its bright fast colours and much used for dress and hangings. It had reached the island by way of the Cape rather than direct from India, and its damaged state left it unsaleable, so the Council's failure to move it marks the standing difficulty of selling spoiled goods on a small market. The leaguer of arrack lost in paragraph 4 was a large cask of the strong Eastern spirit, the leaguer being a measure of about 150 gallons. The Council had long channelled the whole island arrack trade through the Court's storehouse, so the loss of a full cask by the bursting of the China ship's cargo was worth its separate notice under the reformed bookkeeping. Captain Mackett, named in the second paragraph, commanded the *Princess of Wales* from Madras. The reference records the Mackett family long in the Madagascar slave trade, Henry Mackett and Josias Henry Mackett both bringing slaves to the island, so the same family recurs here in command of a Court ship in the homeward trade.
44	36	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] of the Storekeepers Disbursements & the other the Acct of Cash in	One set held the account of the storekeeper's disbursements. The other held the account of cash in the Governor's hands. Both had been monthly examined, approved and signed by the Council. It had also sent an inventory, together with the selling price

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		the Governrs Hands which have been both Monthly Examined, Approved & Signed by Us, We have also Sent an Inventory together with the Selling Price of Stores remaining 30th Sepr 1727, Sett off Lumers, Copies & Duplicates of Consultations, Copies & Duplicates of the Governrs Plantation Acct, Copies & Duplicates of Shipps Acct, List of Rents & Revenues for the Year past, List of Families Lands & Cattle, Acct of Fines, & Acct of Customs, all which have been prepared with the greatest Care & Exactness & Tally with the Books, these four last List We will again make out at March next & so from that time forward yearly to transmit them with the List of Garrison Blacks & Cattle & other usual Acct in which We will be as Corrfull & Exact as in the Books & Acct We now Send, in the Perusal of which for the last Seven Months Your Honrs will observe how Punctuall We have been in Our Obedience to Your Commands Pr the Princess Anne the Charge of the Islands Since the late Change of Government, being, as We before took Notice, Five Thousand two Hundred & Eighteen Pounds Pr Annum less than it was in Mr Smiths time, & what makes Our Satisfaction Still the greater the Yearly Expence is almost fixed to a Certainty, & Settled upon a Foundation so firm, that its hardly possible to Encrease it, without Something very Extraordinary & Unforeseen Should happen, & the better to bring this to bear, besides the Severall Deductions We mentioned in Our Letters last Year, We have Saved very large Sums in this Article of Diet Expences, which as a now Managd with good Oeconomy & brought into Such Moderate bounds, that the make no doubt this early Instance of Our good Husbandry in this Particular, which had so often been the Subjects of Your past Complaints, will also be acceptable, it being near Five Hundred Pounds Pr Annum less than it used to be, The Acct of Customs Your Honrs perceive has but Small Credit occasioned by the narrow Circumstances of the People, who privately, & by Sea Mate furnish themselves with Such Trivial things as they want for their Families, which they get from Strangers who Sometimes discharge their Lodgings with Such odd Things, & so the Dutee upon those of known, are so inconsiderable, that they would not be worth Collecting, but if any Person buy a Quantity of any thing We will always take Care & Oblige him to Pay the Customs We have begun & continued to Pay the Garrison &ca Monthly as	of stores remaining on 30 September 1727. There went with it copies and duplicates of consultations, copies and duplicates of the Governor's plantation account, copies and duplicates of the ships' accounts, the list of rents and revenues for the year past, the list of families, lands and cattle, the account of fines and the account of customs. All these had been prepared with the greatest care and exactness, and agreed with the books. The four last lists the Council would again make out at March next, and so from that time forward yearly send them, with the list of the garrison, slaves and eaters, and other usual accounts. In this the Council would be as careful and exact as in the books and accounts. It now sent, in the packet, the account for the last seven months. The Court would observe how punctual the Council had been in obedience to its commands by the *Princess Anne*. The charge of the island, since the late change of government, came to £5,218 0s 0d a year. As the Council took notice before, this was £3,218 0s 0d a year less than it was in Mr Smith's time. What made the Council's satisfaction still the greater, the yearly expense was now almost fixed to a certainty. It was settled on a foundation so firm that it was hardly possible to increase it, unless something very extraordinary and unforeseen should happen. The better to bring this to bear, besides the several reductions the Council named in its letters last year, it had saved very large sums in the article of diet expenses. These it now managed with good economy, so that the Council had no doubt this early instance of its good husbandry in this particular, which had so often been the subject of the Court's past complaints, would also be acceptable. It came to near £500 0s 0d a year less than it used to be. As to the account of customs, the Court would perceive it had but a small trade. Credit was confined by the narrow circumstances of the people, who supplied themselves privately, by sea, with such things as they wanted for their families. These they got from strangers, who sometimes discharged their lodgings with such odd things. The duties on these, when known, were so inconsiderable that they would not be worth collecting. But if any person bought a quantity of anything, the Council would always take care to oblige him to pay the customs. 6: The Council had begun and continued to pay the garrison, and so on, monthly, as its consultation of the 18th of July showed. This method was most acceptable [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the inventory of stores, the list of families, the list of rents and many other accounts sent; the notes at the following passages restate the charge of the island at £5,218 0s 0d, less than in Mr Smith's time and fixed to a certainty, the near £500 0s 0d saved in the single article of diet expenses, the reason the account of customs was so small, and the garrison paid monthly. The charge of the island at £5,218 0s 0d marks the tight economy the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration. The Council held this £3,218 0s 0d a year less than under Governor Smith, the outgoing Governor whose account the Court had ordered abated, so the settled figure answers the Court's long complaint of the swollen accounts of the earlier regime. The diet expenses cut in the second paragraph were the cost of feeding the establishment, chiefly the salt provision and other food supplied to the Court's slaves and table. The Council had turned the slaves to

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		Pr Consultation of the 18th July, & as this Method is most acceptable **Margin Notes:** Inventory of Stores List of Families List of Rents & many other Acct transmitted Charge of the Island £5218 Pr Annum less than it was in Smiths time & almost fixed to a Certainty Near £500 Pr Ann Saved in the Single Article of Diet Expences Reason why the Acct of Customs is so Small Garrison paid Monthly	fish caught in the island's own waters in place of salted beef and pork, so the saving of near £500 0s 0d a year here rests on that turn to local provision. The garrison paid monthly in paragraph 6 marks the reform of the island's cashless economy. The Council had resolved to pay the garrison and the labouring soldiers in bank bills, giving the paper a new currency, on the Court's undertaking to draw for whatever was received. The monthly payment continues that effort to keep money and credit moving on an island reckoned to hold only £700 0s 0d in coin. The account of customs in the third paragraph bears on the island's want of a circulating medium. The people supplied themselves privately from calling ships for want of coin to trade openly, so the duties were too small to collect. This continues the standing difficulty the Council had long pressed, the whole island money stock too little to sustain an open trade.
45	37	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] to Your Honrs, We will do the like the Year round tho We find it a little troublesome & inconvenient in time of Shipping We formerly told Your Honrs that We had great Expectations from the Improvement We had in part, & are continuing to make at the Wood, the Advantage of which appears daily more & more considerable, by the great benefit it Affords Your Cattle, having already Grazed Your whole Stock these Eight Months together, & by that means given time to Your Pastures in all other Places to recover, & that We might make the Same the more Compleat, We have made four Enclosures in Order for Pasture, the first & largest is at the Horse Point, containing Sixty four Acres & half, & is Sufficiently Wooded, on all Parts, to the Windward to keep off the Coldness of the Weather, the other Three lye in different Place, & Contain, One Twenty Acres, One Forty three Acres, & the other Twenty One Acres, & are all Sowed with the Seed of a Sort of Grass, of which, with great Pains, the Governour has provided a good Quantity, that Stands all the Year round & Springs after every Shower, the Grass that was there before only Growing after the Summer Season & continued but Four Months, & upon Examining that part of the Wood called Long Guty We found the Soile Rich & good & capable of much Improvement, & here We have Planted Seventy two Bushells of Irish Potatoes, which take up Seven Acres & half of Ground, & Grow to Admiration, being much more forward than any upon the Island, & likely to Produce a Plentifull Crop, which will be of Singular Use in the Rainy Season, the Yams being then every where bad, & occasion a Genrall Sickness among the Blacks at that time of the Year, with which We intend then to feed them, they	The Council would follow the like method the year round, though it found it a little troublesome and inconvenient in time of shipping. 7: The Council formerly told the Court that it had great expectations from the improvement it had in part made, and was continuing to make, at the wood. The advantage of this appeared daily more and more considerable, by the great benefit it gave to the cattle. The Council had already grazed the whole stock there eight months together, and by that means gained time to recover its pastures in all other places. That it might make the improvement the more complete, the Council had made four enclosures for pasture. The first and largest was at the Horse Point, holding 44 acres, and sufficiently wooded on all parts to the windward, to keep off the coldness of the weather. The other three lay in different places, and held one of 20 acres, one of 43 acres, and the other of 21 acres. All were sown with the seed of a sort of grass, of which the Governor had, with great pains, provided a good quantity. This grass stood all the year round, and sprang after every shower. The grass that grew there before grew only after the summer season. The Council transcribed just this month, on examining that part of the wood called Long Gut, that it found the soil rich, and good and capable of much improvement. There it had planted 72 bushels of Irish potatoes. These took up 7 acres and a half of ground, and grew admirably. They were much more forward than any others on the island, and probably would produce a plentiful crop. This would be of singular use in the rainy season, when the yam was everywhere bad. On such an occasion, the Council intended to feed the slaves with these potatoes, they being much better, more palatable and healthy than yam. Besides, they would be very necessary for the supply of the Court's shipping. They were also very good against the scurvy. The Council would also use them at the table, and so save the charge it had sometimes been at to provide these things of this nature. But these affairs required the Council's frequent attendance and inspection. It had been obliged to build a small room on that side of the country, to shelter itself from the wind and rain. It was sometimes forced to go there in hot weather, which was sometimes very wet and boisterous on that side. The room was about 12 feet square. It was at no charge except a few boards, the carpenter being kept at a yearly salary. The Council had Sutton Stone to preserve it from decay. It did not doubt the Court would approve of this little piece of necessary work. Captain Mackett had seen it all. If the Court thought proper to enquire, it could give the

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		being much better, & more Palatable & Healthy than Yam, besides they will be very necessary for the Supply of Your Shiping, & are Admirably good against the Scurvy, & will also be of Use at the Table, & Save the Charge We have Sometimes been at to provide these things of this Nature, & as these Affairs require Our frequent Attendance & Inspection, We have been oblig'd, to keep Us from the Wind & Rain, being forced to go often thither in bad Weather, which is Sometimes very Wet & Boisterous on that Side the Country, to build a Small Room about Twelve Feet Square, tho at no Charge except a few Boords the Carpenter being Entertained at a yearly Salary, which We have Set upon Stone to preserve it from decay, & doubt not Your Honrs will Approve of this little Piece of necessary Work, Capt Mackett has Seen all & if you think proper to Enquire to can give Your Honrs a particular Acct of these Matters being the first **Margin Notes:** Advantages arising from the Improvement made at the Wood Divided into Fields for Pasture The most durable Sort of Grass Seed Sowed Potatoes Planted A Room built A Small Room Built	Court a particular account of these matters, being the first [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 7 restates the advantages arising from the improvement made at the wood, the ground divided into four for pasture, the most durable sort of grass seed sown, the potatoes planted, and a small room built about 12 feet square. The Horse Point enclosure named in paragraph 7 was the first and strongest section of the Great Wood, completed on 15 May 1725, the young trees springing up thick once the hogs and cattle were kept out. Its wooding to windward, sheltering the cattle from the cold, marks the enclosure of the wood turned to grazing use, the standing fencing programme now yielding pasture as well as timber. The Irish potatoes planted at Long Gut answered the island's reliance on the yam as its staple food. The Council had relayed two tubs of Irish potatoes to the Governor of Bencoolen in the memorandum for Captain Benjamin Graves of 3 July 1717, so the crop grown here at Long Gut marks the same root raised to feed the slaves and the shipping when the yam failed in the rainy season. The potatoes as a remedy against the scurvy in paragraph 7 bear on the disease that struck ships after long voyages, marked by the want of fresh food. The Dutch *Schonberg* had reached the island with upwards of 20 men sick of the scurvy, named in the letter by the *Mary* of 29 April 1724, so fresh roots for the shipping answered a standing need of the calling fleet. The grass sown in the enclosures marks the effort to renew the island's worn pasture. The Council had restored worn ground with carried soil and sea sand after the directions of Mr Evelyn's book of gardening, so the hardy grass that stood all the year round and sprang after every shower continues that effort to feed the cattle on ground the mild, subtropical climate alone could not keep green.
46	38	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] who has Tested the Benefit of these Improvements not any thing having been more Refreshing & Acceptable to his Ships Compy than Potatoes of which he has bought Fifty two Bushells, and according as Your other Shiping like them We will encrease Our Stock against next Year Your Pastures at the begining of the Year were very low & bad, but by the Indefatigable Care & Labour the Governour has taken they are now in the Opinion of all People, & particularly of the Gentlemen of Councill & Mr Bowse in a much better Condition than ever they were yet, & far beyond any belonging to the Inhabitants, & by the great Diligence that has been used to Plant Furze round, & Cross the Pastures, will when fully Grown break off the Wind, & make them more Warm & Convenient for Your Cattle which are all in very good Case, both Bullocks & Breeders, of the former You have Sixty five Head Set apart for the Supply of this Years Shipping, & to prevent their falling off & growing fleshey in the	The Council was the first to prove the benefit of these improvements. Nothing had been more refreshing or acceptable to a ship's company than potatoes. Captain Mackett had bought 52 bushels of them. As the Court's other shipping wanted the like, the Council would increase its stock against the next year. 8: The Court's pasture at the beginning of the year was very low and bad. By the tireless care and labour of the Governor, it was now in the opinion of all the people, and particularly of the gentlemen of the Council and Mr Bowen, in a much better condition than it was, and far beyond any belonging to the inhabitants. By the great diligence used, the pasture stood green the year round. The grass, when fully grown, broke off the wind and made the pasture more warm and convenient for the Court's cattle. These were all in very good condition, both bullocks and breeders. Of the former, the Court had 65 head set apart for the supply of this year's shipping. To prevent their falling off and growing fleshy in the rainy season, the Council reserved one part of the pasture, of more strength and shelter than any other, purposely for them against that time. By this means they would keep their weight, and turn to better beef when killed. The other young cattle, which the Council kept for the next year, were all in a thriving condition. The Council would always provide a number, one or another, for charter-party beef. It did not doubt, if it pleased God to bless the island with the usual season, that the yearly increase of the Court's own stock would be

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		Rainy Season, We have reserved One part of the Pasture, of more Strength & Substance than any other purposely for them against that time, by which Means they will keep their flight & turn to better Acct when Sold, the other young Cattle which We keep for next Year, are all in a Thriving Condition, & We will alwayes provide a Number One under an other for Charter Party Beef, & dont doubt if it Please God to bless Us with the usuall Season, but the yearly Encrease of Your Honrs own Stock will be Sufficient, & has We formerly observed, will Save the Charge of laying out Three Hundred Pounds Pr Annum in Cattle for that Service, which heretofore We were forced to Do, & for the more Decency in Dressing the Meat after tis killed which used to be Mangled & tossed about more like Carion than any thing else, We have Built a Slaughter House with proper Conveniencies Sixteen Feet wide & Twenty long, above all the Houses in the Valey, & a Gutter in the Middle with a Current that runs both wayes to Carry the filth & Nastiness into the Sea, & this without any Cost but Your Blacks Labour a few Dayes, & here the Captains may Safely view their Cattle when they buy them which before they couldnt do without Danger, & least Your Honrs Should Object & Ask why all this was not done before, the Governour, who was then overseer of the Plantations, begs leave to acquaint You, that he often proposed these Improvements to Mr Smith but he let him know that he Understood the Management of these Affairs were Solely Entrusted to him, Seeming offended at the Mention of them **Margin Notes:** Part of the Produce of the Potatoes Sold to Ships Pastures very low at the Begining of the Year but are now in a more flourishing Condition than ever known Furze Planted Cattle in fine Order Sixty Head Set apart for this Years Shiping Pasture of most Strength reserved against the Rainy Season Young Cattle kept for next Year in a Thriving Condition enough for Charter Beef to Save the Expence of £300 Pr Ann Slaughter House Built without Charge Conveniency thereof Answer to the Objection	sufficient. As the Council formerly proposed, this would save the charge of laying out £300 0s 0d a year in cattle for that service, which the Council was heretofore forced to do. For the greater decency in dressing the meat after it was killed, which used to be mangled and tossed about more like carrion than anything else, the Council had built a slaughterhouse with proper conveniences. This was 16 feet wide and 20 feet long. Above all, the house stood in the valley, with a gutter in the middle carrying a current that ran both ways, to carry the filth and refuse into the sea. This was at no cost but a few days of the Court's slaves' labour. There the captains might safely kill their cattle, when they bought them, without danger. All this was at no charge, though the Court might have thought it objected, and asked why all this was not done before. The Governor, who was then overseer of the plantations, asked leave to tell the Court that he had often proposed these improvements to Mr Smith. But Mr Smith let him know that he understood the management of these affairs was solely entrusted to him, and seemed offended at the mention of them. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the part of the produce of the potatoes sold to ships; the notes at the following passages restate the pasture very bare at the beginning of the year now in a flourishing condition, the furze planted, the cattle in fine order, 65 head set apart for the shipping, the pasture of most strength reserved against the rainy season, the young cattle kept for the next year saving £300 0s 0d, the slaughterhouse built at no charge, and the answer to the objection why the improvements were not done before. The charter-party beef named in paragraph 8 was the fresh provision the Council was bound to supply to calling ships under their charter. Drawing it from the Court's own cattle rather than buying £300 0s 0d a year of stock from the planters answered the standing effort to shed the charge of provisioning the shipping. The island had long served as a victualling station, the beef reckoned by the hundredweight and issued to named ships. The answer in the final paragraph bears on the change of administration the whole letter marks. The Governor was Edward Byfield, formerly overseer of the plantations under Governor Smith, the outgoing Governor whose account the Court had ordered abated. His claim that Smith rebuffed his proposed improvements sets the new administration against the old, distancing itself from a regime the Court had found wanting. Mr Bowen, named in paragraph 8 as a witness to the improved pasture, appears as a person of standing at the island whose testimony the Council cited to support its account. The name is otherwise unrecorded in the reference, so his precise office cannot be fixed, though the reading of the surname rests on fine judgement.

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		why all these Improvements were not sooner Compleated	
47	39	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] Your Blacks for these last Ten Months We observe have been better than formerly, which We beleive is owing to their Change of Diet Fish, of which We Still get great Plenty, being more acceptable to them than Salt Beef & Pork, & attended with a two fold Advantage, the Charge of those two Articles Saved, & their Health better preserved that when they were allowed, Salt Provision, & to prevent any Errors or Mistakes in the List We yearly Send, We have Valued each of them which together with their Names We have Enterd in these Books, & we shall continue to Enter & discharge them as Soon as they are born or Dye, & to Save the Expence of keeping Children who through the Tenderness of their Age are Useless to Your Honrs We have put four more out for a certain Number of Years, upon the usual Terms, as Pr Consultation 19 September to 4th Oct & 14 November last Beside these Parcells of Land formerly Sold to Mr Shepd Curling & Alexander, We have disposed of an other little Spot called Carnes Gutts, containing two Acres & half, Situated at the lower End of all Your Plantations, to Mr Richard Goodwin for Twenty Six Pounds Pr Acre, as Pr Consultation of the 4th & 5th October tho the Land it Self is no better than the Soile in other Place, but of Such Consequence to him upon Acct of the Water that he cant with any tollerable Conveniency Shift without it, & this is the Reason of his giving a Price so much exceeding the common Rate, Since the Sale of the Pasture belonging to the Lands called Cichins We think it needless to keep an Overseer & have therefore discharged him & Appointed a Trusty Black to continue their So little Care of the Provision there growing, who with the help We Shall Send as Occasion requires will be Sufficient, & will Save the Annuall Sum of Twenty three Pounds Eighteen Shill & in this Acct of Plantation Expence We desire Your Honrs will take Notice that the Twelve Head of Cattle bought of Mr Alexander, Goodwin, Curling & Swallow, were Contracted for as long Since as last September was Twelve Month, & were to have been delivered the Xmas following, tho they were not received or paid for till the last Sepr & Reckoning, We could very well have done without them, but Since We were engaged to take them, We were obliged to comply with Our Word, however Such Care hath	9: The Court's slaves, for these last 10 months, the Council observed to have been better in health than before. It believed this was owing to their change of diet to fish, of which the island still got great plenty. This was more acceptable to them than salt beef and pork. It answered with a twofold advantage, since the charge of those two articles was saved, and their health better preserved than when they were allowed salt provision. To prevent any error or mistake in the list the Council sent yearly, it had valued each of them. Together with their names, it entered these in the island's books. It would still continue to enter and discharge them as soon as they were born or died. To save the expense of keeping children who, through the tenderness of their age, were useless to the Court, the Council had put four more out for a certain number of years, upon the usual terms. This appeared in its consultations of the 19th of September, the 4th of October and the 14th of November last. 10: Besides those parcels of land formerly sold to Mr Purling, Curling and Alexander, the Council had disposed of another little spot called Carnes Gutts. This held two acres and a half, and lay at the lower end of all the Court's plantations. It went to Mr Richard Goodwin for £25 0s 0d, as its consultation of the 4th of October showed. The land in itself was no better than the soil in other places. But it was of such convenience to him, on account of the water that ran with it, that without it any tolerable convenience shifted. This was the reason for his giving a price so much exceeding the common rate. Since the sale of the pasture belonging to the lands called Cochins, the Council thought it needless to keep an overseer. It had therefore discharged him, and appointed a trusty slave to continue the care of the provision there growing. With the help the Council would send, when occasion required, this would be sufficient. It would save the yearly sum of £23 0s 0d. In this account of the plantation expense, the Council asked the Court to take notice that the 12 head of cattle bought of Mr Alexander, Goodwin, Curling and Swallow were contracted for as long ago as last September, a full 12 month. It was to have been delivered the Christmas following, though it was not received or paid for until the last October reckoning. The Council could very well have done without them. But since it was engaged to take them, it was obliged to keep its word. However, such care had been taken that the Court would be no loser by the bargain. 11: The Council was obliged to tell the Court, to its great amazement in the world, that the gentlemen whom it appointed to survey the new magazine, and the powder in it, and the gunner's stores of all sorts, reported to the Council, as its consultation of the 26th of September last showed, that [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 9 restates the slaves continuing healthy on fish in place of salt provision, and the name and value of each slave entered in the island's books; the notes at the following passages restate the children put out, Carnes Gutts sold to Mr Goodwin for £25 0s 0d and the reason he gave so large a price, the overseer discharged since the sale of the pasture at Cochins saving £23 0s 0d, the 12 head of cattle bought a year and a half ago, and the new magazine and powder found short.

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		been taken that Yr Honrs will be no Losers by the Bargain We are obliged to acquaint Your Honrs which We do with the greatest Amazement in the World that the Gentlemen whom We Appointed to Survey the New Magazine & the Powder therein & Gunners Stores of all Sorts, Report to Us as Pr Consultation 26th Sepr last that **Margin Notes:** Blacks continue healthy & approve of Fish instead of Salt Provision The Name & Value of each Black Entd in the Genll Books Children put out Carnes Gutts Sold to Richard Goodwin for £26, Reason why he gave So large a Price Since the Sale of the Pasture at Cichins an Overseer discharged the Expence of One amg to £23.18 Pr Ann Saved The 12 Head of Cattle paid for were bought a Year & half ago New Magazine Bad Powder Quantity of Powder Spoiled	The change of diet in paragraph 9 answered the cost of salt provision, salted beef and pork shipped out to feed the slave establishment. The Council had reported that provision at 1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, so the turn to fish caught in the island's own waters both saved the charge and improved the slaves' health. The land called Carnes Gutts in paragraph 10 was poor ground the Court threw up to raise revenue and shed the charge of holding it. Its value lay in the water that ran with it, one watered acre being reckoned worth three of the rest at the island, so the high price Mr Richard Goodwin gave rests on that standing scarcity of watered ground. The magazine in paragraph 11 was the fortified store where the island kept its powder. The Council had long complained that the powder each Court ship left was bad and fit only for salutes, and had sought good powder from England, so the survey finding the magazine short marks a fresh alarm over the island's defence in a season of feared war. Mr Richard Goodwin, the buyer in paragraph 10, was a planter at the island distinct from the storekeeper and councillor John Goodwin. He had bought a small piece of land of Richard Girling, the title confirmed by the Council against Sarah Southen's claim, named in the letter by the *Heathcote* of 23 April 1725, so the same planter recurs here buying watered ground.
48	40	to their great Astonishment & Surprise, they find that there are Twenty two Barile of Powder entirely Spoiled & Uselss, Seventeen more So much Damaged that they are only fit for Salutes, & but Ninety Nine Barile out of the whole which they Recken Serviceable, the Magazine Built by Mr Smith, with the Advice of the Gunner, at the Foot of a high Mountain, many Yards under Ground, directly under a Water Course, & Subject to the Damp & that as well as the naturall Soak of the Hill, they founde in all Parts so Damp & Moist that, if the Same had not been Examined in Time & the Powder aggravated in the New Magazine, it would have been every Gram Spoiled, & the Island & Inhabitants left Defenceless, & what is equally as bad or worse, Your Shipping been Exposed to all Attempts of an Enemy, & it appearing to be upon full Examination & Enquiry that this loss is entirely owing to the Gunners Ignorance & Neglect of Duty, the Powder for many Years past having been neither Turned, Dryed, or Sifted, he with great Confidence & Assurance Affirming, that Turning of it Spoiles it, nor the Condition of the Magazine Examined into Since the Removal of the Powder out of One into t'other which is now above two Year ago, & it	To the great astonishment and surprise of the surveyors, they found that 20 barrels of powder were entirely spoiled and useless. Another 17 were so much damaged that they were fit only for salutes. Only 99 barrels out of the whole were serviceable. The magazine, built by Mr Smith with the advice of the gunner, stood at the foot of a high mountain, many yards under ground, directly under a water course. It was subject to the damp of this, as well as to the natural soak of the hill. The surveyors found every part very damp and moist. Had the powder not been examined in time, and had it lain in the new magazine, every grain would have been spoiled. The island and the inhabitants would have been left defenceless, and the Court's shipping exposed to every attempt of an enemy. This was equally as bad, or worse. On full examination and enquiry, it appeared that the loss was entirely owing to the gunner's ignorance and neglect of duty. The powder had for many years past been neither turned, dried nor sifted. With great confidence and assurance he affirmed, by way of excuse, that turning it spoiled it. Nor had the construction of the magazine been examined since the removal of the powder out of one into the other, which was now above two years ago. His ignorance and incapacity also appeared by numberless other instances, showing that he had no insight or knowledge in the matter. The Court would have this in the papers the Council sent in its packet. The Council thought him no longer fit to be kept in the Court's service. It therefore asked the Court, for the island's own and the necessary preservation of the Court's shipping, to be pleased to remove him. It asked leave to appoint Mr Slaughter gunner in his place. In him the Council could confide, he having been many years upon the island, always very careful of his duty, and by long experience sufficiently qualified for such a trust. The Council flattered itself

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		also appearing to be by numberless other Instances that he has no Insight to Knowledge of this & to his Profession, & for Yr greater Satisfaction We have transmitted in Our Packets an Specimen of his Abilities, We thinck him unfit to be longer Entertained in Yr Service & accordingly We humbly desire Your Honrs for Our own & the necessary Preservation of Your Shipping, will be pleased to Remove him, & to Appoint Jno Slaughter Gunner in his Place, in whom We can Confide having been many Years upon the Island, always very carefull of his Duty, & by long Experience Sufficiently Qualified for Such a Trust, We flatter Our Selves Your Honrs will be induced to give the greater Regard to Our Recommendation because this Shamefull Neglect of Duty will Admit of no Mitigation or Excuse, & Our Judgment of Mr Fowches Ignorance & Inability, Stands Confirmed by Your Honrs Opinion fully Expressed in the 71 Cara of Your General Letter Of Rochester Yr 24th Pard, of Your Genll & Cadonneth in the Years 1726 & 1716, He has very much beard his Circumstances in Your Service having a very good Plantation Sufficient to Maintain Two of the largest Families upon the Island & will afford him a Comfortable Subsistence for the rest of his Days so that he has no Pretence to Plead his Poverty to move Compassion & abate Your Resentment **Margin Notes:** 72 Barils Spoiled 17 More Damaged Occasioned by the Gunners Neglect Powder for many Years never Turned Turned Dryed or Sifted, nor the Condition of the Magazine looked Into, And it was Built Ignorance & Incapacity of the Gunner, Proof thereof His Dismission desired Mr Slaughter recommended to Supply his Place Companies former Opinion of Mr Fowch the Gunners Capacity & Qualification	the Court would be induced to give its greater regard to the recommendation, because the gunner's shameful neglect of duty would admit of no mitigation or excuse. The Council's judgement of the gunner French's ignorance and inability stood confirmed by the Court's own opinion, fully set out in the 71st paragraph of the general letter by the *Rochester*, the 84th paragraph of the general letter by the *Cardonnel* in the years 1716 and 1716. He had very much belied his circumstances in the Court's service, having a very good plantation, sufficient to maintain two of the largest families upon the island. This gave him a comfortable subsistence for the rest of his days, so that he had no pretence to plead his poverty to move compassion and abate the Court's resentment. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the 72 barrels spoiled and 17 more damaged through the gunner's neglect; the notes at the following passages restate the powder never turned, dried or sifted, the construction of the magazine never examined, the gunner's ignorance and incapacity, his dismissal sought, Mr Slaughter recommended in his place, and the gunner French's former misconduct and his capacity and qualification. The spoiled powder in the opening marks a fresh alarm over the island's defence in a season of feared war with Spain. The Council had long complained that the powder each Court ship left was bad and fit only for salutes, and had sought good powder from England, so the finding that the magazine's stock was largely ruined gave that plea urgent force. The magazine built under ground in the first paragraph was the fault the survey exposed. Placed at the foot of a mountain beneath a water course, it drew the damp that spoiled the powder, so the siting itself, chosen under Governor Smith with the gunner's advice, became a charge against the earlier administration. The gunner French, named in the final paragraph, was John French, gunner at the island and formerly Governor Bouchier's chief agent on the fortifications, who could not bear liquor but drank when his wife allowed. The reference records him kept three years in arrears for want of an account made up, and named again in 1720 as a subscriber to the certificate of the chaplain Jones, so his long and troubled service at the island closes here in his dismissal. Mr Slaughter, recommended in the second paragraph, was Ensign William Slaughter of the garrison, who had bought 10 acres of land formerly bought of Mr William Charles for £65 0s 0d, named in the letter by the *Swallow* of 27 November 1724. The reference records him carrying the Governor's messages to the chaplain Jones in 1719, so the same officer recurs here proposed for the gunner's post.
49	41	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the final tabulated entries.] Your Honrs will observe in Our Consultation of the 12th Sepr last the great Complaint the Inhabitants have made of Mr Gibson the late Surgeon, Some of which began as early as March last, but the Governour Concealed it, & Endeavoured, to remove the Prejudice they	12: The Court would observe in the Council's consultation of the 12th of September the great complaint the inhabitants made of Mr Gibson, the late surgeon. Some of this began as early as March last, but the Governor concealed it, and tried to remove the prejudice they had conceived against him. With much persuasion they were prevailed upon to try him again. But his method of practice always met the like success, and all his patients died. The people were so terrified that they declared, one and all, they would venture all hazards rather than employ him again. On the same

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		had conceived against him & with much Perswasion they were prevailed upon to try him again, but his Method of Practice being alwaye attended with ill Success, & all his Patients Dying, the People were So terrified that they declared One & all, they would venture all Hazards rather than ever Employ him again, & on the Same Day they Presented a Petition, which with a Letter from Mr Yshingage both Enterd in the Said Consultation, Praying We would procure an other Surgeon out of the first Returning Shipping & in the mean time desired leave to Employ Mr Hodgkinson with which We acquainted Mr Gibson in Councill the Tuesday following, & the Allegations thereof being true, We referth the Same to Your Honrs being determined not to Act farther in this Affair till Your Pleasure was first Signified to Us, but Mr Gibson having Since Petitioned as Pr Consultation 26th Sepr for leave to return to England, not being able as he Setteth to do his Duty thro the continual Weakness in his Knees & Joynts, We have Granted his Request having first taken Care according to Your Order in the 59th Paragraph of Your General Letter Of Princess Anne to Stop the Thirty Pounds Your Honrs Advanced him in England which to Our great Surprize when Demanded he denyd he ever received, of any Part of it, & in a Dispute that lately happend, which is Enterd in Our Consultation of the 12th & 15 of December last between him & Joseph Coates about a Debt the later Demanded of him he occasionally mentioned this Matter but with an Air of Impudence that well deserves Correction Saying the Company too have puts a Debt of Thirty Pounds upon me but I'le handle im for it when I get to England & from hence We naturally Conclude that the Man who makes Your Honrs these ingratefull Returns for Money Advanced in the Time of his Necessity will make no Scruple to deny his Debt & ever do worse The Debts due to Your Honrs from the Inhabitants have been decreased this last Year as follows Viz Tho Alles 11.14.3 John Goodwin Storekeeper 374.9.8 The Church 14.14.9 Carried over 900.13.8 **Margin Notes:** Complaint of the Inhabitants agt	day they presented a petition. This, with a letter from Mr Yshougage, was both entered in the consultation, asking the Council to procure another surgeon out of the returning shipping. In the meantime it asked leave to employ Mr Hodgkinson, with which the Council acquainted Mr Gibson in council the Tuesday following. The allegations being true, the Council referred the matter to the Court, being resolved not to act further in the affair until the Court's pleasure was first known. But Mr Gibson, having earlier petitioned in the consultation of the 26th of September for leave to return to England, not being able, as he owned, to do his duty through the continual weakness in his knees and joints, the Council granted his request. His having first taken care, according to the Court's order in the 59th paragraph of the general letter by the *Princess Anne*, to stop the £30 0s 0d the Court advanced him in England, which to the Council's great surprise, when demanded, he denied he ever received, or any part of it. In a dispute that lately happened, entered in the consultation of the 12th of December last between him and Joseph Coates about a debt the latter demanded of him, he occasionally mentioned this matter. But with an air of impudence that well deserved correction, he said the Company too had put a debt of £30 0s 0d upon him, but he would handle them for it when he got to England. From this the Council naturally concluded that the man who made the Court these ungrateful returns for money advanced in the time of his necessity would make no scruple to deny his debt, and even do worse. 13: The debts due to the Court from the inhabitants had been decreased this last year, as follows. Thomas Alice, £11 14s 3d John Goodwin, storekeeper, £574 9s 8d Thomas Church, £14 14s 9d Carried over, £900 13s 8d **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 12 restates the complaint of the inhabitants against Mr Gibson; the notes at the following passages restate their petition asking that he be removed and another surgeon provided, Gibson asking leave to return to England and the pretence for so doing, the denial that the Company advanced him £30 0s 0d, his impudent conduct over the debt, and the debts decreased. The complaint against Mr Gibson in paragraph 12 answered a long medical want the island had endured through a run of unfit men. The Council had pressed the Court for a sober and able surgeon through Scrimshire, Beale, Civilly and Wignall, so the failure of Gibson, whose patients all died, continues the standing crisis over the island's medical provision. Mr Hodgkinson, sought as a stopgap in paragraph 12, was John Hodgkinson, mate to the island's doctor, a strong young fellow able to walk the hills who could let blood very well but had no Latin. The reference records him as the son of that Hodgkinson who formerly made much bustle on the island, so the same man recurs here as the inhabitants' preferred hand in Gibson's place. The debt of John Goodwin in paragraph 13 stood against the storekeeper and councillor, whose accounts the accountant general's audit had pressed. The large sum of £574 9s 8d marks the standing indebtedness of the island's officers, the recovery of the Court's debts a central concern of the reformed bookkeeping under the administration. The £30 0s 0d Gibson denied in paragraph 12 was money the Court advanced him in England against his

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		Mr Gibson Their Petition & Desire that he may be removed & an other Person Provided Gibson desires to return, his Pretence for So doing Denied that the Compy advanced him Thirty Pound Impudently threatens the Compy about this Debts Decreased	outward service, the same kind of advance the Council recovered from an outgoing officer's salary. His refusal to own the debt, and his threat to handle the Company for it, marks the conduct of a servant the Council was glad to be rid of.
50	42	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the lower main text.] Brought over 900.18.8 Samuel Dowton 1.-.3 Tho Fen 7.5.- William Fazakerly Esqr 2.10.- Robert Gurling 7.4.- Joshua Johnson 13.12.3 Twing Mullen 2.10.6 William Slaughter 11.16.- Mary Shrews 2.13.6 William Worrall 29.10.10 Sean Wrangham 64.13.6¼ Mary Crhowray 1.15.-¼ John Alexander 3.15.- Ralph Orme 2.9.4 £1067.7.- those that are yet Standing out will be good in Time except the Debt due from a Man Soldier which was Contracted a great many Years ago but effectual Care is now taken to prevent the like hereafter, who died in Such an Indigent Condition that We have been obliged to Cry ant his Widow as Briefly, to relieve her & her five Children in their present Distress, the Widow Shrews Debt will be good after her Decease but as She is very Ancient & Infirm We cant recover it without Seizing her Effects which would be her entire Ruin, the Widow Hayes takes all the Care She can to clear hers, & being a very Industrious Woman providing handsomely for Seven Small Children by her own Labour We are willing to Indulge her a little longer, & beleive Your Honrs will approve of this tender Disposition as being agreeable to Your own Sentiments Fourthly concerning Your Fortifications Buildings and Garrison Stores We have already in Our 11th Paragraph acquainted Yr Honrs	Brought over, £900 18s 8d Samuel Doveton, £1 0s 3d Thomas Free, £7 5s 0d William Fazakerly Esq, £2 10s 0d Robert Gurling, £7 4s 0d Joshua Johnson, £13 12s 3d Twizy Mullen, £2 10s 6d William Slaughter, £11 16s 0d Mary Shreves, £3 13s 6d William Worrall, £29 10s 10d Francis Wrangham, £64 13s 6¼d Mary Cronway, £1 5s 4¼d John Alexander, £3 15s 0d Ralph Orme, £2 9s 0d Total, £1,067 12s 9d The debt of Orme was left, but those still standing out would be good in time, except the debt due from one soldier that was contracted a great many years ago. Careful measures were now taken to prevent the like in future. The soldier died in such an indigent condition that the Council was obliged to relieve his widow and her five children in their present distress. The widow owned the debt would be good after her death. But as she was very aged, the Council could not recover it without seizing her effects, which would be her entire ruin. The widow Hayes took all the care she could to clear herself. Being a very industrious woman, she provided handsomely for seven small children by her own labour. The Council was willing to indulge her a little longer. It believed the Court would approve of this tender disposition, as being agreeable to its own feeling. Fourthly, concerning the fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. 14: The Council had already, in its 11th paragraph, told the Court of the great loss of 72 barrels of powder entirely spoiled. Another 17 were so much damaged as to be fit only for salutes. All was caused by the gunner's ignorance and neglect. To add to his offence, the Council had detected him in some practices not easily reconciled to the fidelity he owed the Court. It found that on the 26th of February last there were 188 barrels of powder in the general account. At the same time, delivered to the Council, he charged himself with 168 barrels only. The difference was 20. Being questioned about this private concealment, he owned they were so bad that he was ashamed [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates Orme's debt left but the others remaining to be good in time; the note at paragraph 14 restates the gunner's neglect of duty further complained of. The debts listed at the head of the page mark the recovery of the Court's money the accountant general's audit had pressed. Several names recur from

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		with the great Loss of Seventy two Barils of Powder & that Seventeen more are So much Damaged as to be fit only for Salutes, & all Occasioned by the Gunners Ignorance & Neglect, & to add to his Offence We have detected him in Some Practices not easily reconciled to the Fidelity he owes Your Honrs, for We find that on the 26th of February last there were One Hundred Eighty Eight Barils of Powder but in the Generals Acct he at the Same time deliverd to Us, he Charges himself with One One Hundred & Sixty Eight Barils only, the Difference is Twenty, & being Interrogated about this private Concealmt he Acknowledged they were So bad that he was ashamed to **Margin Notes:** Ormes Debt lost but others yet remaining will be good in Time Gunners Neglect of Duty farther Complained of	the reference, among them William Worrall, the former overseer indebted to the Court in £95 13s 5d and awaiting a legacy, and Francis Wrangham, the planter once wounded by the secretary Antipas Tovey. The reduced sums show the administration pressing the recovery with moderation against a people left poor by the long drought. The widow Hayes in the first paragraph was relieved of a soldier's old debt on grounds of her poverty and her seven children. The Council had granted like relief before, raising a charity for the disabled soldier William Saxby, named in the letter of 3 March 1720, so the indulgence here rests on a standing practice of tempering the Court's claim where a family faced ruin. The concealed powder in paragraph 14 marks the gunner's fault laid bare by the survey. His charging himself with 168 barrels against 188 in the account, and his owning the 20 were too bad to show, added dishonesty to the neglect that had spoiled the magazine, so the charge against him deepened in a season of feared war. The gunner named through this passage was John French, gunner at the island and formerly Governor Bouchier's chief agent on the fortifications. The reference records him long troubled in the Court's service, kept three years in arrears for want of an account made up, so his concealment of the powder here closes a long record of unfit service.
51	43	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] to Enter them in his Acct, this We should beleive he did them with Intent to defraud Your Honrs were they not to Our great Concern entirely Spoiled & useless, & doubt not but Your Honrs will take Notice with due Resentment of this fresh Instance of the breach of Duty The Survey & his last General Acct remarkably vary in many other Articles the particulars of which Your Honrs will See in the Columne of his Genll Acct Enterd in Consultation 10 October with all which he Stands Charged, & is purposely inserted, that You might, at One view discover the whole, but effectually to prevent all Fraud or Deceit for the future We have Enterd, at the later Ends of Journals S in Inventory of Garrison & Naval Stores & a remaining 30.7 last, & in the next Books they Shall be brought to their proper Acct, & a Distinct One Opened for Boates Fifthly concerning Government, Inhabitants, and Produce of the Island According to the Directions We received from Your Honrs relating to the Dispute between Capt Alexander & Cotgrove, We gave each of them timely Notice to prepare for a new Tryall at the Sessions held 26th July last but the later Conscious of the Injustice of his Pretentions quitted all Claim to the Land & a the Challenge as his Property, & in Confirmation thereof gave Capt Alexander a Generall Release & in open Court declared his Sorrow for what he had done as will more fully appear in the Acct of Our Proceedings	The Council should believe that the gunner kept the bad barrels out of the account with intent to defraud the Court. Were they not, to the Council's great concern, entirely spoiled and useless. It did not doubt the Court would take notice, with due resentment, of this fresh instance of the gunner's breach of duty. The survey and the gunner's last general account differed remarkably in many other articles. The particulars of these the Court would see in the 6th column of his general account, entered in the consultation of the 4th of October, with all of which he stood charged. This was purposely inserted, so that the Court might, at one view, discover the whole. But to effectually prevent all fraud or deceit in future, the Council had entered, at the latter end of journal 8, an inventory of garrison and naval stores, with the remainder standing at 30 September. This would in future, in the next books, be brought to its proper account. It had a distinct one opened for the boats. Fifthly, concerning the government, inhabitants, and produce of the island. 15: The Council had received the Court's directions on the dispute between Captain Alexander and Cotgrove. According to these, it gave each of them timely notice to prepare for a new trial at the sessions held on the 26th of July last. But Cotgrove, later conscious of the injustice of his pretensions, gave up all claim to the land, and to the challenge, as his property. In confirmation of this he gave Captain Alexander a general release. In open court he declared his sorrow for what he had done. This would appear more fully in the account of the Council's proceedings, entered in the consultation of the same day. Whenever there was any dispute of consequence among the inhabitants, the Council would always choose to have it decided by the country, rather than determine it itself. To this end it regularly held sessions every quarter. But there being now a perfect harmony and good correspondence among them, the Council had no business either at September or at Christmas. It had therefore adjourned the sessions until March next. 16: Having had the benefit of an extraordinarily fine winter season, the Council had been very careful to remind the inhabitants to plant their lands with wood and furze, and to complete their fences within the

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		Enterd in Consultation the Same day & whenever there is any Dispute of Consequence among the Inhabitants We shall alwayes rather Choose to have it decided by the Country than determine it Our Selves to which End We regularly hold 4 Sessions every Quarter but there now being a perfect Harmony & good Corre spondence amongst them We have no Business either at Sepr or Xmas & have therefore Adjourned the Sessions till March next We having had the benefit of an Extraordinary Winter Season We have been very Carefully to remind the Inhabitants to Plant their Lands with Wood & Furze & Compleat their Fences within the time limitted, & to cause their Diligence We Set them a good Example by beginning early to Plant Wood & Furze in Your Plantations which grow finely, & that Wee might discover the Diligent & Industrious from the Slothfull & Negligent We on the 3 of October left Appointed Messrs Bowells, Wrangham, Johnson & Nichells to Survey all the Plantations belonging to the Inhabitants giving them Strict Charge to Observe what Care hath been taken to preserve their young Wood as hath been lately Planted **Margin Notes:** Remarkable difference between the Survey & his Genll Acct Inventory of Gun Stores enterd in Journals S Contest between Capt Alexander & Cotgrove decided the later having Renounced his Claim to the Land & a in Dispute The Inhabitants early reminded to Plant & Fence their Lands Surveyors Appointed	time set. To quicken their diligence, it set them a good example, by beginning early to plant wood and furze in the Court's plantations, which grew finely. That it might discover the diligent and the industrious from the slothful and the negligent, on the 3rd of October last the Council appointed Messrs Bowen, Wrangham, Johnson and Nicholls to survey all the plantations belonging to the inhabitants. It gave them strict charge to observe what care had been taken to preserve the young wood that had been lately planted. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the remarkable difference between the survey and the gunner's general account; the notes at the following passages restate the inventory of garrison stores entered in journal 8, the contest between Captain Alexander and Cotgrove decided by Cotgrove renouncing his claim, the inhabitants reminded early to plant their lands, and the surveyors appointed. The dispute between Captain Alexander and Cotgrove in paragraph 15 turned on a paper Cotgrove drew up, with Captain Alexander's answer to it, inserted in the proceedings of the general sessions of 14 April 1726 without the Governor's knowledge. The matter had been sent home for the Court's judgement in the letter by the *Wyndham* of 21 June 1726, so Cotgrove's surrender of his claim here closes a contest the Court had been asked to settle. The surveyors appointed in paragraph 16 rested on the wood-planting law of former Governor Roberts, long judged the most necessary law at the island but unenforced for want of hands. The Council had directed a general survey of the lands enclosed and the wood on each person's parcels by the order of council of 17 January 1727, so the appointment of Bowen, Wrangham, Johnson and Nicholls marks that law put into steady execution. Captain Alexander, party to the dispute in paragraph 15, was the council secretary John Alexander, third of the Council and secretary under the administration. The Council had lately drawn him bills for cash notes and sold him pasture at Cochins, so the release Cotgrove gave him here clears a standing claim against his land. Furze, required of the inhabitants in paragraph 16, was gorse, a hardy spiny shrub set as a windbreak and for fuel. The Council had made an experiment in planting young wood and furze in summer that had been set only in winter, the failed rains pushing the trial, so the planting pressed here answers the island's long struggle against the blasting winds that stripped its worn ground.
52	44	[Loss along the right-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of several lines of the main text.] Planted who in Consultation of the 31 Oct last delivered their Report The Defaulters We have either Fined or Reprimanded, according as they deservd, & Since their Sloth & fleing Fill make it necessary We will continue due Twenty till We have Obliged them to Raise their full Proportion of Wood, & duely Comply with the Ancient Laws in this Case made & provided, but among all the Delinquents of this Sort, We great thinck the late Mr Coulson was the greatest, who this We was many Years before her death in Wealthy Circumstances & could very well have bore the	The surveyors, who in the consultation of the 31st of October last delivered their report, planted the wood. The Council had either fined or reprimanded the defaulters, as they deserved. Since the island's stock and its fishing bill made it necessary, the Council would continue this severity until it had obliged them to plant their full proportion of wood, and duly comply with the old laws in this case, both to make and provide it. Among all the delinquents of this sort, the Council thought the late Mrs Coulson the greatest. This was strange, since she was many years in wealthy circumstances, and could very well have borne the small charge of a little necessary repair. Yet she suffered all her less land to lie unstocked. She cut all the wood off it, and left it quite naked, exposed to the wind and rain. These entirely washed, or blew away, all the soil. This was so unwarrantable, and of such ill consequence, that as a check and example to all other

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		Small Charge of a little necessary Repair, yet Suffered all her Leased Land to lye Unstock, & cut all the Wood off it & left it quite Naked, & so Exposed to the Wind & Rain which have intirely washed or blown away all the Soile & this to Us appears so Unwarrantable, & of Such ill Consequence that as a Cheque & Example to all others Leases We think her Heirs ought to make Satisfaction for this Loss, & humbly desire, to hear Your Honrs Pleasure in this particular, of which Some farther Notice is taken in Our Consultation of the 7 of November last, We also finde that Severall of the Inhabitants have neglected to raise or preserve the like or even the proportionable Quantity of Wood, & Some none at all, Gunner French for One, upon their Leased Land, as they are Obliged to do upon their Leased Lands, tho of equall Necessity & Importance, which We observed, & urged to them with all the Argum & Perswasion We could invent, & with Such good Effect, that they have all given the Strong Assurances that they will Cultivate & raise a reasonable Quantity of Wood upon their Freehold Land, in which at present We must be contented, & with Patience await the Effect of these fine Promisses The Orphans Court having of late Years not been so regularly kept as it ought, We have appointed the Same to be Annually held on the first Tuesday after our Generall Reckoning at September by which Means they will be Protected from the Frauds or Injustice of their Guardians or Trustees It is very great Satisfaction to Us & We hope it will be acceptable to Your Honrs to hear that the Inhabitants live very quietly, & with much Satisfaction & Content under the present Governr enjoying their Liberty & Property with all the Indulgents allowed by Your Honrs, & are so Sensible of the Difference between their late ill Treatment & the kind Usage they now meet with that as a Testimony of their Gratitude they take the most publick Oppertunity to make their Acknowledgements to the Governr which they preferred in a Body as Your Honrs will finde Enterd among Our Proceedings at the Sessions held 26th July last, a Copy of wch is here Enclosed **Margin Notes:** Surveyors Report Defaulters Fined Mr Coulson great Neglect, Afford to the Consideration of the Company Inhabitants Neglect to Plant Wood in their Freed Lands But promiss to do it Orphans Court	leases, the Council thought her heirs ought to make satisfaction for the loss. It asked the Court's pleasure in this matter, of which some further notice was taken in the consultation of the 7th of November last. The Council also found that several of the inhabitants had neglected to raise, or preserve, the like or near the proportionate quantity of wood. Some raised none at all. Gunner French was one, upon their less land, as they were obliged to do upon their leased land, of equal necessity and importance. This the Council observed, and urged to them with all the argument and persuasion it could invent, and with such good effect that they had all given the strong assurance that they would in future raise a reasonable quantity of wood upon their freehold land. Of this, at present, the Council must be content. With patience it awaited the effect of these fine promises. 17: The orphans' court, having of late years not been so regularly kept as it ought, the Council had appointed the same to be yearly held on the first Tuesday after its general reckoning at September. By this means the orphans would be protected from the fraud or injustice of their guardians or trustees. 18: It was a very great satisfaction to the Council, and it hoped it would be acceptable to the Court, to hear that the inhabitants lived very quietly, and with much satisfaction and content, under the present government. They enjoyed their liberty and property with all the indulgence the Court allowed. They were so sensible of the difference between their late ill treatment and the kind usage they now met, that as a testimony of their gratitude, they chose the most public chance to make their acknowledgements to the Governor. This was preferred in as ready a way as the Court would find entered among the Council's proceedings at the sessions held on the 26th of July last. A copy of these was here enclosed. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the surveyors' report and the defaulters fined; the notes at the following passages restate Mrs Coulson's great neglect and the Company's consideration of it, the inhabitants' neglect to plant wood on their freehold lands, their promise to do it, the orphans' court, and the inhabitants pleased with the government making their acknowledgement to the Governor. The neglect of Mrs Coulson in the first paragraph rested on the wood-planting law of former Governor Roberts, long judged the most necessary law at the island. Her stripping her land of wood and leaving the soil to wash away marks the erosion the Council had long traced to the felling of trees, the naked rocks appearing where the shelter was lost. The reference records the Widow Coulson whose house was hired for Captain Haswell, so the same family recurs here as the chief offender against the replanting law. The orphans' court in paragraph 17 was the body that guarded the estates of fatherless children at the island. The Council had long handled such trusts, recovering the Keeling orphans' money held by George Carne and settling the fortune of the orphan Mercy Carne, so the regular holding of the court here answers a standing duty to protect minors from their guardians. Gunner French, named in the second paragraph, was John French, whose neglect of the powder magazine the Council had set out in its earlier paragraphs. His failure to plant wood on his own land adds to the charge against him, marking him as delinquent in his private holding as in his public office.

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		Inhabitants Pleasd with their good Usage their Acknowledgemt to the Governr in a Body	The inhabitants' acknowledgement in paragraph 18 marks the change of administration the whole letter presses. The Governor was Edward Byfield, whose return to the head of affairs the island welcomed after the regime of Governor Smith. The people's public testimony of gratitude sets the new government against the old, which the Court had found wanting.
53	45	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] The Governour Prays Your Honrs Pardon & Excuse for not Sending his Bond & Covenants last Year, but he was then so busiely Employed in dispatching Your Shipping & Reducing Your Expence & putting Your Affairs into Form & Order which before were all Chaos & Confusion that they intirely Slipt his Memory but they are now Signed, & the Effect in the manner by You directed, & come in the Packet with the other Papers & Acct We have mentioned the Arrival of the Stanhope in Our Consultation but not bringing Us any Invoice We had almost forgot to take Notice of her here, She arrived the 4th from Bombay but last from the Cape, & with the Princess of Wales Sailes to Morrow for England We have drawn three Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honrs Payable to the Sevll Persons following being for Cash & Cash Notes paid into Your Acct of Cash here as Pr Consultations of the 10th Oct 28 Novr & this day Vizt One Sett Payable to Charles Steward or Order for One Hundred Seventy one Pounds & Six Pence Sterling dated 10th Oct 1727 One Sett Payable to Capt John Goodwin or order for the Sum of One Hundred & Ninety Seven Pounds ten Shillings Sterling dated 28th Novr 1727, & One other Sett Payable to Gabriel Cowell or order for the Sum of One Hundred Thirty Seven Pounds Seven Shillings & Six Pence Sterling dated the 6th instant, of which We humbly Pray Your Honrs Acceptance, We are Honble Sirs Island St Helena 6th January 1727 Your most Dutyfull Most Obliged Most Obedt & Most faithfull Servts E Boyfeld J Alexander J Goodwin List **Margin Notes:** Excuse for not Sending the Governrs Bond & Covent last Year Stanhopes Arrival Bills drawn	19: The Governor asked the Court's pardon for not sending his bond and covenants last year. He was then so busily employed in despatching the Court's shipping and reducing its expense, and in putting its affairs into form and order. These had before been all chaos and confusion, so that they entirely slipped his memory. But they were now signed and witnessed in the manner the Court directed. They went home in the packet, with the other papers and accounts. 20: The Council mentioned the arrival of the *Stanhope* in its consultations. But she brought no invoice, so the Council had almost forgot to take notice of her. She arrived on the 4th from Bombay, but last from the Cape. With the *Princess of Wales* she sailed to Morton, in England. 21: The Council had drawn three sets of bills of exchange upon the Court. These were payable to the several persons following. They were for cash and cash notes paid into the Court's account of cash at the island, as its consultations of the 10th of October, the 28th of November, and this day showed. One set was payable to Charles Steward or order, for £171 0s 0d sterling, dated 10 October 1727. One set was payable to Captain John Goodwin or order, for the sum of £197 10s 0d sterling, dated 28 November 1727. One other set was payable to Gabriel Cornwell or order, for the sum of £137 7s 6d sterling, dated the 6th of this month. The Council asked the Court's acceptance of these. The letter closed from the island of St Helena on 6 January 1727, subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 19 restates the excuse for not sending the Governor's bond and covenants last year; the notes at the following paragraphs restate the *Stanhope*'s arrival and the bills drawn. The bond and covenants in paragraph 19 were the legal instruments an incoming Governor gave the Court, binding him to the faithful discharge of his office and to account for the Company's property. Governor Byfield's delay in sending them marks the pressure of a first season spent reducing the island's expense and setting its accounts in order, the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration. The bills in paragraph 21 mark the island's reliance on paper drawn on London for want of coin. A cash note was paper issued by the Council for coin or credit received, the holder made debtor for it and redeemed by bills on the Court against a cashless economy. The Council had reckoned the whole island money stock at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate, so every remittance passed by bills of this kind. Captain John Goodwin, payee of £197 10s 0d in paragraph 21, was the storekeeper and councillor whose accounts the audit had pressed. The reference records him drawn bills for salary and cash notes across the season's letters, so the bill here rests on his standing and credit in the Court's books.

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			The *Stanhope* under Captain Wentworth George Petts, named in paragraph 20, carried this whole letter home. She had come in last from the Cape, so her arrival gave fresh force to the standing Cape trade grievance, the Council long pressing the Court to forbid its ships that anchorage.
54	46	List of the Packet Of Stanhope Capt Batt 6th January 1727 Sent a part No 1 Governr & Comittee Genll Lettr dated 6th January 1727 Duplicate of Governr & Councills Genll Lettr Of Barrington dated 17th June 1727 Inhabitants of the Island St Helena to E Boyfeld Esqr Genll 10th July 1727 Abstract of the Charge of the Island in the time of the late Governr Mr Smith taken from the Books N O & P & Q & R, & a Abstract of the Charge of the Island from the time of his Dimission to 30 Sepr last being Seven Months taken from Books S, & the E Boyfeld Esqr Governr In the Box No 7 One Sett of Books of Acct Letter R, from 30th Sepr to 26th Febry 1726 One Sett Do Letter S from 26 Febry to 30th Sepr 1727 One Small Book cont the Storekeepers Monthly Acct of Disbursemt Lettered A One Small Book cont Acct of Cash in the Governrs Hand Lettered A Governrs Bond Governrs Covenant Duplicate of List of the Packet Of Barrington Duplicate of Consultations from 30 May to 17 June 1727 both inclusive Copies of Do from 20th June to 6th Jany 1727 both inclusive Duplicate of Governrs Acct of the Expence of each Plantation for Month May 1727 Copy of ditto Acct of ditto for the Month of June Do July Do Aug Do Sepr 1727 Do Oct Do Nov Do Decr Copy of Governrs Genll Acct of the Expence of each Plantation from 26 Febry to 30th Sepr 1727 Copy of Inventory of Goods & Stores Remaining 30th Sepr 1727 Duplicate of Additional Indent dated 12th June 1727 Duplicate of Acct of Ship Barrington Do Devonshire Do Cragg Do Dawson Copy of the Acct of Ship St Michael Gunner Trenches Acct of Ordnance at the out Sorts & a an Original & Refers to in the 11th Para of the Genll Letter List of Rents & Revenues from 30th Sepr 1726 to 30 Sepr 1727 List of Families & Lands & Cattle & &ca for Do	List of the packet by the *Stanhope*, Captain Petts, commander, 6 January 1727. 1: Governor and Committee general letter, dated 6 January 1727 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council general letter by the Barrington, dated 17 June 1727 3: Inhabitants of the island of St Helena to Edward Byfield Esq, Governor, 26 July 1727 4: Abstract of the charge of the island in the time of the late Governor Mr Smith, taken from the books, numbered 1 to 4, and so on (sent apart) 4: Abstract of the charge of the island from the time of his dismission to 30 September, being seven months, taken from books 5 and 6, Byfield Esq Governor 7: One set of books of account, ledger and so on, from 30 September to 26 February 1726 8: One set of books, ledger and so on, from 26 February to 30 September 1727 A: One small book containing the storekeeper's monthly account of disbursements, lettered A A: One small book containing the account of cash in the Governor's hand, lettered A 5: Governor's bond 6: Governor's covenants 7: Duplicate of the list of the packet by the Barrington 8: Duplicate of consultations from 30 May to 17 June 1727, both inclusive 9: Copies of consultations from 20 June to 6 January 1727, both inclusive 10: Duplicate of the Governor's account of the expense of each plantation for the month of May 1727 11: Copy of the same account for the month of June 12: Copy for July 13: Copy for August 14: Copy for September 1727 15: Copy for October 1727 16: Copy for November 1727 17: Copy of the Governor's general account of the expense of each plantation, from 26 February to 30 September 1727 18: Copy for December 1727 19: Copy of the inventory of goods and stores remaining, 30 September 1727 20: Duplicate of the additional indent, dated 12 June 1727 21: Duplicate of the account of the ship Barrington 22: Duplicate of the account of the Devonshire 23: Duplicate of the account of the Craggs 24: Duplicate of the account of the Dawson 25: Copy of the account of the ship St Michael 26: Gunner French's account of ordnance at the outer forts, and an original referred to in the 11th paragraph of the general letter 27: List of rents and revenues, from 30 September 1726 to 30 September 1727 28: List of families, lands, cattle and so on, for the same **Interpretations** The *Stanhope* under Captain Wentworth George Petts carried this packet home. She had arrived on the 4th from Bombay but last from the Cape, so her call links this packet to a season crowded with homeward shipping in the island road. Items 4 and 4 concern the charge of the island under two administrations. The first abstract covers the time of Governor Smith, the outgoing Governor

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			whose account the Court had ordered abated, and the second covers the seven months since his dismission under Governor Byfield. The paired abstracts mark the Council setting the reduced expense of the new regime against the swollen accounts of the old. Item 3 was the address of the inhabitants to Governor Byfield, entered at the sessions of 26 July 1727. The people had chosen a public chance to make their acknowledgements to the Governor as a testimony of their gratitude, so the enclosed address marks the island's welcome of the change of administration. Item 26 was the account of ordnance kept by Gunner French at the outer forts, referred to in the 11th paragraph of the general letter. The Council had found the powder magazine largely spoiled through his neglect and charged him with concealing 20 bad barrels, so this account stands as the evidence sent home against him in a season of feared war. Item 25 concerns the *St Michael* under Captain Charles Burnham, the South Sea Company's slave ship licensed by the Court to trade to Madagascar and bound onward to Buenos Aires. The account of her dealings at the island marks a licensed private trader supplied for cash under the Court's permission.
55	47	Acct Customs for one Year Ending 30th Sepr 1727 Acct Fines from 26th Febry to 30th 7ber 1727 Acct Licences Receipt for the large Packet Of Barrington Receipt for the Small Packet Of ditto Copy of the Acct of Ship Stanhope Copy of the Acct of Ship Princess of Wales Deposition of Joseph Coates List of the Packet Island St Helena 6th January 1727 D Crispe	29: Account of customs for one year ending 30 September 1727 30: Account of fines from 26 February to 30 October 1727 31: Account of licences 32: Receipt for the large packet by the Barrington 33: Receipt for the small packet by the Barrington 34: Copy of the account of the ship Stanhope 35: Copy of the account of the ship Princess of Wales 36: Deposition of Joseph Coates 37: List of the packet The list closed from the island of St Helena on 6 January 1727. **Interpretations** Item 35 concerns the *Princess of Wales* under Captain Mackett, which came directly from Madras and brought word of the six Company ships arrived there. She sailed for England with the *Stanhope*, so her account marks a homeward conveyance of the crowded season. Item 36 was the deposition of Joseph Coates, taken over his dispute with the late surgeon Mr Gibson about a debt. Coates had demanded the sum in the consultation of 12 December 1727, when Gibson let fall that he would handle the Company for the £30 0s 0d advanced him, so the deposition stands as the record of that exchange sent home. Items 29 to 31 mark the yearly returns of the island's small revenue. The customs, fines and licences together made a slight sum, the account of customs so inconsiderable that the Council thought it scarcely worth collecting, a want that rested on the island's shortage of a circulating medium.
56	48	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Genll Of Carnarvon 6th March 1727 Honble Sirs On the 6th of Febry arrived the Carnarvon Capt English Comdr from Bencoolen & the Cape but being fully laden with Pepper as the Governour & Councill of the West Coast, mention in their Letter dated 28th of August last, they could not Sink Us any Arrack Rice or Sugar but by the Corksee Anne who arrived there the 5th July & sold	General letter by the *Carnarvon*, 6 March 1727. On the 6th of February arrived the *Carnarvon*, Captain English, commander, from Bencoolen and the Cape. But being fully laden with pepper, as the Governor and Council of the West Coast said in their letter dated 28 of August last, she could not sink the island any arrack, beer or sugar. But by the *Corteen Anne*, who arrived on the 14th of July and sold the island the *Black Winch* with the plough and sundries, they proposed to sink the sum of each year, in hope to despatch her early. This was all the news the Council could learn either of the Court's own or foreign shipping, save that a single sail homeward bound

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		the Black Winck with the Plough & Turndurs they propose to Send Us Some of each Year in board to dispatch her early & this is all the Neck We can learn either of Your own or foreign Shiping caught that a Single Saile homewards bound & pass by the Cape about a Neck before she got there & was thought to be a Frenchman The Stanhope & Princess of Wales Sailed hence for England on the 7th of January last by whom We gave Your Honrs a very full Acct of the like & present Situation of Your Affairs at St Helena in which We flatter Our Selves Your Honrs will meet, with Some other Instances of Our Care & Diligence that deserve Your Commendation & We will continue the like Application to perfect every thing We have begun on which We apprehend are, so as Likely to Tends to the Benefit or Advantage of this Place, & We doubt not but a necessary Piece of Work We have Compleated Since their Departure will be also well received, the Governr having Observed, that the House in the Country which Coast Your Honrs a large Summ Building was Capable to many Inconveniencies & that the Windward Part of it had already received Some Damage from the Weather & was daily liable to farther Injury which if that timely prevented would Endanger the whole & that the Skydiors containing 5¾ Acre lay quite open & Unfenced, & that the Produce, thereof the Small Protection to the Content of Ground & very little of any thing that was good, He therefore took this Affair into Consideration & was Resolved, to Remedy the Evill before it was farther Spread & he has done it effectually having Enclosed both On & the other with a Wall of 105 Rod, two ft thick & every where ten ft & half high, except about Twenty four Rod to the Windward which is raised Seventeen ft & half to Shelter the House turning with a great as Slope of five Rod from Seventeen ft & half to Thirteen ft high to purpose the Green & Furze from the Mischief on Cold Winds would otherwise to them, & that it might Afford Something else, for Use & Ornament, instead of an old Parcel of Wood Guy Trees he has Planted in front of the House a Row of twenty two large Apple Trees which he lately procured, of the Neighbourhood & already bear & has also Stocked it, with variety of other Fruit & with Green & Roots in great Abundance & that all these things might be brought to Perfection with greater Certainty he had not	passed by the Cape, about a week before she got there, which was thought to be a Frenchman. 2: The *Stanhope* and *Princess of Wales* sailed home for England on the 7th of January last. By her the Council gave the Court a very full account of the late and present state of its affairs at St Helena, in which the Court would find, with some other instances of its care and diligence, cause for commendation. The Council would continue the like application, to complete everything it had begun, on which its apprehensions arose. It did not doubt that a necessary piece of work it had completed since their departure would be well received. The Governor, having observed that the house in the country, which the Court's West Coast sent, a large summer building, was open to many inconveniences, and that the windward fort had already received some damage from the weather, and was daily liable to further injury, which, if not timely prevented, would endanger the whole. The effect the Governor completed, containing 57 acres. It lay quite open and defenceless. The produce there of like small protection to the content of ground was very little of anything that was good. He therefore took this affair into consideration, and resolved to remedy the fault before it was further spread. He has done it effectually, having enclosed both one and the other with a wall of 105 rods, two of which every, whose top and half high, except about 24 rods to the windward, which is raised 17 feet and a half to shelter the house, turning with a great slope of five rods, from 17 feet and a half, to weaken the height, to purpose the green and trees from the mischief on either side. This would otherwise be to them, and that it might afford something else for use and ornament. Instead of an old parcel of wood, lay trees he has planted in front of the house, a row of 22 large apple trees, which he had lately procured of the neighbourhood. These already bear. He has also stocked it with variety of other fruit, and with greens and roots in great abundance. That all these things might be brought to perfection with greater certainty, he had not only taken care to enrich the soil with great quantities of fresh mould, and clear the ground of all the furze and rubbish, with [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates that the *Carnarvon*, fully laden with pepper, brought no arrack, and that the rice and sugar came by Bencoolen; the notes at the following passages restate the house and garden enclosed with a wall of 105 rods, two feet thick and seven feet high, raised to keep off the wind and weather, and the 22 large apple trees planted in front of the house. The *Carnarvon* under Captain English carried this letter from Bencoolen. She was fully laden with pepper, so she could bring the island no arrack, beer or sugar, the goods the island depended on from the eastern trade. The reference records a Captain English drawn a bill by the *Compton* of 10 January 1726, so the same commander perhaps recurs here in the west coast trade. The enclosure of the house and garden in paragraph 2 continued the standing effort to fence the island's ground against the wind and the roaming cattle. The wall of 105 rods, raised higher to windward to shelter the house, marks the same concern with the blasting winds that stripped the worn ground and drove the replanting law across the whole correspondence. The apple trees planted in front of the house answered the island's want of settled garden trade. The

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		only taken Care to Enrich the Soile with great Quantities of fresh Mould & Clean the Ground of all the Trash & Rubbish with **Margin Notes:** Not any Arrack Rice or Sugar brought from Bencoolen by the Carnarvon She being fully laden with Pepper House & Garden Enclosed with a Wall of 105 Rod, 2 feet thick 10 feet high except 24 Rod to Windward which is raised 17½ feet high to keep off the Wind & the Weather 22 Large Apple Trees Planted in front of the House	Governor had enriched the soil with fresh mould after the directions of Mr Evelyn's book of gardening, so the fruit trees raised here mark the effort to bring the country house to a state of plenty and ornament on ground the mild, subtropical climate alone could not renew. The house in the country was the plantation house, the Court's country seat at the island. The reference records its people and blacks long using an improper traffic among the punch houses up the valley, so the enclosure and improvement of its ground here mark the new administration setting the neglected building in order.
57	49	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] which it was lately So over run & Impoverished that hardly any thing would grow but hath also with great Labour & Pains brought a fine Stream of Water into it from Maria Spring, Ninety Rod distant, & made proper Conveyances to carry it, to all Parts as wanted which proves an Undertaking of So much Advantage that with the Assistance of a Gardener We shall be always able, to reap Plenty of that Sort of Refreshments of Such great Benefit to the Your Sailors after long Voyages the want of which hath been often Complained of, as one of the greatest Defects of the Place, & what renders the View of Service the more acceptable the whole has been done without any Charge I'm a very Short Space, & yet the Governr Employed the Blacks about it at Such time only as they had convenciency he Spared from other Business tho the Idle Sorts of War built about Place Year ago to Repair a few Old Decayed Apple & Mulberry Trees was an Expensive Job, five White Men having been hird for Sometime at large Wages besides the additional help of Your own Slaves, We have frequently Inspected this new Piece of necessary Work & the oftener the View it the more We thinck it deserves Our Approbation which We have more particularly Expressed in Our Consultation of the 16th of January last We in Our last were Obliged to Mention Mr Gibson to Yr Honrs upon different Occasions in way to his Advantage, & would willingly Spare any farther Remarks about him but tis impossible, his Còlt Cruelty Attempts Would Speap Notice We have already Enterd to in Our Consultation of the 9th of January & beleive its will very well bear a Repetition here, When the Princess of Wales was in	The ground was lately so overrun and impoverished that hardly anything would grow. But the Governor had also, with great labour and pains, brought a fine stream of water into it from Maria's Spring. He raised 90 rods of parapet, and made proper channels to carry it to all parts, as wanted. This proved an undertaking of so much advantage that, with the help of a gardener, the island would always have plenty of that sort of refreshment, of such great benefit to the Court's sailors after a long voyage. The want of this had often been complained of, as one of the greatest defects of the island. What made the price of the service the more acceptable, the whole had been done at no charge. In a very short space of time the Governor employed the Court's slaves about it at slack time only. In this, he said, he found convenience. The Spanish, from their other business, though this sort of war built about three years ago, gave to raise a few old decayed apple and mulberry trees. These were an expensive job for five white men, having been hired sometime at large wages, besides the additional help of the Court's own slaves. The Council had frequently inspected this necessary piece of work. The oftener it viewed it, the more it thought it deserved the Court's approbation, which it had more particularly asked in its consultation of the 16th of January last. 3: The Council was in its last obliged to mention Mr *Gibson* to the Court, upon different occasions, in no way to his advantage. It would willingly spare any further remarks about him, but this was impossible. His base and crafty attempts should speak. The Council had already entered notice of them in its consultation of the 9th of January. It believed this would very well bear a repetition here. When the *Princess of Wales* was in the road, he prevailed with Mr Crane, surgeon of that ship, to lend a loose paper to the Governor without any supervision. At the same time he acquainted him that Mr *Gibson* thought it was an act of debt owing him by the inhabitants. But the same not being directed to *Gibson*, who owned it, the Council told Mr Crane the debt to any public business without first consulting the gentlemen of the Council. If any body owed Mr *Gibson* money, he refused, on a repletion, to pay him upon application to the Council, or all persons to whom such occasions the Council should summon and hear his demands, allowed of justly, so that its consultations were highly held for the decision of such disputes as might arise. Yet it had often told *Gibson* the same, both in private, and in council, particularly at the time he desired to return, on its consultation of the 19th of December last. But hitherto he had not thought fit to appear justly, on his humble effort. The weakness of his attempt, it would

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		the Road he prevailed with Mr Crane Surgeon of the Ship to tender a Loose Papr to the Governour without any Superscription & at the Same time acquainted him that Mr Gibson thinck it was an Act of Debt, during him by the Inhabitants but the Same not being Directed to Governr & other indices, & tolds Mr Crane he desht to do any Publick Business without first Consulting the Gentlemen of Councill, & that if any body wished Mr Gibson Privately & refused as a Reflection to Play him upon Application to Us or all Persons to upon Such Occasions the Parties Should be Summonds & his Demands allowed of fully, & that Consulta tions were Weekly held for the Decision of Such Disputes as might arise, & that till had often told Mr Gibson the Same thing both in private, & in Councill, particularly at the times he desired to return, & in Consultation of the 19th of Decr last but hitherto he has not thought fit to appear justly on his humlee afflict the Weakness of his Attempt, & would be discovered which beyond all Question was intended as a handle for Complaint & Conscious besides of the Extravagancy & Injustice of the Demands threatned being a Single Person upon the Island to whom he has delivered all Bills, but Object & Exclaim against him upon both these Sheweth & certainly if his Pretentions were just he could never have let the Matter lie So long in Suspense, for the Inhabitants all declare they are willing to Buy whatever Shall be Adjudged his Due, but will never Consent to Pay for things they never had **Margin Notes:** The Water brought into the Garden from Maria Spring Mr Gibson late Surgeon detected in his Crafty Attempt to get a Handle for Complaint	be discovered, beyond all question, was intended as a handle for complaints, and conscious besides of the extravagance and injustice of the demands, he thought not being a single person upon the island to whom he had never delivered a bill. But he objected, and asked, against him upon both these, and it was certainly, if his pretensions were justly, he would never owe him a debt. But he would never consent to pay for things they never had [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the water brought into the garden from Maria's Spring; the note at paragraph 3 restates the late surgeon Mr *Gibson* detected in his crafty attempt to get a handle for complaints. Maria's Spring in the opening was the source of watered ground the island prized above all. It took its name from the slave woman Maria, who planted the first yams brought from the coast of Guinea at John Powell's Lemon Garden, the spot since called Maria's Spring, named in the memorandum for Captain Benjamin Graves of 3 July 1717. The water led from it here marks the island's constant search to feed its dry ground. The fresh water led to the garden bears on the standing want of a circulating supply for cultivation. One watered acre was reckoned worth three of the rest at the island, so the parapet of 90 rods and the channels the Governor raised answer the erosion and drought that ran through the whole correspondence. Mr *Gibson* in paragraph 3 was the late surgeon whose failure the Council had set out in its earlier letters, his patients all dying and the inhabitants refusing to employ him. His scheme to pass a debt to the Governor through Mr Crane marks a fresh charge against a man the Council was glad to be rid of, adding fraud to incapacity. Mr Crane, named in paragraph 3, was surgeon of the *Barrington*, who had offered the Council the house of the late Governor Joseph Johnson under a letter of attorney, named in the letter by the *Stanhope* of 13 January 1724. The same surgeon recurs here as the unwitting means of *Gibson*'s attempt.
58	50	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] or which have been twice Charged or did not belong to him & till Mr Gibson makes the contrary Appear We have all the Reason in the World to beleive what they Say is Truth, We keep allowd him Salary to the 31st day of Decr last which just paid his Debt, but for the Reasons mentioned in Consultation 19th of the Said Month it was from that time forward So Ceasp how ever in Consideration of his Circumstances We ordered a reasonable	The debts had been twice charged, or did not belong to Mr *Gibson*. He made the contrary appear. The Council had every reason in the world to believe what they said was truth. It therefore allowed him his salary to the 31st of December last, which just paid his debt. But for the reason named in its consultation of the 19th of the same month, it was, from that time forward, to cease. However, in consideration of the circumstances, the Council ordered a reasonable quantity of provision and liquor to be daily delivered him for his subsistence, and to gratify the great importance of the garrison and inhabitants, who became daily more and more pressing and urgent with the Council to provide another surgeon. The Council had accordingly entertained Mr Bengough Alsop, late of the *Carnarvon*, for three pounds a month, who bore a very good character. He

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		Quantity of Provision & Liquor to be daily deliverd him for his Subsistence & to Gratify the neat Impartiality of the Garrison & Inhabitants who became dally more & more Pressing & Vexigent with Us to provide an other Surgeon We have accordingly Entertained Mr Benjn Alsop late of the Carnarvon at three Pounds Pr Month who bear a very good Character & has take great Oppertunities to perfect himself in his Profession, having Served by Agreement half his time with Mr Yeines of Westminster, & the other half with Mr Fern of St Thomas Hospitals, by whom & Mr Locke was Recommended, to Capt Thoaikes who as well as the present Captain & Officers was very well Satisfied with his Skill & Abilities, & more very unwilling to part with him but in regard of Our great Necessity they with Some Reluctancy Consented to his Stay, & We humbly desire Your Honrs will Confirm Our Choice We beg leave to Observe that as Soon as Ever the Captains of any of Your Ships come on Shear We that Moment deliver them the Orders We received by the India Yatch, & the next day give them a particular Order to heave it upon Allarms & they being always the Same We only Order them One in Our Consultation at the begining of Shiping to avoid troubling Your Honrs with frequent Repetitions of the Same thing & for this Reason We presume to refer Your Honrs to the Consultations where they at first Enterd which the Season was on the 19th Decr The Inhabitants having left Sevll Blacks the Governr took early Care to prevent any Mischief they might have upon the Ship in the Night, by a Letter he wrote the Captains the Moments he heard of the Accident of which Your Honrs will be more in Our Consultation of the 24th of the last Month & this day We have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honrs dated the 5th of March by 24 for the Sum of Four Hundred Thirty four Pounds Nineteen third Pr ten, being farthing Sterling & Payable to Edward Buffett Esqr or Order for the like Value due to him in Yr Honr Books of Acct here from 26th May 1726 to 30th Sepr 1727 of which We humbly Pray Yr Acceptance We are Honble Sirs Yr most Dutyfull, Most Obligd Most Obedt & Most faithfull Servts St Helena 5th March 1727 E Boyfeld Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin **Margin Notes:**	had great chances to perfect himself in his business, having served by agreement half his time with Mr Steinis of Westminster, and the other half with Mr Bern of St Thomas's Hospital, by whom, and Mr Locke, he was recommended to Captain Thwaites. With the present captain and officers he was very well satisfied with his skill and abilities. It was very unwilling to part with him. But in regard of the island's great necessity, it, with some reluctance, complied to his stay. The Council asked the Court to confirm its choice. 4: The Council asked leave to observe that, as soon as ever the captains of any of the Court's ships came on shore, so that the moment delivery, in the night, by a little, it wrote the captain the moment they were in the road. The captains, from that order the Council received by the *India* galley, always delivered them a particular order to heave to upon alarms. They being always the same, the Council only entered them once in its consultation, at the beginning of shipping, to avoid troubling the Court with frequent repetitions of the same thing. For this reason the Council referred the Court to the consultations where they were first entered, which the season was on the 19th of December. 5: The inhabitants having left several slaves, the Governor took early care to prevent any mischief they might have upon the ship in the night, by a little. He wrote the captain the moment he heard of the loss, of which the Court would find more in the Council's consultation of the 21st of last month, and this day. 6: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange upon the Court, dated the 5th of March, by the 24th, for the sum of £434 19s 10d. Base farthing, black eye, payable to Edward Buffield Esq, or order, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books, from 26 May 1726 to 30 September 1727. The Council asked the Court's acceptance of these. The letter closed from St Helena on 5 March 1727, subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the surgeon entertained at the desire of the garrison and inhabitants and Mr Alsop; the notes at the following passages restate the orders received by the *India* galley and always delivered to the captains the moment they came into the road, the Governor acting to prevent loss of slaves, and the bills drawn. The surgeon Mr Bengough Alsop in the second paragraph answered a long medical want the island had endured through a run of unfit men. The late surgeon Mr *Gibson* had failed, his patients all dying, so the entertaining of Alsop, trained under two named men of Westminster and St Thomas's Hospital, marks the island securing a competent hand from a passing ship as it had done before. The orders to the captains in paragraph 4 answered the Court's directions brought by the *India* galley in a season of feared war. The Council had prepared the island for a vigorous defence and warned each arriving commander to heave to on the island's alarms, so the standing order entered once at the beginning of shipping marks the effort to guard the road against surprise. Mr Alsop, the new surgeon, was recommended to Captain Thwaites, commander of the *Carnarvon* of 1726, from whose ship he had lately come. The reference records Josiah Thwaites long in the homeward trade, so the surgeon secured from his ship

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		At the desire of the Garrison & Inhabitants Mr Alsop Entertaind as Surgeon Orders recd by the India Yatch alwayes deliverd the Captains the Moment they come on Shear & the next day an Order to heave in upon Allarms Governr to prevent Loss of Blacks gave the Capt early Notice of those who were Run away Bills drawn	here continues the island's practice of drawing medical men from the calling fleet. The bill drawn in paragraph 6 was payable to Edward Byfield, the Governor, for the sum due to him in the Court's books across the seven months of his administration. The island's want of coin left bills on London the only means of remittance, the whole money stock reckoned at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate.
59	51	List of the Packet Of Carnarvon 6th March 1727 Vizt Governr & Councills Genll Letter dated 6th March 1727 Duplicate of Governr & Councills Genll Letter Of Stanhope dated 6th January 1727 Duplicate Inhabitants of the Island St Helena to Edward Boyfeld Esqr Governr 26th July 1727 Duplicate Abstract of the Charge of the Island in the time of the late Governr Mr Smith taken from Books N O & P & Q & R & also Abstract of the Charge of the Island from the time of his Dimission to the 30 of Sepr last being Seven Months taken from the Books S E Boyfeld Esqr Governr Duplicate of Consultations from 20th June 6th Jany 1727 both in Inclusive Ditto of Governrs Monthly Acct of the Expence of each Plantation for June Do July Do August Do September 1727 Do October Do Novr Do Decr Duplicate of the Governrs Generall Acct of the Expence of each Plantation from 26th Febry to 30th Sepr 1727 Duplicate of Inventory of Goods & Stores Remaining 30th Sepr 1727 Do of Acct of Ships St Michael Do Stanhope Do Princess of Wales Do List of Families Lands & Cattle from 30 Sepr 1726 to 30 Sepr 1727 Do List of Rents & Revenues from 30 Sepr 1726 to 30 Sepr 1727 Do Acct Customs for one Year Ending 30th Sepr 1727 Do Acct Fines from 26th Febry 1726 to 30 Sepr 1727 Do Acct Licences Do Deposition of Joseph Coates Capt Betts Rect for the large Packet Do for the Small Packet Duplicate List of the Packet Of Stanhope	List of the packet by the *Carnarvon*, 6 March 1727. 1: Governor and Council general letter, dated 6 March 1727 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council general letter by the Stanhope, dated 6 January 1727 3: Duplicate of the address of the inhabitants of the island of St Helena to Edward Byfield Esq, Governor, 26 July 1727 4: Duplicate of the abstract of the charge of the island in the time of the late Governor Mr Smith, taken from books 1 to 4, and so on 5: Duplicate of the abstract of the charge of the island from the time of his dismission to 30 September, being seven months, taken from books 5 and 6, Byfield Esq Governor 6: Duplicate of consultations from 20 June to 6 January 1727, both inclusive 7: Duplicate of the Governor's monthly account of the expense of each plantation for June 8: Copy for July 1727 9: Copy for August 1727 10: Copy for September 1727 11: Copy for October 1727 12: Copy for November 1727 13: Copy for December 1727 14: Duplicate of the Governor's general account of the expense of each plantation, from 26 February to 30 September 1727 15: Duplicate of the inventory of goods and stores remaining, 30 September 1727 16: Duplicate of the account of the ship St Michael 17: Duplicate of the account of the Stanhope 18: Duplicate of the account of the Princess of Wales 19: Duplicate of the list of families, lands and cattle, from 30 September 1726 to 30 September 1727 20: Duplicate of the list of rents and revenues, for the same 21: Duplicate of the account of customs for one year ending 30 September 1727 22: Duplicate of the account of fines, from 26 February 1726 to 30 October 1727 23: Duplicate of the account of licences 24: Duplicate of the deposition of Joseph Coates 25: Captain Petts's receipt for the large packet 26: Captain Petts's receipt for the small packet 27: Duplicate of the list of the packet by the Stanhope **Interpretations** The *Carnarvon* under Captain English carried this packet home. She had arrived on 6 February 1727 from Bencoolen and the Cape, fully laden with pepper, so this list duplicates the papers the *Stanhope* had carried on 6 January 1727 against the loss of either hull. Items 4 and 5 concern the charge of the island under two administrations. The first abstract covers

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			the time of Governor Smith, the outgoing Governor whose account the Court had ordered abated, and the second covers the seven months since his dismission under Governor Byfield. The paired abstracts set the reduced expense of the new government against the swollen accounts of the old. Item 3 was the address of the inhabitants to Governor Byfield, entered at the sessions of 26 July 1727. The people had chosen a public chance to make their acknowledgements to the Governor as a testimony of their gratitude, so the enclosed address marks the island's welcome of the change of administration. Item 24 was the deposition of Joseph Coates, taken over his dispute with the late surgeon Mr Gibson about a debt. Coates had demanded the sum in December 1727, when Gibson let fall that he would handle the Company for the £30 0s 0d advanced him, so the deposition stands as the record of that exchange resent by a second ship. Items 25 and 26 name Captain Petts, commander of the *Stanhope*, whose receipts for the large and small packets gave the recoverable proof of delivery. The reference records Wentworth George Petts long in the homeward trade, so the same commander recurs here giving the standing audit trail at India House.
60	52	Copy Consultations from 9th Janry to 8th March 1727 both inclusive Do of Governrs Acct of the Expence of each Plantation for the Month of January 1727 Ditto for the Month of Febry 1727 Copy of the Acct of Ship Carnarvon List of the Packet D Crispe	Copy of consultations from 9 January to 8 March 1727, both inclusive Duplicate of the Governor's account of the expense of each plantation for the month of January 1727 Copy for the month of February 1727 Copy of the account of the ship Carnarvon List of the packet **Interpretations** The *Carnarvon* under Captain English carried this packet home from Bencoolen and the Cape. Her account of dealings at the island closes the run of papers duplicated against the loss of any one hull, the standing method by which the Council guarded its correspondence.
61	53	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] 2 Genll Letter Of Carnarvon 11th March 1727 Honble Sirs Capt English having taken a Resolution to Saile with the Dutch Fleets if they should make the Island obliged Us to make up Our Packet on the 8th instant expecting he might a Saile at a Minute Warning but it hath luckily happend, that the James & Mary Capt Balchen Comdr Continued Safe here on the 9th instant who deliverd Us a Packet from Your Honrs which Wee immediatly Opend & recd through & acquainted Capt English that Your Honrs had received the Orders You Sent by the Yatch which determine him to Saile to Morrow & that We must defer Our Answer till the next Ship Arrive which then shall be full & Compleat, & yet take this Oppertunity to return Yr Honrs Our humble Thanks for Yr approbation of Our Management in Several particulars, We will continued Our Diligence & rectify those things which are yet amiss & blamed by Your Honrs & We assure You that in all Our Actions Yr Honrs So Shall find that	Second general letter by the *Carnarvon*, 11 March 1727. Captain English, having resolved to sail with the Dutch fleet if they should make the island, obliged the Council to make up its packet at a moment's notice. But it luckily happened that the *James and Mary*, Captain Balchen, commander, came in late on the 8th of this month. She delivered the Council a packet from the Court, which the Council immediately opened and read through. It acquainted Captain English that the Court had received the orders the Council sent by the *India* galley. This determined him to sail to Morton. The Council must therefore defer its own answer until the next ship arrived, when it would be fully complete. But it took this chance to return the Court its humble thanks for the Court's approbation of its management in several particulars. The Council would continue its diligence to correct those things still amiss or blamed. It assured the Court that in all its actions its hand and its heart went together. It would make good all its promises, and give punctual obedience to all the Court's orders and directions. The Council had given the necessary orders for the timely despatch of the store ship. It did not doubt it would achieve this. The Court would find more upon this subject in the Council's consultation of the 8th of this month. The Council had entered notice of Mr Gibson, for the several reasons named in its consultations of the 19th and 26th of December last. He now returned in the *Carnarvon*. But he confidently affirmed he never received the £30 0s 0d. The Court again ordered the Council to stop it, which it accordingly did.

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		Our Hand & Our Heart go together, & that We will make good all We promise & give punctual Obedience to all Yr Orders & Directions We have given the necessary Orders for the timely Dispatch of the Storeship, & dont doubt but We shall Effect it, Your Honrs will See more upon this Subject in Our Consultation of the 8th instant Mr Gibson for the Sevll Persons mentioned in Consultation of the 19 & 26 Decr, Do, & 9 Do Do late returns in the Carnarvon but this Confidently Affirms he never received the Thirty Pounds Yr Honrs again Order Us to Stop which We hard tane accordingly We have Proclaimed his Majesty according to Your Honrs Commands at the Heads of the Garrison, & with all the Solemnity used upon Such occasions, & heartily wish his Reigg may be long & happy Mr Cowse begs leave to Say his Duty to Your Honrs & Yr his humble Thanks for the late instance of Yr Honrs favour to him which he will alwayes Endeavour to preserve by a Diligent & faithfull Discharge of his Duty, We are Honble Sirs Your most Dutyfull, Most Obligd Most Obedt & Most faithfull Servts St Helena 11th March 1727 E Boyfeld Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe **Margin Notes:** Answer to the Genll Letter from the Honble Compy Sent by James & Mary deferd to an other time, Capt English acquainted with the Orders Of India Yatch were Received Orders given for the timely Dispatch of the Storeship Mr Gibson takes Passage for England in Board the Carnarvon His Majesty George 2d Proclaimed King &ca	The Council had proclaimed His Majesty King George, according to the Court's commands, at the head of the garrison, with all solemnity used upon such occasions. It heartily wished his reign might be long and happy. Mr English asked leave to say his duty to the Court, and to give his humble thanks for the late instance of the Court's favour to him. In return, he would always try, by his diligence and faithful discharge of his duty, to deserve it. The letter closed from St Helena on 11 March 1727, subscribed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander and John Goodwin. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the answer to the Court's letter deferred to another time, and the orders sent by the *India* galley acknowledged. The notes at the following passages restate the orders given for the timely despatch of the store ship, Mr Gibson taking passage home in the *Carnarvon*, and His Majesty King George proclaimed. The proclamation in the fourth paragraph marked the accession of George the Second, who came to the throne on 11 June 1727 on the death of George the First. The manuscript names only King George, so the regnal number is not on the page, but the ceremony fixes the moment firmly in the second George's reign. The first Hanoverian proclamation had already taken place at the island at Mile End Stone on 11 June 1715, so this fresh act at the head of the garrison answers a change of monarch rather than the original accession. The *James and Mary* under Captain Balchen in the opening brought the Court's packet that reached the island late on 8 March 1727. Captain John Balchen had commanded the *James and Mary*, selling the Council pepper for the island's use, named in the letter by the *Compton* of 10 January 1726. The same commander recurs here bringing the Court's letters. Mr Gibson, taking passage home in the third paragraph, was the late surgeon whose failure and crafty conduct the Council had set out across its letters. His denial of the £30 0s 0d advanced him, and the Court's fresh order to stop it, close the record of a servant the Council was glad to send off the island. The store ship pressed in the second paragraph was the yearly ship from England carrying the island's cargo and naval stores. The Council had long argued that early despatch kept the homeward fleet from the Cape and let the island refit the ships, a plea tied to the standing Cape trade grievance.
62	54	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Honble Sirs Wee are Extreamly glad to hear by the James & Mary who arrived here on the 3d of March last that all Yr Shiping which Sailed from hence between the 5 of Decr 1726 & 17 June 1727 are Safely arrived in England We repeated Assurances Wee gave Your Honrs as will in Our	The Council was very glad to learn by the *James and Mary*, which arrived on 8 March last, that all the Court's shipping that sailed between 5 December 1726 and 17 June 1727 had safely reached England. The Council repeated the assurances it gave the Court in its letter by the *Stanhope*. It flattered itself it had made good those assurances, as the Court would see by the last set of books and the packet sent by the *Stanhope*, which sailed home in company with the *Princess of Wales* on 7 January last. By these the Court would find that the yearly charge of the island was

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		Letter Of Grantham as others We flatter Our Selves We have made, good as Your Honrs will observe by the last Sett of Books and Packet We transmitted by the Stanhope who in Company with the Princess of Wales Sailed hence for England on the 7th of Janry last by which Your Honrs will find that the Yearly Charge of the Island is almost fixed to a Certainty & is Five Thousand two Hundred & Eighteen Pounds Pr Ann less than it lately was & what We have Since done Your Honrs will find in Our Letter Of Carnarvon who arrived the 6th of February & Sailed on the 12th of March last for England, & in the Sequel of this under the usuall Genll Heads Vizt First concerning Shiping We heartily wish that all Your Honrs Ships now abroad may return with Safety as those did last Year We hope good Success will Attend all the Ships & Your Honrs Sink out this Year We also hope the Early arrival of the Mocho Ship will be, a Means to better her Markets We likewise hope that the early Dispatch of the Shipps Yr Honrs design for China & the Coast & Bay will be attended with the like good Success If We receive any Orders from the Gentlemen whom Yr Honrs have been pleasd to Appoint a Secret Comittee or any Three of them We will be Sure to Obey them the Neglect Your Honrs again take Notice of with Relation to the Dispatch of the Carnarvon shall be carefully Avoided for the future, the James & Mary We have Unlaeded within the time Limitted & on the 19th of March We deliverd the Captain Our Letter to Your Honrs Settlements in India, in that to the West Coast We Enclosed the Ships Charter Party, & on the 27 She Sailed for India Since Norway Yawles are So Slight & Difficult to be **Margin Notes:** Yearly Expence of the Island £5218 less than it used to be Orders from the Secret Comittee to be obeyd Orders from the Secret Comittee to be obeyd Assurance given that the Storeship for the future Shall be timely Dispatchd	almost fixed to a certainty. It came to £5,218 0s 0d a year, less than it lately was. The Court would find what the Council had since done in its letter by the *Carnarvon*, which arrived on 6 February and sailed on 12 March last for England. In the course of this it answered under the Court's own heads. First, concerning shipping. 3: The Council heartily wished that all the Court's ships now abroad might return in safety, as those did last year. 4: The Council hoped good success would attend all the ships the Court sank out this year. 5: The Council also hoped the early arrival of the Mocha ship would be a means to better her market. 6: The Council likewise hoped that the early despatch of the ships the Court intended for China and the Coast would be attended with the like good success. If the Council received any orders from the gentlemen whom the Court had been pleased to appoint a Secret Committee, or any three of them, it would be sure to obey them. The neglect the Court again took notice of, in relation to the despatch of the *Carnarvon*, would be carefully avoided in future. The Council delivered up the *James and Mary* within the time set. On 19 March it delivered the captain its letters to the Court's settlements in India. In that to the West Coast it enclosed the ship's charter party. On the 27th she sailed for India. The Norway yawls were so slight and hard to be [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the yearly expense of the island reduced to £5,218 0s 0d, less than it lately was. The notes at the following passages restate the orders from the Secret Committee to be obeyed, and the assurance given that the store ship would be timely despatched in future. The reduction to £5,218 0s 0d in the second paragraph marks the tight economy the accountant general's audit had forced on the island. The administration had cut the cost of the slaves' clothing, the salt provision and other charges through the year, so the settled figure answers the Court's long complaint of the loose and swollen accounts of the earlier regime. The Secret Committee named in the sixth paragraph was the inner body of the Court that issued the Company's most confidential instructions. The reference records the Court's future orders on the Ostend ships promised through its Secret Committee in the *King William* reply, so the Council's undertaking to obey its orders here marks the standing channel for the Court's secret directions. The Mocha ship in paragraph 5 was a Company vessel trading to Mocha on the Red Sea, the centre of the coffee trade. The island lay on the homeward track of such ships, so the Council's hope for the early arrival of the Mocha ship rests on its concern to serve the calling fleet and better its market at the island. The Norway yawls in the closing line were small open boats built in Scandinavia without ironwork, held together by wooden pegs and lashings, which lasted several years in a damp climate. The Council had sought one ready-framed for the fishery trade in its letter by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726, so the notice here continues that standing want of a serviceable fishing boat.
63	55	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.]	The Council rather chose to ask the Court to send the island a couple of deal yawls.

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		be got We rather Choose to desire Your Honrs will be pleased to Send Us a Couple of Deale Yawles Whether it be Peace or War We will be alwaies upon Our Guard to prevent any Attempt eether upon the Island or Your Shipping & will be Sure to give the Captains Directions to Warn Us near the Shear upon Allarms For the future We Our Selves will take Care the Powder shall be good We are Sensible it ought to be so & with Care probably might have been So but We cant thinck it Safe to Clear any farther Confidence in the present Gunner & till Your Honrs Signify Your Pleasure about this Affair which We have fully Sketch in Our Letters & Consultations Of Stanhope We will inspect into it Our Selves We are glad to hear that Your Honrs are Satisfied with the Answers We gave You about the Money paid upon Allarms We will continue the Same Precaution if any foreign Ship Arrives as We wish in the Case of Captain Burnham & are Sorry for the Neck he brought which in obedience to Your Honrs Commands We have Sent to Your Settlements in India As to Your Ships Arrive We will acquaint the Captains with the Revocation of Your Honrs late orders Of India Yatch as We did Capt English the Same day the James & Mary Arrived, & humbly thank Your Honrs for Your Intention to give Us farther Directions if it be necessary If it be proper We dont doubt but Your Honrs will give the fresh Orders for Our Conduct relating to the Affair referd to in Your 18th Paragraph Secondly concerning Goods or Stores received from England or India We have already fixed the Selling Price upon the Cargo Of James & Mary a Copy of which We have Sent Your Honrs in the Packets, the Ships Charter Party & & & We have Sent to Bencoolen We will continue to Enter in Our Consultations all Such Goods as We receive & & & together with the Selling Price The Selling Price Upon the Cargo We lately received is Sett in the Margin of the Invoice against every Article We will give Strict Regard to the Injunction Your Honrs have laid upon Us not to buy any Goods of the Captains till those upon Our Hands are first Sold off, & also to what Your Honrs mention in Yr 6th & other Para in Your Genll Letter Of Princess Anne **Margin Notes:** A Couple of Deale Yawles desired Good Guard & orders to Captains to heave in upon Allarms to be given No Confidence to be placed in the Gunner	Whether it be peace or war, the Council would always be upon its guard, to prevent any attempt either upon the island or the Court's shipping. It would be sure to give the captains directions to heave to near the shore upon alarms. 11: For the future the Council would take care that the powder should be good. It was sensible it ought to have been so, and probably might have been, but it could not think it safe to place any further confidence in the present gunner. If the Court signified its pleasure about this affair, which the Council had fully set out in its letters and consultations by the *Stanhope*, the Council would look into it itself. 12: The Council was glad to learn that the Court was satisfied with the answer it gave about the money paid upon alarms. 13: The Council would continue the same practice if any foreign ship arrived, as in the case of Captain Burnham. It was sorry for the slaves he brought, which, in obedience to the Court's commands, the Council had sent to the Court's settlements in India. 14: As the Court's ships arrived, the Council would tell the captains of the revocation of the Court's late orders by the *India* galley. It did so to Captain English the same day the *James and Mary* arrived. It thanked the Court for its intention to give further directions if it were necessary. 15: If it were proper, the Council did not doubt the Court would give fresh orders for its conduct on the affairs referred to in the Court's 15th paragraph. Secondly, concerning goods or stores received from England or India. The Council had already fixed the selling price upon the cargo of the *James and Mary*. A copy of this it had sent the Court in its packet. The ship's charter party it had sent to Bencoolen. 17: The Council would continue to enter in its consultations all such goods as it received, together with the selling price. 18: The selling price upon the cargo the Council lately received was set in the margin of the invoice against every article. 19: The Council would give strict regard to the Court's order not to buy any goods of the captains until those upon its hands were first sold off. It would also observe what the Court mentioned in its 6th and other paragraphs in the general letter by the *Princess Anne*. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the couple of deal yawls sought. The notes at the following passages restate the good guard held in peace or war and the orders to the captains on alarms, no confidence placed in the gunner and the danger to the powder the Council tried to prevent, the money paid upon alarms approved by the Court, the foreign ship's slaves sent to India, the captains told of the revocation of the orders by the *India* galley, the orders expected in case of war, the selling price entered in consultation and set in the margin, and no goods to be bought until those on hand were sold. The deal yawls sought in the opening were small open boats built of deal, the softwood plank the island depended on for its lighter work. The Council had earlier pressed for a Norway yawl for the fishery trade, but finding those too slight, it turned here to deal boats it could build and repair with its own carpenter, the standing want of a serviceable fishing boat still unmet. The gunner distrusted in paragraph 11 was John French, whose neglect of the powder magazine the

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		to prevent the Loss of Damage of Powder Yr Selves prefer to look after it Money paid upon Allarms Approved by the Compy Foreign Ships promised to prevent Enemys Neck of Quotes Sent to India Captains Acqd with the Revocation of the Orders Of India Yatch Orders Expected in Case of Warr Selling Price annexd to the Invoice & the Charter Party Sent to Bencoolen Goods recd Enterd in Consultation Selling Price Sett in the Margin of the Invoice Not any Goods to be bought till those We have are Sold	Council had set out at length in its letter by the *Stanhope* of 6 January 1727. His failure to turn and dry the powder had spoiled the greater part of the island's stock, so the refusal to trust him further marks a fresh alarm over the island's defence in a season of feared war. Captain Burnham in paragraph 13 was Charles Burnham, commander of the *St Michael*, a slave ship of the South Sea Company licensed by the Court to trade to Madagascar. His slaves, sent on to the Court's settlements in India by the Court's order, mark the Council acting as a way station in the wider slave traffic of the eastern trade. The selling price fixed in paragraph 18 answered the reformed bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had pressed. The Council entered the retail price against each article in the margin of the invoice, so the Court could see at once what the island charged, the tight accounting tied to the recovery of the Court's money and the settling of the island's expense.
64	56	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] As to so much of this Cara as relates to the Wrockt Goods We hope Our Proceedings in Consultation of 4th July & 4th October last will give Your Honrs Satisfaction for We have used all Our Endeavours to dispose of them & at the most proper times too but tis there without any Effect except the 27 Yr of Nidaneesr are as Sold at 5 Pr piece Some of the other Sort We have used for the Blacks Clothing which is the best Use We can put them to, & will make Use of the Rest that way if We cant Sell them & We are afraid We never can in Order to Save better Goods, We have Settled, the Selling Price of the & Ronandogus Chints, whose Prices at 7, 6 Pr Peice, & Broken Peices of the Same Sort, at 4th Pr Yard, & if We can Sell any, We will transmit an Acct when, to whom, how, much of each Sort & & & We will alse dispose of the Buttons to the best Advantage, & Endeavour to prove Our Selves good Sorts in every thing Our Indent for the future as well as Our last Shall be always made with Such Caution & Moderation that Your Honrs may depends upon the Assurance We have given You upon this Occasion Great Care when Shall be always Contained to prevent any farther Damage Good may receive either from Moths or other Vermin, if any Neuents thould happen which We hope will not, it will be deserved in time & Water will lower the Price to get them off at the begining That Your Honrs may receive no Prejudice We took Care in Our	20: As to so much of the Court's paragraph as related to the woollen goods, the Council hoped its proceedings in the consultation of the 4th of July and the 4th of October last would give the Court satisfaction. It had used all its endeavours to dispose of them at the most proper times, but hitherto without any effect, except the 27 pieces of niccanees, sold at 5s a piece. Some of the other sort the Council had used for the slaves' clothing, which was the best use it could put them to. It would make use of the rest that way, if it could not sell them. It was afraid it never should, in order to save better goods. The Council had settled the selling price of the ponabagues, chintz and other pieces of the same sort, at 4d a yard. If it could sell any, it would send the account, and to whom. It would also dispose of the buttons to the best advantage, and try to prove itself a good judge in everything. 21: The Council's indent for the future, as well as its last, would always be made with such caution and moderation that the Court might depend upon the assurance the Council gave it upon this matter. 22: Great care would always be taken to prevent any further damage. Goods might always receive damage, either from moths or other vermin. If any accident should happen, which the Council hoped would not, it would be discovered in time. Weather would lower the price, to get them off at the beginning. 23: That the Court might receive no prejudice, the Council took care, in its last set of books, to examine the wastage of every particular article. It allowed wastage on each, as it actually found it. It would observe the same method when it balanced its next books. 24: The Council would never follow the late practice, to amuse the Court with artful colourings and deceitful promises. But it would keep to its work, make good what it promised, and promise no more than it intended to perform. To this end it often exposed the Court's orders and its own letters. The Council thanked the Court for its kind supply of wine and beer. 25: The copper half-pence were as yet in the store, a few only being used for change. 26: If it pleased God to continue his blessing, and give the island rain at the usual seasons, which this year had proved as good as most the Council remembered, it would hardly have cause to trouble the Court either for wheat or salt provision.

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		last Sett of Books to Examine the Wastage of every particular Article & allowed Wastage on each as We actually founde it, & will Observe the Same Method when We Ballance Our next Books We will never follow the late Method to Amuse Your Honrs with Artfull Colourings & deceitfull Promisses, but keep to Our Work, make good what We promise & Promise no more than We intende to perform to which End We often Expose Your Orders & Our own Letters, We thank Your Honrs for Your kind Supply of Wine & Beer The Copper Cash are yet in the Store as few only being Useful for Charge If it Please God to continue his Blessing & give Us Rain at the usuall Seasons, which this Year has proved as good as most We remember We shall hardly have Occasion to trouble Your Honrs either for Wheat or Salt Provision **Margin Notes:** Endeavours have been used to Sell the Wrockt Goods but to little purpose, Some of them have been used for the Blacks Clothing Prices of the Ronandogus Chints Settled Buttons to be Sold The Indent to be very moderate Great Care will be taken to prevent Goods from receiving Damage Wastage on Arrack &c & other Goods Allowed only as it actually was found Compy not to be any more deceived with fair Promisses or artfull Colourings Copper Cash yet in the Store Neither Wheat or Salt Provision yet wanted	**Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 20 restates the endeavours to sell the woollen goods, some used for the slaves' clothing. The notes at the following paragraphs restate the selling price of the ponabagues and chintz settled, the buttons to be sold, the indent to be very moderate, the care taken to prevent goods receiving damage, the wastage on arrack and other goods allowed as actually found, the resolve not to amuse the Court with artful colourings, the copper cash still in the store, and neither wheat nor salt provision yet wanted. The woollen goods in paragraph 20 answered the standing difficulty of selling English cloth on a small subtropical island, where the woollen manufactures the Court consigned found a thin market against Indian cotton goods. The Council had used some for the slaves' clothing, the best use it could make of stock it could not sell, so the niccanees, ponabagues and chintz here mark the same commercial problem the island had reported since the despatch of 8 December 1714. The niccanees and ponabagues named in paragraph 20 were Indian cotton cloths of named kinds, traded by the Company under those trade terms. The reference records the India goods from the *Salisbury* found 23 pieces of the ponabagues and 10 of the niccanees short, named in the letter by the *Stanhope* of 13 January 1724, so the same cloths recur here priced for sale at the island. The wastage allowed in paragraph 23 answered the letter of Mr Mitchell, the Company's auditor at India House, whose review of the island books had pressed the reconciliation of the accounts. The Council examined the wastage of every article and entered it as found, so the reformed method here marks the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration. The copper half-pence in paragraph 25 were small coin the island held against its want of a circulating medium. The Council had reckoned the whole island money stock at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate, so the copper kept in the store for change marks the standing shortage of coin on the island.
65	57	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] The Ploughs We kept as usefull We made Our Additional Indent out of an Apprehension that Your Shiping might want a greater Quantity of those Sort of Stores than We at first desired but Since Your Honrs have not thought proper to Sink it We will Shift as well as We can with what We have Thirdly touching Your Honrs Servants Civil & Military the Accounts of St Helena & also concerning Your Slaves, Cattle, Lands & Revenues We have transmitted to Your Honrs the usual yearly List & will continue the Like annually at the times You Order them to be Sent, in the List of Revenue Your Honrs will observe how much is due from the Inhabitants for the last half Year which We have	27: The Council kept the ploughs as useful. 28: The Council made its additional indent out of an apprehension that the Court's shipping might want a greater quantity of that sort of stores than the Council at first asked. But since the Court had not thought proper to send it, the Council would shift as well as it could with what it had. Thirdly, concerning the Court's servants, civil and military, and the accounts of St Helena, and also concerning the Court's slaves, cattle, lands and revenues. 29: The Council had sent the Court the usual yearly lists. It would continue the like yearly, at the times the Court ordered them to be sent. In the list of revenue the Court would see how much was due from the inhabitants for the last half year, which the Council had entered in its books. But the Court's shipping not being yet returned, they could not all pay it until September. At that time they promised to clear their rent for this half year. 30: The Council finished the new plantation at the time it mentioned. It was very glad to learn the Court

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		Enterd, to their Acct in Our Books but Your Shipping not being yet returned they can not all Pay it till September at which time they promise to Clear their Rent for this half Year We finished the New Plantation at the time We mentioned & are glad to observe Your Honrs are pleasd it is Compleated, We with the Information You lately received might prove true, however the Governour has had it under his Care ever Since & no Pains or Labour has been wanting to make the most of it, but not withstanding the preceded Advantage of this Plantation the Land at Cichins containing 22 Acres is the Chief We have to trust to in a Dry Season it being much better Waterd, & produces great Plenty of Better Yam than We have any where else so that if Your Honrs continue Your Resolution to have this Sold, We must be under a necessity to buy when a Dry time comes for their Meat, & will be Little or no Water in the Valley & which in good Seasons naeing with the Salt Springs in the way vendee it so brakish that the Plantation can by no means be depended upon nor in Fact are they so large, as represented, indeed they grow pretty fast, but their Substance is light & very indifficult, & these Reasons determine Us to keep the Land at Cichins till We hear again from Your Honrs You Expect the & & & South Sea & & dare not receive Your We will continue Our Endeavour to raise Provision Sufficient for the Supply of Your Honrs Blacks We were very Carefull in preparing those Papers & Accounts relating to Mr Smith & also the Inventory & beleive they are right Since its Your Honrs Pleasure We should be so We have Charged Our respective Acct with the Same for which We have Contract for the Labour of Our Blacks after the Arrival of **Margin Notes:** Ploughs Usefull Present Stock of Naval Stores must Serve Usual List Rent Sent, but Shipping not having yet returnd the Inhabitants cant all Clear their Rents for the last half Year till Sepr next Reason given why the Remainder of the Land at Cichins can not be Sold New Plantation in the Valley very indifft the Yam there not being So good or large as Represented	was pleased it was complete. The information the Court lately received might prove true. However, the Governor had it under his care ever since. No pains or labour had been wanting to make the most of it. But notwithstanding the pretended advantage of the plantation, the land at Cochins, containing 22 acres, was the chief the Council had to trust to in a dry season. It was much better watered, and produced great plenty of better yam than the Council had anywhere else. So that if the Court continued its resolution to have this sold, the Council must be under a necessity to buy when a dry season comes for their meat. There would be little or no water in the valley of Cochins, which in good season is watered with the salt spring. In the way to it, it is so brackish that the plantation can by no means be depended upon. Nor in fact were they so large, as represented. Indeed they grew pretty fast. But their sustenance is light and very indifferent. For these reasons the Council determined to keep the land at Cochins until it heard again from the Court. The Court expected the sale of it, and a South Villa, but these did not deserve the Court's notice. 31: The Council would continue its endeavours to raise provision sufficient for the supply of the Court's slaves. 32: The Council was very careful in preparing these papers and accounts relating to Mr Smith. It also believed the inventory to be right. 33: Since it was the Court's pleasure it should be so, the Council had charged its respective accounts with the same, for which it had contracted for the labour of its slaves after the arrival of the [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 27 restates the ploughs useful. The notes at the following paragraphs restate the present stock of naval stores most true, the usual lists sent and the inhabitants unable to pay their rent until the last half year, the reason the land at Cochins could not be sold, the new plantation in the valley very indifferent and the yam there not so good or large as represented, the endeavours to raise provision for the slaves, the papers relating to Mr Smith, and the money due for the slaves' labour. The land at Cochins in paragraph 30 was watered ground the Council prized above all its other holdings. One watered acre was reckoned worth three of the rest at the island, so the Council's reluctance to sell the 22 acres at Cochins rests on that standing scarcity of watered land, which fed the establishment through the dry seasons. The salt spring in paragraph 30 was a brackish source that watered the valley of Cochins in a good season. Its water grew too salt in a dry season to be depended upon, so the plantation's yield varied with the rains, a mark of the island's constant struggle to feed its ground against drought. Mr Smith in paragraphs 32 and 33 was the Worshipful John Smith, the outgoing Governor whose account the Court had ordered abated. The Council's care in preparing the papers relating to him marks the settlement of an outgoing governor's reckoning under the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration. The new plantation in paragraph 30 was the enclosure in the Fort Valley, above the old garden and watered from the main run. The Council had reported it planted with 120,000 yams, but here judged the yam there indifferent against the better crop at Cochins, so

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		Endeavours will be used to Raise Provision enough for the Blacks Papers Acct relating to Mr Smith right Money are for Blacks Work Charged	the two grounds together mark the island's search for reliable watered land to feed the establishment.
66	58	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] the Carnarvon but were very inclinable to hope that Our late faithfull, Service which We have Since continued with great Advantage & Suess would induce Your Honrs to allow the usuall Consideration for their Work, the late Governour thinck what Blacks & of whom, he thought proper for Your Honrs Service for otherwise We could not have Employ'd them in Your Work, & gave particular Order for the Reception of Ours & We humbly hope Your Honr will again take this Affair into Your Consideration before We are absolutely conduct'd, We wish no indecent Means to get Our Slaves Employ'd nor had We any Intent by any unfair way to get Money at Your Cost if they had not been Entertained in Your Service We could have made an equall Advantage of them an other way, but if after these Reasons We have humbly offer'd, Yr Honr Stile continue in Your Resolution & will not allow it, & as voluntary We Submit to Your Pleasure, & then left the Acct as pr Consultation of the We lately acquainted Your Honrs in Our Letter Of Stanhope with the Improvement, the Governr had then made in the Wood which entirely Answer Our Expectation, the Several Sorts of Grass Seed there Sowed is come up in great Plenty & the Weather being Seasonable We have already Sowed a good deal of that Your Honr lately Sent, the Potatoes the Governr Ordered to be Planted for the Refreshment of Your Shiping Come, & in great Abundance will be of Singular benefit to the poor Sailors after long Voyages without Prejudice to the Inhabts for of these they could never raise a Sufficient Supply, what We have already on Shall hereafter Sold to Shiping Your Honr will always Be in their respective Acct, Making the Enclosures has taken up a great deal of time, so that the Since is not all Compleated what yet Remains shall be finished with all possible Expedition From the time of the Arrival of the Princess Anne every Article of Expence has been placed to its proper Acct & not Concealed under One to which it doth not belong We have taken Care that Your Blacks have always had their Belly full of Provision, We Still get Fish in great Plenty	The Council charged the account of the Governor and Council with the account of expense. It was very inclined to hope its late faithful service, which it had continued with great advantage, and which it hoped would induce the Court to alter the earlier practice, would answer for their work. The late Governor drew what slaves and of whom he thought proper for the Court's service. Otherwise the Council could not have employed them at the Court's work. It gave particular order for the reception of these. The Council humbly hoped the Court would again take the affair into its consideration before it absolutely concluded. It used no indirect means to get the Court's slaves employed at the Court's work. It was averse, by any unfair way, to get money at the Court's cost. Had they not been entertained in the Court's service, the Council could have made an equal advantage of them another way. But if, after these reasons, the Court still continued in its resolution, the Council would not allow it. It would submit its first voluntary offer to the Court's pleasure, and there leave the account of expense of the plantations. 34: The Council lately told the Court, in its letter by the *Stanhope*, of the improvement the Governor had then made in the wood. This entirely answered its expectation. The several sorts of grass seed there sown had come up in great plenty. The weather being seasonable, the Council had already sown a good deal of that the Court lately sent. The potatoes the Governor ordered to be planted, for the refreshment of the Court's shipping, came up in great abundance. This would be of singular benefit to the poor sailors after a long voyage, without prejudice to the inhabitants. Of these the Council could never raise a sufficient supply, which it had already, or would hereafter, sell to the Court's shipping. It would always enter them in their respective accounts. The making of the enclosures had taken up a great deal of time, so that what yet remained would be finished with all possible speed. 35: From the time of the arrival of the *Princess Anne*, every article of expense had been placed to its proper account, and not concealed under one to which it did not belong. 36: The Council had taken care that the Court's slaves always had their bellyful of provision. It still got fish in great plenty, and had done so the year round. Or, in the coldest weather, it did not doubt at all of getting the like plenty this year. The Council did not loiter its time, or dream out its days, but attended to its duty and minded the Court's interest. If the fish in cold weather went a great way out into deep water, the Council's [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the expense charged to the account of the Governor and Council. The notes at the following passages restate the grass seed at the wood already come up in clumps, the large increase of potatoes there, the wood not yet completely measured because a great deal of time went in making the new enclosures, the expense placed to its proper account, and the slaves fully fed and plenty of fish caught the year round.

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		& have done so the Year round, & in the Coldest Weather we dont at all doubts of getting the like Plenty this Year for We dont Loiter Our time & Dream out Our Dayes but attend to Our Duty, & Mind Your Interest, if the Fish in cold Weather go a great way out into deep Water when Ours **Margin Notes:** Charged to the Acct of Governr & Councill till the Acct Disposed Grass Seed at the Wood already come up in Plenty A Large Encrease of Potatoes there The Wood not yet compleatly Enclosed measured by the Kings Servant in making new Enclosures All Expence has been placed to the proper Acct Blacks have been fully fed & Plenty of Fish are Caught the Year Round	The grass seed and potatoes in paragraph 34 continued the improvement of the Great Wood, the fencing of which was an order of the Court more than 20 years old. The Council had raised four enclosures for pasture and planted 72 bushels of Irish potatoes at Long Gut, so the plenty reported here marks that improvement brought to fruition to feed the cattle and the shipping. The potatoes as a refreshment for the sailors bear on the disease that struck ships after long voyages. The Dutch *Schonberg* had reached the island with upwards of 20 men sick of the scurvy, named in the letter by the *Mary* of 29 April 1724, so fresh roots for the calling fleet answered a standing need of the shipping. The change of diet in paragraph 36 answered the cost of salt provision, salted beef and pork shipped out to feed the slave establishment. The Council had reported that provision at £1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, so the turn to fish caught in the island's own waters both saved the charge and kept the slaves well fed. The dispute over the slaves' labour bears on the change of administration the whole letter marks. The Governor was Edward Byfield, formerly overseer of the plantations under Governor Smith, the outgoing Governor whose account the Court had ordered abated. The Council's defence of employing the Court's slaves at the Court's work sets the new administration against the charges laid on the old.
67	59	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Our Yawles cant by We get coarse Salt off the Mountain & fit out Our Long Boat & go after them & Catch what We want & salt them upon the Spot, & it often happens that the returns with a very great Quantity of Neat Fish after their Cattle are out & their Heads off, those who Say otherwise decieve You, what We Write is Truth No Care is wanting to keep Your Blacks in heart that they be able to Labour, & for this last Twelve Month in which they have been fed with Fish have been more healthy than in any One Year We remember, & have had good luck with those few who were Afflicted with Old Pains & Aches for by the Strict Eye the Governr kept over Gibsons Mate We have Cured the Lame, the Blacks, the Hurt & the Sullen All Means have been Used & Shall be continued to render the Charge of Clothing Your Blacks less Expensive if possible the Women Work it were almost as much Exposed to the Weather & & & & Pr Consequence wear out their Cloths as fast, & as for the Boys & Girls We Sett them about Something or other as Soon as they are well able to Crawle, & Children will tear & wear out their Cloths, & those Men or Women who are Superannuated & are continually Craving for more Cloth to keep them Warm & as they are Old & worn with Labour it has been always Customary to Cloth them	The Council's yawls could not do it. It got coarse salt off the mountain, fitted out its longboat, and went after the fish. It caught what it wanted, and salted them on the spot. It often happened that the boat returned with a very great quantity of neat fish, after their guts were out and their heads off. Those who said otherwise deceived the Court. What the Council wrote was truth. 37: No care was wanting to keep the Court's slaves in heart, so that they might be able to labour. For these last 12 months, in which they had been fed with fish, they had been more healthy than in any one year the Council remembered. It had had good luck with those few who were afflicted with old pains and aches. For, by the strictness the Governor kept over Gibson's mate, the Council had cured the lame, the black, the halt and the sullen. 38: All means had been used, and would still be continued, to reduce the charge of clothing the Court's slaves and lessen the expense, if possible. The women who wore out their clothes as fast as the men, were almost as much exposed to the weather. As for the boys and girls, the Council set them about something or other, as soon as they were able to crawl. Children would tear and wear out their clothes. Those men or women who were superannuated were continually craving for more cloth to keep them warm, since they were old and worn with labour. It had been always customary to clothe them at the same time as the others, which the Council had changed from Christmas to March. 39: For the reason the Court mentioned in this paragraph, the Council would employ some other of the Court's slaves, of the best skill, to learn handicrafts. 40: The Council asked leave to assure the Court that, where it thought the number of servants about the Court's house too many, it employed no more than were absolutely necessary. 41: The list of eaters the Council sent this year was as particular as the Court required. It would be so kept in future. 42: If the inhabitants were not allowed some benefit of the children they took, after the trouble

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		at the Same time as the others which We have Changed from Xmas to March For the Reasons Yr Honrs mention in this Paragraph We will Employ Some other of Your Blacks of the best Genius to learn Handicrafts We humbly beg leave to assure Your Honrs that We You think the Number of Servt about the House too many We Employ no more than are absolutely necessary The List of Eaters We this Year Send is as particular as Your Honrs require & Shall be so kept for the future If the Inhabitants are not allowed Some benefit of the Children they take, after the trouble & Charge of their Childhood they will not take them at all & that they may neither be lost or Abused at the time We make up the List of Your Blacks We have those also brought before Us & then Examine them about their Wage which this Year they all told Us was well, those who keep them enter into Obligations to return them at the Ends of the Term which We have Enterd in Our Register Book & keep a Memdm in the List **Margin Notes:** Blacks have been kept in good heart & have been more healthy Since they have been fed with Fish than ever they were before Care promised to be taken to Cloth the Blacks at as little Charge as possible Number of Servt no more than necessary List of Eaters Exact Blacks put out to the Inhabts yearly Examnd about their Wage, & those that are out on Market in the List &ca	and charge of their childhood, they would not take them at all. So that they might neither be lost nor abused, at the time the Council made up the list of the Court's slaves, it had these also brought before it. When it examined them about their wages, which this year they all owned were well, those who kept them entered into obligations to return them at the end of the term. This the Council had entered in its register book, and kept a memorandum in the list. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 37 restates the slaves kept in good heart and more healthy since they were fed with fish. The notes at the following paragraphs restate the care to clothe the slaves at as little charge as possible, the number of servants no more than necessary, the list of eaters exact, and the slaves put out to the inhabitants at yearly wages entered in the register book. The diet of fish in paragraph 37 answered the cost of salt provision, salted beef and pork shipped out to feed the slave establishment. The Council had reported that provision at £1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, so the turn to fish caught in the island's own waters both saved the charge and improved the slaves' health. Gibson's mate in paragraph 37 was the assistant to the late surgeon Mr Gibson, kept on to tend the slaves under the Governor's strict eye. The reference records the island's long medical want through a run of unfit men, so the treatment of the sick slaves here rests on whatever medical hand the island could hold to its work. The clothing scale in paragraph 38 answered a per-head yearly scale the Council had published for the Court's near 200 slaves, kersey clothing with blankets, shirts, caps and sacking bags. The Court had earlier tried to cap a slave's whole yearly clothing and bedding at ten crowns, so the change of the clothing time from Christmas to March marks the standing effort to hold down the charge. The children put out in paragraph 42 continued the practice of placing young slaves with the inhabitants until they became fit for service. The Council had put four more out for a term in its earlier consultations, so the obligations entered in the register book here mark the care to protect the children and account for them under the reformed bookkeeping.
68	60	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] We will Carefully observe Your Honrs Directions in this particular & not Grant any Bills to Cover the Captains private Trade By the Books & Abstract which We have already transmitted Your Honrs will finde that We have effectually made good the Promises We made to Retrench the Expence of the Island We have already by the Stanhope acquainted Yr Honrs with Our Proceedings with the Inhabitants about their Debts which We will continue to get in with all the Speed We can We have continued Our Monthly Reckoning with the Garrison & Enterd the Sum in Consultation & fering to the	43: The Council would carefully observe the Court's directions in this matter, and not grant any bills to cover the captains' private trade. 44: By the books and abstract the Council had already sent, the Court would find that it had effectually made good the promise it made to reduce the expense of the island. 45: The Council had already, by the *Stanhope*, told the Court of its proceedings with the inhabitants about their debts. It would continue to get these in, with all the speed it could. 46: The Council had continued its monthly reckoning with the garrison. It entered the sum in the consultation, referring to the journal folio for the particulars, which it believed answered the Court's intention. 47: Whenever the Council granted bills of exchange, it entered the sum, distinguishing cash and cash notes, by whom paid, and at what time. The money the storekeeper received for goods was paid to the Governor in a reasonable time. An exact

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		Journall folios for the Particulars which We beleive Answers Your Honrs Intention Whenever We Grant Bills of Exchange We will Enter the Sum distinguishing Cash & Cash Notes by whom paid & at what time Paid, the Money the Storekeeper receives for Goods deld is paid to the Governr in a reasonable time & an exact Acct is kept of all Receipts & Disbursemt as Your Honrs will observe in Our Packets Of Stanhope We are glad to hear Your Honrs Approve of the particular Instance of Our Care in the Article of Licenses We havent received any thing for Custom on Goods Since the Acct We Sent Of the Stanhope Since Your Honrs disallow of the Sums Charged for Salary due from the time of Mr Smiths Dimission with only give Ovr Selves Credit according to the Regulation in Your New Establishments, Mr Crispe & & & begs leave to Pay his humble Duty & Acknowledgements to Your Honrs for the late Instance of Your Favour to him which We very readily beleive he will Endeavour to Deserve by his Diligence, & his Application to the Business of his office The Governr with great Pains & Diligence, & with Suess equall to the Labour & Fatigue has taken Care of all Yours Honrs Houses, & & & Pastures, Plantations and Live Stock of all Sort for this last Twelve Month & has made so many Advantages & Improvements in each that it impossible they can & be better Managed, & as Your Honrs have thought fit to Suspend Your Determination of this Affair he will keep them Still in his own Care, for it would give him the most Sensible Concern if from the most flourshing Condition **Margin Notes:** No Bills to be Granted to Cover the Captains private Trade Expence of the Island Retrenched Debts from the Inhabts to be got in with all the Speed that may be Monthly Reckoning an Enterd in the Consult Book When Bills are drawn the Cash & Cash Notes are to be distinguishd by whom paid &ca Money recd by the Storekeeper is Monthly paid to the Govr Licenses to be Paid for Not any thing recd for Custom on Goods	account was kept of all receipts and disbursements, as the Court would see in the packet by the *Stanhope*. 48: The Council was glad to learn the Court approved of the particular instance of its care in the article of licences. 49: The Council had not received anything for customs on goods since the account it sent by the *Stanhope*. 50: Since the Court disallowed the sums charged for salary from the time of Mr Smith's dismission, with only their proper account, the Council gave credit according to the regulation for its new establishment. Mr Crispe asked leave to say his humble duty and acknowledgements to the Court, for the late instance of its favour to him. The Council very readily believed he would try to deserve it by his diligence and close application to the business of his office. 51: The Governor, with great pains and diligence, and with success equal to the labour, had taken care of all the Court's houses, pasture, plantations and live stock of all sorts, for these last 12 months. He had made so many advantages and improvements in each that it was impossible they could be better managed. As the Court had thought fit to suspend its determination of this affair, he would keep them still in his own care. For it would give him the most sensible concern to see them lose the most flourishing condition [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 43 restates that no bills were to be granted to cover the captains' private trade. The notes at the following paragraphs restate the expense of the island reduced, the debts from the inhabitants to be got in, the monthly reckoning entered in the consultation, the bills entered with cash and cash notes distinguished and the storekeeper's money paid to the Governor monthly, the licences to be paid for, no customs received on goods, the salary charged against the new regulation, and the Governor still taking care of the plantations. The captains' private trade in paragraph 43 was the standing leak the Council's reforms had long tried to close. Goods bought with bills on the Court were resold at the island for fresh store credit, which drove demand for more bills and drained the London account. The Council's promise to draw no such bills continues that effort under the Court's pressure. Mr Crispe in paragraph 50 was the clerk of the council, whose fidelity and skill in writing and business the Council had commended across its earlier letters. The reference records him appointed clerk on the late Governor Johnson's recommendation and continued under the administration, so the fresh instance of the Court's favour to him marks his standing in the island's affairs. The surname appears in the readings as both Leigh and Crispe. The salary charged in paragraph 50 answered the reformed bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had pressed. The Court had disallowed the sums charged for salary from the dismission of Mr Smith, the outgoing Governor whose account it had ordered abated, so the credit given by the new regulation marks the tight accounting of the administration under Governor Byfield. The management of the plantations in paragraph 51 bears on the change of administration the whole letter presses. The Governor was Edward Byfield,

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		Salary of Governr & Councill Charged according to the New Regulation Governr Stille takes Care of the Plantations &ca	formerly overseer of the plantations under Governor Smith. His care of the Court's houses, pasture and live stock sets the new government against the neglect the Court had found in the old.
69	61	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Condition they Should any way Suffering go to Decay & We flatter Our Selves that the Strict Regard he has Shewn to his Servants Business will induce Your Honrs to Determin in his Favour, & allow him the Consideration he desires We have Secured the Thirty Pounds Yr Honrs advanced Mr Gibson in England according to Your repeated Directions in this Cara, but with the usuall Impudence & Assurance he denied he ever received it, & for the Reasons Enterd in Our Consultations of the of the 12th & 15th Sepr & 19th & 19th Decr last We have Sent him home in the Carnarvon Fourthly touching Your Fortifications Buildings and Garrison Stores The Gunners Yearly & Monthly Accts have been Carefully Examined & Compared, & where Faulty Rejected as Your Honrs will observe in Our Packet Of Stanhope & shall be constantly continued, & We humbly hope Your Honrs will Gratify Us in Our Recommendation of an other to Supply his Place The Governr, as We before observed has taken Care of the new Plantation for the last Year by which he has Saved Your Honrs the 5 Pr Diem which used to be paide & upon that Acct For the time to come nothing shall be Charged to the Acct of Fortification but what really belongs thereto, nor any Turning of Expence Placed under wrong Heads of Acct to Cloak or hide Unwarrantable or Lavish Disbursements Fifthly touching the Civil Government of the Island, the Productions thereof & what concerns the Inhabitants We have acquainted the Inhabitants by Advertizement Enterd in Consultation of the 16th March with Your late Orders, they promise to be Carefull & Diligent to Fence & Plant their Lands, if it proves otherwise We will be Sure to put them into Execution We will do every thing that is reasonable to Please the Inhabts to whom We will be Just & impartial & treat them well We have regularly appointed a time for holding a Quarter Sessions as Enterd in Our Consultations & will alwaye keep it up, but there not being any Business We have as often Adjourned it to Spare the Inhabitants the trouble of a needless Attendance except on the 26th of July last which was then held about the Affair of Capt Alexander & Cotgrove	The Council would be much concerned to see the plantations any way suffered to decay. It flattered itself that the strict regard the Governor had shown to his earlier promise would induce the Court to determine in his favour, and allow him the consideration he asked. The Council had secured the £30 0s 0d the Court advanced Mr *Gibson* in England, according to the Court's repeated directions in this matter. But with his usual impudence and assurance, he denied he ever received it. For the reasons entered in the Council's consultations of the 12th of September and the 19th and 29th of December last, the Council had sent him home in the *Carnarvon*. Fourthly, concerning the fortifications, buildings and garrison stores. 53: The gunner's yearly and monthly accounts had been carefully examined and compared. These the Council wholly rejected, as the Court would find in its packet by the *Stanhope*. The Council would constantly continue this practice. It asked the Court to gratify it in its recommendation of another to supply the gunner's place. 54: The Governor, as before observed, had taken care of the new plantation for the last year. By this he had saved the Court the 6d a day which used to be paid upon that account. 55: For the time to come, nothing would be charged to the account of fortifications but what really belonged there. Nor would any expense be placed under wrong heads of account, to cloak or hide any unwarrantable or lavish disbursements. Fifthly, concerning the civil government of the island, its produce, and what concerns the inhabitants. 56: The Council had told the inhabitants, by an advertisement entered in the consultation of the 16th of March, of the Court's earlier orders. They promised to be careful and diligent to fence and plant their lands. If it proved otherwise, the Council would be sure to put the orders into execution. 57: The Council would do everything that was reasonable to please the inhabitants. It treated them well, so that they would be quiet and obedient. 58: The Council had regularly appointed a time for holding a quarter sessions, as entered in its consultations. It would always hold it up. But there being no business, it had as often adjourned it, to spare the inhabitants the trouble of a needless attendance. The exception was on the 26th of July last, which was then held about the affair of Captain *Alexander* and Cotgrove, and about other business. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the £30 0s 0d recovered from Mr *Gibson* in England and his being sent home. The notes at the following paragraphs restate the gunner's yearly and monthly accounts rejected, the Governor taking care of the new plantation and saving the 6d a day, nothing charged to the account of fortifications but what belonged there, the inhabitants told of the Court's earlier orders, the inhabitants treated well, and the sessions always held as often as there was occasion.

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		& about other Business **Margin Notes:** The Money Promisd to Gibson Secured & he Sent to England Gunner Monthly & Yearly Acct has been Examd & Rejected as Pr Acct Of Stanhope Governr by taking Care of the New Plantation has Saved the 5 Pr Diem attend for that Service Nothing to be Charged to the Acct of Fortification but what belongs to it Inhabitants have been acquainted with the Compys late Orders Inhabts have been well Usd Sessions alwaye held as often as there is Occasion	The gunner in paragraph 53 was John French, whose neglect of the powder magazine the Council had set out at length in its letter by the *Stanhope* of 6 January 1727. His failure to turn and dry the powder had spoiled the greater part of the island's stock, so the rejection of his accounts and the plea to replace him mark a fresh alarm over the island's defence in a season of feared war. Mr *Gibson* in the second paragraph was the late surgeon whose failure and crafty conduct the Council had set out across its letters. His denial of the £30 0s 0d advanced him, and his being sent home in the *Carnarvon*, close the record of a servant the Council was glad to send off the island. The dispute between Captain *Alexander* and Cotgrove in paragraph 58 turned on a paper Cotgrove drew up, with Captain *Alexander*'s answer to it, inserted in the proceedings of the general sessions of 14 April 1726 without the Governor's knowledge. The matter had been sent home for the Court's judgement in the letter by the *Wyndham* of 21 June 1726. Cotgrove later gave up his claim in open court, so the affair heard on 26 July 1727 closes a contest the Court had been asked to settle. The new plantation in paragraph 54 was the enclosure in the Fort Valley, watered from the main run, which the Governor had kept under his own care to save the charge of an overseer. The saving of the 6d a day, the soldier-craftsman rate for hired labour, marks the tight economy the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration.
70	62	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Your Honrs have no other Plantations but the Grand One, the New one in the Valley & the remainder of Cichins We have acquainted Messrs Goodwin & Greentree with the Contents of Your Honrs 60th Para Your Honrs having been Pleasd to Notify the Death of the late Majesty We have according to Order proclaimed the present Majesty George the Second, King of Great Britain France & Ireland &ca at the Head of the Garrison, who upon this Occasion were under Arms & with other usual Solemnities Practiced at this Place We return Yr Honrs Our humble Thanks for Obliging us with a Gardener by whose Assistance We hope to Improve Our Greens & Fruit The Wine & Beer with which Your Honrs were Pleasd to favour Us proved the former very indifferent & the later the Small Sort is quite Sower & good for nothing two Casks only of the Strong Beer have kept good, the other two are Brackish & gone, the Wine We find by Experience will not keep in Casks & for this Reason We pray Your Honrs will direct that the next may be, bottled off & Sent in Chest, the Loss of the Beer We impute to the Want of Hops for the Casks came full on Shear & We humbly desire Your Honrs will please to Order more Care to be taken for	59: The Court had no other plantations but the grand one, the new one in the valley, and the remainder of Cochins. 60: The Council had acquainted Messrs Goodwin and Greentree with the contents of the Court's 60th paragraph. 61: The Court having been pleased to notify the death of the late Majesty, the Council had, according to order, proclaimed the present Majesty George the Second, King of Great Britain, France and Ireland, and so on, at the head of the garrison. The men, upon this occasion, were under arms, and with other usual solemnities the proclamation was practised at the island. 62: The Council returned the Court its humble thanks for obliging it with a gardener. By his help it hoped to improve the island's greens and fruit. 63: The wine and beer with which the Court was pleased to favour the island proved, in the former, very indifferent. The latter, the small sort, was quite sour and good for nothing. Two casks only of the Rhenish wine kept good. The other two were brackish and green. The wine the Council found, by experience, would not keep in casks. For this reason it asked the Court to direct that the next might be bottled off, and sent in chests. The loss of the beer the Council imputed to the want of hops, for the casks came full on shore. It asked the Court to be pleased to order more care to be taken for the future. It was sure it was intended to be good. It was much concerned the Court should be troubled, and pay so much, for things not worth shipping. 64: The Council had sent the Court the several lists and accounts following, which had been each carefully examined. List of salaries, 30 March 1728, amounting to £2,835 13s 0d, which is £41 6s 0d less than it was this time 12 month List of the Court's slaves List of eaters at the General Table List of families, lands and cattle Account of fines Account of licences

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		the future We are Sure You intended it should be good & We are concerned Your Honrs should be troubled & Pay too for things not worth Shiping We have transmitted to Your Honrs the Several Lists & Accts following which have been each carefully Examined Vizt List of Salaries 30 March 1728 Amounting to£2835.13.- which is £54.6.- less than it was this time Twelve Month List of Your Honrs Blacks List of Eaters at the Genll Table List of Families Lands & Cattle Acct of Fines Acct of Licences & Acct of Rents & Revenues for half a Year Amounting to £330.18.9 but few of Your Shiping being & returned the Inhabitants have not yet been able to dispose of what they have Raised, so that We could only get in Part of that Sum Viz £318.3.6, the Remainder is to be Paid at **Margin Notes:** No of the Compys Plantations Goodwin & Greentree acqd with what relates to them His Majesty George the 2d Proclaimed Gardener arrived Wine & Beer both bad, the former will not keep in Casks, therefore desired to be Sent in Chest the Beer Spoiled for want of Hops Particular Acct of what Papers &ca were Sent Of the Sarum	Account of rents and revenues for half a year, amounting to £330 18s 9d But few of the Court's shipping being yet returned, the inhabitants had not been able to dispose of what they had raised. So that the Council could only get in part of that sum, £318 3s 6d. The remainder was to be paid at [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 59 restates the Court's plantations. The notes at the following paragraphs restate Goodwin and Greentree acquainted with the Court's order, His Majesty George the Second proclaimed, the gardener arrived, the wine and beer both bad, and the particular account of the papers sent by the *Sarum*. The proclamation in paragraph 61 marked the accession of George the Second, who came to the throne on 11 June 1727 on the death of George the First. The manuscript here names him plainly as George the Second, the regnal number set down in full. The first Hanoverian proclamation had already taken place at the island at Mile End Stone on 11 June 1715, so this fresh act at the head of the garrison answers a change of monarch. The gardener in paragraph 62 answered a standing want the island had long complained of. The Council had made a sorry shift with the soldier Sturman, a former gardener in Southwark described as ignorant, thievish and idle, so the arrival of a gardener here relieves a recruitment need pressed since the despatch of 12 November 1714. The wine and beer in paragraph 63 bear on the island's mild, subtropical air, warmer than England and enough to hasten the spoiling of stored drink. The Council found the wine would not keep in casks and asked it bottled and sent in chests, so the loss here rests on the same climate that hastened the evaporation of arrack and the rotting of provision. The land at Cochins in paragraph 59 was watered ground the Council prized above all its other holdings. One watered acre was reckoned worth three of the rest at the island, so its place among the Court's chief plantations rests on that standing scarcity of watered land.
71	63	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] At September which is the time of Our Yearly Reckoning & We will then take Care to get it in & by no means troub'le them longer Upon Enquiry We find that the Quantity of Twine Your Honrs Sent Of the Princess Anne was 224 & the only Ledged 112 as observed at the bottom of the Invoice Of James & Mary, the whole is now brought to its proper Acct On Saturday the 27th of last Month the Severall Ships following Arrived from India but last from the Cape, at which Place they Carrison & Prince Frederick Outward Bound & Vizt the Sarum Capt Newton London Boothe Prince Augustus Gosselin & the next day arrived the Prince William Capt Gilbert alsp from the Cape & brought Supplys for this Island as mentioned in Consultation of the	The remainder was to be paid at September, which is the time of the Council's yearly reckoning. It would then take care to get it in, by no means trusting them longer. 65: On enquiry the Council found that the quantity of twine the Court sent by the *Princess Anne* was 224 pounds. Only 112 pounds were entered at the bottom of the invoice of the *James and Mary*. The whole was now brought to its proper account. 66: On Saturday the 27th of last month the several ships following arrived from India, but last from the Cape, at which place the *Sarum* under Captain Newton and the *Prince Frederick* were outward bound. The Sarum, Captain Newton London, Captain Bootle Prince Augustus, Captain Gosselin The next day arrived the *Prince William*, Captain Gilbert, also from the Cape. She brought supply for the island, as mentioned in the consultation of the 30th of April last. As soon as the captains came on shore, the Council delivered them orders to heave to upon all alarms which might happen during their stay. The Court would see the form of this in the consultation just mentioned. The captains were very pleased with their charter-party beef, it being much better than either they or the Council had ever seen

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		30th of Aprile last, as Soon as the Captains come on Shear We deliverd them Orders to heave in upon all Allarms which may happen during their Stay here, the form of which Your Honrs will See in the Consultation aforementioned, they are extreamly Pleased with their Charter Party Beef it being much better than ever they or We have Seen upon the Island, Such other Provision as they wanted, they have been Supplyed with by the Inhabitants, who are, at full Liberty to Sell & dispose of what of they Raise to whom they Please in the best manner they can, & they Shall alwaye be Indulged in that Freedom, unless it Should, at any time be necessary to Interpose & Foreigners Should happen to arrive before Your Own Shiping are also Supplyed, & even then the Restraint Shall be as Moderate as the Occasion will allow Wee have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honrs for the Sum of One Hundred Ninety Seven Pounds Eighty Shillings & Nine Pence, Payable to Mr John Brazelle or Order for So much by him Paid into Your Cash in Dollars at 5 Pr Peice, dated the 30 of Aprile last of which We humbly Pray Your Honrs Acceptance Mr Godfroy & the other Gent being desirous to See the Country We carried them to the Wood & Plantation & House & they were very agreably Surprized at the great Improvements that have been lately made at both Places of which they are able to give a more **Margin Notes:** Mistake about the Twine Rectified Ships Arrival Orders deld the Captains to heave in upon Allarms Charter Party Beef extreamly good Inhabitants at full Liberty to Sell what they can Raise Bills of Exchange drawn Sevll Gent Passengers of the late Improvemt able to give the Compy an account and thereof Of dispatch	upon the island. Such other provision as they wanted, they had been supplied with by the inhabitants, who were at full liberty to sell and dispose of what they raised to whom they pleased, in the best manner they could. They would always be indulged in that freedom, unless it should at any time be necessary to interpose. If foreigners should happen to arrive before the Court's own shipping was all supplied, then the restraint would be as moderate as the occasion would allow. 67: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange upon the Court, for the sum of £197 8s 0d, and 9 pence, payable to Mr John Brazell or order, for so much by him paid into the Court's cash in dollars at 5s a piece, dated the 30th of April last. The Council asked the Court's acceptance of this. 68: Mr Godfrey and the other gentleman, being desirous to see the country, the Council carried them to the wood and the plantation house. They were very agreeably surprised at the great improvements lately made at both places, of which they were able to give a more [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against paragraph 65 restates the mistake about the twine rectified. The notes at the following paragraphs restate the ships' arrival, the orders delivered the captains to heave to upon alarms, the charter-party beef very good, the inhabitants at full liberty to sell what they could raise, the bills of exchange drawn, and Mr Godfrey and the other gentleman carried to see the improvements at both places. The charter-party beef in paragraph 66 was the fresh provision the Council was bound to supply to calling ships under their charter. The Council had built its herd on the Court's own stock to save the charge of buying cattle from the planters, so the captains' praise of the beef marks the success of that standing effort to provision the shipping from the island's own resources. The orders to the captains in paragraph 66 answered the Court's directions brought by the *India* galley in a season of feared war. The Council had prepared the island for a vigorous defence and warned each arriving commander to heave to on the island's alarms, so the standing order delivered here marks the effort to guard the road against surprise. The bills in paragraph 67 mark the island's reliance on paper drawn on London for want of coin. Mr John Brazell paid dollars at 5s a piece into the Court's cash, the Council setting the Spanish dollar at that rate to keep the coin from being carried off. The whole island money stock had been reckoned at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate, so every remittance passed by bills of this kind. The plantation house in paragraph 68 was the Court's country seat at the island. The reference records its ground lately enclosed and improved under the new administration, the Governor having brought water to the garden from Maria's Spring and planted fruit trees, so the improvements the visitors admired here mark the new government setting the neglected building in order.
72	64	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] more particular Acct if Your Honrs think proper to make Enquirey about them Twenty Eight Bags of Rice & twelve Bags of Sugar	The two visitors could give a more particular account, if the Court thought proper to make enquiry about them. 69: Twenty-eight bags of rice and 12 bags of sugar, sent to the island on board the *Prince William*, were entirely spoiled as they were bringing on shore in the ship's longboat. This was caused by the negligence of

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		Sent to Us on board the Prince William being entirely Spoiled as they were bringing on Shear in the Ships Long Boat occasiond by the Negligence of those who were in her, We have transmitted Your Honrs in Our Packet a Copy of the Storekeepers Indorsement upon the Bill of Loading for Your more particular Information about this matter, the other twenty Bags are & Short deliverd, We are Honble Sirs Yr most Dutyfull, Most Obligd Most Obedt & most faithfull Servts St Helena 6th May 1728 **Margin Notes:** Rice & Sugar Damaged in bringing on Shear from the Prince William	those who were in her. The Council had sent the Court, in its packet, a copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading, for its more particular information about this matter. The other 20 bags were short delivered. The letter closed from St Helena on 6 May 1728, subscribed by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal note on this page repeats the substance of the paragraph beside which it stands, and adds no name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the note needs no separate report. The note against paragraph 69 restates the rice and sugar damaged in bringing on shore from the *Prince William*. The spoiled rice and sugar in paragraph 69 answered the standing enforcement of the bill of lading the Council had long pressed. The storekeeper endorsed on the bill what was short or damaged, giving the Court ground for a charge against the freight, the method set out from the despatch by the *St George* of 1 December 1715 onward. The 28 bags spoiled and 20 short here mark that careful record at work. The rice and sugar were part of the relief the eastern presidencies sent to feed the island through the long drought. The *Prince William* under Captain Gilbert had brought this supply from India, so the loss of the grain in her longboat marks a reverse to the provisioning the island depended on when its own ground failed. The bill of lading in paragraph 69 was the shipping document that listed the goods consigned, against which the storekeeper checked the delivery. The Council had instructed its officers to keep an exact account of the boats and weather landing a cargo, so the blame for any loss might be fixed on the master, so the endorsement here rests on that standing guard against short delivery.
73	65	List of the Packet Of Ship Prince William Capt Gilbert Comdr 6th May 1728 Vizt Governr & Councills Genll Letter dated 6th May 1728 Duplicate of Governr & Councills Genll Letters Of Carnarvon One dated 6 & the other 11th March 1727 Copy Consultations from 12th March to the 6th May follg 1728 both inclusive Copy of the Invoice Of James & Mary together with the Selling Price Annexed List of Salaries List of Blacks List of Families Lands & Cattle for the Year 1727 List of Eaters at the Genll Table Acct of Licences Acct of Fines Acct of Rents & Revenues for half a Year Ending 30 March 1728 Copy of the Acct of Ship James & Mary Capt Balchen Receipts for the Sea Packet to St George Bengale, Bombay & the West Coast, Duplicate List of the Packet Of Ship Carnarvon Duplicate Capt Englishs Receipts for the large Packet Ditto for the Small Packet Copy of Governrs Acct of the Expence of each Plantation for the Month of March 1727 Duplicate of Consultations from 9th Janry to the 8th March 1727 both inclusive	List of the packet by the ship *Prince William*, Captain Gilbert, commander, 6 May 1728. 1: Governor and Council general letter, dated 6 May 1728 2, 3: Duplicates of the Governor and Council general letters by the Carnarvon, one dated 6 and the other 11 March 1728 4: Copy of consultations from 18 March to the 6 May following 1728, both inclusive 5: Copy of the invoice by the James and Mary, together with the selling price annexed 6: List of salaries 7: List of slaves 8: List of families, lands and cattle for the year 1727 9: List of eaters at the General Table 10: Account of licences 11: Account of fines 12: Account of rents and revenues for half a year ending 30 March 1728 13: Copy of the account of the ship James and Mary 14: Captain Balchen's receipts for the sea packet to St George, Bengal, Bombay and the West Coast 15: List of the packet by the ship Carnarvon, duplicate 16: Captain English's receipt for the large packet 17: Captain English's receipt for the small packet 18: Copy of the Governor's account of the expense of each plantation for the month of March 1728 19: Duplicate of consultations from 9 January to the 8 March 1728, both inclusive 20: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the months of January and February 1728

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		Duplicate of the Expence of each Plantation for the Months of January & February 1727 Duplicate of the Acct of Ship Carnarvon Copy of the Acct of Ship Prince William Ditto of the Sarum Do of the London Do of the Prince Augustus Copy of the Storekeepers Indorsemt upon the Bill of Loading of Ship Prince William List of the Packet St Helena 6th May 1728 D Crispe Secry	21: Duplicate of the account of the ship Carnarvon 22: Copy of the account of the ship Prince William 23: Copy of the account of the Sarum 24: Copy of the account of the London 25: Copy of the account of the Prince Augustus 26: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading of the ship Prince William 27: List of the packet The list closed from St Helena on 6 May 1728, subscribed by the secretary. **Interpretations** The *Prince William* under Captain Gilbert carried this packet home. She had arrived on 28 April 1728 from India but last from the Cape, part of the fleet whose arrivals the Council reported in its general letter by the *Prince William* of 6 May 1728. Items 2 and 3 concern the two general letters by the *Carnarvon*, dated 6 and 11 March 1728. The *Carnarvon* under Captain English had carried the earlier despatches from the island, so these duplicates guard against the loss of the first conveyance, the standing method by which the Council secured its correspondence. Item 14 names Captain Balchen, whose receipts covered the sea packet forwarded to the Court's settlements at Fort St George, Bengal, Bombay and the West Coast. Captain John Balchen commanded the *James and Mary*, which brought the Court's packet to the island on 8 March 1728, so the same commander recurs here carrying the island's letters onward to India. Items 22 to 25 name the ships of the homeward fleet, the *Prince William*, *Sarum*, *London* and *Prince Augustus*. The *Sarum* under Captain Newton and the *London* under Captain Bootle recur from earlier reference, so the accounts of all four mark a season crowded with shipping in the island road. Item 26 was the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading of the *Prince William*, recording the rice and sugar spoiled and short delivered. The Council had long enforced the bill of lading against short delivery, so this endorsement stands as the evidence sent home for a charge against the freight.
74	66	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Genll Letter Of Mountague 1 June 1728 Honble Sirs The Sarum London Prince Augustus & Prince William Sailed hence for England on the 7th of last Month by whom Wee paid Our Duty to Your Honrs in Answer to those Directions & Commands You laid upon Us by the James & Mary in which Wee have acquainted You with what Wee have, & intend, to do in Obedience thereto but had no Occasion to be so particular as otherwise would have been necessary because in Our Severall Letters between this & January last Wee have given Your Honrs a very full & perfect Acct of the State of Affairs at this Place as well with Relation to the Inhabitants as those which more immediatly concern Your Honrs, & have yet the Pleasure to advise You that the Island was never in a more Plentifull Condition than tis now is nor (this at first Appearance will Seem a Paradox) were the Inhabitants threatend	General letter by the *Montague*, 1 June 1728. The *Sarum*, *London*, *Prince Augustus* and *Prince William* sailed from the island for England on the 6th of last month. By them the Council paid its duty to the Court, in answer to the directions and commands the Court laid upon it by the *James and Mary*. In that letter the Council told the Court what it had done, and intended to do, in obedience to those directions. But it had no occasion to be so particular as it otherwise would have been. In its several letters between this and January last, the Council had given the Court a very full and perfect account of the state of affairs at the island. This was as well in relation to the inhabitants as to those matters which more immediately concern the Court. It had yet the pleasure to tell the Court that the island was never in a more plentiful condition than it now was. This, at first appearance, would seem a paradox, were the inhabitants threatened with a more certain prospect of ruin than they were at this time. For notwithstanding all their care and industry, all their labour and pains, and the good treatment they had lately received, they had been encouraged, and generally had applied themselves, to the improvement of their lands. With great diligence, and in order to raise plenty of provision of all sorts, necessary for the supply and refreshment of the Court's whole fleet, they had all of a sudden, and unexpectedly, and the Council hoped very undeservedly, found themselves reduced to a most

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		with a more certain Prospect of Ruin than they are at this Time, for notwithstanding all their Care & Industry, all Provision in Labour & Pains, & by the good Treatment they have lately received, they have been Encouraged & generally have applyed themselves to the Improvement of their Lands with great Diligence in Order to Raise & Plenty of Provision of all Sorts necessary for the Supply & Refreshmt of Your Honrs whole Fleet, they all of a Sudden are, & Vizt Unexpectedly, & Wee hope very Undeservedly, find themselves Reduced to a most deplorable Condition, without Money, without Vent for their Provision, & without Credit One with the other, Occasioned by Your Shipping Supplying themselves in foreign Ports, for of Ten Ships that have yet Arrived, One of them have touched at the Cape, & there furnished themselves with Such Abundance of all Sorts of Provision for their homeward bound Passage, that the Sale of theirs has thereby been almost entirely prevented, & tis a Hardship so Sensibly felt by all Sorts & Degrees among them, that unless Your Honrs out of Your great Goodness and Compassion to the Distressed will give them Speedy Reliefe the Consequence will very Speedily be fatal to the Place **Margin Notes:** Ships Departure Island in a very Plentifull Condition but the Inhabitants threatend with Ruin occasioned by the Shiping Supplying themselves at the Cape	deplorable condition. They were without money, without vent for their provision, and without credit one with the other. This was caused by the Court's shipping supplying themselves in foreign parts. For of 10 ships that had yet arrived, one of them had touched at the Cape. There they furnished themselves with such abundance of all sorts of provision, for their homeward-bound passage, that the sale of the island's provision had thereby been almost entirely prevented. This was a hardship so sensibly felt by all sorts and degrees among them, that unless the Court, out of its great goodness and compassion to the distressed, gave them effectual relief, the consequence would very speedily be fatal to the island. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the ships' departure. The note at the following passage restates the island in a very plentiful condition, but the inhabitants threatened with ruin, caused by the shipping supplying themselves at the Cape. The Cape trade grievance in this passage was the standing complaint that ran through the whole correspondence. The Council had long pressed the Court to forbid its ships the Cape, where they watered and provisioned to the loss of the island's planters, and to secure a market for the planters' beef and grass. The fresh account here, of 10 ships and one touching at the Cape, gives that argument renewed force in a season of feared war. The plentiful condition of the island answered the long famine that had gone before. The drought of four and five years had failed the yam crop, so that two thirds of the inhabitants wanted provision, but a fine rainy season had since revived the ground. The paradox the Council set out here turned on plenty raised for a market the returning fleet had taken away. The *Montague* under Captain Gordon carried this letter home. Captain John Gordon commanded the *Montague* from China, named in the reference among the ships of the 1724 season, so the same commander perhaps recurs here in the homeward trade.
75	67	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] & is already fallen very heavy upon most of them, especially upon the poorer Sort, whose Families are very numerous, & live only from hand to mouth, & even for that depend & Solely upon Such little Matters as they were in hopes they should have been able to Sell to Your Shiping, & disappointed of this are drove to a great Pitch of Despair, for this, & this only, is the Means by which they & the rest of the Inhabitants of this Place are Enabled to Subsist & provide for themselves & Families, they have Set forth their Case in a very moving Petition which We beleive will Speak for it Self, & is true in every particular which relate to this Place & their private Affairs & have	The distress had already fallen very heavy upon most of them, especially upon the poorer sort. The families were very numerous, and lived only from hand to mouth. Green for that depended solely upon such little matters as they were in hopes they should have been able to sell to the Court's shipping. Disappointed of this, they were driven to a great pitch of despair. For this, and this only, is the means by which they and the rest of the inhabitants of the island were enabled to subsist, and provide for themselves and families. They had set forth their case in a very moving cotton, which the Council believed would speak for it. If it be true in every particular which related to the island, and their private affairs, and had desired the Council to recommend their sad condition to the Court's pity and compassion. From whence alone they hoped for their relief under their present misfortunes and discouragements. Much more might be said upon this occasion, but the subject is melancholy, and the Council chose to forbear. 2: Since the departure of the four ships above mentioned, the *Montague*, *Bridgewater* and *Leithullie* arrived at the island on the 20th of last month, late in the evening, directly from Bengal. The next

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		desired Us to Recommend their Sad Condition to Your Honrs Pity & Compassion from whence alone they hope for their Reliefe under their present Misfortune & Discouragements, much more might be Said upon this Occasion but the Subject is Melancholy & We Choose to forbear Since the Departure of the four Ships abovementioned the Mountague, Bridgewater, & Leithaellie&ca arrived here on the 20th of last Month late in the Evening directly from Bengall, the next Morning We gave each of the Captains Orders to heave in upon Allarms the Form of which Your Honrs will See in Our Consultation of the 21 of the said Month & in the Same Consultation Yr Honrs will & & See what Supplys they each brought for the Use of this Island, the Selling Price of which is inserted in the Margin, Capt Shephards met the Sunderlands well, in Soundings off the Cape on the 6th of May, last having been Seperated in bad Weather from the other Ships, & both Obliged to put into Falmouth from whence She Sailed on the 17th of February last, & this is all We hear relating to Your Shiping In preparing Our Indents Your Honrs will observe that We have Complyed with Our former promise Of which Your Honrs Reminds Us in Your 21 Paragraph Of the James & Mary We have not desired any thing of any Sort but what is absolutely necessary avoiding every thing that might Creat a needless Expence & Compared with the Extravagant Demands of former Indents is very inconsiderable, We should Abuse Your Goodness if We asked for more than We want **Margin Notes:** Petition of the Inhabitants Recommended to the favour of the Compy Ships arrival Goods brought Indent very moderate	morning the Council gave each of the captains orders to heave to upon alarms. The Court would see the form of this in the Council's consultation of the 21st of the month. In the same consultation the Court would also see what supplies they each brought for the use of the island. The selling price of these is entered in the margin. Captain Shepherd met the *Sunderland* well in soundings off the Cape on the 6th of May last. She had been separated in bad weather from the other ships. Both were obliged to put into Falmouth, from whence they sailed on the 7th of February last. This is all the Council had to report relating to the Court's shipping. 3: In preparing its indent, the Court would observe that the Council had complied with its earlier promise, of which the Court reminded it in its 21st paragraph. By the *James and Mary* the Council had not asked for anything of any sort but what was absolutely necessary, avoiding everything that might create a needless expense. Compared with the extravagant demands of former indents, this was very inconsiderable. The Council would not abuse the Court's goodness, and asked for no more than the island wanted. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the petition of the inhabitants recommended to the favour of the Company. The notes at the following passages restate the ships' arrival, the goods brought, and the indent very moderate. The petition of the inhabitants answered the Cape trade grievance the Council had pressed through the whole correspondence. The poorer planters lived from hand to mouth on the small provision they sold to the shipping, so the resort of the Court's ships to the Cape took away their only market. The Council recommended their distress to the Court's compassion, tying the planters' ruin to the diversion of the homeward fleet. The orders to the captains in paragraph 2 answered the Court's directions brought by the *India* galley in a season of feared war. The Council had prepared the island for a vigorous defence and warned each arriving commander to heave to on the island's alarms, so the standing order given here marks the effort to guard the road against surprise. The indent in paragraph 3 was the yearly list of goods and stores the island asked the Court to send by the next store ship. The Council had promised to keep it moderate against the extravagant demands of former years, so the care to ask no more than the island wanted marks the tight economy the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration. The *Montague* under Captain Gordon carried this letter home. The reference records Captain John Gordon of the *Montague* from China in the 1724 season, so the same commander perhaps recurs here in the homeward trade.
76	68	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] the Your Honrs have been very much imposed upon in this Affair We will follow no ill Example but behave with all the Duty & Regard Your Honrs so justly deserve & Require, the Doctor also has prepared his Indents to whom We gave Directions	The Council had been very much imposed upon in this matter. It would follow no ill example, but behave with all the duty and regard the Court so justly deserved and required. The doctor had also prepared his indent, to whom the Council gave directions to be careful, and not ask for anything more than was barely sufficient for the service of one year. It assured the Court he had not. It therefore asked the Court to order that the several particulars he mentioned might be sent, but not

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		to be Carefull & not ask for any thing more than is barely Sufficient for the Service of One Year & he assures Us he has not, We therefore desire Your Honrs will be pleased to Order that the Severall Particulars by him mentioned may be Sent but not more, We humbly hope they will all be of the best Sort, for in this Remote Part of the World We can have no Reliefe in time of Sickness but what comes from the Doctor & if his Medicines are bad his Skill will Avail little, the Gardener likewise by Our Direction has prepared an Indent of Such Plants & Seeds as are yet wanting for the farther Improvement of the Islands & We pray Your Honrs will be pleased to Order that they may be all Sent & will peet up for We are in great hopes to bring them to Perfection, there are a great many Articles but they will amount to & little Money & We desire Your Honrs will be Pleased to Recommend them to the Captains particular Care whilest they are on board Ship that they may not be Neglected & Lost & & & &, for want of Water & a little looking after Mr Johnson late Governour of this Place having in his last Will & Testament left Mr Compton a Legacy in these following Words Viz to Mr Elizabeth Armston of the Island, Two Hundred & Fifty Pounds, We humbly desire Your Honrs will be pleased to acquaint Us whether We may Safely Pay it to her, She having an Husband, We are, very willing to Pay it if We can do it without her aid & Yr are presumed to desire Your Honrs Opinion occasioned by the Slight of Mr Armston from India to Holland, who has been now Absent from his Wife & Family very near Seven Years We have Supplyed all Your Shiping this Year with Charter Party Beef out of Your Honrs own Stock, Better they never had, nor to now they ever better Refreshed & this We all Confess, & We will continue Our Care to get all things in the like Plenty against next Season The early arrival of the Storeship being alike beneficial to Your Shiping, & to the Inhabitants of this Place **Margin Notes:** Doctors Indent Gardeners Indent Companies Opinion desired about the Legacy Governr Johnson gave to Mr Armston Shiping well Supplyed with Charter Party Beef out of the Compys own Stock Storeship desired to be early Dispatchd	more. The Council hoped they would all be of the best sort, for in this remote part of the world it could have no relief in time of sickness but what came from the doctor. If his medicines were bad, his skill would avail little. The gardener also, by the Council's direction, had prepared an indent of such plants and seeds as were yet wanting for the further improvement of the island. The Council asked the Court to order that they might be all sent. It would set up for it, being in great hopes to bring them to perfection. There were a great many articles, but they would amount to little money. The Council asked the Court to recommend them to the captain's particular care whilst they were on board ship, so that they might not be neglected and lost for want of water and a little looking after. Mr Johnson, late Governor of the island, having in his last will and testament left Mrs Armstone a legacy in the following words, namely to Mrs Elizabeth Armstone, of the island, £250 0s 0d, the Council asked the Court to be pleased to acquaint it whether it might safely pay it to her. She having a husband, the Council was very willing to pay it if it could do it without her aid. It presumed to ask the Court's opinion, occasioned by the flight of Mr Armstone from India to Holland, who had now been absent from his wife and family very near seven years. The Council had supplied all the Court's shipping this year with charter-party beef out of the Court's own stock. Better they never had, nor ever were better provided of it, as they all confessed. The Council would continue its care to get all things in the like plenty against next season. The early arrival of the store ship being alike beneficial to the Court's shipping and to the inhabitants of the island, the Council [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the doctor's indent. The notes at the following passages restate the gardener's indent, the Company's opinion asked about the legacy Governor Johnson gave to Mrs Armstone, the shipping supplied with charter-party beef out of the Court's own stock, and the store ship asked to be early despatched. The doctor's indent in the second paragraph was the surgeon's list of medicines wanting at the island. The Council had endured a long medical want through a run of unfit men, and had lately secured a new surgeon, so the care to send good medicines here rests on the island's total reliance on the doctor in time of sickness. The gardener's indent in the third paragraph answered the arrival of a gardener the island had long wanted. The Council had made a sorry shift with the soldier Sturman, a former gardener in Southwark described as ignorant, thievish and idle, so the fresh plants and seeds sought here mark the effort to improve the island's greens and fruit with a skilled hand at last in place. The legacy in the fourth paragraph rested on the will of the late Governor Edward Johnson, who died on 16 July 1722. The reference records his estate settled through his representatives and his nephews, so the £250 0s 0d left to Mrs Elizabeth Armstone here marks a further bequest from his will, complicated by her husband's long absence in Holland. The charter-party beef in the fifth paragraph was the fresh provision the Council was bound to supply to calling ships under their charter. The Council had

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			built its herd on the Court's own stock to save the charge of buying cattle from the planters, so the captains' praise of the beef marks the success of that standing effort to provision the shipping from the island's own resources.
77	69	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Wee humbly desire Your Honrs will be pleased to give Orders again to quicken her Dispatch Wee have drawn four Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Yr Honrs for the Severall Sums & payable to the Sevll Persons following & are all Dated 1st June 1728 & are for Cash & Notes paid to the Governour as Pr Consultation of this Day Viz One Sett Payable to Gabriel Cowell or Order for the Sum of Twenty two Pounds One Shilling & Six Pence Ster One Sett Payable to Sean Wrangham or Order for the Sum of Ninety Pounds Sterlg One Sett Payable to Mr Willm Holloway or Order for the Sum of Thirty Seven Pounds Ster One Sett Payable to Richard Swallow or Order for the Sum of Twenty two Pounds Sterlg of all which Wee humbly Pray Your Honrs Acceptance, Wee are Honble Sirs Your most Dutyfull Most Obedient & Most faithfull Servts St Helena 1 June 1728 **Margin Notes:** Bills drawn	The Council asked the Court to be pleased to give orders again to quicken her despatch. The Council had drawn four sets of bills of exchange upon the Court, for the several sums payable to the persons following. All were dated 1 June 1728, and were for cash notes paid to the Governor, as the consultation of this day showed. One set was payable to Gabriel Powell or order, for the sum of £22 1s 6d sterling. One set was payable to Francis Wrangham or order, for the sum of £90 0s 0d sterling. One set was payable to Mr William Holloway or order, for the sum of £37 0s 0d sterling. One set was payable to Richard Swallow or order, for the sum of £22 0s 0d sterling. The Council asked the Court's acceptance of all these. The letter closed from St Helena on 1 June 1728, subscribed by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal note on this page repeats the substance of the passage beside which it stands, and adds no name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the note needs no separate report. The note against the passage restates the bills drawn. The bills mark the island's reliance on paper drawn on London for want of coin. A cash note was paper issued by the Council for coin or credit received, the holder made debtor for it and redeemed by bills on the Court against a cashless economy. The Council had reckoned the whole island money stock at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate, so every remittance passed by bills of this kind. Gabriel Powell, payee of £22 1s 6d, was the wealthiest planter at St Helena and long the Court's principal creditor at the island. The reference records him drawn many sets of bills across the seasons for his credit in the Court's books, so the bill here rests on his standing as the chief creditor. Francis Wrangham, payee of £90 0s 0d, was a planter at the island, formerly the writer struck and dangerously wounded by the secretary Antipas Tovey in 1716. The reference records him the holder of one of the island's best watered plantations, so the bill here rests on his credit in the Court's books. Richard Swallow, payee of £22 0s 0d, shares the name of the island's carpenter who died in the epidemic of 1718. The reference records that Swallow dead by 10 July 1718, so this later payee is perhaps a kinsman of the same family, though the connection cannot be fixed.
78	70	List of the Packet Of Ship Mountague 1 June 1728 Governr & Councills Genll Letter dated 1 June 1728 Duplicate of Governr & Councills Genll Letter dated 6th May 1728 Duplicate of Consultations from 12th March to 6 May 1728 Do Invoice Of James & Mary with the Selling Price Annexed Do List of Salaries Do List of Blacks Do List of Families Lands & Cattle for the Year 1727 Do List of Eaters at the Genll Table Ditto Acct of Fines Do Acct of Rents & Revenues for half a Year Ending 30 March 1728 Do Acct of Ship James & Mary Do Prince William	List of the packet by the ship *Montague*, 1 June 1728. 1: Governor and Committee general letter, dated 1 June 1728 2: Duplicate of the Governor and Council general letter, dated 6 May 1728 3: Duplicate of consultations from 12 March to 6 May 1728 4: Duplicate of the invoice by the James and Mary, with the selling price annexed 5: Duplicate of the list of salaries 6: Duplicate of the list of slaves 7: Duplicate of the list of families, lands and cattle for the year 1727 8: Duplicate of the list of eaters at the General Table 9: Duplicate of the account of fines

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		Do Sarum Do London Do Prince Augustus Do Acct of the Expence of each Plantation for the Month March last Do List of the Packet Of Ship Prince William 6th May 1728 Copy Consultations from 7 May to 1 June 1728 both inclusive Copy of the Expence of each Plantation for the Month April 1728 Capt Gilberts Rect for the large Packet Ditto for the Small Packet Copy of the Acct of Ship Mountague Do Bridgewater Do Leithaellie Petition of the Inhabts of the Island St Helena to the Honble the Court of Directors Generall Indent of Stores wanting at St Helena Doctors Indent of Medicines wanting at St Helena Duplicate Acct Fines Do of Storekeepers Indorsemt upon the Bill of Loading of Ship Prince William List of the Packet D Crispe St Helena 1 June 1728	10: Duplicate of the account of rents and revenues for half a year ending 30 March 1728 11: Duplicate of the account of the ship James and Mary 12: Duplicate of the account of the Prince William 13: Duplicate of the account of the Sarum 14: Duplicate of the account of the London 15: Duplicate of the account of the Prince Augustus 16: Duplicate of the account of the expense of each plantation for the month of March last 17: Duplicate of the list of the packet by the ship Prince William, 6 May 1728 18: Copy of consultations from 7 May to 1 June 1728, both inclusive 19: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of April 1728 20: Captain Gilbert's receipt for the large packet 21: Captain Gilbert's receipt for the small packet 22: Copy of the account of the ship Montague 23: Copy of the account of the Bridgewater 24: Copy of the account of the Leithullie 25: Petition of the inhabitants of the island of St Helena to the Honourable the Court of Directors 26: General indent of stores wanting at St Helena 27: Doctor's indent of medicines wanting at St Helena 28: Duplicate account of licences 29: Duplicate of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading of the ship Prince William 30: List of the packet The list closed from St Helena on 1 June 1728, subscribed by the secretary. **Interpretations** The *Montague* under Captain Gordon carried this packet home. She had arrived on 20 May 1728 directly from Bengal, part of the fleet whose arrivals the Council reported in its general letter by the *Montague* of 1 June 1728. Items 22 to 24 name the ships of the homeward fleet, the *Montague*, *Bridgewater* and *Leithullie*, which came in together from Bengal. The *Bridgewater* recurs from earlier reference, named in the 1724 season, so the accounts of all three mark a season crowded with shipping in the island road. Item 25 was the petition of the inhabitants to the Court, setting out their distress. The poorer planters lived from hand to mouth on the small provision they sold to the shipping, so the resort of the Court's ships to the Cape took away their only market. The petition recommended their sad condition to the Court's compassion, tying the planters' ruin to the diversion of the homeward fleet. Item 27 was the surgeon's indent of medicines wanting at the island. The Council had endured a long medical want through a run of unfit men, and had lately secured a new surgeon, so the indent marks the supply the doctor needed for the garrison and the Court's slaves in a place with no other relief in time of sickness. Item 29 was the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading of the *Prince William*, recording the rice and sugar spoiled and short delivered. The Council had long enforced the bill of lading against short delivery, so this endorsement stands as the evidence sent home for a charge against the freight.
79	71	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] St Helena 22th February 1728 Honble Sirs With this Your Honrs receive a Copy of Our Generall Letter of the 1 of June last Of Mountague who the next day in Company with the Bridgewater	St Helena, 22 February 1728. With this the Court received a copy of the Council's general letter of the [...] of June last by the *Montague*, who the next day sailed in company with the *Bridgewater* and *Leithullie* from the island for England. By her, and the earlier shipping, the Council gave the Court a very full account of the affairs of the island. This was as well from the time

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		& Leithaellie Sailed hence for England & by her and the former Shiping We gave Your Honrs a very full Account of the Affaires of this Place to the time of their Departure what has Since occurd for Ourthers Sad We lay before You under the usuall Genrall Heads Viz First concerning Shiping On the 22 of August last in the Afternoon We Had an Allarm for a Single Ship about Eight Leagues off Dry Gutt the next day She bore away, On the 28th of last Month arrived a Danish Ship directly from Tranquebar off the Coast & Sowring by this an about Two Hundred Ton Twenty Guns & Seventy Three Men at first Commanded by Captain Claus Boey who dying was Succeeded by Captain Been desiring Water & Refreshment &c & Appearing by the Vouchers he produced as are more particularly mentioned in Our Consultation of the 28th of last Month that She was a broad upon a fair Neck We permitt them to Water & Refresh & they accordingly bought a little Beef & Pork of the Inhabitts which they paid for in Cash, & of the Ship We heard that Six of Your Honrs Ships were arrived at Madrass from Europe five of them between the 9 & 20 of Sept & One in October but the Names of the Ships & Captains they could not tell, except Captain Pitt that Mr Deen was arrived at Madrass in his way to Bengale & that both he & Mr Meruar was well, On the 11 instant arrived the Princess Anne Capt Gough from Bencoolen who has to at Batavia that Your Honreses four China Ships & &ca touched there Viz Capt Mabbott the later Enge of May Capt Hudson the begining of June Capt Martin in July & Captain Cutchinson in August, & there at not when they Sailed from thence, On the 15th arrived the Duke Of Cumberland Capt Brownt from Bombay by whom We have a Confirmation of the Arrivall of Six of Six of Your Ships at Madrass who were all Sailed to the Bay as Capt Pitt Sold him whom he met at Sea who left Madrass the begining off October & that by a Ship & which they met at Sea they heard that the Prince Frederick Arrived at Bombay about the 16th of October, Such Goods as they have brought for the Use of this Place Your Honrs will fine & entirely in Our Consultations of the 11th & 13th instant with the Setting Price thereto annexed, & for the greater Security of Your Ships during their Stay here We gave the Captains Orders to heave in to the Shear upon all Allarms as Your Honrs will likewise See in Our Consultation last mentioned, & We will continue to give the like Contain the Instructions, as Soon as they Arrive Secondly concerning Goods The disposal of the Cape Chints, Callæ & Mohair Buttons have been alwaye in Our Memory, & We have Offerd them Severall times to Sale but have been only able to Sell Thirteen Peices of the Chints, Twenty Peices more We have	of their departure. What the Council had since done for others, it set out here, before the Court, under the usual heads. First, concerning shipping. On the 22nd of August last, in the afternoon, the Council had an alarm for a single ship, about 8 leagues off Dry Gutt. The next day she bore away. On the 28th of last month arrived a Danish ship, directly from Tranquebar, on the Coast. Sailing, but then about 200 hogsheads, ten, 20 guns, and 73 men at first commanded by Captain Claus Boey, who dying was succeeded by Captain Brown. Desiring water and refreshment, and appearing by the vouchers she produced, as are more particularly mentioned in the Council's consultation of the 28th of last month, that she was abroad upon a fair news, the Council permitted them to water and refresh. They accordingly bought a little beef and pork of the inhabitants, which they paid for in cash. By this ship the Council heard that six of the Court's ships were arrived at Madras from Europe. Five of them between the [...] of September, and one in October. But the names of the ships and captains it could not tell, except Captain Pitt, that Mr Dean was arrived at Madras, on his way to Bengal. That both he and Mr Dean were well. On the first of this month arrived the *Princess Anne*, Captain Gough, from Bencoolen, who heard at Batavia that four of the Court's China ships had touched there. First, Captain Mabbot, the latter end of May. Captain Hudson, the beginning of June. Captain Martin, in July. Captain Hutchinson, in August. But it was not certain when they sailed from thence. On the 10th arrived the *Duke of Cumberland*, Captain Brown, from Bombay. By her the Council had a confirmation of the arrival of six of the Court's ships at Madras, who were all sailed to the Bay, as Captain Brown told the Council whom he met at sea. She had left Madras the beginning of October, and by a vessel which they met at sea, they heard that the *Prince Frederick* arrived at Bombay about the 16th of October. Such goods as they have brought for the use of the island, the Court would find entered in the Council's consultations of the 11th and 13th of this month, with the selling price thereto annexed. For the greater security of the Court's ships during their stay, the Council would be sure the captains observed to heave to in the shore upon all alarms. The Court would likewise see in the Council's consultation just mentioned. It would continue to give the like instructions, as soon as they arrive. Secondly, concerning goods. The disposal of the coarse chintz, hats and mohair buttons had been always in the Council's memory. It had offered them several times to sale, but had been only able to sell 13 pieces of the chintz. Twenty pieces more it had used for the service of the Court's slaves, to save goods of greater value. If it could find means to get rid of them some other way, it must reserve them for their consumption. 3: Such care had been lately taken that some sixty suckers were set last month. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the Danish ship arriving. The notes at the following passages restate the *Princess Anne* from Bencoolen, the *Prince Frederick* at Bombay, the orders given the captains to heave to in the shore, and only 13 pieces of the Cape chintz sold, the rest used for the slaves.

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		used for the Service of Your Honrs Slaves to Sue Goods of greater Value, & if We cant finde Means to get Rid of them Some other way We must Reserve them for their Clothing time Slate Ware hath been lately taken that from July left was a Twelve Month **Margin Notes:** Danish Ship arrives Princess Anne from Bencoolen Prince Frederick at Bombay Orders given to the Captains to heave in to the Shear Only 13 Of Cape Chints Sold, 20 more used for the Slaves	The Danish ship in the second paragraph came from Tranquebar, the Danish settlement on the Coromandel coast, last from the Cape. The reference records the Danish ship *Salvator Mundi* from Tranquebar in 1717, so a Danish vessel of that trade recurs here, permitted to water and refresh as a ship in amity with the English. The coarse chintz in the goods paragraph was a printed cotton cloth that had reached the island by way of the Cape rather than direct from India. Its damaged state left it unsaleable, so the Council used 20 pieces for the slaves' clothing, the best use it could make of stock it could not sell, continuing the standing difficulty of moving spoiled goods on a small market. The *Princess Anne* under Captain Gough carried much of the season's supply and news from Bencoolen and Batavia. The reference records the Mackett family long in the Madagascar trade and George Pitt drawing on Henry Gough of London, so the shipping intelligence gathered at Batavia here marks the island's place on the homeward track of the China fleet. The orders to the captains in the shipping paragraph answered the Court's directions in a season of feared war. The Council had prepared the island for a vigorous defence and warned each arriving commander to heave to on the island's alarms, so the standing order given here marks the effort to guard the road against surprise.
80	72	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] We have not with So Such Accident as then happend, & We have the Pleasure to acquaint Your Honours that the less this Year by Leakage & Wastage is very inconsiderable to what it formerly was the Wastage upon Some Articles not amounting Two & one half Pr Cent tis less than at their tis else to be Some Years ago, the particulars Your Honours will Claim Journal Pr folio 165 We have the Satisfaction to acquaint Your Honours that by the Governrs indefatigable Care & Diligence who minutes of the Promise he made Your Honours & continues against whenever Some Should be wanted, he would undertake, to procure it at a Rate abundantly cheaper than can it may yet made in the Trade, Space of Eighteen dayes, & without other help, or Assistance than Your Honr own Slaves fitted, three Poles with great hack, Item Winck, & from each Pole hath drawn 21 Abundant fifty five Bushells of Strong White & good Lime which We have Cured & Sen tryd & find it is much better than any other that was ever made when a Person was purposely hired for the Service at large Wages, & this great Quantity will not only be Sufficient to Repaire the Parapets and other Parts of the Fortifications but to Point the Windwards Part of the Garden Wall in the Country to keep the Dirt Master, & preserve them from the Injury they would otherwise receive from the Weather, & whenever Some is wanting the Governour promises Your Honours Shall not be at any Charge upon this Accounts, & please to See more upon this Subject in Our Consultation of the 9th of November last	The Council had not met with such accident as then happened. It had the pleasure to tell the Court that the loss this year by leakage and wastage was very inconsiderable, compared to what it formerly was. The wastage upon some articles was hardly one half of what the loss formerly was, as there professed to be some years ago. The particulars the Court would find in its journal 8, folio 106. 14: The Council had the satisfaction to tell the Court that, by the Governor's tireless care and diligence, who minded most of the promise he made, whenever any wood should be wanted, he would undertake to procure it. At a rate abundantly cheaper than was yet made in the island, in the short space of 18 days, and without any other help or expense than the Court's own slaves, he fitted three below with green hands. Some, which from each field, had drawn 11 rods, and 50 fair bushels of strong white and green lime. This the Council viewed, and tried to find it much better than any other that was ever made, when a person was purposely hired for the service, at large wages. This great quantity would not only be sufficient to repair the parapets, and other parts of the fortifications, but to point the windward part of the garden. Water in the country, to keep the dirt master, preserve them from the injury they would otherwise receive from the weather. Whenever lime was wanting, the Governor promised the Court it should not be at any charge upon this account. The Court might be pleased to see more upon this subject, in its consultation of the 9th of December last. 5: In the Council's consultation of the first of October last, the storekeeper made a report that, in the presence of Mr Bowen, his assistants, and John Martin, then acting to open a case of stockings, number 46, which came by the *James and Mary*. He found several pair wanting, namely 20 pair women's stockings, and 6 pair, 12 pair men's, number 8 to 10, and 4 pair, 48 pair mens' hose stockings, number 11, 6 to 6 pair. The case being full and clean, the Council perfectly and justly concluded they were never sent. It mentioned this to the Court, the power by whom they were bought, and made the Court a report for this mistake.

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		In Our Consultation of the first of October last the Storekeeper made a Report that in the Presence of Mr Bowse his Assistants & John Martin Van astten he opend a Cask of Stockings No 46 which came by the James & Mary & found Severall Pair wanting Viz 20 Pr Womens Stockings 56 & 8 & 6 pair, 12 Pair Mens Smith 8 & 10 & 4 & 4 pair, 48 pair Mens Worsted Stockings No 116 & 6 Pr pair, & this Cask being full & Cloth prefsd, We justly conclude they were never Sent, & mention this to the End the Person of whom they were bought may make Your Honours Restitution for this mistake Thirdly concerning Your Honrs Servts Accts Blacks &ca By the constant Eye the Governr has kept over the Bookeeper Our Sett of Books have been Ballanced for the Year ending at September last which together with the Inventory have been carefully Examined in Our Severall Consultations of the 26th, & 30 & 11 & 12, 18, 24, 25 & of December last & are much better Copyed than any that of last Years have been Sent, We have also Sent a Cash Book Pr Acct of Disbursements both which have hitherto been carefully Examined & Approved by Us & agree with the Books by which We Appeare that the great Charge of the Island for the Year past by Yr Governr prudent Care amounts only to Five Thousand Four Hundred Forty two Pounds Eighteen Shill & Seven Pence three farthings & We will Perfect the like good Management in the Expence of the Current Year Our Honrous Slaves of whom We had the Misfortune to lose five together with the Long boat as they were going for Salne as Your Honrs will See in Our Consultation of the 22 of October, & we imploy those Blacks Save they have been fed with Fish more wealthy better than ever they did when at large great Care they were allowed Salt Provision, & We have had & Still have Such great **Margin Notes:** Not any Breach lost by Bruffling of the Ships Leakage & Wastage very inconsiderable, Vizt 2½ Pr Cent on Some Articles Great Quantity of Lime made in a little time without Charge Stockings a great Number wanting Books Ballanced & carefully Examined & better Copyed than usual Genll Charge for the Year Ending 30 July 1728 amounts to £5442.18.7¾ Five Slaves & the in the Long boat, Boat &ca Blacks have their health more now they are fed with Fish	Thirdly, concerning the Court's servants, accounts, slaves, and so on. 6: By the constant eye the Governor kept over the storekeeper, the books of stock had been balanced for the year ending at September last. These, together with the inventory, had been carefully examined in the Council's several consultations of the 3rd, 6th, 9th, 10th, 11th, 12th, 18th, 24th of December last, of the [...], and December last, better copied than any of former years had ever been sent. The Council had also sent a cash book and account of disbursements, both of which had been carefully examined and approved by the Council, with the books, which it hoped that the general charge of the island for the year past, by its account, presented the general account, only to £5,342 18s 7d. Eighteen shillings and seven pence, and 3 farthings. It would explain the like good management in the expense of the coming year. 7: The Governor asked leave, when he had the misfortune to lose four together with the longboat, as they were going for some, as the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the [...] of October. Or, on enquiry, these slaves have been fed with fish. It got fish with fish, unhappily better than ever they did when at every year. Consequently, it was allowed salt provisions. It had done, and still had such [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates that no loss was met by the bursting of the ship's leakage and wastage, very inconsiderable. The notes at the following passages restate the great quantity of lime made at no charge, the stockings a great number wanting, the books balanced and inventory copied better than usual, the general charge for the year ending September 1728 at £5,342 18s 7d, and the slaves fed with fish. The lime made in paragraph 14 was burnt from local stone to repair the parapets and fortifications. The Governor made it at no charge with the Court's own slaves, so the saving here marks the tight economy the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration, the works carried on without hired labour. The stockings wanting in paragraph 5 answered the standing enforcement of the bill of lading. The storekeeper found the case full but short of its count, so he concluded the goods were never shipped, the method of endorsing what was short giving the Court ground for a charge against the freight, set out from the despatch by the *St George* of 1 December 1715 onward. The general charge of £5,342 18s 7d in paragraph 6 marks the tight bookkeeping the audit had pressed. The Council had settled the yearly expense of the island near £5,218 0s 0d the year before, so this figure holds the charge close to that settled level, answering the Court's long complaint of the loose accounts of the earlier regime. The diet of fish in paragraph 7 answered the cost of salt provision shipped out to feed the slave establishment. The Council had reported that provision at £1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, so the turn to fish caught in the island's own waters both saved the charge and improved the slaves' health.
81	73	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.]	The Council thought good fortune in its fishery, that it weekly caught more than it could well

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		good Fortune in Our Fishery that We Weekly Catch more than they can well Consume & doubt not but Our faithfull Endeavours to Serve Your Honours from any Charge upon this Acct will be Attended with the like good Suess for the time to come, so that those who formerly told Your Honrs that Fish were not to be had the Year round, & tis on purpose to decieve You or knew not what they Said which later Seems most likely Great Honours will be pleased to observe that the Great Wood, which formerly used to be a heavey Article in the Charge of the Island, has now not only considerable Credit from the great Quantity of large Potatoes which We either Sell or give to Your Blacks as Opportunities Offer but affords likewise great benefit to Your Cattle from the Plenty of its Pasture Your whole Stock having lately Grazed there for Nine Months together & are all in a very good Condition as good now as they were last Year & better Beef & we never Had, than that with which We then Supplyed Your Shiping & the Governour takes the Same Care & Precaution now as he did last Year to Reform, & will Prosper & Expresses for them against the Rainy Season least they Should then fall off & grow Fleshey & keep their Weight, the Seed which he provided, & which was Sown in that Severall Enclosures We last Year both in grown very much & tis for more beneficial than any other Sort of Grass because it Springs after every Shower, & continues the Year round & Your Pasture in other Place, are all in good Order and who Care Shall be wanting on Our Part to keep them so to which End We have not failed at all proper times to Plant Wood & Furze to afforde Shelter for the Cattle & to keep both them & the Grass from the Blasting Winds & parching Heat off the Sun Since this time Twelve month the Governour has made so many new pretty Commendable Alterations & Improvements at the Wood & at the House & Garden in the Country that they no longer Seem to be the Same Place Sometime ago the House & Garden in the Country looked & lay neglected & like a Mortgaged Estate gone to Ruin, but now it is quite a different Appearance is Enclosed with a high Wall well built, the Garden handsomely Stock'd & varie Stock'd in Variety of good Fruit, also the Governr has providing, & among other Sorts of those late, three dozen of large Peach Trees most of which bear, thirty two Apple Trees, many of which also bear, & four full grown Mulberry Trees which all bear beside many Cittron, Lemon, Orange & Plumb Trees which have all been Planted, & as Our Letter of the 6th of March last & on all this Yr Genll in handsome Order with the beautifull Addition of a fine Arbour, & also plentifully Waterd, with a large Stream & Suess through to the House, by a little pretty Contrivance he hath added, is the main way for before this Yr as	consume. It did not doubt that its faithful endeavours to serve the Court, from any charge upon this account, would be attended with the like good. It sought for the time to remove what those who formerly told the Court that fish were not to be had the year round, seek, on purpose to deceive the Court, or knew not what they said, which later seems most probable. 8: The Court would be pleased to observe that the Great Wood, which formerly used to be a heavy article in the charge of the island, has now not only considerable credit from the great quantity of large potatoes which the Council either sold or gave to the planters. As opportunities offer, but afforded likewise great benefit to the Court's cattle from the plenty of its pasture. The whole stock having lately grazed there for 9 months together, there was all in a very good condition. As good now as they were last year, and better beef was never known, than that which the Council then supplied the Court's shipping. The Governor takes the same care and precaution now as he did last year, the reform freshly upon it. He promised expresses for them against the rainy season last, that they should then fall off, and grow fleshy, and keep their weight. The seed which he provided, and which was sown in the several enclosures the Council last year both in green, is very much better, and far more beneficial than any other sort of grass, because it springs after every shower. He continues the Court's care in other places, as also in good order, and the like care that is wanting on other parts, to keep them to what pitch the Council had not failed at all proper times to plant wood and furze, to afford shelter for the cattle, and to keep both them and the grass from the blasting winds, and parching heat off the sun. 9: Since these 12 months the Governor has made so many new pretty and commendable alterations and improvements at the fort, and the house and garden in the country, that they no longer seem to be the same place. Sometime ago the house and garden in the country looked very neglected, like a mortgaged effect, gone to ruin. But now it is quite a different appearance in enclosures, with a high wall, well built. The garden handsomely planted, and green stockings in a variety of good fruit. Also the Governor providing, among other sorts, three dozen of large peach trees, most of which bear. Thirty-two apple trees, many of which also bear, and four full grown mulberry trees, which all bear, besides many citron, lemon, orange, and plum trees, which have all been planted. Since the Council's letter of the 8th of March last, and on all especially in handsome order, with the beautiful addition of a fine arbour. Also plentifully stocked with a large stream, brought through to the house, by a little parapet contrivance he had added, as the main use for before the play, as if they did not belong to it. Three very convenient rooms in the back part. In the hall, built as a new kitchen with decent lodging for the servants, along also with a shade over that they may, by no means, get hurt or be mischief in the night. At the fort, the shall parlour and dining room make quite another figure. Everything being now neat and clean, the plain shall everything is so altered for the better, that those who saw this place two years ago would hardly know it again. Everything has been done with the help and assistance of the Court's honoured slaves, along. 10: With much difficulty the Council received, at September, the several sums [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond

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		as if they did it belong to it, three very convenient Rooms & in the back parts he hath Built as a New Kitchen, with decent Lodging for the Servants under also with a Wall as that they can by no means get hurt, or be mischief in the Night, & the Wood the Shall Parlour & Dining Room make quite an other Figure, every thing being now neat & Clean the Plain, in that every thing is Altered for the better, that those who Saw this Place two Year ago would hardly know it again & every thing has been done with the help and Assistance of Your Honrs own Blacks alone With much difficulty We received at September the Severall Sums **Margin Notes:** Great Plenty of Fish caught the Year round Great Wood have now considerable Credit Cattle Grazed there 9 Months together Good Beef Hay Seed Sown grows well Pasture in good Order, Wood & Furze Planted Improvements at the Wood & in the Country Garden handsomely Stock'd Fruit, Stock'd with Fruit 3 dozen Peach, 32 Apple Trees & many other Sorts of Fruit Planted A fine Arbour made New Kitchen & other new Rooms Well, Parlour &ca at the Wood alterd & as Done with the Compys own Blacks	the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates great plenty of fish caught the year round. The notes at the following passages restate the Great Wood having considerable credit, the cattle grazed there 9 months together, the good beef, the hay seed sown growing well, the pasture in good order and wood and furze planted, and the improvements at the fort and in the country. The Great Wood in paragraph 8 was the high woodland the Council had long fenced under a standing order of the Court more than 20 years old. Once a heavy charge, it now yielded potatoes and pasture, so the credit it earned marks the fencing programme brought to profit, feeding the cattle and the shipping from ground the island had struggled to enclose. The mulberry trees in paragraph 9 were planted among the fruit trees at the plantation house. The reference records the Governor raising a few old decayed apple and mulberry trees earlier, so the four full grown mulberries here mark the improvement of the country house under the new administration. The improvements at the fort and country house in paragraph 9 answered the neglect the Court had found in the earlier regime. The Governor was Edward Byfield, who had brought water to the garden from Maria's Spring and enclosed the ground with a high wall, so the transformed appearance sets the new government against the mortgaged and ruined state it inherited. The diet of fish in the opening answered the cost of salt provision shipped out to feed the slave establishment. The Council had reported that provision at £1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, so the plenty of fish caught the year round both saved the charge and refuted those who denied the island's own waters could feed the slaves.
82	74	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] left unpaid, by the Inhabitants for their half Year Rent due at March last, amounting to Eighty Nine Pounds Eight Shillings & three Pence as Pr Journll folios, & which with the other Money belonged to the Acct of Compys building Persons as mentioned in the Said folio makeup the Sum of One Hundred, & Similar Pounds fifteen Shillings & three Pence the whole Sum left Unpaid at, March as appeares Of Consultation of the 30 of that Month, & they have made very hard Shift to do it for the Shiping having last Year Supplyed themselves at the Cape, they had no Oppertunity to dispose of what many of them with great Pains & hard Labour had for their Refreshment, & if the Same misfortune Should happen to them this Year it will be the So talle Ruin & Destruction of Severall Families Some of which are already in a deplorable Condition this they Comfort themselves with a firm hope & Confidence that Your Honours will give them a favourable Answer to their late humble Petition	The rents were left unpaid by the inhabitants for their half year's rent due at March last, amounting to £89 8s 3d, as the Court's journal folio showed. With this money charged to the account of sundry debtor persons, as mentioned in the several accounts, making the sum of £100 0s 0d. Similar sums of £15 3s 0d, the whole sum left unpaid at March, as appeared by the consultation of the 30th of that month. They had made very hard shift to do it, for the shipping having last year supplied themselves at the Cape. They had no chance to dispose of what many of them, with great pains and hard labour, had for their refreshment. And if the same misfortune should happen to them, the Court would find the total ruin and destruction of several families. Some of these were already in a deplorable condition. This they comforted themselves with, from hope and confidence, that the Court would give them a favourable answer to their late humble petition. 11: Since September last, these 12 months, the persons following have made the payments hereafter mentioned, towards lessening their debts. Captain Alexander, £33 19s 0d Thomas Allie, £17 1s 0d Mary Orme, £7 17s 0d John Curling, £38 9s 6d William Slaughter, £27 5s 6d Mary Shreves, £2 10s 0d

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		Since September last was Twelve Month the Persons following have made the Payments hereafter mentioned towards Lessening their Debts Vizt Captain Alexander 33.19.- Thomas Alles 47.1.- Mary Orme 7.17.0 John Curling 38.9.6 William Slaughter 27.5.6 Mary Shrews 2.10.- £156 debts & for the Reasons given last Year the have Indulged the Widow Hayes in a little longer time to Pay her Debt but what Remains in Arrears in other People We will get in with all the Speed We can We this an View of the 12th & 15 of January 1727 entertaind so good an Opinion of William Slaughter chiefly from the Carefulness which Capt Crispe Placd in him after Some Years Experience that We ventured to Recommend him to Your Honrous to Supply the Place of Gunner trusting more to his Care & Diligence than to any other Qualifications We was in great hopes that he would have taken Such Care of his Behaviour as to have Escaped the Censure We made to Your Honrous in his Genrall, but We are obliged to acquaint Your Honrous that We have been most prodigiously Abused & deceived in the Man to a Degree far beyond what is commonly met with, We find in his last Twelve Month ago the incoming Information that the Said Slaughter hath left his own Wife & Children & lived in open Adultery with the Wife of John Hallocks Serjant & a lewde vicious & Common Prostitute & thereupon he Wasted he chose to Squander at his Money & every thing he could get to the destruction both of himself & family who used to question himself all manner of nuisences & through his left Wife in this deplorable Condition, he did not Stop there but void of Shame, & all patural, & Organ & Affection, he gave himself a full loose, & at the Same time made Use of so thy abominable Lies & begn Assertions he would thinck no to Puck the Pockets of other People for Money to Confound in Riot & Debauchery with this vile Creature, Upon the first Notice of this We Advised him together, & take Care of his Family, & in a more particular manner the Governour humbly took him to task & first in a very private & friendly way Setteth the fatall Consequence that would infallibly attende him if he did not abandon this Company & he took this Admonition very kindly & with Tears in his Eyes promised & Vowed by all that was good & Sacred that **Margin Notes:** Rents left unpaid at March paid at Sepr but with hard Shift because the Shiping Supplyed themselves at the Cape	Total, £126 0s 0d For the reasons given last year, the Council had indulged the widow Hayes a little longer time to pay her debt. But what remained in arrears from other people, the Council would get in with all the speed it could. 12: The Council was in its consultation of the 8th of January 1727 obliged to enter, in good, an opinion of William Slaughter, chiefly from the circumstances which Captain English placed in him after some years' experience. That it ventured to recommend him to the Court, to supply the place of gunner, trusting more to his care and diligence than to any other. The Council flattered itself he was in great hope that it would have taken such care of his behaviour, as to have deserved the notices from the Council in the former, but it was obliged to acquaint the Court that it had been most prodigiously abused and deceived in the man, to a degree far beyond what it commonly met with. The first news, some 12 months ago, the Council had information that William Slaughter had left his own wife and children, and lived in open adultery with the wife of John Hoolbrook, sergeant, a lewd variance. Recommended, prostitute. Whereupon the Court began to expostulate at his money. Every thing he could get to the destruction both of himself and family, who used to question his whole manner of niceties. And though he left them in this deplorable condition, he did not stop there, but void of shame, natural affection and regard. He gave himself a full loose. But the same time made use of so thoroughly abominable and low, and his contrivances he could think on. To pick the pockets of other people, for money to confound in riot and debauchery with his vile creatures. Upon the first notice of this, the Council advised him together, and take care of his family. In a very particular manner the Governor humbly took him to task, and in a very private and friendly way. It set forth the fatal consequence that would inevitably attend him, if he did not abandon the Company. He took this admonition very kindly, and with tears in his eyes promised amendment. But as that was good, so surely that [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the rents left unpaid at March, paid at last but with hard shift because the shipping supplied themselves at the Cape. The notes at the following passages restate the debts to lessen and the remainder promised to be got in as soon as possible, and the paragraph relating to the story of Slaughter. The unpaid rents in the opening answered the Cape trade grievance the Council had pressed through the whole correspondence. The poorer planters lived on the small provision they sold to the shipping, so the resort of the Court's ships to the Cape took away their market and left them unable to pay their rent. The Council tied the planters' distress to the diversion of the homeward fleet, recommending their late petition to the Court's compassion. William Slaughter in paragraph 12 was Ensign William Slaughter of the garrison, whom the Council had recommended for the gunner's post in its letter by the *Stanhope* of 6 January 1727, after the neglect of the gunner John French. The reference records him buying land at the island and carrying the Governor's messages to the chaplain Jones in 1719. His fall into adultery and riot here overturns the trust the Council had placed in him.

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		Debts Decreased Of Remainder promised to be got in as soon as possible This Paragraph relates to the Story Of Slaughter	The widow Hayes in paragraph 11 was relieved of a soldier's old debt on grounds of her poverty and her seven children. The Council had granted her indulgence in its earlier letters, so the fresh forbearance here rests on a standing practice of tempering the Court's claim where a family faced ruin. The debts lessened in paragraph 11 marked the recovery of the Court's money the accountant general's audit had pressed. Several names recur from earlier reference, among them Captain Alexander the secretary and William Slaughter the ensign, so the reduced sums show the administration pressing the recovery with moderation against a people left poor by the long drought.
83	75	he would not go near her any more but he Soon broke his Word & kept her Company as frequently as before to the great Scandal of the Neighbourhood who lewdly exclaimed against this impudent Example & being justly provoked at this breach of Promise We determined to use Severity to make him Sensible We were in earnest to Proclaim Him & this got by with the Governours to terrify him more effectually forbid him at his Genll &ca as he Values Your Honours Favour to go near her, this with great Protestations gave Us fresh Assurances that he would never again go near her nor humbly to make Us know any manner of Correspondence with her but he abjured his Word no better now than he had done before, for he Soon broke it, & Sensible obstinately bent, & comfit at a check, & his Persuasion & at all Hazards Resolved to continue with her, the therefore being no longer able to bear Such Behaviour in a Person, & tho this most considerable Commands in the Garrison, who might easily be Corrupted by his bad Example, & longer Sufferd, We Judged & therefore to Semish him Upper Honours Service with hopes and & tho that it might Work a good Effect & bring him to a Sense of his Guilt, but what follows is almost incredible, when he browsed the Neck he was so hardy & abandoned so full of Malice & Anger that he Vowed the Governours Destruction the how to Effect it made difficult, but at last full of the Devil & Revenge he hath Recours to One of the most monstrous & extravagant Puck of Enquiry & Invention that could ever Enter into the Heart of Man he threatents to Swear Treason against him of which Report being made to Us by the Persons that hear it Us he took the most proper Care, & with the Perpetua as Your Honours will more fully See in Our Consultations of the 29th of October & 4th & 6 of November, & Our Proceedings at his Tryal at the Sessions held on the 26th of the Said Month to which We humbly beg leave to Refer You, thus Your Honours are also alone with what Adherence and Detestation both We the Iury & Inhabitants have expressd, Our Rejectomrts at his Villanous Designs who purely for Revenge hath broke through all the Ties of Honour & Conscience & Gratitude & Duty, & Peace of the Governour was not	He would not go near her any more. But he soon broke his word, and kept her company as frequently as before, to the great scandal of the neighbourhood, who loudly exclaimed against this impudent example. Being justly reproved at this breach of promise, the Council resolved to use severity to make him useful. The Council was in earnest to proclaim him, if it complied with the Governor to terrify him more effectually. It forbade him at his General Table, or to relate to the Court's honour. He came to go near her. He, with great protestations, gave the Council fresh assurances that he would never again go near her, nor humbly, undoubtedly. He knew any manner of correspondence with her, but he abjured. He did no better now than he had done before. For he soon broke it. It seemed obstinately bent against all these. The Court's own protestations resolved to continue with her. He therefore, being no longer able to bear rich behaviour in a person, entered the most considerable commands in the garrison, who might easily be corrupted by this bad example of longer service. The Council was glad, and therefore, to despatch him, if the Court's honour desired, with hope and slight, that it might work a good affair, and bring him to a sense of his guilt. But what follows is almost incredible. When he browsed the news, he was hardly abandoned, so void of malice, or anger, that he vowed the Governor's destruction. This he tried to effect. It made it difficult. But at least, fault of the devils, revenge he had. Recourse to one of the most monstrous and extravagant pieces of forgery and invention, that could ever enter into the heart of man. He threatened to swear treason against him. Of this report being made to the Council, by the person that heard him, the Council took the most proper course with the ruffian, as the Court's honour would more fully see in the Council's consultation of the 29th of October, and the 4th of November. The Council's proceedings at his trial, at the sessions held on the 8th of the same month, to which it humbly begged leave to refer the Court. Since the Court's honour, both the jury and inhabitants, have exposed the Council's resentment at his villainous design, who purely for revenge had broken through all the ties of honour. Conscious of forgery and guilty, he wronged the Governor. He would not connive at the wickedness of life. He lived with a lewd creature, who is so notoriously hardhearted, that it is known she had been familiar with three black fellows at a time, and in such vile company. The contractor, a despatch which he had imparted to the villains, of whom the Council was now speaking. This ship carries the marks of the tyranny about him, and to make his villainy the more perfect and complete, and likewise it appears to the Council that they had concerted to make their escape together. He, with intent to cheat and defraud his creditors, among whom the Council owed above four hundred

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		not conives at the wicked Life, he leads with a lewde Creature who is So notoriously hardish, that it appears he hath been familiar with three Black & Whitores at a time & in Such vile Company he Contracted a Disease which he has imparted to the Widow of whom We are now Speaking & tho this caries the Marks of the Vice run about him & to make his Villainy the more perfect & Compleat & where it appears to Us that they had concerted to make their Escape together he with intent to Cheat & defraud his Creditors among whom he Owes about four Hundred Pounds, & She in Pursuit of more Game, & for the Conclusion of this Affair We beg leave to Repeat what We have in part Said in the Consultation & in the Proceedings at the Sessions before Refer to, We have each of Us very often upon many Occasions heard the Governour express his Zeal & Affection in the most Dutyfull & Respectfull manner both to his late & present Majesty King George, & to the Protestant Succession in his most illustrious Family & that this husband Ruffian has Said to the contrary is an impudent Lie & a most Villanous Piece of Forgery Fourthly concerning Fortifications &ca We frequently Survey Your Honours Severall Fortifications & take	pounds. Edwards, and this ship, in pursuit of more game. For the conclusion of this affair, the Council begged leave to repeat what it had in part said in the consultation. And in the proceedings at the sessions before, to refer the Court to which. The Council had each of the very often, upon many occasions, heard the Governor express his zeal and affection. In the most dutiful and respectful manner, both to his late and present Majesty King George, and to the Protestant succession, in his most illustrious family. And that the husband ruffian has said to the contrary, is an impudent lie, and a most calumnious piece of forgery. Fourthly, concerning fortifications, and so on. The Council frequently surveyed the Court's honour's several fortifications, to take [...]. **Interpretations** The passage on this page concerns Ensign William Slaughter, whom the Council had recommended for the gunner's post in its letter by the *Stanhope* of 6 January 1727, after the neglect of the gunner John French. His fall into adultery and riot, set out in the earlier paragraph, here deepens into forgery and a threat to swear treason against the Governor. The Council tried and sentenced him at the sessions of 8 November, referring the whole matter home for the Court's judgement. The threat to swear false treason marked a grave charge in a season of feared war. The reference records the Council long troubled by libels and false reports against its governors, the forger Benjamin Hawkes having spread calumny against Governor Smith and been shipped home, so Slaughter's design against Governor Byfield follows a familiar pattern of malice met by open prosecution. The Governor's zeal for King George in the closing lines bears on the recent accession of George the Second, proclaimed at the head of the garrison earlier in 1728. The Council had proclaimed the new sovereign with all solemnity, so its defence of the Governor's loyalty here answers Slaughter's false charge with a public affirmation of the administration's fidelity to the Protestant succession. The Governor named through the passage was Edward Byfield, whose care of the island and its affairs the Council had pressed throughout its correspondence. His mild handling of Slaughter, taking him privately to task before proceeding to prosecution, marks the same forbearance the administration showed the indebted planters and the distressed inhabitants.
84	76	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] take timely Care to Repair Such Parts as Appear to have any Defect, least the Damage Should otherwise Spread & Encrease, & We will observe the like diligence in all time to come Fifthly concerning the Inhabitants &ca In Our Consultation of the 8t of June left Your Honrs will See that We gave the Inhabitants early Notice to Plant Wood & Furze & Compleat their Fences, & they every where used their Endeavours, Some of them having Planted Wood & Furze two or three times over but tho the Winter Season was Set in very early yet We had frequent Intervals of hot Weather which destroyed all their Plants in Spite of all their Care & Diligence they often young being exceeding tender though then most proper for Planting, for the Summer they are the better they grow & are more likely to	The Council took timely care to repair such parts as appeared to have any defect, lest the damage should otherwise increase. It would afford the like diligence in all time to come. Fifthly, concerning the inhabitants, and so on. 14: In the Council's consultation of the third of June last, the Court would see that it gave the inhabitants early notice to plant wood and furze, and complete their fences. Everywhere they used their endeavours. Some of them, having planted wood and furze two or three times over, but the winter season being set in very early, yet they had frequent intervals of hot weather, which destroyed the plants in spite of all their care and diligence. They often, when young, being exceeding tender, though then most proper for planting. For the Council meant they were the better they grow, and more probably to come to perfection than when planted large. This the Council held to be truth, for it had seen it in its travels in several parts of the country. This is the reason the Council had no survey this year. However, it would continue to give them timely warning, at all proper seasons, to plant and fence

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		come to perfection than when Planted large, this We know to be truth for We have Seen it Our Selves in Our Travels in Severall Parts of the Country, & this is the reason We have no Survey this Year, however We will continue to give them timely warning at all proper Seasons to Plant & Fence their Lands, for We will not except of any excuse for Neglect in an Affair of Such vast Consequence to this Island We have the Satisfaction to acquaint Your Honours that the Inhabts are very much pleasd & Contented with the present Government, & they not having been in the least Abridged of any Liberty or Property to which they are Entitled & We will always Use them kindly We have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours dated the 20 of February 1728 Payable to Richard Beale or Order for the Sum of Three Hundred Seventy Six Pounds Sixteen Shillings and three Pence Sterling So much being due to him in Your Honours Books of Accompt here of which We humbly Pray Your Honrs Acceptance Capt Brownt having desired by Letter to Register Fifty Bales of Coffy value Three Thousand & Sixty Rupees & Two Robins Coulours India Blue twenty Rupees We orderd the Same to be accordingly Registered in Our Consultation of the 13th instant to which We humbly Refer Your Honrs We are Honble Sirs Your most faithfull & most Obedt humble Servts St Helena 22 Febry 1728 **Margin Notes:** Fortifications Repaired as often as necessary The Winter Season having failed, little Wood or Furze hath been Planted Inhabitants Contented Bills drawn Coffee &ca Registered PS Capt Gough has acquainted Us that having this Bale Coffy &c on board he desired that the Bond Payable for Custom may be Charged to his Acct & he will Pay it in Bengall	their lands. For it would not accept of any excuse for neglect, in an affair of such vast consequence to the island. 15: The Council had the satisfaction to acquaint the Court that the inhabitants were very much pleased and contented with the present government. They not having been in the least abridged of any liberty or property, to which they are entitled. The Council would always treat them kindly. 16: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange upon the Court, dated the 22nd of February 1728, payable to Richard Beale or order, for the sum of £376 16s 3d sterling, so much being due to him in the Court's books of account here. The Council asked the Court's acceptance of this. Captain Brown, having desired by letter to register 50 bales of coffee, valued at 3,060 rupees, and 3 robins colours India, valued at 20 rupees. The Council ordered the same to be accordingly registered in its consultation of the 13th of this month, to which it asked the Court's leave to refer. The letter closed from St Helena on 22 February 1728, subscribed by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the fortifications repaired as often as necessary. The notes at the following passages restate the winter season having failed, little wood or furze planted, the inhabitants contented, the bills drawn, and the coffee registered. The planting of wood and furze in paragraph 14 rested on the wood-planting law of former Governor Roberts, long judged the most necessary law at the island but unenforced for want of hands. The winter season set in early with intervals of hot weather that killed the young plants, so the failure here marks the island's constant struggle against the blasting winds and erosion that stripped its worn ground. The coffee registered in the closing paragraph was carried by a calling captain who asked the Council to enter his private goods in the consultation book. The reference records Captain John Misener registering his goods at his own desire in 1717, so the registration here follows a standing practice by which a master secured a record of his private trade against later dispute. Richard Beale, payee of £376 16s 3d, shares the name of William Beale, the under-skilled surgeon's assistant left on the island after Dr Scrimshire took passage home. The connection cannot be fixed, so this payee is perhaps a separate person of the same family, though the reading rests on fine judgement. The captain named as registering the coffee was Captain Brown, commander of the *Duke of Cumberland* from Bombay, who had brought confirmation of the Court's ships arrived at Madras. The reference records several commanders of the name Brown in the homeward trade, so the same master recurs here securing a record of his private goods.
85	77	List of the Packet Of Ship Duke of Cumberland 22th Febry 1728 Sent apart Governr & Councills Genll Letter dated 22th Febry 1728 Copy of Governr & Councills Genll Letter dated 1 June 1728 One Sett of Books of Acct for the Year Ending 30th Sepr 1728 by which it	List of the packet by the ship *Duke of Cumberland*, 22 February 1728. 1: Governor and Committee general letter, dated 22 February 1728 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter, dated 1 June 1728 3: One set of books of account for the year ending 30 September 1728, by which it appears that the

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		Appears that the Genll Charge of the Year Past amounts only to £5442.18.7¾ One Cash Book for Ditto Lettered S One Book of Storekeepers Disbursements for Ditto Letter S Copy of Inventory of Stores remaining 30th Sepr 1728 Copy of Consultations from the 8 of June to the 12th Febry 1728 both inclusive Duplicate of Consultations from 7th May to the 1 June 1728 both inclusive Ditto of the Expence of each Plantation for the Month of Aprile 1728 Ditto of the Acct of Ship Mountague Ditto Bridgewater Ditto Leithaellie Ditto of the Inhabitants Petition to the Honble Court of Directors Duplicate of Indent of Stores wanting at St Helena Duplicate of the Doctors Indent Copy Gardeners Receipt for the large Packet Ditto Receipt for the Small Packet Duplicate of List of the Packet Of Ship Mountague Copy of the Governours Genll Acct of the Expence of each Plantation for the Year Ending 30th Sepr 1728 Copy of the Expence of each Plantation for the Month of May Do June Do July Do August Do September 1728 Do October Do November Do December Do January Copy of the Acct of Ship Duke of Cumberland Copy of the Acct of Ship Princess Anne List of the Packet St Helena 22 Febry 1728 D Crispe Secry	general charge of the year past amounts only to £5,342 18s 7¾d 3: One cash book for last letter 3: One book of storekeeper's disbursements for last letter 3: Copy of the inventory of stores remaining, 30 September 1728 4: Copy of consultations from the 6 of June to the 12 February 1728, both inclusive 5: Duplicate of consultations from the 7 May to the 1 June 1728, both inclusive 6: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of April 1728 7: Duplicate of the account of the ship Montague 8: Duplicate of the account of the Bridgewater 9: Duplicate of the account of the Leithullie 10: Duplicate of the inhabitants' petition to the Honourable the Court of Directors 11: Duplicate of the indent of stores wanting at St Helena 12: Duplicate of the doctor's indent 13: Captain Gordon's receipt for the large packet 14: Captain Gordon's receipt for the small packet 15: Duplicate of the list of the packet by the ship Montague 16: Copy of the Governor's general account of the expense of each plantation for the year ending 30 September 1728 17: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of May 1728 18: Copy for June 1728 19: Copy for July 1728 20: Copy for August 1728 21: Copy for September 1728 22: Copy for October 1728 23: Copy for November 1728 24: Copy for December 1728 24: Copy for January 1728 26: Copy of the account of the ship Duke of Cumberland 27: Copy of the account of the ship Princess Anne 28: List of the packet The list closed from St Helena on 22 February 1728, subscribed by the secretary. **Interpretations** The *Duke of Cumberland* under Captain Brown carried this packet home. She had arrived on 10 February 1728 from Bombay, part of the season's shipping the Council reported in its general letter by the *Duke of Cumberland* of 22 February 1728. Items 7 to 9 name the ships of the earlier homeward fleet, the *Montague*, *Bridgewater* and *Leithullie*, which had sailed together for England on 1 June 1728. The duplicated accounts guard against the loss of the first conveyance, the standing method by which the Council secured its correspondence. Item 3 records the general charge of the island for the year ending 30 September 1728 at £5,342 18s 7¾d. The Council had settled the yearly expense near £5,218 0s 0d the year before, so this figure holds the charge close to that settled level, answering the Court's long complaint of the loose accounts of the earlier regime. Item 10 was the petition of the inhabitants to the Court, setting out their distress. The poorer planters lived on the small provision they sold to the shipping, so the resort of the Court's ships to the Cape took away their market. The petition recommended their sad condition to the Court's compassion, tying the planters' ruin to the diversion of the homeward fleet. Item 27 concerns the *Princess Anne* under Captain Gough, which had come from Bencoolen with supply and news of the China fleet touching at Batavia. The reference records the Mackett family

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			and George Pitt drawing on Henry Gough of London, so the account of her dealings marks the island's place on the homeward track of the eastern trade.
86	78	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] St Helena 30th March 1729 Honble Sirs The last time We paid Our Duty to Your Honrs was by the Duke of Cumberland &ca who with the James & Mary Sailed hence for England on the 22 of last Month & Since their Departure We have received Your Commands by the Cadogan who arrived Safe here on the 8t instant, & We humbly thank Your Honrs for her early Dispatch, We are glad to hear Your Honrs have received the Severall Copies & Accts & Indents left Your an Answer to the Severall Remarks & Orders Yr Honrs have been pleased to give Us thereupon, We will proceed in the Method by You directed but first acquaint Your that the Cadogan arrived here on the 10th instant from China Such Sea & China Ware She hath brought for the Use of this Place Your Honrs will See in Our Consult of that day First concerning Shiping We Congratulate Your Honrs upon the Safe Arrivall of the Cargo & Shiping & hope all the rest now abroad, will Arrive in the like Safety We heartily wish that all the Ships Your Honrs have Dispatched this Year will meet with all the Suess Your Honrs propose Capt Snelson parted from Your four China Ships two other Ships in 31 Degrees So Do & Degrees to the Eastward of Madras & tis on board there than not We hope Your Yatch will arrive time enough in India to Answer as th Advantage Your Honrs propose by her early Dispatch We heartily wish that Your Ship to Mocha may meet with a Speedy & Suterfoct Voyage We have already observed that Your four China Ships & the other two Ships were proceeding on their Passage & We humbly hope their early Arrival will be a Means to baffle the Attempts & Designs of other Nations, Capt Mabbott acquaints Us that a Foreign Ship Sailed in Company with him from China Your Honrs in Our Consultation of the 8th & 10th instants will find So that We have duely Executed the Orders We have received from the Honble the Genll of the Comittee of Secrecy & will punctually obey so others that We shall receive The Inhabitants are infinitely pleasd to hear of Your generous Favour & Protection, & Your Honrs had not interposed Your	St Helena, 30 March 1729. The last time the Council paid its duty to the Court was by the *Duke of Cumberland*, who received the same. She then sailed home for England on the third of last month. Since their departure the Council had received the Court's commands by the *Cardigan*, who arrived safe on the second of this month. It thanked the Court for her early despatch. It was glad to learn the Court had received the several papers the Council last sent. To answer the several remarks and orders the Court had been pleased to give, the Council would proceed in the method the Court directed. But it first acquainted the Court that the *Caesar* arrived on the 10th of this month from China. Such South Sea and China wine as she brought for the use of the island, the Court would find in the Council's consultation of that day. First, concerning shipping. 2: The Council congratulated the Court on the safe arrival of the Cape shipping. It hoped all the rest now abroad would arrive at the Cape in safety. 3: The Council heartily wished that all the ships the Court had despatched this year might meet with all the success the Court could wish. Captain Preparo sailed from the Court's four China ships, three other ships in latitude 31 degrees south, and so on, at some degrees to the eastward of Madras, and all on board, more than met. 4: The Council hoped the galley would arrive in time enough in India to answer the advantage the Court proposed by her early despatch. 5: The Council heartily wished that the Court's ship to Mocha might meet with a speedy and satisfied voyage. 6: The Council had already observed that the Court's four China ships, and the other two ships, were proceeding on their voyage. It humbly hoped their early arrival would be a means to baffle the attempts and designs of other nations. Captain Mabbot acquainted the Council that a French ship had sailed in company with him from China. 7: The Court, in the Council's consultation of the second of this month, would find that it had duly entered the orders it had received from the Honourable the President of the Committee of Secrecy. It would punctually obey them, as others it should receive. 8: The inhabitants were infinitely pleased to learn that the Court's generous favour and protection of the Court's honour had not interposed the Court's authority. Their claim would then be inevitable. In answer to what the Council was obliged to acquaint the Court, that the water at Lemon Valley is always good, nor did the Council ever hear it complained of. The Court's honour relied they take it at the crane. The Council was often obliged, but effectually to remove this objection. It had the pleasure to acquaint the Court's honour that about the measured miles from the water side, the Council had a fine spring of as good water as any upon the island, which, as far as yet appeared, constantly afforded the same stream in all weathers, not in order. Of which the Council might be brought to the crane. But the Council would not venture to promise anything [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the

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		Authority their Ruin had been inevitable, & in Answer to what We Comitondg attidg to Excuse or Justify their going into the Cape We are obliged to acquaint Your Honrs that the Water at Lemon Valley is always good nor did the ever hear it Complained off, the Bull den refusd they take in at the Crane is We own often Brackish but effectually to remove this Objection We have the Pleasure to acquaint Your Honrs that about the Measured Miles from the Water side We have a fine Spring of as good Water as any upon the Island, which as far as yet appeares constantly Affords the Same Stream in all Weathers, & not in order, & which the Colours & & & & & & may be brought to the Crane but We will not venture to promise any thing **Margin Notes:** Cadogan arrives from England A Frensh Ship left China with the Cadogan Orders from Comittee of Secrecy obeyd Water at Lemon Valley good, but the Water at the Crane brackish, but there a fine Spring about 2 Mile from the Water Side	opening restates the *Cardigan* arriving from England. The notes at the following passages restate a French ship having sailed from the China fleet with the *Caesar*, the orders from the President of the Committee of Secrecy obeyed, and the water at Lemon Valley good, but the water at the crane brackish, with a fine spring about 2 miles from the water side. The Committee of Secrecy in paragraph 7 was the inner body of the Court that issued the Company's most confidential instructions. The reference records the Court's future orders on the Ostend ships promised through its Secret Committee in the *King William* reply, so the Council's undertaking to obey its orders here marks the standing channel for the Court's secret directions. The water at Lemon Valley in paragraph 8 answered the island's constant search for a supply for the shipping. Lemon Valley was a common watering place for ships on the leeward side of the island, so the fine spring found 2 miles from the water side marks the effort to bring good water to the crane where the ships took it aboard. The Mocha ship in paragraph 5 was a Company vessel trading to Mocha on the Red Sea, the centre of the coffee trade. The island lay on the homeward track of such ships, so the Council's hope for a speedy voyage rests on its concern to serve the calling fleet. The *Cardigan* arriving from England carried the Court's fresh commands to the island. The reference records the *Cardigan* long in the homeward and store trade, so the same ship recurs here bringing the Court's orders and papers to the island.
87	79	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] positively tis We have first had a carefull Survey & the opinion of Sevll People who have lived Years together at & about the Place, when this Spring arose this We will do out of hand & Say it before Your Honrs as Soon as its Compleated with the best & Calculation, We are able to make of the Charge for We will not proceed rashly in an Affair that is is likely to be attended with Some Expence We dispatched the Cadogan within the time Limitted by Charter Party as Your Honrs will particularly See in Our Consultation of the 16th instant & will take Special Care alwaye to do the like hereafter, at least if it Should happen otherwise it shall not be Our Fault, She Sail'd or the 17 for Bencoolen & in the Packet We enclosed her Charter Party Secondly concerning Goods We have fixed the Setting Price upon the Cargo Your Honrs have been pleasd to Send Us from England & have Sent You a Copy thereof, & We will alwaye continue to observe the like both with relation to Our Europe & India Goods as Soon as We receive them We will not buy any Goods of the Captains tis We have Sold those Wee have now by Us We will make the best Use We can of the Wrockt Goods & make the Clothing of Your Honrs Blacks as little Expensive as possible The Storekeeper to be very carefull & to observe duely the 20th	The Council would not positively promise this, but it had first made a careful survey. The opinion also stood that the spring arose these two years together, at and about the place, when this spring was completed. As soon as it was completed, with the best calculation the Council could make of the charge, it would say it before the Court. For it would not proceed rashly in an affair that is probably to be attended with some expense. 9: The Council despatched the *Cadogan* within the time set by charter party, as the Court would more particularly see in its consultation of the 16th of this month. It would take special care always to do the like hereafter, at least if it should happen otherwise, it should not be the Council's fault. She sailed on the 17th for Bencoolen, with the packet enclosed, and her charter party. Secondly, concerning goods. The Council had fixed the selling price upon the cargo the Court had been pleased to send from England. It had sent the Court a copy thereof. It would always continue to set the like, both with relation to the Europe and India goods, as soon as it received them. 11: The Council would not buy any goods of the captains until it had sold those it had now by it. 12: The Council would make the best use it could of the woollen goods, and make the clothing of the Court's slaves as little expensive as possible. The storekeeper would be very careful and diligent to observe the 20th day of the Court's letter by the *James and Mary*. The Council would be very careful and diligent to prevent the damage of goods. If it should so happen, it would dispose of them, as the Court would approve, upon the first delivery, for the most it could get. 15: The Council would use the copper cash as opportunities offered. It would continue to do so.

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		Cara of Your Genll Letter Of James & Mary We will be very carefull & diligent to prevent the damage of Goods, & if it Should So happen We will dispose of them as Your Honrs Approve upon the first discovery for the most We can get We Use the Copper Cash as Oppertunities Offer & will continue to do so Your Honrs may alwaye Safely depend upon the Promise We have made about Wheat & Salt Provision those used to be extravagant & Expensive Articles but, that We are no more We thank Your Honrs for Your very kind Supply of Wine & Beer & tho at yet Appeares they are both good, the Garden are pretty Garden & will be of great Service to Us Thirdly concerning Yr Honrs Servts Slaves Cattle Lands & Revenues We are glad Your Honrs Approve of the Method We now Observe in Our Acct & will take Care that the Bookeeper shall be more plain & Exact in his Entry of the Journal Parcells for the future Understanding For the future the office of Charge Vizt has be Deld & for the whole Charge of the Island & the other particulars shall be duely observd in the manner Your Honrs have been pleasd to direct We will take particular Care that as Our Acct & their Tally with the Books & will continue to pay the Garrison Monthly & shall So keep Separat Acct of the Governour & Storekeeper Disbursements, As a Singular Pleasure to Us to hear that Your Honrs Approve of Our Oeconomy We will continue to observe the like Frugality in all time to come If We can possibly Contrive that Branch of Your Revenue Your Honrs mention in this Para We will but the Customs upon Foreign &ct **Margin Notes:** The Spring to be Surveyd & to be laid before the Company with a Calculation of the Charge Cadogan timely Dispatched Setting Price fixed upon the Cargo from Europe Goods not to be bought of the Captains Wrockt Goods to be used & Blacks to be clothed thereby Storekeeper to be carefull Damage of Goods to be prevented & Such to be Sold for the most that can be got Copper Cash used Charge of Wheat & Salt Provn to be Retrenchd Saved Wine, Beer & Beer&ca pretty Good Bookeeper to be more exact in his Entry of the Journal Parcells Charge Genll to be Deld for the whole	16: The Court might always safely depend upon the promise the Council had made about wheat and salt provision. These used to be extravagant and expensive articles, but that would be no more. 17: The Council thanked the Court for its very kind supply of wine and beer. By what yet appeared, they were both good. The garden was in pretty good order, and would be of great service to the island. Thirdly, concerning the Court's servants, slaves, cattle, lands and revenues. The Council was glad the Court approved of the method it now observed in its account. It would take care that the storekeeper should be more careful and exact in his entry of the journal balances, for the better understanding of them. For the future, the office and charge of the island, and other particulars, would be duly observed. In the manner the Court had been pleased to direct. 19: The Council would take particular care that all its accounts and their tally with the books, and would continue to pay the garrison monthly. It would keep the books, and continue a separate account of the Governor's and storekeeper's disbursements. As a singular pleasure, the Council was glad to learn that the Court approved of its economy. It would continue to observe the like frugality in all time to come. 20: If the Council could probably conceive that branch of the Court's revenue the Court mentioned in this paragraph, it would. But the customs upon foreign goods [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the paragraphs beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the spring to be surveyed before the Company was at the charge. The notes at the following paragraphs restate the *Cadogan* timely despatched, the selling price fixed upon the cargo from Europe, goods not to be bought of the captains, the woollen goods to be clothing, the storekeeper to be careful, the damage of goods to be prevented and sold for the most, the copper cash used, the charge of wheat and salt provision to be no more, the wine and beer both good, the storekeeper to be more exact in the entry of the journal balances, the office and charge of the island to be observed, the accounts to tally with the books and the storekeeper's disbursements kept separate, and the customs to be increased if possible. The woollen goods in paragraph 12 answered the standing difficulty of selling English cloth on a small subtropical island, where the woollen manufactures the Court consigned found a thin market against Indian cotton goods. The Council used them for the slaves' clothing, the best use it could make of stock it could not sell, so the plan here continues the commercial problem the island had reported since the despatch of 8 December 1714. The copper cash in paragraph 15 was small coin the island held against its want of a circulating medium. The Council had reckoned the whole island money stock at only £700 0s 0d, too little to circulate, so the copper used as opportunity offered marks the standing shortage of coin on the island. The garden in paragraph 17 answered the arrival of a gardener the island had long wanted. The Council had made a sorry shift with the soldier Sturman, a former gardener in Southwark described as ignorant, thievish and idle, so the garden in good order here marks the improvement of the island's greens and fruit with a skilled hand at last in place.

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		Charge of the Island Acct to be Agree with the Books & Separat Acct to be kept of the Governr & Storekeepers Disbursemt Expence to be Retrenchd if possible	The *Cadogan* in paragraph 9 was despatched within the ten days the charter party allowed for unlading a calling ship. The Council had long enforced that term to guard the Court against paying demurrage, so the timely despatch here marks the standing charter-party reform at work under the administration.
88	80	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] at this Place is never likely to be considerable The Improvement Your Honrs tis pleasd to take Notice of with, approbation at the Great Work Garden House & Refresh every thing We propose & the Potatoes We this Planted are very acceptable to Your Shiping & of great Service to Your Honrs Blacks We are glad Your Honrs Allow of the Reasons We gave for building a Room in the Wood & a Slaughter House in the Valley neither one of the other cost Your Honrs any thing more than a few Boards We have been Something taken off Our Work at the Wood by repairing the Fortifications in time Severall Parts of the Fortifications that required it, they cost Your Honrs a great Sum of Money & We should be highly blameable to Suffer them to go to decay as Soon as this necessary Work is done We will finish the remaining part of the Enclosures at the Wood, those Close which are most exposed to the Garden & Cattle have been long Since Enclosd & We will Compleat the rest in a Short time We have the Such good luck in Our Fishery that We often catch more than Your Blacks can Eat & this will be particularly comfort to Save Your Honrs the heavy Charge of Salt Beef & Pork We glad Your Honrs Approve of the Sale of the little Parcell off Land to Mr Goodwin & We are glad of it We are extreamly glad Your Honrs have given Us Liberty to keep the remainder of the Land called Cichins had it been Sold We should have been liable to at these Inconveniencies & Expence which We thought might Come over Later attend the Sale of it We will Use as Means in Our Power to receive Such Debts as are yet Standing out as Soon as possible We can of which We have given Your Honrs farther Proof in this Genll Letter Of Our Genll Letter of the 22 Of Febry left the Debts at Sepr last being less by £263.3.3 than they were at Sepr 1727 The Salary & Gratuity of Governr & Comitt has been Stated according to the Regulation in the 50 Cara of Your Honrs Genll Letter Of James & Mary as Your will See in the Sett of Books We lately transmitted Wherefore Your Honrs receive in the Packet a particular Sheet & how these Differences happend between the Books & the Governr Genll Accts of the Plantation We have also found out & Rectifyed the Severall Errors Your Honrs observe in the Books R & S, We have Severely reprimanded	The customs revenue at the island was never expected to amount to much. The improvements the Court was pleased to take notice of, with approbation at the Great Wood, the garden, house, and everything the Council proposed. The potatoes the Council either sold or gave to the planters were very acceptable to the Court's shipping, and of great service. The Council was glad the Court approved of the slaves. The reform the Council made for building a room in the wood, and a slaughterhouse in the valley, cost the Court no more than a few boards. The Council had been drawn off its work at the wood, by repairing several parts of the fortifications in time. These had cost the Court a great sum of money. The Council would be much to blame to let them fall into decay. As soon as the necessary repairs were done, it would finish the rest of the enclosures at the wood. Those closes most exposed to the garden and castle were finished long ago, and the Council would complete the rest shortly. 24: The Council had such good luck in its fishery that it often caught more than the Court's slaves could eat. It would take particular care to save the Court the heavy charge of salt beef and pork. 26: The Council was glad the Court approved of the sale of the small parcels of land to Mr Goodwin. 25: The Council was very glad the Court gave it leave to keep the ground called Cochins. Had it been sold, the Council would have faced all the inconvenience and expense the sale might have brought. 27: The Council would use every means in its power to recover the debts still outstanding, as soon as it could. It had given the Court further proof of this in its general letter of 22 February 1728. The debts at March last were £263 3s 3d less than they were at September 1727. 28: The salary and gratuity of the Governor and Council were settled by the regulation in the 50th paragraph of the Court's letter by the *James and Mary*. The Court would see this in the set of books the Council lately sent home. 29: A separate sheet in the packet showed the difference between the books and the Governor's account of the plantation. The Council had found and corrected the several errors the Court noted in the books. It had severely reprimanded the storekeeper for his negligence, and would in future make him tally his accounts with the books before sending them home. If he did not mend on repeated warning, the Council would take a firmer course with him. It hoped the Court would find no such errors in the books lately sent. The Council thought beef the chief produce of the Court's plantations, but it took no beef to account except cattle sold to the Court's shipping. Everything at the plantation, both the credit at the crane and the beef issued for such provision, was delivered by the Court's slaves. 30: For the reasons entered in its consultation of 2 March 1729, the Council was induced to try Mr French once more. It would not trust to his fair [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes

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		the Bookeeper for his Negligence & for the time to come We will make him carefully & rich our the Books before they are Sent Your Honrs & if he dont mend upon frequent Admonition We will take a more effectual Course with him, We hope Your Honrs will not meet with any of those Errors in the Books We lately transmitted, We are apt to thinck those Heart believe that Cash is chiever for the Produce of Your Plantations but no Cash is now raised except for Cattle Sold to Your Shiping for every thing else the Plantation hath Credit at the Genll Table for all Such Provision as are deliverd Yr Honrs Blacks & not otherwise For the Reasons Enterd in Consultation of the 8t instant We have been induced to try Mr French once more tho We will not trust to his fair **Margin Notes:** Potatoes of Service to Your Shiping and Blacks Works at the Wood by Repairing the Fortifications but those being done the Enclosures at the Wood to be compleated More Fish Caught than Your Blacks can eat Land Sold Approved Cichins Land to be kept of the Remainder Debts decreased & to be further Lessened £263.3.3 Salary & Gratuity of Governr & Comitt Stated according to the late Establishmt Difference between the Books & the Governrs Genll Accts Rectifyed, Bookeeper Reprimanded, his Books for the future to be carefully Cast & no more & not any Cash raisd for the Produce of the Plantations except for Cattle Genll Table	need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the potatoes of service to the Court's shipping and slaves. The notes at the following passages restate the work at the wood drawn off by repairing the fortifications, the fortifications being done, the wood to be completed, more fish caught than the slaves could eat, the land sold approved, the Cochins land kept, the debts decreased by £263 3s 3d, the salary and gratuity settled, the difference between the books corrected, and the storekeeper reprimanded. The land called Cochins in paragraph 25 was watered ground the Council prized above all its other holdings. One watered acre was reckoned worth three of the rest at the island, so the Court's leave to keep the 22 acres at Cochins rested on that standing scarcity of watered land, which fed the establishment through the dry seasons. The diet of fish in paragraph 24 answered the cost of salt provision shipped out to feed the slave establishment. The Council had reported that provision at £1,158 7s 0d between 28 May 1723 and 24 September 1726, so the fish caught in the island's own waters both saved the charge and kept the slaves well fed. The storekeeper reprimanded in paragraph 29 was John Goodwin, continued in that office as the only qualified man on the island. The reformed bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had pressed required his accounts to tally with the books, so the admonition here marked the tight accounting of the administration under Governor Byfield. Mr French in paragraph 30 was John French, the gunner whose neglect of the powder magazine the Council had set out at length in its letter by the *Stanhope* of 6 January 1727. The reference records him long troubled in the Court's service, so the resolve to try him once more marked the island's continued want of a fit man for the gunner's post.
89	81	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Promises but carefully from time to time inspect into the Condition of the Powder & Magazine Our Selves, It would have been a high breach of Duty in Us if We had concealed the Loss & Damage of So much Powder but as We will narrowly look into this Ruin Our Selves & as he hath Setteth in his Petition Enterd in the Said Consultation that he is very heartily Sorry for his former Neglect & that he hath not been able to See in the last two Year to the Value of five Pounds & that having neither Money or Cattle & his numerous Family must inevitably Perish & Our Aim being only to Correct & not Ruin those who are Sensible of their Faults We have therefore restored him In Our Letter to Mr Michie in Answer to his of the 6th of Decr last	The Council would not trust his fair promises. It watched the state of the powder and magazine carefully. To have concealed the loss and damage of so much powder would have been a grave breach of duty. The Council therefore reported it plainly, as the gunner had set out in the consultation. He was very sorry for his earlier neglect. He owned he had not been able to account, for the last two years, for the value of five barrels. Having neither money nor cattle, his large family faced certain ruin. The Council could only correct him, and left him to those who felt his fault. It had therefore reproved him. 31: In the Council's letter to Mr Mitchell, in answer to his of the 6th of December last, it enclosed the original affidavit of that perjured villain George Gibson. The Council had shown, by the testimony of many people, most of them of unquestioned honesty, and especially on the point in question, by undeniable evidence under his own hand, that he had falsely sworn in many instances. There was not a greater rogue living under heaven. The Council asked the Court's pardon for using such

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		in which was Enclosed the Original Affidavit of that perjured Villain George Gibson We have made it Appear by the Testimony of great Numbers of People most of them of Unquestioned Veracity & especially as to the Point in Question beside undeniable Evidence under his own hand that he hath falsely Sworn in many Instances & that there is not a greater Rogue living under the Canopy of Heaven, pardon Us for stiffying Such Language the worst is too good for him & so far is he from having any thing due to him either from Your Honrs or any body else that upon the Ballance of his Acct he is Indebted a large Sum to Several Complet how as Your Honrs will See in Our Letter to Mr Michie We are obliged to Your Honrs for Your Confirmation of Our Choice off Mr Alsop We have Sealed the Satisfaction the Heirs of Mr Coulson shall make to Your Honrs for the damage Your Land hath received by her Neglect at twenty Pounds & have Enterd the Sum in Our Books Your House & Garden in the Country have been Enclosed with a Wall with the Labour of Your Own Blacks only, but now it makes a very beautiful Appearance & is now Stocked with Variety of good Fruit We are exceedingly pleased & retain Your Honrs Our humble Thanks for the favourable Notice You have taken of the large Reductions We have made in the Yearly Charge of the Island We humbly assure Your Honrs that You may entirely depend upon those Promises We have given You to keep the Expence within the Compass We propose & upon all Occasions We will give Your Honrs Proof of Our faithfull Service Wee humbly thank Your Honrs for the kind Regard Your have been pleasd to Shew to the commendable & prudent Care the Governr hath observed in the Management of all Your Affairs & particularly for the extraordinary Labour & Diligence in reducing the former extravagant Charge of the Island into a Compass which almost exceeds Our Belief & Expectation We humbly promise to keep the Expence within those moderate bounds & Your Honrs by the Sett of Books We lately Sent will find that he hath done as for the Years past & We doubt not but he will reap the Effect of Your Bounty with which Your Honrs are generously meant to Reward those who Serve You faithfully & because of Yr Honrs the humble Thanks & Acknowledgemt for the Encouragemt You have already been pleasd to give him of the Addition of £100 Pr Ann to Commence from the time of **Margin Notes:** Gunner French Restored Gibson Perjured Heirs of Mr Coulson	language, but no milder word fitted him. So far was he from having anything due to him from the Court, or anybody else, that on the balance of his account he was indebted a large sum, to lessen the Court's expense, as the Court would see in the Council's letter to Mr Mitchell. 32: The Council thanked the Court for confirming its choice of Mr Alsop. The Council had settled the satisfaction the heirs of Mrs Coulson were to make to the Court, for the damage her land had suffered by her neglect. It came to £20 0s 0d, and the Council had entered the sum in its books. 34: The Court's house and garden in the country had been enclosed with a wall, by the labour of the Court's own slaves only. But now they make a very beautiful appearance, and are well stocked with a variety of good fruit. 35: The Council was very pleased to find the Court took favourable notice of the large reductions it had made in the yearly charge of the island. It humbly assured the Court it might entirely depend upon those books, which it had given the Court to help reduce the expense within the compass it proposed. On like occasions the Council would give the Court proof of its faithful service. 36: The Council humbly thanked the Court for the kind regard it had shown to the commendable and prudent care the Governor had taken in the management of all the Court's affairs. This was especially for his extraordinary labour and diligence in reducing the former extravagant charge of the island into a compass which almost exceeded the Council's own wish and expectation. He himself promised to keep the expense within those moderate bounds. By the set of books the Council lately sent, the Court would find that he had done so for the year past. The Council did not doubt but the Governor would justify the Court's bounty, with which the Court was generously ready to reward those who served it faithfully. In answer to the Court's humble thanks and acknowledgement for the encouragement the Court had already been pleased to give him, of the addition of £200 0s 0d a year to commence from the time of [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the gunner reproved. The notes at the following passages restate George Gibson perjured, the heirs of Mrs Coulson to pay £20 0s 0d, the house and garden in the country enclosed with a wall by the Court's slaves only, the reductions acceptable to the Court, and the Governor's salary increased by £200 0s 0d a year. George Gibson in paragraph 31 was the late surgeon whose failure and crafty conduct the Council had set out across its earlier letters. His patients all died, and he denied the £30 0s 0d the Court advanced him. The reference records him sent home in the *Carnarvon*, so the perjured affidavit here, sworn against the Council, closed the record of a servant it was glad to be rid of. Mr Mitchell, addressed in paragraph 31, was the Company's auditor at India House. His letter of 6 December 1728 continued the review of the island books that the earlier audit by J. Fletcher, the accountant general, had begun. That earlier report condemned the loose accounts of the previous administration in the reply by the *Desbouverie* of 17 March 1723.

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		to Pay £20 House & Garden in the Country Enclosd with a beautifull Labour of the Compys Blacks only Acceptable to hear that the Reductions lately made are Commended Compys add £100 Pr Ann to Governrs Salary	The heirs of Mrs Coulson in the passage after paragraph 32 answered the wood-planting law of former Governor Roberts. The Widow Coulson had stripped her land of wood and left the soil to wash away, the greatest offender against the replanting law. The £20 0s 0d charged to her heirs marks the Council enforcing that law by making her estate pay for the damage. The Governor's increased salary in paragraph 36 was the Court's reward to Edward Byfield for reducing the island's charge. The reference records the yearly expense cut to near £5,218 0s 0d under his administration, so the addition of £200 0s 0d a year marks the Court's approval of the tight economy that answered its long complaint of the swollen accounts of the earlier regime.
90	82	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] the Governr for his Care of all Your Honrs Houses Plantations Cattle & Live Stock & Better Care cannot be taken of them than has been & never is taken of them & We will Still go on & endeavour to Merit the other distinguishing Mark of Your Favour We thank Your Honrs for Your Answer to the Question We proposd about Mr Armstone deld to Your Honrs opinion We cant Safely Pay the Money till we get to this can without it We are Surprized to find that the Acct of Mr Smith Should Prea insist upon Payment of the severall particulars mentioned in the two Acct We formerly Rejected as Reason for doing so as Enage of as that great Quantity of Paddy Charged by Your Honrs in Journll & folio 27 & 50 & Journll & folio 234.9, & Acct amounting to One Hundred Seventy four Pounds three Shill & Sixpence Upon Your own Stock of Hogs & Poultry never had a Grain nor would Mr Smith ever Suffer any to be deliverd for their Use but raised & filled all his Own Pork & Poultry with Your Grain & then Sold them at large Prices, Twenty Eight Gate & Thirty five Bushells of the Rice which enshsee part of the Sum of Eighty three Pounds he actually sold there before he went off, & We have his Receipt for the Money now in being, All the Rest things were returned or never deliverd, this We doubt not Your Honrs will thinck Reason Sufficient for Rejecting those Accts, this if it be necessary We can give many other Reasons, but Mr being dead of his Est judge was it may be lost also its a Corrupt Son & would bear handling, tho after Ovr Your Honrs Leave Order for the Smith bought this Plote & Undertook to Pay the Debt, & tis justly due to Yr Honrs & in the 31 Cara of Your Genll Letter Of Carnarvon Yr Honrs respectley Say You will only allow him two or three Menial Servants We have accordingly allowed him three & he is Entitled to any more, & for denying & Wrangling would be We find the Acct have been Settled long ago, the Blacks We have now brought to Acct in Our present Books	The Governor took such care of all the Court's houses, plantations and cattle, and the live stock, that no better care could be taken of them than had been taken. He would still go on, and try to deserve the further distinguishing mark of the Court's favour. 37: The Council thanked the Court for its answer to the question it raised about Mrs Armstone. It desired the Court's opinion, since it could not safely pay the money to her without it. 38: The Council was surprised to find that the Court insisted on payment of the sums the Court particularly named in the two accounts it formerly rejected, for the reasons given, on account of the great quantity of paddy charged by the Court in journal 3, folio 27, £50, and journal 3, folio 23, £4 9s 0d, amounting in all to £134 0s 0d. Twenty-four persons drew their bills, and it forbore. The Court's own stock of hogs and poultry never had grain, nor would Mr Smith ever suffer any to be delivered for their use. But he raised, and fed, all his own hogs and poultry with the Court's grain, and then sold them at large prices. Twenty-eight goats, and 35 barrels of the wine, which made part of the sum of £80 0s 0d, Mr Smith actually sold before he went off. The Council had his receipt for the money now in hand. All the other things were either returned, or never delivered. This the Council did not doubt the Court would think reason sufficient for rejecting the account, if it should be necessary. It could give many other reasons, but Mr Smith being dead, if his estate should judge it right, it might be left alone as a corrupt son. It forbore handling this, then, and the Court would see it. Mr Smith bought stock, and undertook to pay the debt. This was justly due to the Court. In the 31st paragraph of the Court's letter by the *Carnarvon*, the Court expressly said it would only allow him two or three menial servants. The Council had accordingly allowed him these. He was entitled to no more. So far from having anything due, the Council found on the account he had been settled long ago. The slaves the Council had now brought to account in its present books were omitted before, through the neglect of the storekeeper. 39: The Council had acquainted the heirs of Mrs Coulson with what the Court was pleased to order about the legacy given to Mr Greentree, and so on. They promised to get in what was due, with all the speed they could, as soon as ever it was over. The Council would draw bills, as the Court directed, for what it received on the account of either of them. 40: The Council humbly thanked the Court for its acceptance and payment of the several bills of exchange, according to the particulars named in the Court's 20th paragraph. 41: The Council returned the Court its most humble thanks for the half pay the Court had been pleased to allow it for the hire of its earlier slaves.

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		omitted before through the Neglect of the Bookeeper We have acquainted the Acct of Mr Coulson with what Your Honrs are pleasd to Order about the Legacy given to Mr Greenlod &ca & they promise to get in what is due with all the Speed they can as Soon as ever this receive is We will draw Bills as Your Honrs direct for what We receive upon the Acct of either of them We humbly thank Your Honrs for Yr Acceptance & payment of the Severall Bills of Exchange according to the particulars mentioned in Your 20th Cara We will return Your Honrs Our most humble thanks for the half Pay You have been pleasd to allow Us for the hire of our respective Blacks Capt Snelson did not Say any thing to Us or Pay any Cash upon Acct of Mr Thoaike deld to Us & we Refused Bills, We will have Granted them as Your Honrs direct We should In the Packet We have Sent Your Honrs a Copy of the Storekeepers Indorsement upon the Bill of Loading, but Since the date thereof We have from the West Coast Provn & Snaebros Brothers among the Oranges Your Honrs have been very ill Comdr & We again have been greatly disappointed in **Margin Notes:** Money cannot Safely be paid to Mr Armstone Demands of the Acct of Mr Smith Answered Many things Charged in the Acct of which the Company received not any Benefit as Paddy &ca Acct of Mr Coulson to be got in his Legacy &c Effects Bills of Exchange paid Half Pay allowed for the hire of Blacks Not any Cash received upon Acct of Mr Thoaike	42: Captain *Swallow* did not say anything to the Council, or draw any cash upon the account of Mr *Swallow*, dead to death, or, had it desired bills, the Council would have granted them, as the Court directed, if it should. 43: In the packet the Council had sent the Court a copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading. But since the date thereof, the Council had forgot the free provision. Some brought potatoes among the oranges. The Court would have been very well contented. The Council had again been greatly disappointed in [...]. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates that the money could not safely be paid to Mrs Armstone. The notes at the following passages restate the demands of the Court over Mr Smith answered, many things charged in the account for which the Company received nothing, the paddy dear, the heirs of Mrs Coulson to get in the legacy given to Mr Greentree, the bills of exchange paid, the half pay for the hire of the slaves, no cash received on the account of Mr *Swallow*, and the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading. Mr Smith in paragraph 38 was the Worshipful John Smith, the outgoing Governor whose account the Court had ordered abated. The Council rejected the sums the Court now pressed, showing that Smith had fed his own hogs and poultry on the Court's grain and sold them at high prices. This continues the settlement of an outgoing governor's reckoning under the tight bookkeeping the accountant general's audit had forced on the administration. The paddy in paragraph 38 was unhusked rice, charged to the Court's account for feeding stock. The reference records rice bought for the Court's slaves at 14s a hundredweight in the drought, so the grain charged here marks the same reliance on imported provision that the Council sought to reduce through its own fishery and plantations. The legacy to Mr Greentree in paragraph 39 was a bequest tied to the estate of the late Mrs Coulson, whose land had been damaged by her neglect of the wood-planting law. The reference records Mr Greentree the planter who joined the review of the Court's plantations in 1719, so the legacy here rests on the settlement of the Coulson estate. Mrs Armstone in paragraph 37 was Mrs Elizabeth Armstone, to whom the late Governor Edward Johnson had left £250 0s 0d in his will. The reference records the Council seeking the Court's opinion because her husband had been absent in Holland near seven years, so the doubt over paying her the legacy continues from the earlier letter by the *Montague*.
91	83	[Loss along the left-hand edge of the page, affecting the outer ends of the marginal notes.] Match it any bit Spoiled, & in Our Opinion was so before it came out of England for it received no Ship Damage & that the Reason We did it about to it upon the Bills of Lading it a thing We want, & We hope Govt & We cant will be bitter deal by next time nor for the Same reason deld We imprest against the Same which as we Spoiled, the Rice in which they were Barrels having Board their bottom to Price, We live vendee & Bills	The match was mostly spoiled. The Council's opinion was that this happened before it came out of England, since it took no sea damage. The Council did not know the reason for this, but noted it on the bill of lading, as it was a thing the island wanted. It hoped the Court would take care to send better match next time, since the same fault had spoiled the last. The casks came full on shore, so the Council imputed the loss to some cause before shipping. The Council was in good condition. But it was surprised to find in the invoice that 12 feet of yellow Ilkana deals were charged at £15 8s 0d. The Court could see this at folio 16. The Council believed it a mistake, since it expected to have them for half the money. If the Court had been pleased to send them,

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		disappointment quite Us to great Inconveniency, as the rest of the Cargo We are in good Condition, We are Surprized to finde in the Invoice that & twelve foot Yellow Kliana Deale are Charged at £15.8 & & Do are con deld out Do, 16, We beleive it a Mistake, because We expet to have them for half the Money, the Seen Your Honrs have been pleasd to Send Us come out & & & & a very neat & We hope had an Oppertunity for Plant them in very Seasonable Weather & tis to all We can to proserve & improve them & so other Sorts of Green Cala We should fail in Our Duty & in the hazard of incurring Your Honours Displeasure if We conceald Our Apprehension of the danger Your Ships may be exposed for want of Signals to Guide Us, there is no manner of Security to Boates besides in blowing Weather which very frequently happen when a Ship Sends out her Boat, She often makes greater way than the Boat can all that while We are kept in Suspence & are afraid to fire least We should injure Your Own Ship the Appearance of the Boat & it is only Appearance & having an honest Coat & yet Should We be Mistaken She would by that Stratagem pass the Place of all other craft conveniently Situated to beat a Ship off, the indeed would afterwards be within the reach of the Guns at Mundane but the Aim from Banker into the Road in a fresh Gale is so short that She would be upon Us immediately, & so Our Guards & Vigilance be never so great & yet beleiving all the time that it was One of Your Own Ships & proceeding, & then We find the contrary it would put Us into Confusion & lose their Courage and Resolution be never so great People that have never been in Action Cannot Suddenly be brown & from that disorder, & am Supposing a Should bring So & Send her Boat on Shear there would then be no Security for Your Honrs have formerly heard, that the Boat belonging to the Mundane called the Nymph of Austria was Suffered to pass both the Sorts of Mundane & Chandras under the Name of the Sunderland & yet these are the Batteria We depend upon to beat a Ship off, before She can make the Road, Whatever Signals Your Honrs thinck proper to direct that So much We Offer & each Ovr them be received as Soon as the Ship is in Sight of the Sugar Loafe upon which We will always keep Some of Our best Hands On the 22 arrived the Mansfield Capt Hudson from China to whom We immediately gave the Same Orders as We had before given to Capt Mabbott Capt Hudson Reports that in this instant he met Your Yatch about thirty Leagues to the Eastward of the Cape, Such Supplys of Tea & China	they came to a very small sum. The Council would have had a chance to plant them in very seasonable weather. It would do all it could to preserve and improve them, and other sorts of green trade. 44: The Council would not fail in its duty. It reminded the Court of its earlier report on the danger the Court's ships might face for want of signals. Without them, there was no manner of security to bring boats in cloudy weather, which very often happened. When a ship put out her boat, she often made greater way than the boat could in that time. The Council was afraid to fire, lest it should sink her. A ship's own boat, at a distance, has only the appearance of an honest boat. But should the Council be mistaken, an enemy would by that stratagem pass the island, of all other places most conveniently situated to seize a ship. The Council instanced the seizure of the *Sunderland*'s name by the Ostend ship, the *House of Austria*. From Bank's into the road, in a fresh gale, a ship would be upon the island immediately. Let the Council's guard and vigilance be never so great, one of the Court's own ships approaching might find the contrary. It would put the island into confusion, and their courage and resolution, never so great, cannot be suddenly overcome from that disorder. Supposing a ship should bring to, and the Council send her boat, then there would be no security for the Court's ship. The Council had formerly heard that the boat belonging to the Ostend ship called the *House of Austria* was suffered to pass both the forts of Munden's and Chapel, under the name of the *Sunderland*. Just those are the batteries the Council depended upon to beat a ship off before she could make the road. Whatever signals the Court thought proper to direct, that so much of the officer's guard would then be needed. As soon as the ship is in sight of the Sugar Loaf, upon which the Council would always keep some of the Court's own hands. 45: On the 22nd arrived the *Macclesfield*, Captain Hudson, from China. The Council immediately gave the same orders as it had before given Captain Mabbot. Captain Hudson reported that on the third of this month he met the Court's galley, about 30 leagues to the eastward of the Cape. Such supply of tea and China as she brought for the island, the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 25th of this month. 46: The Council had drawn two sets of bills of exchange upon the Court. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the match sent good for nothing. The notes at the following passages restate the deals overcharged, the signals wanted, the *Macclesfield* arriving, and the bills drawn. The signals wanted in paragraph 44 answered the danger to the Court's ships in a season of feared war. The Council had first raised the matter in its general letter by the *Cornwood* of 29 March 1727, seeking a settled scheme of signals so a ship might be known as friendly before she reached the road. The fear of a hostile ship slipping in rested on the standing watch the island kept against surprise. The Ostend ship the *House of Austria* in paragraph 44 was the vessel that falsely claimed the name of the Court's China ship *Sunderland* at the island on 4 March 1720. The reference records Governor Johnson seizing her boat's party for the deception, so the Council's memory of that trick here gives concrete force to its plea for signals.

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		as he hath brought for this Place Your Honrs will See in Our Consultation of the 25th instants We have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Yr Honours **Margin Notes:** Match Sent good for nothing Deale over-charged Signals desired Mansfield Arrives Bills drawn	The Sugar Loaf in paragraph 44 was a point on the north side of St Helena, grouped with King William's Fort and Bank's platform under the guard schedule of the *King William* reply. Its use here as the place a ship should first be seen marks the Council's plan to tie the island's warning system to a fixed landmark seen from the sea. The match in the opening was slow match, the cord burnt to fire the great guns. The reference records the powder magazine largely spoiled through the gunner's neglect, so the spoiled match here marks a further want in the island's defence stores in a season of feared war.
92	84	One Sett dated the 31st of January 1728 for the Sum of Three hundred forty Seven Pounds fourteen Shill & two Pence Sterling payable to the Governr or Order for So much due to him in Yr Honrs Books of Acct here & One other Sett dated the 20th March 1728 for the Sum of Four Hundred Thirteen Pounds Six shill Sterlg Payable to John Young, or Order for So much likewise due to him in Your Honrs Books of Acct & of which We humbly Pray Your Honrs acceptance We have the Pleasure to acquaint Your Honrs that Your Island Island is now in a very flourishing Condition, there not having been a better Summer Season within the memory of Man, We are Honble Sirs Your most Obligd Most Obedt & Most faithfull humble Servts St Helena 30th March 1729 Honble Sirs We received Your Commands by the Cadogan who arrived here on the 8t instant to which We have paid exact obedience as Your Honrs will more particularly See in Our Consultation of the 10th of this Month wherein is entred at length the Orders We have given Capt Mabbott, & which We design to give to all the Commanders as soon as they arrive here We are Honble Sirs Your most Obedt & most faithfull Servts 30th March 1729 **Margin Notes:** Bills drawn Answer to the Letter from the Comittee of Secrecy	One set was dated 31 January 1728, for the sum of £347 14s 2d sterling, payable to Mr Goold or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books of account. One other set was dated 25 March 1728, for the sum of £413 6s 0d sterling, payable to John Young or order, for so much likewise due to him in the Court's books. The Council asked the Court's acceptance of both these. 47: The Council had the pleasure to tell the Court that the island was now in a very flourishing condition, there not having been a better summer season within the memory of man. The letter closed from St Helena on 30 March 1729, subscribed by the Governor and Council. The Council received the Court's commands by the *Cardigan*, which arrived on the second of this month. To this the Council paid its duty, as the Court would more particularly see in its consultation of the 19th of this month. There it entered fully the orders it had given Captain Mabbot, which it meant to give to all the commanders as soon as they arrived. This letter closed from St Helena on 30 March 1729, subscribed by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The bracketed marginal notes on this page repeat the substance of the passages beside which they stand, and none adds a name, sum or fact beyond the body. The body carries the reading and the notes need no separate report. The note against the opening restates the bills drawn. The note at the following passage restates the island in a good condition, and the answer to the letter from the *Cardigan* deferred to another time. The flourishing condition in paragraph 47 answered the long famine that had gone before. The drought of four and five years had failed the yam crop, so that two thirds of the inhabitants wanted provision. A fine rainy season had since revived the ground, so the good summer season here marks the island's recovery of its own supply. The *Cardigan* in the second passage brought the Court's fresh commands to the island. The reference records the *Cardigan* long in the homeward and store trade, so the same ship recurs here carrying the Court's orders and papers. Mr Goold, payee of £347 14s 2d, shares the name of a person whose bills the Council drew in the earlier correspondence. The connection cannot be fixed, so this payee is perhaps the same man of the Court's books, though the reading rests on fine judgement.
93	85	List of the Packet Of Mansfield Capt Hudson Comdr 30th March 1729 Governr & Comitte Genll Letter 30 March 1729 Ditto to Genll of Secret Comittee Copy of Governr & Comm Genll 22 Febry 1728 Copy of Governrs Letter to Mr Michie 26th Duplicate of Consultations from 8 June to the 12th Febry 1728 both inclusive	List of the packet by the *Macclesfield*, Captain Hudson, commander, 30 March 1729. 1: Governor and Committee general letter, 30 March 1729 2: Duplicate general letter of Secret Committee 3: Copy of the Governor and Committee general letter, 22 February 1728

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		Duplicate of the Governrs Genll Acct of the Honble Comps Plant &ca for the Year Ending 30th Sepr 1728 Duplicate of Inventory of Stores remaining 30th Sepr 1728 Ditto of the Expence of each Plantation for the Months of May June July August Sepr Octr Novr Decr Janry Duplicate of the Acct of Duke Cumberland Ditto of Princess Anne List Packet Of Cumberland &c Copy Consultations from 13 Febry to the 25 March 1728 both inclusive Copy of the Expence of each Plantation for Febry 1728 Copy of Storekeepers Indorsemt upon the the Bill of Lading of Ship Cadogan Copy Gardeners Rect for large Packet Ditto for the Small Copy of the Acct of Ship Cadogan Mansfield Carsh Copy of the Invoice of Ship Cadogan with the Setting Price thereto annexed Answer to the Abstract and Governr at St Helena Books List of the Packet St Helena 30 March 1729 D Crispe Secry **Margin Notes:** Papers Enclosd in Genll Letter to Mr Michie Vizt Governrs Declaration with Gibsons original Recantation & Acct & Affidavit of D Crispe therein Enclosed Affidavit of Mr Byfeld Do Mackespin with Gibson Bills Enclosd Do Mr Goodwin Jno Alstock Jno Bazer At Beale Jno Bradley Senr Tho Alles Jon Dowton with Gibson Bills Enclosd John Duffountain with Ditto Josh Fen Jno Slaughman Josh Johnson Samuel Sifsey with Gibson Bills Enclosd Jno Long Henry Mrusteen with Gibson Bills Enclosd Jno Curling James Ofsden At Sebasteen with Gibson Bills Enclosd James Vaughin Sean Wrangham Willm Worrall Tho Waite Original Affidavit of George Gibson	4: Copy of the Governor and Committee letter to Mr Mitchell, and so on 5: Duplicate of consultations from the 6 of December to the 12 March 1729, both inclusive 6: Duplicate of the Court's plantation account for the year ending 30 September 1728 7: Duplicate of the inventory of stores remaining, 30 September 1728 8: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of May 9: Copy for June 10: Copy for July 11: Copy for August 12: Copy for September 13: Copy for October 14: Copy for November 15: Copy for December 16: Copy for January 17: Duplicate of the account of the Duke of Cumberland 18: Duplicate of the account of the Princess Anne 19: List of the packet by the Cumberland 20: Copy of consultations from 11 February to the 6 March, both inclusive 21: Copy of the expense of each plantation for February 1728 22: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading of the ship Cadogan 23: Captain Grantham's receipt for the large packet 24: Captain Grantham's receipt for the small packet 25: Copy of the account of the ship Cadogan 26: Copy of the account of the Macclesfield 27: Copy of the account of the Caesar 28: Copy of the invoice of the ship Cadogan, with the selling price thereto annexed 29: Answer to the auditor's abstract and account 30: List of the packet The list closed from St Helena on 30 March 1729, subscribed by the secretary. The following papers were enclosed in the general letter to Mr Mitchell. Governor's declaration, with Gibson's original Duplicate of the affidavit of Mr Crispe Affidavit of Mr Byfield Duplicate of the affidavit, with Gibson's bill enclosed Mr Goodwin Thomas Allick John Bazett Richard Beale John Bradley, senior Thomas Allie Jonathan Doveton, with Gibson's bill enclosed John Duffonstain, with the same Sarah Orme John Hodgkinson Joseph Johnson Samuel Sifsey, with Gibson's bill enclosed John Long Henry Martin, with Gibson's bill enclosed John Curling James Ryder Richard Sedgwick, with Gibson's bill enclosed James English Francis Wrangham William Worrall Thomas Nutt Original affidavit of George Gibson **Interpretations** The *Macclesfield* under Captain Hudson carried this packet home. She had arrived on 22 March 1729 from China, part of the season's shipping the

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			Council reported in its general letter by the *Macclesfield* of 30 March 1729. The papers enclosed in the letter to Mr Mitchell concern the affidavits gathered against George Gibson, the late surgeon whose perjured statement the Council enclosed for the auditor. The reference records Gibson sent home in the *Carnarvon*, his patients all dead and his debt denied, so the many affidavits, several with his bill enclosed, mark the evidence the Council assembled to expose him as a rogue. Item 22 was the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bill of lading of the *Cadogan*, recording what was short or damaged in her cargo. The Council had long enforced the bill of lading against short delivery, so the endorsement stands as the evidence sent home for a charge against the freight. Items 25 to 27 name the ships of the season, the *Cadogan*, *Macclesfield* and *Caesar*. The *Caesar* had come from China on 10 March 1729, and the *Cadogan* was despatched to Bencoolen on 17 March 1729, so the accounts of all three mark a season crowded with shipping in the island road. Several names among the affidavits recur from earlier reference, among them John Goodwin the storekeeper, Francis Wrangham the planter, William Worrall the former overseer, and John Hodgkinson the doctor's mate. Their testimony against Gibson marks the whole island turned against a surgeon it was glad to send home.
94	86	To Mr Michell We have received Your Letter of the 6th of Decr last Of Cadogan together with the originall Affidavit of that Perjured Villain George Gibson against whom no Man living can be Safe & Sure in their Character and Reputation & Credit Should be given to what he Says only because he Sweares it, but the generous Regard the Honble Compy have Shewn Us by comitting the Original to the & Member giving Us an Oppertunity to be Vindicate Our Selves from the Scandalous & Aspersions of which that notorious Rogue has endeavoured to fix upon Us abundant the Governour, Us that they are diffident of the Truth of what he hath laid to Our Charge & the mischief may he hath taken to Slander & make it highly necessary & reasonable that the Severall Persons concerned Should have Liberty to Purge themselves in the most Solemn & publick manner to which end We on the 12th instant held a Consultation in the Publick Hall to which all the Persons or extremall in the Said Affidavit were particularly Summonds & all others allowed to be present that thought proper & they having given their Attendance accordingly they were Severally acquainted with what the Said Gibson laid to their Charge & demanded of them, & they all with just Resentment expressd their Amazemt & Surprize at his Impudence & by many notorious Falsities which the Said Gibson hath mischiefly & falsely Sworn to be true in Opposition, to which they Refusd to be Examind & declare their Innocency of this	To Mr Mitchell. The Council received Mr Mitchell's letter of the 6th of December last by the *Cadogan*, together with the original affidavit of that perjured villain George Gibson. No man living could be safe or secure in his character and reputation of credit, if any regard were given to what such a man said. The Council was moved only because Gibson swore it. But the generous regard the Court paid the Council, by sending it the original to the auditor, gave it a chance to clear itself from the scandal and aspersion that this notorious rogue had tried to fix upon it before the Court. The Council held that Gibson was mistaken as to the truth of what he laid to its charge. It was highly necessary and reasonable that the several persons concerned should have leave to clear themselves in the most solemn and public manner, to remove all doubt. The Council therefore, on the 10th of this month, held a consultation in the public hall. To this it summoned all the persons named in the affidavit, particularly, and all others it thought proper. They having attended accordingly, they severally acquainted the Council with what Gibson laid to their charge, and denied it. They all, with just resentment, expelled his aspersion. The Council was surprised at his impudence, since Gibson had wickedly and falsely sworn many notorious falsities to be true. In opposition to these, they desired to be examined, and to declare their innocence of these several matters falsely sworn against them by Gibson. They were sworn accordingly to the number of 25. Their original affidavits the Council had sent the Court. The Council desired the Court to lay them before the Honourable Company for their satisfaction in this affair. Their testimony would show Gibson to be one of the most impudent, hardened, perjured wretches then living in the world. To set the matter in a clear light, the Council asked leave to trouble the Court with a few remarks and observations on his affidavit and their depositions, which it would keep as brief as possible. Gibson had sworn that there was justly due, and owing to him, from the several inhabitants of the island, for medicines, an annual expense, and cash,

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		Severall Matters falsely Sworn against them by the Said Gibson & they were Sworn accordingly to the Number of twenty five, & their Original Affidavit We have transmitted to You & tho We desire You will lay before the Honble Company for their Satisfaction in this Affair & by their Testimony he appeares to be one of the most impudent, harden'd, perjured & Devils this day living in the World, & to See this in a clear Light We beg leave to trouble You with a few Remarks & Observations upon his Affidavit & their Depositions in which We are be as brief as possible Gibson hath Sworn that there is justly due & owing to him from the Severall Inhabitants of this Island for Medicine & annual Expences & Cures all & every the Severall Sum of Money Sett down & Expressable in the Act in his Affidavit & that of all these Debts the Said Gibson had deliverd to the Severall Persons true Bills, what he the Said Gibson hath had received of & from the Said Honble East India Company & their Officers & of & from the Severall Persons in the Act mentioned the Severall Sum of Money in the Said Accts particularly mentioned & Sett down amounting in all to the Sum of One Hundred twenty three Pounds One Shill & Eleven Pence three farthings & no more Richard Swallow in Contradiction to this hath Sworn that the Said Gibson hath Charged him for Visites, Physick & Administring the Sum which never received or Administered to him amounting to the Sum of Three Pounds Sixteen Shill, the particulars are mentioned in his Affidavit	all of every several sum of money set down and expressed in the account in his affidavit. And that all these Gibson had delivered to the several persons, upon true bills. Also that what he received of, and from, the Honourable East India Company, and their officers, and of and from the several persons in the account named, on the several sums of money in the accounts particularly mentioned and set down, amounting in all to the sum of £3,323 0s 0d. Twenty-three pounds, eleven shillings, three pence, three farthings, and no more. Richard *Swallow*, in contradiction to this, had sworn that Gibson had charged him for visits, physic and administering medicine, the sum which he now really received, or administered, to him, amounting to the sum of £3 16s 0d. The particulars are mentioned in his affidavit. **Interpretations** The affidavit of George Gibson answered the late surgeon's charge that the island owed him large sums for medicines and physic. The Council had reported Gibson's failure across its earlier letters, his patients all dead and his denial of the £30 0s 0d advanced him. He was sent home in the *Carnarvon*, so the perjured affidavit here, sworn against the Council and the inhabitants, closed the record of a servant it was glad to be rid of. Mr Mitchell, addressed throughout, was the Company's auditor at India House. His letter of 6 December 1728 continued the review of the island books that the earlier audit by J. Fletcher, the accountant general, had begun. That earlier report condemned the loose accounts of the previous administration in the reply by the *Desbouverie* of 17 March 1723. The 25 persons sworn against Gibson marked the whole island turned against a surgeon it distrusted. The Council held a consultation in the public hall and took their affidavits, each denying the sums Gibson charged, so the many depositions gave the Court the evidence to expose him as a perjured rogue. Richard *Swallow*, the first deponent, shares the name of the island's carpenter who died in the epidemic of 1718. The reference records that *Swallow* dead by 10 July 1718, so this later deponent is perhaps a kinsman of the same family, though the connection cannot be fixed.
95	87	Samuel Sissey hath deposeth that he received One Bill from the Said Gibson upon Acct Pr of the Blacks amounting only to the Sum of £4.2, at the the Said Gibson hath falsely Sworn to the Sum of £4.19, the Originall Bill is Enclosed in his Affidavit Henry Mrutten Sweares that he only received One Bill from the Said Gibson of his own Writing which Bill is dated Seven days only, before the Said Gibson left this Island, & amounts but to £1.8, & this at the Gibson hath falsely Sworn, that he deliverd the Said Mrutten a true Bill & yet in the Act charged & demandes Do, & this We think is very materiall the Originall Bill is also enclosed in the Said Mruttens Affidavit John Duffountain hath Sworn that the Said Gibson hath Charged him four Shillgs for his Child five days after his Childs was death Sworn that this in which is Charged for the pretended Use of the Child was	Samuel Sifsey deposed that he received one bill from Gibson, upon the credit of the slaves, amounting only to the sum of £4 2s 0d. But Gibson had falsely sworn it to the sum of £4 19s 0d. The original bill was enclosed in Sifsey's affidavit. Henry Mutton swore that he received only one bill from Gibson, of his own writing, dated seven days only before Gibson left the island. It came to £1 8s 0d. But Gibson had falsely sworn that he delivered Mutton a true bill. Mutton thought the original bill, enclosed in his affidavit, very material. John Duffonstain swore that Gibson had charged him for physic for his child, five days after his child was dead. Seven days after the child was dead, Duffonstain was charged for the physic. He never received it. The original bill was enclosed in Duffonstain's affidavit. Duffonstain thought this also very extraordinary and remarkable. John Bradley swore that Gibson had received provision of him to the value of £7 0s 0d. But Gibson had sworn he never had anything of him. John Curling swore that Gibson never delivered him any bill, nor made any demand upon him. But Gibson swore he delivered him a true bill. The occasion of this pretended debt was set out in Curling's affidavit.

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		never received, the originall Bill is enclosed in Mr Duffountains Affidavit & this We likewise thinck is very extraordinary & remarkable John Bradley Sweares that Gibson hath received Provisions of him to the Value of Seven Shillgs & Gibson Sweares he never had any thing of him John Curling Sweares that Gibson did never deliver him any Bill or make any demand upon him, Gibson Sweares he deliverd him a true Bill, be pleasd to See the Occasion of this pretended Debt in Mr Curlings Affidavit Sarah Fen deposeth that Gibson received Sundrys of her to the Value of four Shill & Sixpence, Gibson Sweares he never received any thing of her, & tis hath Charged the Honble Company for this & the Circumstance confirms Mr Fens Testimony Jonathan Dowton, that in the Bill deliverd him upon Acct of Drapery & upon Acct to £1.11, of his own hand Writing there is this, & this Charged for Medicine for the Use of Mr Ovr & yet Gibson Sweares he hath deld a true Bill & that the Sum of £1.11, is due Solely upon the Act of Drapery & upon John Bagley Senr deposes that he never received any thing of Gibson or from Hodgkinson or from any Person employed by him except a little Quantity of Worm Powder, & nothing more, & that Gibson a little before the next Ship enquired great Concern that tis now sold in Our Power, he made the Said Bagley Amends for the great Civilities he had received from him & tho Family & Gibson Sweares to Owe him Nothing Thomas Alles hath deposeth that in Barrell & Comparison the Said Gibson receiveth the Value of £1, & Gibson Sweares he only had the Value of Yr Tho Watts deposeth that the Bill which Gibson deliverd him amounted only to £1.11, & this he paid him Eighteen Shill, Gibson Sweares that he deliverd this a Note a Bill of £1.3, & that he hath only see the Value of Yr John Long hath Sworn that he hath deld Gibson Provision Yr the Value of £1.17, beside four Shill worth of Candles Gibson Sweares he hath only paid to the Value of Seven Shill & Six Pence James Ryder hath Sworn that Gibson according to the Accts in his Bill which is a Right Acct Gibson hath received the Value of	Sarah Free deposed that Gibson received sundries of her, to the value of £4 6s 0d. But Gibson swore he never received anything of her. He had charged the Company for this, the circumstance confirmed by Mrs Free's testimony. Jonathan Doveton swore that the bill Gibson delivered him, on account of Draper's orphan, of his own hand writing, came to £1 11s 0d. But Gibson swore he had charged for physic for the use of Draper's orphan, and delivered a true bill. The sum of £1 11s 0d was so much likewise upon the account of Draper's orphan. John Bagley deposed that he never received anything of Gibson, nor from John Hodgkinson, nor from any person employed by him, except a little quantity of storm powder, nothing more. What Gibson swore a little before he went off gave the Council great concern. It was not for Bagley to make Gibson amends for the great civilities he had received from him. Gibson swore to leave him first. Thomas Clews deposed that in several particulars Gibson swore he only had the value of £1 0s 0d. Thomas Watts deposed that the bill Gibson delivered him amounted only to £1 6s 0d, which he paid him. Eighteen shillings Gibson swore that he delivered. Watts had a bill of £1 6s 0d, and that he had only the value of that delivered. John Long swore that he had all Gibson's provision to the value of £1 17s 0d, besides five shillings worth of candles. But Gibson swore it came only to the value of £7 0s 0d, and 15 pence. James Ryder swore that Gibson, according to the account in his bill, which is a right account, had received the value of [...]. **Interpretations** The depositions on this page continued the testimony gathered against George Gibson, the late surgeon whose perjured affidavit the Council enclosed for the auditor Mr Mitchell. Each deponent denied the sums Gibson charged, showing that he swore to debts that were never owed. The many affidavits marked the whole island turned against a man it distrusted. John Duffonstain's testimony gave the sharpest instance of Gibson's fraud. Gibson charged him for physic for his child five days after the child was dead, so the account rested on treatment never given. This bore on the island's long medical want, the run of unfit surgeons that had stretched through Scrimshire, Beale and Civilly to Gibson. Draper's orphan, named in Jonathan Doveton's deposition, was a fatherless child whose care fell to the island. The reference records the orphans' court held to protect such children from their guardians, so the physic charged for the orphan here marks the Council's watch over the estates of minors. John Hodgkinson, named in John Bagley's deposition, was the mate to the island's doctor, kept on to tend the slaves. The reference records him a strong young fellow able to walk the hills, who could let blood but had no Latin, so his name here marks the medical hands the island held to its work under Gibson.
96	88	of £4.2.9 Gibson Sweares only £4.2.9 the difference is not great but both Acct cant be true William Worrall deposeth that he never Employed either Gibson or Hodgkinson for himself or family during the time that Gibson was upon the Island, & yet being twice bled by Hodgkinson the Said Worrall being then in the Honble Comps Service Gibson hath	The value was £4 2s 0d. Gibson swore only £4 2s 0d. The difference was not great, but both accounts could not be true. William Worrall deposed that Gibson never employed him, either for himself or his family, during the time Gibson was upon the island. Except being there bled by Hodgkinson, Worrall barely knew Gibson in the Court's service. Gibson had sworn that he had the value of £2 0s 0d. Worrall bore the character of an honest man. He did not act at all probable, that when he, or any of the rest,

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		Sworn that he Owes five Shill, Worrall bears the Character of an honest Man, & tis not at all probable that when he or any of the rest Should perswave themselves for the trivial Sums with which Some of them are Charged, make Use of Gibson to give a Seeming Credit to his Accts, & tis thought he objected when his hand was in why did it he Swear to Something moved The Severall Persons whom he hath Charged with private Concealments has Slandred & Slaughter of infamous Character as himself, have each Solemnly upon their Oath declard the Falsity of what he had Sworn which You herewith receive, & there is so little truth or reason or probability of truth or Reason for Charging Several of the Persons he has mentioned upon this Consideration & particularly the Governour & his Lady, Mr Sordson & his Wife Mr Beale & Mr Johnson that no body at this Place, & few in other Sorts of the World are more free & less Suspected to have Contracted Such a Disease as this impudent Villain hath falsely Sworn, there not being any body here empowered to Administer the Governour an Oath he has Sworn but he hath declard his Innocency in a Solemn Declaration equally as Valid & binding to every honest Man as an Oath, & so far What has been already Said is abundantly more than Sufficient to Satisfy the World but more particularly the Honble of the Falsity of these Scandalous Matters that horrid Villain hath vainly indeavoured to fix upon Us, & for a Confirmation of every thing that has been Said We now Lay before You a bit of Evidence beyond all doubts or Contradiction the the Single Testimony of any one of the Persons before mentioned is enough to Invalidate as that he hath Sworn Do that they may Appear in its full Light, & how its due Weight We have thinck it necessary to repeat part of his Affidavit Vizt & this Deponent farther Saith that he this Deponent hath had & received of & from the Said Honble East India Company & their Officers & from the Severall & other Persons in the Said Act mentioned the Severall Sum of Money in the Said Act & of & particularly mentioned & Sett down £100.11.0¾, & yet in Opposite to any Original Receipts Sufficiently by the Said George Gibson deld the 20 day of Sepr 1727 & Godye Wednesda that he hath given the Governour a discharge for the Sum of Thirty Shill not mentioned or pleasd to the Governour Credit in the Acct mentioned in the Said Gibsons Affidavit for Attendance & Physick likewd the Governr So late & tis full of all demands & is fair Satisfaction for every thing he had then done or Should do for the Governr	should forswear themselves for the trifling sums with which some of them were charged, made use of Gibson to give a seeming credit to his charge. Worrall thought he observed, when his hand was, why he did it, and would swear to something more. The several persons whom Gibson had charged with private conscript were Richard *Swallow* and *Slaughter*, of as infamous a character as himself. Each had solemnly, upon their oath, declared the falsity of what Gibson had sworn. From this the Council concluded there was little truth or reason for attaching several of the persons Gibson mentioned upon this account, particularly the Governor and his lady, Mrs *Freedom* and his wife, Mr Beale and Mr *Johnson*. That no body at the island, and few in other parts of the world, are more free of all suspicion than such a disgrace as the impudent villain had falsely sworn. There not being anybody there empowered to administer the Governor an oath, he took his own bare oath, and swore his innocence in a solemn declaration, equally as valid, and binding to every honest man, as an oath is safe. What had been already said is abundantly more than sufficient to satisfy the world, but more particularly the Honourable Court, of the falsity of these scandalous matters that Gibson had wickedly endeavoured to fix upon the Council. From a confirmation of everything that had been sworn, the Council now laid before the Court a body of evidence, beyond all doubt or contradiction. The single testimony of any one of the persons before mentioned is enough to invalidate all that Gibson swore. That they may appear in their full light, and have their due weight, the Council thought it necessary to repeat part of Gibson's affidavit. This deponent further swore that he had the payment of, from the Honourable East India Company, and their officers, and from the several other persons in the account mentioned, the several sums of money in the account particularly mentioned and set down, £100 0s 0d, but in opposition to Gibson's original receipt, subscribed by George Gibson, dated the 20th day of September 1727. Charles Wingfield swore that Gibson had given the Governor a discharge for the sum of £30 0s 0d, not mentioned in Gibson's affidavit, for medicines and physic. In the account mentioned in Gibson's affidavit for medicines and physic delivered to the Governor. So late in, or for, all demands and satisfaction for everything he had then done or should do for the Governor's own blacks from the 20th day of September to the 20th day of September 1728. This continued so long upon the island the value of six months before the time was expired. That he had also solemnly sworn. **Interpretations** The depositions on this page closed the testimony gathered against George Gibson, the late surgeon whose perjured affidavit the Council enclosed for the auditor Mr Mitchell. William Worrall and the other deponents denied the sums Gibson charged, showing that he swore to debts that were never owed. The Council held that Gibson's own receipt, dated 20 September 1727, disproved his claim against the Governor. Charles Wingfield's testimony gave the decisive proof against Gibson. He swore that Gibson had signed a discharge to the Governor for the £30 0s 0d, releasing all demands for medicines and physic. This directly contradicted Gibson's later affidavit, in which he claimed the sum was still owed, so the receipt exposed his oath as false. The Governor's own oath in the passage rested on the want of any officer at the island empowered to administer it. The Council held that his bare declaration bound him as firmly as a sworn oath, so

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		or the Blacks from the 26 May 1726 to the 30 day Sepr 1728 had is continued so long upon the Island the whole of Six Months before the time was Copyed, & yet he hath thus & thus Solemnly Sworn	his word cleared him of the aspersion Gibson had tried to fix upon him and his household. William Worrall, the deponent named first, was the former overseer of the Court's plantations who had ended the siege of the armed runaways in the cave under Lot. The reference records him indebted to the Court and awaiting a legacy from Mrs Thomlinson, so his testimony here marks a man of standing at the island denying Gibson's false charge.
97	89	Sworn that the Governour is Indebted to him in the Sum of Ten Pounds for the pretended Sum of a Gonorrhœa, this is a very hard & materiall Ruin off Evidence, & so We hope be a principall means the bring upon his own head that Mischief with Such Vengeance which he designed for other People We now proceed to Answer what he hath falsely Sworn relating to the Honble Company, & that he declares to be the Cause of his his pretended & Hardship the Affort to be false, his Ignorance & Mismanagement in the Cure of the Sick he but choicely way of going to Work by as Case of Surgery was early afterwd & Credited that & wherefore & Contempt of both & that the Ferment & have expressd to him in their Petition of the 12th Sepr & Yr had We been disposed to have used him ill upon Acct of his denial of the Thirty Pounds We might very freely have Answerd to Us, We had order two Years together untill the Hands of the Honble Court of Directors to Stop the Money what then could his have Suested have availed him if We had determined to Use him with that Severity, We Sme find he hath deferred the first Notice We took of this Matter was in Consultation the 26th Sepr We demanded it afterwards in Consultation 19th Do, in which We Recommanded him very Severely but that was chiefly from the impudent manner he imposed himself Speaking of the Honble Company & after that We never Spoke to him about it, & in the last mentioned Consultation We Stated his Pay & allowed it him only to the 31 Decr & this he hath falsely Sworn & Charged the Honble Company thirteen Months how he could do this almost & Surprize Us & tis true We allowed him Salary to the 31 Decr for Reasons mentioned in Consultation the 19th of that Month & Surely had this not answered it, then he could not have been Entitled to Sixpence after the time he Petitioned, which was on 26th Sepr for leave to return, not being able to travel on & to his Duty & occasioned by greater Infirmities than Surely lay in his Knees & Joynts his Head now free from being the Surely, & tho about him falsely & tis more falsely, & actually discharge himself, & disclaim all Demands upon the Honble Company, & also true & tis it upon the Same foundation as almost as of the Demande he hath made upon the Inhabitants they deld on the 12	Gibson swore that the Governor was indebted to him in the sum of £10 0s 0d, for the pretended sum of a gonorrhoea. This was a very heavy and material sum. Off the evidence given, the Council hoped to be a principal means to bring upon his own head that treachery, with which Gibson wished to disgrace other people. The Council now proceeded to answer what Gibson had sworn relating to the Honourable Company. That he declared to be the cause of his pretended friendship, the Council held to be false. His ignorance and mismanagement in the cure of the flux, his utterly wrong way of going to work in an easy case of surgery, was easily observed, and credited that whoever was content with him. This the Council had set out to him in their petition of the 19th of September, of which it had been disposed to have used him, as upon account of his denial of the £30 0s 0d. The Council might forswear, having ministered to it, that it had ordered two years together under the hands of the Court of Directors, to stop the money, what then could Gibson have availed him, if it had determined to use him. With that £20 0s 0d the Council had defended. The first notice the Council took of the matter was in its consultation of the 26th of September. It demanded it afterwards in consultation of the 19th of December, in which it recommended him very severely. But that was chiefly for the impudent manner in which he imposed himself, speaking of the Honourable Company's affairs. That the Council never spoke to him about it. In its letter, it mentioned Gibson. It swore his bill for £20 0s 0d, and to him only to the sum of £31 0s 0d. And, though it did this, Gibson falsely swore and charged the Honourable Company. Thirteen months he could do this, almost. The Council was surprised to see it now. It allowed him salary to the 31st of December, for the reasons mentioned in its consultation of the 19th of that month. Surely he had not answered it when he could not have been entitled to sixpence, after the time he petitioned, which was on 26th September, for leave to return. Not being able to travel, or do his duty, occasioned by great infirmities than surely lay in his knees, and though his head was far from being the surest. This about him, Gibson used to be more falsely and absolutely discharge himself, and disclaim all demands upon the Honourable Company. And also, true, built upon the same foundation, was almost all of the demands Gibson had made upon the inhabitants, they both, on the 12th, sought for leave to employ Mr Hodgkinson. The Council gave them leave accordingly, and on the 26th, petitioned for leave to return home in the name of Wingfield, who had the impudence to claim the benefit of another man's labour, after he had declared himself incapable. Hodgkinson, for these reasons, had leave from the Council to bleed for his own benefit and advantage. It accordingly, and money from most of the persons named in the account. That leave granted, discharged for the same, which the Council had seen Gibson deny just demands upon them. He had opportunities enough to have brought them to account here. The Council often proposed it to him,

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		Sepr for leave to Employ Mr Hodgkinson, We gave them leave accordingly & on the 26 he Petd for leave to Return, & we deld them in the Name off Wonder can We Petition have the impudence to claim the benefit of an other Man one Labour after he had declared himself incapable, & Hodgkinson for these Reasons had leave from Us to Bencoolen or to Bankes for his Own benefit & Advantage, & tis accordingly deld, & very from most of the Persons mentioned in the Said Acct, & hath given discharges for the Same which We have Seen had Gibson any just Demands upon them he had Oppertunities never to have brought them to Acct here, We often proposed it to him both in Publick & private, & more particularly in Consultation of the 19 Decr & Yr & Kliomaray, We were so far from thinking not to be blie to him as Sanguine than what We Sould with & Slowed him, but We humbly Submit it to Consideration whether this fellow who declared to quit the California & scheme because of this Incapacity to do his Duty, & intitleth even to the benefit of Ship Provision, tho he Sworn the Honble Company Owe him for the Charge	both in public and in private, and more particularly in consultation of the 19th of December. The Council was so far from thinking right to be able to hire, as Wingfield, than what the Council would submit to him. But it humbly submitted it to the Court's consideration, whether this fellow, who desired to quit the Court's service because of his incapacity to do his duty, is entitled, even to the benefit of Wingfield, whom he swore the Honourable Company owed him for the [...]. **Interpretations** The passage on this page closed the Council's answer to the perjured affidavit of George Gibson, the late surgeon whose false oath it enclosed for the auditor Mr Mitchell. Gibson had sworn the Governor owed him £10 0s 0d for treating a private disease, a charge the Council held groundless. His own discharge, signed 20 September 1727, disproved his later claim against the Governor. Gibson's ignorance in the cure of the flux marked the medical incompetence the Council had long endured. The reference records a run of unfit surgeons through Scrimshire, Beale and Civilly to Gibson, so his mismanagement of an easy case here continues the standing crisis over the island's medical provision. Mr Hodgkinson, named in the passage, was John Hodgkinson, the mate to the island's doctor, whom the inhabitants sought leave to employ in Gibson's place. The reference records him a strong young fellow able to walk the hills, who could let blood but had no Latin, so his bleeding of the inhabitants marks the medical hand the island turned to when Gibson failed. The gonorrhoea charged to the Governor rested on Gibson's false oath that he had treated him for it. The Council held the charge a slander, part of the treachery Gibson tried to fix upon the Governor and his household, so the whole affidavit closed the record of a servant the island was glad to send home.
98	90	Charge of this Passage out & home & yet We find & by the 54 Cara of the Genll Letter Of Princess Anne that at his coming out they generally gave him Ten Pound as a Gratuity, & as an Encouragemt to him to come again We promise to give him an Hundred & to Pay his Passage out & home We are not amazed to hear after what has been observed that he hath the Assurance to Swear the Honble Compy Owe him fifteen Pounds for Wrock Long Cloth & other necessarie pretended to be expended in the Ship any Person being that with Swear it hath as much right to it as he, We never heard a Syllable of this Demand tis We in it in his Affidavit, & tis this in it first We avowed him half a pair of Long Cloth which was more by a great deal than he could expend in his Short & Small Curation, Upon enquiry We find that he expd most of it for his Own Uses, Wrock was never allowed tho he has the impudence to Charge it, if he wanted Wrock for the Use of the Compys Servants it was his own fault the was in this Case, & to all Matters of Ignorance & Indulgence, & We humbly hope the Honble Company will not allow him any thing for these pretended Articles, had they been really Expended he cannot be entitled to any thing because done without Our	The charge of Gibson's passage out and home, the Council found by the 54th paragraph of the Court's general letter by the *Princess Anne*, that at his coming out the Court generously granted him £10 0s 0d as a gratuity. It was an encouragement to him to come again. The Council promised to give him £100 0s 0d to pay his passage out and home. The Council was not amazed to hear, after what had been observed, that Gibson had the assurance to swear that the Honourable Company owed him £15 0s 0d for woollen long cloth and other necessaries pretended to be expended in the island. Gibson being a person that would forswear, the Council had as much right to it, as he. The Council never heard a syllable of this demand until it saw it in his affidavit. It did affirm that Gibson had never had half a piece of long cloth, which now made a very great debt. Gibson would expend in his short and small creation. Upon enquiry, the Council found that Gibson made use of it for his own hire. Nor was Gibson ever employed. The Council saw the impudence to charge it, if he wanted work, for the use of the Court's slaves. It was Gibson's own fault that no one, in the case of an ill matter of favour and indulgence. The Council humbly hoped the Honourable Company would not allow Gibson anything for these pretended articles, had they been really expended. He could not be entitled to anything, because done without the Council's knowledge, privity or consent. Thus it appeared, to create a more heinous idea than the Council already had of Gibson, that part of the affidavit would fix it, where Gibson swore that the Honourable Company owed him £20 0s 0d for

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		Knowledge, Privity or Consent Thus it possible to Create a more horrid Idea than We already have of the Villain, that part of the Affidavit would fix it where he Sweares that he Honble Company Owe him £20 Pound for Cash, what he Says was Absolutely denied him, We had the Benefit of the Fall Constantly, & at the time he was here tis We of Decr, & after that Provision were duely Sent him twice a day during his Stay here those who have not the benefit of the Table one only attend £18.5, & am but he being a Person of Suspicion & Mind hath Charged £20 & Sweares he expd in Consult of 19 Decr, he desired Provisions might be Allowd to him & by asking for the Continuance of it, & Proves he was not denied it this intirely Reject his Demand for Medicines & Instruments We now See or hear of any belonging to him & further particulars relating to this Affair You will See in Our Consultations of the 16th & 19th instant in the last & pleasd See to Reform that Messrs Alexander & Goodwin have laid before Us an Acct of Gibsons demands upon them for Physick &ca Deliverd their family this last is mentiond & extravagant to the highest degree, & amg to £ agg, & yet having been alwaye the Custom of the Place the Medicine being the Honble Comps, We leave it to the disposition of these of their Servants who are So Diminet & much the Doctor used a present as they think fit in Such Case, We allow Mr Alexander to give himself & Nurse & Mr Goodwin four Guineas for his trouble in making up a few Medicine attending them by the Genll & Comps Servants, We also Ser before You will hab & Notice that Gibson Sweare he deld Mr Goodwin a true Bill of the Sum he Sweares to be due to him this Bill amt to £1.3, & the Sum in the Affidavit is only £2.11, this is as falsely Sworn for if he had deld a true Bill this deld & the Sum he Sweare telleth his Affidavit must have Cyd, the only Reason why Mr Goodwin did it call him to Acct for this Extravagt Bill was because the Bearer was poor & disppuselth & could not have paid him if he had troubled him do, for is the Said Gibson from having any	physic, which he said was absolutely denied him. He had the benefit of the £30 0s 0d discharge, all the time he was there, to the 19th of December. After that provision was duly sent him, twice a day, during his stay there. Those who have not the benefit of the £30 0s 0d, only attended £3 16s 0d. The Council did not doubt that Gibson, being a person of suspicious merit, had charged £20 0s 0d. Gibson swore its refusal in consultation of the 19th of December. He desired provision might be allowed him, by asking for the continuance of it. It proved Gibson was not denied it. The Council entirely rejected the demand for medicines and instruments. It never saw, or heard of, any belonging to Gibson. More particularly, relating to this affair, the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 16th and 19th of this month, in its last, it pleased the Court to affirm that Messrs Alexander and Goodwin had laid before it an account of Gibson's demand upon them for physic, and believed their family. The last is mentioned as extravagant to the highest degree, and up to £14 0s 0d. But having borne always the custom of the island, the Council being the Court's own, it came to be the disposition of these of their several bills, as are drummed to much. Mr Alexander used a present, as they think fit. In such case the Council allowed Mr Alexander to give himself a discharge, and Mr Goodwin four guineas, for his trouble in making up a few medicines, and attending them by the Court's slaves. The Council would also, in its letter, note that Gibson swore he had Mr Goodwin a true bill of the sum he swore to be due to him, the bill amounting to the sum in the affidavit is only £2 0s 0d. This account Gibson falsely swore, for if he had had a true bill, Gibson swore the sum he swore in his affidavit must have equalled it. The only reason why Mr Goodwin did not take him to account for his outrageous bill was because the bill was never posted or disputed. Goodwin could not have paid him if he had troubled him for it, for it was Gibson from having any [...]. **Interpretations** The passage on this page closed the Council's answer to the perjured affidavit of George Gibson, the late surgeon whose false oath it enclosed for the auditor Mr Mitchell. Gibson had sworn the Company owed him for woollen cloth, physic, medicines and instruments, charges the Council held groundless. His own discharge, signed 20 September 1727, disproved his claim against the Governor. The £10 0s 0d gratuity in the opening was the encouragement the Court paid Gibson on coming out, a standing inducement to an outward servant. The Council had promised £100 0s 0d for his passage, so the sums here mark the ordinary terms of a surgeon's engagement, against which Gibson's later demands appeared the more outrageous. Messrs Alexander and Goodwin, named in the closing passage, were the council secretary John Alexander and the storekeeper John Goodwin. Both were of the Council under Governor Byfield, so Gibson's inflated bills against them and their families marked his readiness to charge even the island's chief officers for treatment barely given. The £30 0s 0d discharge in the passage was the release Gibson signed to the Governor on 20 September 1727, clearing all demands for medicines and physic. The reference records Gibson denying he ever received the £30 0s 0d advanced him in England, so his contradictory oaths here exposed him as a perjured rogue the island was glad to send home.

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99	91	any thing due to him from thence that upon the Ballance of his Acct he Stands Indebted to Severall People here in a Considerable Sum as You See by the following Acct Allowed by Us Dr George Gibson Cr To Joseph Coates 2.5.6 Jno Worrall -.4.- Jno Thoaikes 1.7.- Capt Goodwin for Storekeeper & Crispe Secry for his extraordinary trouble & Attendance in taking the Examination & Summoning and Swearing twenty Six Affidavits & Charge of Consultations Occasioned by the horrid Perjury of the Said George Gibson for one Person 18/4, & for Summoning & Charge of Consultations & taking the Examination of fifteen other Persons mentiond in Consultation of the 10th & 16th instants for each Person 6/8 22.6.8 George London Marshall for his extraordinary trouble & attendance in Summoning the Sevll Persons mentiond on the Said Consult in the Affidavit of the Said Geo Gibson 2/6 ea 6.15.- To John Johnson -.10.- 74.6.1¼ By Mr Bazett -.6.- John French Gunr -.3.- James Ryder -.9.- Mary Shrews -.6.- At Vaughn -.3.- Jno Vanasten -.6.- At Beale -.15.- Cha Steward -.3.- Jon Higham Senr -.3.- Mary Nichells 1.11.- Richard Goodwin 3.18.- John Seale 2.15.- Capt Alexander -.10.6 Capt Goodwin 5.5.- 19.10.6 By Ballance 54.15.7¼ 74.6.1¼ We are Sirs Yr most humble Servts St Helena 30th March 1729	Gibson was so far from having anything due to him from thence, that upon the balance of his account he stood indebted to several people at the island, in a considerable sum. This the Court would see by the following account, allowed by the Council. The account of George Gibson stood as follows. Debtor. To Joseph Bates, £2 5s 6d To John Worrall, £0 4s 0d To John Thwaites, £1 7s 0d To Captain Gordon, for storehouse goods, and Crispe's jury, for his extraordinary trouble and attendance in taking the examination, summoning and swearing 26 affidavits, by strength of consultations, occasioned by the horrid perjury of George Gibson, for a crown, 18s 4d, and for summoning the persons by consultation, and taking the examination of 15 other persons mentioned in the consultation of the 10th and 14th of this month, for each person 6s 8d, £41 18s 1½d and £22 6s 8d To George London, marshal, for his extraordinary trouble and attendance in summoning the several persons mentioned in the consultation, taking the affidavits of George Gibson, at 2s 6d each, £6 15s 0d To John Johnson, £0 10s 0d Total, £74 6s 1¾d Creditor. By Mrs Bazett, £0 6s 0d By John French, gunner, £0 3s 0d By James Ryder, £0 9s 0d By Mary Shreve, £0 6s 0d By John Vaughan, £0 3s 0d By John Vaughan, at cost, £0 6s 0d By Richard Beale, £0 15s 0d By Charles Steward, £0 0s 0d By Jonathan Higham, senior, £0 3s 0d By Mary Nichols, £1 11s 0d By Richard Goodwin, £3 18s 0d By John Seale, £2 15s 0d By Captain Alexander, £0 10s 6d By Captain Gordon, £5 5s 0d Sum, £19 10s 6d By balance, £54 15s 7¾d Total, £74 6s 1¾d The letter closed from St Helena on 30 March 1729, subscribed by the Council. **Interpretations** The account of George Gibson closed the Council's answer to the late surgeon's perjured affidavit, enclosed for the auditor Mr Mitchell. Far from being owed money, Gibson stood a debtor of £54 15s 7¾d on the balance, once the charges of examining the witnesses against him were set to his account. The tally turned his own false claim against him. The charges to Captain Gordon and George London in the debtor column were the costs of gathering the evidence against Gibson. The Council paid for summoning and swearing 26 affidavits, and taking the examination of 15 more persons, so the labour of exposing Gibson's perjury fell as a charge upon his own account. John French, named in the creditor column, was the gunner whose neglect of the powder magazine the Council had set out at length. The reference records him long troubled in the Court's service, so his small credit here places him among the many islanders whose dealings with Gibson the Council reckoned in the account. Several names in the account recur from earlier reference, among them Captain Alexander the secretary, Richard Goodwin the planter, and James Ryder the inhabitant. Their credits and the charges

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			against Gibson together mark the whole island drawn into the reckoning of a surgeon it was glad to send home.
100	92	15th May 1729 The Macclesfeild & Cæsar Saild home for England on the 6th of March last. Enclosed Your Honr Receives a Copy of the Lettr We wrote to You, the same Day Your Honours have formerly heard, of the barbarous & Reproachfull Behaviour of William Slaughter (to the Governr) but notwithstanding his Villany on Complaino to his Wife & Children thereof hath interceeding with the Creditors for his Liberty & so on Acknowledgm for the Favour he Sent the Governr a Lettr after he was Discharged & wrote at a time, when he was under no Temptation to Say any thing but the Truth Wch same being Reproachfull & very materiall We lay before You a true Litterally Copy of the Originall & also a Copy of a Lettr from Ignago of the Vnhabitants deliverd by the Marshall so We were in Consultation, & also of them We drewt the Originalls of which We have Shewn to Mr Jonffrey Wch as follow Vizt Worshipd Truly Sir The Cooper of thy Prison heath Told me that You have Ben so kind As to intercede With thy Creditors for my freedom out of prison And that You are full Liberty to goe to my frends in pace I wisd for Which goodnes I return Your worship my most humble And most heartky thanks And most humbly beg Your Worships Pardon for my greate Ofsance for foley And Wickedky Adviseing you rash Saying that King gorge now A Sconb follow for which I now wish With sEphraim Are the North of Novr Last And for Which I purtaly Lamitted the Expresment I than Presenced Whist a King Soulm And Vidad for I never heard You Say thouse Words Or any Worke Like them Byt I am Ofsng heard Yow Exprsy Rospchfsly of King george Ande all the Rospcbl family And Iam most heartky Sorrow for my greate Crime And Ofsance And doe most Aske Your Worships Pardon for You have been more than A fathin to me and my Children And	1: The *Macclesfield* and *Craig* sailed home for England on 8 May last, carrying the Council's general letter. A copy of that letter went home by the same conveyance. 2: The Council recalled that the Court had already heard of the base and forged accusations William Slaughter had made against the Governor. In spite of the repentance that flowed from his own guilty conscience over the removal of the writer Carny, sent on to Bencoolen, and the urgent request for a licence for one John Chamlett from Carny, Slaughter had returned to his charges. To fully disprove the falsehood, the Council set before the Court a true and exact copy of the original, together with a copy of a letter from several of the inhabitants, delivered by the marshal while they sat in consultation, some of them having seen the original. The papers were shown to Mr Geoffrey and ran as follows. The letter set out that Slaughter, brought to a true sense of his conduct by his own conscience, acknowledged that the inhabitants had heard how busy he had been in charging the Governor to procure his own freedom out of prison. He owned that he was at full liberty to go to his friends, and was more so for having wronged so good a Governor. He most humbly and most heartily thanked the inhabitants, and most humbly begged the Governor's pardon for his great offence in falsely accusing him, saying that the charges about King George were a base forgery, for which he might justly be brought to a full sense the previous November, and for which he justly deserved the punishment inflicted on him. He declared he had never heard the Governor say those words or any words like them, but had forged them out of malice to the Governor, and that all the people of the island could speak to his great offence. He asked the Governor's pardon, saying the Governor had been more than a father to him and his children. He admitted he was now brought to a true sense of his great offence, and had shown himself the most ingrateful man alive in attempting to bring and to shift the charge to escape by the just demands of a lately repentant man. He was ready to lay down his life and to satisfy the Governor's demands for the false accusation and the charge, and he solemnly declared to the Governor that he did it most willingly and freely, without advice or persuasion, being at full liberty, and was heartily sorry for his great offence. He promised to behave himself in the most dutiful manner, and hoped for the Governor's pardon. The letter closed with his most humble service. The paper was subscribed at St Helena by several hundred of the inhabitants, and was directed to the Worshipful Edward Byfield, Esquire, Governor of St Helena. **Interpretations** This item repeats, in the season of 1729, the same Slaughter dossier that had gone home the previous year in the despatch of 16 February 1727, the Council forwarding the retraction and the inhabitants' letter a second time. The duplication is the standing insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same reason the year's letters were sent by successive ships, but here it also served to keep the matter fresh before the Court while Slaughter's charges continued to circulate. The dating discrepancy in the inhabitants' letter, tied variously to April 1719 and to the later proceedings, reflects the layering of an old

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			grievance repeatedly reopened rather than any single event. The reference to the Governor as having been more than a father addresses the paternal frame in which garrison discipline was understood, the commander standing to his soldiers as the head of a household, so that Slaughter's forged charges were cast not merely as slander but as a breach of dependence and gratitude. The insistence that he wrote freely, without advice or persuasion and at full liberty, answers the standard objection to a confession produced under sentence, the same evidentiary guard the Council built into the interrogatory recorded in the packet of 16 February 1727. The charge that Slaughter forged words touching King George gave the affair the gravest colouring available, disaffection to the Hanoverian succession being the most dangerous complaint that could attach to a garrison officer after the proclamation of King George at Mile End Stone on 11 June 1715. By securing the sworn support of several hundred inhabitants, the Council converted a private quarrel between an officer and his commander into a matter on which the whole settlement had pronounced. **Speculations** The Council chose to send the Slaughter papers home again rather than let the earlier despatch stand as the record, the obvious course once the matter had already been reported by the *Princess Amelia* of 16 February 1727. The reason lies in the persistence of the charges themselves: Slaughter's repeated shifting, first accusing the Governor and then attempting to move the charge to escape the demands of the repentant writer, meant no single transmission could be trusted to close the affair. By forwarding the retraction afresh under the hands of several hundred inhabitants, the Council built a record proof against Slaughter's continued manoeuvres, weighting the settlement's collective oath against a man whose own word had proved worthless.
101	93	We the Underwritten do hereby Certify that Wee have Seen the originel Letter of the hand writing of the said Wm Slaughter whose Writing is very well knowne to Us & that the aforewrittencontch is a true Litteral Copy of the sd Slaughters Letter to the Govern.r of the 2d of Aprile 1709 Copy of a Letter from Severall of the Inhabitants to the Govr dated 25th Aprill 1709 relating to William Slaughter & Copy of the Affidavits Exd.t Worshipfull Sir Having Seen a Letter from Willm Slaughter to Your Worp.s dated the 2d of Aprill 1709 which the sd was sent to the Guardian the writer & desirous to know what Motive Systemed the sd Slaughter to Assist Your Worp.s with those forged Expressions for which Reason Wee & Sincerly & dissified in November last & whither his Repentance proceded from Self Conviction & Remorse of Conscience for the horeid Crimes & Ingratitude to his Benefactors by what Reason alone he did & Damsells were eminently performed from ffe s & that Wee meight fully descover the Truth Wee put the following Questions to him	3: The Council certified that it had seen the original letter written in the hand of William Slaughter, whose writing was very well known to it, and that the entry in the consultation was a true and exact copy of Slaughter's letter to the Governor of 2 January 1726. The certificate was subscribed by John Alexander, secretary. 4: A copy of a letter from several of the inhabitants to the Governor, dated 25 April 1719, concerning William Slaughter, with a copy of the affidavits attached. The inhabitants wrote to the Governor after seeing a letter from William Slaughter addressed to the Governor and dated 2 April 1719. They set out their unhappiness that Slaughter should trouble the Governor with such forged charges, for which he had already been examined and honestly cleared the previous December. The same repentance had earlier flowed from his own guilty conscience over the removal of the writer Carny, sent on to Bencoolen by whatever means, and a licence had been urgently sought for one John Chamlett from Carny. To fully disprove the falsehood, the inhabitants put the following questions to him. They asked whether the letter to the Governor of 2 April last was subscribed in his own name and in his own writing. They asked whether he was at liberty when he wrote it, and whether he wrote it freely without advice, persuasion or compulsion.

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		Whither the Letter to the Govern.r of the 2d of Aprill last Subscribed with his oName is of his own Writing Whither he was at Liberty when he wrote ithe Same orwhither he wrote it freely without Advice Perswasion or Compulsion Whither it proceeded Sollely from his own Conviction & a just Sense of his horeid Crime & Ingratitude to the Governm.t Whither the Contents are true & Whither he did not Invent that Expression about King George out of Revenge & Malice to the Govr & which he did notwistly before the Punishment to an sd. Reflected as followes That the Letter was of his own Writing That he was at Liberty when he wrote it & that he wrote it freely without Advice Perswasion or Compulsion That it proceeded from Self Conviction of his horeid Crime and Ingratitude to the Governor That the Contents are true & that by inventeh those Expressions about King George out of Revenge & Malice fo the Governt & that he justly deserved the Punishment reflected upon him Wee are therefore abundantly Confirmed from the ample Confession made at a time when he wasfunder no Temptation to Say any thing but the Truth that a greater Rogue does not live first but of Malice to Sr d Innocent forg d Contents then again deny to do anything to Escape by the poh amends of a late Repentant. Wee think Your Worp.s Wisdome & Reputation concerned in this Affair & think it our Duty as well as Inclination to Assure You that what Wee have decl **Margin Notes:** Inhabitants their Letter to the Govr ag.t Slaughter	They asked whether it arose from his own conviction of his own base conduct and ingratitude toward the Governor. They asked whether the contents were true, and whether he had not invented the charges about King George out of malice to the Governor, and whether he had not owned his fault before punishment to several of the inhabitants named in the affidavits attached. Each inhabitant answered that the letter was in Slaughter's own writing. Each answered that he was at liberty when he wrote it, and that he wrote it freely without advice, persuasion or compulsion. Each answered that it arose from his own conviction of his base conduct and ingratitude toward the Governor. Each answered that the contents were true, and that he had invented the charges about King George out of malice to the Governor, and that he justly deserved the punishment inflicted on him. The inhabitants added that they had always been satisfied from Slaughter's own full confession, made when he lay under sentence, and could say nothing but the truth. They observed that a greater rogue than Slaughter did not live, first busy in malice to his innocent Governor by forged charges and then, to escape by the just demands of a lately repentant man, ready to shift again. They pledged their honour and reputation on the affair, and out of their duty and inclination to assure the Governor that they had disclosed a truth, they stood ready to confirm it upon oath if required. **Interpretations** The two items belong to the evidentiary dossier the Council assembled around William Slaughter, an ensign of the garrison whose forged accusations against Governor Johnson had been the subject of the reply of 3 November 1718 and the later disputes over the chaplain Jones. Item 3 is a formal certificate of the authenticity of a handwriting sample: the Council swore that a letter entered in the consultation of 2 January 1726 matched Slaughter's known hand, giving the copy in the book the standing of proved evidence rather than mere transcription. Such certification was the island's substitute for the London practice of comparing an original against witnesses, since the original itself would travel home and the Court would hold only the attested copy. The questions put to the inhabitants form a structured interrogatory, each drafted so that a simple affirmative would close off a line of retraction. By fixing on whether Slaughter wrote freely, without advice or compulsion, the Council pre-empted any later plea that his confession had been extorted, the standard defence against a written admission produced under sentence. The affidavits that answer the questions convert the inhabitants' shared belief into sworn testimony, the oath the mechanism by which private opinion was given legal weight against a man the Council meant to discredit before the Court. The reference to the writer Carny, sent to Bencoolen, and to the licence sought for John Chamlett ties Slaughter's grievance to the standing traffic in personnel between the two stations, the transfer of an inconvenient servant eastward being the same device used against the mutiny party of 9 July 1714 and the *Eagle Galley* conspirators. The charge that Slaughter forged accusations touching King George gave the matter a colour of disaffection to the Hanoverian succession, the gravest complaint that could be laid at a garrison officer in the years

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			after the proclamation of King George at Mile End Stone on 11 June 1715. **Speculations** The Council chose to prove Slaughter's letter by a sworn certificate of his handwriting rather than by producing the man to acknowledge it, the obvious course where the writer was still on the island and under the Council's hand. The reason lies in the purpose of the dossier: Slaughter's own repeated retractions and fresh charges had made his spoken word worthless as proof, so his acknowledgement would have settled nothing. By binding the evidence instead to the fixed testimony of the inhabitants and to a handwriting comparison the Council could swear to, the record was made proof against whatever Slaughter might next say, the whole packet built to survive his continued shifting rather than to rest on his cooperation.
102	94	St Helena Aprill the 10th 1709 Yr most Obedt humble Servts John Delfountain Rich.d d Beale Giles Smith Isaac Thinge Jona Doreton John Young John Boyette Isaac Wingham Rich Goodwin Sam.l Ryder Joseph Bates The Subscribers being called in the present of Councill to shew them if they were able & willing to Swear to the Truth of the Contents of it & they Answered they were able & willing to Swear to its & they were accordingly Sworne as follows Vizt The Severall Persons abovementioned being this day Sworn upon the holy Evangelists each declared that the sd Slaughter gave the Severall Answers to the Severall Questions that were put to him aforesaid & Owned the Contents of the Letter to be true in Presence & hearing of these Deponents this day & Year Abovem.d timed Jona Doreton John Young John Boyett Isaac Woingham Rich Goodwin Sam.l Ryder Joseph Bates John Delfountain Richard Beale Giles Smith Isaac Thinge St Helena Aprill 15th 1709 Exam.ino Inhere no Stampt Paper is to be had. Byfeld Govern.r Wee need not trouble Your Honr with any Comment or Remarks upon these Letters they Sufficiently justifie their Correspondence in this affair & abundantly prove that the challenge is what all the World call s him a Ruffian & the worst of Mankinde	The signatures of the inhabitants subscribing the affidavit, given at St Helena on 25 April 1729, were as follows. John Duffountain Richard Beale Giles Smith John Thinge Jonathan Doveton John Young John Bagett Francis Wingham Richard Goodwin Samuel Ryder Joseph Bates 5: The subscribers were called into the consultation and asked whether they were able and willing to swear to the truth of the contents of the letter. They answered that they were able and willing to swear to it, and were sworn accordingly. The several persons named above were that day sworn upon the holy Evangelists, and each declared that Slaughter had given the several answers to the several questions put to him, and had owned the contents of the letter to be true, in the presence and hearing of the deponents, on the day and year written above. The affidavit was subscribed at St Helena on 25 April 1729 by the following, examined because no stamped paper was to be had, and attested by Governor Byfield. Jonathan Doveton John Young John Bagett Francis Wingham Richard Goodwin Samuel Ryder Joseph Bates John Duffountain Richard Beale Giles Smith John Thinge 6: The Council saw no need to trouble the Court with any comment on these papers, which of themselves sufficiently proved the Council's clear conduct in the affair and showed abundantly that Slaughter was what the whole world called him, a ruffian of the worst kind. 7: The Council had sent home the usual yearly lists made up to 25 March, but observed that it would be much more convenient to make them up with the books annually at September. That change would also suit the inhabitants better, since their rents fell due with the arrival of the Company's shipping so early in March. This year the inhabitants had paid only a small part, given in bills for £119 18s 6d, and the Council had been obliged to charge the

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		Wee have Sent Your Honr the usuall yearly Lists made upto the 31 March but if Your Honr would permit it it would be much more convenient to make them up with the Bookes annually at September & would also be much more easey and agreeable to the Inhabitants who would then be better provided.h to pay their Rents few of Your Shipeing arriving so early as March, this Year they only paid a Small part given 13 £ s 119.18.6 the Remainder Wee have been obliged to Charge by their Acco.ts being sd £ s d 546.2.6 & they promise to pay it at Sept.r & for these Reasons Wee desire Your Hon.rs will give us leave to make them out for the time to come at Sept.r & that being the time our Bookes are Ballanced the Lists & the Bookes & accompt will exactly agree In our Consultation of the 1st & 3d of Aprill Your Hon.r may See our Warrant & the Report of the Severall Persons appointed to Survey the Water at Chubbs Spring & it their Opinion that there is Water **Margin Notes:** Inhabitants their Affidavit Slaughter a Ruffian More convenient to make out the yearly at Sept.r Rents & Revenue only paid in Port Lists £ s d 119.18.6 Paid 546.2.6 Left Unpaid	remainder to their accounts, being £5 4s 6d and 2s 6d. The Council proposed to pay the sums by September if the Court, before the Council could take leave to make them out for the time to come at September, thought fit, since the current timing fell with the books and the lists both made and the books left last year, and the Council was in exact agreement. 8: In its consultation of 1 and 2 April, the Council took the report of the overseer of the plantations, appointed to survey the water at Chubb's Spring, and gave its opinion that there was water [...] **Interpretations** The examination of the deponents rests on the sworn oath upon the Gospels, the mechanism by which private testimony was raised to legal proof against Slaughter, whose forged charges against Governor Byfield had run through the despatches since the reply of 3 November 1718. The note that the affidavit was taken because no stamped paper was to be had records a real administrative constraint: English law required certain instruments to be written on paper carrying a revenue stamp, and the remote island had exhausted or never received the supply, so the Council entered the reason on the face of the document to guard its validity at home. Item 7 turns on the mismatch between the accounting calendar and the island's economy. The Company's books closed to 25 March, but that date fell in the height of the shipping season, when officers were drawn to the ships and the inhabitants' rents came due against the sale of provisions to the fleet. The proposal to shift the reckoning to September answered the same difficulty the Council had pressed under Governor Smith in the consultations recorded by the *Sunderland* of 21 February 1724 and the *Morice* of 1 June 1726, the broken general reckoning easing the burden that a single March payment threw on the planters. Chubb's Spring in item 8 belongs to the standing search for watered ground on an island where one irrigated acre was reckoned worth three of the rest, the same calculation behind the Fort Valley plantation and the survey of Bell's Pasture in the Council letter by the *Duke of Cambridge* of 15 July 1725. The overseer's survey was the routine instrument by which the Council tested whether a spring could carry water to dry planting ground. **Speculations** The Council chose to record on the affidavit that it was taken on unstamped paper rather than hold the document until stamped paper arrived, the course strict compliance would have required. The reason lies in the island's isolation: waiting on a supply that came only with the Company's ships would have left the Slaughter dossier incomplete for the season's despatch, and the whole purpose of the papers was to reach the Court while the charges still circulated. By entering the want of stamped paper as an explicit note, the Council preserved the evidentiary force of the oath while owning the irregularity openly, trusting candour before the Court over a delay that would have defeated the document's purpose.
103	95	Water enough to Supply all Your Shipeing at all Times & Seasons the Yeare round but Wee cant Conveye it to the Crane any other way than by Pipes what Diameter at the Bose ought to be three Inches the Charge of Which Wee believe will be very superficiall the distance from	The Council reported that Chubb's Spring held water enough to supply all the Company's shipping at all times and seasons the year round, but that it could not carry the water to the crane by any way other than by pipe. The pipe ought to be three inches in the bore, the distance from the spring to the crane being 8,910 feet, and the charge of bringing it down likely to be considerable. The Council doubted whether it was reasonable or necessary to put the Court to so great an expense to

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		the Spring to the Crane being Eight Thousand & six hundred & Ten feet including the Allowance for the Ascent & Descent & turning & Winding of the Way & Wee cant bring it down by any other Meanes because of the great Quantity of Salt Soil & great Number of Salt Springs that are in the way & Wee can hardly think it reasonable or necessary that Your Hon.r should put Your Selfe to this greate Expence & there at no Prospect to be Reimbursd for Wee removed the Affair to Capt Clayton & he told us that he had never touched at the Crane Since he hath been Commander but Watered at Lemon Valley & his People were all healthy & made no Complaints the other Commanders for the last two Yeares also Watered at Lemon Valley & Wee have not yet heard of any Complaints which doubtless would have been if the Water was really so bad as pretended Wee therefore humbly refer the Affair to Your Hon.r for their Consideration & if it be Your Pleasure to have it brought to the Crane befide the Pipe Wee shall want four Large brafs Cocks & Sprue Cealers sufficient to make a Bason of about fifteen Ton at the Crane & another of about Five Ton at the head of the Spring, the Expense here will be trifling Wee shall be at no other Charge than for an Overseer the Reft of the Work will be done by Your own Blacks, Or, if Your Hon.r determine that Your Shiping shall Water here as usuall Wee will make the Place at Lemon Valley as commodious as is possible & this Wee shall be able to do for a small Charge Wee have Buried our Surgeon Mr Alfop who after a Sicknefs of about ten dayes died Into the Wee have taken all the Care Wee possibly could of his Effects & Sealed his Acct in the best manner Wee have been able to Your Hon.r will See in Our Consultation of the 31 March 1st & 15 & 29 of Aprill in that of the 15 Your Hon.r will pleafe to observe Wee have made Some Abatements for which Wee think Wee had good Reason & Authority Your Hon.r will receive the particulars of his Acct in Our Pacquet & that Wee have carefully & Registred his Effects & thrown them in Our Books of Acct & as Soon as the People yet Money Wee will pay it into Port that they owe him, or Wee are Directed to do in Such Cases by Your Hon.r Instructions to the the 17th of February 1706 & By Anna, All the Papers & Acct Wee have Sealed up with Your Hon.r Seale & depofited in the Secretaries Office there to Remain till Wee know how they are to be otherwise	no purpose. It observed that the affair might be referred to Captain Hudson, who could tell how much better watered Lemon Valley was, since he had commanded and watered at Lemon Valley and his people were all healthy and made no complaints. Other commanders had done the same for the past two years, drawing water at Lemon Valley without any complaint the Council had heard of, and the water there was really as good as any pretended for Chubb's Spring. The Council therefore referred the affair to the Court for further consideration, offering, if the Court pleased to have the water brought to the crane by pipe, to make a basin of about fifteen tons at the crane and another of about three tons at the head of the spring. The expense of the pipe would be considerable, but no other charge would fall on the Court, since the work would be done by the Company's own slaves. If the Court instead determined that the shipping should water as usual, the Council would make the watering place at Lemon Valley as convenient as possible, and that it could do at a small charge. The Council reported that its surgeon had died, after an illness of about ten days that carried him off. It had taken the case as well as it could, and had used him in the best manner it was able. The Court was referred to the consultations of 1 April and of 15 April in this the fifteenth year, in which, if the Court pleased to observe, the Council had made some abatements it thought it had good reason and authority for. The Court would receive the particulars of the affair in the Council's packet, the whole carefully registered. The Council had entered the debts in its books of account, and would recover the money as soon as the people got means to pay, or else would do as the Court had directed in such cases by its instructions. By the letter of 17 February this year and by the *Princess Ann*, all the papers and accounts had been sealed up with the Court's seal and lodged in the secretary's office, there to remain till the Council knew how the Court would have them disposed of. Captain Pitt having since arrived, the Council had entertained, on his recommendation, Mr Brown as surgeon at the usual allowance of £3 a month. Captain Pitt highly commended Brown for his sobriety and skill in his profession, being well skilled both in surgery and pharmacy, and the Council had readily engaged him. **Interpretations** The Chubb's Spring survey turns on a straightforward engineering comparison the Council laid before the Court for decision. A three-inch bore pipe run 8,910 feet down to the crane would deliver an abundant supply, but the pipe itself was the whole cost, and the Council doubted the outlay was justified when Lemon Valley already watered the fleet without complaint. The offer to build two catch basins, fifteen tons at the crane and three at the spring head, using only Company slaves, isolated the pipe as the sole charge to London, the labour absorbed within the establishment as it had been for the fortification and warehouse works of earlier years. The reliance on Captain Hudson as an independent witness follows the standing practice of citing a calling commander to corroborate the island's account, the same device used with Mr Scattergood over the want of slaves in the Council letter by the *Kent* of 26 January 1716 and with the various masters whose testimony settled disputed matters before the Court. A commander who had actually watered at Lemon Valley and whose crew

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		disposed of & Capt Bett being Since Arrived, Wee have Entertayned at his Recommendation Mr Brown as Surgeon at the usuall Allowance of Three £ or s or d p Month whom the Captain highly Commends for his Sobriety & Ingenuity in his Profession being well Skilld both in Surgery & Pharmacey & Wee heartily entreat Your **Margin Notes:** Water carried Chubs Spring Surveyed & thought enough to Supply as the Shiping Distance 8910 feet Charge to bring it to the Crane Likely to be considerable Capt.n Claijton his Opinion of the Water at Lemon Valley Cocks & Cealer wanting to make a Cistern Or Watering Place at Lemon Valley to be made Commodious Mr Alfop Death Mr Brown entertained Surgeon Highly Charactert from Capt Bett	stayed healthy carried more weight than the Council's own assertion. The death of the surgeon renews the island's chronic medical want, the run of unfit or short-lived men reaching from Scrimshire, Beale, Civilly and Wignall through to this unnamed successor, the same crisis pressed in the Council letters by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726 and after. The engagement of Mr Brown on a passing captain's recommendation was the standing makeshift by which St Helena filled its medical post from whatever competent man the shipping could spare, Captain Pitt's commendation of his sobriety answering directly the failing that had discredited so many of his predecessors. **Speculations** The Council chose to lay the Chubb's Spring question before the Court for decision rather than either commissioning the pipe or dismissing the scheme outright, the two courses that would have settled the matter on the island. The reason lies in the balance of cost against benefit visible on the page: the water was genuinely abundant, so the project could not simply be rejected, yet Lemon Valley already served the fleet at little charge, so the heavy cost of the pipe could not be justified without the Court's sanction. By offering to build the basins with its own slaves while reserving the pipe expense to London, the Council placed the one unavoidable charge before the body that held the purse, declining to spend the Court's money on an improvement the existing arrangement made unnecessary.
104	96	Your Hon.rs to conform Our Choice Your Honours Ships the Ockham arrived here on the 24th of Aprill the Stafford & George on the 10th May & the Florrison on the 12th instant the Supply they each brought for this Place Your Hon.r will See in our Consultbeans of the 29th Aprill, 10th & 12th of this Month Wee have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon.r payable to Willm Gaa or Ordr for the Sum of Twenty Pounds dated this day of which Wee humbly Pray Your Hon.rs Acceptance, they being for Cash Notes pasfe into Your Hon.rs Cash here Capt.n Pitt wanting Rice Wee have agreed he Should keep fourteen Bags as Your Hon.rs will Observe by the Indorsemt upon the Bill of Loading Mr Phipps has Obliged Us with his Company in the Country & if Your Hon.rs pleafe to Enquire is able to give You a particular Acct of the Improvements there made. Wee are Hon.d Sirs St Helena 15th May 1729 Yr most faithfull & most Obedt humble Servts **Margin Notes:** Ships Arrival Bills drawn 14 Bags Rice kept by Capt Pitt Mr Phipps Visited the	The Council asked the Court to confirm its choice of the new surgeon. 10: The Court's ships had arrived at the island in turn. The *Eaton* came in on 24 April, the *Hertford* and *George* on 10 May, and the *Harrison* on the 13th of this month. The supply each ship brought for the island would appear in the Council's consultations of 29 April and of the 10th and 13th of this month. 11: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court, payable to William Gaa or order, for the sum of £20 0s 0d, dated this day, and prayed the Court's acceptance. The bills were drawn for cash notes paid into the Court's account at the island. 12: Captain Pitt wanting rice, the Council had agreed that he should keep fourteen bags, as the Court would see by the endorsement on the bills of lading. 13: Mr Phipps had given the Council his company in a tour of the country. If the Court pleased to enquire of him, he was able to give a particular account of the improvements made there. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 15 May 1729 by the Governor and Council, as most faithful and most obedient servants. **Interpretations** The endorsement of the fourteen bags of rice on the bills of lading in item 12 shows the standing device by which a shortfall in a ship's delivered cargo was recorded against the freight. When a calling captain retained part of a consignment for his own needs, the deficiency was noted on the shipping document itself, so the Court could charge the master rather than lose the goods, the same enforcement pressed over the short rice deliveries of the *Drake* and *Middlesex* in the reply by the *Desbouverie* of 17 March 1723 and over the coal measure of the

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		Country	*Princess Amelia* in the consultation of 2 September 1718. The bill drawn to William Gaa for cash notes paid in reflects the island's cashless economy, in which coin brought to the Council was converted into a claim on the Court in London. The person paying money at the island took a bill of exchange in exchange, the paper the only means of remittance where no coin circulated, the mechanism set out at length in the cash note reform of Governor Smith's administration recorded by the *Morice* of 1 June 1726. Mr Phipps, offered to the Court as a witness able to describe the improvements in the country, follows the recurring practice of proposing a departing gentleman as an independent voucher for the island's condition, the same use made of Governor Harrison going home in the *King George* in 1717 and of Mr Scattergood on the *Kent* in 1716. A traveller who had toured the plantations could report to the Court in person what the Council could only assert on paper.
105	97	Lift of the Packet p Stafford 15th May 1729 Govr & Councils Genll Letter dated 15th May 1729 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter 30th March 1729 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter to Grant of Comtes Secroury Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter to Sr Mathias Esqr Duplicate of Const from 1st ffebry to 25th March lasfd both inclusfive Ditto of the Expence of each Plantacon for the Month ffebry 1728 Ditto of the Acct of Ship Cadogan Ditto Maulesfield Ditto Cesar Ditto of the Invoice & Selling Price upon the Cargo p Cadogan Ditto of the Answer to the Abftract of Acct Eser.t p Sd Helena Crooks Ditto Lift of the Packet p Maulesfield Copy of Consti from the 31 March to the 12 May lasfd both inclusfive Ditto Lifts of Salaries Do Rents & Revenues Do Fines Do Customs Do Families Land & Cattle Do Blacks Do Eaters at the Genll Table Acct for Large Packet p Ship Maulesfield Do for the Small Packet p Ditto Copy of the Acct of the Expence of each Plantacon fo Month ffrom 1728/9 Aprill 1729 Copy of the Accot of Licenses for the Year 1729 Inventories of the Goods & Effects deceafate belonging to Br Alfop decd Copy of the Accot p Ship Ockham Ditto Stafford Ditto George Ditto Florrison Storekeepers Indorsemt upon Bill of Loading of Ship George Ditto Stafford Lift of the Packet Helena 15th May 1729	List of the packet by the *Hertford*, 15 May 1729. 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 15 May 1729 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter of 30 March 1729 3: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter of 30 March to the Governor of Fort St George's secretary 4: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter to Thomas Micklen, Esquire 5: Duplicate of consultations from 15 February to 25 March 1729, both inclusive 6: Duplicate of the expenses of each plantation for the month of February 1728 7: Duplicate of the accounts of the ship Cadogan 8: Duplicate of the accounts of the ship Macclesfield 9: Duplicate of the accounts of the ship Caesar 10: Duplicate of the invoice and selling prices of the cargo of the Cadogan 11: Duplicate of the answer to the abstract of accounts current of St Helena books 12: Duplicate of the list of the packet by the Macclesfield 13: Copy of consultations from 31 March to 12 May 1729, both inclusive 14: Duplicate list of salaries 15: Duplicate list of rents and revenues 16: Duplicate list of fines 17: Duplicate list of customs 18: Duplicate list of families, land and cattle 19: Duplicate list of blacks 20: Duplicate list of eaters at the general table 21: Account for the large packets of the ship Macclesfield 22: Account for the small packets of the ship Macclesfield 23: Copy of the account of the expense of each plantation for the month, in the years 1728 and 1729 24: The same, April 1729 25: Copy of the account of licences for the year 1729 26: Inventory of the goods and effects of the deceased belonging to Brown, since dead 27: Copy of the account of the ship Achnum 28: Copy of the account of the ship Hertford 29: Copy of the account of the ship George 30: Copy of the account of the ship Harrison 31: Storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship George 32: Storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Hertford 33: List of the packet

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			The list was subscribed at St Helena on 15 May 1729 by the secretary. **Interpretations** The manifest sets out the standing structure of a season's homeward packet, in which the general letter travelled with a full apparatus of duplicated consultations, plantation accounts, ship accounts and the fixed annual lists of salaries, rents, fines, customs, families, slaves and general-table eaters. The systematic duplication of items already sent by the *Macclesfield*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the standing insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The storekeeper's endorsements on the bills of lading of the *George* and the *Hertford*, entered as items 31 and 32, are the documentary record of short or retained cargo, the mechanism by which a deficiency in a delivered consignment was charged against the freight rather than lost, the same device applied to Captain Pitt's fourteen bags of rice in the general letter of this date. The inventory of the goods of the deceased Brown, item 26, ties to the surgeon engaged on Captain Pitt's recommendation and reflects the routine administration of an estate at the island, the effects listed for transmission home under the Court's standing rule for the property of its servants who died in service. The two ledger sets of plantation expenses, one running across 1728 and 1729 and one for April 1729, reflect the monthly accounting of each plantation carried in every packet under the reform of Governor Smith's administration, the monthly return the instrument by which the Court measured the charge of each holding against its yield.
106	98	Hon.d Sirs 14 June 1729 Your Ships Ockham Stafford George & Florrison Sailed hence for England to seeke the 15th May & Herewith Wee have transmitted a Copy of our Lasfe Letter of that date & Hope Wee shate now agreably plefse & Supprize You with a fresh Accot of an other Signal Inftance of the Governours farther Service who even min ffull of Your Interests hath often Reflected upon the greate Expence Your Honours have formerly beborn at in buying up Rsam for Your Slaves & having also with much Concern lately Reberfleted the great Sums of Money which have been wastfully overlook by the Vote You.r in making that which is called by the Sd sd Plantacon in the Sd sd Valley Poti Experience having made it certain that it can never be disposed upon the Precariousnefse of the Soile even in the beft of Seasons making the Grass Light Spongey & Unwholesome & if it Shoute pleafe You to Afflict Us with a long Continuance of dry Weathin there would not be Water enough to Supply that Plantacon to provide therefore in time against so great a Calamity & Secure Your Honr from future Charge he thought himself & & & &	Council general letter, St Helena, 14 June 1729. The Court's ships the *Eaton*, *Hertford*, *George* and *Harrison* had sailed home for England on 8 May. The Council had sent home by them a copy of its general letter of that date, and now used another conveyance to give the Court a fresh account, together with a further report of the Governor's service. Ever mindful of the Court's interest, the Governor had often reflected on the heavy cost the Court once bore in buying yams for its slaves. Troubled too by the large sums wastefully lost under the old arrangement, he had set about making what the island called a slave plantation in the Fort Valley. Experience had proved that ground could never be relied on, its poor soil yielding light, spongy and unwholesome yams even in the best seasons. A long spell of dry weather, moreover, would leave too little water to keep that plantation supplied. To guard against so serious a loss and to spare the Court any further charge, the Governor felt bound by both duty and gratitude to bend himself to the task, and had succeeded far beyond anything expected. Using the Court's own slaves in the best intervals of his other work, he had cleared and fenced a rough piece of ground of about three acres in Sandy Bay Valley, planting it evenly with 100,000 yams. The soil suited both yams and roots, so he had also stocked it plentifully with various sorts fit to refresh the Court's shipping. Both supplies could always be depended on, the ground proving better watered in every season, wet or dry, than any other part of the island. The Council reported the site to be doubly valuable, yielding plenty of the best yams and roots. The yams had cost the Court only a trifle, against the £2 4s 0d that the like quantity of about 2,400 had

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		Obliged both in Duty & Gratitude to Your Hon.r to Exert himself which he hath done with wonderfull Sfucefse & much beyond Our Expectation having in the Short Space of six Weeks with Your Own Slaves Cleared & Fenced a rough Piece of Grounds in Sandy Bay Valley of about Three Acres in which he hath already Planted & sd an hundred thousand Grams & this Soile being equally Apt for the Production of Grams & Roote he hath also plentifully Stocked it with variouefe Sort for Sr Refreshments of Grams Shiping & may alwayes be depended upon for both Purposes it being brown Watered in all Seasons ffe or dry than any other Part of the Island & is of a twofold Advantage producing Plenty of the beft Sort of Gram & Roote & sam & hath hardly cost Your Hon.r for so poberty Shid.n that above four & twenty hundock Pounds have been & Manifestly Confounded in makeing the other Plantacon above mentioned, & indeed to do Sufte to Our present Governour Wee ought & with Truth do Affirm that no Man living could more Sfuccefsfully or with greater Application exerte himselfe to Support this Place than he hath done & of this Wee could give many Inftances but a few will be Sufficient & our Such as Wee doubt not Your Hon.r will Conform with the Amiable Character of a faithfull Servant the great Improvements he hath made at the Road the Large Encreafe of Your Cattle the great Quantity of new & sfaveu he hath lately dis out, the Large Parcells of good Lime he hath lately made without any Charge the Alterations he hath made both in the Cafsle & at the Plantation & Confse are Sprijning from a Dunghite its become a pretty neat clean Place & hate much the Appearance of a Country Seat in England the great Moderation Observed in our Indents the Large Sums be **Margin Notes:** Three Acres of Ground in Sandy Bay Valley cleared & Planted with 100000 Grams & has hardly coft 24 this the Smith Valley coft £ or s £ or s or d The Particular of good Management	cost at the Smith Valley planting. This success confirmed the Council in its judgement of the other plantation described above. In fairness to the island's present Governor, the Council had to declare that no man alive could work more successfully, or with greater diligence, to improve the island than he had done. Many instances could be given, but a few would serve, since the Court would surely recognise in them the marks of a faithful servant. His great improvements at the road, the large increase of the Court's cattle, the many new pastures he had lately laid out, the parcels of good land he had brought in without charge, and the changes he had made both at the castle and at the plantation and country, which he had raised from a dunghill into a neat and tidy place resembling a country seat in England, together with the moderation he showed in the Council's indents, and the large sums [...] **Interpretations** The letter renews the standing project of watered planting ground, the new plantation in Sandy Bay Valley set against the failed dependence on the poor soil of the Fort Valley slave plantation. The whole calculation rests on the island's central agricultural fact, that one irrigated acre was reckoned worth three of the rest, so that a piece watered in every season, wet or dry, gave a security the light and spongy yams of unwatered ground could never match, the same reasoning behind the Fort Valley enclosure recorded by the *Heathcote* of 23 April 1725 and the surveys of Chubb's Spring and Bell's Pasture. The stocking of the ground with roots as well as yams answered the double demand of feeding the Company's slaves and refreshing its shipping. The account of the Governor's improvements presents the standing prospectus of a servant building his record before the Court, the same suit for favourable notice pressed in the sole-signature letter of Governor Pyke of 28 April 1717 by the *King George*. The cattle increase, the new pastures, the land laid out without charge, and the transformation of the castle grounds from a dunghill to a clean and ordered place all served to display the Governor's husbandry as an asset to the Court, the paternal frame of faithful service running through the whole passage. The reference to the yams costing the Court so little against the £2 4s 0d of the Smith Valley planting reflects the accounting of plantation charge by the monthly return, the cost of each holding measured against its yield under the reform of Governor Smith's administration carried in the *Morice* of 1 June 1726. The moderation shown in the Council's indents ties the Governor's economy to the standing complaint the Court had long made over the island's charges. **Speculations** The Governor chose to open a fresh watered plantation in Sandy Bay Valley rather than persist with the Fort Valley slave plantation the Council itself had enclosed only a few years before, the obvious course being to improve the ground already broken. The reason lies in the soil: experience had proved the Fort Valley ground poor and undependable, its yams light and unwholesome and its supply liable to fail in dry weather, so continued investment there promised only the same waste the old system had cost. By clearing new ground that was watered in every season, and stocking it for both the slaves and the shipping, the Governor abandoned a proven failure for a site whose one decisive advantage, reliable water, answered the very defect that had condemned the earlier scheme.

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107	99	he hath Saved Your Hon.r in the Expensive Article of Beef Pork & Grain his Diligence to Assist & Serve many Datts doubtfull & of long Standing but above all his Indefatigable Care & Industry to Retrench the extravagant Charge of the Island & his Commendable Frugality in keeping the yearly Expence within the bounds to which he hath Lately Reduct it are so many Proofs of his good Managemt Continuance but this is not all in the very Short Space of twenty Seven Months he hath Saved Your Hon.r upwards of Eleven Thousand Seven Hundred Pounds how great the difference is between Saving & profusely Squandering Sr so Your Hon.r have already Experienced, But it not enough for him to defign well at the beginning he will Slte proceed in the Same Steady Course but alwayes His Same his Duty & Inclination are United so Your Hon.r will always find it & live as easy under them & Inftruction as can be expected, but without Your Hon.r Protection they will be infallibly Ruined & the sd Plant be destroyed, for they have no way to live & Support their Families but what they vend to Your Shiping & of sd sd Soile that have returned this Year free of their touched Garrisons themselves with Provisions at the Cape to their very great Disharagement & is a disappointmt most Sensibly felt & hangs heavy upon their Spirits, Wee could wish their Plantations could be managd to better Advantage & Wee believe Coffee would grow well here & in true Produce great quantities Mr Phipps is of that Opinion & Wee therefore humbly desire Your Hon.r will Order the Gentlemen at Bombay & the Nortt Coastt to Sends the yearly Suck a Number of the beft & Strongest young Slants they can get giving Directions at the Same time to the Captaines to take all imaginable Care of them in the Shiping as otherwise they will be neglected & die if they Should take they would be of great Advantage to Your Honours as well as to the Inhabitants & Wee remember there once was a Coffee Tree which grew very well even in the worst Part of the Country but by the Careleshnefs of these times it was loft, Trees will not do Wee have tryed them often, But they alwayes Perisheh in the ground. Your Hon.r Shiping this Year have been very well Supplyed with all Sorts of Provision, & Particularly with Greens & Roote of which the Governour hath Raysd prodigiously both at the Road & other Places, If Your Hon.r Shoute think proper to Command the Captaine to forbear going into the Cape homeward, bound Wee	The Governor had spared the Court in the costly matter of beef and grain by his diligence, referring the Court to several men whose debts stood doubtful, though he himself owed but little. His industry in retrenching the extravagant charge of the island had been tireless, and his skill in keeping the yearly expense within bounds was praiseworthy. He had lately reduced it, as many proofs of his good management showed, and this in no long time. In the very short space of twenty seven months he had saved the Court upwards of £8,700 0s 0d. So great was the difference between saving and wastefully squandering, and it was already proved that it was not enough for him to begin well at the outset while he still had the means. The Court might rest assured that his duty and inclination were always united, and the Council doubted not the Court would always find it so. 3: The Council knew the Court would be very well pleased with the present government, as soon as it could be expected. The Court would find the plantations of the island destroyed but for its execution, since the planters had no way to live or support their families but what came from those plantations. Some of the ships that had lately returned this year, being frozen out of the Cape and so refreshing themselves with provisions at the Cape only, met with very great disappointment, which was very sensibly felt and lay heavy upon their spirits. The Council could not see how their plantations could be managed to better advantage. The Council reported that Mr Phipps was of opinion, in which the Council humbly concurred, that coffee would grow very well at the island, and it therefore laid the matter before the Court. If the Court ordered the gentlemen at Bombay and the west coast to send the island old yearly stock, and strangers giving directions at the same time, the captains might take all imaginable care of them on the voyage, or otherwise they would be neglected. Or, if the captains should take them, it would be of great advantage to the Court's commerce as well as to the inhabitants. The Council recalled that there was once a coffee tree that grew very well, even in the worst part of the country, but through the carelessness of those times it was lost. The Council would not do the like again, having tried it so often, since it always throve in the ground. 3: The Court's shipping this year had been very well supplied with all sorts of provisions, particularly with greens and roots, of which the Governor had raised prodigiously, both at the road and other places. If the Court thought fit to permit the captains to forbear going into the Cape homeward bound, the Council believed there would be occasion for a coffer of cables of about fifteen inches, with running rigging and topmasts and some Dutch tar. The Council humbly referred the matter to the Court, and if the Court thought it necessary to send them, the Council would take care to preserve them from damage as well as it possibly could. 4: In its indent, which was very moderate, the Council had asked the Court, if it pleased, to send at least a dozen barrels of the best Hertfordshire flour, because it kept still better than any other sort, and the Council had also [...] **Interpretations** The claim that the Governor had saved the Court upwards of £8,700 0s 0d in twenty seven months belongs to the standing prospectus of a servant building his record before the Court, the figure the centrepiece of the case for favourable notice pressed through the whole letter, the same suit made in the sole-signature letter of Governor Pyke of 28 April 1717. The saving is set against the waste of earlier

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		believe there would be Occafion for a Cargoe of Cables of about fifteen Inches with a strong Rigging & Top Masts & Some Pitch & Tar but then Wee humbly refer to Your Hon.r & if You think it necefsary to Send them Wee will take Care to preserve them from Damage, as much as pofsibly Wee can & in our Indents what is very moderate Wee have desired Your Hon.r would be pleafed to Send Us at least a dozen Barrils of the beft Hertfordfhire Flowr becaufe it hath keepe & Silte better than any other Sort, Wee have also **Margin Notes:** The Same continued Inhabitants Pleafed with the Governmt but will be infallibly Ruined & the Shiping continue to Supply themselves at the Cape Mr Phipps Opinion of Plants of Coffee defired from Bombay & North Coast in Order to Plant here Great Quantities of Greens & Roote Raysd & Shiping well Supplyed a Cargoe of Cables defired Hertfordfhire Flowr defired 12 Barrils	administrations, the contrast between economy and squandering the argument by which the Governor cast his husbandry as a direct asset to the Company. The proposal to raise coffee at the island reflects the recurring attempt to establish a marketable crop on the settlement, coffee being the high-value commodity of the Mocha trade that passed constantly through the island in the homeward ships. The scheme to draw old plants from Bombay and the west coast, with a stranger to give directions and the captains charged to tend them on the voyage, answers the standing difficulty of transporting living stock by sea, the same care taken with the yam and potato plants relayed to Bencoolen in the memorandum for Captain Benjamin Graves of 3 July 1717. The lost coffee tree that once grew in the worst part of the country served as proof that the climate would bear the plant. The reference to ships frozen out of the Cape and refreshing there only, meeting disappointment for want of the island's provisions, ties to the standing Cape trade grievance, the Council's long argument that homeward ships should water and victual at St Helena rather than the Cape, pressed through the letters of 1725 to 1727. The request for cables of fifteen inches, running rigging, topmasts and Dutch tar reflects the island's function as a refitting station for the returning fleet, dependent on the Court to send the naval stores it could not itself produce. **Speculations** The Council chose to lay the coffee scheme before the Court for direction rather than simply procure plants and attempt the planting on its own authority, the course open to it with any ordinary crop. The reason lies in the source of the stock: the plants had to come from Bombay and the west coast, stations under the Court's command rather than the island's, and only an order from London could set the eastern gentlemen to send them and the captains to tend them on the passage. By referring the matter home, and citing the earlier tree lost through carelessness as proof the ground would bear it, the Council placed the one part of the scheme it could not command, the supply of living plants across the sea, with the body whose orders alone could secure it.
108	100	also & such Your Hon.r would Favour Us with an Hundred Bushells of Oates the better to inable Us to Raise a Breed of Horses which Wee cant well do without, & the well worth while for at Eleven Month old Wee Sell them at Eleven Pounds a Piece which is a very great Price; & haveing been very well Served laftly Year by Mr Christophen Gray of Sultham Wee defire Such Oates & Oares as Wee have mentioned in our Indents may be bought of him & that Your Hon.r will be pleafed to give the Captain Order to Stow them in the Bread Room or Gunroom they will be Sealed in any other Place by the Dampnefs of the Ship, & Wee also Pray Your Hon.r will Observe that the Strawberry Plants to be well Watered during the Passage or they will be loft. Medicines are Scarce with Us & Wee pray Your Hon.r will Order all Such to be Sent as are mentioned in the Doctors Indent	The Council asked the Court, if it pleased, to favour the island with a hundred bushels of oats, the better to enable it to raise a breed of horses, which it could not do without and which was well worth the effort. For the eleven months old, the Council would sell them at £11 0s 0d apiece, which was a very good price. The Council reported that garden trade in very good quantities could be had of Mr Christopher Gray of Sutham. It asked that such trade and plants as it had named in its indent might be bought of him, and that the Court would please to give the captain orders to stow them in the bread room or gun room, since they would be spoiled if stowed in any other place by the damp of the ship. The Council also asked the Court, if it thought fit, to order that the strawberry plants be kept well watered during the passage, as they would otherwise be lost. Medicines were scarce, and the Council prayed the Court to order all such to be sent as were named in the doctor's indent. 5: In one of its former letters the Council had told the Court that Mr Feake owed Mr Somerson, since dead, the sum of £35 15s 0d, but it had had no word whether the sum had been paid. The Council asked the Court, if it pleased, to permit the money to be paid to the attorney of John and William Worrall of the island, who were to receive it of Mr Feake upon that account, and to be paid into the Court's cash. It

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		In one of our former Letters Wee acquainted Your Hon.r that Mr Teak, oscd to Mr Sombergon was Indebted to You in the Sum of £ 35.10. but Wee have had no Advice whether the Same has been paid or not. Wee are defired to Pray Your Hon.r will permit Such Money as the Attorney of John & William Worral of this Island Shall receive of Mr Teak upon their Acct to be paid into Your Hon.r Cash & that Your Hon.r will Order them to be paid the Like Sum here, they are the Same poor Men about whom Your Hon.r were formerly pleafed to Examine Mr Teak a mentioned in the 58 Edro of Your Genll Letter & Exft ann but they have all this while been kept ott of their Money to the great Prejudice of themselves & their Families Wee lately troubled Your Hon.r with an Accot of the ill Behaviour of that Ruffian Wm Slaughter, he has Since Acknowledged his Villany in an other Letter to the Govr Sworn Wife after the foregoen of which the foll owerd is a true Litteral Copy & abundantly Conforme all that Wee have Said & done in this Affair Worshipfull Sir Being Sent from Your Favour by Your just Resentmentd to Sir Cr my sd Proceedings towards Argueth & Severall Aud Bansfaction as Your Worthy Warty Wr Do Most humbelay Ashk Consid Sir Cr Aforfaction Committee Aginst Your Worthr by Sir ande Mor Particulars That Great falfe hatteh ande Ciivill Report that Small in Saying that Your Worfhr Spook Irsonabel Worter Aginst Str King Whiht I follemtly Declare To be falfe Ande Do Most heartily Bragg Pardon for it And All Other ill Proceedings That I have ben golltiy of Promoseing for the futten Reslon to Do Restsh & Sing Sir Andies horpsng that Your Worshipe Goodniss Wid Rash Me As Will As I As Sinn. To Assevte sd Money **Margin Notes:** & Oates in order to Raise a Breed of Horses Garden Seeds defired to be bought of Mr Christophen Gray of Sultham & the Care of them Recommended to the Captain No Advice yet received whether Mr Sombergon Debt hath been paid or not Liberty defired for the Attorney of Wm Worrall to Pay in that Money he may receive into Your Cash in order to the Repaymt here Further Acct of	asked the Court to order the like sum paid at the island. These were the same poor men about whom the Court had formerly been pleased to examine Mr Feake, named in the 58th article of the Court's letter to each of them, but they had all this while been kept out of their money, to the great prejudice of themselves and their families. 6: The Council had lately troubled the Court with an account of the ill behaviour of that ruffian William Slaughter, who had since acknowledged his villainy in another letter to the Governor. Sworn witnesses gave the further account of the whole, of which the Council enclosed a true and exact copy, which would abundantly confirm all it had said in the affair. The letter to the Governor set out that Slaughter, brought to a true sense of his conduct by his own guilty conscience, and to a satisfaction of the wrong he had done to so good a Governor, most humbly asked the Court's committee's judgement of the Governor, by its own particulars, on the great false charge and cruel report he had made in saying that the Governor spoke unspeakable words against King George. He solemnly declared the charge to be false, and most heartily begged pardon for it, and for all the other proceedings he had been guilty of in removing the writer Carny, sent on to Bencoolen, hoping that the Governor's goodness would receive him as well as those men, and to assert the money [...] **Interpretations** The request for oats to breed horses reflects the island's dependence on the Court for the foundation stock of any new husbandry, the same relay of living supply behind the coffee scheme and the garden plants named elsewhere in this letter. The offer to sell the eleven-month animals at £11 0s 0d apiece shows the Council presenting the venture as a source of revenue rather than mere provision, the breeding programme framed as an asset to set against the standing charge of the establishment. The care over the garden trade and strawberry plants belongs to the recurring problem of transporting living stock by sea, the instruction to stow the plants in the bread room or gun room away from the ship's damp and to keep the strawberries watered answering the same difficulty met in the plant relays to Bencoolen recorded in the memorandum for Captain Benjamin Graves of 3 July 1717. Mr Christopher Gray of Sutham was a nurseryman from whom the Court could source the plants the island's indent required. The Feake debt in item 5 shows the island acting to recover a sum owed to its inhabitants through the machinery of the Court's London cash, the £35 15s 0d owed by Feake to the deceased Somerson to be paid to the Worralls' attorney and credited to the Court's account, then repaid the like sum at the island. This is the standing remittance device of a cashless settlement, the same conversion of a London claim into an island payment used throughout the correspondence, the reference to the 58th article of the Court's letter tying the matter to an enquiry the Court had already opened. The Worralls belong to the long-serving planting family of John Goodwin's predecessor as overseer, the William Worrall of the reply of 3 November 1718. The renewed Slaughter dossier repeats the same evidentiary structure carried home in the earlier despatches, the forged charge touching King George given the gravest colouring available, disaffection to the Hanoverian succession being the most dangerous complaint that could attach to a garrison officer after the proclamation of King George at Mile End Stone on 11 June 1715.

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		Slaughter Slaughters 2 Letter to the Governmt	
109	101	Money before Me And Do Most Humbley beg that You & sd Bepleasd to Receive Me to Your Worshipe favour And Barne Agan Wise in Swile be the Most Obediant And Most fathfullest man in Life Pray Sees Sir Pitty me Ma is Readdily To haward Or even to Lay Down My Life for Your Service Promoving for the futter So be Mindfsd of Your Commander And do Selfsame beag that & & God Wilbrance Mon Receive Me to Your favour And for Which I Shate be a Propossell Aonaligorst of Your Clanancey And am Sir May the 2t 1729 Your Worshipe Most Obedt and Most humbly Servant Wm Slaughter To the Worshipfull Edwards Byfeld Governour Captain Balchen having in his outyeare bounds Voyage Watered at Lemon Valley Wee asfked him how it proved & he Confused as good as any his water defired to drink, but his People are of the Same Opinion & went perfectly well to Bancoolen sd that from hence & the other Remarke Wee made to Your Hon.r in Some of our late Letters it plainly Appears that the Poutony the Commanders make Ufe of so becaufe their going into the Cape is without Reason or Foundation & Wee Shate be heartily Sorry if Your Hon.r Should be imposed upon Est & pott Your Selves to so great Expence to no purpose, for tho the Water in the Nortt Valley is Sometimes Brackish yet it is so at Lemon Valley alte the Gover ourshr this is no Accidentals Obfervation Capt Balchen hath been often here & hath always taken Notice of the Goodnefs of Lemon Valley Water at which Place he constantly Watered for Eight Voyages which he hath made to this Island Your Ships Isanev arrived here on the 20th May, the Synder land of the 29th the Stratham on the 30 & the Wilpole & James & Mary on the 31 of that Month the Supply they brought Us Your Hon.r will See in our Consultations the Commendationsp of all the Gentlemen & Ladies Pafsengers obliged Us with a Town gorn & the Country they Wee believe will Conform all that Wee have told Your Hon.r about the Improvement the Governour has lately made, the Road & Plantation House they extreamly admired & readily owned that there is a Sorts of an agreeable Nefsforom sun in the mefst of Our difmal Property. On the 9th instant arrived the Ansfield from Bengah with the ufsat	Slaughter closed his letter by asking the Court to receive the money before it, and to be pleased to accept him again into favour, promising to behave himself in the most obedient and dutiful manner, and declaring himself ready to lay down his life for the Governor's service. Ever mindful of his commander, and doing all he could, he hoped the Governor would receive him into favour, for which he would remain a professed acknowledger of the Governor's clemency. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 25 May 1729 by William Slaughter, and directed to the Worshipful Edward Byfield, Esquire, Governor. 7: The Council reported that Captain Balchen, having watered at Lemon Valley on his outward bound voyage, confirmed the water there to be as good as any he had drawn to drink, all his people being of the same opinion. He went perfectly well to Bencoolen from the island. From this and the other observations, and as plainly appeared from several of the Council's late letters, the Company might rest satisfied that the Council did not put the Court to charge to no purpose. The pretence the commanders made of going into the Cape was without reason or justification, and the Council would be heartily sorry that so great an expense should be imposed on the Court to no purpose. The water in the Fort Valley was sometimes brackish, yet the water at Lemon Valley was good the year round, and this was no idle observation, since Captain Balchen had often been at the island and had always taken notice of the goodness of the Lemon Valley water, drawing his water there constantly for the eight voyages he had made to the island. 8: The Court's ships had arrived in turn. The *London* came in on 20 May, the *Sunderland* on the 29th, the *Stretham* on the 30th, and the *Walpole*, *James* and *Morgan* on the 31st of that month. The supply each brought for the island would appear in the Council's consultations. The commanders and the ladies and gentlemen passengers, pleased with a tour of the country, the Council believed would confirm all it had told the Court about the improvements the Governor had lately made. The wood and plantation house they extremely admired, readily owning that there was a sort of agreeable freedom even in the midst of the island's dismal poverty. On the 9th of this month the *Achilles* arrived from Bengal with the usual supply for the island. The difference in the quantity of goods, mentioned in the bills of lading of each ship, and what the Court would see by the storekeeper's endorsement upon each bill, copies of which William Slaughter had sent in the Council's packets, the Council asked to note. For the future, the Council asked the Court to order only rice, arrack, tea, bohea, singlo and blacks to be sent, having china, sugar and copper already in the store. It asked the Court to order the agents at Bengal to send the singlo teas, since the Council's stock was low and it was in great want, and it asked that good wax candles be sent from Bengal. **Interpretations** Captain Balchen's testimony in item 7 is the corroborating account of a calling commander, cited to settle the disputed question of watering the fleet at Lemon Valley against the Cape, the same evidentiary device used with Captain Hudson in the general letter of this season and with the various masters whose word confirmed the island's case before the Court. A commander who had watered at Lemon Valley for eight voyages and whose crews

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		Supply for this Place & the difference in the Quantities of Goods mencond in the Bills of Loading of each Ship & what hath been Delivered on their Your Hon.r will Sr by Mr Storekeepen Indorsem.t upon each Bill Copies of which Wee have Sent in Our Packets, & for the future Wee defire Your Hon.r will only Order Brahes Sea Bomilo Snakeb & Blacks to be Sent Us from China We having along Quantity of Coppin Sweets & Sea Bofs already in the Store the ass Pray Your Hon.r & will Order the ijorst at Prospuor to Send the Trays Dsawrd of good Wire Cama & our Stockise low Wee are in great wants Wee **Margin Notes:** Capt Balchen his Opinion of the Water at Lemon Valley which being alwayes good & hopes the Company will not put themfslves to Charge to a purpose Captaines & Pafsengers their Opinion of the Water Improvements Sorts of China Goods defired Wire Candles defired to be Sent from Prospuor	stayed healthy carried the weight the Council's own assertion could not, the pretence of going into the Cape reduced to a preference the island could contradict on sworn experience. The whole thread belongs to the standing Cape trade grievance, the Council's long argument that homeward and outward ships should water and refresh at St Helena rather than the Cape, pressed through the letters of 1725 to 1727. The brackish water of the Fort Valley set against the good water of Lemon Valley shows why the earlier plantation site had proved undependable, the same defect that condemned the Fort Valley slave plantation in the general letter of 14 June 1729. The instruction to send only rice, arrack, tea, bohea, singlo and slaves reflects the standing management of the island's stores against its actual wants, the Council directing the Court's supply toward what was short and away from the china, sugar and copper already held. The storekeeper's endorsements on the bills of lading are the documentary record of short delivery, the mechanism by which a shortfall in a ship's cargo was charged against the freight, the same device applied to Captain Pitt's rice in the packet of 15 May 1729. The naming of bohea and singlo, the black and green teas of the China trade, and the request for wax candles from Bengal reflect the routine restocking of the island from the eastern presidencies.
110	102	Wee have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon.r for the Sum of One Hundred Sixty Seven Pounds Sterling dated the 28th of May laft payable to John Martin Von Ofsen or Order for so mush due to him in Your Hon.r Books of Acct here of which Wee humbly Pray Your Acceptance. The Captaines having acquainted Us that they determined to Saile on the 10th Wee offred them Reasons to the contrary as Yr Hon.r will find Enterd in Our Consultation of the 12th instant which Wee hope will meet with Your Approbation their Answer is also Enterd in the Same Consultation. Wee are Hon.d Sirs Your most Dutyfull & Most Obliged & Most faithfull humble Servts St Helena 14th June 1729 **Margin Notes:** Bills drawn Reasons offerd to the Captaines to difswade them from Sailing before the Arrival of the Sleethectt	9: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £167 0s 0d, dated 28 May last, payable to John Martin Van Osten or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books of account at the island. The Council prayed the Court's acceptance. 10: The captains having told the Council they meant to sail on the 10th, the Council put reasons to them against it, as the Court would find entered in the consultation of the 12th of this month, which it hoped would meet the Court's approval. The captains' answer was also entered in the same consultation. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 14 June 1729 by the Governor and Council, as most dutiful, most obliged and most faithful servants. **Interpretations** The bill drawn to John Martin Van Osten for credit due in the Court's books is the standing remittance of a cashless settlement, coin or credit at the island converted into a claim on the Court in London, the same device running through the whole correspondence. This is the same Company servant moved by Governor Johnson from under the storekeeper to the accountant's office in the consultation of 3 May 1720, whose effort finished the arrears of the island's books. The dispute over the captains' intended sailing on the 10th belongs to the standing tension between the Council's authority and a commander's independence, the Council able to put reasons against an early departure but obliged to record both its argument and the captains' answer in consultation for the Court's judgement, the practical limit of the island's writ over a master reaching only so far as he would submit. The same limit was pressed over Captain Hunter of the *Barrington*, who sailed against the charter party in the letters of 1724, and framed the recurring request for positive orders to enforce the Court's directions on defiant commanders.

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111	103	Instruction 18 directs me to ignore all numbering that serves only as pagination, binding or marginal reference, and I read the running 1-39 down the left edge as an item-numbering column of that kind. That's why I left them out. If you'd prefer them retained as part of the list content, I can put them back. Here's the page with each item's number included on its line. Lift of the Packet p Stretham 1 Govr & Council Genll Letter dated 14th June 1729 2 Copy of Govr & Council Genll Letter dated 15 May 1729 3 Duplicate of Consults from 31 March to 12th May 1729 both inclusfive 4 Do Lift of Salaries 4 Do Fines 5 Do Customs 6 Do Families 7 Do Blacks 8 Do Eaters at Table 9 Do Licenses 10 Do Rents & Revenues 11 Do Acct of Expence of each Plantacon for March 1728/9 12 Do Aprill 13 Do Inventory &c of the Effects of Benjn Alfop decd 14 Do Acct of Ship Ockham 15 Do Hertford 16 Do George 17 Do Florrison 18 Do Storekeep Indorsem.t upon Bill of Loading of Ship George 19 Do Hertford 20 Do Lift of the Packet p Hertford 15 May 1729 21 Copy Consultn from 15 May to 12th June 1729 both inclusfive 22 Cap Notley Acct for the Large Packet 23 Do for the Small Ditto 24 Indent of Stores wanting at St Helena dated 13th June 1729 25 Doctors Indent of Medicines wanting dated 11 June 1729 26 Copy of the Acct of Ship Isanev 27 Do Storekeep Indorsem.t upon Bill of Loading of Ship Isanev 28 Copy of the Acct of Ship Sunderland 29 Do Stretham 30 Do Walpole 31 Do James & Mary 32 Copy of Storekeepers Indorsem.t upon Bill of Loading of Ship Stretham 33 Walpole 34 James & Mary 35 Anfsabie 36 Copy of the Expence of each Plantn for Month May 1729 38 Do of the Acct of Ship Anfsabie 39 Lift of the Packet 14th June 1729	List of the packet by the *Stretham*. 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 14 June 1729 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter dated 15 May 1729 3: Duplicate of consultations from 31 March to 12 May 1729, both inclusive 4: Duplicate list of salaries 4: Duplicate list of fines 5: Duplicate list of customs 6: Duplicate list of families 7: Duplicate list of blacks 8: Duplicate list of eaters at table 9: Duplicate list of licences 10: Duplicate list of rents and revenues 11: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for March 1728 and 1729 12: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for April 1729 13: Duplicate inventory of the effects of Benjamin Alsop, since dead 14: Duplicate account of the ship Eaton 15: Duplicate account of the ship Hertford 16: Duplicate account of the ship George 17: Duplicate account of the ship Harrison 18: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship George 19: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Hertford 20: Duplicate list of the packet by the Hertford, 15 May 1729 21: Copy of consultations from 15 May to 12 June 1729, both inclusive 22: Captain Nelly's receipt for the large packets 23: Captain Nelly's receipt for the small packets 24: Indent of stores wanting at St Helena dated 13 June 1729 25: Doctor's indent of medicines wanting dated 11 June 1729 26: Copy of the accounts of the ship Frances 27: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Frances 28: Copy of the accounts of the ship Sunderland 29: Copy of the accounts of the ship Stretham 30: Copy of the accounts of the ship Walpole 31: Copy of the accounts of the ship James and Mary 32: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Stretham 33: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Walpole 34: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship James and Mary 35: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Aislaby 36: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of May 1729 38: Duplicate account of the ship Aislaby 39: List of the packets The list was dated at St Helena on 14 June 1729. **Interpretations** The manifest sets out the standing apparatus of a season's homeward packet, the general letter travelling with a full run of duplicated consultations, plantation accounts, ship accounts and the fixed annual lists of salaries, fines, customs, families, slaves, general-table eaters, licences and revenues. The systematic duplication of items already sent by the *Hertford*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the standing insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of

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			Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The many storekeeper's endorsements on the bills of lading, entered against the *George*, *Hertford*, *Frances*, *Stretham*, *Walpole*, *James and Mary* and *Aislaby*, are the documentary record of short or retained cargo, the mechanism by which a deficiency in a delivered consignment was charged against the freight rather than lost, the same device applied to Captain Pitt's fourteen bags of rice in the earlier packet. The two indents, one of stores and one of medicines, are the routine requisitions by which the island drew its wants from London, the doctor's separate indent reflecting the chronic medical shortage that ran through the whole correspondence. The inventory of the effects of Benjamin Alsop, since dead, is the administration of a deceased servant's estate for transmission home under the Court's standing rule, the same Alsop being the surgeon whose death after a ten-day illness was reported in the consultations of this season, his place filled by Mr Brown on Captain Pitt's recommendation.
112	104	Hon.d Sirs 10th Decr 1729 The laft of Your Shiping which Sailed from hence were the Stretham Sunderland Walpole James & Mary Frances & Anfsabie who left Us on the 15th of June laft extreamly well pleafed with the Civilities & Refreshments they met with at this Place efpecially with the great Abundance of Greens & Roote with wch they were Supplyed. In one by the Stretham of which the Enclosed is a Copy & in our former Letters laft Year Wee gave Your Honours a very full Acct of the Managements of all Your Affairs committed to Our Care & what has Since happen'd Wee lay before You in the ufual Order First concerning Your Shiping On the 19th of laft Month about Eight in the Morning Wee had an Allarm for a Single Ship about Ten Leagues to the Windward & the next day about Noon Your Ship Prince Frederick Capt Rodham arrived here directly from Bombay but brought no Supply for the Ufe of this Place. The Captain Reports that by a Moorifh Ship which by the Violence of the Violence of the Monfoons was forced into Bombay about the middle of July laft that there was an Europe Ship at Mocho & that She had got in half her Loading & by the Description they gave of one of the Supra Cargoes Viz a Short thick merry Mortal the Gentlemen at Bombay concludes it was the Morrice & that the Person defcribed was Mr Wilhie Captr Rodham alfo told Us that Capt Wifsnor arrived the 20th of March at Mocho in his way to Duda & laft Mr Deane &	Council general letter, St Helena, 10 December 1729. The last of the Court's shipping had sailed from the island, the *Stretham*, *Sunderland*, *Walpole*, *James and Mary*, *Frances* and *Aislaby*, which left on 15 June last extremely well pleased with the civilities and refreshments they met with at the island, especially with the great abundance of greens and roots with which they were supplied. In its letters by the *Stretham*, of which the enclosed was a copy, and in its former letters last year, the Council had given a very full account of the management of all the Court's affairs committed to its care. What had happened since, the Council now set before the Court in the usual order. First, concerning the Court's shipping. 2: On the 19th of last month, about eight in the morning, the island had an alarm for a single ship about ten leagues to windward. The next day about noon the Court's ship *Prince Frederick*, Captain Rodham, arrived directly from Bombay, but brought no supply for the island. The captain reported that a Moorish ship, forced into Bombay by the violence of the monsoons about the middle of July last, brought word that a European ship lay at Mocha, and had got in half her lading. By the description they gave of one of the supercargoes, a short, thick, merry mortal, the gentlemen at Bombay concluded it was the *Morice*, and that the person described was Mr Wilkie. Captain Rodham also told the Council that Captain Misener had arrived on 20 March at Mocha on his way to Juda, and had left Mr Deane and the gentlemen at Bengal well at the time he sailed from there. The captain delivered the Council a protest against the sea, dated 21 November, as had been usual. The Council sent the Court a copy in its packets. On the 6th of this month the captain very much surprised and astonished the Council. In spite of the orders he had received from it on the 20th of last month, by which he was expressly forbidden to leave the island unless there were two or three ships in company, he had nevertheless resolved to sail alone on the eleventh. Persisting in his design against all the Council's arguments to the contrary, the Council, on the Court's behalf, and to prevent as far as possible the ill effects of his rashness, delivered him a protest dated the 10th of this month, a copy of which was entered in the consultation of 10 December. The Council's wonder and surprise that Captain Rodham should presume to disobey the Court's commands

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		the Gentlemen at Prengale well at the time he Sailed from thence The Captain hath delivered Us a Proteft against the Seas dated the 21 of Novr of which as hath been ufually done Wee Send Your Hon.r a Copy in Our Packets. On the 6th instant he very much Surprized & Astonished Us having acquainted Us that notwithstanding the Orders he received from Us on the 20th of laft Month by which he is exprefsly forbid to leave this place unlefs there be two or three Ships in Company he was neverthe lefs come to a Resolution to Saile alone on the Eleventh and Perfifting in his Defign against all our Arguments to the contrary Wee in behalf of Your Hon.r & to prevent as much as is pofsible the ill Effects of his Rafhnefs delivered him a Proteft dated the 10th instant a Copy of which is Enterd in Our Consultation of the 10th of Decr, And Our Wonder & Surprize that Capt Rodham Should thus dare to prefume to difobey Your Commands is the more encreafed becaufe Wee daily Expect the Arrival of an other Ship & he himfelf told Us that he was very indifferently Mand **Margin Notes:** Prince Frederick Arrives Capt Rodham Protefts against the Seas Governr & Councill Proteft against Capt Rodham	was the more increased because it daily expected the arrival of another ship, and because he himself told it that he was very indifferently manned [...] **Interpretations** The intelligence in item 2 shows the island's function as a clearing house for shipping news across the Indian Ocean trade, a report brought to Bombay by a Moorish ship forced in by the monsoon reaching St Helena through Captain Rodham, the identification of the *Morice* resting on nothing firmer than a description of a supercargo's build. The monsoon that drove the Moorish ship into Bombay was the seasonal reversing wind of the Indian Ocean, on whose timing the whole rhythm of the eastern voyages turned, ships held or sped by its onset. The protest against the sea that Captain Rodham delivered on arrival is the standing maritime instrument by which a master formally recorded storm damage or hardship suffered on the passage, entered to protect himself against later claims over the state of ship or cargo, the same document entered by the storm-struck commanders of the *Desbouverie* and *Wadder* after the Cape storm of 6 April 1716. The dispute over Rodham's sailing turns the recurring tension between the Council's authority and a commander's independence to its sharpest point. The Council had a standing order from the Court that homeward ships sail in company for their greater security against pirates, the convoy pressed through the letters of 1724, and it had expressly forbidden Rodham to leave without two or three ships together. His resolution to sail alone against that order left the Council able only to deliver a formal protest and enter it in consultation for the Court's judgement, the practical limit of the island's writ over a master reaching only so far as he would submit, the same limit exposed by Captain Hunter of the *Barrington* in the letters of 1724. The added danger that Rodham was poorly manned made his defiance the graver, a single weak ship the readiest prize for the pirates the convoy was meant to guard against. **Speculations** The Council chose to answer Captain Rodham's defiance with a formal written protest rather than let his departure pass unremarked, the course a commander's independence might have made the easier. The reason lies in the standing order behind it: the Court had directed that homeward ships sail in company for their security, so Rodham's resolution to sail alone struck directly at an instruction the Council was bound to uphold. Unable to compel a master who would not submit, the Council fell back on the one device open to it, a protest entered in consultation, which registered the Court's prior command and shifted the responsibility for any loss squarely onto Rodham, guarding the island's own account against the ill effects of a rashness it could not physically prevent.
113	105	[Loss along the left-hand edge, affecting the start of several lines in the upper portion of the page.] Windward & many of his Crew being Boys or Raw Men &c of thofe he hath buried Twenty & brought thofe that Survived in hither in a very weak & Sickly Condition & in our humble Opinion this rafh Attempt is not only extreamly dangerous & Unwarrantable but will juftly Subject him to the ill Effects of Your Difpleafure & Wee doubt not he will have Caufe to Repent at Leifure	Captain Rodham was outward bound, and many of his crew were boys or raw men, of whom he had already buried twenty and brought those that survived into the island in a very weak and sickly condition. In the Council's opinion his rash attempt was not only extremely dangerous and unwarrantable but would justly subject him to the ill effects of the Court's displeasure, and it doubted not he would have cause to repent at leisure of this hasty resolution. Should the Court let this piece of contempt escape its notice, it would be vain for the Council to hope or expect obedience to any orders the Court might hereafter think proper to send to

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		of this precipitate Refolution for Should Your Honours Suffer this piece of Contempt to efcape Your Notice it will be in vain for Us to hope or Expect Abedience Should be paid to any Orders Your Honours may hereafter think proper to Send hither let the Danger or Importance be never so great Secondly concerning Goods Wee have continued our Endeavours to difpofe of the Cape Chints with a little better Sucefs than laft Year having Sold fifty two Ps & Ninety four Yards, Twenty Piece more Wee have ufed to Cloth Your Blacks which Saves Goods of greater Value, Wee wifh too Wee could have difpofed of the Hatts & Buttons but they are so bad they are not vendable. Your Lofs this Year by Leakage & Waftage of Goods is lefs than it was laft year as Your Hon.r will See by the Journall folio 121, & upon the whole is very inconsiderable, & Wee will continue the Same Care & Diligence that not any thing be loft or Wafted but what is Unavoidable Thirdly concerning Your Acco.ts Servants Blacks Cattle &ca. The Governour having kept a conftant Eye over the Bookeeper One Set of Books for the Year ending the 30th of Septr laft have been Ballanced which with the Inventory have been carefully Examined in Our Sevll Consultations of the 18th 19. 20. 21. 22. & 24 of Novr laft & are again pretty well Copied to what they ufed to be, Wee have also transmitted Your Hon.r a Cafh Book & Book of Difsburfemts both which have likewife been carefully Examined & Approved by Us & Agree with the Genll Books by which it Appears that the grofs Charge of the Island for the Year paft by the Governrs prudent Care & commendable ffrugality Amounts only to £ 4437. 5. 2, & Wee humbly afsure Your Honours the like Temperance and good Hufbandry Shall be Obferved in the Expence of the Current Year. Your Slaves continue to thrive upon their Diet of Fifh & Potatoes Wee hear very little now of Fluxes Aching Bones or Pains in the belly the when they were fed with Salt Provisions it was common to have twenty or thirty of them laid up at a time, their Food is now wholefome & not expensive the great Plenty of Fifh which Wee Still continue to catch having effectually Sfecured You from the former heavy Charge of Salt Meat & the faithfully afsure Your Hon.r Wee **Margin Notes:** Company defired to take Notice of his breach of	the island, let the danger or importance be never so great. Secondly, concerning goods. 3: The Council had continued its efforts to sell the Cape chintz with a little better success than last year, having sold fifty two and ninety four yards. Twenty pieces more it had used to clothe the Court's slaves, which saved goods of greater value. The Council wished it could also have sold the hats and buttons, but they were so bad they could not be sold. 4: The Court's loss this year by leakage and wastage of goods was less than last year, as the Court would see by the journal folio 121, and was on the whole very slight. The Council would keep up the same care and diligence that nothing be lost or wasted but what could not be avoided. Thirdly, concerning the Court's accounts, servants, slaves, cattle and the like. 5: The Governor having kept a constant eye over the bookkeeper, one set of books for the year ending 30 September last had been balanced. These, with the inventory, had been carefully examined in the consultations of the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 22nd and 24th of November last, and were again fairly copied close to what they used to be. The Council had also sent the Court a cash book and a book of disbursements, both likewise carefully examined and approved, which agreed with the general books. By these it appeared that the gross charge of the island for the year past, through the Governor's prudent care and praiseworthy frugality, came only to £4,437 5s 2d. The Council assured the Court that the like restraint and good husbandry would be observed in the expense of the current year. 6: The Court's slaves continued to thrive on their diet of fish and potatoes. The Council heard very little now of fluxes, aching bones or pains in the belly, though when they were fed with salt provisions it was common to have twenty or thirty of them laid up at a time. Their food was now wholesome and not costly, the great plenty of fish the island still caught having effectually saved the Court from the former heavy charge of salt meat. **Interpretations** The account of the slaves' diet in item 6 records a deliberate change in provisioning with a measured result, the shift from imported salt meat to caught fish and home-grown potatoes cutting both the sickness rate and the cost. The fluxes and aching bones that afflicted twenty or thirty at a time under the salt diet point to the diseases of preserved provisions on which the island's whole victualling economy turned, the local fishery and root crops the remedy that spared the Court the heavy charge of imported meat. This ties to the standing yam and root self-supply pressed through the correspondence and to the new watered plantations of the season. The Cape chintz, hats and buttons in item 3 are the Company trade goods the island was expected to sell on the Court's account, chintz being the printed and painted Indian cotton cloth of the eastern trade, here of Cape provenance. The Council's use of twenty pieces to clothe the slaves rather than let them lie unsold shows the standing practice of turning unsaleable stock to the establishment's own use, saving goods of greater value, the same reasoning behind the slave clothing scales of earlier years. The unsaleable hats and buttons record the difficulty of a remote market with few buyers for poor goods. The gross charge of £4,437 5s 2d for the year belongs to the standing prospectus of a servant building his record before the Court, the low figure the proof of the Governor's frugality pressed throughout the season's letters, the same suit made

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		Orders Cape Chints not vendable nor the Hatts or Buttons Leakage & Waft very Small Charge of the Island for the Year paft Amounts only to £ 4437.5.2 Fifh good for the Blacks & Plenty Still caught	in the general letter of 14 June 1729 with its claim of £8,700 0s 0d saved. The books balanced to 30 September reflect the reform of the accounting year from the inconvenient March close, struck under Governor Smith and recorded by the *Sunderland* of 21 February 1724, the September reckoning now the settled rule.
114	106	Wee have exerted our Selves in Such manner that there is no likelihood You Should again be at that Expence it was what gave Us great Difturbance & Uneafinefs & Wee could not reft till Wee had found Meanes to Remedy it The Improvements which from time to time have been made in the Wood afford Us all the Advantage Wee propofed & are of Singular Ufe to Your Shiping efpecially when the Sailors are Sickly as it happened to the Prince Frederick whofe Crew received more benefit from Potatoes which come from thence & grow daily better & better being white dry & mealy than from all their other Diet & Phyfic together Wee have compleated the Stone Fence as far as Wee are able to carry it it being almoft impofsible to carry the Same Fence round every Part becaufe the Stone lying very remote & at the bottom of high Hills the Attempt is become impracticable, that part which is moft expofed to Goates & Cattle is done & that being the place about which they chiefly Graze there is no great Mifchief to be Apprehended from them in other Parts, but effectually to prevent it Wee have Appointed two or three of Your ancient or Superannuated Blacks to Watch thofe Places which ly Unfenced & to drive the Goates & Cattle out if they Should go that way which hath rarely happen'd. Your Paftures there the Fences of which are kept in conftant Repair are so fertile that Wee Graze Your whole Stock there Nine Months in the Year Your Paftures in all other Places are alfo in exceeding good Order which is entirely owing to the Governours careful Managemt in many places which formerly ufed to be as bare as the back of Our Hands there is now great Plenty of good Grafs which almoft in all places is nearly high as the Grafs in England to the great Surprize of the Inhabitants who look upon it with Amazement the beft of theirs being bare if compared with Yours After this Acct of Your Paftures Your Hon.r will expect to hear that You have good Cattle & so You have as good if not better than	The Council had bent itself to the task so far that there was no likelihood the Court would again be at that expense. The former charge had caused it great disturbance and unease, and it could not rest until it had found a means to remedy it. The improvements lately made in the wood gave the island all the advantage the Council had looked for, and were of singular use to the Court's shipping, especially when the sailors were sickly, as had happened to the *Prince Frederick*, whose crew received most benefit from the potatoes that came from there and grew daily better and better, being white, dry and mealy beyond all their other diet and physic together. The Council had completed the stone fence as far as it was able to carry it, since it was almost impossible to run the same fence round the whole. The stone lay very remote and at the bottom of high hills, so that the attempt had become impracticable. The part most exposed to goats and cattle was done, and since that was the place about which they chiefly grazed, there was no great mischief to be feared from them in other parts. To prevent it effectually the Council had appointed two or three of the Court's old or superannuated slaves to watch the places left unfenced, and to drive the goats and cattle out if they should go that way, which had rarely happened. The Court's pastures there, the fences of which were kept in constant repair, were so fertile that the whole stock could graze there nine months in the year. 8: The Court's pastures in all other places were also in exceeding good order, entirely owing to the Governor's careful management. In many places that formerly used to be as bare as the back of a hand there was now great plenty of good grass, almost everywhere as high as the grass in England, to the great surprise of the inhabitants, who looked on it with amazement, the best of theirs being bare compared with the Court's. 9: After this account of the pastures, the Court would expect to hear that it had good cattle, and it had cattle as good, if not better, than St Helena ever produced. 10: The Court's house and garden in the country, through the many great improvements the Governor had made there with the labour of the Court's own slaves, looked now like a complete little seat. In a piece of ground lately added to it, he had planted since February last fifteen large and twenty two small peach trees, six large and forty six small apple trees, two large and one small mulberry trees, thirty three Cape fig trees, and at the fort twenty three lemon trees. The Governor took timely care to provide these from his neighbours, and they all grew finely. Besides the great plenty of fruit they would yield, they made a beautiful ornament to both the house and garden. He had also taken particular care to preserve those the Court sent from England, but they, having very little root, were not likely [...] **Interpretations**

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		ever St Helena produced. Your Houfe & Garden in the Country by the many great Improvements the Governr has there made with the Labour of Your own Blacks looks now like a compleat little Seat & in a Piece of Ground he lately added to it Since February laft he hath Planted Fifteen large & twenty two Small Peach Trees Six large & forty Six Small Apple Trees, Two large & one Small Mulberry Trees & Thirty Three Cape Fig Trees & at the Fort Twenty three Lemon Trees all which the Governour took timely care to provide of his Neighbours & they all grow finely & befides the great Plenty of Fruit they will afford are a beautifull Ornament both to the Houfe & Garden He hath alfo taken particular Care to preferve thofe which Your Hon.r Sent from England but they having very little Root they were not likely **Margin Notes:** Expence of Salt Provifions Saved Wood of great Ufe affording Plenty of Potatoes &c Fence at the Wood compleated as far as it necefsary to carry it Plenty of Pafture Good Cattle Farther Improvemts in the Garden in the Country	The account of the wood and pastures belongs to the standing woodland and replanting programme pressed through the correspondence, but here folded into the season's prospectus of the Governor's husbandry. The potatoes raised in the wood, praised as white, dry and mealy and set above all other diet and physic, tie directly to the recovery of the sickly *Prince Frederick* crew, the root crop cast as both provision and remedy against the diseases of the sea, the same argument made for the fish and potato diet of the slaves in the preceding item. The stone fence and the appointment of old slaves to watch the unfenced ground show the practical limits of enclosure on ground where the stone lay remote and at the foot of high hills. The Council fenced only the part most exposed to grazing beasts and set superannuated slaves to guard the rest, the same use of aged slaves for light supervisory work recorded of Old Will in the despatch by the *St George* of 1715, kept past his labour for keeping order among the others. This is the standing enclosure difficulty behind the Horse Point and Great Wood works of the letters of 1725. The planting of peach, apple, mulberry, fig and lemon trees, drawn from the Governor's neighbours, records the improvement of the country house as part of the servant's record before the Court, the same suit for favourable notice running through the whole season. The care over the plants the Court sent from England, failing for want of root, restates the recurring problem of transporting living stock by sea, the same difficulty met in the garden plants and strawberry stock of the earlier letters of this year and in the plant relays to Bencoolen of 1717.
115	107	likely to Live Wee therefore Grafted them the Apple Trees upon Apple Stocks which the Governour procured laft Year & the Pears upon Quinces & now they thrive extreamly well & over & above thefe he hath Planted many Thoufands of Gumwood & Red Wood Trees this laft is excellent Timber for many purpofes is of a good Colour & fine Scent & much Refembles a Red Cedar & tho so very Serviceable yet it was nearly loft to the Island but about fix Years ago the Governour got a couple of young Plants neither of them above an Inch high Set them in his Garden took great Care of them & they now Produce Seed in Such great Abundance that from thefe two Trees alone Wee thate be able to Supply all the Island and if Wee will encourage the Encreafe of them all Wee can they will grow almoft any where & thofe Wee have Planted Surprizingly faft Wee have Refunded the Severall Sums of Money for which Wee had Credit for our Blacks Labour according to Your Orders p Cadogan the particulars be pleafed to See in the Journal folio 114. The Perfons following have made the Severall Payments	The plants the Court sent from England were not likely to live, so the Council grafted them, the apple trees on apple stocks the Governor had procured last year and the pears on quinces, and now they throve extremely well. Over and above these, the Governor had planted many thousands of gumwood and redwood trees this year. Redwood was excellent timber for many purposes, of a good colour and fine scent, and much resembled a red cedar, and though very serviceable it had been nearly lost to the island. About five years ago the Governor got a couple of young plants, neither of them above an inch high, set them in his garden, took great care of them, and they now produced seed in such great abundance that from those two trees alone the Council was able to supply all the island. It would encourage the increase of them as much as it could, since they grew almost anywhere and those already planted grew surprisingly fast. 11: The Council had refunded the several sums of money for which it had credit for the Court's slave labour, according to the Court's orders, by the *Cadogan*. The Court might see the particulars in the journal folio 114. 12: The following persons had made the payments listed below since September last, twelve months toward lessening their debts. John Alexander, £48 14s 6d John Purling, £81 7s 0d Thomas Allis, £10 7s 8d John French, £5 4s 0d Robert Gurling, £14 16s 7¼d Grace Hayes, £8 8s 0d Mary Orme, £9 11s 0d

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		Undermentioned Since September laft was Twelve Month towards lefsening their Debts Vizt John Alexander £ 48. 14. 6 John Purling 81. 7. Tho.s Allis 10. 7. 8 John French 5. . Robt Gurling 14. 16. 7¼ Grae Hafse 8. 8. Mary Orme 9. 11. Mary Throw 5. . Wm Slaughton . 10. 5 £ 183. 15. 2¼ Wee hope Your Hon.r will be pleafed with Our Diligence in getting in the Debt lately due from Ralph Orme deceafed becaufe Wee Sometime ago acquainted You that Wee looked upon it as defperate the Remainder which is owing from him & all others Wee will recover as faft as Wee can. With much difficulty & good looking after the Inhabitants have paid the Remainder of their Rents which they left Unpaid at March laft which then were £ 546. 2. 5 of this Wee received £ 499. 9. 5 in Cafh at Septr which with the Sum of £ 46. 16. charged to the Acct of Mefs.rs Alexander & Purling & cleared by their Salary as Your Hon.r will particularly See by the Journal folio 110 & 111 makes the former Sum of £ 546. 2. 5 exactly, if Your Shiping Supply themfelves here this Season Wee believe they will find it much more eafey to Pay their Rents next Year & without being called upon. The Acco.ts of Rents Customs Fines & Licences have this Year been kept diftinct from the Profit upon Goods as Your Honours have been **Margin Notes:** Trees Grafted Red Wood Planted Money Refunded for Blacks hire Debts Recovred Remainder of Rents received Acct of Rents diftinctly kept	Mary Shrewe, £5 4s 0d William Slaughton, £0 10s 5d Total, £183 15s 2¼d The Council hoped the Court would be pleased with its diligence in getting in the debt lately due from Ralph Orme, deceased, since it had some time ago told the Court it looked on the debt as desperate. The remainder due from him and from all others it would recover as fast as it could. 13: With much difficulty and good management, the inhabitants had paid the remainder of their rents left unpaid at March last, which then came to £546 2s 5d. Of this the Council received £499 9s 5d in cash by September. That, with the sum of £46 13s 0d charged to the accounts of Messrs Alexander and Purling and cleared by their salaries, as the Court might see by the journal folios 110 and 111, made up the former sum of £546 2s 5d exactly. If the Court's shipping supplied themselves at the island this season, the Council believed the inhabitants would find it much easier to pay their rents next year without being called upon. 14: The accounts of rents, customs, fines and licences had this year been kept distinct from the profit on goods, as the Court had [...] **Interpretations** The redwood account records a deliberate recovery of a native timber nearly lost, the Governor's two seedlings raised over five years into a seed source for the whole island. Redwood, a St Helena endemic prized for its colour, scent and durability, belongs to the standing woodland programme, its near-extinction the same depletion the wood-planting law of Governor Roberts was meant to arrest, pressed through the letters of 1725 to 1727. The grafting of the failing English fruit stock onto apple and quince answers the recurring difficulty of establishing imported plants, the local rootstock the practical remedy where the transported trees would not take. The debt payments in item 12 show the standing recovery in kind and cash pressed against a people left poor by drought, the small sums entered against named inhabitants the register of the Council's mild but persistent collection under the reformed transfer rule. The mechanism is the same graded recovery set out in the letters of 1720 and 1722, surplus taken from the solvent and time allowed the rest, the whole tied to the accounting reform that let each debtor's true standing be known. William Slaughton, paying ten shillings and fivepence, appears among the ordinary debtors, the same garrison ensign whose forged charges filled the season's other packets. The clearing of the Alexander and Purling rents by salary set-off in item 13 shows the closed circuit of a cashless establishment, a servant's rent discharged directly against his pay in the Court's books rather than in coin, the £46 13s 0d never passing as money at all. The observation that the inhabitants would pay more easily if the shipping victualled at the island ties the whole debt question to the standing Cape trade grievance, the planters' ability to meet their rents depending on a market for their provisions among the fleet. The keeping of rents, customs, fines and licences distinct from the profit on goods in item 14 reflects the accounting reform of Governor Smith's administration, the separation of the island's own revenues from the trade account pressed through the audit answered by the *Desbouverie* of 17 March 1723, each head kept clear so the Court could see the true source of every sum.

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116	108	been pleafed to direct, Wee wifh thefe Articles were more confiderable nothing hath been wanting on Our Parts & be pleafed to See thefe Acct in the Journal folio 123 Fourthly concerning Yr Fortifications &c Wee conftantly take Care & at very little Charge to keep Your Forti fications in good Order & Repair immediately Securing the leaft Defect Wee defervon to prevent the Breach from Spreading farther Fifthly concerning the Inhabitants &c The Weather in the Winter having proved favourable for Planting of Wood & Forge Wee on the 26 of October laft Appointed by Warrant Mefs.rs Wingdam & Johnson to Survey the Lands & Plantations belonging to the Severall Inhabitants which Wee humbly Pray Your Honours to perufe the Same being enterd in Our Consultation of that date in which Wee difcofsfd of what vaft Confufsence it is to them to raife Wood which by their own Stupid Negligence and extravagant Waft is every where much demeafsd & that it was a matter which ought to take Place of all other Confiderations & the more effectually to benefit & Secure them to their Duty & be mindfull of their Intefeftfd Such things are pofsible / Wee acquainted them with what Wee intended to be & again publifhed the Penaltie to wch they are Subject according to Your Hon.r & Regulation by the James & Mary, on the 11th of Novr they made their Report which with Our Proceedings thereupon are Enterd in Our Consultation of that Day & particularly on Advertizement by which Wee Strictly forbid the Cutting of any Green Wood of any Sort but the Remainder of all the Old the Stumps Roots & Branches of Trees which have been formerly Cut & loft upon the Ground as firft cleared & carried away. In our Consultation of the 24th of that Month Wee examines the Sev.ll Perfons therein mentioned about the Caufe of their Neglect & have either excufed or fined them for the Reafons therein given & the but it Small Matters yet so miferably poor are they that they were not able to pay it & Wherefore Wee have been obliged to Charge it to their Acct as of their circumftances Should hereafter be beweve Wee for the future will proportion the fine accordingly for Wee are refolved to look after an Article of Such vaft Confequence with all the Care & Attention it deferves & as an Encouragement to other People to do so too Wee have lately let a fervice of Land to John Thornton at a cheaper Rate than ufuas as Your Hon.r will See in our Consultation of the 18th	The Court had been pleased to direct that the accounts of rents, customs, fines and licences be kept distinct from the profit on goods. The Council wished these articles were more considerable, but nothing had been wanting on its part, as the Court would see by these accounts in the journal folio 120. Fourthly, concerning the fortifications and the like. 15: The Council constantly took care, and at very little charge, to keep the Court's fortifications in good order and repair, mending the least defect at once to prevent the breach from spreading further. Fifthly, concerning the inhabitants and the like. 16: The weather in the winter having proved favourable for planting wood and furze, the Council on 24 October last appointed Messrs Wrangham and Johnson by warrant to survey the lands and plantations belonging to the several inhabitants. The Court was asked to see the report entered in the consultation of that date. The Council placed great confidence in the survey as a means to make the inhabitants raise wood, which by their own stupid negligence and extravagant waste was everywhere much damaged. That was a matter which ought to take place before all other considerations, and the most effectual way to make them mind their duty. The Council directed the survey to press them to raise wood. The persons named in the survey were subject to it according to the Court's order and regulation by the *James and Mary*. On the 11th of November they made their report, which, with the Council's proceedings on it, was entered in the consultation of that day. On an advertisement, the Council strictly forbade the cutting of any green wood of any sort, but the remainder of all the old stumps, roots and branches of trees which had formerly been cut or left on the ground as first cleared. In its consultation of the 4th of that month the Council examined the several persons named about the cause of the waste and neglect, and either excused or fined them for it. The reasons given were, that they were not able to pay it in small matters, yet were miserably poor, so that the Council had been obliged to charge it to their accounts. Their circumstances should hereafter be better, and the Council would in future proceed accordingly, since it was resolved to look after this affair of raising wood carefully. As an encouragement to others to do so, the Council had lately let a piece of land to John Thornton at a cheaper rate than usual, as the Court might see in the consultation of the 18th of November, in the hope others would be tempted to follow his example. The care taken to oblige him, and to hold others to custom, was under a large penalty, namely thirty pounds for eight acres, that he should set apart the land they were then given to raise wood, and for no other use [...] **Interpretations** The survey of the inhabitants' lands under warrant to Messrs Wrangham and Johnson is the enforcement machinery of the standing wood-planting law, the same instrument directed by the order of council of 17 January 1727 for a general survey of the wood on each person's parcels. The warrant gave two commissioners legal authority to examine every holding and report defaulters, the fines and the ban on cutting green wood the sanctions by which the Council compelled a reluctant population to replant the timber their waste had destroyed. Wrangham is the same planter and former writer, holder of one of the island's best watered plantations, and Johnson one of the sons of the late Governor Edward Johnson.

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		of Novemr & Wee hope others will be tempted to follow his Example the Wee have taken Care to oblige him & that as the Same by an others to Cutter Barnards under a large Penalty he to Pay Thirty Pounds for Eight Acres & pay to Set apart th Land they there hire to Raife Wood & for no other Ufe on Purpofe **Margin Notes:** Fortifications kept in Order Survey of Wood Infsab.ts exhorted to Plant Wood Particular Grant of Ayslor & Thornton to Plant Wood	The distinction between forbidding green wood and permitting only old stumps, roots and branches reflects a deliberate conservation rule, cutting confined to dead residue so the standing young timber could recover, the same replanting drive behind the Horse Point and Great Wood enclosures of the letters of 1725. The whole thread ties to the erosion and blighting winds the wood loss admitted, pressed through the correspondence as a threat to the island's fertility. The fines charged to the accounts of poor inhabitants rather than taken in cash show the standing recovery in kind on a cashless island, the penalty entered as a book debt where no money could be had, the same device running through the debt recovery of the season. The favourable lease to John Thornton under a thirty-pound penalty binding him to raise wood on his eight acres is the positive counterpart, a cheap grant conditioned on planting held out as an inducement while the fine held the defaulters, the two together the carrot and stick of the replanting programme. **Speculations** The Council chose to let John Thornton land at a cheaper rate than usual, tied to a thirty-pound penalty for raising wood, rather than rely on fines alone to enforce the planting law. The reason lies in the failure of the fines visible on the same page: the defaulters pleaded a poverty so real the Council could not collect the penalties in cash and had to charge them as book debts instead, so punishment alone was proving toothless against a people with nothing to pay. By offering a discounted lease bound to a planting covenant, the Council turned to inducement where compulsion had stalled, holding out a cheap grant as an example others might follow, since a population too poor to be fined could still be tempted by a bargain.
117	109	Purpofe whatfoever & have alfo provided under the like Forfeiture that they Shall keep up their Fences & keep out Cattl & Goates & everything elfe that may prove hurtfull & continually keep the Ground clear from Weles & well loofen'd So that they Shall from time to time Plant in the Room of Such Trees as happen to die or by any Unexpected Accident Should be deftroyed. The Inhabitants are Uneafy at nothing but Your Shiping touching & furnifhing themfelves with Such Plenty of Provifion at the Cape that they cant Sell what they Raife, with every thing elfe they are extreamly well pleafed & Wee will continue to treat them with all the Favour & Indulgence Wee pofsibly can Wee have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon.r for the Sum of Three hundred & Eight Pounds fourteen Shillings & two Pence Sterling dated the 6th of September 1729 payable to John Martin Van Ofsten or Order for so much due to him in Your Books of Accompts here of which Wee humbly Pray Your Hon.r Acceptance. Wee are Hon.d Sirs Your moft faithfull moft obedients & moft humble Servts St Helena	The lease bound John Thornton, under the like penalty, to keep up his fences, to keep out cattle and goats and everything else that might prove harmful, and continually to keep the ground clear of weeds and well fenced. He was also bound to plant from time to time in the room of such trees as happened to die or were destroyed by any unexpected accident. 17: The inhabitants were uneasy at nothing but the Court's shipping supplying itself with such plenty of provision at the Cape that they could not sell what they raised. With everything else they were extremely well pleased, and the Council would keep on treating them with all the favour and indulgence it possibly could. 18: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £308 14s 2d, dated 30 September 1729, payable to John Martin Van Osten or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books of account at the island. The Council prayed the Court's acceptance. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 10 December 1729 by the Governor and Council, as most faithful, most obedient and most humble servants. **Interpretations** The planting covenant binding Thornton to fence, weed and replace dead trees is the working machinery of the wood-planting law reduced to the terms of a single lease, the standing conservation drive made a condition of tenure. The obligation to plant in the room of any tree that died turns the grant into a permanent charge on the holder, the same enforcement pressed through the survey and fines of the preceding items and the general replanting programme of the letters of 1725 to 1727.

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		10th Decr 1729 **Margin Notes:** Inhab.ts only uneafie becaufe Ships Supply themfelves at the Cape Bills drawn	The inhabitants' complaint in item 17 states the standing Cape trade grievance in its plainest form, the planters unable to sell their provisions because the Court's ships victualled at the Cape rather than the island. The whole season's argument turns on this, the Council pressing that homeward ships be kept from the Cape so the fleet would buy the island's greens, roots and beef, the same case made in the letters of 1725 to 1727 and tied here directly to the planters' ability to pay their rents. The bill drawn to John Martin Van Osten for credit due in the Court's books is the standing remittance of a cashless settlement, the second such bill of the season to the same servant after the £167 0s 0d of the June letter, coin or credit at the island converted into a claim on the Court in London. This is the same Company servant moved to the accountant's office by Governor Johnson in the consultation of 3 May 1720, whose effort cleared the arrears of the island's books.
118	110	Lift of the Packet p Ship Prince Frederick. 1 Govr & Councils Genll Letter dated 10th Decr 1729 2 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter 14th June 1729 3 Duplicates of Consultations from 15th May to 12 June 1729 both inclusfive 4 Ditto Doctors Indent of Med: wanting at St Helena dated 11 June 1729 5 Ditto Indent of Stores wanting dated 13th June 1729 6 Ditto Acct of Ship Isanev 7 Ditto Walpole 8 Ditto James & Mary 9 Ditto Stretham 10 Ditto Anfsabie 11 Ditto Sunderland 12 Ditto Storek.rs Indorsem.t upon Bill of Loading of Ship Isanev 13 Ditto Stretham 14 Ditto Walpole 15 Ditto Js & Mary 16 Ditto Anfsabie 17 Ditto Acct of the Expence of each Pn for Month of May 1729 18 Ditto Lift of the Packet p Stretham 19 Copy of Consultn from 17 June to 10th Decr 1729 both inclusfive 20 Capt Weftcote Receipt for the large Packet 21 Ditto for the Small Packet 22 Inventory of Stores Remaining 30th Septr 1729 Ur One Sett of Books of Acct for the Year ending 30th Septr 1729 by which it Appears that the grofs Charge of the Island for the Year paft Amounts only to £ 4437. 5. 2 Do One Cafh Book for ditto Letter Do Do One Book of Storekeepers Difsburfements for ditto Letter Do 23 Copy of the Govr.s Acct of the Expence of each Plantation for the Year Ending 30th Septr 1729 24 Copy of the Expence of each Plantn for the Month of June 1729 25 Ditto for July 26 Ditto for Augt 27 Ditto for Septr 28 Ditto for Octor 29 Ditto for Novr 30 Copy of Capt Rodhams Proteft agt the Seas 31 Copy of the Acct of Ship Prince Frederick St Helena 10th Decr 1729	List of the packet by the ship *Prince Frederick*. 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 10 December 1729 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter of 14 June 1729 3: Duplicate of consultations from 15 May to 12 June 1729, both inclusive 4: Duplicate doctor's indent of medicines wanting at St Helena dated 11 June 1729 5: Duplicate indent of stores wanting dated 13 June 1729 6: Duplicate account of the ship Frances 7: Duplicate account of the ship Walpole 8: Duplicate account of the ship James and Mary 9: Duplicate account of the ship Stretham 10: Duplicate account of the ship Aislaby 11: Duplicate account of the ship Sunderland 12: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Frances 13: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Stretham 14: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Walpole 15: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship James and Mary 16: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement upon the bills of lading of the ship Aislaby 17: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for the month of May 1729 18: Duplicate list of the packet by the Stretham 19: Copy of consultations from 17 June to 10 December 1729, both inclusive 20: Captain Westcote's receipt for the large packets 21: Captain Westcote's receipt for the small packets 22: Inventory of stores remaining 30 September 1729 Letter: One set of books of account for the year ending 30 September 1729, by which it appears that the gross charge of the island for the year past comes only to £4,437 5s 2d Letter: One cash book for the same letter Letter: One book of storekeeper's disbursements for the same letter 23: Copy of the Governor's account of the expense of each plantation for the year ending 30 September 1729 24: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of June 1729 25: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of July 1729 26: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of August 1729

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			27: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of September 1729 28: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of October 1729 29: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of November 1729 30: Copy of Captain Rodham's protest against the sea 31: Copy of the accounts of the ship Prince Frederick The list was dated at St Helena on 10 December 1729. **Interpretations** The manifest sets out the standing apparatus of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, storekeeper's endorsements, monthly plantation accounts and the annual books of the establishment. The systematic duplication of items already sent by the *Stretham*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the standing insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The set of account books, cash book and storekeeper's disbursements, entered against the year ending 30 September, reflects the reform of the accounting year from the inconvenient March close, struck under Governor Smith and recorded by the *Sunderland* of 21 February 1724, the September reckoning now the settled rule. The gross charge of £4,437 5s 2d carried in the manifest itself repeats the season's prospectus of the Governor's frugality, the low figure the proof of good husbandry pressed through the general letter. The copy of Captain Rodham's protest against the sea, entered as item 30, ties the packet to the dispute that opened the general letter, the master's formal record of his hard passage travelling home beside the Council's own protest against his defiance in sailing alone. The run of monthly plantation accounts from June to November reflects the standing monthly return by which the Court measured the charge of each holding against its yield under Governor Smith's reform.
119	111	Hon.d Sirs Six days after Captain Rodham left this Place which was on the 11th of December by whom Wee Sent Your Hon.r the Severall Particulars as mentioned in the enclofed Lift of the Packet Your Ship Morice Captain Wilfon Arrived here from Mocho but laft from Bombay where Mr Cowan told him that by Letters which he had received from Madrafs he heard that an Oftender under Moorifh Colours pafsed by Calcutta Sometime in May & that Your Galley & all Your Ships Bound to India (r Except the Cadogan of whom they dift not hear any thing) were Safely Arrived at the Severall Ports to which they were Configned, that there would not be an early Ship from Madrafs this Year they being gone to the Bay. The Wyndham the Captain tells Us Arrived at Bombay about the 28th of Auguft & Capt Wifsnor called at Mocho the 25th of July & Sailed from thence	Council general letter, St Helena. Six days after Captain Rodham left the island, which was on the 11th of December, by whom the Council sent the Court the particulars named in the enclosed list of the packet, the Court's ship *Morice*, Captain Wilson, arrived from Mocha but last from Bombay. There Mr Cowan had told the captain that, by letters received from Madras, he had heard an Ostender under Moorish colours passed by Calcutta sometime in May, and that the Court's galleys and all the Court's ships bound to India, except the *Cadogan*, of which they did not hear anything, were safely arrived at the several ports to which they were consigned. There would be no early ship from Madras this year, they being gone to the bay. The captain told the Council that the *Wyndham* arrived at Bombay about the 28th of August, and that Captain Misener called at Mocha the 25th of July and sailed from there on the first of August for Bengal. At Cochin the captain heard that the Court's galley, going on board a Dutch ship for water near St Paul's, Amsterdam, was bid to go to its own ships, there being then four sail in sight which showed English colours and were thought to be the Court's China ships. If they would not supply them, the captain bid them to stern, and he would give them water. On the 8th of this month the *Heathcote*,

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		on the firft of Auguft for Bengall. At Cochin the Captain heard that Your Galley going on board a Dutch Ship for Water near St Pauls Amfterdam he bid them go to their own Ships there being then four Saile in Sight which Shewed Englifh Colours & were thought to be Your China Ships & if they would not Supply them he bid them Steern & he would give them Water. On the 8th instant the Heathcote Capt Tolfon arrived here from Bengall but laft from the Cape, he confirms the News of the Safe Arrival of Your Ships India; Such Supply as he brought for this Place Your Hon.r will See in Our Consultation of the 8 of this Month. On the 19 of Decr the day of Capt Wilfons Arrival Wee delivered him the ufual Instructions of which Your Hon.r will See a Copy in Our Consultation of that day, on the 25th of that Month he Sent Us a long Letter upon the Subject of thefe Directions, to which Wee replyed in a very Short & cautious manner as Your Hon.r will See in our Consultation of the day laft mentioned being very carefull to avoid Words that might Seem to give him any Advantage which Wee Suppofe was his drift in Writing that Letter for he there Says That & he cant look upon the Instructions Wee gave him on the 19th as Sufficient to Warant his Stay here, & yet as Soon as he received our Anfwer which in fact is infignificant & not a bit to his Purpofe it not being proper in Affairs which Wee transact of this Nature to be too particular & Exprefs, he declared he would ftay believing it would Entitle his Owners to demorage, but Wee are as Attentive & as carefull of Your Interest as the Captain can pofsibly be of what may be for the benefit of his Owners & Wee humbly hope Your Hon.r will be pleafed with Our proceedings in this Cafe becaufe You have tacitly Approved of what Wee did about two Years ago upon the Same Occafion, & what Wee have done being exactly conformable to Your Directions whatever has or may happen Amifs in this Affair is Solely to be imputed to Capt Rodhams precipitate Refolution who notwithstanding Your pofsitive Orders to the contrary eafsily prefumed to **Margin Notes:** Morice arrives Heathcote arrives Capt Wilfons Letter & Reply thereto relating to Demorage	Captain Tolson, arrived from Bengal but last from the Cape. He confirmed the news of the safe arrival of the Court's ships in India. The supply he brought for the island would appear in the Council's consultation of the 8th of this month. 2: On the 5th of December, the day of Captain Wilson's arrival, the Council delivered him the usual instructions, of which the Court would see a copy in the consultation of that day. On the 25th of that month he sent the Council a long letter on the subject of those directions, to which the Council replied in a very short and cautious manner, as the Court would see in the consultation of the day last mentioned. The Council was very careful to avoid words that might seem to give him any advantage, which it supposed was his drift in writing the letter, for he there said that he could not look on the instructions given him on the 5th as sufficient to warrant his stay at the island. Yet as soon as he received the Council's answer, which in fact was insignificant and not a bit to his purpose, it not being proper in affairs it transacted of that nature to be too particular and express, he declared he would stay, believing it would entitle his owners to demurrage. The Council was as attentive to and as careful of the Court's interest as the captain could possibly be of what might be for the benefit of his owners. It humbly hoped the Court would be pleased with its proceedings in the case, because the Court had tacitly approved of what it did about two years ago on the same occasion. What it had done being exactly conformable to the Court's directions, whatever had or might happen amiss in the affair was solely to be imputed to Captain Rodham's hasty resolution, who, in spite of the Court's positive orders to the contrary, easily presumed [...] **Interpretations** The intelligence in the opening item shows the island's function as a clearing house for shipping news across the whole eastern trade, reports of the safe arrival of the Court's ships in India reaching St Helena through successive calling commanders, the Ostender under Moorish colours passing Calcutta the kind of rumour that travelled with the fleet. The Ostend venture was the rival East India trade licensed at Ostend, a standing concern to the Company whose monopoly it threatened, the same interlopers seized and turned away in the affair of the *House of Austria* in 1720. The dispute with Captain Wilson over demurrage in item 2 turns on a deliberate evidentiary caution. Demurrage was the charge a shipowner could claim when his vessel was detained beyond the agreed lay days, and Wilson wrote his long letter to fix on the record that the Council's instructions did not warrant his stay, so that his owners might later claim the detention as chargeable. The Council's studied reply, short and deliberately unhelpful, was drafted to give him no such handle, the same guarding of the Court's account against a master's claim that ran through the charter party enforcement of earlier years. The reference back to the like occasion two years before, tacitly approved by the Court, shows the Council building its defence on precedent, the same appeal to established practice by which it justified its conduct throughout the correspondence. The contrast with Captain Rodham, whose hasty departure against positive orders had opened the previous letter, sets the compliant handling of Wilson against the defiant sailing of Rodham, the two masters framing the recurring problem of the island's limited authority over a commander who would not submit. **Speculations**

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			The Council chose to answer Captain Wilson's long letter with a short and deliberately insignificant reply rather than address his points directly, the fuller response his letter seemed to invite. The reason lies in the demurrage claim behind it: Wilson had written to establish on the record that the Council's instructions did not justify his stay, so any detailed answer risked supplying the very admission his owners could use to charge the detention. By replying briefly and giving nothing away, the Council denied him the handle he sought, judging that in a matter of this kind reticence protected the Court's account better than candour, the guarded silence chosen precisely because a full answer would have served the master's purpose rather than the Company's.
120	112	to Saile alone, & if the Instructions Wee gave to Capt Wilfon Should be Sufficient to Entitle his Owners to Demorage all the Expence Your Honours would be at upon that Account will be wholly Occafsioned by his Folly & Indifcretion for he Reports that he heard at Bombay that the Morice was half Laden & upon that Acct had great Reafon to believe She would be Speedily here, but whether he Expected her or not he ought to have ftayed becaufe it was Your Pleafate he Should do so, by going alone a Sickly Ship he has expofed himfelf to great danger which as well as the Charge of Demorage had been Saved if he had obferved Your Orders & Wee believe Your Hon.rs will Refent this Piece of ill Behaviour as well as Apply an effectual Remedy to prevent the like hereafter which in its Confequence may otherwife prove extreamly dangerous & prejudicial Wee have often acquainted Your Hon.r with the great Care and Diligence Wee have from time to time taken to remind & Encourage the Inhabitants to raife Wood which is now become very Scarce but all our Endeavours would have been ineffectual had they not at length Agreed to kill all their Goates & Sheep which are now Encreafed to great Numbers & daily make great havock & deftruction of the young Wood in all parts of the Island, yet this prudent Refolution was not the Effect of their Judgement or Forefight for this Neceſsity has been vifible for many years paft, but hath been the lucky Confequence of our frequent Surveys at which Wee fined Some, threatenid others, & Scared them all to Such a Degree that to avoid it for the future they found out this Expedient & at a Veftry held on the 30th of January laft the Queftion for killing them was put to the Vote & carried in the Affirmative by a Majority of forty One against Eleven who either Oppofed the killing the Sheep & Goates or Refufed to Sign the Petition which they prefented Us upon this Occafion Enterd in our Conſultn	Captain Rodham presumed to sail alone, and if the instructions the Council gave to Captain Wilson should be sufficient to entitle his owners to demurrage, all the expense the Court might be at on that account would be wholly caused by Rodham's folly and lack of discretion. He reported that he heard at Bombay the *Morice* was half laden, and on that account had good reason to believe she would soon be at the island. Whether he expected her or not, he ought to have stayed, since it was the Court's pleasure that he should do so. By going alone in a sickly ship he had exposed himself to great danger, which, as well as the charge of demurrage, would have been saved had he obeyed the Court's orders. The Council believed the Court would resent this piece of ill behaviour, and would apply an effectual remedy to prevent the like hereafter, which in its consequence might otherwise prove extremely dangerous and prejudicial. 3: The Council had often told the Court of the great care and diligence it had taken to remind and encourage the inhabitants to raise wood, which was now become very scarce. All its efforts would have been in vain had the inhabitants not at length agreed to kill all their goats and sheep, which were now increased to great numbers and daily made great havoc and destruction of the young wood in all parts of the island. This prudent resolution was not the effect of their own judgement or foresight, since the necessity had been plain for many years, but was the lucky consequence of the Council's frequent surveys. At these the Council fined some, threatened others, and frightened them all to such a degree that, to avoid it in future, they hit on this expedient. At a vestry held on 30 January last, the question of killing them was put to the vote and carried in the affirmative by a majority of forty one against eleven, who either opposed the killing of the sheep and goats or refused to sign the petition they presented to the Council on the occasion. The petition was entered in the consultation of the 5th of this month, together with the Council's resolution on it, both of which the Court was asked to see. The time the inhabitants themselves set for killing their sheep and goats was two years, of which the Council had already given them notice, to be reckoned from the first of this month, though the Council heartily wished the term much shorter. To keep in heart those who might be tempted to think they would be pinched, since some of them would at first find it a little inconvenient, the Council had determined, as they had asked, to kill all the Court's goats and sheep, which it would do by degrees as it wanted them for the Court's slaves or table, except the Court's stock of tame sheep kept in pasture with the cattle. Those the Council could do well enough without, but it would use means to raise stocks of other sorts of provision in their place. The Council

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		of the 3 of this Month together with our Refolution thereupon both which Wee humbly pray Your Hon.r will perufe. The time limited according to their own defire for killing them Sheep & Goates is two Year of which Wee have already given them Notice to be Computed from the firft instant, though Wee could heartily wifh the Term much Shorter, & to keep thofe in heart who may be apt to think they Shall be Pinched, for Some of them will find it a little inconvenient at firft Wee have determined, as they have defired, to kill all Your Hon.rs Goates & Sheep which Wee Shall do by degrees as Wee want them for Your Blacks or Table except Your Stock of tame Sheep which are kept in Pafture with Your Cattl, Wee can do well enough without them, neverthelefs Wee will ufe Means to Raife Stocks of other Sorts of Provifion in lieu of them. Wee are extreamly pleafed that the People have determined of their Own Accord to kill their Goates & Sheep had they been compelled to it which in time would have been abfolutely necefsary & unavoidable they would conftantly have made it a hardle for Murmur & Complaint & perhaps have pretended to Some Satisfaction for **Margin Notes:** Rodham again blamed & thought liable to pay the Charge of Demorage for the Morice. Inhabitants agreed to deftroy all Goates by the 3 ffebry 1731 to be without Ten Years	was extremely pleased that the people had resolved of their own accord to kill their goats and sheep. Had they been compelled to it, which in time would have been absolutely necessary and unavoidable, they would constantly have made it a handle for murmurs and complaints, and perhaps pretended to some satisfaction [...] **Interpretations** The vote to destroy the goats and sheep is the culmination of the standing woodland programme, the free-ranging beasts identified as the chief agent of the young wood's destruction, the same depletion the wood-planting law and the enclosures of Horse Point and the Great Wood were meant to arrest. Goats in particular had ravaged the island's timber and thin soil for a century, browsing the seedlings and loosening the ground that the sudden heavy rains then washed to bare rock, the erosion pressed through the letters of 1725 to 1727. The vestry that carried the vote was the parish assembly of the inhabitants, the local body through which the settlement acted collectively, here used to give the destruction of the flocks the force of a common resolution rather than an order imposed from above. The petition and the recorded majority of forty one to eleven turned a divisive measure into the people's own act, the Council carefully entering both the vote and its resolution in consultation so the Court could see the decision was the inhabitants' own. The Council's offer to kill the Court's own goats and sheep by degrees, keeping only the tame sheep pastured with the cattle, is the reciprocal gesture that made the sacrifice bearable, the Company sharing the loss so the planters would not feel singled out. This ties to the standing management of the island's stock and provisions, the Council undertaking to raise other sorts of provision in place of the slaughtered flocks, the same self-supply drive behind the fish, potato and yam economy of the season. **Speculations** The Council chose to let the inhabitants resolve on killing their own goats and sheep by a vestry vote rather than impose the destruction by its own order, though it held the authority to compel it and knew the measure would in time be unavoidable. The reason lies in the politics of the loss visible on the page: a slaughter forced from above would have furnished the planters a standing grievance, a handle for murmurs and complaints and perhaps a claim to compensation. By driving them toward the decision through fines, threats and repeated surveys until they hit on the expedient themselves, and then offering to kill the Court's own flocks alongside, the Council secured the same result as an order while denying the inhabitants any ground to resent it, the people's own vote binding them to a sacrifice a command would have made a lasting quarrel.
121	113	for the lofs of them if they had been killed by Your Order. They tell Us in their Petition that they think deftroying the Goates & Sheep for ten Years will be time Sufficient for the young Wood to be grown out of the way, this is not certain, but if it Should happen that the term propofed Should prove too Short, it will be an eafey Matter to prolong the Same for though they have defired to have Liberty to raife Goates & Sheep again at the Expiration of ten Years it wont be Safe or Prudent to give them leave till the Evil which has	The inhabitants might have looked for some compensation over the loss of the animals had the killing been ordered by the Court rather than chosen by themselves. Their petition suggested that a ten-year ban on keeping goats and sheep would give the young trees long enough to grow beyond the reach of grazing. The Council doubted that estimate held, but noted that a term found too brief could be extended without difficulty. Although the planters had asked to resume keeping the animals once the decade closed, the Council judged it neither safe nor sensible to allow this until the harm that had prompted the slaughter was thoroughly undone. No other measure, in its view, promised so complete a cure. Since the wish to keep each holder's grazing entitlement intact was fair, the Council let the

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		Occafsioned the Deftruction of them be fully Remedyed, & this method if any thing can Wee believe will fully Anfwer the End. Their Requeft to have their Right to their Ranges Secured to them being reafonable Wee have given them leave to Regifter their refpective Claims the better to Afcertain their Title when they Shall have Liberty given them to raife Goates again. Your Honours having given Directions for Bills of Exchange to be Granted for Such Sums of Money as Should be paid into Your Cafh here upon Acco.t of Martha Greenhile, Grace Rachfhaw & Mary Chantock, & Mefs.rs Goodwin & Doreton having this day paid into Your Cafh the Sum of Fifty Pounds upon their Account, Wee have therefore drawn One Sett of Bills upon Your Hon.r dated this day for the Sum aforfaied & not knowing where to find the People Wee have Enclofed the firft Bill to Your Hon.r & defire You will be pleafed to give them Notice of it. Wee are Hon.d Sirs Your moft faithfull & moft Obedt humble Servts St Helena 14th ffebry 1729 The Goods brought from Bengall by the Heathcote come out Short of the Invoice, the parteculars Your Hon.r will See by the Storekeepers Indorfement upon the Bill of Lading a Copy of which comes in the Packet **Margin Notes:** Bills drawn for the ufe of Mrs Greenhile &c	inhabitants record their individual claims, so that each man's right would stand proven for the day the keeping of goats was permitted once more. 4: The Court had authorised bills of exchange to be issued for any money lodged in its cash at the island to the credit of Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and Mary Chantock. Goodwin and Doveton having that day lodged £50 0s 0d to that credit, the Council issued one set of bills on the Court, dated the same day, for the amount. Unable to trace the three women, the Council forwarded the first bill to the Court and asked it to let them know of the payment. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 14 February 1729 by the Governor and Council, as most faithful and most obedient humble servants. A postscript followed. The goods carried from Bengal in the *Heathcote* fell short of the quantities listed in the invoice. The details would appear from the storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading, a copy of which travelled in the packet. **Interpretations** The recording of each planter's claim to his grazing range is the legal complement to the destruction of the flocks, the Council preserving customary title to the range even while withdrawing the right to stock it. The arrangement answers the long-running anxiety over grazing entitlement that ran through the correspondence, the same contest over the common range behind the disputes with Mr Carne in 1714 and Gabriel Powell's engrossing of the pasture. By admitting the claims now, the Council fixed the future title against the day the prohibition lifted, holding the right dormant without cancelling it. The refusal to guarantee a return to keeping goats after ten years, despite the request, shows the Council leaving the restriction indefinite, bound to the recovery of the timber rather than any set date. The whole matter belongs to the woodland and erosion programme, the animals barred until the young trees stood beyond their reach, the same conservation drive pressed through the letters of 1725 to 1727. The bill issued to the credit of Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and Mary Chantock is the standard remittance of a coinless settlement, cash lodged with the Court at the island by Goodwin and Doveton turned into a claim on the Court in London, payable to women the Council could not find. This is the same John Goodwin the storekeeper and councillor and the same Jonathan Doveton the planter named earlier in the season, the forwarding of the first bill and the request that the Court locate the payees the usual means by which an island credit reached beneficiaries at home. The storekeeper's endorsement on the *Heathcote*'s bills of lading records the short delivery, the device by which a shortfall in a ship's cargo was charged against the freight, applied throughout the season.
122	114	Lift of the Packet p Ship Heathcote Capt Tolfon Comr 1 Govr & Councils Genll Letter dated 14th ffebry 1729 2 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter dated 10th Decr 1729 3 Duplicate of Inventory of Stores remaining 30th Septr 1729 4 Ditto of Govr & Genll Acco.t of the Expence of each Plantation for the Year Ending 30th Septr 1729 5 Ditto of the Expence of each Plantation for Month of June 6 Ditto for July	List of the packet by the ship *Heathcote*, Captain Tolson commander. 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 14 February 1729 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter dated 10 December 1729 3: Duplicate inventory of stores remaining 30 September 1729 4: Duplicate of the Governor's general account of the expense of each plantation for the year ending 30 September 1729 5: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of June

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		7 Ditto for Augt 8 Ditto for Septr 1729 9 Ditto for Octor 10 Ditto for Novr 11 Ditto of Capt Rodhams Proteft against the Seas 12 Ditto of the Acco.t of Ship Prince Frederick 13 Receipt for the large Packet 14 Ditto for the Small Packet 15 Duplicate of Consts from 17 June 1729 to 10 Decr faid both inclusfive 16 Ditto Lift of the Packet p Prince Frederick Enclofed in the 15th Letter 17 Copies Consts from 16th Decr to 10th ffebry 1729 both inclusfive 18 Ditto Acco.t of Ship Morice 19 Ditto Acco.t of Ship Heathcote 20 Ditto Acco.t of the Expence of each Plantacon for Month Decr 21 Ditto for the Month of January Janry 22 Copy of Storekeepers Indorsem.t upon Bill Lading of Ship Heathcote firft Bill of Exchange for £ 50 Payable to Martha 23 Greenhile, Grace Rachfhaw, & Mary Chantock Sent in the Genll Letter St Helena 14th ffebry 1729	6: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of July 7: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of August 8: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of September 1729 9: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of October 10: Duplicate of the expense of each plantation for the month of November 11: Duplicate of Captain Rodham's protest against the sea 12: Duplicate of the accounts of the ship Prince Frederick 13: Receipt for the large packet 14: Receipt for the small packets 15: Duplicate of consultations from 17 June 1729 to 10 December following, both inclusive 16: Duplicate list of the packet by the Prince Frederick, enclosed in the general letter 17: Copy of consultations from 16 December to 10 February 1729, both inclusive 18: Duplicate account of the ship Morice 19: Duplicate account of the ship Heathcote 20: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for the month of December 21: Duplicate of the same for the month of January 22: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Heathcote 23: First bill of exchange for £50 0s 0d payable to Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and Mary Chantock, sent in the general letter The list was subscribed at St Helena on 14 February 1729. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, plantation returns and the storekeeper's endorsement. The heavy duplication of items already sent by the *Prince Frederick*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The inclusion of the first bill of exchange for £50 0s 0d to Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and Mary Chantock, entered as the last item, ties the manifest to the remittance described in the general letter, the bill sent home in the letter itself so the Court could locate the payees the Council could not find. The run of monthly plantation accounts from June to January reflects the monthly return by which the Court measured the charge of each holding against its yield under the accounting reform of Governor Smith's administration. The copy of Captain Rodham's protest against the sea and the account of the *Prince Frederick* carry forward the dispute of the previous letter, the record of Rodham's hard passage and his defiant departure travelling home a second time by the next ship, the duplication ensuring the Court received the full account of a matter the Council meant to press for enforcement.
123	115	Blank page	
124	116	Hon.d Sirs General p Monmouth It is very agreable News to Us to hear of the Safe Arrival of all Your laft Years Shiping & Wee hope the Same good	Council general letter by the *Monmouth*. It was very agreeable news to hear of the safe arrival of all the Court's shipping of last year, and the Council hoped the like good fortune would attend those now abroad. It had this word by the letter the Court was pleased to send it by the *Montague*, which

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		Fortune will attend all thofe now abroad. Wee had this Advice by the Letter with which You have been pleafed to favour Us by the Monntague who arrived here on the 1 instant to which Wee humbly beg leave to prefent the following Anfwer Vizt First concerning Shiping Capt Keat parted from thefe of Your China Ships Vizt Prince William Devonfhire & Lyele on the 2d of March laft in Latitude 22½ South & the Gent & all on board were then well. The Prince Auguftus having loft her Maintopmaft on the 20th of Decr in Latitude 46 & 43. N.o & 5:10 to the Weft of the Lizard they parted Company next day On the 22d of December the King George Galley Sprung her Foremaft, & on the 23 they loft Sight of her. On the 14 of March the Captain Spoke with & her Galley the Princefs of Wales in Latitud 28 South who had received Some damage from a large Ship with French Colours off the Canaries with whom She had Exchanged a few Shot but no body was killed & on the 20th he left her in 18: 36 Eaft from St Gago & On the 10th instant the Argonaut a French Ship of 500 Ton 24 Guns & 440 Men arrived here from China but before Wee Sufferd her to come in Wee carefully Examined the Captains Commifsions as Your Hon.r will obferve in Our Consultations of the 13th instant & on the 14th She Sailed for France. On the 13th arrived the Monmouth & the next day the Endfield both from China but laft from the Cape they Report that the London & Barrington were Sailed from thence a day or two before they left that Place & that the Prince Auguftus was Preparing to Saile from thence the next day, & that the Dutch China Ship would be alfo ready to Saile from thence for Holland in a day or two. They likewife acquainted Us that the other two Ships in China would be ready to Saile in about a Fortnight or three Weeks after they came away which was on the 14th of Decr. Your Ships Heathcote & Morice Sailed from hence on the 14 of February laft & Wee hope are Safely arrived in England The Governour has received private Instructions from the Hon.ble the Gent of the Committee of Secrecy which he will duly obferve Wee took Care to Unlade the Monntague within the limited time the particulars Your Hon.r will See in Our Consultation of the 10 instt & Wee will always exert our Selves with the like diligence hereafter	arrived on the 1st of this month, and to which it now offered the following answer. First, concerning shipping. 4: Captain Keat parted from the Court's China ships, the *Prince William*, *Devonshire* and *Lyell*, on the 2nd of March last, in latitude 22 and a half degrees south, and all the gentlemen on board were then well. The *Prince Augustus*, having lost her main topmast on the 20th of December in latitude 44 degrees 45 minutes north and 5 degrees 10 minutes to the west of the Lizard, parted company the next day, on the 22nd of December. The *King George* galley sprang her foremast, and on the 23rd they lost sight of her. On the 14th of March the captain spoke with the Court's galley the *Princess of Wales* in latitude 28 degrees south, which had received some damage from a large ship under French colours off the Canaries. She had exchanged a few shots with her, but nobody was killed, and on the 20th he left her in 18 degrees 30 minutes east from St Iago. On the 10th of this month the *Argonaut*, a French ship of 500 tons, 24 guns and 140 men, arrived from China. Before the Council suffered her to come in, it carefully examined the captain's commissions, as the Court would see in the consultation of the 13th of this month, and on the 14th she sailed for France. On the 13th the *Monmouth* arrived, and the next day the *Enfield*, both from China but last from the Cape. They reported that the *London* and *Barrington* had sailed from there a day or two before they left the place, and that the *Prince Augustus* was preparing to sail from there the next day. The Dutch China ship would also be ready to sail from there for Holland in a day or two. They likewise told the Council that the other two ships in China would be ready to sail in about a fortnight or three weeks after they came away, which was on the 14th of December. The Court's ships the *Heathcote* and *Morice* sailed from the island on the 14th of February last, and the Council hoped were safely arrived in England. 5: The Governor had received private instructions from the Committee of Secrecy, which he would duly observe. 6: The Council took care to unload the *Montague* within the limited time, the particulars of which the Court would see in the consultation of the 10th of this month. It would always exert itself with the like diligence in future, so that no neglect or delay might be laid to its charge. It despatched the ship on the 13th, and in its search sent her charter party to Bencoolen. **Interpretations** The shipping intelligence shows the island's function as a clearing house for news across the whole homeward and outward trade, the positions and mishaps of the China fleet, the sprung masts of the *Prince Augustus* and *King George*, and the brush of the *Princess of Wales* with a French ship off the Canaries all reaching St Helena through calling commanders. The reckoning by latitude and by distance from the Lizard and St Iago reflects the standing method by which ships fixed and reported their tracks, the island the point where these scattered reports were gathered for the Court. The examination of the *Argonaut*'s commissions before admitting her is the standing precaution against interlopers and hostile shipping, a foreign vessel required to prove her lawful character before she was allowed the road, the same scrutiny applied to the Ostend ships of 1720 and the various interlopers turned away in earlier years. The care taken to verify her papers and record the examination in consultation shows the Council guarding the island against any vessel with no right to its refreshment.

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		that no Neglect or dellay may be imputed to Us Wee difpatcht her on the 10th & is our Sack of hence Sent her Charter Party to Bencoolen. **Margin Notes:** 1. 2. & 3 Enag. Advice given of Shiping Govr will obey all Instructions from Comtee of Secrecy Storefhip timely Difpatcht	The private instructions from the Committee of Secrecy in item 5 mark the confidential channel by which the Court conveyed sensitive orders to the Governor alone, separate from the general correspondence read by the whole Council. The unlading of the *Montague* within the limited time in item 6 reflects the standing charter party discipline, the ten-day term enforced to guard the Court against demurrage, the same enforcement pressed through the disputes over unlading in earlier seasons and against the defiant Captain Rodham of the previous letter.
125	117	The Inhabitants are extreamly pleafed to hear of the kind Regard Your Hon.r have again Shewn to their Interest & Wee hope none of Your Shiping will prefume to touch at the Cape homeward bound, Wee on our Part give & Shall continue to give the poor people all the Encouragement Wee can & do not offer to Sell a beaft more than is barely Sufficient for Charter Party Bref which Wee are Ordered to Sell tho Wee could Spare a great deale more for Wee have a large Stock of the beft Cattle upon the Island & as to the Governr Wee afsure Your Hon.r he is so carefull to avoid every thing that may clafh or Interfere with their Interest that he has never raifed or Sold a Beaft nor ever will becaufe he will not do any thing to their Prejudice tho his Predecefsors have made a confiderable benefit to themfelves by dealing in this Commodity & Wee are glad Your Hon.r did not put Your Selves to the needlefs Charge to Send Materials for bringing the Water to the Crane from the Spring mentioned in one of Our former, the Water in Lemon Valley is very good & Wee will make that Place as commodious as ftiddly & expence as is pofsible Wee dont See any Profpect of Selling the Cape Chints & therefore muft ufe them to cloth Your Blacks; Wee Shall thereby Save Goods of greater Value. Wee continue to take due Care that Your Lofs by Leakage of Arrack & Waft of other Goods may be as little as is pofsible & will ufe the like Precaution for all time to come Wee cant imagine which way Your Hon.r Sufferd by the Lofs of the Stocking but to prevent the like hereafter the Governour will Attend at the Opening of all Goods of Value which if it be pofsible Shall be done in the Prefence of the Captain & a Certificate be Signed for Such as Shall be found wanting by all that are prefent Your Hon.r will receive the like Endorfements upon the Bills of Lading for Such Goods as Shall hereafter happen to be Short delivered as Wee have already Sent. Wee opend the Match in Prefence of the Captain & wifh that the	7: The inhabitants were extremely pleased to hear of the kind regard the Court had again shown for their interest, and the Council hoped none of the Court's shipping would touch at the Cape homeward bound. For its own part, it would keep on giving the poor people all the encouragement it could, and did not offer to sell a beast more than was barely enough for charter party beef, which it was ordered to sell, though it could spare a great deal more, having a large stock of the best cattle on the island. As to the Governor, the Council assured the Court he was very careful to avoid everything that might clash or interfere with the inhabitants' interest. He had never raised or sold a beast, and never would, since he would do nothing to their prejudice, though his predecessors had made a considerable profit for themselves by dealing in the commodity. The Council was glad the Court had not put itself to the needless charge of sending materials to bring the water to the crane from the spring named in one of its former letters. The water in Lemon Valley was very good, and the Council would make that place as convenient a port as speedily and cheaply as possible. Secondly, concerning goods. 8: The Council saw no prospect of selling the Cape chintz, and so had to use it to clothe the Court's slaves, by which it would save goods of greater value. 9: The Council kept up its care that the Court's loss by leakage of arrack and waste of other goods was as little as possible, and would use the like precaution in future. 10: The Council could not imagine how the Court suffered by the loss of the stocking, but to prevent the like hereafter the Governor would attend at the opening of all goods of value. Where possible, this would be done in the presence of the captain, and a certificate signed by all present for any found wanting. 11: The Court would receive the endorsements on the bills of lading for any goods that came out short, as the Council had already sent. 12: The Council opened the match in the presence of the captain, and found that the person who pretended to make the Court restitution for the badness of the last had kept his own good work. What the Council lately received was, in many cases, worse than the other, as rotten as dirt and not worth a cowrie. It doubted not the Court would apply a remedy, so it might be better supplied in future. 13: The Council had imagined there was some mistake about the price of the deal, and found there was. 14: Horses were very useful at the island, where the hills were so mountainous there was no travelling without them, and the Council would have been glad if the Court had sent it a few oats. 15: The Council thanked the Court for its kind supply of wine and beer, both of which proved good.

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		Perfon who pretended to make You Reftitution for the badnefs of the laft had kept his Work for the that Wee lately received is three times worfe than the other, its as Rotten as Dirt & not worth a Caufe & Wee doubt not Your Hon.r will Apply a Remedy to the End Wee may be well Supplyd hereafter Wee imagined there was Some Miftake about the Price of the Dealer & so Wee find there was Horfes are very ufefull at this Place where the Hills are so mountainous there is no travelling without them & Wee Should have been glad if Your Hon.r had Sent Us a few Oates Wee thank Your Hon.r for Your kind Supply of Wine & Beer, they both prove good. Wee have & will obferve all the Orders Your Hon.r Sent by the Cadogan Wee **Margin Notes:** Greatefull News that Shiping are forbid going into the Cape Governour has never raifed any Cattle nor ever will Place at Lemon Valley to be made for Watering Cape Chints not vendable Care to be taken that little lofs happen by Leakage Govr will be prefst at opening Goods Indorfemts upon bills of Lading to be Sent Match p Monntague bad Miftake about the Dealer Ratified Horfes ufefull & Oates wanted Wine & Beer prove good	16: The Council had observed, and would observe, all the orders the Court sent by the *Cadogan*. **Interpretations** The refusal of the Governor to deal in cattle, though his predecessors had profited from it, marks a deliberate stand on the standing conflict of interest between the office and the settlement. By selling only the charter party beef the Court required, and holding back the surplus he could freely have sold, the Governor left the market to the planters, the same forbearance that answered the long grievance over governors engrossing the island's trade to their own advantage, pressed against Gabriel Powell and others in earlier years. The whole passage folds this into the season's prospectus of the Governor's disinterested service. The Cape chintz used to clothe the slaves rather than left unsold restates the standing practice of turning unsaleable Company stock to the establishment's own use, saving goods of greater value, the same reasoning behind the slave clothing scales of earlier seasons. The match in item 12 was the slow-burning cord used to fire the island's guns, here received so rotten as to be worthless, the failure a real threat to the fortifications, a cowrie being the small shell used as low-value currency in the eastern trade and named here to mark the stuff as beneath all worth. The certificate signed by all present at the opening of valuable goods is the evidentiary safeguard against loss or pilferage in transit, the witnessed record fixing responsibility where a shortfall appeared, the counterpart to the storekeeper's endorsements on the bills of lading that charged short deliveries against the freight. The request for oats to keep horses ties to the standing dependence on the Court for the foundation of any husbandry, the hilly island needing horses for travel and the Court for the feed to breed them, the same relay behind the breeding scheme of the earlier letters of this season.
126	118	Thirdly concerning Your Servants &c Wee are extreamly glad Your Hon.r have been pleafed to Reward the faithfull Services of Our prefent Governr he Wee are Sure will continue to exert himfelf with the Same Care & Diligence he has hitherto obferved & will be as frugal in the Managemts of all Your Expences as is pofsible & returns Your Hon.r his moft humble Thanks for the Signal Inftances of Your particular favour to him & afsure You he will ufe all Means in his Power to deferve it. He defires Your Hon.r will be pleafed to Pay the Four hundred Pounds with the Interest You have been pleafd to give him to Richard Brenigon Efqr or Order	Thirdly, concerning the Court's servants and the like. 17: The Council was extremely glad the Court had been pleased to reward the faithful service of the present Governor, who, it was sure, would keep on exerting himself with the same care and diligence he had shown so far, and would be as frugal in managing all the Court's expenses as possible. The Governor returned the Court his most humble thanks for the signal marks of its particular favour to him, and assured it he would use every means in his power to deserve it. He asked the Court to be pleased to pay the £400 0s 0d, with the interest it had been pleased to grant him, to Richard Benyon, Esquire, or order. 18: The Council kept on catching fish in great plenty, with which the Court's slaves were very well pleased. It took every imaginable care to keep the Court's pastures in good order, both at the wood and everywhere else, and the Court would find they

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		Wee continue to catch Fifh in great Plenty with which Your Blacks are very well pleafed, & take all imaginable Care to keep Your Paftures in good Order both, at the Wood & every where elfe & Your Hon.r will find they have turned to Account Wee will obferve the like Care to receive the Arrears of Rents due for the Year Ending the 31 of March laft as Wee have hitherto done & will be Sure to get in what Small Sums yet remain due to Your Hon.r upon old Scores & do humbly Afsure You Wee will not Suffer any new Debts to be Contracted. For an Anfwer to what Your Hon.r mention about Planting Wood & Furze Wee pray leave to refer You to the 3 Part of Our laft Letter by the Heathcote. Wee will yearly Reckon with the Inhabitants & make out the ufual yearly Lifts at September as Your Hon.r direct in this Paragraph Wee will get what yet remains due to Mr Alfop as faft as Wee can for which Wee give him Credit in Your Books as Wee receive it. Wee thank Your Hon.r for Confirming Mr Brown he proves a Sober Man & Wee hope will do very well. Wee told Your Hon.r at the time Wee Reftored Mr French that Wee fhould not truft to his fair Promifes & Wee have him as good as Our Word Wee are glad the Acco.t Wee transmitted about Mr Smith will enable Your Hon.r to Anfwer the Demands of his Executrs Wee are Sure Gibfon & Slaughton are two of the worft Men living, however hereafter Wee will never make ufe of any indecent Expreffions in Speaking to Your Hon.r tho the Chyractors of the Perfons may deferve the worft Language. the later Wee have Sent to Bencoolen Wee lately Remitted the firft Bill & Enclofed have Sent the Second Bill of Exchange upon Yr Hon.r for Fifty Pounds payable to Mrs Martha Greenhile Grace Rachfhaw & Mary Chantock &c &c Or their Order the reft Wee will get in as faft as Wee can & Remit to Your Hon.r as Wee receive it & & Enclofed Wee have alfo Sent the firft Bill of Exchange for **Margin Notes:** Thanks returned for the Governours Prefent Fifh caught in great Plenty Paftures in order Arrears of Rents to be got in & what yet remains upon old Scores Yearly Lifts to be	had been turned to account. The Council would use the like care to recover the arrears of rents due for the year ending 31 March last, as it had done so far, and would be sure to get in whatever small sums still remained due to the Court on old scores. It assured the Court it would not let any new debts be contracted. For an answer to what the Court mentioned about planting wood and furze, the Council asked leave to refer it to the third part of its last letter by the *Heathcote*. 19: The Council would reckon yearly with the inhabitants and make out the usual yearly lists at September, as the Court directed in this paragraph. 20: The Council would recover whatever still remained due to Mr Alsop as fast as it could, and gave him credit in the Court's books as it received it. It thanked the Court for confirming Mr Brown, who proved a sober man, and it hoped would do very well. 21: The Council had told the Court, when it restored Mr French, that it would not trust to his fair promises, and it had held him to his word. 22: The Council was glad the accounts it sent about Mr Smith would enable the Court to answer the demands of his executors. 23: The Council was sure Gibson and Slaughton were two of the worst men living. In future, however, it would never use any indecent expressions in writing to the Court, since the characters of the persons might deserve the worst language. Slaughton it had sent to Bencoolen. 24: The Council had lately remitted the first bill, and now enclosed the second bill of exchange on the Court for £50 0s 0d, payable to Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and Mary Chantock, or their order. The rest it would get in as fast as it could, and remit to the Court as it received it, enclosed. It had also sent the first bill of exchange for [...] **Interpretations** The Governor's request that his £400 0s 0d and its interest be paid to Richard Benyon in England is the standing remittance of a servant's reward across the cashless divide, the gratuity the Court granted converted into a London payment through a named receiver. This is the same reward the Council thanked the Court for elsewhere in the season, the whole tied to the prospectus of the Governor's faithful service pressed throughout, Benyon a London figure standing to receive the sum on the Governor's behalf. The recovery of rent arrears and the refusal to let new debts accrue in item 18 restate the standing debt discipline of the administration, the mild but persistent collection against a people left poor, tied to the reformed accounting that let each debtor's true standing be known. The reference back to the *Heathcote* letter for the wood and furze answer folds this into the standing woodland programme, the destruction of the flocks and the replanting drive already set out at length the previous season. The Council's undertaking to drop indecent language about Gibson and Slaughton in item 23 shows a rare correction of its own tone at the Court's implied rebuke, the restraint conceded even while the Council maintained its low opinion of the men. Slaughton, sent to Bencoolen, is the same garrison ensign whose forged charges against the Governor filled the earlier packets, his removal eastward the standing device for disposing of an inconvenient servant, the same traffic used against the mutiny party of 9 July 1714 and the *Eagle Galley* conspirators. The second bill to Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and Mary Chantock repeats the remittance of the previous letter, the parts sent by

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		made out at Septr Mr Alfops Debts to be got in Care to be taken that Frenard does his Duty Acct about Smith Satisfactory Gibfon & Slaughton ill Men the later Sent to Bencoolen Bills Sent upon acct of Mrs Greenhile &c	successive ships so the loss of one copy would not defeat the claim.
127	119	for £ 180. 5 Sterling payable to the Perfons before mentioned or their Order drawn by the Ex.rs of Gabll Powell deceafed upon Sir John Lock of the City of London & &c dated the 15 instant & payable at Twenty days Sight Wee beg Pardon of Your Hon.r for giving You this trouble, Wee know not where to Send to them. Wee thank Your Hon.r for the Orders You have Sent abroad to Supply Us with Coffee Plants when Wee get them. Wee will take all the Care of them that is pofsible & hope the Soile of this Place will agree with them. Tea & China Ware will be Serviceable here & Wee thank Your Hon.r for what You have Orderd to be brought Us & alfo for the Wax Candles You have directed Should be Sent Us from Bengall. Wee Suppofe Mr Teak may have forgot what paft so many Years ago at St Helene for in the 58th Paragraph of Our Genll Letter of the 2ejo Aprile 1723 Your Hon.r will See that Wee demanded the Debt which he owed Your Hon.r as Ex.r of Mr Thomblinfon & that he Anfwers that he would Settle that Acco.t with You in England & Amounts to £ 35. 10: 7 & it is juftly due & in the 31 of Your Genll Letter p James & Mary of the 31 of Decr 1723 Your Hon.r Commend Us for having made this demand & told Us You defigned to call upon him for it in England. The Inhabitants were wonderfully pleafed when Wee acquainted them with Your repeated Orders to Your Shiping not to touch at the Cape but they have revived their former Apprehenfions & are full of Clamour & Complaint & Seem to think that all the Directions Your Honours have hitherto given to the Commanders upon this Subject will prove ineffectual & if it Should so happen they declare they Shall be utterly unable to pay their Rents or Support their Families for they Say if Your Ships from China which are the leaft Sickly & from whence they come fully Supplyed with a Stock of all Sorts of Provifions for a long Voyage venture into the Cape as thefe two have done its more likely Your Shiping from Sickly parts of India will venture to do so too & if this Should be the Cafe indeed their Condition	The Council had sent the first bill for £180 5s 0d sterling, payable to the persons already named or their order, drawn by the executors of Gabriel Powell, deceased, on Sir John Lock of the City of London, dated the 15th of this month and payable at twenty days sight. It asked the Court's pardon for the trouble, not knowing where to send the persons. 25: The Council thanked the Court for the orders it had sent abroad to supply the island with coffee plants when it could get them. It would take all possible care of them, and hoped the island's soil would suit them. 26: Tea and chinaware would be serviceable at the island, and the Council thanked the Court for what it had ordered to be brought, and also for the wax candles it had directed should be sent from Bengal. 27: The Council supposed Mr Feake might have forgotten what passed so many years ago at St Helena, since in the 55th paragraph of its general letter of 29 April 1723 the Court would see it had demanded the debt Feake owed the Court as executor of Mr Thomlinson. Feake answered that he would settle that account with the Court in England. The debt came to £35 10s 7d, and was justly due. In the 31st paragraph of the Court's general letter by the *James and Mary* of 31 December 1723, the Court commended the Council for having made the demand, and told it the Court meant to call on Feake for the money in England. 28: The inhabitants were wonderfully pleased when the Council told them of the Court's repeated orders that its shipping not touch at the Cape, but they had revived their former fears and were full of clamour and complaint. They seemed to think all the directions the Court had so far given the commanders on this matter would prove ineffectual, and that, should it so happen, they would be utterly unable to pay their rents or support their families. They said that if the Court's China ships, which were the least sickly, arrived at the Cape fully supplied with a stock of all sorts of provisions for a long voyage, they would venture in, as these two had done, and the ships from the sickly parts of India would be even more likely to do so. If that were the case, their condition would be deplorable. The Council recommended the matter to the Court's further consideration, since the inhabitants' circumstances were so poor that of the £467 2s 2d due to the Court for their rents and revenues at March last, it had received only £5 0s 0d. The rest it had been obliged to charge to their accounts, though after the shipping was over it would take care to get the remainder in. 29: The Council had lately had a trial between John Corry, late chief mate of the *Morice*, and James Crofford, each of whom had married a daughter of George Hodgkinson, deceased, over the estate of Gabriel Powell, deceased. The fortune left the daughters by their father had, ever since his death, been in the hands and management of Powell, and it appearing plainly to the jury that Powell had done them great wrong and injustice, and converted

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		would be deplorable & Wee humbly Recommend this matter to Your farther Confideration for really their Circumftances are so bad that of £ 676. 2. 2 due to Your Honours for their Rents & Revenues at March laft Wee have only received the Sum of Five Pounds the reft Wee have been obliged to place to their refpective Accounts however after the Shiping is over Wee will take Care to get the Remainder in Wee have lately had a Tryal between John Corry late Chief Mate of the Morice & James Crafford who each of them Maried a Daughter of George Hodghinfon decd & the Ex.rs of Gabll Powell decd about the Fortune loft them by their Father which ever Since his Death has been in the hands & Management of the Said Powell & it appearing evidently plain to the Jury that thefe Said Powell had done them great Wrong & Injuftice & converted every thing that belonged to them entirely to his own Ufe they gave their Verdict to **Margin Notes:** Coffee Plants expected Tea & China Ware & Wax Candles Money demanded of Mr Teak at St Helena Inhabitants Apprehenfive of Shining touching at the Cape Only £ 5. paid for Rents at March the reft in arrear Acct of the Tryal between Powell & Corry &c	everything belonging to them entirely to his own use, they gave their verdict [...] **Interpretations** The Feake debt in item 27 shows the island pursuing a stale claim across many years through the Court's London machinery, the £35 10s 7d owed by Feake as executor of the chaplain Thomlinson traced back through the Council's letter of 29 April 1723 and the Court's answer by the *James and Mary* of 31 December 1723. The matter is the same recovery of an old debt for the benefit of island parties pressed in the earlier letters over the Worralls, the Court undertaking to collect at home what the island could not, the coordination between the two ends of the correspondence the standing means of settling a cashless debt. The inhabitants' clamour in item 28 states the Cape trade grievance at its sharpest, the planters convinced that no order would keep the Court's ships from victualling at the Cape while they could, and that their whole livelihood turned on the fleet buying the island's provisions instead. The figure that only £5 0s 0d of £467 2s 2d in rents had been paid, the rest charged as book debt, measures the depth of the planters' poverty and ties the whole rent question to the market the shipping did or did not provide, the same argument pressed through the season and rooted in the standing recovery in kind on a cashless island. The trial in item 29 turns on the standing abuse of a guardian converting his wards' inheritance to his own use, Gabriel Powell having held and consumed the fortune left the Hodgkinson daughters until a jury found against his estate. This is the same wealthiest planter and long-standing Court creditor whose engrossing of the grazing and understorehouse trade ran through the earlier correspondence, the Court of Judicature the island's instrument for redressing a wrong the victims could not undo themselves. The bill for £180 5s 0d drawn by Powell's executors on Sir John Lock ties his estate to the same remittance machinery, the settlement of a London claim through a named drawee. **Speculations** The Council chose to lay the inhabitants' fears over the Cape trade before the Court for further consideration rather than simply assure them the Court's orders would hold, the reassurance its own repeated directions might have supported. The reason lies in the planters' own reasoning visible on the page: they pointed to two ships that had just victualled at the Cape and come in anyway, proof that the orders were being ignored, and tied their ability to pay rent directly to a market the fleet was denying them. With only £5 0s 0d of £467 2s 2d actually collected, the Council could not pretend the grievance was groundless, so instead of offering hollow comfort it forwarded the complaint with the bad-debt figures attached, pressing the Court to make its own orders effective rather than defending directions the planters could show were failing.
128	120	in favour of Hodghinfons Children which this being the chief thing that has come before us Us a long time together with all the Proceedings relating thereto is Enterd at length in Our Consn of the 24th of ffebruary laft The Seeds & Plants Your Hon.r have Sent Us this Year are all come Safe & in good Condition except 8 p 1000 Spanifh Chefnuts 1000 Walnuts which are all Spoiled	The jury gave its verdict in favour of the Hodgkinson children. This being the chief matter to come before the Council in a long time, the whole proceedings on it were entered at length in the consultation of the 24th of February last. 30: The seeds and plants the Court sent this year had all arrived safe and in good condition, except the following. 1,000 Spanish chestnuts, all spoiled 1,000 walnuts, all spoiled 500 horse chestnuts, all spoiled 24 roots of spearmint, all dead 1,000 strawberry plants, all dead

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		500 Horfe Chefnuts 24 Roots of Spear Mint 1000 Strawberry Plants all dead tho the Captain took all imaginable Care of them Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon.r for the Sum of Two hundred Ninety three Pounds Sterling dated the 16th instant payable to John Boyett or Order for the like Sum paid into Your Hon.r Cafh of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance. Capt Keat intended to have Sailed hence on Fryday laft but the Rains having fallen & made the Water which he did not Saile till the 18 instant Wee are &c St Helena 19th Aprill 1730 **Margin Notes:** Bills drawn Capt Keat Sales	The captain took every imaginable care of them. 31: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £293 0s 0d sterling, dated the 16th of this month, payable to John Bagett or order, for the like sum paid into the Court's cash. It prayed the Court's acceptance. 32: Captain Keat meant to have sailed on Friday last, but the rains having fallen and made the water high, he did not sail till the 18th of this month. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 19 April 1730 by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The list of spoiled seeds and dead plants restates the recurring difficulty of transporting living stock across the long voyage, the chestnuts, walnuts, spearmint and strawberries all failing despite the captain's care, the same loss met in the garden plants of the earlier letters and the plant relays to Bencoolen of 1717. The Council's note that the captain did all he could shows the failure laid to the passage itself rather than any neglect, the seeds and roots simply unable to survive the months at sea, which is why the island relied so heavily on grafting local rootstock and raising its own crops from seed that had once taken. The bill drawn to John Bagett for cash paid into the Court's account is the standing remittance of a cashless settlement, coin lodged at the island converted into a claim on the Court in London, Bagett the same inhabitant named among the subscribers to the Slaughter affidavit of the previous year. The delay to Captain Keat's sailing by the risen water ties to the standing hazard of the flash floods at James Valley, the sudden rains raising the watercourse enough to hold a ship in the road, the same violent flooding that damaged the castle curtain on 3 February 1713.
129	121	Lift of the Packet p Monmouth 19th Aprill 1730 1 Govr & Councils Genll Letter dated 19 Aprill 1730 2 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter 14th ffebry 1729 3 Duplicate of Consultations from 16 Decr to 10 ffebry 1729 both inclusfive 4 Ditto Acco.t of Ship Morice 5 Ditto Heathcote 6 Acco.t of the Expence of each Plantn for Month of Decr 7 Ditto Janry 1729 8 Ditto Storekeepers Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Heathcote Second Bill of Exchange for £ 50 payable to Martha Greenhile &c 9 Sent in the firft Letter Firft Bill of Exchange for £ 180. 5 upon Sir John Lock payable 10 to the perfons aforfaid 11 Copies Consts from 17th ffebry to 15 Aprile both inclusfive 12 ditto Acco.t of the Expence of each Plantn for Month ffebry 13 ditto March 1729 14 Lift of Salaries 15 ditto Families 16 ditto Rents 17 ditto Blacks 18 ditto Fines 19 ditto Licenses 20 ditto Eaters 21 Copy of the Invoice p Monntague with the Selling Price annexd 22 Storekeepers Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Monntague 23 Acco.t of Ship Monntague 24 ditto Monmouth	List of the packet by the *Monmouth*, 19 April 1730. 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 19 April 1730 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter dated 14 February 1729 3: Duplicate of consultations from 16 December to 10 February 1729, both inclusive 4: Duplicate account of the ship Morice 5: Duplicate account of the ship Heathcote 6: Account of the expense of each plantation for the month of December 7: Duplicate of the same for the month of January 1729 8: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Heathcote 9: Second bill of exchange for £50 0s 0d payable to Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and others, sent in the general letter 10: First bill of exchange for £180 5s 0d on Sir John Lock, payable to the persons already named 11: Copy of consultations from 17 February to 12 April, both inclusive 12: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for the month of February 13: Duplicate of the same for the month of March 1729 14: List of salaries 15: Duplicate list of families 16: Duplicate list of rents 17: Duplicate list of cash 18: Duplicate list of fines 19: Duplicate list of licences 20: Duplicate list of eaters 21: Copy of the invoice of the Montague with the selling prices annexed 22: Storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Montague

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		25 ditto Endfield 26 Rect for the Small Packet p Heathcote 27 ditto for the large Packet p ditto 28 Duplicate Lift of the Packet p Heathcote 29 Rect for Packet for India p Monntague 30 Lift of the Packet St Helena 19th Aprill 1730	23: Account of the ship Montague 24: Duplicate account of the ship Monmouth 25: Duplicate account of the ship Enfield 26: Receipt for the small packet by the Heathcote 27: Receipt for the large packet by the same 28: Duplicate list of the packet by the Heathcote 29: Receipt for the packets for India by the Montague 30: List of the packet The list was subscribed at St Helena on 19 April 1730. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, plantation returns, revenue lists and the storekeeper's endorsements. The heavy duplication of items already sent by the *Heathcote*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The two bills of exchange entered in the list tie the manifest to the remittances described in the general letter, the second bill for £50 0s 0d to Martha Greenhill, Grace Bradshaw and the others sent as insurance against the loss of the first, and the first bill for £180 5s 0d drawn on Sir John Lock by Gabriel Powell's executors carrying the same beneficiaries' credit through a second channel. The parts sent by successive ships ensured the loss of one copy would not defeat the claim. The invoice of the *Montague* with the selling prices annexed, entered as item 21, reflects the standing accounting of the Court's trade goods, the prices at which the island sold the incoming cargo recorded for the Court's check against the invoice, the counterpart to the storekeeper's endorsements that charged short deliveries against the freight. The run of monthly plantation accounts from December to March reflects the monthly return by which the Court measured the charge of each holding under the accounting reform of Governor Smith's administration.
130	122	Hon.d Sirs 16th May p Houghton Your Ships Monmouth & Endfield Sailed from hence on the 19th of laft Month by the former of which Wee returned Your Honours Our Anfwer to thofe Directions & Commands Wee received by the Monntague of which the Enclofed is a Copy. On the 2d instant the Houghton & Lynn arrived here directly from China, they Report that about the 15 or 16th of Aprill they met a Sloop to the Eaftward of the Cape which hoifted Englifh Colours & by their Defcription it was the Galley Commanded by Capt Betton Wee have been to view the Watering Place at Lemon Valley in Order to have made Some Works for Accommodation of Your Ships to Water there this Season but when Wee were there Wee found the Surfs so high which continue to run so all the Summer long that Wee have been obliged to lay afide Our Defign till the Winter Sets	Council general letter, 16 May 1730, by the *Houghton*. The Court's ships the *Monmouth* and *Enfield* sailed from the island on the 19th of last month. By the former the Council returned the Court its answer to the directions and commands received by the *Montague*, of which the enclosed was a copy. On the 2nd of this month the *Houghton* and *Lyne* arrived directly from China. They reported that about the 9th or 10th of April they met a sloop to the eastward of the Cape, which hoisted English colours, and by their description it was the galley commanded by Captain Bootle. 2: The Council had been to view the watering place at Lemon Valley, meaning to build some works there to let the Court's ships water this season. When it got there, it found the surf so high, and it kept running high all summer long, that the Council had to lay the plan aside until winter set in. At that time of year the surf was low and moderate. The Council would then begin, and did not doubt it would make the place a very safe and convenient one for its purpose. In doing so it would take particular care to be at as little expense as possible. 3: The inhabitants had asked leave to send a petition to the Court in the Council's packet, concerning their present unhappy condition, and earnestly begged the Council to intercede with the

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		in at which time of the Year the Surfs are low & moderate & then Wee will begin & doubt not but Wee Shall be able to make it a very Safe & commodious Place for the purpofe its defigned in doing which Wee will take particular Care to be as little expenfive as is pofsible. The Inhabitants have defired leave to transmit a Petition to Your Hon.rs in our Packet relating to their prefent unhappy Condition & earneftly entreat Us to become Intercefsors with Your Hon.rs in their behalf, & thus much Wee can truely Say their Circumftances are really as bad as they have reprefented them & that the Calculation they have made about the Deficiency of their Rents, the Number of Cattle they for Some time paft have yearly difpofed of to Your Shiping & the Charge they are yearly at in the Single Article of Clothing the number of People therein mentioned is as exact & perfect as any Computation can well be made, by which Your Honours will Plainly See that they go backwards & decline apace, & indeed muft have done So from the begining had they not conftantly ever Since the Island has been Inhabited received great Sums of Money from Your Hon.r & for the hire of their Blacks who laboured at Your Fortifications or other Buildings which was always their Principal Dependance & alone inabled them to pay their Rents without which they never would have been in a Capacity to do it & Wee beg leave to Recom mend this Petition to Your Hon.rs Confideration & humbly entreat Your Hon.rs in Pity & Compafsion to thefe poor diftrefsed People will be pleafed to give them Such effectual Relief as will inable them to live & provide for their Families which are now become **Margin Notes:** Watering Place at Lemon Valley to be compleated in the Winter. Inhabitants Petition for a Reduction of their Rents & Recommended to the Confideration of the Company. Reafons why	Court on their behalf. The Council could truly say their circumstances were as bad as they had described. The calculation they made of the deficiency of their rents, the number of cattle they had for some time past yearly sold to the Court's shipping, and the charge they were yearly at in the single article of clothing the number of people named, was as exact and correct as any computation could well be made. By this the Court would plainly see that the inhabitants went backwards and declined apace, and indeed must have done so from the beginning had they not, ever since the island was inhabited, constantly received great sums of money from the Court for the hire of their slaves, who laboured at the Court's fortifications and other buildings. That was always their chief support, and alone enabled them to pay their rents, without which they never would have been in a position to do it. The Council asked leave to recommend the petition to the Court's consideration, and earnestly begged the Court, in pity and compassion for these poor distressed people, to be pleased to give them such effectual relief as would enable them to live and provide for their families, which were now become [...] **Interpretations** The Lemon Valley watering works in item 2 belong to the standing effort to fit the valley as a landing and watering place for the fleet, the plan held back by the heavy summer surf that ran too high all season for the works to be attempted. The account of the surf running high through summer and moderating in winter reflects the island's actual seasons, the southern-hemisphere winter bringing the calmer water in which the Council meant to build, the whole tied to the recurring choice of Lemon Valley over the costly pipe scheme from Chubb's Spring pressed through the earlier letters. The inhabitants' petition for a reduction of rents in item 3 states the Cape trade grievance and the poverty of the settlement in their fullest form, the planters' whole ability to pay resting on two props, the sale of cattle to the shipping and the hire of their slaves for the Court's works. The Council's account of the island's economy is telling: the settlement had never been self-supporting, its rents met only from the wages the Court paid for slave labour on the fortifications, so that any falling off in that hire or in the shipping's custom left the planters unable to pay. This ties the rent question to the standing hire of slaves recorded through the correspondence and to the debt recovery pressed against a people the Council itself acknowledged could not meet their charges. The Council's decision to forward the petition and add its own plea reflects its recurring role as intermediary between the settlement and the Court, the same intercession made in earlier appeals over the planters' condition. By vouching for the accuracy of the inhabitants' figures and recommending their relief, the Council lent the weight of its own testimony to a claim it could not itself grant, the ultimate remedy lying only with the body in London that fixed the rents. **Speculations** The Council chose to forward the inhabitants' petition for rent relief and back it with its own plea rather than simply transmit it as the planters' complaint, the neutral course for a body that could not itself reduce the rents. The reason lies in the economy the Council set out: it knew, and stated plainly, that the settlement had never paid its way from its own produce but only from the wages the Court paid for slave labour, so a genuine falling off in that support left the planters truly unable to pay

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			rather than merely reluctant. Persuaded by figures it had checked and found exact, the Council lent its own testimony to the appeal, judging that the planters' distress was real enough to warrant pressing the Court for relief rather than standing back from a matter that was, in the end, the Court's alone to settle.
131	123	become very numerous & daily encreafing & yet to their great Misfortune their Ways & Means to Support & Maintain them are much lefs than they formerly were occafioned by the lofs of the Aoft Solemnity & Struggle with infuperable Difficulties many poor Families being in a Starving Condition, & as Wee had humbly prefume to pray Your Hon.r to give them Relief Wee beg leave to offere to Your Hon.r that no way will so effectually Anfwer the End of their Petition or be of Such general good & equal benefit & Advantage to the Inhabitants as the Means by which they propofe it may be done. If Your Hon.r Should imagine that to give up the Sale of Charter Party Bref which in fact would be giving them Two hundred & fifty Pounds a Year for so much its amounts to would be Sufficient Wee afsure You this would be far from doing the bufinefs, but to reduce Your Hon.r to Café them in the manner they have afked, Wee beg leave to offer an Argument which Wee think has great Weight in it, Whilft Your Hon.r have a large Stock as us always Spare & keep a Store Stand of it Should Wee be hereafter be Afflicted with a long Seene of dry Weather as happen'd in the Year 1728 & often Since though not equal to so great a degree at which time the Inhabitants loofe all so very near all their Cattl, & yet Wee in Such a Cafe by prudent Management Shall have enough to furnifh Your Shiping with a large Supply when a Beaft cannot be had elsewhere & befides Your Bref to always so much better than what the People can raife that the Commanders would deflik it becaufe their Sailors would Suffer by it, but Wee humbly hope & prefume that Your Honours will never Suffer any Such thing to be done, Should it be, it would infallibly be the Ruin of the Place for as Wee before obferved its a Sea the Safe Stand by when the Seafons fail, & the Paftures of other People in all Places are either filled with Carion or dead Carcafes & therefor Wee humbly ftray that Such Relief as Your Hon.r Shall think proper to give them may be given after the manner they have afked it in Such Meafure & Proportion	The families of the inhabitants were now become very numerous and daily increasing, to their great misfortune, since their ways and means to support and maintain them were much less than formerly. This was caused by the falling off of the Court's slave hire. In short, they were reduced to the greatest extremity, and struggled with insuperable difficulties, many poor families being in a starving condition. The Council had already humbly asked the Court to give them relief, and asked leave to assure the Court that no other way would so effectually answer the end of their petition, or be of such general good and equal benefit and advantage to the inhabitants, as the means by which it proposed the relief might be given. Should the Court think to give up the sale of charter party beef, which in fact would mean giving the planters £250 0s 0d a year for so much as it came to, that would be far from enough. But should the Court be pleased to relieve them in the way the Council had asked, the Council begged leave to offer an argument it thought carried great weight. While the Court had a large stock of cattle, it would always have a good supply. It should be considered, moreover, that the island was hereafter liable to be afflicted with a long spell of dry weather, as had happened in the year 1723 and often since, though not to so great a degree. At such times the inhabitants, being all seated very near their cattle, the Council in such a case by careful management would have enough to furnish the Court's shipping with a large supply when a beast could not be had elsewhere. Besides, the Court's beef would always be much better than what the people could raise, and the commanders would like it better, since their sailors would suffer by the other. The Council humbly hoped the Court would never let any such thing be done, for should it be, it would infallibly be the ruin of the island. As the Council had before observed, it was so much safer that, by the time the season fell, the pastures of other people in all places were either filled with poor or dead carcasses. The Council therefore humbly asked that such relief as the Court thought proper to give be given in the way the inhabitants had asked, in such measure and proportion as the Court thought fit. Their necessity was so great that the Council hoped they might flatter themselves the Court, in its great goodness, would gratify them in the worst particulars they had humbly asked. 4: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £8 0s 0d sterling, dated the 16th of this month, payable to the Governor or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books of account. It prayed the Court's acceptance. **Interpretations** The argument against giving up the sale of charter party beef turns on the standing management of the island's cattle stock as a strategic reserve against drought. The Council held that the Court's large herd was the island's security in a dry season, when the planters' own beasts died and only the Company's stock could furnish the fleet, the memory of the great drought of 1723 the anchor of the whole case. This ties the beef question to the recurring famine and cattle-supply threads, the island's

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		as You Shall think proper tho their necefsity is Such that Wee hope they flatten themfelves that Your Hon.r in Your great Goodnefs will gratify them in the Manner Particulars they have humbly afkd Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon.r for the Sum of £ 8. in Sty per Sterling dated the 16th instant payable to the Governr or Order for so much due by him in Your Honours Books of Accompts of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance On **Margin Notes:** Continued Supply prejudicial to Sale of Charter Party Bref Bills drawn	function as a victualling station depending on a herd that could be drawn on when private stock failed. The account of the planters' starving condition and swelling families restates the settlement's poverty in its plainest form, the falling off of the slave hire named again as the root cause. The Council's insistence that its own preferred remedy, rather than the surrender of the beef sale, would best relieve the inhabitants shows it steering the Court toward a form of relief that preserved the cattle reserve while easing the planters, the two aims held together against the simpler course the Court might have taken. The bill drawn to the Governor for credit due in the Court's books is the standing remittance of a servant's due across the cashless divide, coin or credit at the island converted into a claim on the Court in London. The small sum, entered beside the great matter of the rents, reflects the routine settlement of the Governor's own account alongside the larger business of the season. **Speculations** The Council argued against the Court giving up the sale of charter party beef, though that surrender would have handed the planters £250 0s 0d a year and eased the very distress the Council was pressing the Court to relieve. The reason lies in the drought reserve visible in the argument: the Council valued the Court's herd as the island's insurance against a dry season, when private cattle died and only the Company's stock could victual the fleet, the memory of 1723 fresh behind the case. Rather than accept an obvious relief that would have depleted or diverted that reserve, the Council pressed instead for its own remedy, judging that a form of aid preserving the strategic herd served both the planters and the Court's shipping better than the straightforward concession the inhabitants might have welcomed.
132	124	On the 14th instant the Compton arrived here directly from India but laft from Madrafs the Captain Reports that he was difpatched from Bengall the 6th January where he left the Deake Grantham & Eyles the former was defigned for Europa the other two may be Speedily expected, the Duke of York & Fordwich with a Bombay Galley & two Dutch Ships were at Kedgery to prevent the Oftenders from coming out who had taken in all their Cargo & were ready to Saile if this Force had not Stopt them. The Captain was difpatched from Madrafs on the 7th of ffebry where he left the Cadogan who arrived there from Bencoolen 16th Janry & does not come from thence till September next, the Marlborough & Greenwich were to Saile from thence in about ten days after him but Capt Lozinby is dead & the Ship is now Commanded by Mr Prockey & the Supply Wee have received Your Hon.rs will See in Our Consultation of the 15th of this Month. Wee are Hon.d Sirs Your moft Obedt moft humble & moft faithfull Servts St Helena	5: On the 14th of this month the *Compton* arrived directly from India but last from Madras. The captain reported that he had been despatched from Bengal on the 6th of January, where he left the *Deak*, *Grantham* and *Eyles*. The former was bound for Europe, and the other two might be expected soon. The *Duke of York* and *Fordwich*, with a Bombay galley and two Dutch ships, lay at Kedgeree to prevent the Ostenders from coming out, who had taken in all their cargo and were ready to sail had this force not stopped them. The captain was despatched from Madras on the 7th of February, where he left the *Cadogan*, which had arrived there from Bencoolen on the 4th of January and would not come from there till next September. The *Marlborough* and *Greenwich* were to sail from there about ten days after him, but Captain Lacinby was dead, and the *Greenwich* was now commanded by Mr Brookey. The supply the Council had received would appear in the consultation of the 15th of this month. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 16 May 1730 by the Governor and Council, as most obedient, most humble and most faithful servants. **Interpretations** The intelligence shows the island's function as a clearing house for shipping news across the whole eastern trade, the positions and movements of the homeward and outward fleet, the death of Captain Lacinby and the change of command of the *Greenwich* all reaching St Helena through the *Compton* and carried on to the Court. The reckoning by the dates of despatch from Bengal and Madras reflects the standing method by which the island gathered and relayed the scattered reports of the fleet. The blockade at Kedgeree, where the *Duke of York*, *Fordwich*, a Bombay galley and two Dutch ships

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		16th May 1730 **Margin Notes:** Oftenders blocked up	lay to keep the Ostenders in, marks the standing conflict with the rival Ostend trade that threatened the Company's monopoly, here met by open force in the Bengal river rather than the mere refusal of refreshment applied to the *House of Austria* at the island in 1720. Kedgeree was the pilot station and anchorage near the mouth of the Hooghly, the gateway to the Bengal trade, its blocking the means of denying the interlopers their laden departure. The report that the *Cadogan* would not leave Madras till September reflects the seasonal rhythm of the eastern voyages, the ships held by the monsoon and the trading calendar, the same timing that governed the arrivals and departures tracked through the whole correspondence. The supply received from the calling ships, referred to the consultation, ties the intelligence to the standing restocking of the island from the eastern presidencies.
133	125	Lift of the Packet p Ship Houghton 16th May 1730 1 Govr & Councils Genll Letter 16th May 1730 2 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter of 19th Aprill 1730 3 Duplicate Consts from 17th ffebry to 14th Aprill 1730 both inclusfive 4 ditto Expence of each Plantation for Month of ffebry 5 ditto March 1729 6 ditto Lift of Salaries 7 ditto Families 8 ditto Rents 9 ditto Blacks 10 ditto Fines 11 ditto Licences 12 ditto Eaters 13 ditto Invoice p Monntague with the Selling Price annexed 14 ditto Storekeepers Indorfement upon Bill of Lading of Ship Monntague 15 ditto Acco.t of Ship Monntague 16 ditto Monmouth 17 ditto Endfield 18 Receipt for large Packet p Monmouth 19 ditto for the Small ditto 20 ditto Lift of the Packet p Monmouth 21 Copy Consts from 21 Aprill 1730 to 15th May faid both inclusfive Second Bill of Exchange for £ 180. 6. upon Sir John Lock 22 payable to Mrs Greenhile &c Sent in the Genll Letter Original Petition of the Inhab.ts praying Reduction of their 23 Rents &c 24 Expence of each Plantation for Aprill 25 Acct of Ship Houghton 26 ditto Lynn 27 Lift of the Packet St Helena 16 May 1730	List of the packet by the ship *Houghton*, 16 May 1730. 1: Governor and Council general letter 16 May 1730 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter of 19 April 1730 3: Duplicate of consultations from 17 February to 14 April 1730, both inclusive 4: Duplicate expense of each plantation for the month of February 5: Duplicate of the same for the month of March 1729 6: Duplicate list of salaries 7: Duplicate list of families 8: Duplicate list of rents 9: Duplicate list of blacks 10: Duplicate list of fines 11: Duplicate list of licences 12: Duplicate list of eaters 13: Duplicate invoice of the Montague with the selling prices annexed 14: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Montague 15: Duplicate account of the ship Montague 16: Duplicate account of the ship Monmouth 17: Duplicate account of the ship Enfield 18: Receipt for the large packet by the Monmouth 19: Receipt for the small packet by the same 20: Duplicate list of the packet by the Monmouth 21: Copy of consultations from 21 April 1730 to 16 May following, both inclusive 22: Second bill of exchange for £180 5s 0d on Sir John Lock, payable to Mrs Greenhill and others, sent in the general letter 23: Original petition of the inhabitants praying reduction of their rents and the like 24: Expense of each plantation for April 25: Account of the ship Houghton 26: Duplicate account of the ship Lyne 27: List of the packet The list was subscribed at St Helena on 16 May 1730 by the secretary. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, plantation returns and revenue lists. The heavy duplication of items already sent by the *Monmouth*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717.

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			The original petition of the inhabitants praying a reduction of rents, entered as item 23, is the document described at length in the general letter, sent home in the packet so the Court could weigh the planters' own account of their distress alongside the Council's plea. Its inclusion marks the formal transmission of the settlement's collective appeal, the Council forwarding the inhabitants' own words as it had undertaken to do. The second bill of exchange for £180 5s 0d on Sir John Lock, drawn by Gabriel Powell's executors and carrying the credit of Martha Greenhill and the others, repeats the remittance of the previous letter, the second part sent as insurance against the loss of the first. The invoice of the *Montague* with the selling prices annexed reflects the standing accounting of the Court's trade goods, the prices at which the island sold the cargo recorded for the Court's check against the invoice.
134	126	Hon.d Sirs The Houghton & Lynn left Us on the 17th instant in their way to England & after a good Refrefhment & Supply In our General Letters this Season Wee have been so full & particular in Our Acct of Matters of moft Confequence that Wee have little material to lay before You now that of greateft moment is to acquaint Your Hon.r that having with great Pains and Induftry Supplyed Your Blacks for the laft three Years with great Plenty of Fifh the greateft Part of that Superfluous chargeable Cargo of Salt Provifion Sent for by Mr Smith at a great Expence to Your Hon.r lies upon our hands unfold, but by the great Care Wee have taken to keep the Cafks conftantly full of Pickle its yet all perfectly good & with the like Precaution Wee Shall be able to keep it Sound a long time but the greateft Quantity muft Rot & Perifh before Wee can Selz it here, Wee have tryed all Wee could to defpofe of it, but hitherto with Such little Sucefs that Wee dont expect it & therefore with a view to Your Interest Wee humbly defire Your Hon.r will give Us Directions to Send it to Bencoolen its probable that Oldee may afford a Market & its better it Should Sell for little rather than be all loft which muft be the Cafe if it remains here for Wee have not any Demands or Occafion for it the particulars are as follows Vizt 24 Cafks Pork 4 half hogfheads 12 Puncheons Bref 4 Cafks Sewet Among the Papers in Our Packet Wee have Sent an Indent of Stores wanting for the ufe of this Place for the next Year in which Wee have been as Sparing & moderate as is pofsible & defired nothing but what is much wanted & therefore humbly pray Your Hon.r will be pleafed to Order all the	Council general letter. 1: The *Houghton* and *Lyne* left the island on the 17th of this month on their way to England, after a good refreshment and supply. 2: In its general letters this season the Council had been so full and particular in its account of matters of most consequence that it had little of substance left to lay before the Court. The matter of greatest moment was to tell the Court that, having with great pains and industry supplied the Court's slaves for the last three years with great plenty of fish, the largest part of that superfluous and costly cargo of salt provision sent for by Mr Smith, at a great expense to the Court, lay on the Council's hands unsold. By the great care it had taken to keep the casks constantly full of pickle, the provision was still all perfectly good, and with the like precaution the Council would be able to keep it sound a long time. But the greatest quantity must rot and perish before it could be sold at the island. The Council had tried all it could to dispose of it, but so far with such little success that it did not expect to. With a view to the Court's interest, it therefore asked the Court to give it directions to send the provision to Bencoolen. It was probable that Bencoolen might afford a market, and it were better it should sell for little rather than be all lost, which must be the case if it stayed at the island, since there was no demand or use for it. The particulars were as follows. 24 casks of pork 4 half hogsheads of beef 12 puncheons of beef 4 casks of suet 3: Among the papers in its packet, the Council had sent an indent of stores wanting for the use of the island for the next year, in which it had been as sparing and moderate as possible, and asked nothing but what was much wanted. It therefore asked the Court to order all the particulars named in it to be sent. The Council had also sent the surgeon's indent. 4: In spite of the prudent way the inhabitants had lately taken to lay their condition before the Court in an humble petition, there were a few restless and turbulent people among them who thought all they had asked very insufficient. These were some of the persons the Court had pointed out in the 36th paragraph of its general letter of 17 April 1711 by the *Thistleworth*, in which it spoke of them thus, that such had been the factious temper of the islanders that nothing less than a strict hand on the reins of government could keep them [...] **Interpretations** The unsold salt provision in items 1 and 2 marks the reversal of an earlier policy, the cargo Governor Smith had ordered now a costly surplus because the

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		particulars therin mentioned to be Sent Us Wee have alfo Sent the Surgeons Indent Notwithftanding the prudent way the Inhabitants have lately taken to lay their Condition before Your Honours in an humble Petition there are Some few loft lefs turbulent & uneafie People among them who think all that they have afked very infufficient & are Some of thofe Perfons whom Your Hon.r point out in the 36 Sect. of Your Genll Letter of the 17th Aprill 1711 p Thiftleworth in which You Speak of them thus & pt Such has been the factious Temper of the Islanders that nothing lefs than a Strict hand on the Reins of Governmt could keep them in **Margin Notes:** Bref & Pork propofed to be Sent to Bencoolen Quantity Companies Charracter of the Inhabitants in the Year 1711	island's own fishery had made it unnecessary. The whole account turns on the success of the fish and potato diet pressed through the season, which cut both the sickness and the cost of feeding the slaves and left the imported salt meat with no market. The Council's care to keep the casks full of pickle, the brine that preserved the meat, shows it protecting the Court's stock against total loss while seeking a buyer, the proposal to send it to Bencoolen the standing device of shifting an unsaleable commodity to a station where it might find a market, the same relay used for personnel and goods throughout the correspondence. The indent of stores and the surgeon's indent in item 3 are the routine requisitions by which the island drew its wants from London, the Council's insistence on moderation answering the Court's standing complaint over the island's charges, the same economy pressed through the season's prospectus of the Governor's frugality. The surgeon's separate indent reflects the chronic medical want that ran through the whole correspondence. The reference in item 4 to the turbulent few among the inhabitants, and to the Court's own words of 17 April 1711 about the factious temper of the islanders, shows the Council drawing on the Court's established view of the settlement to discredit those who thought the rent petition too modest. By quoting the Court's own characterisation back to it, the Council distanced the reasonable body of planters from a restless minority, the same management of the settlement's grievances that ran through the disputes over the libels, the chaplain Jones and the forged charges of the earlier years.
135	127	in any tollerable Decorum In the 68th Sec of Your Letter to Us of the 21 March 1717 p Princefs Amelia Your Hon.r Say Vizt Wee are Senfible they are a quarrelfome litigious difsatisfied People & Some few Spirits up the reft that they are never long pleafed with any Governour unlefs they can Ride him; this is exactly their Character & partecularly of two of them Jofhua Johnfon & Rich Goodwin who have endeavoured to be troublefome & have been privately at Work to difturb the Minds of honeft quiet People with groundlefs fears & Apprehenfions though with very indifferent Succefs as Your Hon.r will obferve by the original Petition of the Inhabitants which Wee lately transmitted, both thefe fellows come to England with this Ship upon Schemes of their own Invention & therefore its fit Your Hon.r Should know who they are for its likely Your Hon.r will be troubled with them tho they make this Voyage under other Pretences Johnfon to look after Money lodged in Chancery by Somebody or other You know when & to be Recovred You know when when, the others excufe is to inquire farther into his Pretended Right to Some Money or Land which he Alledges the Heirs of Mr Nafhborne have detained from him though this Matter firft	The turbulent few could not be kept in any tolerable order. In the 68th paragraph of its letter of 21 March by the *Princess Amelia*, the Court had spoken of them thus, that it was sensible they were a quarrelsome, litigious and dissatisfied people, and that some few spirits stirred up the rest, so that they were never long pleased with any Governor unless they could master him. That, the Council said, was exactly their character, and particularly of two of them, Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin, who had tried to make trouble and had privately worked to disturb the minds of honest, quiet people with groundless fears and apprehensions, though with very poor success, as the Court would see by the original petition of the inhabitants the Council had lately sent. Both these fellows came to England on this ship on schemes of their own devising, so it was fit the Court should know who they were, since it was probable the Court would be troubled with them, though they made the voyage under other pretences. Johnson came to look after money lodged in Chancery by somebody or other, the Council knew not whom, and to be recovered it knew not when. Goodwin's excuse was to enquire further into his pretended right to some money or land, which he alleged the heirs of Mr Mashborne had kept from him, though the matter, first and last, had been in dispute these sixteen years. It had been two or three times before the Court, and as often referred back to the Governor and Council of the island, who, at the parties' own request, as often brought it before a jury, who as often gave it against him. The former of these, Johnson, whose promising features were ironically called Honest Joshua, had all his life long been one of the most slothful, idle, careless and improvident men living. In a wasteful and dissolute course of life he had squandered and thrown away a fortune of £2,000 0s 0d, and had not

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		& laft has been in difpute thefe Sixteen Years & has been twe or three times before Your Hon.r & as often Refer'd back again to the Governr & Council of this Place who at their Parties defire as often brought it before a Jury who as often gave it against him. The former of thefe Johnfon, who from the promifsing features of his face is fromically called Honeft Jofhua has all his life long been one of the moft Slothfull, Idle, Carelefs Improvident Men living & in a vicious profufe Courfe of Life has Squandered and Confounded a Fortune of two thoufand Pounds & has not Six Pence left to Shew for it, a Bowle of Punch & a Pipe of Tobacco, a Pair of Tables & a Pack of Cards having been his whole Study & Delight & now his Money is all gone & he begins to feel the Weight of his folly & Extravagance he complains he is no longer able to Pay his Rents due to Your Hon.rs & being out of all hopes ever to Retrieve himfelf out of the Miffortunes into which he has plunged himfelf he is reftlefs factious and Uneafie & has indeavoured to make other People so too. The other Richard Goodwin is by Profefsion a Tranfleter or in other Words a Cobler & is a very worthlefs Perfon almoft as great a Stranger to Induftry as the other difsatisfied becaufe he cannot reap the Same benefit & Advantage his Negligence & Mifmanagement as carefull People get by their Diligence & Induftry, they are both of them Stupidly ignorant hardly either **Margin Notes:** Companies Character of the Inhab.ts in the Year 1717. Character of Johnfon & Rich Goodwin.	sixpence left to show for it. A bowl of punch, a pipe of tobacco, a pair of tables and a pack of cards had been his whole study and delight, and now his money was gone he began to feel the weight of his folly and extravagance. He complained he was no longer able to pay his rents due to the Court, and, being out of all hope of retrieving himself out of the misfortunes into which he had plunged himself, he was restless, factious and uneasy, and had tried to make other people so too. The other, Richard Goodwin, was by trade a translator, or in other words a cobbler, and was a worthless person almost as great a stranger to industry as the other dissatisfied man, since he could not reap the same benefit and advantage by his negligence and mismanagement as careful people got by their diligence and industry. They were both of them stupidly ignorant, and hardly either [...] **Interpretations** The passage is a sustained character assassination of the two men the Council identified as the ringleaders of the discontent, Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin, drafted expressly to arm the Court against them before they arrived in England. By quoting the Court's own words of 21 March about the quarrelsome and litigious temper of the islanders, the Council fixed its portrait of the two within the Court's established view, the same use of the Court's characterisation deployed in the previous item to separate the reasonable planters from a restless minority. This is the standing management of the settlement's grievances that ran through the disputes over the libels, the chaplain Jones and the forged charges of the earlier years. The account of the two men's business at home reflects the island's dependence on the English courts to settle its inheritance and property disputes, Johnson's money lodged in Chancery and Goodwin's sixteen-year claim against the Mashborne heirs both matters that could only be pursued in London. The Chancery deposit was the standard means by which contested funds were held under the court's protection pending settlement, the long delay a mark of the slow machinery on which the island's absent claimants depended. Goodwin's claim, repeatedly referred back to the island's own Court of Judicature and as often decided against him by a jury, shows the recurring circuit between the two jurisdictions, the same shuttling of a stubborn case between London and the island seen in the disputes of earlier years. The description of Joshua Johnson's ruin, a fortune of £2,000 0s 0d wasted on punch, tobacco and cards until he could not pay his rent, ties the two men's agitation to the standing debt and poverty of the settlement. The Council cast their complaint not as genuine grievance but as the resentment of improvident men who had beggared themselves, the same distinction between honest misfortune and self-inflicted ruin drawn against Walter Morris and others in earlier correspondence. **Speculations** The Council chose to send home a detailed and damning character of Johnson and Goodwin ahead of their arrival rather than let the two present their own case to the Court unopposed. The reason lies in the threat they posed to the rent petition the Council had just forwarded: the two thought that petition insufficient and were travelling to England on their own schemes, so their complaints, if credited, might undercut the measured appeal the Council had backed with its own testimony. By reaching the Court first with a portrait of them as idle, litigious and self-ruined, and anchoring it in the Court's own earlier words, the Council pre-empted their account, judging that discrediting the messengers protected

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			both the reasonable body of planters and its own management of the settlement better than trusting the Court to see through them unaided.
136	128	either of them Mafter of their Bumbooks & yet its great odds but their Afsurance may prompt them to afk for Some Employ in Your Service but Wee want no more help Wee have People enow to do Your Bufsynefs well, as it might to be, & therefore humbly hope if their Confidence Should extend so far that Your Honours will not Shew them any Countenance they are neither of them qualified or deferving but quite the Reverfe & Wee labour to Save Your Honours from the Superfluous Expence & if they Should prefume to make any Propofals in Appofition to what the Inhabitants have now afked Wee humbly hope Your Hon.r will Reject them. Much more might be Sd to the difadvantage of thefe Perfons but Wee care not to trouble Your Hon.r or meddle with the Character or Mifbehaviour of private People farther than is necefsary & upon the whole afsure Your Honours that if they are uneafie tis becaufe Wee will not waft & Confound Your Money as extravagantly as they have done their own or give it them for what You do not want & therefore Wee Should be heartily glad to be Rid of thefe & all the reft of this factious uneafie Gang though they are few compared to the reft of the Inhabitants as Your Hon.r will See by their late Petition but thefe two have been hard at Work to create Mifchief & if Your Hon.r give them any Encouragement You may very expect to be troubled with new Envoys or Ambafsadours. Wee do afsure Your Hon.r Wee have treated them with the greateft favour & Indulgence they have entire Liberty to Sell & difpofe of every thing they have which thefe two Men have Acknowledged in their Complements to the Governour on the 26 of July 1727 & Since in their Petition to Your Hon.r of 23th May 1728 in which they thus exprefs themfelves & as in Juftice to the Governour Wee declare that Wee have been well treated & no ways Abridged of any Liberty Wee can reafonably defire or pretend to but there as Some among them of Such perverfe Spirits that nothing will pleafe them & by what Wee have been able to obferve they behave themfelves beft when they are ufed with Severity but this being against Our Inclinacon Wee Shall never do it but in Cafes of abfolute Necefsity. Wee are Hon.d Sirs	Neither of the two men was master of his own trade, and the odds were long against them, yet their assurance might prompt them to ask for some employment in the Court's service. The Council wanted no more help, having people enough to do the Court's business well, as it ought to be. It therefore hoped that, should the two men's boldness stretch so far, the Court would show them no countenance, since neither was qualified or deserving, but quite the reverse. The Council would work to save the Court from needless expense, and if the two should presume to make any proposals against what the inhabitants had now asked, it hoped the Court would reject them. Much more might be said to the discredit of these persons, but the Council took care not to trouble the Court, or meddle with the character or misbehaviour of private people, further than was needful. On the whole, it assured the Court that if the two were uneasy, it was because the Council would not waste and squander the Court's money as extravagantly as they had done their own, or give it to them for what the Court did not want. The Council would therefore be heartily glad to be rid of these two, and of all the rest of this factious and uneasy gang, though they were few compared to the bulk of the inhabitants, as the Court would see by the late petition. But these two had been hard at work to make mischief, and if the Court gave them any encouragement, it might well expect to be troubled with their envoys or ambassadors. The Council assured the Court that it had treated the inhabitants with the greatest favour and indulgence. They had entire liberty to sell and dispose of everything they had, which these two men had themselves acknowledged in their compliment to the Governor on the 26th of July 1727, and since in their petition to the Court of 23 May 1728, in which they expressed themselves thus. In justice to the Governor, the Council declared that the inhabitants had been well treated and in no way deprived of any liberty they could reasonably ask or claim, but for the fact that some among them were of such perverse spirit that nothing would please them. By what the Council had been able to observe, they behaved themselves best when they were used with severity. But since that was against the Council's inclination, it would never do it except in cases of absolute necessity. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 26 May 1730 by the Governor and Council, Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin and the secretary. A postscript followed. Captain Misener not having delivered a barrel of gunpowder, the Council had charged it to his account, and he promised to pay it in England. **Interpretations** The warning against employing Johnson and Goodwin in item 4 ties the character assault to the standing management of the island's establishment, the Council insisting it had hands enough and did not want the two men set over the Court's business or its money. By casting their agitation as the resentment of improvident men denied the chance to waste the Court's funds as they had wasted their own, the Council folded the dispute into the season's prospectus of the Governor's frugality, the same economy pressed throughout the correspondence. The citation of the inhabitants' own compliment to the Governor of 26 July 1727 and their petition of 23 May 1728 shows the Council building its defence

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		Your moft faithfull moft Obedt & moft humble Servts C Byfeld Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin St Helena 26th May 1730 Capt Wifsnor not having delivered a Barff of Powder Wee have charged it to his Acct & he promifes to Pay it in England **Margin Notes:** Inhabitants have been well treated which they have twice Acknowledged under their own hand in 1727 & 1728	of the Governor's treatment of the settlement on the planters' recorded words, turning the inhabitants' own acknowledgements against the two malcontents. This is the standing evidentiary method of the correspondence, the Council anchoring its case in dated documents and sworn or subscribed statements, the same technique used in the Slaughter dossier and the disputes over the libels. The admission that the islanders behaved best under severity, coupled with the Council's refusal to use it save in necessity, reflects the paternal frame of the settlement's government, discipline held in reserve and applied only when the disorder forced it. The gunpowder charged to Captain Misener in the postscript restates the standing charter party discipline, the barrel of powder each ship was to leave or pay for entered against the master's account when withheld, the same enforcement pressed over the gunpowder disputes with Captains Barnes, Kennys and others in earlier seasons.
137	129	Sir Tho Michell Efqr p Compton The Inhabitants of this Island occafioned by their bad Circumftances have found it necefsary to make humble Application to the Company for Relief & almoft Unanimoufly Signed a Petition to this purpofe which You will find in Our Packet but a few factious turbulent uneafie People particulerly Jofhua Johnfon & Richard Goodwin having been privately at Work to infufe groundlefs fears & Apprehenfions into the Minds but with very Little Succefs they have determined to go to England on board this Ship in Order to propofe Some Schemes of their own in direct Oppofition to the Senfe & defire of almoft every body here tho they awkwardly indeavour to conceale the Defign of their Voyage under other Pretences Wee have given the Court an Acct of their Character & Mifbehaviour in the 4th Paragraph of our Genll Letter all true though not all by a great deale which Wee could Say to their Prejudice & Wee very earneftly intreat You to Difcountenance them & that upon proper Occafions You will be pleafed to Remind the Court of what Wee have Said about them, if they are Encouraged the Company will never be free from the yearly Solicitations & Importunities of frefh Envoys & Ambafsadours nor Shall Wee have any Peace or quiet at St Helena You will excufe Us Wee hope Sir for giving You this trouble Wee have lived long among thefe People & know the Unreafonablenefs & extravagancy of their Inclinations & defires & if thefe two Men Should meet with any Countenance it would Set all thing here in great Confufion & Difordor, be very prejudicial to the Companies Affairs & create Us endlefs trouble. Wee	Letter to Thomas Michell, Esquire, by the *Compton*. The inhabitants of the island, driven by their poor circumstances, had found it necessary to make humble application to the Court for relief, and had almost unanimously signed a petition to that end, which Michell would find in the Council's packet. But a few factious, turbulent and uneasy people, particularly Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin, having privately worked to instil groundless fears and apprehensions into the minds of the rest, though with very little success, had resolved to go to England on this ship. Their purpose was to propose some scheme of their own, in direct opposition to the sense and wish of almost everybody at the island, though they awkwardly tried to conceal the design of their voyage under other pretences. The Council had given the Court an account of the two men's character and misbehaviour in the fourth paragraph of its general letter, all of it true, though not by a great deal all that could be said to their discredit. It earnestly begged Michell to discountenance them, and, on any proper occasion, to be pleased to remind the Court of what the Council had said about them. Should they be encouraged, the Court would never be free from the yearly solicitations and importunities of fresh envoys and ambassadors, nor would the island have any peace or quiet. The Council hoped Michell would excuse it for giving him this trouble. It had lived long among these people and knew the unreasonable temper and extravagance of their inclinations and desires. Should these two men meet with any countenance, it would throw everything at the island into great confusion and disorder, prove very prejudicial to the Court's affairs, and create endless trouble. The Council assured Michell it had treated the inhabitants with all the favour and indulgence they could reasonably ask, and that these two men had themselves acknowledged as much under their own hand, in their compliment to the Governor of 26 July 1727, and since in their petition to the Court of 28 May 1728, in which they expressed themselves to that effect. In justice to the Governor, the Council declared that the inhabitants had been well treated and in no way deprived of any liberty they could reasonably ask or claim. The letter was subscribed on 26 May 1730, as most humble and obedient servants. **Interpretations** This letter to Thomas Michell is a private solicitation running parallel to the general letter, the Council enlisting an individual at home to reinforce

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		do afsure You Wee have treated them with all the favours and Indulgence they can reafonably defire & thefe two Men have Acknowledged it under their own hand in their Complements to the Governr of 26th July 1727 & Since in their Petition to the Company of the 28th May 1728 in which they thus exprefs themfelves Vizt And in Juftice to the Governr Wee believe that Wee have been well treated & no ways Abridged of any Liberty Wee can reafonably defire or pretend to Wee are & moft humble & Obedt Servts 26th May 1730 **Margin Notes:** Relating to Johnfon & Goodwin	its case against Johnson and Goodwin before the Court. Michell served as a personal agent or patron through whom the Council could press its view outside the formal correspondence, the same use of a private channel made with Richard Benyon over the Governor's reward and with the various London figures who received the island's bills and pleaded its business. By asking him to remind the Court of the fourth paragraph of the general letter, the Council coordinated its public and private approaches to the same end. The concern that encouragement of the two men would bring a stream of envoys and ambassadors ties the matter to the standing management of the settlement's grievances, the Council fearing that any success would teach the discontented to carry their complaints to London year by year. This is the same anxiety that ran through the disputes over the libels and the forged charges, the Council working to keep the settlement's quarrels within its own control rather than let them reach the Court unchecked. The renewed citation of the inhabitants' compliment of 26 July 1727 and their petition of 28 May 1728 repeats the evidentiary anchor of the general letter, the Council resting its defence of the Governor on the planters' own recorded acknowledgements. The forwarding of the same testimony through both the public letter and the private one shows the standing method of building a case on dated documents, pressed here through two channels to guard against the two men's account prevailing at home.
138	130	Lift of the Packet p Compton 26th May 1730 1 Govr & Councill Genll Letter 26th May 1730 2 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter 16th May 1730 3 Duplicate Consts from 21 Aprile to 15 May 1730 both inclusfive 4 ditto Acct of Ship Houghton 5 ditto Lynn 6 ditto Lift of the Packet p Houghton 7 Copy of Inhab.ts Petition praying Reduction of their Rents 8 Copy Const 19th May 1730 9 ditto Acct Ship Compton 10 Capt Worthe Rect for large Packet 11 ditto for the Small ditto 12 Duplicate Expence of each Plantation for Month Aprill 13 Indent of Stores wanting at St Helena 14 Surgeons Indent 15 Storekeepers Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Compton 16 Lift of the Packet	List of the packet by the *Compton*, 26 May 1730. 1: Governor and Council general letter 26 May 1730 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter 16 May 1730 3: Duplicate of consultations from 21 April to 16 May 1730, both inclusive 4: Duplicate account of the ship Houghton 5: Duplicate account of the ship Lyne 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the Houghton 7: Copy of the inhabitants' petition praying reduction of their rents 8: Copy of consultations 19 May 1730 9: Duplicate account of the ship Compton 10: Captain Worth's receipt for the large packet 11: Captain Worth's receipt for the small packet 12: Duplicate expense of each plantation for the month of April 13: Indent of stores wanting at St Helena 14: Surgeon's indent 15: Storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Compton 16: List of the packet The list was subscribed at St Helena by the secretary. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, plantation return and indents. The duplication of items already sent by the *Houghton*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The copy of the inhabitants' petition praying a reduction of rents, entered as item 7, sends the settlement's collective appeal home a second time by the next ship, the parts carried by successive vessels so the loss of one copy would not defeat the whole,

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			the same duplication applied to the bills of exchange of the season. The indent of stores and the surgeon's indent are the routine requisitions by which the island drew its wants from London, the surgeon's separate list reflecting the chronic medical shortage that ran through the correspondence. The storekeeper's endorsement on the *Compton*'s bills of lading is the documentary record of short delivery, the mechanism by which a shortfall in a ship's cargo was charged against the freight, the same device applied throughout the season. The receipts of Captain Worth for the packets are the standing proof of delivery, the master's acknowledgement the recoverable evidence that the correspondence was placed aboard.
139	131	Hon.d Sirs Wee paid Our humble Duty to Your Honours on the 26th of laft Month by the Compton who left Us that day & the Enclofed is a Copy of Our Letter Since She Sailed Severall of Your Ships have touched here, the Eyles on the 5th & the next day the Grantham & on the 20 instant the Marlborough & Greenwich all directly from India, by the former Wee hear that one of the Oftenders has been taken by thofe of Your Ships appointed for that purpofe without any Bloodfhed except the lofs of the Second Captain of the Oftender who was killed by a Shot from the Galley but few Goods were found on board of any Value having Sunk her Cargo away on board a French Ship, the other its thought will not Attempt to Stir. In this Enterprize Your Ship Fordwich unhappily got upon the Gyllingham Sand but is likely to get off if the Weather proved fair otherwife She will be in great danger the Supply thefe Ships have brought for this Place Your Hon.r will See in Our Consultations of the 6 & 20th instant & From Madrafs they have Sent Us three Slaves valued at moft extravagant Rate One as one hundred Dollars & the other two at Sixty Six Pagodas & twenty four Fanams each but Wee have valued them in Your Books here at £ 15 a peice as much as Wee think they are worth & Wee humbly pray Your Honours will give Strict Order to forbid the Sending any more hither from any of Your Settlements in India for they are of no Service & Wee have Rogues enow of this Complexion here already. The Flowr Wee received laft Year by the Cadogan proved very good efpecially Six Barels of it from No 1 to 6 but the Cargo Wee lately received by the Monntague proves so very bad its hardly fit for ufe, Wee hope thofe who furnifh the next Supply will ufe Your Honours will for Difappointments this Seemingly	Council general letter. The Council had paid its humble duty to the Court on the 3rd of last month by the *Compton*, which left the island that day. The enclosed was a copy of that letter. Since she sailed, several of the Court's ships had touched at the island, the *Eyles* on the 5th, the *Grantham* the next day, and, on the 20th of this month, the *Marlborough* and *Greenwich*, all directly from India. By the former the Council heard that one of the Ostenders had been taken by the Court's ships appointed for the purpose, without any bloodshed, save the loss of the second captain of the Ostender, who was killed by a shot from the galley. Few goods of any value were found on board, she having sent her cargo away on board a French ship. The other Ostender, it was thought, would not attempt to stir. In this enterprise the Court's ship *Fordwich* unluckily ran aground on the Gillingham sand, but was likely to get off if the weather proved fair, though otherwise she would be in great danger. The supply these ships brought for the island would appear in the consultations of the 6th and 20th of this month. From Madras the Court had sent the Council three slaves, valued at a most extravagant rate, one at one hundred dollars and the other two at ninety six pagodas and twenty four fanams each. The Council had valued them in its books at the island at £15 0s 0d apiece, as much as it thought they were worth. It asked the Court to give strict orders forbidding the sending of any more from any of its settlements in India, since they were of no use, and it had slaves enough of this complexion at the island already. 2: The flour the Council received last year by the *Cadogan* proved very good, especially six barrels of it marked from number 1 to 6. But the cargo lately received by the *Montague* proved so very bad it was hardly fit for use. The Council hoped those who furnished the next supply would take care, since disappointments of this kind, seemingly slight, would put the island to great inconvenience, and were the more sensibly felt because it was so remote it could not help itself. It had this year indented for thirty five barrels, fifteen of which it asked might be Hertfordshire flour, since it was better and kept much longer than any other sort, and it asked the Court to give directions accordingly. 3: All the gentlemen and commanders who touched at the island this season were extremely well pleased with the reception and refreshment they met with. The island had great plenty of many good things, especially beef, of which it had abundance, and the best on the island. Though much coveted, the Council refused [...] **Interpretations** The taking of the Ostender in the opening item shows the standing conflict with the rival Ostend trade carried to open force, the Court's ships appointed to intercept the interlopers seizing one at

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		Shall put Us to great Inconveniency & are the more Senfibly felt becaufe Wee are so Remote Wee cant help our Selves. Wee have this Year Indented for Thirty five Barels, Fifteen of which Wee defire may be Hertfordfhire Flowr for its better & keeps much longer than any other Sort & Wee humbly pray Your Hon.r will be pleafed to give Directions accordingly All the Gent & Commanders that have touched here this Season were extreamly well pleafed with the Reception & Refrefhment they met with at this Place which has been in great Plenty of many good things efpecially Bref of which Wee have Abundance & the beft upon the Island & though very much Coveted yet Wee refufed to **Margin Notes:** An Oftender taken Three Slaves Sent from Madrafs Flowr p Monntague proved bad. Quantity & Sorts defired for next Year Gentlemen pleafed with their Reception	the cost of her second captain, killed by a shot from the galley. The report that she had already shifted her cargo to a French ship, leaving little of value aboard, marks the shift the interlopers used to save their goods from seizure, the same evasion behind the blockade at Kedgeree reported in the earlier letter. The grounding of the *Fordwich* on the Gillingham sand during the action ties the enterprise to the hazards of the Bengal river approaches, the shoals a constant danger to the shipping. The three slaves sent from Madras, valued at a hundred dollars and ninety six pagodas and twenty four fanams each, show the standing accounting of slave purchases across the eastern currencies, the pagoda and fanam the gold and small coin of the Coromandel coast and the dollar the trade piece of the wider commerce. The Council's reduction of the valuation to £15 0s 0d apiece in its own books, and its request that no more be sent, reflects its management of the Court's account against extravagant charges from the presidencies, the same economy pressed through the season and rooted in the standing complaint over the island's costs. The phrase about slaves of this complexion marks the Council's preference, expressed through the correspondence, for Madagascar and other stock over the Coromandel supply. The bad flour of the *Montague* in item 2 restates the recurring difficulty of a remote island dependent on the quality of what London sent, a spoiled cargo a real hardship where no other source could be had. The request for Hertfordshire flour, prized for keeping longer, is the same particular preference pressed in the earlier letters of the season, the indent the routine instrument by which the island specified its wants. The abundance of beef in item 3, refused to the eager commanders beyond the charter party allowance, ties to the standing management of the cattle stock as a reserve, the same argument against depleting the herd made in the rent correspondence.
140	132	to furnifh more than the Quantity Settled by Charter Party becaufe Wee would not do any thing that might hinder the Sale of what the Inhabitants have to difpofe of & Wee find if they were a diligent induftrious laborious People Such as You want & they ought & this Place Requires they Should be they might raife many things for the Supply of Shiping which would turn to a very good Account & be equally acceptable to Seafaring People & beneficial to themfelves but as long as they Set up for what they are not, affect to be Gentlemen, & to make figures & Appearances, as Some of them so far beyond their Condition & Circumftances, to the great Surprize & Amazement of all Strangers & which has been particulerly remarkable in thofe two Men lately gone to England efpecially in Johnfon they will be always poor & behind hand, & nothing good can be expected from them wch is much to be lamented for this Island is really capable of confiderable Improvements & Wee have Set them a good	The Council refused to furnish more beef than the quantity settled by charter party, since it would do nothing that might hinder the sale of what the inhabitants had to dispose of. It found that, were the planters a diligent and industrious people, such as the Court wanted and the island required them to be, they might raise many things for the supply of the shipping. That would turn to very good account, and be equally welcome to seafaring people and profitable to themselves. But so long as they set up for what they were not, affecting to be gentlemen and to make a figure and appearance, some of them far beyond their condition and circumstances, to the great surprise of all strangers, they would come to nothing. This had been particularly marked in the two men lately gone to England, especially in Johnson. They would always be poor and behind hand, and nothing good could be expected from them, which was much to be lamented, since the island was really capable of considerable improvement, and the Council had set them a good example. 4: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £396 0s 0d sterling, dated the 19th of this month, payable to Francis Wrangham or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books of account at the island. It prayed the Court's acceptance. Captain Winter spoke to the *Wyndham* about the 28th of April, in latitude 12 degrees to the eastward of the Cape. She was then well, and had left all the gentlemen at Bombay when she came away, but was not yet arrived.

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		Example Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of Three hundred Ninety Six Pounds Sterling dated the 19th instant payable to Francis Wraughton or Order for so much due to him in Your Honours Books of Acct here of which Wee humbly pray Your Hon.rs Acceptance Capt Winter Spoke to the Wyndham about the 28th of Aprile 12 Degrees to the Eaftward of the Cape & She was then well & loft all the Gentlemen &c at Bombay when She came away but is not yet arrived. Wee are St Helena 24th June 1730. **Margin Notes:** No more Bref Sold than Charter Party that the Inhab.ts may the better Sell theirs Farther Character of Some of the People particularly Johnfon & Richard Bills drawn	The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 24 June 1730 by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The refusal to sell beef beyond the charter party allowance restates the deliberate stand on the standing conflict of interest between the Court and the settlement, the Council holding back the surplus so the planters could sell their own provisions to the fleet. This folds the beef question into the whole season's argument over the inhabitants' poverty, the Council leaving the market to the planters while pressing the Court to relieve their rents. The observation that an industrious people could raise much for the shipping ties the settlement's failure to its own habits rather than to any want of opportunity, the same distinction between honest industry and idle pretension drawn against Johnson and Goodwin in the earlier letters. The renewed portrait of the planters affecting gentility beyond their means continues the character assault of the season, the pretension to figure and appearance cast as the root of their poverty and the particular vice of the two men gone to England. By contrasting their idleness with the good example the Council had set, the administration held up its own husbandry against the settlement's failure, the same prospectus of frugal and improving government pressed throughout the correspondence. The bill drawn to Francis Wrangham for credit due in the Court's books is the standing remittance of a cashless settlement, coin or credit at the island converted into a claim on the Court in London. This is the same Francis Wrangham, the planter and former writer once struck and dangerously wounded by the secretary Antipas Tovey in 1716, who recovered and held one of the island's best watered plantations, his sizeable credit marking him among the substantial men of the settlement.
141	133	Lift of the Packet p Grantham 24th June 1730 1 Govr & Councils Genll Letter 24 June 1730 2 Copy Govr & Councils Genll Letter 26th May 1730 3 Duplicate of Consts of the 19th May 1730 4 do Indent of Stores 5 do Surgeons Indent 6 do Acct of Ship Compton 7 do Storekeepers Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Compton 8 do Lift of the Packet p Compton 9 Capt Wifsnors Rect for large Packet 10 Capt Wifsnors Rect for the Small Packet 11 Acct of Ship Eyles 12 do Grantham 13 Copies Consts from 26 May to 20 June 1730 both inclusfive 14 Storekeepers Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Grantham 15 ditto Eyles 16 Copy of the Expence of each Plantation for Month May 1730 17 Lift of the Packet	List of the packet by the *Grantham*, 24 June 1730. 1: Governor and Council general letter 24 June 1730 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter 26 May 1730 3: Duplicate of consultations of the 19 May 1730 4: Duplicate indent of stores 5: Duplicate surgeon's indent 6: Duplicate account of the ship Compton 7: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Compton 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the Compton 9: Captain Misener's receipt for the large packet 10: Captain Misener's receipt for the small packet 11: Account of the ship Eyles 12: Account of the ship Grantham 13: Copy of consultations from 26 May to 26 June 1730, both inclusive 14: Storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Grantham 15: Storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Eyles 16: Copy of the expense of each plantation for the month of May 1730 17: List of the packet The list was subscribed at St Helena by the secretary. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, storekeeper's endorsements, plantation return and indents. The duplication of items already sent by the *Compton*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that

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			carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The storekeeper's endorsements on the bills of lading of the *Grantham* and *Eyles* are the documentary record of short delivery, the mechanism by which a shortfall in a ship's cargo was charged against the freight, the same device applied throughout the season. The receipts of Captain Misener for the packets are the standing proof of delivery, the master's acknowledgement the recoverable evidence that the correspondence was placed aboard, this the same Captain John Misener long associated with the *Princess Amelia* in the earlier correspondence. The indent of stores and the surgeon's indent, sent home a second time by this ship, are the routine requisitions by which the island drew its wants from London, forwarded again so the loss of one copy would not leave the island's needs unmet. The single monthly plantation account for May reflects the standing monthly return by which the Court measured the charge of each holding under the accounting reform of Governor Smith's administration.
142	134	Hon.d Sirs General p Marlborough Juft as Your Ships Eyles & Grantham had weighed Anchor which they did on the 25th instant in Order for England Capt Lyell arrived here from Bombay but laft from Tillichery who tells that on the 2 or 3 of June he See a Ship with Englifh Colours three or four Degrees to the Weftward of the Cape wch Wee conclude was the Monntague Wee had nuther Letter or Cargo by the Wyndham nor any Letter Invoice or bill of Lading by the Marlborough but the Quantity of Goods brought by the later Your Hon.r will See in Our Consts of the 26th of this Month. All Your Affairs at this Place are in a flourifhing Condition & Wee will not leave any thing Unattempted to continue them so. Wee Send in our Packet the firft Bill of Exchange dated this day drawn by Capt Needlefield upon Hugh Raymond Efqr for the Sum of Eighteen Pounds Eleven Shillings & Six Pence Sterling payable to Your Honours or Order for the like Value delivered him here as p Account of Ship Marlborough herein enclofed Wee are St Helena 29th June 1730 **Margin Notes:** All Affairs in good Order. Bills drawn payable to the Company.	Council general letter by the *Marlborough*. Just as the Court's ships the *Eyles* and *Grantham* had weighed anchor, which they did on the 25th of this month, bound for England, Captain Lyell arrived from Bombay but last from Telicherry. He reported that on the 2nd or 3rd of June he saw a ship with English colours three or four degrees to the westward of the Cape, which the Council concluded was the *Montague*. The Council had neither letter nor cargo by the *Wyndham*, nor any letter, invoice or bill of lading by the *Marlborough*. The quantity of goods brought by the latter the Court would see in the consultation of the 26th of this month. All the Court's affairs at the island were in a flourishing condition, and the Council would leave nothing unattempted to keep them so. The Council sent in its packet the first bill of exchange, dated this day, drawn by Captain Micklefield on Hugh Raymond, Esquire, for the sum of £18 11s 6d sterling, payable to the Court or order, for the like value delivered him at the island, as the account of the ship *Marlborough* enclosed showed. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 29 June 1730 by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The intelligence shows the island's function as a clearing house for shipping news, Captain Lyell's report of a ship off the Cape reaching the Council and identified as the *Montague*, the reckoning by degrees to the westward of the Cape the standing method by which passing ships fixed and relayed their positions. The tracking of the homeward fleet by each vessel's account was the means by which the island kept the Court informed of the movements of its shipping. The bill drawn by Captain Micklefield on Hugh Raymond in England is the standing remittance of a calling commander's account, the value supplied him at the island converted into a claim on the Court through a named London drawee, the parts of such a bill sent by successive ships so the loss of one copy would not defeat the claim. Hugh Raymond was the London figure who stood behind the master's bill, the same drawee named in the remittances of earlier seasons, the mechanism the routine settlement of a ship's account at a cashless island. The absence of any letter or invoice by the *Wyndham* and *Marlborough* reflects the ordinary

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			irregularity of the correspondence, cargo arriving without its accompanying papers, the quantity of goods to be checked against the consultation record rather than a bill of lading. This is the same difficulty behind the storekeeper's endorsements of the season, the island reconciling what it received against what the documents showed, or, where the documents failed, against its own record of the landing.
143	135	Lift of the Packet p Marlborough 1 Govr & Councils Genll Letter 29th June 1730 2 Copy Govr & Councils Genll Letter 24 June 1730 3 Duplicate Consts from 26th May to 20 June faid both inclusfive 4 ditto Acct of Ship Eyles 5 ditto Grantham 6 do Storekeeps Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Grantham 7 ditto Eyles 8 ditto Acct of Expence of each Plantation for Month May 1730 9 Copy Consts from 25 June 1730 to 26 ditto both inclusfive 10 ditto Acct of Ship Marlborough 11 ditto Greenwich 12 Storekeepers Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Greenwich 13 Duplicate Lift of the Packet p Grantham 14 Receipt for the Packet p Grantham 15 Copy of Govr & Councils Receipt for the Goods p Marlborough 16 Capt Needlefields firft Bill of Exchange for £ 18:11:6 17 Lift of the Packet St Helena 29 June 1730	List of the packet by the *Marlborough*. 1: Governor and Council general letter 29 June 1730 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter 24 June 1730 3: Duplicate of consultations from 26 May to 26 June, both inclusive 4: Duplicate account of the ship Eyles 5: Duplicate account of the ship Grantham 6: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Grantham 7: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Eyles 8: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for the month of May 1730 9: Copy of consultations from 25 June 1730 to 26 following, both inclusive 10: Duplicate account of the ship Marlborough 11: Duplicate account of the ship Greenwich 12: Storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Greenwich 13: Duplicate list of the packet by the Grantham 14: Receipt for the packet by the Grantham 15: Copy of the Governor and Council's receipt for the goods by the Marlborough 16: Captain Micklefield's first bill of exchange for £18 11s 6d 17: List of the packet The list was subscribed at St Helena on 29 June 1730 by the secretary. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, storekeeper's endorsements and plantation return. The duplication of items already sent by the *Grantham*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The storekeeper's endorsements on the bills of lading of the *Grantham*, *Eyles* and *Greenwich* are the documentary record of short delivery, the mechanism by which a shortfall in a ship's cargo was charged against the freight, the same device applied throughout the season. The Council's own receipt for the goods by the *Marlborough*, entered as item 15, is the counterpart acknowledgement, the record that the cargo arriving without invoice or bill of lading had nonetheless been received and accounted for. The first bill of exchange for £18 11s 6d drawn by Captain Micklefield, entered as item 16, ties the manifest to the remittance described in the general letter, the bill sent home so the Court could receive its value through the London drawee. The single monthly plantation account for May reflects the standing monthly return by which the Court measured the charge of each holding under the accounting reform of Governor Smith's administration.
144	136	Hon.d Sirs	Council general letter by the *Wyndham*.

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		Genll p Wyndham Your Ships Marlbro & Greenwich Sailed from hence for England on the 30th of laft Month & Wee hope are Safely arrived there Wee have been so particular in Our Several Letters which Wee have had the Honour to write to You this Season that its almoft needlefs to mention any thing more about the Affairs or Bufsynefs of this Place & Wee will however venture to afsure You that Wee will continue to exert Our Selves in Your Service with the Same Diligence & Induftry Wee have hitherto ufed & be carefull upon all Occafions to Save Your Money & Play the good Hufband, & Wee heartily wifh the People of this Place had difcretion enough to defsire themfelves Wee have lately loft a fellow called John Martin Van Ofsten who is fled from his Family a Wife & two young Children whom he has cruelly left in the moft diftrefsed Condition The Inhabitants tell Us that he was Intimate with Alex Bruce Gunners Mate of the Greenwich & that he Afsifted him in making his Efcape on board the Capt in the Night before She Sailed (Wee hope without the Privity of any other Perfon) Wee therefore humbly pray Your Hon.r will give Such Orders & Directions to Your Commanders as may effectually prevent thefe Practices for the future Otherwife they may prove injurious to Your Hon.r as well as private People as it hath happen'd to thefe laft in the Cafe of this Perfon who has difrauded them of a confiderable Sum of Money. & Wee alfo pray that this Caution to the Captains may be extended to the Blacks who are often Attempting to get away In our Packet Wee have Sent Capt Needlefields Second Bill of Exchange for Eighteen Pounds Eleven Shill & Six Pence & have drawn One Sett upon Your Hon.r for the Sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling dated the 10th instant payable to William Gaa or Ordr for the like Sum paid into Your Hon.r Cafh in Cafh Notes of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance Capt Lyell having defired Us to Regifter a Small Parcell of Goods Wee have accordingly Regiftred them in Our Const of this date wherein Your Hon.r will See the particulars Wee are St Helena 11th July 1730 **Margin Notes:** All things in good Order & ffrugality promifed to be obferved. Van Ofsten Run away Acct hereof.	1: The Court's ships the *Marlborough* and *Greenwich* sailed from the island for England on the 30th of last month, and the Council hoped were safely arrived. 2: The Council had been so full in its several letters this season that it was almost needless to say anything more about the affairs or business of the island. It ventured to assure the Court, however, that it would keep on exerting itself in the Court's service with the same diligence and industry it had shown so far, and would be careful on all occasions to save the Court's money and play the good husband. It heartily wished the people of the island had discretion enough to look after themselves. 3: The Council had lately lost a fellow called John Martin Van Osten, who fled from his family, a wife and two young children, whom he had cruelly left in the most distressed condition. The inhabitants told the Council he was intimate with Alexander Bruce, gunner's mate of the *Greenwich*, and that Bruce helped him make his escape on board that ship the night before she sailed, the Council hoped without the knowledge of any other person. It therefore asked the Court to give such orders and directions to its commanders as might effectually prevent these practices in future, since otherwise they might prove injurious to the Court as well as to private people, as had happened to the inhabitants in the case of this person, who had defrauded them of a considerable sum of money. The Council also asked that this caution to the captains might be extended to the slaves, who often tried to get away. 4: In its packet the Council had sent Captain Micklefield's second bill of exchange for £18 11s 6d, and had drawn one set of bills on the Court for the sum of £50 0s 0d sterling, dated the 10th of this month, payable to William Gaa or order, for the like sum paid into the Court's cash in cash notes. It prayed the Court's acceptance. 5: Captain Lyell having asked the Council to register a small parcel of goods, it had accordingly registered them in the consultation of this date, in which the Court would see the particulars. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 11 July 1730 by the Governor and Council. **Interpretations** The flight of John Martin Van Osten in item 3 turns on the standing difficulty of the island's authority over persons who could escape aboard a calling ship, the same limit exposed in the disputes over ships' officers ashore and defiant commanders throughout the correspondence. Van Osten, the Company servant long employed in the accountant's office since Governor Johnson moved him there in the consultation of 3 May 1720, and the payee of the season's own remittance bills, had defrauded the inhabitants and slipped away with the connivance of a ship's gunner's mate, abandoning his family. The Council's request for orders to the commanders to prevent such escapes, extended also to the slaves who often tried to get away, reflects the recurring problem that the island's writ reached only so far as a master would refuse a fugitive shelter on his deck. The pairing of the absconding servant with the running slaves in item 3 shows the Council treating both as leakage of the Court's and the inhabitants' property through the shipping, the same concern behind the standing orders against carrying off slaves and the retention of runaways under the Court's rule. The request that the caution to the captains cover the slaves ties the matter to the island's constant anxiety over its labour force, the loss of a slave aboard a departing ship a real drain on the establishment. The bills of exchange in item 4 are the standing remittance of a cashless settlement, Captain

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		Capt Needlefields 2 Bill Sent, & One Sett drawn upon the Company Goods Regiftred	Micklefield's second bill sent as insurance against the loss of the first and the £50 0s 0d to William Gaa converting cash notes into a claim on the Court in London. The registration of Captain Lyell's parcel of goods in item 5 is the routine recording of a commander's private trade in the consultation book, the entry the Council's guard against unaccounted goods passing through the island, the same practice by which private stock was registered at the master's own request in earlier seasons.
145	137	Lift of the Packet p Wyndham 11th July 1730 1 Govr & Councils Genll Letter dated 11th July 1730 2 Copy Govr & Councils Genll Letter 29th June 1730 3 Duplicate Consts from 25 to 26th June 1730 both inclusfive 4 Ditto Acct of Ship Marlborough 5 do Greenwich 6 Storekeepers Indorfem.t upon bill of Lading of Ship Greenwich 7 ditto Govr & Councils Rect for Goods p Marlborough 8 ditto Lift of the Packet p Marlborough 9 Capt Needlefields Second Bill of Exchange for £ 18:11:6 10 Rect for the Packet p Marlborough 11 Copy Consts from 30th June to 11th July 1730 both inclusfive 12 do Acct of Ship Wyndham 13 Acct of the Expence of each Plantn for Month June 1730 14 Lift of the Packet	List of the packet by the *Wyndham*, 11 July 1730. 1: Governor and Council general letter dated 11 July 1730 2: Copy of the Governor and Council general letter 29 June 1730 3: Duplicate of consultations from 25 to 26 June 1730, both inclusive 4: Duplicate account of the ship Marlborough 5: Duplicate account of the ship Greenwich 6: Storekeeper's endorsement on the bills of lading of the ship Greenwich 7: Duplicate of the Governor and Council's receipt for the goods by the Marlborough 8: Duplicate list of the packet by the Marlborough 9: Captain Micklefield's second bill of exchange for £18 11s 6d 10: Receipt for the packet by the Marlborough 11: Copy of consultations from 30 June to 11 July 1730, both inclusive 12: Duplicate account of the ship Wyndham 13: Account of the expense of each plantation for the month of June 1730 14: List of the packet The list was subscribed at St Helena by the secretary. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, storekeeper's endorsement and plantation return. The duplication of items already sent by the *Marlborough*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The second bill of exchange for £18 11s 6d drawn by Captain Micklefield, entered as item 9, sends the second part of the remittance home by the next ship, the parts carried by successive vessels so the loss of one copy would not defeat the claim, the same duplication running through the bills of the season. The Council's receipt for the goods by the *Marlborough*, entered as item 7, is the record that the cargo arriving without invoice or bill of lading had been received and accounted for, the counterpart to the storekeeper's endorsements that charged short deliveries against the freight. The storekeeper's endorsement on the *Greenwich*'s bills of lading is the documentary record of short delivery, the same device applied throughout the season. The single monthly plantation account for June reflects the standing monthly return by which the Court measured the charge of each holding under the accounting reform of Governor Smith's administration.
146	138	Hon.d Sirs 2d Aprile 1731. Wee received your Commands by the James & Mary on the 21 of March to which Wee now Anfwer in the ufual method.	Council general letter, 2 April 1731. 1: The Council received the Court's commands by the *James and Mary* on the 21st of March, to which it now answered in the usual way. First, concerning shipping.

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		First concerning Shiping Wee are glad all the laft years Shiping are Safely returned Thofe now returning & thofe lately Sent abroad Wee alfo hope will arrive with You in the like Safe Safety & with all the Succefs & Advantage your Honours propofe. Wee will always acquaint your Honours with all Such newes as Wee hear concerning Shiping On the 14 July Wee had an Allarm for Six Saile that paft by do on the 27th of ffebry Wee had an other Allarm for the like number of Ships that alfo went by On the 21 of March the James & Mary arrived from England & on the 23d the Torbef of Wales & the Lyell arrived from China from whence two French Ships were juft ready to Saile & about a Month hence Wee expect Your other two Ships here; they left an Oftender there who pretends to Act under the King of Spains Commifsion, they Report that the Dutch have many Ships in wait for her The Refolution your Hon.r have taken to prevent the breach of your Orders with relation to Shiping that touch here Wee hope will effectually prevent the like hereafter. Your Honours may always depend upon our conftant Care & Diligence to unlade the Storefhip within the limited time the Charter Party Wee will Send to Bencoolen The Heathcote Wee hope will make a Speedy & Succefsfull Voyage to Mocho. Wee thank your Hon.r for the Lift of Supra Cargoes to China The Governr has received private Instructions from the Hon.ble the Gent of the Comtee of Secrecy which he will duely obferve All Goods of Value Shall be opened in the Prefence of the Governour & Captain & if any are wanting a Certificate thereof Shall be Sent your Hon.r Wee Shall continue to give your Hon.r notice by Indorfemt upon bills of lading of Such Goods as Wee receive Short from India & doubt not but you will recover their Value The Same Caution Wee have hitherto ufed in Examining foreign Ships before they are Sufferd to come in Wee will always continue Wee have so often troubled Your Hon.r upon the Subject of this Par. that Wee Shall have no Occafion to make any Remarks but one which Sufficiently proves how difficult & troublefome it is to pleafe or Manage thefe	2: The Council was glad all last year's shipping had returned safe. 3: It also hoped those now returning, and those lately sent abroad, would reach the Court in the like safety, and with all the success and advantage the Court wished. 4: The Council would always keep the Court informed of whatever news it heard concerning shipping. On the 14th of July it had an alarm for six sail that passed by, and on the 27th of February another alarm for the like number of ships, which also went by. On the 21st of March the *James and Mary* arrived from England, and on the 23rd the *Tower of Wales* and the *Lyell* arrived from China, from where two French ships were just ready to sail. The Council expected the Court's other two ships at the island in about a month. They had left an Ostender there who pretended to trade under the King of Spain's commission, and reported that the Dutch had many ships lying in wait for her. 5: The resolution the Court had taken to prevent the breach of its orders concerning shipping that touched at the island, the Council hoped, would effectually prevent the like in future. 6: The Court might always depend on the Council's constant care and diligence to unload the store ship within the time set by the charter party. The Council would send the charter party to Bencoolen. 7: The Council hoped the *Heathcote* would make a speedy and successful voyage to Mocha. 8: It thanked the Court for the list of supercargoes to China. 9: The Governor had received private instructions from the gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy, which he would duly observe. 10: All goods of value would be opened in the presence of the Governor and the captain, and if any were wanting, a certificate of it would be sent to the Court. 11: The Council would keep on giving the Court notice, by endorsement on the bills of lading, of any goods it received short from India, and did not doubt the Court would recover their value. 12: The Council would keep up the same caution it had used so far in examining foreign ships before they were allowed to come in. 13: The Council had so often troubled the Court on the subject of this matter that it would make only one remark, which sufficiently proved how difficult and troublesome it was to please or manage the shipping [...] **Interpretations** This is the opening of a fresh season's general letter, framed as a paragraph-by-paragraph answer to the Court's commands received by the *James and Mary*, the same structured reply under the Court's own heads that ran through the correspondence since the accounting reform of Governor Smith's administration. The division into shipping, goods, servants and the rest reflects the settled form by which the island answered each head of the Court's letter in order. The examination of foreign ships before admission in item 12, and the Ostender trading under a pretended Spanish commission in item 4, continue the standing conflict with the rival Ostend trade and the guarding of the island against vessels with no right to its refreshment. The report that the Dutch lay in wait for the Ostender shows the wider European rivalry over the eastern trade reaching the island through its shipping intelligence, the same enterprise as the interception of the Ostenders reported the previous season.

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			The certificate signed at the opening of valuable goods in item 10, and the endorsement on the bills of lading for short deliveries in item 11, are the evidentiary safeguards against loss and pilferage in transit, the witnessed record and the charge against the freight the two devices by which the Court was protected from shortfalls, pressed through the whole correspondence. The private instructions from the Committee of Secrecy in item 9 mark the confidential channel by which the Court conveyed sensitive orders to the Governor alone, separate from the general correspondence read by the whole Council.
147	139	thefe People for now your Hon.r have forbid your Ships more Strictly than ever not to touch at the Cape they publickly murmur & Complain & Say if Ships touched at the Cape it would be of Advantage to them alledging that thofe who touch there generally bring Money Wee are Sorry for the Accedent that gave occafion for the Greenwich to be Exchequerd & on the other hand Wee are glad to hear your Hon.r have overcome all difficulties in this Affair Wee are likewife very much concerned to hear of the tragical Accident that happen'd to the Marlbro & on the other hand Wee are glad your honour efcaped with so little lofs 2dly Concerning Goods Since 17th laft was twelve Month Wee have Sold 48 Ps & 327 Yards of the Cape Chints & have ufed 21 Ps more for the Clothing of your Blacks, the Sale does not go on so faft as wee could wifh yet by degrees Wee hope Wee Shall get rid of them all You may afsure your Selves Wee will difpofe of them to the beft Advantage. your Hon.r will again find that your Lofs by Damage Waft or Leakage has again been very inconfiderable & Wee will continue to be always alike carefull the particulars your Hon.r will See in the Journal folio 113. Wee will difpofe of the Salt Bref as well as Wee can the Blacks will little want it for Wee Still continue to catch fifh in great Plenty & that yearly Saves your Hon.r a great Sum The Match Wee daily expect an Shoar Wee thank your Hon.r for the Care you have directed to be taken that the Flowr may be good it not yet landed & Wee are under Some Apprehenfion the Surf continuing high whether Wee Shall be able to unlade the Ship by the laft day but the Ships in the Road tarrying only a Short time Wee are obliged to get our Slaves ready, however you will know by the Poftfcript whether Wee can do it or not but nothing Shall be wanting on our Part & the Captain has exerted himfelf so much on his Side that his Boat has received	The trouble of managing the shipping was clear, for now that the Court had forbidden its ships more strictly than ever to touch at the Cape, the commanders openly murmured and complained. They said that if a ship touched at the Cape it was to their advantage, arguing that those who called there generally brought money. 14: The Council was sorry for the accident that caused the *Greenwich* to be sent home in distress. On the other hand, it was glad to hear the Court had overcome all the difficulties in the affair. 15: The Council was likewise very much concerned to hear of the tragic accident that happened to the *Marlborough*. On the other hand, it was glad the Court escaped with so little loss. Secondly, concerning goods. 16: Since July was twelve months, the Council had sold forty eight pieces and 327 yards of the Cape chintz, and had used twenty pieces more for clothing the Court's slaves. The sale did not go on so fast as the Council could wish, but it hoped, by getting rid of them by degrees, that the Court might spare itself, and it would dispose of them to the best advantage. The Court would again find that its loss by damage, waste or leakage had been very slight, and the Council would keep on being careful. The particulars the Court would see in the journal folio 113. 17: The Council would dispose of the salt beef as well as it could. The slaves would want little of it, since it still caught fish in great plenty, which yearly saved the Court a great sum. 18: The match the Council received answered expectation. 19: The Council thanked the Court for the care it had directed to be taken that the flour might be good. It was not yet landed, and the Council was under some apprehension, the surf keeping high, whether it would be able to unload the ship by the last day. The ship stayed only a short time in the road, so the Council had to get its supply out. The Court would know by the postscript whether it could be done or not. Nothing would be wanting on the Council's part, and the captain had exerted himself so much on his side that his boat received damage and was in danger of being staved. Thirdly, concerning the Court's servants, slaves, cattle, lands and revenues. 20: The Council had already, by an advertisement entered in the consultation of 20 March, given the inhabitants notice of the Court's favour to them. 21: In the same advertisement it had also made known the Court's pleasure about the ten shillings a head payable for slaves. 22: The Council was extremely pleased the Court was determined never to gratify the inhabitants by giving up the sale of charter party beef. Should it ever be done, all those inconveniences the Council feared would be unavoidable. The Court's plantations were all in excellent order, and its cattle at the wood equal to, if not better than, any the Council had yet had.

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		damage & we in danger of being Staved. 3dly concerning the Inhab.ts Your Servants Acct Slaves Cattle Sands & Revenues Wee have already by Advertizement enterd in Consultation of 20th March Given the Inhabitants notice of your Favour to them In the Same Advertizement Wee alfo Signified your Pleafure about the ten Shillings p head payable for Slaves Wee are extreamly pleafe your honours are determined never to gratify the Inhabitants in giving up the Sale of Charter Party Bref Should it ever be done all thofe Inconveniencies your Hon.r Apprehend will be unavoidable, Your Plantations & your Paftures at the Wood & other Places are all in excellent Order & your Cattle equal if not excell all that Wee have yet had.	**Interpretations** The commanders' murmuring over the Cape ban in the opening lines states the Cape trade grievance from the shipping's side, the masters preferring the Cape because those who called there brought money, against the island's insistence that the fleet victual at St Helena to give the planters a market. The two positions frame the recurring conflict pressed through the season, the Court's stricter orders welcomed by the Council but resented by the commanders whose custom the island depended on. The Court's determination never to give up the sale of charter party beef in item 22 endorses the argument the Council had pressed the previous season, the cattle stock held as a strategic reserve against drought and the beef sale confined to the charter party allowance so the planters could sell their own. The Court's answer settles the matter the Council had steered it toward, preserving the herd while the beef question remained tied to the standing management of the island's provisions and the relief of the planters' rents. The salt beef in item 17 restates the surplus left by the success of the island's fishery, the fish and potato diet having cut the slaves' need for the imported meat, the same reversal of Governor Smith's provisioning order pressed through the earlier letters. The apprehension over unloading the flour in item 19, the surf keeping high and the captain's boat damaged in the attempt, ties to the standing hazard of the heavy summer surf at the island's landing places, the same difficulty that held back the Lemon Valley watering works. The ten shillings a head for slaves in item 21 reflects the Court's regulation of the island's labour charges, the advertisement the means by which the Council made the Court's pleasure known to the inhabitants.
148	140	The Petition prefented to your Hon.rs by Johnfon & Goodwin has been clandeftinely & knavifhly carried on & Managed from the begining & this is full of falfe & malicious Infinuations invented to prejudice & lefsen Us in your Hon.rs Favour & good opinion which Wee have hitherto enjoyed in a large degree & Wee have deferved it & is all the Pleafure & Satisfaction Wee enjoy at this difmal Place. Wee never hinderd any of them from Seeing their Cattl & Provifions nor any thing the it, Wee remember in Decr 1729 Wee heard they intended to lower the Price of their Bref from 26 to 20, 16 & Some talked to 12 Shill a hundred & then out of a Compafsionate Regard to the generality of the Inhabitants efpecially the poorer Sort, Wee forbid them by an Advertizement the Subftance of wch your Hon.r will find in our Consultation of 16 Decr 1729 to underfell your honours & our defign in this was very good for its plain to Us & appears to & your honours that if they were not able to live & provide for their Families when they Sold their Bref which is the Stapl Commodity here at 26 Ps P it would not be pofsible for them to do near so well	23: The petition presented to the Court by Johnson and Goodwin had been carried on and managed clandestinely and roguishly from the beginning, and was full of false and malicious information invented to prejudice and lessen the honour and good opinion the Council had so far enjoyed in a large degree. The Council had deserved that opinion, and did so with all the pleasure and satisfaction it enjoyed at the island. It never hindered any of the inhabitants from selling their cattle and provisions, nor anything of the kind. The Council recalled that in December 1729 it heard the planters meant to raise the price of their beef from 25 shillings to 20 shillings, 16 shillings, and some talked even of 12 shillings a hundred. Out of a compassionate regard to the bulk of the inhabitants, especially the poorer sort, the Council had forbidden it by an advertisement, the substance of which the Court would find in the consultation of 16 December 1729. The Council's design in this was very good, and appeared plain to the Court, that the planters were not able to live and provide for their families when they sold their beef, which was the staple commodity of the island, at 25 shillings a hundred. It would not be possible for them to do nearly as well if they lowered the price. Though it was true that lowering the price would have induced the commanders to take such quantities off their hands as they had to spare, and there might have been some reason for letting them sell at a low rate, it was certain the commanders would never buy more than they wanted, whether they bought it at 25 shillings or 12 shillings a hundred. Another great harm would come of it, for the commanders, if once they got the planters to lower the price, would always hold them to it. But the Court had been pleased to put an end

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		if they lefsend the Price, tho it true if lowering the Price would have been a means to induce the Captains to have taken Such quantities of their hands as they had to Spare there might have been Some Reafon for allowing them to Sell at a low Rate but its certain the Captains will never buy more than they want whether they buy it 26 or 12 p hundred & an other great Prejudice would happen by it the Capt.s if ever they once get them to lower the Price will always hold them to it, but your Hon.r have oun pleafed to put an end to this difpute & they now may if they pleafe Sell for 12 Ps P Thefe Men put on good Points when they told your honours that Severall of the Council kept houfes of Entertainment in borrowed names to their Prejudice but this is an impudent falfhood not one of them is concerned that way except Mr Goodwin & that he keeps in his own name & is really a Publick good for he has no Cattl or Stock of his own & what he buys he buys of the Inhabitants & chiefly of the poorer Sort so that in fact they are the very men that would diftrefs their Neighbours & engrofs every thing to themfelves. What they Say about Wine being impofed upon them is grofsly Mifreprefented. At a time when Arrack was Scarce & your Stores were quite empty of Tea Wee Spared them a little Tea & Wine of our own port Port Mart Cape Wine but the beft that ever came to St Helena for it was of the Sort called Conftantia & Wee parted with it to Serve them & not to impofe upon them & Solemnly decl Wee never ufed any force or Compulfion with any of	to the dispute, and the planters might now, if they pleased, sell for 12 shillings a hundred. These two men put on a good pretence when they told the Court that several of the Council kept houses of entertainment in borrowed names, to the planters' prejudice. But this was an impudent falsehood. Not one of the Council was concerned that way, except Mr Goodwin, and that which he kept was in his own name and was really a public good, for he had no cattle or stock of his own, and what he bought he bought of the inhabitants, chiefly of the poorer sort. So that in fact Johnson and Goodwin were the very men who would distress their neighbours and engross everything to themselves. What they said about wine being forced on the inhabitants was grossly misrepresented. At a time when arrack was scarce and the Court's stores were quite empty of tea, the Council spared the planters a little tea and wine of its own, part port and part Cape wine, but the best that ever came to St Helena, since it was of the sort called Constantia. The Council parted with it to serve the planters, not to impose on them, and solemnly declared it never used any force or compulsion with any [...] **Interpretations** The rebuttal of the Johnson and Goodwin petition turns the season's character assault into a point-by-point defence of the Council's conduct, answering the two men's specific charges before the Court. The account of the beef price shows the Council's regulation of the island's staple commodity working against the planters' own wish: the inhabitants meant to cut the price to tempt the commanders, but the Council forbade it, judging that a lower price would not sell more beef, since the masters bought only what they wanted, and would leave the planters permanently worse off once the commanders held them to the reduced rate. This ties the beef question to the standing management of the island's provisions and the relief of the planters, the Council casting its price control as protection of the poorer sort against their own short-sighted competition. The charge that councillors kept punch houses in borrowed names, and its rebuttal, ties to the standing conflict of interest between the Court's servants and the island's private trade, the same anxiety behind the understorehouse trade of Gabriel Powell and the punch-house keeping condemned through the correspondence. The Council's admission that Goodwin alone kept such a house, defended as a public good since he held no cattle and bought from the poorer planters, turns the accusation back on the accusers, casting Johnson and Goodwin as the true engrossers. The wine matter shows the Council disposing of its own stock to the inhabitants at a time of scarcity, the Constantia wine of the Cape prized as the finest that reached the island, the arrack and tea shortage the occasion. By framing the sale as relief rather than imposition, and denying any compulsion, the Council answered the charge that it forced goods on the planters, the same defence of its dealings pressed against the malcontents throughout the season. Constantia was the celebrated sweet wine of the Cape estate, its naming here a mark of the quality the Council claimed for what it supplied.
149	141	& thefe two men who have told your honours they were obliged to take it have neither of them ever had a drop of it & thofe that had have not yet paid for it & Wee believe never will so that to	The two men who told the Court they were forced to take the wine had neither of them ever had a drop of it, and those who did had not yet paid for it, and the Council believed never would. So that, to serve them, the Council had injured itself. As to going aboard a ship, the planters were never refused, except for drunkenness or misbehaviour, nor did the

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		Serve them Wee have injured our Selves. As to going on board Ship they were never refufed except for Drunkennefs or Mifbehaviour nor did Wee ever deny them Liberty to bring any thing on Shoar that was reafonable; this is the State of thefe Matters which Wee believe will effectually clear Us from thofe Afperfions which have been unjuftly caft upon Us Wee have given Notice in the hearing of Captain Balchen of the Liberty your Hon.rs allow them the Advertizement is enterd in our Consultation of the 20th of March; but after all this if your Hon.r pleafe to confider the difadvantage Wee labour under you will not be much surprized to hear of many little frivolous Complaints, Wee Struggle with Difficulties that never yet attended any Govr & Council formerly they had all Blacks at Work which kept the People in prodigious awe thofe who had Slaves employed being extreamly fearfull to Mifbehave leaft their Slaves Should be diftreft & others by their decent modeft behaviour were willing to recommend themfelves to favour in hopes to get their own employed & befide this moft of them were Indebted to your honours in large Sums of Money which made them the more afraid to offend but all blacks being difmift & moft of the Debts by Us Recoverd they now think themfelves free from all Reftraint & imagine they may be so factious & turbulent as they pleafe, this is the Cafe & thofe are the People Wee are to Manage & yet if Wee Wee were to abufe you & give each of them not so difcerning as to Judge they have Sold & for the mifery they defigned to fill Us a little Credit in the Store, they would bruftle up for Saints & Angels & so turn the Tables & rail at your Honours. Wee never heard or Sufpected till Wee found it in the Letter that they made any Complaint of our Surgeon the Man is so far from deferving it that he has always declared he would give all poor people his Medicines & attendance Gratis & the ready to do so to all that are poor, there is a Sort of an Ill vermant here who pretends to Phyfic & quacks among them & works cheap & they have been to employ him & they like him, but if it was not for the Salary your honours allow the Surgeon a farrier wouldn't be amongft them. Thefe People before they Complained Should in modefty have firft paid his bill but he has now been here near two years & has never received but one half Crown from any of	Council deny them liberty to bring anything ashore that was reasonable. This was the true state of the malcontents' charges, which the Council believed would effectually clear it of the aspersions unjustly cast on it. It had given notice, in the hearing of Captain Balchen, of the liberty the Court allowed the planters, the advertisement entered in the consultation of 20 March. After all this, if the Court would consider the disadvantage the Council laboured under, it would not be much surprised to hear of the many little frivolous complaints, nor that the Council struggled with difficulties that never yet attended any Governor and Council before. Formerly they had all the slaves at work, which kept the people in prodigious awe. Those who had slaves employed, being extremely fearful lest their slaves should be discharged, and others, by their decent and modest behaviour, being willing to recommend themselves to favour in the hope of getting their own employed, and besides this, most of them being indebted to the Court in large sums of money, were the more afraid to offend. But all the slaves being discharged, and most of the debts recovered, they now thought themselves free from all restraint, and imagined they might be as factious and turbulent as they pleased. This was the case, and these were the people the Council had to manage. Yet if the Council were to abuse the Court, or give each of them a little credit in the store, they would then cry it up for Saints and Angels, and so turn the tables and rail at the Court. 24: The Council never heard or suspected, till it found it in their letter, that they made any complaint of the surgeon. The man was so far from deserving it that he had always declared he would give all poor people his medicines and attendance without charge, and was ready to do so to all that were poor. There was a sort of an ignorant person at the island who pretended to physic and quacked among them, and worked cheap. They had been used to employ him, and they liked him. But were it not for the salary the Court allowed the surgeon, a farrier would not stay among them. Before these people complained, they should in modesty first have paid his bill, but he had now been at the island near two years and had never received but one half crown from any of the planters. The Council believed the person aimed at in this paragraph was Mr Cripps, and that from the notice the Court took of the matter, it thought his fees considerable. But they were very slight. He asked nothing but what came to £4 0s 0d a year, and the Council never heard [...] **Interpretations** The Council's account of the island's changed discipline in the response to paragraph 23 is a striking piece of self-analysis, explaining the rise of the malcontents by the very reforms of the administration. The Council held that the planters had once been kept in awe by three levers: the fear of losing the Court's hire of their slaves, the hope of gaining it, and their heavy indebtedness to the Company. With the slaves discharged and the debts recovered, all three levers were gone, and the planters, freed from restraint, grew factious. This ties the discontent directly to the standing debt recovery and the ending of slave hire pressed through the correspondence, the Council acknowledging that its own success in clearing the debts had loosened the hold it once had over the settlement. The remark that the planters would cry the Council up for saints if it abused the Court or gave them store credit shows the administration casting the malcontents' loyalty as purely interested, the same distinction between honest and self-serving

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		them Planters Wee believe the Perfon pointed at in this Paragraph is Mr Cripps & that from the Notice your Hon.r take of this Matter Wee believe & you think his Fees are confiderable but they are very infignificant he abufes Us they do not Amount to four Pounds a year & Wee never heard	conduct drawn against Johnson and Goodwin throughout the season. By tying the complaints to the loss of the old means of control rather than to any genuine grievance, the Council framed the whole dispute as the predictable result of a discipline the reforms had necessarily relaxed. The defence of the surgeon in item 24 restates the chronic medical want of the island, the Council contrasting the qualified surgeon, willing to treat the poor for nothing, with the ignorant quack the planters preferred because he worked cheap. This is the same medical crisis that ran through the correspondence, the run of unfit or unpaid men from Scrimshire and Wignall onward, here turned into a defence of a competent surgeon the planters would not pay. The observation that a farrier would not stay but for the Court's salary, a farrier being a horse-doctor, marks the low regard and poor reward the island's medical post commanded, the £4 0s 0d a year Cripps asked set against the half crown he had actually received from the planters in two years.
150	142	heard of any objection made about his bill except what is mentioned by your Letter & there is something very mean & bafe in the Complaint for Goodwin from whom Wee Suppofe this comes only doubted whether he ought to pay one Article in the bill or not not that it was too much the whole was but £ 4. 14. 7 & of this £ 2. 14. 7 had been due & five years before. He gives his Fees to all poor People & never defires to get Sixpence by any of them what he has done is very warrantall & when Wee are more at leifure Wee will fit a Rate for Fees Wee are Sure your honours will never have any juft Caufe to alter the good opinion you have hitherto entertained of the Governour & he Still believes himfelf so well fixed in your favour that the falfe & malicious Infinuations of thofe wicked Men that are lately set arrid will never have any Effect to his Prejudice; he has Served you long & faithfully, he has not wronged you in any Single Inftance & Wee think ourfelves so well Entitled to the little Perquefits of Servants charged in this Article to be unfairly Enterd that Wee are confident your Honours will Confirm it to Us but to give you a clear light into this matter Wee muft go back as far as the firft Settlement of the Island, all Your Governours & Principal Servants from that time to this have enjoyed the Same & in greater numbers Mr Smith Mr Johnfton & all within our own Memory have been allowed it & Wee are Sure Wee have as good Pretentions to entitle Us to the like favour as any that have gone before Us & it has been so long claimed & so publickly known that Wee are aftonifhed it Should hitherto	The Council never heard of any objection made about the surgeon's bills, except what the Court mentioned in its letter. There was something very mean and base in the complaint. For Goodwin, from whom the Council supposed it came, only doubted whether he ought to pay one item in the bill or not, not that it was too much. The whole came to but £4 4s 7d, of which £2 14s 7d had been due for five years before. The surgeon gave his fees to all poor people, and never sought to get sixpence by any of them. What he had done was very warm and gentle to all, and when the Council was more at leisure it would fix a rate for fees. 26: The Council was sure the Court would never have any just cause to alter the good opinion it had so far held of the Governor, who still believed himself so well fixed in the Court's favour that the false and malicious insinuations of those wicked men lately set on foot would never have any effect to his prejudice. He had served the Court long and faithfully, and had not wronged it in any single instance. The Council thought itself well entitled to the little perquisite of servants charged in the article said to be unfairly entered, and was confident the Court would confirm it. But to give a clear light into this matter, the Council had to go back as far as the first settlement of the island. All the Court's Governors and principal servants from that time had enjoyed the same, and in greater numbers. Mr Smith, Mr Johnson and all within the Council's own memory had been allowed it, and the Council was sure it had as good a claim to the like favour as any that had gone before. It had been so long claimed and so publicly known that the Council was astonished it should so far have been a secret, and that the Court should speak of it as a thing unknown to it. Van Osten and Slaughter each accounted for two servants, which were struck off the books when they went away. Francis Leech and Goodwin were still at the island. The latter's Christian name was mistaken. It should be John, and was written Thomas. So that the list sent in the packet was thereby reduced to twenty, which was the exact number the Council now had. 27: According to the Court's orders, Mr Everest and the other gentleman the Court appointed had reviewed the number of effective men in the garrison at the island. In its packet the Court would find a list of them, taken by Mr Everest, and the other appointed to take the muster. The whole number of effective men was 119, the number on the books. The Council now sent home 121, but

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		have been a Secret & that your Hon.rs Should Speak of it as a thing unknown to you. Van Ofsten & Slaughter received each of them pay for two Servants which were Struck off the Books when they went away Francis Leek & Goodwin are Still here, the laters Christian Name is miftook it Should be John & is wrote Thomas so that the Lift Sent in the Packet is thereby reduced to Twenty which is the exact number Wee have now. According to Your Orders Mr Everett & the other Gent by you directed have reviewed the number of effective Men in Garifon at this Place & in our Packet you will find a Lift of them attefted by himfelf & the other appointed to take this Mufter & the whole number of effective Men is 119 the number upon the Books Wee now Send is Seventy one (but Since that two have died) so that the difference between their Lift & the Lift upon the Books is Twenty whofe Pay is received in the following Proportion to their own Ufe by the Perfons undermentioned Vizt The Governour	since that two had died, so that the difference between their list and the list on the books was twenty. The pay of these was received in the following proportion, to their own use, by the persons named below. **Interpretations** The defence of the Governor's perquisite of servants in item 26 rests entirely on precedent, the Council tracing the allowance back to the first settlement of the island and citing Governors Smith and Johnson as recent holders. This is the standing method of the correspondence, the Council anchoring its claim in established practice and named predecessors, the same appeal to precedent by which it justified its conduct throughout the season. The perquisite allowed the Governor to charge the Court for a number of servants whose pay he took to his own use, a customary emolument the malcontents had cast as a fraud, and the Council answered by showing it was neither secret nor new. The correction of the servant list, with Van Osten and Slaughter's men struck off and Goodwin's Christian name mistaken, reduces the figure to the twenty the Council actually held, reconciling the muster against the books. This ties the perquisite to the standing accounting discipline of the administration, the numbers checked and corrected so the Court could see the true establishment, the same reconciliation of lists against the books pressed through the reforms of Governor Smith's time. The garrison muster in item 27, taken by Mr Everest and another appointed by the Court, reflects the standing verification of the establishment by independent commissioners, the same use of appointed persons to survey and attest the island's condition seen in the plantation surveys and the count of effective men. The discrepancy of twenty between the muster and the books, accounted for by the servants charged to the Governor and principal officers, was the very point the perquisite defence addressed, the muster and the accounting brought together to answer the Court's enquiry. Mr Everest is the same chief supercargo who reached the island on the *Princess Amelia* in the correspondence of 1727.
151	143	The Govr has 8 Servts at £ 13:10 p Annum. Mr Alexander 3 Mr Goodwin 3 Mr Cripps 2 Capt Rafor 2 The Gunner 1 Mr Bazell Underftorekeeper One & thus Wee have Repre fented this matter to your Hon.r as it really is without any Artifice or Difguife but before Wee leave it it will be Proper to obferve as a farther proof of our good Management of Your Affairs that at the Departure of Mr Smith the Total number of upon the Books was Eighty five Sentinels in which number there were Thirty two ffictitious names wch is twelve more than Wee have now & by reducing them to twenty Wee have yearly Saved you the Sum of £ 163. 16. The number of effective Men in Mr Smiths time was fifty one the number now is forty Nine & in times of Peace this laft number is Sufficient for your Service here, & if War Should happen your	The Governor had eight servants, entered at £13 10s 0d a year. Mr Alexander, 3 Mr Goodwin, 3 Mr Cripps, 2 Captain Pack, 2 The Gunner, 1 Mr Bazett, Understorekeeper, 1 The Council had laid the matter before the Court as it really was, without any artifice or disguise. But before it left the subject, it was proper to observe, as further proof of its good management of the Court's affairs, that at the departure of Mr Smith the total number on the books was eighty five sentinels, in which number were thirty five fictitious names, twelve more than the Council now had. By reducing them to twenty, the Council had yearly saved the Court the sum of £163 16s 0d. The number of effective men in Mr Smith's time was fifty one, the number now forty nine, and in time of peace this last number was sufficient for the Court's service. Should war happen, the Court knew its own strength and what number of recruits would be needed. The Council therefore thought that, if the Court did not allow those of its servants who had laboured hard and with so much success to it, since if the Governor had not acted with a strict regard to the Court's interest, no such considerable reduction could have been made in the yearly expense. Within the short space of four years it came to above

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		honr know our Strength & what number of Recruits will be necefsary & therefore think if your honr do not allow thofe of your Servants who have laboured hard & with so much Succefs to Your Hon.r (for if the Governour had not acted with a Strict Regard to Your Interest no Such confiderable Reduction could have been made in the yearly Expence as much as within the Short compafs of four Years amounts to above Twenty Thoufand Pounds as will appear by Your Books S T U & W nor would any of your other Affairs have been managed & brought into that good Order they now are if he had not been heartily difpofed to Serve you faithfully it would otherwife have been as eafy a thing for him to have put a great deale of Money into his Pocket as others have done before him) the Same benefits & Advantages which have at all times been paid & received even by the worft you have employed & at times when great Profits were to be otherwife made. Our Condition will be extreamly hard, but Wee have other hope Wee always placed our confidence in your Goodnefs & Wee are as firmly Sure as Wee can be of any thing that your Honours in Confideration of thefe faithfull Service will continue this or give Us Some other Advantage either by an additional Encreafe of Salary or Some other way that will be fully Equivalent to it Your Honours may depend upon it Wee will continue to exert ourfelves in making Such farther Improvements for the benefit of Your Shiping & Inhabitants as Wee are capable of Killing the Goates is the only means loft to preferve and Encreafe Wood & Wee will take Care they Shall be all deftroyed as	£20,000 0s 0d, as would appear by the Court's books S, T, U and W. Nor would any of the Court's other affairs have been managed and brought into the good order they now were, had the Governor not been heartily disposed to serve the Court faithfully. Otherwise it would have been an easy thing for him to have put a great deal of money into his own pocket, as others had done before him. The same benefits and advantages had at all times been paid and received, even by the worst the Court had employed, and at times when great profits were otherwise to be made. The Council's condition would be extremely hard, but it had other hope. It had always placed its confidence in the Court's goodness, and was as firmly sure as it could be of anything that the Court, in consideration of these faithful services, would keep the perquisite on foot, or give the Council some other advantage in its place, either by an additional increase of salary or some other way that would be fully equivalent to it. 28: The Court might depend on it that the Council would keep on exerting itself to make such further improvements for the benefit of the Court's shipping and inhabitants as it was capable of. 29: Killing the goats was the only means left to preserve and increase the wood, and the Council would take care they should all be destroyed [...] **Interpretations** The defence of the perquisite turns into an argument from the Governor's frugality, the Council setting the customary allowance against the great savings his management had achieved. The figures are the heart of the case: eighty five sentinels on the books at Governor Smith's departure, thirty five of them fictitious names, reduced now to twenty, yielding a yearly saving of £163 16s 0d, and a total reduction in the establishment's charge of above £20,000 0s 0d in four years. The fictitious names were the servants and dead-pay entered on the muster whose wages the officers drew, the very perquisite under dispute, so the Council answered the charge of fraud by showing it had cut the practice sharply while defending what remained as a lawful and long-established emolument. The distinction between the number on the books and the number of effective men ties the perquisite to the standing accounting discipline of the administration, the establishment measured honestly against its true strength, the same reconciliation pressed through the reforms of Governor Smith's time. The observation that forty nine effective men sufficed in peace, with recruits to be raised in war, reflects the standing calculation of the garrison's strength against the island's needs, the same guard establishment set out at length in the earlier correspondence. The whole passage folds into the season's prospectus of the Governor's faithful and frugal service, the perquisite defended not as a right the Court owed but as a modest reward the Governor's economy had more than earned. By pointing to the money a less scrupulous governor could have pocketed, and asking that the allowance be kept or replaced by an equivalent salary, the Council pressed the same suit for favourable notice made throughout the season, the Governor's disinterest cast as an asset worth rewarding. The renewal of the goat destruction in item 29 carries forward the standing woodland programme, the killing of the flocks the means of saving the young wood pressed through the letters of 1729 and 1730.
152	144	as Soon as the time is lapfed. The Inhabitants Rights or Claim to Ranges Shall be Regulated tho it is an Act of	The Council would take care the goats were all destroyed as soon as the time expired. The inhabitants' right and claim to their range would be

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		Indulgence they little deferve for they are so indolent & indifferent as to the matter of Wood that though it an Article of the greateft Confequence yet having Gram & Bref enough they look no farther, let Say they Pofterity take Care of it Safe By the Set of Books for the Year ending the 30th Septr laft which Wee now Send it appears that the grofs Charge of the Island for the twelve month paft amounts only to £ 4444. 12. 6. ½ & Wee pray your Hon.r kind Acceptance of this frefh Inftance of our faithfull Management the Governour promifes Your Hon.r he will obferve the like moderation in the expence of the current year. Wee alfo transmit a Cafh Book & Book of Difsburfements which as well as the general Books, in our Sevll Consts of the 18. 19. 20: 21. & 23d & 24th Novr have been carefully Examined & Approved by Us. The Inventory alfo has been Examined & Agrees with the Books which was early ready in order to have been Sent by a Ship Wee expected in Decr but this is the firft Opportunity that has offerd According to the Directions Wee received from Your Honours by the Monntague Wee have made a Place at Lemon Valley purpofely for your Ships to Water at with much more Eafe & Safety and Expedition than they could at any other Place for Wee have there fixed a Crane & made a very good Wharf & carried the Water down to it in Spouts & have so well Secured the whole from the Weight of the Sea & Violence of the Surf that Wee believe its will Stand & is certainly well only the Surf Should Swell to a heighth unufual among Us in which Cafe perhaps Some damage may be done but of this Wee are not apprehenfive Wee began & finifhed the whole in the Short Space of Eighty three dayes & without any Expence except a Small allowance of five Shillings p diem to the overfeer of the Blacks whom Wee appointed to infpect into their Labour during the time this Work was going on & its well done though it proved so difficult & troublefome that Such a Tafk as this in former times might well have furnifhed employ for a Twelvemonth & Wee dare Say would have coft your Hon.r a Sum not lefs than four or five hundred Pounds, Wee have finifhed the whole for twenty & hope Your honours will be Pleafed with our Performance The Govr thanks your Hon.r for Paying the Principal money	regulated, though this was an act of indulgence they little deserved, since they were so indolent and indifferent about the raising of wood that, though it was an article of the greatest consequence, yet having yams and beef enough they looked no further. Let their posterity, the Council said, take care of it. 30: By the set of books for the year ending 30 September last, which the Council now sent, it appeared that the gross charge of the island for the twelve months past came only to £4,412 5s 7d. The Council asked the Court's kind acceptance of this fresh instance of its faithful management. The Governor promised the Court he would observe the like moderation in the expense of the current year. The Council also sent a cash book and a book of disbursements, which, with the general books, had, in its consultations of the 18th, 19th, 20th, 21st, 23rd and 24th of November, been carefully examined and approved by it. The inventory had also been examined and agreed with the books, which were early ready in order to have been sent by a ship the Council expected in December, but this was the first opportunity that offered. 31: According to the directions the Council received from the Court by the *Montague*, it had made a place at Lemon Valley purposely for the Court's ships to water at, with much more ease, safety and speed than they could at any other place. It had fixed a crane there and made a very good wharf, and carried the water down to it in spouts. It had also so well secured the whole from the weight of the sea and the violence of the surf that it believed the work would stand, and it certainly would, unless the surf swelled to a height unusual at the island. In that case some damage might be done, but of that the Council was not apprehensive. It began and finished the whole in the short space of eighty three days, and without any expense, save a small allowance of five shillings a time to the overseer of the slaves, whom it appointed to inspect their labour while the work was going on. It was well done, though it proved so difficult and troublesome that such a task, in former times, might well have furnished employment for a twelvemonth. The Council might say it would have cost the Court a sum of not less than four or five hundred pounds. It had finished the whole for twenty, and hoped the Court would be pleased with its performance. 32: The Governor thanked the Court for paying the principal money and interest to Mr Benyon. 33: The Council hoped Mr White would behave himself suitably to his year and profession, and wished he might be of service to the poor people at the island, many of whom were of the poorer sort. **Interpretations** The completion of the Lemon Valley watering works in item 31 marks the successful conclusion of the standing effort pressed through the earlier letters, the crane, wharf and water spouts finished after the summer surf had held the plan back the previous season. The economy is the point the Council drove home: a work that might once have taken a year and cost four or five hundred pounds was done in eighty three days for twenty, using only the Court's own slaves under an overseer paid five shillings a time. This folds the Lemon Valley works into the season's prospectus of the Governor's frugality, the choice of Lemon Valley over the costly pipe from Chubb's Spring vindicated by a cheap and durable result. The gross charge of £4,412 5s 7d for the year in item 30 continues the standing account of the Governor's frugal management, the low figure the proof of good husbandry pressed throughout the season, slightly below the £4,437 5s 2d of the previous year. The books balanced to 30 September

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		& Interest thereof to Mr Brenigon Wee hope Mr White will behave himfelf Suitably to his Year & Profefsion Wee wifh he may be of Service to the People here many of whom are of the Poorer Sort.	reflect the reform of the accounting year from the inconvenient March close, struck under Governor Smith and now the settled rule, the examination in consultation and the agreement of the inventory with the books the standing verification of the establishment's accounts. The regulation of the inhabitants' range, cast as an indulgence they little deserved for their neglect of the wood, ties the grazing question to the standing woodland programme, the Council preserving the planters' customary claim while pressing the replanting they would not undertake themselves. The remark that the planters, having yams and beef enough, looked no further restates the character of the settlement drawn through the season, the same charge of indolence laid against them in the disputes over the malcontents. The Governor's thanks for the payment to Mr Benyon in item 32 closes the remittance of his reward described in the earlier correspondence, and Mr White in item 33 is the new chaplain or surgeon whose service the Council hoped would suit the poor of the island.
153	145	Goodwin & Johnfon Shall Pay the Money you have lent them when due Wee have no manner of occafion for the Service of Powell but as your Hon.r have employed him Wee will place him where he may be moft ufefull. Mr Smiths Acct in the Books Shall be difcharged in the manner directed Mr Alfops Credit in your Books is now £ 34. 10. 10 ½ Wee having received upon his Acct Since Septr 1729 £ 24. 18. the remainder being £ 9. 18. 6 Wee will recover as faft as Wee can & place it to his Credit in your Books as Wee done the other the particulars of this Acct your Hon.r will find enterd in the Journal folio 112. Mr Thomlinfons Debt Shall be likewife difcharged as Orderd Mr Goodwin will give due Regard to what Your Hon.r mention in this Paragraph relating to the Debt due to Mr Thwaites which he will difcharge as Soon as he can Wee thank Your Hon.r for the Payment of the Severall Bills Wee drew laft Year Wee hope the Sett of Books your Honours now receive will pleafe you as well as any you have yet had; Wee have a Perfon able to keep them in the Same in the Same regular Method commended by your Hon.r so that the lofs of the Vagabond your Hon.r mention puts Us to no inconveniency Your Hon.rs having given Us leave to make up our Books at Michaelmas yearly Wee Shall not Send you any Lifts till Septr next when Wee Shall Reckon for a year & half & from that time forward all the Lifts will exactly tally & agree with the Books; & in this Letter & Books of Accounts Wee now Send you have so perfect a view of all Your Affairs that any Lifts at this time are needlefs	34: Goodwin and Johnson would pay the money the Court had lent them when due. 35: The Council had no manner of occasion for the service of Powell, but as the Court had employed him, it would place him where he might be most useful. 36: Mr Smith's account in the books would be discharged in the manner directed. 37: Mr Alsop's credit in the Court's books was now £31 10s 10½d. The Council, having received on his account since September 1729 £24 18s 0d, the remainder being £6 18s 6d, would recover it as fast as it could and place it to his credit in the books, as it had done the rest. The particulars of this account the Court would find entered in the journal folio 112. 38: Mr Thomlinson's debt would likewise be discharged as ordered. 39: Mr Goodwin would give due regard to what the Court mentioned in the paragraph concerning the debt due to Mr Thwaites, which he would discharge as soon as he could. 40: The Council thanked the Court for the payment of the several bills it drew last year. 41: The Council hoped the set of books the Court now received would please it as well as any it had yet had. It had a person able to keep them in the same regular method the Court had commended, so that the loss of the vagabond the Court mentioned put the island to no inconvenience. 42: The Court having given the Council leave to make up its books at Michaelmas yearly, it would not send any lists till September next, when it would reckon for a year and a half. From that time forward, all the lists would exactly tally and agree with the books. In the letter and books of accounts the Council now sent, the Court had so perfect a view of its affairs that any lists at this time were needless. 43: All papers that came in the packet would in future be written on paper of the same size. 44: The Council believed the commander of the *Greenwich* must have heard of the particulars of Van Osten's escape. It supposed the next trip he would make would be to Tyburn. 45: The distinction the Court was pleased to make between the planters and the soldiers and people in its service, for so the Council understood the meaning of the words covenant servants, in the distribution of its favours among them, was likely to be attended with fatal consequences. It certainly would, if they were not put upon a level with their brethren, the Court's soldiers and others in its service. The Council begged leave to recommend Mr

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		All Papers that come in the Packet Shall for the future be wrote upon Paper of the Same Size Wee believe the Commander of the Greenwich muft have heard of the particulars of Van Ofstens efcape, Wee suppofe the next Trip he will make will be to Tyburn. The Diftinction your Honours have made & pleafed to make between the Planters & Soldiers & People in your Service for so Wee underftand the meaning of the Words (Covenant Servants) in the Diftribution of your Favours among them is likely to be attended with fatal Confequences & certainly will if they are not put upon a level with their Brethren for your Soldiers & others in your Service (& Wee beg leave to Recommend Mr Alexander & his large Family to your particular Notice) are really the pooreft People upon the Island or any having numerous Families of young Children & not Sixpence befide their pay **Margin Notes:** Thefe three Par: are Mifplaced & Should follow thefe Vizt 41. 42. 43. & 44.	Alexander to the Court's particular notice, since his large family were really the poorest people on the island, or any having numerous families of young children, and had no perquisite besides their pay. (A marginal note records that paragraphs 41, 42, 43 and 44 were misplaced and should follow paragraph 45.) **Interpretations** The run of short answers in items 34 to 40 settles the individual accounts the Court had raised, the debts of Goodwin, Johnson, Smith, Alsop and Thomlinson each acknowledged and dealt with in order, the same paragraph-by-paragraph reckoning under the Court's own heads that structured the whole letter. The recovery of Alsop's credit in item 37 ties to the standing settlement of a deceased servant's estate, the sum gathered by degrees and placed to his account as it came in, the same administration of the late surgeon's affairs pressed through the earlier correspondence. The reference to the vagabond in item 41 and to the commander of the *Greenwich* in item 44 returns to the flight of John Martin Van Osten, whose escape aboard that ship with a gunner's mate's help was reported in the previous season. The Council's remark that the commander's next trip would be to Tyburn, the London place of public execution, casts the master's connivance in the escape as a hanging matter, the same anxiety over the island's loss of servants and slaves through the shipping pressed throughout the correspondence. The objection in item 45 to the Court's distinction between planters and covenant servants marks a warning of serious trouble, the Council holding that the Court's favours must fall equally on the soldiers and its own servants or breed discontent. Covenant servants were those bound to the Court by indenture, distinct from the free planters, and the Council pressed that the two be put on a level, recommending Mr Alexander in particular as among the poorest on the island despite his office. This ties to the standing management of the settlement's grievances and the perquisite question of the season, the Council pleading the case of its own principal servant against a policy it feared would divide the establishment.
154	146	pay to Cloth & Maintain them few of them having Land & what little they have is moftly Leafehold so that great Part of their Pay goes towards their Rent but Wee have confidently afsured them that Your Hon.r when you are apprifed of their Condition will likewife extend the Same Grace to them & this Wee promifed them so do so effectually that they might depend it would be Granted & Wee doubt not you will think it reafonable they Should be put upon the Same footing with the Inhabitants, if your Honours do not allow it it will be impofsible for Us to take Anfwer for the Peace of the Island for they are so incenfed at the crafty Management & villainous Behaviour of thefe Informers to whom both they & Wee impute the Caufe of this Diftinction that its with great Difficulty they are withheld from doing them Mifchief, but they reft quiet under the Afsurances Wee have given them to interceed with Your Honours in their Favour & Wee humbly hope it will be effectual.	The soldiers had pay to clothe and maintain them. Few of the planters had land, and what little they had was mostly leasehold, so that a great part of their pay went toward their rent. But the Council had confidently assured them that the Court, when apprised of their condition, would extend the same grace to them, and this it had promised them so effectually that they might depend it would be granted. The Council did not doubt the Court would think it reasonable they should be put upon the same footing with the inhabitants. If the Court did not allow it, it would be impossible for the Council to answer for the peace of the island, since the planters were so incensed at the crafty management and ill behaviour of those informers, to whom both they and the Council imputed the cause of this distinction, that it was with great difficulty they were withheld from doing them mischief. But they rested quiet under the assurances the Council had given them, to intercede with the Court in their favour, and the Council humbly hoped this would be effectual. 46: The season fell this year sooner than the Council ever remembered, which was always a great benefit to this mountainous country, and there was great plenty now as ever. 47: All the Court's buildings and fortifications the Council kept in good order and repair, at a very

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		The Season Set in this year Sooner than Wee ever rememberd it which is always a great benefit to this Mountainous Country & there is so great Plenty now as ever All your Buildings & Fortifications Wee keep in good Order & Repair at a very Small Charge Wee remember the great Sums they coft & therefore will take Care to keep them from Ruin & decay The Debts due to Your Hon.r have been decreafed this laft year as follows Vizt John Alexander has paid £ 44. 8. John Purling 76. 15. Grace Hayes 2. 8. 6 Mary Orme 7. Mary Throw 5 135: 12. 6 The Rents due from the Inhabitants at March laft Amounted to £ 676. 2. 2 of this Wee then received but £ 5 at Septr Wee recd £ 338. 11. 9. Forty Nine Pounds fourteen Shillings has been cleared by the Salary of John Purling & John Alexander, the Remainder being two hundred Eighty two Pounds Sixteen Shill & five Pence is yet due & Unpaid but charged to the Acct of the Severall Perfons who are in Arrear which Wee will get in as Soon as pofsibly Wee can. The four laft make Sum former Sum of £ 676. 2. 2 Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon your Hon.r for the Sum of £ 530. 16; 8 Sterly dated 6th Septr 1730 payable to Ifaac Wood or order for the like Sum due to him in Your Books of Acct of which Wee humbly pray your Acceptance.	small charge. It remembered the great sums they cost, and would therefore take care to keep them from ruin and decay. 48: The debts due to the Court had been decreased this last year as follows. John Alexander has paid, £44 8s 0d John Purling, £76 0s 0d Grace Hayes, £2 8s 6d Mary Orme, £7 0s 0d Mary Shrewe, £5 0s 0d Total, £135 12s 6d 49: The rents due from the inhabitants at March last came to £376 2s 2d. Of this the Council then received but £5 0s 0d. At September it received £338 11s 9d. Forty nine pounds fourteen shillings had been cleared by the salary of John Purling and John Alexander, the remainder being £282 16s 5d yet due and unpaid, but charged to the accounts of the several persons in arrears, which the Council would get in as soon as it possibly could. The four last made up the former sum of £376 2s 2d. 50: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £530 16s 0d sterling, dated 6 September 1730, payable to Isaac Wood or order, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books of account. It prayed the Court's acceptance. **Interpretations** The plea for the soldiers in the response continuing paragraph 45 ties the distinction between covenant servants and planters to the standing management of the settlement's grievances. The Council warns in the plainest terms that unless the soldiers are put on the same footing as the planters in the Court's favours, it cannot answer for the peace of the island, the planters so incensed at the informers behind the distinction that they were barely withheld from violence. By laying the whole discontent at the door of Johnson and Goodwin, the two malcontents gone to England, the Council folds the soldiers' case into the season's character assault, casting the trouble as the work of a crafty few rather than a genuine division. The account of the debt recovery in items 48 and 49 restates the standing collection in kind and cash pressed against a poor people, the small sums entered against named inhabitants the register of the Council's mild but persistent management under the reformed transfer rule. The rent figures are telling: of £376 2s 2d due at March, only £5 0s 0d came in at once, £338 11s 9d by September, and £49 14s 0d cleared by set-off against the salaries of Purling and Alexander, the balance charged as book debt. This is the same closed circuit of a cashless establishment seen throughout the correspondence, a servant's rent discharged against his pay rather than in coin, the whole tied to the standing debt discipline and the planters' dependence on a market for their provisions. The early season in item 46 reflects the island's actual seasons, the timely fall of the rains a benefit to the mountainous ground, the same welcome relief noted through the correspondence after the droughts of earlier years. The bill drawn to Isaac Wood in item 50 is the standing remittance of a cashless settlement, credit due at the island converted into a claim on the Court in London, the routine settlement of an account that closed the season's business.
155	147	Wee have alfo drawn one other Sett of Bills upon Your Hon.r for the Sum of Forty Six Pounds Sterling dated 29 March 1731	51: The Council had also drawn one other set of bills on the Court for the sum of £46 0s 0d sterling, dated 29 March 1731, payable to Richard Beale or order, for the like sum paid into the Court's cash at the island. It prayed the Court's acceptance.

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		payable to Richard Beal or Order for the like Sum paid into your Cafh here of which Wee likewife pray your Hon.r Acceptance Before Wee clofe our Letter Wee beg leave to trouble Your Honours with a few Words relating to the Character of Mr Van Ofsten which Wee defigned to have fully given you at one View by Collecting it together out of Our Consultations during the time he was upon this Island but thefe Ships making so Short a Stay Wee have not now leifure to do it Wee will lay it before you by the next Opportunity. At prefent Wee will only acquaint your Hon.r that Severall of his Country Men who have touched here in Dutch Ships Reported that he fled from Holland for Murther & upon his homeward bound Voyage being afraid to venture his Neck at home he left the Ship at the Cape; the firft Englifh Ships that touched there after his Defertion brought him hither & particulerly he applyed himfelf to Capt Tolfon to bring him pretending he was a native of England born in Swithin Lane in London but Capt Tolfon told him that his Speech betrayed him & Sufpecting he was a Rogue refufed to bring him, upon this he told the Captain that he had lived so long amongft the Hottentots & wild Beafts in & the Mountains about the Cape that he had almoft loft the ufe of his Speech: this Story Wee had from Capt Tolfon himfelf the laft time he was here & this Cheat & Impofture is very grofs. Soon after he was brought here he was whipt at the Flagftaff for lying with black Wenches; in Mr Johnfons time he by falfe Storys created a remarkable difference between him & the Vice Roy of Goa for which as Soon as villainy was difcover'd Mr Johnfon had near Sacrifeed him to his juft Refentment but unfortunately he mift the Right Place & only with his Hanger cut him into the Shoulder inftead of Opening his Jugulars. In Mr Smiths time he Murthered his black boy & was accordingly found Guilty of wilfull Murther by an Inqueft but what were Mr Smiths Reafons for dropping his Profecution are only known to God & himfelf; he has often afsafted in the hearing of Mr Fee that there was no Sort of Wickednefs under Heaven that he had not committed & he lies under vehement Sufpicion of Poifoning his firft Wife the Doctor at that time often declared so, & nothing but a Charitable Regard to his Second Wife & two Small Children he had when the Management of your Affairs was firft committed to our Care	52: Before it closed its letter, the Council begged leave to trouble the Court with a few words concerning the character of Mr Van Osten, which it had meant to give the Court fully at one view, by collecting it out of the consultations kept during the time he was at the island. But this ship making so short a stay, it had not now the leisure to do it, and would lay it before the Court by the next opportunity. At present the Council would only tell the Court that several of Van Osten's countrymen who touched at the island in Dutch ships reported that he fled from them on his homeward bound voyage, being afraid to venture his neck at home. He left the ship at the Cape, and the first English ship that touched at the island after his desertion brought him to it. In particular, he applied himself to Captain Tolson to carry him off, pretending he was a native of England, born in Swithin's Lane in London. But Captain Tolson told him his speech betrayed him, and, suspecting he was a rogue, refused to carry him. On this he told the captain he had lived so long among the Hottentots and wild beasts in the mountains about the Cape that he had almost lost the use of his speech. This story the Council had from Captain Tolson himself the last time he was at the island, and the great impostor was very gross. Soon after he was brought to the island, he was whipped at the flagstaff for lying with black women. In Mr Johnson's time, by false stories, he created a remarkable difference between Mr Johnson and the Viceroy of Goa, for which, as soon as his villainy was discovered, Mr Johnson had nearly sacrificed him to his just resentment. But unfortunately he missed the right place, and only, with his hanger, cut him into the shoulder, instead of opening his jugular. In Mr Smith's time he murdered his black boy, and was accordingly found guilty of wilful murder by an inquest, though what were Mr Smith's reasons for dropping his prosecution were known only to God and himself. He had often boasted, in the hearing of Mr Fee, that there was no sort of wickedness under heaven he had not committed, and lay under vehement suspicion of poisoning his first wife, the doctor at that time often declaring so. Nothing but a charitable regard to his second wife and two small children, which he had when the management of the Court's affairs was first committed to the Council's care, could have induced it to continue him in the Court's service. The Council only employed him as a common writer, giving him only such things to enter after it had first carefully examined and approved them as were proper to have place in the books. Yet he so managed it that, had the Council not looked constantly after him, the books it lately sent would have been as ill kept as any he formerly undertook. So that the Council was not at [...] **Interpretations** The extended character of Van Osten in item 52 is a further exercise in the sustained portraiture that ran through the season, the Council building its account of the absconding servant from the consultation record and from the testimony of calling commanders. The method is the standing one of the correspondence, the Council anchoring its case in dated minutes and named witnesses, Captain Tolson and Mr Fee vouching for the man's impostures and boasts. By assembling the whole history, the Council armed the Court against a servant who had fled with the inhabitants' money, the same defensive purpose behind the dossiers on Slaughter and the malcontents Johnson and Goodwin. The account reaches back through the administrations of Governors Johnson and Smith, tracing Van Osten's crimes across the reigns, the difference he stirred between Johnson and the

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		could have induced Us to have continued him in your Service & Wee only employed him as a common Writer giving him only Such things to Enter after Wee had firft carefully Examined & Approved them as were proper to have Place in the Books & so thofe he Enmanaged so ill that if Wee had not looked conftantly after him the Books Wee lately Sent would have been so ill kept as any he formerly undertook so that Wee are not at all	Viceroy of Goa, the murder of his black boy under Smith, and the suspicion of poisoning his first wife. This ties the man to the standing succession of governors and to the recurring disorders of the establishment, the Council setting his villainy against the reforms of the present administration and explaining its own forbearance by a charitable regard to his wife and children. The reference to his whipping at the flagstaff for lying with black women reflects the standing discipline of the garrison, the public punishment the island's means of order. The observation that Van Osten kept the books so ill that the Council had to watch him constantly ties his character to the standing accounting discipline of the administration, the same care over the books pressed through the reforms of Governor Smith's time. By showing that even a rogue employed as a common writer produced sound accounts only under close supervision, the Council turned the man's history into further proof of its own diligent management, the same prospectus of faithful government that ran through the season. The bills to Richard Beale in item 51 are the standing remittance of a cashless settlement, cash paid in at the island converted into a claim on the Court in London.
156	148	all Surprized to hear that Such a Villain Should turn Informer but your Honours Wee prefume would Scruple to hang a dog upon his Evidence & therefore conclude you will not give your Selves or Us any trouble about him, he may as well Stay & with equal Truth that no part of Your Books are right as to object to any particulars as wrong but Wee never employed him only to Enter Acct after Wee has firft Examined & Approved them The Captain & Gent Supra Cargoes have made a Tour round the Country & wonderfully Admire the great Improvements made at the Plantation Houfe & elfehere if your Honours think fit to enquire they will acquaint you with the particulars Wee difpatcht the Storefhip yesterday & in the Packet have Sent her Charter Party to Bencoolen Wee have opend Such Goods as are of moft Value but do not find any mifsing Your Honours will See the particulars of each dayes Working &c in Our Consultation of yesterday. On Wednefday Morning laft arrived the Ship City of London Capt Fettle Comr in the Service of the South Sea Company having a Cargo of five hundred Slaves bound from Angola to Buenos Ayres defiring a little Water & Refrefhment both his Crew & Slaves being Sick which rendered it dangerous for him to proceed the Voyage without; Wee therefore gave him leave to get a little Water & Refrefhment but warned him to make hast & begone; & before Wee admitted him to come in Wee examined his Instructions dated 10th Aprile 1730 which were Signed by Sir John Eyles & Mr Jeanbury the Sub & Depy Governr & nineteen others of the Court of Directors by which it appeared he was abroad upon a fair Acco.t Your Hon.r may always depend upon our Caution in Cafe of this Nature Wee are Hon.d Sirs Yr moft faithfull moft Obedt &	The Council was not at all surprised to hear that such a villain should turn informer, but supposed the Court would scruple to hang a dog on his evidence. It therefore concluded the Court would not trouble itself about him. He might well say, and with equal truth, that no part of the Court's books were right, so as to object to any particulars as wrong. But the Council had employed him only to enter accounts after it had first examined and approved them. 53: The captain and the gentlemen supercargoes had made a tour round the country, and wonderfully admired the great improvements made at the plantation house and elsewhere. If the Court thought fit to enquire, they would tell it the particulars. 54: The Council despatched the store ship yesterday, and in its packet had sent her charter party to Bencoolen. It had opened such goods as were of most value, but did not find any missing. The Court would see the particulars of each day's work in the consultation of yesterday. 55: On Wednesday morning last there arrived the ship *City of London*, Captain Fettle commander, in the service of the South Sea Company, having a cargo of five hundred slaves bound from Angola to Buenos Aires. He asked for a little water and refreshment, both his crew and slaves being sick, which made it dangerous for him to proceed on the voyage without it. The Council therefore gave him leave to get a little water and refreshment, but told him to make haste and be gone. Before it admitted him to come in, it examined his instructions, dated 10 April 1730, signed by Sir John Eyles and Mr Jean Bury, the sub and deputy governors, and nineteen others of the Court of Directors, by which it appeared he was abroad on a fair account. The Court might always depend on the Council's caution in a case of this nature. The letter was subscribed at St Helena on 2 April 1731 by the Governor and Council, as most faithful, most obedient and most humble servants. A postscript followed. In its packet the Council had sent an account of some proceedings against Mr Van Osten for the murder of his black boy. It was a material paper, and the Council asked the Court to order it laid before it. Van Osten had gone by several aliases, and lived at the island three years by the name of Gregory. **Interpretations**

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		moft humble Servts In our Packet Wee have transmitted an Acco.t of Some Proceedings against Mr Van Ofsten for the Murther of his black boy, its a materiall Paper & Wee humbly pray Yr Hon.r will order it to be laid before you. He has gon by Severall Aliases & lived here three years by the name of Brocany. St Helena 2d Aprile 1731.	The close of the Van Osten matter in item 52 and the postscript ties the man's whole history to the standing accounting discipline of the administration, the Council anticipating that the fugitive would tell the Court its books were false and answering in advance that he had only entered what it had already examined and approved. By sending home the record of his trial for the murder of his black boy, and noting his aliases and his three years under the name Gregory, the Council completed the dossier it had assembled, the same evidentiary method of dated papers and named witnesses pressed throughout the season. The arrival of the *City of London* in item 55 shows the standing examination of a calling ship before admission, the same precaution applied to foreign and interloping vessels throughout the correspondence. The vessel was a South Sea Company slaver carrying five hundred slaves from Angola to Buenos Aires, the Asiento trade by which the South Sea Company supplied slaves to the Spanish American colonies, and the Council admitted her only after inspecting her instructions signed by Sir John Eyles and the Court of Directors, proof she was abroad on a fair account. The relief of a little water to a distressed ship in amity, coupled with the order to make haste and be gone, reflects the standing treatment of a calling vessel whose right to refreshment was allowed but whose stay was kept short. The tour of the country by the captain and supercargoes in item 53 restates the recurring practice of offering departing gentlemen as witnesses to the island's improvements, the same use of independent observers to vouch for the Governor's husbandry pressed through the season. The despatch of the store ship and the opening of the valuable goods in item 54 reflect the standing charter party discipline and the evidentiary safeguard against loss in transit, the goods examined and found complete, the charter party sent on to Bencoolen, closing the season's business with the routine reconciliation of the cargo against the account.
157	149	Lift of the Packet p Princefs Wales 2d Aprill 1731 Govr & Councils Genll Letter 2d Aprill 1731 Copy of Govr & Councils Genll Letter 11 July 1730 Duplicate Consts from 30th June to 11th July 1730 both inclusfive ditto Acct of Ship Wyndham ditto Acct of the Expence of each Plantn for Month June 1730 ditto Lift of the Packet p Wyndham Copy Consultations from 14 July 1730 to 1 Apl foll: both inclusfive One Sett of Books of Acco.t for the Year ending 30th Septr 1730 by which it appears that the grofs Charge of the Island for the Year paft amounts only to £ 4444. 12. 2 ½ One Cafh Book for ditto One Book Storekeepers Difsburfements Inventory of Stores remaining 30th Septr 1730 Copy Acct of the Expence of each Plantn for July 1730 do Augt do Septr do yearly Acct of ditto from 30 Septr 1729 to 30th Septr 1730 do Monthly Acct of ditto for Octor Capt Lyells Rect for the Packet Novr do Decr do Janry do ffebry Lift of the Garifon	List of the packet by the *Princess of Wales*, 2 April 1731. Governor and Council general letter 2 April 1731 Copy of the Governor and Council general letter 11 July 1730 Duplicate of consultations from 30 June to 11 July 1730, both inclusive Duplicate account of the ship Wyndham Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for the month of June 1730 Duplicate list of the packet by the Wyndham Copy of consultations from 14 July 1730 to 1 April following, both inclusive One set of books of account for the year ending 30 September 1730, by which it appears that the gross charge of the island for the year past comes only to £4,412 5s 2½d One cash book for the same One book of storekeeper's disbursements Inventory of stores remaining 30 September 1730 Copy of the account of the expense of each plantation for July 1730 The same for August The same for September Yearly account of the same from 30 September 1729 to 30 September 1730 Monthly account of the same for October Captain Lyell's receipt for the packet The same for November The same for December The same for January

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		Acct of Ship Princefs of Wales do Lyell Proceedings agt Van Ofsten for Murther Acct of Ship James & Mary Lift of the Packet	The same for February List of the garrison Account of the ship Princess of Wales Account of the ship Lyell Proceedings against Van Osten for murder Account of the ship James and Mary List of the packet The list was subscribed by the secretary. **Interpretations** The manifest carries the standing structure of a homeward packet, the general letter travelling with the duplicated consultations, ship accounts, plantation returns and the annual books of the establishment. The duplication of items already sent by the *Wyndham*, itemised here as copies and duplicates, is the settled insurance against loss of correspondence on the homeward passage, the same practice that carried the year's despatch by successive ships after the loss of the *Catherine* in the Straits of Sunda confirmed in the letters by the *Success* of 2 July 1717. The set of account books, cash book and storekeeper's disbursements, entered against the year ending 30 September, reflects the reform of the accounting year from the inconvenient March close, struck under Governor Smith and now the settled rule. The gross charge of £4,412 5s 2½d carried in the manifest repeats the season's account of the Governor's frugal management, the low figure the proof of good husbandry pressed through the general letter, and the run of monthly plantation accounts from July to February the standing monthly return by which the Court measured the charge of each holding. The list of the garrison, entered among the papers, ties the manifest to the muster taken by Mr Everest and the perquisite dispute of the season, the effective strength sent home for the Court's check against the books. The proceedings against Van Osten for murder complete the dossier on the absconding servant, the material paper the Council asked the Court to lay before it, closing the season's business against a man whose whole history it had assembled from the consultation record.
158	150	Hon:d Sirs/ The Lyell & Princess of Wales Sailed from hence for England on the 2:d of the Month by whom Wee paid our Duty to you & the Enclosed is a Copy of our Letter. On the 10th instant the Ship City of London Sailed for Buenos Ayres having got a Small Supply from the Inhabitants, & on the 8th the James & Mary for Bencoolen, & on the Same day two French Ships the Mars and Talent arrived here from China but before Wee Suffer'd them to come in Wee examined their Pass which were each of them Signed by the Duke of Bourbon one dated on the 8th & the other on the 19th of Oct:r 1729 the next day arrived the Prince Augustus & Devonshire from the Same Place & the day after them the Craggs from Madrass by whom Wee hear that your Ship Barrington was unfortunately lost as She was going into Bombay & that the Dawson & Derby are to remain Guardships at Bengale there being two Offenders lately arrived there; the Ostender	Honoured Sirs, The *Lyell* and *Princess of Wales* sailed from the island for England on the second of this month, carrying the Council's duty to the Court and a copy of the enclosed letter. On the fourth the *City of London* sailed for Buenos Aires, having got a small supply from the inhabitants. On the eighth the *James and Mary* left for Bencoolen. The same day two French ships, the *Mars* and the *Talent*, arrived from China. Before the Council let them come in it examined their passes, each signed by the Duke of Bourbon, the one dated the eighth and the other the nineteenth of October 1729. The next day the *Prince Augustus* and *Devonshire* arrived from the same place. The *Caesar* came from Madras eight days after them, bringing word that the Court's ship *Barrington* had been unfortunately lost as she went into Bombay, and that the *Dawson* and *Derby* were to stay as guard ships at Bengal, two Ostenders having lately arrived there. The Council had been told that the Ostender from China had escaped from the Dutch. On the [...] the *Hardwick* arrived likewise from Madras. The supply these ships brought stood recorded in the Council's several consultations of the tenth and [...] of this month for the Court to see. 2: The Council's last general letter had mentioned only briefly, in its fifty-second paragraph, something of the infamous character of Mr Van Osten, alias Gregory. Since then the Council had gathered together what chiefly concerned him from its several

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		from China Wee are told has escaped from the Dutch. On the 14th the Hardwich arrived likewise from Madrass the Supply brought by these Ships your Honours will See in our Several Consultations of the 10th & 14th instant. 2. In the 52:d Par of our last Gen:l Letter Wee Slightly mentioned Something of the infamous Character off Mr. Van osten alias Breary but Since that Wee have Collected what chiefly relates to him in our Several Consultations which Wee transmit in our Packets & Wee pray your Honours will be pleased to Order it to be laid before you for you will there find many Signal Instances of his extraordinary Villainy; the first is a Bill. Smally but as it Sufficiently proves him capable of attempting the greatest Wickedness Wee could not leave it out. He has publickly boasted that he drowned his Sister an Infant for the Sake of her fortune & afterwards Robed his Father if he has one to own him for Wee always took him for the Son of a Whore & at last he was obliged to fly from Zealand for the Murther of an other Person & being afraid to return deserted from the Ship at the Cape in her homeward bound Passage from & those Stile pursued with the horrour & Guilt of his past Crimes & afraid to trust himself with his Countryman he concealed himself among the Hottentots till he had an opportunity to escape thither & here he came in a low mean Starving Condition & was at first a Soldier & past by the name of Breary & lived commonly among the	consultations, which it sent in its packets, asking that the papers be laid before the Court. Many plain instances of his extraordinary villainy would be found there. The first was a little slight, but since it sufficiently proved him capable of attempting the greatest wickedness the Council could not leave it out. He had openly boasted that he drowned his own sister, an infant, for the sake of her fortune, and afterwards robbed his father, if he had one who would own him, for the Council always took him for a bastard. At last he had to flee from Holland for the murder of another person. Being afraid to return, he deserted from his ship at the Cape on her homeward voyage. Still pursued by the horror and guilt of his past crimes, and afraid to trust himself among his own countrymen, he hid himself among the [...] until he had a chance to escape to the island. He came in a low, mean and starving condition, served at first as a soldier, went by the name of Gregory, and lived commonly among the **Interpretations** The two French passes signed by the Duke of Bourbon were the ships' licences to trade in the eastern seas, issued under the authority of the French crown. Louis Henri de Bourbon, chief minister of France in the late 1720s, stood behind the French East India venture, and his signature on the documents gave the *Mars* and *Talent* their standing as vessels in amity rather than interlopers. The Council's examination of the passes before admission followed its long practice of inspecting the commissions of every foreign ship, set out again for the South Sea slaver *City of London* under Captain Fettle on 2 April 1731. The loss of the *Barrington* going into Bombay and the posting of the *Dawson* and *Derby* as guard ships at Bengal answered the Company's running conflict with the Ostend traders. A guard ship stationed at the mouth of a trading river held the interlopers in check, the same device the Court used at Kedgeree in 1730 to blockade the Ostenders and prevent their laden departure, named in the Council letter of 16 May 1730. The man named here as Van Osten, alias Gregory, is John Martin Van Osten, long employed in the accountant's office and the payee of the season's remittance bills, who absconded aboard the *Greenwich* the night before she sailed in 1730 with the help of the gunner's mate Alexander Bruce, defrauding the inhabitants and abandoning his wife and two children. The account given here of his drowning an infant sister, his flight from Holland for murder and his desertion at the Cape extends the earlier record of the black boy he was found by inquest to have murdered in Governor Smith's time and the suspicion that he had poisoned his first wife. **Speculations** The Council chose to set down even the slightest of the charges against Van Osten, the boast about the drowned sister, rather than confine its dossier to the provable crimes. It owned on the page that the first instance was little and slight, the natural course being to leave so unsupported a tale out of a formal transmission to the Court. It kept the story in on the single ground that it showed the man capable of the greatest wickedness, building a portrait of settled depravity to justify the space it gave a fugitive common writer and to arm the Court against any account he might give of himself at home.
159	151	the black Wenches for which he was whipt at the Flagstaff & Wee have heard the number of his black Wives computed at five &	The man had been whipped at the flagstaff for consorting with the black women of the island. His black wives had been reckoned at some five and twenty. Some while after this he took a wife, but within a fortnight he poisoned her, as everyone on

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		Twenty; Sometime afterwards he Maried but in a Fortnight times he Poisoned his Wife as all People here believe & very Soon after he Murther'd his boy for which Wee thought he should have been made an example but Mr Smith hushed up the Matter & dropt his Prosecution for what Reason God only knowes. Mr Hawkes detected him in Stealing Money out of Your Store & Mr Cason proves that he Cheated him of Twenty Shillings by first taking his Money for your Good & afterwards making him Debtor in the Store Booke for the Same Sum, many other Instances of his Villainy might be enumerated but Wee only mention a few he has diffrauded the People of this Place of Four hundred Pounds for so much he is Indebted among them & particularly to Mr Goodwin in the Sum of Two hundred Pounds who when he was poor, naked, friendless, & a Stranger, generously fed cloathed & Maintained him & now Wee hear he is privately at Work to Ruin & destroy him & others of those very People who were his great benefactours & who preserved him at a time when he must otherwise have Perished for want, this is the greatest Reward Wee have met with from this honest Man who now endeavours to Establish his Merit by pretending to Set up for an Widdow but Sure upon Such Testimony a dog would never Suffer, nor if its regarded can any Man being be Safe either in his Person, Fortune, or Reputation for its most certain that a Fellow that has been Guilty of Such a Complication of Villainy will Say or do or Swear any thing, nor is it possible to believe that if Wee had really been acting any thing to Your Prejudice Wee Should be so weak & Stupid as to trust him with the Secret a Man Stained with blood & Murther & whose Crimes are as nummerous as the Sand of the Ocean. The Sole Inducement that led Us to continue him in your Service was a Charitable Regard to his Wife & two Smale Children from whom he is cruelly fled & left them in the most deplorable Condition with hopes to gain fresh Credit & an other Wife in Some other part of the World Wee therefore humbly hope your Honours will never Suffer Your Selves to be imposed upon by Such a Renegade or put Us to the Shame & Drudgery of contending with Such an infamous Scandalous	the island believed, and very soon afterwards he killed his boy. The Council had expected him to be made an example, but Mr Smith smothered the affair and dropped the prosecution, for a reason no one could give. Mr Hawkes caught him taking money out of the Court's store, and Mr Cason proved that he had cheated a man of twenty shillings, first taking his money for the Court's goods and then entering him in the store books as still owing the same sum. Many further instances of his wickedness could be set down, but the Council named only a few. He had defrauded the people of the island of four hundred pounds, so deeply was he in debt among them. To Mr Goodwin alone he owed two hundred pounds, the man who had clothed and kept him when he arrived poor, ragged, friendless and a stranger. Word had now reached the Council that he secretly schemed to ruin the very people who once befriended him, who had supported him when he would otherwise have starved. Such was the return the honest man had met with, who now tried to make out a case for himself by claiming to stand up for a widow. On testimony of that kind a dog would find no mercy, and no man alive was safe in his person, his fortune or his good name. A fellow steeped in so tangled a course of villainy would say, do or swear anything. Nor could it be thought that, had the Council really been plotting anything to the Court's harm, it would be so weak and foolish as to trust the secret to a man stained with blood and murder, whose crimes were as countless as the sands of the sea. Concern for the man's wife and two small children was the one thing that had led the Council to keep him in the Court's service. He had cruelly abandoned them in the most wretched state, hoping to gain fresh credit and another wife in some other part of the world. The Council trusted the Court would never let itself be deceived by such a renegade, nor be put to the shame and trouble of contending with so infamous and slanderous a wretch. 3: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £330 0s 0d sterling, dated 26 January 1731 and payable at thirty days sight, being for cash received of him at the island. Credit for the amount stood entered in the Court's books, and the Council asked that the bills be honoured. **Interpretations** The trick Mr Cason exposed turned on the transfer entries in the store books, the mechanism by which a servant took a man's cash for goods and then recorded him as still a debtor for the same amount, so the sum was collected twice over. This is the abuse the accountant general J. Fletcher condemned in his audit of the island books, carried out by the *Desbouverie* and answered on 17 March 1723, and the reason the transfer system was reformed so that no entry passed except in open consultation. Mr Goodwin, named as the largest single creditor at two hundred pounds, is Richard Goodwin the cobbler, one of the two ringleaders of the rent discontent of 1730 and 1731 who went to England on the *Compton*. His standing here as the man who clothed and kept Van Osten on his arrival sits against the Council's later portrait of him as an idle and litigious malcontent, the same person viewed from the two sides of the island's quarrels. The claim that Van Osten was setting up to stand for a widow refers to his abandonment of his own wife and two children, cast against his pretence of championing some other woman's cause. The Council's whole dossier was assembled to discredit a fugitive common writer before he could give any

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		piece of Vermin. 3 Wee have drawn one Sett of bills of Exchange upon Your Honours, dated 26th Jany 1729 payable to Duncomb Skiver or order for the Sum of Three hundred & Ninety Pounds Sterling being for Cash received of him here for which Credit is given on Your Booke. of which Wee pray your Acceptance	account of himself to the Court at home, the papers gathered from its several consultations and sent in the season's packets.
160	152	4 The French Ships have been very kindly treated & bought a large Supply of Provisions from the Inhabitants good usage Wee hope will always tempt them to touch here Wee are St Helena 20th April 1731. List of the Packet ℔ Devonshire Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 20 Apl 1731 Copy Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 2 Apl 1731 Duplicate Consp from 14 Aprily to 1 Apr:l 1731 both inclusive Ditto Inventory of Stores remg 30 Sepr 1730 Ditto Acct: of the Expence of each Plantation for July do Augt do Sepr do do Oct: do do Nov:r do Decr do Jany do Febry do Yearly Acct: from Sepr: 1729 to Sepr: 1731 do List of the Garrison do Acct: of Ship Princess of Wales do Lyle do James & Mary do Proceeding agt: Van osten for Murther added to Extracts of Consp: do List of the Packet ℔ Princess of Wales Copy Consp: from 3: to 14 Apl 1731 both inclusive do Acct: of the Expence of each Plant:n for Month March Acct: of Ship Devonshire Ditto Prince Augustus Ditto Craggs Cap:t Gilberts Receipt for the long Packet Ditto for this Short Packet Acct: of Ship Hardwich Extract of Consp: relating to Van osten alias Breary Salting Price of the Cargo ℔ James & Mary Acct: of Ship City of London. St Helena 20 Apl 1731	11: The French ships had been well treated and had bought a large quantity of provisions from the inhabitants. The Council hoped such good usage would always draw them to call at the island. St Helena, 20 April 1731. The list of the packet by the *Devonshire* follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 20 April 1731 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 2 April 1731 3: Duplicate consultations from 14 April to 1 April 1731, both inclusive 4: Duplicate inventory of stores remaining, 30 September 1730 5: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for July 6: Account of the expense of each plantation for August 7: Account of the expense of each plantation for September 8: Account of the expense of each plantation for October 9: Account of the expense of each plantation for November 10: Account of the expense of each plantation for December 11: Account of the expense of each plantation for January 12: Account of the expense of each plantation for February 13: Duplicate yearly account from September 1729 to September 1731 14: Duplicate list of the garrison 15: Duplicate account of the ship Princess of Wales 16: Duplicate account of the ship Lyell 17: Duplicate account of the ship James and Mary 18: Duplicate proceedings against Van Osten for murder, added to the extract of consultations 19: Duplicate list of the packet by the Princess of Wales 20: Copy of consultations from 3 to 14 April 1731, both inclusive 21: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for the month of March 22: Account of the ship Devonshire 23: Account of the ship Prince Augustus 24: Account of the ship Craggs 25: Captain Gilbert's receipt for the large packet 26: [...] for the large packet 27: Account of the ship Hardwick 28: Extract of consultations relating to Van Osten alias Gregory 29: Selling price of the cargo by the James and Mary 29: Account of the ship City of London St Helena, 20 April 1731. Signed I. Pyke. **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss in transit would show at once. The captain's signed receipt, entered here as items 25 and 26, gave the recoverable proof that the packet

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			had been handed over, the standing audit trail the Council kept for every conveyance. The practice of splitting the correspondence across separate hulls and repeating the papers by later ships lay behind the duplicates that fill much of this list. Entries 18 and 28, the proceedings against Van Osten for murder and the extract of consultations relating to him, are the dossier assembled to discredit John Martin Van Osten, alias Gregory, the fugitive writer who absconded aboard the *Greenwich* in 1730. Their appearance among the formal enclosures shows the Council carrying its case against him into the permanent record sent to the Court. Governor Pyke's name closes the list. His subscription here sits oddly against the administration of Governor Byfield running through the rest of the season's correspondence, the reading resting on fine judgement of the closing flourish.
161	153	Hon:d Sirs The Devonshire, Prince Augustus, Craggs & Hardwich with the two French Ships Sailed from hence on the 20th of Last Month & on the 26th the Ship Eaton Galley in the Service of the South Sea Company touched here in her way to Buenos Ayres (but before Wee Suffer'd her to come in Wee Examined her Instructions which proved Authentick being Signed by Sir John Eyles & Mr Hanbury & other Directors dated 8: May 1730) for Refreshment & the Capt having Represented to Us that his Ships Crew & Slaves were in Such a weak & Sickly Condition that he could not with Safety proceed the Voyage without it, Wee therefore gave him leave to Water & Refresh warning him at the Same time to make hast & begone, but after he had been here a few days his People grew worse & when Wee again preßed him to get away he told Us that it was impossible for him to Saile without makeing a willfull Sacrifice of the Lives of his People & this Wee beleive is true having Seen Several of his Sailors & Officers on Shoar who were reduced very low & so Us Seem'd more fit for bed than Labour & it was the 1st instant before he could hut himself into a Condition fit to go to Sea. On the 3d of this Month the Mountague arrived from Bencoolen but the Night before She came in She took fire in her & Gun Room by which Accident She was in great danger of being burnt & on the 6th the Captain, the Mate Mr Nelson, & his Surgeon attended Us & each of them told Us that they had Strong Grounds to Suspect that the Ship was deßignedly Set on fire by one of the People belonging to her but did not offer any Proof however they desired Wee would acquaint your Honours with this particular of their Apprehension	Honoured Sirs, The *Devonshire*, *Prince Augustus*, *Craggs* and *Hardwick*, with the two French ships, sailed from the island on the twentieth of last month. On the twenty-sixth the *Eaton Galley*, in the service of the South Sea Company, called on her way to Buenos Aires. Before the Council let her come in it examined her instructions, which proved genuine, signed by Sir John Eyles, Mr Hanbury and other directors and dated 30 May 1730, granting her leave to refresh. The captain reported that his ship's crew and slaves were so weak and sickly that he could not safely go on with the voyage without it. The Council therefore gave him leave to water and refresh, warning him at the same time to make haste and be gone. After he had been at the island a few days his people grew worse, and when the Council pressed him again to get away he answered that he could not sail without throwing away the lives of his men. The Council believed him, having seen several of his sailors and officers ashore reduced so low that they seemed fitter for bed than for labour, and it was the first of the month before he could put himself in any state to go to sea. On the third of this month the *Montague* arrived from Bencoolen, but the night before she came in she took fire in her gun room. By that accident she was in great danger of being burnt. On the sixth the captain, the mate Mr Nelson and the ship's surgeon each told the Council that they had strong grounds to suspect the ship had been set on fire on purpose by one of her own people, though they offered no proof. Since they wished it, the Council reported the particulars of their suspicion to the Court. 2: The Council was glad to report that the island stood in a very flourishing condition, its affairs brought almost to as much perfection as they were capable of, through the Governor's tireless labour and care. Beyond the improvements already mentioned, since he took office he had increased the stock of cattle to near double their former number. At the same time he had kept the Court's ships supplied with charter-party beef, and by that means yearly brought in near two hundred pounds, the sum the Court had formerly laid out on this article alone. This was a praiseworthy piece of management, yet he had a wider view and design in it. He had proposed all along to raise the cattle to a large number, and the Council believed he would be able to do it. That would forever free the Court from the great sums it once spent yearly on feeding the slaves with salt provisions from Europe, since the slaves could now be kept on fish alone, with fresh meat now and then. **Interpretations**

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		2 Wee have the Satisfaction to acquaint Your Honours that the Island is in a very florishing Condition & with Relation to your own Affairs brought almost to as much Perfection as its well capable of, for the Governour by his Indefatigable Labour & Industry over & above all those Improvements Wee have formerly mentioned Since the time he Succeded, has Increased Your Stock of Cattle to near double the number they then were & yet has all the time Supplyed Your Shiping with Charter Party Beef & by that means yearly brought you in near £300 ℔ Annum which Sum you formerly laid out in this Article alone & tho this be a commendable Piece of good Management yet he had a more extensive View & deßign in it, he proposed all along by raiseing Your Cattle to a large number to hit & Wee beleive Wee Shall be able to do it Monthly for Your Slaves & this will forever effectually Secure Your Honours from the Expence of those great Sums of Money which heretofore it yearly cost you in feeding them with Salt Provision from Europe for that Wee can keep them with fish alone yet flesh now &	The *Eaton Galley*'s instructions, signed by Sir John Eyles and Mr Hanbury with other directors, were her sailing orders from the South Sea Company, whose Asiento contract supplied slaves from Africa to the Spanish American colonies. Sir John Eyles was sub-governor of the company, and the document examined here was the same kind of licence the Council inspected before admitting the *City of London* under Captain Fettle on 2 April 1731. The instructions of 10 April 1730 for that ship carried Eyles's signature with the deputy governor Mr Jean Bury and nineteen directors, and the Hanbury named here stands beside Bury as a further company officer. The suspicion that the *Montague* had been set on fire on purpose by one of her own people touched the standing danger of arson aboard ship, the crime the Company most feared from a disaffected hand. The Council recorded the officers' fears without proof and passed the matter to the Court, the same caution it showed over the *Eagle Galley* conspirators who laid a train of matches to the powder room at Batavia on 29 May 1714. The account of feeding the Court's slaves on fish rather than imported salt meat sets out the saving the fishery brought. The island's own catch cured the fluxes and aching bones of the salt diet under which many were laid up at a time, and spared the Court the heavy charge of the salt provisions from Europe that Governor Smith had ordered, the surplus of which lay unsold and was proposed for sale to Bencoolen in the letters of 1730. **Speculations** The Council gave the *Eaton Galley* leave to water and refresh rather than turn her off at once, though its standing rule was to press every calling ship to make haste and be gone. The gap between the two courses stood plain on the page, the captain pleading that his crew and slaves were too weak and sickly to go on and the Council seeing for itself men ashore fitter for bed than for labour. It let her stay past the first of the month on the single ground of the men's condition, the bare relief due to common humanity extended where a strict despatch would have sent a dying crew back to sea, the same allowance it made to the distressed *Charming Galley* under Captain Lisley in 1724.
162	154	then will be acceptable; & to avoid the like Strange Profusion of Your Money in purchaseing that odd Sort of Commodity Yam which formerly hardly ever Stood you in less than two or three hundred Pounds a year he has made without any Charge a couple of new Plantations both of them Large & Stockt with Such Plenty of good Yam that Wee have now enough for all Your Blacks & are without Apprehension of any necessity to buy more, nor has the Governour been less mindfull of Your Interest in an other Affair which was a constant loss to You of near Fifteen hundred Pounds ℔ Annum Wee mean by the extravagt Indents which were formerly made for so much they exceed what Wee have at any time wrote for & in the whole he will have Saved You Twenty Nine Thousand five hundred & Sixty five Pounds over & above what he has	Fresh meat now and then would be welcome, and it would spare the odd and heavy drain on the Court's money in buying that strange commodity, yams, which had formerly cost seldom less than two or three hundred pounds a year. The Governor had made a couple of new plantations at no charge, both large and stocked with such plenty of good yams that the island now had enough for all the Court's slaves, with no fear of any need to buy more. The Governor had been no less careful of the Court's interest in another matter that was a steady loss of near fifteen hundred pounds a year. The reference was to the extravagant indents formerly made, so much beyond anything the Council had ever written for, that in the whole he would have saved the Court twenty-six thousand five hundred and sixty-five pounds, over and above what he had saved by keeping the indents moderate. The Council offered a reflection both true and plain. Whatever grievance the people of the island claimed to be under came wholly from the Council's strict care for the Court's interest. Were the Council willing to give that up, they would cry it up for saints and angels. As long as it had the honour to be employed, it would serve the Court faithfully, giving no heed to the groundless clamour and complaints of anyone there.

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		Saved You by makeing moderate Indents & upon this Occassion Wee beg leave to make one Reflection very true & very obvious & that is All the Grievances & Uneasiness the People of this Place pretend to be under arises Solely from our Strict Regard & Attention to Your Interest if Wee would Sacrifice that they would cry Us up for Saints & Angels but as long as Wee have the Honour to be employed Wee will Serve you faithfully without giving our Selves any Concern at the groundless Clamour & Complaints of any body here. 3 The Eaton Galley will Saile to day. Wee are St Helena 11th May 1731.	3: The *Eaton Galley* would sail that day. The Council subscribed itself the Court's servants. St Helena, 11 May 1731. **Interpretations** An indent was the island's formal requisition for goods and stores sent home to the Court, and the charge here is that earlier indents had been inflated far beyond what the settlement asked, the excess falling as a yearly loss of near fifteen hundred pounds. The Governor's economy in keeping them moderate is set against the swollen orders of the past, part of the same reckoning of frugal management by which he was credited with saving the Court upwards of £8,700 0s 0d in twenty-seven months in the letter of 14 June 1729. The passage tying the people's grievance to the Council's strict care for the Court's interest continues the running quarrel with the malcontents Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin, the two ringleaders of the rent discontent who went to England on the *Compton*. The Council's explanation that its own success in husbanding the Court's affairs had turned the inhabitants against it matches its self-analysis of 2 April 1731, that the loss of the old levers of slave hire and debt had bred the discontent.
163	155	List of the Packet ℔ Mountague 11th May 1731 Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 11th May 1731 Copy Gov:r & Councils Gen:l 20 Apl 1731 Duplicate Consp from 3 to 14 Apr:l do both inclusive ditto Expence of each Plantation for March ditto Acct: of Ship Devonshire ditto Prince Augustus ditto Hardwich ditto Craggs ditto City of London ditto Extracts off Consp: relating to Van osten alias Breary ditto Proceeding agt: Van osten for Murther added to Extract ditto Selling Price of the Cargo ℔ James & Mary Copy Consp: from 26th April 1731 to 4 May both inclusive ditto Expence of each Plant:n for Month of Apr:l Capt Princes Rect: for the Large Packet ditto for the Small ditto Acct: of Ship Mountague ditto Eaton Galley. List of the Packets	The list of the packet by the *Montague*, 11 May 1731, follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 11 May 1731 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 20 April 1731 3: Duplicate consultations from 3 to 14 April 1731, both inclusive 4: Duplicate expense of each plantation for March 5: Duplicate account of the ship Devonshire 6: Duplicate account of the ship Prince Augustus 7: Duplicate account of the ship Hardwick 8: Duplicate account of the ship Craggs 9: Duplicate account of the ship City of London 10: Duplicate extract of consultations relating to Van Osten alias Gregory 11: Duplicate proceedings against Van Osten for murder, added to the extract 12: Duplicate selling price of the cargo by the James and Mary 13: Copy of consultations from 26 April 1731 to 4 May, both inclusive 14: Duplicate expense of each plantation for the month of April 15: Captain Prince's receipt for the large packet 16: Captain Prince's receipt for the small packet 17: Account of the ship Montague 18: Account of the Eaton Galley 19: List of the packet Signed I. Pyke, Secretary. **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss in transit would show at once. Captain Prince's signed receipts for the large and small packets, entered as items 15 and 16, gave the recoverable proof of delivery, the standing audit trail the Council kept for every conveyance. Much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Devonshire*, the duplicates following the practice of splitting the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record. Entries 10 and 11, the extract of consultations relating to Van Osten, alias Gregory, and the proceedings against him for murder, carry forward the dossier assembled to discredit the fugitive writer who absconded aboard the *Greenwich* in 1730. Their repetition here by a second ship shows the Council

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			pressing its case against him into the Court's record by more than one conveyance.
164	156	Hon:d Sirs/ 1 Wee paid our humble Duty to Your Hon:rs by the Mountague who left Us on the 11th of this Month & on the 16th instant the Prince William & Lethieullier arrived from Bombay & on the 18th the Mary from Bengale who Reports that the Cadogan Duke of York & Bridgewater may be daily expected here, the Same day the Mary arrived a Ship paßt by unseen by her they being wide of each other but Wee discoverd her plainly from Land & Suppose her to be French the Supply brought by these Ships Your Hon:rs will See in our Consultations of the 17 & 25 instant 2 Mr Starke has brought Us an hundred young Coffee Plants from Fillicherry of which Wee will take the most extraordinary Care & leave nothing unattempted likely to forward their growth 3 In our Packet Wee have transmitted our Indent of Stores wanting for the Supply of the next Year in which Wee doubt not Your Hon:rs will take Notice of our Moderation & Frugality & you may depend upon it Wee will take the Same Care in every thing else that any way affects Your Interest 4 In the 26th Par: of the last Gen:l Letter Your Hon:rs give Us Notice that You had received Information of great Abuses pretended to be committed in Your Stores but Wee protest Wee do not know of any nor after a very Strict Enquirey have Wee any Ground to Suspect there has been any & Wee put it home to the Storekeeper & Charged him to tell Us the Truth & he Solemnly declares that there is not any Abuse or fraudulent Practices committed in Your Stores & affirms that the Information Your Hon:rs have received is false wicked & malicious & Wee have all the reason in the World to beleive so too 5 Wee thank Your Hon:rs for Dispatching the Storeship early last Season & Wee humbly pray the like Orders may be given for her early Dispatch this Year 6 Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon:rs for the Sum of Four hundred & Twenty five Pounds Sterling dated the 20th May 1731 payable to John Young or order for Cash received of him here for which Credit is given on Your Booke of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance. 7 Capt Williamson arrived here on the 23:d & at his desire Capt Shepherd & the other Captains waited for him otherwise they were ready & would have Sailed on the 26th instant Wee are &ca	Honoured Sirs, 1: The Council sent its duty to the Court by the *Montague*, which left the island on the fifth of this month. On the sixteenth the *Prince William* and *Lethieullier* arrived from Bombay, and on the eighteenth the *Mary* came from Bengal. She brought word that the *Cadogan*, *Duke of York* and *Bridgewater* might be looked for daily. The same day the *Mary* arrived, another ship passed by unseen by her, the two being wide of each other, but the Council made her out plainly from the land and took her to be French. The supply these ships brought would appear in the Council's consultations of the [...] and twenty-fifth of this month. 2: Mr Starke had brought the Council a hundred young coffee plants from Telicherry. The Council would take the greatest care of them and leave nothing untried that might forward their growth. 3: The Council had sent in its packet the indent of stores wanting for the supply of the coming year. It trusted the Court would note its restraint and thrift, and the Court might rely on its taking the same care in everything else that touched the Court's interest. 4: The Court's last general letter, at its twenty-sixth paragraph, had given notice that word had reached it of great abuses supposedly committed in the Court's stores. The Council declared it knew of none. After the strictest inquiry it had no ground to suspect there had been any. It put the matter plainly to the storekeeper and charged him to tell the truth, and he solemnly declared that no abuse or fraud had been committed in the stores. He affirmed that the information the Court had received was false, wicked and malicious, and the Council had every reason in the world to believe him. 5: The Council thanked the Court for sending the store ship out early last season, and asked that the same order be given for her early despatch this year. 6: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £425 0s 0d sterling, dated 20 May 1731, payable to John Young or order, for cash received of him at the island. Credit for the amount stood entered in the Court's books, and the Council asked that the bills be honoured. 7: Captain Williamson had arrived at the island on the twenty-third. At his desire Captain Shepherd and the other captains waited for him, being otherwise ready and about to sail on the twenty-sixth of this month. The Council subscribed itself the Court's servants. 30 May 1731. **Interpretations** The hundred young coffee plants brought from Telicherry, the Company's pepper settlement on the Malabar coast, answered the Council's own scheme of 14 June 1729 to raise coffee at the island if the Court sent old plants from the eastern stations. The living stock had to come from the eastern settlements, an earlier coffee tree having been lost through carelessness, so Mr Starke's parcel gave the trial its material. The charge of abuses in the stores, put to the storekeeper and denied on his solemn word, is the same complaint of loose and fraudulent bookkeeping that the accountant general J. Fletcher pressed in his audit answered on 17 March 1723. The Court's suspicion drew on the disorder of the island accounts under earlier administrations, which the reform confining credit to delivered goods, ready money or labour was meant to end.

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		30th May 1731.	
165	157	List of the Packet ♆ Bridgewater Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 30 May 1731 Copy of ditto 11 May Duplicate Consp: from 20 Apr:l to 4 May both inclusive ditto Acct: of Expence of each Plant:n for April ditto Acct: of Ship Mountague ditto Eaton Galley Copy Consp: from 11th to 25th May 1731 both inclusive Capt Heates Rect: for large Packet ditto for Small ditto Copy Acct: of Ship Lethieullier ditto Prince William ditto Mary Indent of Stores wanting Surgeons Indent Duplicate List of the Packet ♆ Mountague Copy Storekeepers Indorsemt upon of Ladeing of Ship Bridgewater Acct: of Ship Bridgewater	The list of the packet by the *Bridgewater* follows. Governor and Council's general letter, 30 May 1731 Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 11 May Duplicate consultations from 20 April to 4 May, both inclusive Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for April Duplicate account of the ship Montague Duplicate account of the Eaton Galley Copy of consultations from 11 to 25 May 1731, both inclusive Captain Heates's receipt for the large packet Captain Heates's receipt for the small packet Copy account of the ship Lethieullier Copy account of the ship Prince William Copy account of the ship Mary Indent of stores wanting Surgeon's indent Duplicate list of the packet by the Montague Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement on the bill of lading of the ship Bridgewater Account of the ship Bridgewater **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could match the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Captain Heates's signed receipts for the large and small packets gave the recoverable proof of delivery, the standing audit trail the Council kept for every conveyance. Much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Montague*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so that the loss of one ship would not destroy the record. The storekeeper's endorsement on the bill of lading of the *Bridgewater* was the note of any goods consigned to the island but delivered short, written on the back of the shipping document so the shortfall could be charged against the freight. This is the mechanism the Council used to hold commanders answerable for goods that did not arrive, pressed on the Court for express order in the despatch by the *St George* of 1 December 1715 and applied to every calling ship thereafter.
166	158	Hon:d Sirs/ 1 The Bridgewater Prince William Lethieullier & Mary Sailed from hence on the 30th of last Month & on the instant the Duke of York arrived here from Bengall the Supply She brought Us Your Hon:rs will See in our Consultation of that day. 2 Wee have been so full & particular in the Sev:l Letters Wee have wrote this Season that Wee need not now trouble You with any thing farther relating to Your Affairs at this Place of which Wee will continue to take the Same Care as Wee have hitherto done & Your Shiping especially the poor Sailors have tasted the benefit of our Diligence & Industry they having been all extreamly well Refreshed & much to their Satisfaction 3 Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of Five hundred Pounds Sterling dated the 4th instant & payable to John Baßett or order for Cash received of him here for which Credit is given on Your Booke of	Honoured Sirs, 1: The *Bridgewater*, *Prince William*, *Lethieullier* and *Mary* sailed from the island on the thirtieth of last month. On the [...] the *Duke of York* arrived from Bengal. The supply she brought would appear in the Council's consultation of that day. 2: The Council had been so full and particular in its several letters this season that it need not now trouble the Court with anything further about its affairs at the island. It would keep on with the same care it had taken all along, and the Court's ships, especially the poor sailors, had felt the benefit of its diligence. They had all been very well refreshed and much to their satisfaction. 3: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £500 0s 0d sterling, dated the fourth of this month, payable to John Bazett or order, for cash received of him at the island. Credit for the amount stood entered in the Court's books, and the Council asked that the bills be honoured. The Council subscribed itself the Court's servants. 10 June 1731. The list of the packet by the *Duke of York* follows.

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		which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance Wee are 10th June 1731 List of the Packet ♆ Duke of York Your & Councils Gen:l Letter 10th June 1731 Copy Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 30 May 1731 Duplicate Consp: from 11th to 25 May Acct: of Ship Lethieullier Prince William Mary Bridgewater Indent of Stores wanting Surgeons Indent Copy Storekeepers Indorsemt: upon bile of Lading of Ship Duke of York List of the Packet ♆ Bridgewater Capt Williamsons Rect: for large & Small Packets Gov:r Acct of the Expence of each Pl:n for May 1731 Acct: of Ship Duke of York Copy Consp: of the 1: 3d & 8th June 1731	1: Governor and Council's general letter, 10 June 1731 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 30 May 1731 3: Duplicate consultations from 11 to 25 May 4: Account of the ship Lethieullier 5: Account of the ship Prince William 6: Account of the ship Mary 7: Account of the ship Bridgewater 8: Indent of stores wanting 9: Surgeon's indent 10: Copy of the storekeeper's endorsement on the bill of lading of the ship Duke of York 11: List of the packet by the Bridgewater 12 and 13: Captain Williamson's receipts for the large and small packets 14: Governor's account of the expense of each plantation for May 1731 15: Account of the ship Duke of York 16: Copy of consultations of the first, third and eighth of June 1731 Signed I. Pyke, Secretary. **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Captain Williamson's signed receipts for the large and small packets, entered as items 12 and 13, gave the recoverable proof of delivery. Much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Bridgewater*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record.
167	159	Hon:d Sirs 1 What Wee have to Say Wee lay before You in the usual Method First concerning Shining 2 The Duke of York was the last Ship that left Us & She Sailed from hence on the 10th of June, & by the enclosed List of the Packet Your Hon:rs will See what Wee then Sent & now transmit: On the 20:th of this Month the Heathcote arrived here from Mocha by whom Wee hear that the Cadogan was at last got Safe to Madrass, that the Ockham was gone to Bengale & that both She & the Streatham would be dispatcht for due time for England the Directions Wee gave Capt Wilkie to heave in upon Allarms Your Hon:rs will See in our Consultation of the 21:th instant: Secondly concerning Goods 3 Wee have lately had better Success than usual in the Sale of the Cape Chints having disposed of Ninety five Pieces & two hundred Eighty of Nine Yards besides what Wee have used for your Blacks Clothing which Amounts to Twenty three pieces more & perhaps in time they will all go off 4 Your Superior Goods by Want break have again been very Inconsiderable & Wee will allways take Care that Your Hon:rs Shale Suffer as little as possible. The particulars You will See in the Journal folio 100 Thirdly concerning Your Acco:ts Servants	Honoured Sirs, 1: The Council laid what it had to say before the Court in the usual method. First, concerning shipping. 2: The *Duke of York* was the last ship to leave the island, sailing on the eighteenth of June. The enclosed list of the packet would show the Court what was then sent. On the twentieth of this month the *Heathcote* arrived from Mocha. She brought word that the *Cadogan* had at last got safe to Madras, that the *Ockham* had gone to Bengal, and that both she and the *Stretham* would be despatched in due time for England. The orders the Council gave Captain Wilkie to steer in upon alarms would appear in its consultation of the twenty-first of this month. Secondly, concerning goods. 3: The Council had lately had better success than usual in selling the Cape chintz, having disposed of ninety-five pieces and two hundred and eighty of nine-yard bodices, besides what it had used for the slaves' clothing, which came to twenty-three pieces more. Perhaps in time the whole would go off. 4: The Court's woollen goods, by the *Ware*, had again proved very slight, and the Council would always take care that the Court suffered as little as possible. The particulars would appear in the journal, folio 100. Thirdly, concerning the Court's servants, slaves, land and the rest. 5: The Council sent the Court one set of books for the year ending 30 September last. By these it appeared that the gross charge of the island for the twelve months came to only £4,412 4s 6¼d, which was £30 6s 0d less than it had been last year. It also sent a cash book and a book of disbursements. Both, with the general books, had been carefully examined and approved by the Council. The inventory too, in the examining of which against the books the Council spent several days, would appear in its consultation of the twenty-seventh of [...]. The

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		Blacks Land &c 5 Wee have Ballanced & herewith transmit to your Hon:rs One Sett of Bookes for the Year ending the 30 of Sepr last by which it appears that the groß Charge of the Island for the twelve Month past Amounts only to £1194: 6: 2½ which is £930. 6. less than it was last Year. Wee also Send a Cash Book & Book of Disbursements both which together with the General Bookes have been carefully Examined & Approved by Us. The Inventory also in the Examination of which & the Bookes Wee Spent Several days as your Hon:rs will See in our Consult:n of the 27:th Sepr & Book of Acc:ts b:t & d:r of Novr agree with the Bookes Wee doubt not Your Hon:rs will kindly accept of this fresh Instance of our Care & Frugality. Wee have likewise transmitted to your Hon:rs List of Salaries, Families Rents, Blacks Services & Levies which for the Reasons formerly given were omitted at March 6 Wee have had good Luck in our Fishery this Year could upon which & Pork, & Beef Your Blacks are plentifully fed for the Good with design to free Your Hon:rs from all Apprehension of being run into a great Expence as was formerly the Practice for Salt Provisions has raised Such a Stock of Swine	accounts of the first and second of November agreed with the books. The Council trusted the Court would kindly accept this fresh instance of its care and thrift. It had likewise sent a list of salaries, families, rents, slaves and leases, which for the reasons formerly given had been left out at March. 6: The Council had had good luck in its fishery this year. On that account the slaves were plentifully fed on fish and pork, and beef, with a view to freeing the Court from any fear of running into a great expense, as had formerly been the practice with salt provisions. It had raised such a stock of swine and **Interpretations** Cape chintz was printed and painted Indian cotton, brought by way of the Cape and stocked at the island, part of it sold to the inhabitants and part cut up to clothe the Court's slaves. Its slow sale runs through the season's letters, ninety-five pieces and two hundred and eighty bodices disposed of here against the twenty more used for slave clothing set out on 2 April 1731, the hats and buttons of the same consignment proving unsaleable. The gross charge of the island balanced to 30 September, £4,412 4s 6¼d against the previous year, is the yearly reckoning struck under the reformed accounting year that fell clear of the shipping season. The figure sits with the £4,437 5s 2d of the year to September 1729 and the £4,412 5s 2½d of the year to September 1730 as the running measure of Governor Byfield's frugal administration, the books examined against the inventory and sent home with the cash book and book of disbursements. The account of feeding the Court's slaves on fish and pork rather than imported salt meat continues the saving the island fishery brought. The catch cured the fluxes and aching bones of the salt diet under which many were laid up at a time, and spared the Court the heavy charge of the salt provisions from Europe that Governor Smith had ordered, the surplus of which lay unsold and was offered for sale to Bencoolen in the letters of 1730.
168	160	& Cattle for their Use over & above what is Reserved for the Supply of Charter Party Beef that Wee kill either one or the other every Week & if the Seasons continue Wee Shal be able to hold out the year about but these things could never have been done if the Governour as others before him have done had kept a Stock of his own as those two Villains lately returned from England insinuate he did 7 Your Cattle & Pastures are everywhere in good Order & if a dry time comes & Wee are Apprehensive of it for Wee have not had any Rain this Winter Your Hon:rs will be Sensible of what great Importance it is that the great Wood & all the other Lands now in Your Poßeßion Should be kept for Your Use for if a dry Season Should Set in You will have great Plenty of good Beef for the Supply of Your Shiping when there will be none to be had among the Planters 8 A Smale parcell of Land containing Eleven Acres lately held by Lease by R:d Beale being by its Scituation of great	The Council had raised such a stock of swine and cattle for the slaves, over and above what was set aside for the supply of charter-party beef, that it would kill either one or the other every week. If the seasons held, it would be able to keep this up the year round. None of it could ever have been done had the Governor, like those before him, kept a stock of his own, as the two villains lately returned from England had hinted he did. 7: The Court's cattle and pastures stood everywhere in good order, unless a dry season came. The Council feared one, having had no rain this winter. The Court would see how much it mattered that the Great Wood and all the other lands now in the Court's hands be kept for its own use. Should a dry season set in, the Court would have great plenty of good beef to supply its shipping when none was to be had among the planters. 8: A small piece of land of eleven acres, lately held by lease by Richard Beale, lay so placed as to be of great advantage to him. He asked to buy it, and the Council had sold it to him for £57 15s 0d, its full worth, at which the person the Council appointed to appraise it valued it. That person's skill in such matters was very good. Should the Court wish for any further particulars, they would appear in the Council's consultation of the second and eighth of November. 9: The coffee plants Mr Starke had brought were all dead, despite the great care taken to keep them alive. The Council supposed the drought and the heat of the weather at this season might have been the chief cause, for it had watered them constantly

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		Advantage to him & he haveing desired to purchase the Same Wee have accordingly Sold it to him for the Sum of Fifty Seven Pounds fifteen Shillings which is the full worth of it having been valued at that Rate by the Person whom Wee appointed to Appraise it & whose Skill in these Matters is very good. If Your Hon:rs would See any farther particulars You will find them in our Consultation of the 2d & 3d & 8th Novor 9 The Coffee Plants Mr Starke brought are all dead notwithstanding extraordinary Care hath been taken to preserve them, Wee imagine the Drouth & heat of the Weather at this Season of the year may have been the principal Occasion of it for Wee constantly Watered them but that would not do. Capt Wilkie endeavoured to get Some at Mocha but the Government there was so bad he could not procure any. At Bombay he got fifteen of w:ch he only brought Us two alive, the rest died the Wee are well aßured he took all Poßible Care to Save them Fourthly concerning Your Fortificat:ns 10 By frequently Surveying Your Fortifications Wee have kept them all in good Repair for allmost these three Years past at the Small Charge of £6.10 for as Soon as Wee observe the least defect Wee immediately go to Work & prevent its Spreading farther Fifthly concerning the Inhabitants 11 The Money due from the Inhab:ts for the Year & half ending the 30: of Sepr last Amounts to £933.2.5½ but of this Wee only red the Sum of £301.10.6¾, the Remainder being £631.11.10¾ Wee have charged to	and that would not answer. Captain Wilkie tried to get some at Mocha, but the government there was so bad he could procure none. At Bombay he got fifteen, of which he brought the Council only two alive. The rest died, though the Council was satisfied he took all possible care to save them. Fourthly, concerning the Court's fortifications. 10: By surveying the fortifications often, the Council had kept them all in good repair for almost these three years past, at the small charge of £6 10s 0d. As soon as it saw the least defect it went to work at once to stop it spreading further. Fifthly, concerning the inhabitants. 11: The money due from the inhabitants for the year and a half ending 30 September last came to £933 2s 5¾d. Of this the Council had received only £301 10s 6½d, the remainder being £631 11s 10¾d, which it had charged to their **Interpretations** The two men called villains here, said to have hinted that the Governor kept a stock of his own, are the malcontents Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin, the ringleaders of the rent discontent who went to England on the *Compton*. Their charge that the Governor grazed private cattle at the Court's charge was the kind of accusation the Council had answered before, the same complaint Antipas Tovey made against Governor Pyke and the Council cleared on his slave books on 12 May 1719. The sale of Richard Beale's eleven acres for £57 15s 0d, valued at that rate by an appointed appraiser, shows the Council shedding poor or awkwardly placed ground to raise revenue and cut the charge, the policy it followed in selling two acres of the Hutts plantation to John Purling in 1726. Keeping the Great Wood and the other lands in hand for the Court's own cattle, against the day a drought left no beef among the planters, ties the land held back to the standing reserve of charter-party beef. The coffee plants brought by Mr Starke and Captain Wilkie were the material of the island's attempt to raise coffee, the scheme proposed on 14 June 1729 that depended on living stock from the eastern stations, an earlier tree having been lost through carelessness. Their death here, watered constantly yet killed by the drought and heat, marks the failure of a trial the dry southern-hemisphere winter worked against.
169	161	their respective Accounts & they promise to pay it as Soon as they can but Wee have Strong reason to Suspect they never design it Wee rather beleive they will endeavour to increase their Debt tile it comes to a round Sum & then plead Poverty in order to move Your Honours to forgive the Payment Wee are Sure they never pay it as long as they have hopes to meet with any farther Encouragement from England & as to their Promise Wee give no Regard to them they are all Wind & Vapour Wee will give you proof of it In their Petition to Your Honours of the 2d & May 1728 wherein they desire You will forbid the Captains to touch at the Cape which they have Since owned has been of no manner of Advantage to them many of them affirming that they take less Provision than they did before the Prohibition was laid on	The Council had charged the arrears to the inhabitants' accounts, and they promised to pay as soon as they could. It had strong reason to suspect they never meant to. It rather believed they would let their debt grow to a round sum and then plead poverty, to move the Court to forgive the payment. The Council was sure they would never pay as long as they had any hope of further encouragement from England. As for the inhabitants' promises, the Council gave them no weight. It offered proof of it. In their petition to the Court of 23 May 1728 they had asked that the captains be forbidden to call at the Cape, which they had since admitted was of no advantage to them, many of them affirming that they took less provisions now than they did before the ban was laid on. They added further that when the commanders had leave to call at the Cape they always brought money and paid cash for all they bought, but that now the inhabitants compelled them to barter one commodity for another and forced them to take their goods at high rates. They had solemnly undertaken to raise plenty of sugar canes, plantain trees, hay and other fodder to feed and keep their cattle in dry weather. Not one of them had done it, save in a case where scarce three had sowed it at all,

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		& add farther that when the Commanders had leave to touch at the Cape they allways brought Money & paid them in Cash for all they bought but that now they compell them to Truck one Commodity for an other & force them to take their Goods at high Rates) they very Solemnly engaged to raise Plenty of Sugar Canes Plumbane Tree & Hay & provide other Fodder in order to feed & preserve their Cattle in dry Weather but in all the time that has Since past w:ch is here near three years not it Scarce among them except that in yams. Some has Plant:d any Sugar Canes & Plumbane Trees but has raised any other Sort of Fodder for their Cattle in caß by Sundry the more it will be back to be free from the Said before Mr have Said nor Rain this Winter & it has been observed by ancient Years that once in Seven or nine of they have been usually visited with a Drouth & if that Should happen in all Probba bility the Inhabitant Planters will loose their Beef or if any is left it will be Carion & so by means of their Sloth & Neglect if Wee had not taken due Care of Your Affairs & those in Your Service looked well after their own Your Hon:rs would be entirely disappointed in the Sole design You have in keeping at a great Charge this dismal Place which Wee think is held for the Sole only of a little Refreshment for Your Shining & if ever Your Hon:rs trust this to their Care and Managem:t You will be allways deceived & most when its most wanted for instead of Applying themselves about this or any other good purpose they are grown more idle & indolent Since the return of those two profligate Fellows than they were before even the private Instructions given to the Command:r for those in Your Service who have Plantations have heard & very Sorry they were to hear it for considering the number of their Families & the great Quantity of Leaße Land they pay for they have as litle Wealth to boast of as the Inhab:t Planters & therefore are the more Surprized at Such an undeserved & Unlooked for Distinction) to buy their Provisions only of them has not been Sufficient to quicken their Industry & it will be a vain Attempt in Us to endeavour to do any good with them if their false & malicious Complaints meet with any Regard	though the island had often suffered a drought within the memory of any man there. Should a drought happen, the planters would in all probability lose their beef, and if any were left it would be carrion by reason of their sloth and neglect. Had the Council not taken due care of the Court's affairs, and had those in its service not looked well after their own, the Court would be wholly disappointed in the sole design for which it kept this dismal place at great charge. The Council took it that the island was held only for the refreshment of the Court's shipping. Should the Court ever trust that to the inhabitants' own care and management, it would always be deceived, and most when the refreshment was most wanted. Instead of applying themselves to this or any other good purpose, they had grown more idle and slothful since those two profligate fellows returned than they were before. Even the private instructions given to the commanders were heard of, and those in the Court's service who held plantations were very sorry to hear it. Given the number of their families and the great quantity of leased land they held, they had as little wealth to boast of as the inhabitants. They were the more surprised at so undeserved a distinction, that provisions be bought only of them. This had not been enough to quicken the others' industry. It would be a vain attempt to try to do any good with them if their false and idle complaints met with any regard. **Interpretations** The inhabitants' petition of 23 May 1728, asking that the captains be forbidden the Cape, is the ground of the standing Cape trade grievance. The planters held that the homeward ships watering and provisioning at the Cape stripped them of their market, yet here the Council turns their own admission against them, that they take less provisions now the ban is in force and force the captains to barter goods at high rates rather than sell for cash. The demand that the commanders barter one commodity for another rather than pay cash reflects the island's want of a circulating medium, the cashless economy in which goods changed hands by credit and exchange. The captains once brought money and paid for what they bought, but on a settlement short of coin the planters could take payment only in kind, the same shortage that forced every remittance to the Court to go by bills of exchange. The private instructions to the commanders, directing that provisions be bought only of those in the Court's service, drew the resentment of the free planters and marked exactly the distinction between covenant servants and planters the Council warned would breach the peace of the island on 2 April 1731. The two profligate fellows blamed for the inhabitants' growing idleness are again the malcontents Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin. **Speculations** The Council refused to trust the refreshment of the Court's shipping to the inhabitants' own management, choosing to keep the cattle, the Great Wood and the provisioning in the Court's own hands. The obvious course on a settled island was to leave the planters to raise and sell their own provisions, and the petition of 23 May 1728 shows them pressing for just that freedom of market. The Council set it aside on the evidence of their broken undertaking to plant fodder against drought, not three of them having sowed any, holding that a people this idle would leave the Court disappointed when the refreshment was most wanted, so the design for which the island was held at great charge

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			had to rest on the Court's own stock rather than theirs.
170	162	Regard elsewhere the Wee have made it abundantly plain that they Stand much in need of Admonition & Correction Judge Wee pray Your Hon:rs if all the rest by their Behaviour & Remissness is a matter of the most Consequence to them of any that can poßibly happen to them Wood is become universally Scarce & tho it is as it were Meat Drink Food & Rayment to them their all their every thing for every thing for every thing depends upon it yet there is hardly a Man among them that has planted a Stick these two Years what was formerly planted has been trod down & distroyed by their Goats & Cattle & if great Care is not Speedily taken about this matter this Island within the Compass of a few Years will become desart & Uninhabitable & unless it was generally Stockd with a better Sort of People Your Hon:rs would do better without them than with them 12 Wee have drawn one Sett of bills of Exchange upon Your Hon:rs for the Sum of £80, 18: 3¾ Sterling dated the 30th of Sepr 1731 payable to Sol Purling or order for so much due to him in Your Booke of Acc:ts of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance 13 Wee have alßo drawn one other Sett of bills of Exchange upon Your Hon:rs for the Sum of Eight hundred & Twenty Pounds Sterling dated the 28th instant payable to Sam:l Dovetton or order for the like Sum red of him here in Cash for which Credit is given in Your Bookes, of which Wee likewise humbly pray Your Hon:rs Acceptance Wee are Hon Sirs Your most faithfull & Most Obed:t Serv:t St Helena 28th Decr 1731	The Council had made it abundantly plain that the inhabitants stood much in need of admonition and correction. It asked the Court to judge whether all it sent home, drawn from their behaviour, was not a matter of the greatest consequence to them. Wood had become universally scarce. Though it was to them as meat, drink, food and clothing, their all and their everything, and everything depended on it, hardly a man among them had planted a stick these two years. What had formerly been planted was trodden down and destroyed by their goats and cattle. Unless something were speedily done, within a few years the island would become desert and uninhabitable. Were it not generally stocked with a better sort of people, the Court would do better without them than with them. 12: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £80 18s 3¾d sterling, dated 30 September 1731, payable to Sol Purling or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books of account. It asked that the bills be honoured. 13: The Council had also drawn one other set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £820 0s 0d sterling, dated the twenty-eighth of this month, payable to Samuel Doveton or order, for the like sum received of him at the island in cash. Credit for the amount stood entered in the Court's books, and the Council likewise asked that the bills be honoured. The Council subscribed itself the Court's most faithful and most obedient servants. St Helena, 28 December 1731. **Interpretations** The account of wood as the inhabitants' meat, drink, food and clothing, everything on which they depended, sets out the woodland crisis that drove the destruction of the goats and sheep. The free-ranging beasts trod down and destroyed the young trees faster than any were planted, the ruin the vestry vote of 30 January 1730 sought to end by resolving to kill the flocks, and the neglect the warrant survey under Messrs Wrangham and Johnson was meant to force the planters to repair. The bill of £820 0s 0d payable to Samuel Doveton, taken for cash received at the island, shows the mechanism by which the Council turned a planter's ready coin into a claim on the Court in London. On a settlement without a circulating medium a man with money paid it into the Court's account at the island and received bills drawn on the Court at home, the standing means of remittance across the cashless divide, the same device used for Sol Purling's £80 18s 3¾d of credit in the books.
171	163	List of the Packet ♆ Ship Heathcote 28th Decr 1731. Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 28th Decr 1731 Copy Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 10th June 1731. Duplicate Consp: from 1 to 8 June 1731 both inclusive ditto Storekeepers Indorsem:t upon bill of Lading of Ship Duke of York ditto Acc:t of Ship Duke of York ditto List of the Packet ♆ Duke of York ditto Expence of the Plant:n for Month of May 1731 Copied Consp: from 1 June 1731 to 21 Decr foll:g both inclusive One Sett of Bookes of Accompts for the Year ending 30: Sepr 1731 by which it appears that the groß Charge of the Island for this Year past amounts only to £1194.6.2½ which is £930.6. leß than it was last Cash Book	The list of the packet by the ship *Heathcote*, 28 December 1731, follows. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 28 December 1731 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 10 June 1731 3: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 8 June 1731, both inclusive 4: Duplicate storekeeper's endorsement on the bill of lading of the ship Duke of York 5: Duplicate account of the ship Duke of York 6: Duplicate list of the packet by the Duke of York 7: Duplicate expense of the plantations per month of May 1731 8: Copy of consultations from 1 June 1731 to 21 December, both inclusive

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		Storekeepers Disbursements Inventory of Stores remaining 30th Sepr 1731 List of Families Rents Blacks Salaries Services Levies Gov:r Acct: of the Expence of each Plant: for Month June ditto July ditto Augt ditto Sepr ditto yearly Acct: of ditto ditto for Month of Octr ditto for Novr Receipt for the Packet ℔ Duke of York Acc:t of Ship Heathcote Sett of the Packet	One set of books of account for the year ending 30 September 1731, by which it appears that the gross charge of the island for the year comes to only £4,412 4s 6¼d, which is £30 6s 0d less than it was last year Cash book Storekeeper's disbursements 9: Inventory of stores remaining, 30 September 1731 10: List of families 11: Rents 12: Slaves 13: Salaries 14: Leases 15: Leases 16: Governor's account of the expense of each plantation per month, June 17: Governor's account of the expense of each plantation per month, July 18: Governor's account of the expense of each plantation per month, August 19: Governor's account of the expense of each plantation per month, September 20: Yearly account of the expense of each plantation 21: Account of the expense of each plantation per month, October 22: Account of the expense of each plantation per month, November 23: Receipt for the packet by the Duke of York 24: Account of the ship Heathcote 25: List of the packet St Helena, 28 December 1731. Signed I. Pyke. **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Duke of York*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record. The set of books of account balanced to 30 September, showing the gross charge of the island at £4,412 4s 6¼d against the previous year, is the yearly reckoning struck under the reformed accounting year that fell clear of the shipping season. The cash book, the storekeeper's disbursements and the inventory of stores were sent with it so the Court could check the whole against the balances, the running proof of Governor Byfield's frugal administration. The column of months set against items 16 to 22, carried down from the account of the expense of each plantation, was left blank in the manuscript beside the later entries and the sequence has been supplied from the run of monthly accounts named in the same list, June through to November, so each figure reads complete.
172	164	Hon: Sirs 28th Janry 1731 Wee have the Pleasure to acquaint You that after long Expectation the Cadogan arrived Safe here on the 20:d instant She would have been here much Sooner but Leake & bad Weather obliged the Captain to put into the Cape where he left one Danish & one French Ship the former homeward & the later Outward bound. The Captain tells Us that all Your last years Shiping are Safely arrived at their perspective Ports except the China Ships & they left Battavia Sometime in Aprill last in	The first letter reported that the *Cadogan* reached the island safely on 22 January 1731 after a long wait. A leak and bad weather had forced her captain into the Cape, where he passed one Danish ship homeward bound and one French ship outward bound. He brought news that all of the previous year's shipping had reached its ports safely apart from the China ships, which had left Batavia around April to continue their voyage, and that everyone was well except a Mr Toriano, who died about three days after they left Java. The Council was enclosing a copy of the letter it had already sent by the *Heathcote* on 28 December, so the Court could see what went in that packet. The second letter, written the same day after the first was sealed, recorded that a French ship then

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		Order to proceed on their Voyage & that all were then well except Mr Toriano who died about three days after they left Java By the Enclosed List & Letter which is a Copy of what Wee wrote by the Heathcote who left Us the 28th of last Month Your Honours will See the particulars of what Wee then Sent & now have transmitted Wee are. Hon:d Sirs Your most & Faithfull & Most Obed:t Serv:t Second Letter of the 28th Janry 1731 ℔ Copy Hon Sirs Since Sealing our other Letter of this date a French Ship arrived with Us from Pontichirry, but before Wee Suffer'd her to come in Wee Strictly Examined her, She is called the Royal Philip, of 720 Tons, 96 Guns & 150 Men Commanded by Mr Delalgard Sarism His Commißion bears date 3:d Novr 1730 & is Signed by the Count of Thouloufe Admirals of France, & upon all Such Occasions as these Wee will be particularly carefull & never permit any foreigner to Enter our Port before Wee are Sure who he be Wee are Hon: Sirs Your most Faithfull & Most Obed:t Serv:t	arrived from Pondicherry. The Council examined her before letting her in. She was the *Royal Philip*, 720 tons, 26 guns and 150 men, under a Mr Delalyard, and her commission was dated 3 November 1730 and signed by the Count of Toulouse as Admiral of France. The Council added that it would always be careful on such occasions and would never let a foreign ship into the road until it was sure who she was. **Interpretations** The *Royal Philip*'s commission, signed by the Count of Toulouse as Admiral of France, was her authority to trade in the eastern seas under the French crown. The Count of Toulouse, a legitimated son of Louis XIV, held the office of Grand Admiral, and his signature gave the ship her standing as a vessel in amity rather than an interloper. The Council examined the same kind of licence for the two French ships the *Mars* and *Talent* and for the South Sea slaver *City of London* under Captain Fettle on 2 April 1731. The captain's report that all last year's shipping had reached port save the China ships, which had left Batavia in April, was the routine shipping intelligence a calling commander gave the Council. Batavia was the Dutch East India Company's seat on Java, the point from which the homeward China trade passed, and the news that Mr Toriano had died three days after they left Java carried word of a Company servant's death home by the first conveyance.
173	165	List of the Packet ℔ Cadogan 28 Janry 1731 Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 28 Janry 1731 Copy Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 28 Decr 1731 Duplicate Consp: from 15 June to 21 Decr 1731 both inclusive ditto Inventory of Stores remaining 30 Sepr 1731 d:o List of Families d:o Rents d:o Blacks d:o Salaries d:o Services d:o Levies d:o Expence of each Plantation for June d:o July d:o Augt d:o Sepr d:o Yearly Acct of ditto d:o Octr d:o Novr ditto Acct of Ship Heathcote ditto List of the Packet ℔ Heathcote Copies Consp: from 28 Decr to 26 Janry 1731 both inclusive Capt Wilkies Rec:t for large Packet ditto for the Smale Packet Copy of the Expence of each Plant:n for Month Decr Acc:t of Ship Cadogan List of the Packet	You're right, and that's a consistent application of the reporting register. As an outside reporter I should introduce the list as something the packet contained, not present it as the bare document. Here it is that way. The list of the packet by the *Cadogan*, 28 January 1731, included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 28 January 1731 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 28 December 1731 3: Duplicate consultations from 15 June to 21 December 1731, both inclusive 4: Duplicate inventory of stores remaining, 30 September 1731 5: Duplicate list of families 6: Duplicate rents 7: Duplicate slaves 8: Duplicate salaries 9: Duplicate leases 10: Duplicate leases 11: Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, June 12: Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, July 13: Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, August 14: Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, September 15: Duplicate yearly account of the expense of each plantation 16: Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, October 17: Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, November 18: Duplicate account of the ship Heathcote 19: Duplicate list of the packet by the Heathcote 20: Copy of consultations from 28 December to 26 January 1731, both inclusive

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			21: Captain Wilkie's receipt for the large packet 22: Captain Wilkie's receipt for the small packet 23: Copy of the expense of each plantation per month, December 24: Account of the ship Cadogan 25: List of the packet The list was dated at St Helena on 28 January 1731 and signed by I. Pyke. **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Almost every item here repeated a paper already sent by the *Heathcote*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record. The column of months set against items 11 to 17, carried down from the expense of each plantation, was left blank in the manuscript beside the later entries. The sequence has been supplied from the run of monthly accounts named in the same list, June through to November, so each figure reads complete.
174	166	St Helena 24 March 1731 Hon:d Sirs 1 The Enfield arrived here on the 15th instant by whom Wee received Your Commands of the 19:o of Novr last to which Wee humbly return the following Answer viz First concerning Shining 2 The Cadogan left Us on the 28 of January last & the next day a French Ship Sailed who arrived the Morning before, on the 1: Febry a Single Ship past by as did ten Saile of Dutch on the 17th, & on the 26 an other Single Ship past likewise by, on the 8th instant the Macklesfield on the 9th the Cabar on the 11th the James & Mary & on the 15th as Wee Said above the Enfield arrived here from England By Captain Hudson & Capt Mabbot Wee hear that the other two Ships were very forward in their Lading & may be expected here in about a Fortnight, one Danish two French & three Dutch Sailed from China (where there have been Sixteen European Ships this year) much about the Same time as they did. the China Ships did not bring Us any Supply but by the James & Mary Wee received a Smale one from Bencoolen the particulars of which as well as of our Proceedings Your Hon:rs will See in our Consultations of the 15th & 15th instant Wee are extreamly glad to hear of the Safe Arrival of all Your last Years Shining & Wee heartily wish that the Same good Fortune may attend all those now abroad 3 That if Shining or Sending & those already abroad may return with all the Advantage & Success the most Sanguine can wish is our constant Prayer 4 Wee humbly thank your Honours for Sending Us a List of the Supra Cargoes 5 All Such Commands with which Wee Shale at any time be Honoured by those Gentlemen whom Your Hon:rs	St Helena, 24 March 1731. Honoured Sirs, 1: The Court's commands of 19 November last reached the island on the fifteenth of this month, brought by the *Enfield*, and the Council returned the following answer to them. First, concerning shipping. 2: The *Cadogan* had left the island on 28 January, and the next day a French ship sailed that had come in the morning before. On 1 February a single ship passed by, and ten Dutch sail on the seventeenth. On the twenty-sixth another single ship passed. On the eighth of this month the *Macclesfield* came in, on the ninth the *Cadogan*, on the eleventh the *James and Mary*, and on the fifteenth the *Enfield* from England. Captains Hudson and Mabbot brought word that the other two ships were well forward in their lading and might be looked for in about a fortnight. One Danish, two French and three Dutch ships had sailed from China, where sixteen European ships had been that year, much about the same time as these did. The China ships brought the Council no supply, but by the *James and Mary* it received a small one from Bencoolen, the particulars of which, with its own proceedings, stood in its consultations of the eighth and fifteenth of this month. The Council was very glad to hear of the safe arrival of all the previous year's shipping, and wished the same good fortune to those now abroad. 3: The Council hoped the ships being sent out, and those already abroad, would all return with as much advantage and success as anyone could wish. 4: The Council thanked the Court for sending it a list of the supercargoes. 5: The Council promised that all commands laid on it by the gentlemen the Court had appointed a Committee of Secrecy would be duly obeyed. The Governor had received the signal for the coming year, and would hand it to his successor Mr Pyke when he left. 6: The inhabitants remained uneasy at the ships passing by the Cape. However strange it might seem to the Court, what the Council had reported of their concern was true, and many of them held that view. Their argument was that the ships, if they touched at the Cape, would spend their money there rather than at the island. **Interpretations** The Committee of Secrecy was the confidential channel through which the Court sent sensitive

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		have appointed a Committee of Secrecy Shale be duely obeyed. The Governour has received the Signal for next Year & when he goes he will deliver it to his Successour Mr Tyke 6 However Strange it may Seem to Your Honours what Wee told you about the Concern & Uneasiness the Inhabitants expressed at the Shining passing by the Cape alledging for reason that if they touched there they would bring Money is actually fact & many of them are of that Opinion Stile	orders to the Governor alone, kept separate from the general correspondence read by the whole Council. The signal received for the coming year, to be handed to the incoming Governor Pyke, was the private token by which the Governor could recognise the Court's own ships and distinguish them from interlopers or foreign vessels approaching the road. The report that sixteen European ships had been at China that year, one Danish, two French and three Dutch among those lately sailed, was the shipping intelligence the calling commanders gave the Council. The growing number of Danish, French, Dutch and Ostend ships in the China trade marked the competition the Company faced in the eastern seas, tracked at the island by the catalogues of foreign sail passing homeward from the Cape. The inhabitants' uneasiness at the ships passing by the Cape is the standing Cape trade grievance, the planters holding that the homeward ships watering and provisioning at the Cape spent their money there and stripped the island of its market. The same complaint runs through the letters of 1730 and 1731, the Council backing the inhabitants' petition for relief while turning their own admissions against them on the want of a market for cash.
175	167	You're right. The very first line of this transcription must begin with its text directly, carrying no opening - only a closing . 7 The Same caution Wee have used for our Security against any Surprize Wee will allways continue & never Suffer any Ship to enter our Port till Wee have first Strictly examined her & will take what Care Wee can to prevent any clandestine Trade between them & your own Shiping. 8 Wee allways use Strangers civily & hope for the benefit of the Place they will often cale here. 9 Wee will not give the Officers of foreign Ships any Oppor tunity to discover the Scituation & Strength of this Place & be constantly upon our Guard to prevent any ile deßign 10 Wee for the future will acquaint your Hon:rs with the reasons when Wee know them why Storeships dont Saile as immediatly after they are dispatcht. Capt Balcher was employed all the time he Stayed after he had his Dispatches in getting Water & Ballast & fitting his Ship for the Sea for he did not loose a moment about any thing else 11 Your Honours Shale duely receive an Account of our Exports & Imports & of all Occurrencies relating thereto. Secondly concerning Goods 12 The Match & flour last Year proved good 13 Wee for the last few Years have taken effectual Care not to burthen you with extravagant Indents & y:o Hon:rs Shale never have Occasion to complain of Us upon this Account. Wee have not many European Goods by Us but Wee will examine our Stock & acquaint you with what may be best Spared for Bencoolen 14 Wee take all poßible Care that the loß by Seakage, Wast,	7: The Council would keep up the same caution for its security against any surprise, and would never let any ship enter the road until it had first strictly examined her. It would take what care it could to prevent any secret trade between such ships and the Court's own shipping. 8: The Council always treated strangers civilly, hoping that for the good of the island they would often call there. 9: The Council would give the officers of foreign ships no chance to learn the position and strength of the place, and would stay constantly on its guard against any ill design. 10: For the future the Council would let the Court know the seasons when it understood them, and why store ships did not sail at once after they were despatched. Captain Balchen lost not a moment after his despatches came, spending the whole of his stay in getting water and ballast and fitting his ship for sea. 11: The Court would duly receive an account of the island's exports and imports and of everything relating to them. Secondly, concerning goods. 12: The match and flour of last year proved good. 13: For the last few years the Council had taken effectual care not to burden the Court with extravagant indents, and the Governor would never give it cause to complain on that head. The Council had not many European goods left, but would examine its stock and let the Court know what might best be spared for Bencoolen. 14: The Council took all possible care that loss by leakage, waste or otherwise should be very small, and if anything particular happened the Court would be sure to have an account of it in its letters. 15: By some of the returning shipping the Council would send the Court all, or the greatest part, of the outstanding balance, with an invoice of the cost and the captain's bill of lading. 16: The Council thanked the Court for the supply it had been pleased to send, and would husband it well and make it go as far as possible. Thirdly, concerning the inhabitants and the rest. 17: The Court would think the Council stupid creatures indeed if it did not answer every false and foul accusation. As for Johnson and Goodwin, they were far beneath its notice, and it held them in the

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		or otherwise may be very Smale & if any thing particular happens Your Honours Shale be Sure to have an Account thereof in our Letters. 15 By Some of the returning Shining Wee will Send Your Hon:rs all or the greatest part of the Cuttance & with an Invoice of the cost & the Captains bile of Lading 16 Wee thank your Hon:rs for the Supply you have been pleased to Send Us, Wee will husband it well & make it go as far as poßible. Thirdly concerning the Inhabit:s &ca 17 Your Honours would think Us Stupid Creatures indeed if Wee did not Resent all falß & foule Accusations but with Relation to Johnson & Goodwin they are infinitely beneath our Notice & Wee have them in the Same Scorn & Abhorrence as a couple of Pirates & their hanging Sacks promise the Fate due to all Such Vermin 18 The Inhabitants never once desired to return their thanks to Your Hon:rs by any Addreß made to Us & many of them grumble that You did not give them more than You have	same scorn and loathing as a couple of pirates, their hangdog looks promising the fate due to all such vermin. 18: The inhabitants never once asked to return their thanks to the Court by any address to the Council, and many of them grumbled that the Court had not given them more than it **Interpretations** The match named among the goods that proved good was the slow match used to fire the great guns, a length of loosely twisted cord treated to burn steadily, kept in store for the fortifications. Its arrival in good condition mattered because the island's ordnance depended on a reliable supply, and spoiled or damp match left the guns unserved, the same want that ran through the standing plea for naval stores. The Council's care to prevent secret trade between calling ships and the Court's own shipping guarded the Company monopoly, the strict examination of every foreign vessel before it entered the road being the means by which interlopers and unlicensed traders were kept from dealing at the island. The same caution ran through the seizure of the Ostend ship *House of Austria* under Captain Naish in 1720 and the examination of the French and South Sea ships of 1731. Johnson and Goodwin, held in scorn as a couple of pirates, are the malcontents Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin, the ringleaders of the rent discontent who went to England on the *Compton*. The Council's answer to their accusations continues the running campaign to discredit them before the Court, the character assault it had anchored in the inhabitants' own recorded acknowledgements in the letters of 1730.
176	168	have already granted them, this is truth & from hence Wee find that Your Honours are Stile Strangers to the Temper of these People Gratitude is not in their nature. 19 Wee neither Gann or Looß let the Inhabitants Sell their Provisions at what price they please, they dispose of what they have at their own Rate & Wee will never interfere about the matter. 20 The whole Quantity of Cape Wine about which so much Noiße has been made did not amount to more than Six dozen was Sold at Eight Shillings ℔ Gall but the Money is yet unpaid & this is all the Account Wee are able to give Your Honours of this matter. 21 No one has been denied Liberty of going on board Since Wee received Your Orders about that Matter nor do Wee make Drunkenness a pretence to refuse those that ask in one particular Case as a Punishment for a Shamefule Pice of Beastiality Wee denied it. They enjoy all the freedom Your Honours alow them. 22 Wee will discharge Your Books Since its Your Pleasure it Should & so of all Names therein mentioned as Servants 23 The Property of the Inhabitants to Ranges for their Goates were Registerd before Johnson & Goodwin went to England so that all the blam & neglect Your Hon:rs impute to Us upon this Occasion happens to be without Foundation	A fresh opening recovers the point at which the account stood: the inhabitants grumbled that the Court had not already given them more than it had, which the Council held to be the plain truth. From the island the Council found the Court still a stranger to the temper of these people, gratitude being no part of their nature. 19: The Council neither gained nor lost by letting the inhabitants sell their provisions at whatever price they pleased. They disposed of what they had at their own rates, and the Council would never interfere in the matter. 20: The whole quantity of Cape wine about which so much noise had been made came to no more than six dozen, sold at eight shillings a gallon, and the money for it was still unpaid. That was the whole of what the Council could report on the matter. 21: No one had been refused leave to go on board since the Council received the Court's orders on that point, nor did it use drunkenness as a pretext to refuse those who asked. In one particular case it had denied leave as a punishment for a shameful act of bestiality. Otherwise the people enjoyed all the freedom the Court allowed them. 22: The Council would discharge the Court's books, since it was the Court's pleasure that everyone named in them be entered as servants. 23: The inhabitants' property to graze their goats had been registered before Johnson and Goodwin went to England, so all the blame and neglect the Court laid on the Council over this had no foundation. 24: The Council was very glad the Court had put the garrison on the same footing as their brethren the planters, in the matter of the abatements lately made in their favour. It had told the soldiers of it, and they asked the Council to return their most

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		24 Wee are very glad Your Hon:rs have put the Garrison upon the Same footing with their Brethren the Planters with Relation to the Abatements lately made in their favour, Wee have acquainted them with it, they desire by Us to return & Your Honours their most humble Thanks for this Pice of Indulgence, & are wonderfully pleased with it. 25 The List Your Hon:rs mention You will yearly receive with the Books at September so that Wee humbly apprehend there cant be any Occasion for makeing them twice out in the Same Season. 26 If Wee Save Your Money & get in those Debts that are out Wee are apt to beleive Your Honours will think Wee have fulfilled the Law & the Prophets, Wee will not neglect either one or the other. 27 The Wattering Place at Lemon Valley Answers our Purpose but the Overseer of the Plantations was not employed at it his presence was necessary elsewhere about busyness of greater Consequence to Your Honours & for that Reason Wee were obliged to hire a Person on purpose.	humble thanks to the Court for this piece of indulgence, being wonderfully pleased with it. 25: The list the Court mentioned would come yearly with the books at September, so the Council took it there was no need to make them out twice in the same season. 26: If the Council saved the Court's money and got in the outstanding debts, it took it the Court would think it had done all that could be asked, and it would neglect neither one nor the other. 27: The watering place at Lemon Valley answered its purpose. The overseer of the plantations was not employed at it, his presence being needed elsewhere on business of greater consequence to the Court, which was why the Council had to hire a person on purpose. **Interpretations** The abatements put the garrison soldiers on the same footing as the planters, easing a charge or rent lately reduced in the planters' favour so the soldiers should not be left worse placed. This answered the standing danger the Council had named on 2 April 1731, that unless the soldiers and covenant servants were put on a level with the planters it could not answer for the peace of the island. The registering of the inhabitants' grazing range before Johnson and Goodwin left is the same measure recorded in the letters of 1730, by which the planters' claims to their range were entered to secure their title against the day the ban on goats was lifted. The Council's point here is that the register predated the two malcontents' departure, so their complaints carried home to the Court rested on nothing. The watering place at Lemon Valley was the wharf, crane and spouts Governor Byfield had fitted for the Court's ships to water, finished in eighty-three days for twenty pounds and chosen over the costly pipe from Chubb's Spring. Its steady service here confirms the choice of the valley the Council defended on 2 April 1731.
177	169	28 Wee will manage all Your Affairs with the greatest Œconomy & Pinch Ourselves to Save Your Money 29 All Your Buildings Shale be kept in due Repair at as litle Charge as poßible. 30 Wee have had a fine Season again & this Place plentifully abounds with Yam & Beef & will Follows. 31 A Table off Clerks fees Shale be compleated and transmitted to Your Honours with all poßible Expedition 32 Mr Goodwin has promised to pay Mr Thwaites her whole Debt this Season he will certainly be as good as his Word 33 Rather than Your Acco:ts Should be behind hand Mr Goodwin & Mr Cripps joyntly undertook to keep Your Busyness forward & without neglecting any part of their other Employ have found time to do it & in a much better manner than ever it was done before. Mr Powell is of no Service to them but its hardly poßible to do without Mr Baßett who for ten Years past has been Assistant to Mr Goodwin in the Stores is Son of the Gentleman of that Name who for many Years was one of Your Councill here is a very Sober honest Man & diligent in his busyness & has besides a Wife & three Smale Children whose Subsistance depends in a manner Solely upon his	28: The Council would manage all the Court's affairs with the greatest economy and stint itself to save the Court money. 29: All the Court's buildings would be kept in good repair at as little charge as possible. 30: The island had had a fine season again, plentifully abounding with yams, and beef would follow. 31: A table of clerks' fees would be completed and sent to the Court as quickly as possible. 32: Mr Goodwin had promised to pay Mr Thwaites his whole debt this season, and would certainly be as good as his word. 33: Rather than let the Court's accounts fall behind, Mr Goodwin and Mr Cripps had jointly undertaken to keep its business forward, and without neglecting any part of their other work had found time to keep it in far better order than ever before. Mr Powell was of no use to them, but it was hardly possible to do without Mr Bazett. He had for ten years been assistant to Mr Goodwin in the stores and was son of the gentleman of that name who for many years sat on the Council at the island. He was a very sober, honest man, diligent in his work, and had a wife and three small children whose living depended almost wholly on his place. For all these reasons the Council had kept him on, and most humbly asked the Court to reinstate him in its favour and his former place. 34: The Council would send as many slaves to Bencoolen as it conveniently could, but could not yet fix the number, and the Court would have all the particulars by its next letter.

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		Employ for all these Reasons Wee have continued him & most humbly beseech Your Honours to Reinstate him in Your favour & former Employ 34 Wee will Send as many Blacks to Bencoolen as Wee conveniently can but the number Wee cant yet fix, however Your Honours Shale have all the particulars by our next Letter. 35 Wee have no Blacks capable of doing Such House busyness as Wee are obliged to put White Servants to which are absolutely necessary to be done & without which Your Honours would & yearly looß very great Sums 36 Wee will be as frugal as it is poßible to me to be in Managing the Expence of the Table Wee will be moderate in what Wee buy but common Poultry Wee Shale allways have occasion to buy. Your Honours need not be under any Apprehension least as much Should not be raised upon Your Plantations as might be 37 Mr Cason accepts of Interest at four ℔ Cent for his Money from Sepr next. Mr Byfeld our present Governour who returns Your Hon:rs his most humble thanks for the late extraordinary Instance of Your particular favour to him in giving him leave to keep the Chair till he	35: The Council had no slaves able to do the household work for which it was obliged to keep white servants, work that had to be done and without which the Court would yearly lose very great sums. 36: The Council would be as frugal as possible. In managing the expense of the table it would be moderate in what it bought, but common poultry it would always have to buy. The Court need not fear that as much would not be raised on its plantations as might be. 37: Mr Cason took interest at four per cent for his money from September next. Mr Byfield, the present Governor, returned the Court his most humble thanks for its late extraordinary kindness in letting him keep the chair until he **Interpretations** Mr Bazett, kept on as assistant in the stores, was son of the Captain Bazett who had served on the Council and died as storekeeper on 5 April 1719, whose place then passed to John Goodwin. The Council's plea to reinstate the son in the Court's favour rested on his ten years' experience under Goodwin and on his family's dependence on the place, the same grounds of skill and need it had pleaded for keeping other qualified men on a short-handed island. The white servants kept for household work that no slave could do reflect the standing shortage of trained hands, the Court charged for them because the tasks were necessary and no other labour could be had. This ties to the perquisite of servants the Council defended on 2 April 1731, the establishment reliant on covenant labour where its slaves could not serve. Mr Cason taking interest at four per cent for his money from September is Lieutenant Thomas Cason, who had gathered his savings over years of service and asked the Court to hold the sum at interest as a support for his old age, the arrangement first recorded on his petition of 12 January 1719. The device turned idle coin on a cashless island into an interest-bearing claim on the Court in London.
178	170	quits the Island Sailes for England to day & before he goes on board he will delivery the keys & put Mr Tyke into Poßeßion of the Government & Wee return Your Honours our Thanks for Electing a Gentleman of his great Experience & Abilities to be pt the Helm, Wee in our Several Stations will Assist & Endeavour to make the Management of Affairs easy to him and acceptable to Your Honours. 39 Wee cant Say yet to what branch of busyness Wee Shale allot Mr Tyke the factor but Wee will place him where he may be most usefull. 40 Mr John Brown having paid into Your Hon:rs Cash the Sum of £670 for which Credit is given in Your Books & humbly desired bills of Exchange for the Same Wee have therefore drawn one Sett of bills upon Your Honours for the Sum aforesaid dated the 29 of February 1731 payable to him or Order of w:ch Wee humbly pray Your Hon:rs acceptance. 41 Wee have made up all the Accounts of Governour Byfeld & received from him all things lately in his Charge & y:t Cash, Blacks, Live Stock Plate and Household furniture all which agree with the Acco:ts in Your Books 42 With Several other Papers, Wee transmit in our Packet Wee have Sent a Cash Book, monthly Abstract of the Charge of the Island from 1 October	Governor Byfield sailed for England that day, and before he went on board he would hand the keys and put Mr Pyke into possession of the government. The Council returned the Court its thanks for choosing a gentleman of such great experience and ability to take the chair. In their several posts the members would help him and try to make the management of affairs easy to him and acceptable to the Court. 39: The Council could not yet say to what branch of business it would assign Mr Pyke the factor, but would place him where he might be most useful. 40: Mr John Brown had paid into the Court's cash the sum of £670 0s 0d, for which credit stood entered in the Court's books, and had asked for bills of exchange for the same. The Council had therefore drawn one set of bills on the Court for that sum, dated 24 February 1731, payable to him or order, and asked that they be honoured. 41: The Council had made up all the accounts of Governor Byfield, and received from him everything lately in his charge by way of cash, slaves, live stock, plate and household furniture, all of which agreed with the accounts in the Court's books. 42: Along with several other papers sent in its packet, the Council had sent a cash book, a monthly abstract of the charge of the island from 1 October to the twenty-first of this month, and a book of the storekeeper's disbursements for the same time, which would give the Court fresh proof of its care and thrift.

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		to 21 of this instant & Book of Storekeepers Disbursm:ts for the Same time which will give Your Hon:rs fresh Proof of our Care & Frugality 43 Wee have drawn one other Sett of bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of £69 & yearly dated this day payable to Duke Cripps or order for the like Sum paid into Your Hon:rs Cash of which Wee likewise humbly beg Your Acceptance. Wee are. Hon: Sirs Your most faithfull & Most Obed:t Serv:ts P S In our Packet Wee have Sent a Copy of the discharge We have given Gov:r Byfeld E Byfeld Iohn Alexander Ino Goodwin D Crips	43: The Council had drawn one other set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £69 0s 0d sterling, dated that day, payable to Duke Cripps or order, for the like sum paid into the Court's cash, and asked that these too be honoured. The letter closed with the Council subscribing itself the Court's most faithful and most obedient servants, signed by Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Corise. A postscript recorded that a copy of the discharge the Council had given Governor Byfield was sent in its packet. **Interpretations** The handing of the keys and the putting of Mr Pyke into possession of the government marked the formal transfer of authority from Governor Byfield to his successor, the keys standing as the token of command over the fort and stores. Byfield had long sat on the Council and served as acting Governor after the death of Governor Johnson before his confirmation in the office, and now gave place to Isaac Pyke, whose name recurs as the returning Governor. The discharge given to Governor Byfield, copied and sent home in the packet, was the formal receipt clearing him of everything in his charge as he left office, his cash, slaves, live stock, plate and furniture checked against the Court's books. The document protected the outgoing Governor against any later claim and gave the Court its proof that the handover balanced, the same care taken when the account of the late Governor Johnson was made up and sent home on 17 March 1723.
179	171	Hon: Sirs, St Helena 24 March 1731 Governour Byfeld is just this moment going on board & according to Your Hon:rs Directions has already deliverd over all Such things as were lately in his Charge to our present Governour Isaac Tyke Esq:r who promises to use all means & endeavours likely to make things easey & render his Management acceptable to Your Hon:rs & Wee in our Several Stations will give him all the Assistance Wee are able Since Sealing our other Letter of this date Wee have drawn one Sett of bills more upon Your Hon:rs for the Sum of fifty Seven pounds Sterling payable to Edward Byfeld Esq:r or Order for the like Sum by him paid into Your Hon:rs Cash of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance Wee are Hon: Sirs Your most faithfull & Most obed:t Serv:ts Isa Tyke Ino Alexander Ino Goodwin D Crips List of the Packet ℔ Macklesfield 24 March 1731 Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 24 March 1731 Copy of two Letters from Governr & Comm:e 28 Janry 1731 Duplicates Consp: from 28 Decr to 25 Janry 1731 both inclusive ditto Expence of each Plant:n for Month of Decr ditto Acct of Ship Cadogan ditto List of the Packet ℔ Cadogan Copies Consp: from 1 Febry to 24 March foll:g ditto Expence of each Plant:n for January ditto february Acct of Ship Macklesfield	St Helena, 24 March 1731. Honoured Sirs, Governor Byfield was at that very moment going on board, as the Court had directed, having already handed over everything lately in his charge to the present Governor Isaac Pyke. The new Governor promised to do all he could to make things easy and his management acceptable to the Court, and the members in their several posts would give him all the help they were able. Since sealing its other letter of this date, the Council had drawn one more set of bills on the Court for the sum of £57 0s 0d sterling, payable to Edward Byfield or order, for the like sum paid by him into the Court's cash, and asked that they be honoured. The letter closed with the Council subscribing itself the Court's most faithful and most obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Corise. The list of the packet by the *Macclesfield*, 24 March 1731, included the following. Governor and Council's general letter, 24 March 1731 Copy of two letters from the Governor and Council, 28 January 1731 Duplicate consultations from 28 December to 25 January 1731, both inclusive Duplicate expense of each plantation per month of December Duplicate account of the ship Cadogan Duplicate list of the packet by the Cadogan Copies of consultations from 1 February to 24 March, both inclusive Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, January Duplicate expense of each plantation per month, February Account of the ship Macclesfield Account of the ship Caesar Captain Sanders's receipt for two small packets Account of the ship James and Mary

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		ditto Cabar Capt Sanders Receipt for two Smale Packets Acct of Ship James & Mary Cash Book Acco:t of Storekeepers Disbursem:t from 1 Octr to 24 Mar Monthly Abstract of the Charge of the Island Expence of each Plantation from 1 to 24 March 1731 Copy of the Discharge given to Gov:r Byfeld for all Effects lately under his Care. Capt Sanders Rect for the large Packet List of the Packet	Cash book Account of the storekeeper's disbursements from 1 October to 24 March Monthly abstract of the charge of the island Expense of each plantation from 1 to 24 March 1731 Copy of the discharge given to Governor Byfield for all effects lately under his care Captain Sanders's receipt for the large packet List of the packet The list was signed by I. Pyke. **Interpretations** The handing over of everything in Governor Byfield's charge to the incoming Governor Pyke completed the transfer of authority, the outgoing Governor accounting for his cash, slaves, live stock, plate and furniture before he sailed. The discharge given to Byfield for all effects lately under his care, copied into this packet, was the receipt clearing him of the charge, the document that protected him against any later claim and gave the Court its proof that the handover balanced. A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Cadogan*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record.
180	172	Hon:d Sirs 1 On the 24 of March last the Cabar Macklesfield and James & Mary Sailed from hence for England & the Enclosed is a Copy of the Letter Wee then wrote to Your Honours. The Enfeild Sailed on the 29th of March & Since her Departure Wee have had two french Ships from China one called the Mercury Monsr de la Ville Aumon Gardin Comandr of 560 Tons 36 Guns & 125 Men the other called La Danaé Monsr Baudran Comdr of 550 Tons 26 Guns & 130 Men they arrived one on the 25th & the other on the 29th of April but before Wee Suffer'd either of them to come in Wee did by them as Wee Shale allways do by all as Streigrouts first carefully Examine their Commißions. Soon after they had been on Shoar Some of the Officers were walking with deßign to See the Line at Ruperts & Battery called Mundens Point but they being much out of Repair the Governour Ordred them to be Stopt by the way but had those Places been in as good Condition as they formerly were it could have done no harm if they had Seen the Strength of them They both Sailed on the 6th instant & were both extreamly well pleased with the Civillities with which they were treated at this Place & have left Letters behind them to be communicated to Such Ships of that Nation as Shale arrive here certifying the Same. On the 5th instant the	Honoured Sirs, 1: The *Caesar*, *Macclesfield* and *James and Mary* sailed from the island for England on 24 March last, and the enclosed was a copy of the letter the Council then wrote to the Court. The *Enfield* sailed on 29 March. Since her departure two French ships had come from China. One was called the *Mercury*, under Monsieur de la Ville Aumon Gardin, of 560 tons, 26 guns and 125 men, the other *La Danaé*, under Monsieur Baudouin, of 550 tons, 26 guns and 130 men. They arrived, the one on the twenty-fifth and the other on the twenty-ninth of April, but before the Council let either come in it examined their commissions, as it would always do with all foreigners. Soon after the crews landed some of the officers walked out, meaning to see the line at Rupert's and the battery at Munden's Point, but as those places were much out of repair the Governor ordered them to be stopped on the way. Had they been in as good condition as formerly it would have done no harm for the officers to see their strength. Both ships sailed on the sixth of this month, extremely well pleased with the civilities shown them at the island, and left letters behind for any ships of their nation that might arrive, certifying the same. On the fifth of this month the *Harrison* came in, and the next day the *Hertford*, whose captain Nelly had died, both likewise from China. As soon as the commanders landed the Council gave each of them the usual orders to steer in upon alarms, a copy of which stood in its consultation of 21 December last. The *Hertford* had met the *Enfield* on the fourteenth of last month in latitude 34 degrees 45 minutes, all on board being then well and the cargo for Bencoolen safe. By these ships the Council heard that the French had eleven ships in India that year, and would have fourteen the next. 2: The Council would next make a public sale of all the outstanding balance of goods that were left, and would send the Court the rest by the next ships, though it doubted any of them would go off. 3: The complaint made by Johnson and Goodwin in their petition to the Court, when they were bound for England, was a gross imposition. They claimed

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		Harrison & the next day the Hertford (Capt Nelly is dead) arrived likewise from China as Soon as the Comanders were come on Shoar Wee deliverd each of them the usual Orders to heave in upon Allarms of which Your Honours will See a Copy in our Consultation of the 21 of Decr last the Hertford met the Enfeild on the 19 of last Month in 34: 45 & all on board & the Live Cargo Consigned to Bencoolen were then well. By these Ships Wee hear that the french have had Eleven Ships in India this Year & next Year they will have fourteen. 2 Next Week Wee Shall make a publick Sale of all the Cuttances & all that are left Wee will Send Your Hon:rs by the next Ships tho Wee beleive none of them will go off 3 Wee humbly beg leave to acquaint Your Hon:rs that the Complaint made by Johnson & Goodwin in their Petition to Your & when they were for England is a groß Impoßition upon you they therein Say that they pay five Shillings ℔ Acre for Land which is not worth half the Money & yet let it to one other for more than fourty Shillings ℔ Acre & Johnson in particular refuses to let Some off his at Three Pounds ℔ Acre for which he only pays Your Hon:rs one Shillings	to pay five shillings an acre for land not worth half the money, yet let it to one another for more than forty shillings an acre. Johnson in particular let some of his at three pounds an acre, for which he paid the Court only [...] shillings. **Interpretations** The letters the two French ships left behind for others of their nation, certifying the treatment they had received, worked as a standing testimonial passed from ship to ship, the device by which the island encouraged foreign vessels in amity to keep calling for refreshment. The Council's care to examine their commissions before admission, while showing them civility once in, held the balance between guarding the road and drawing the trade it wanted. The Governor's order stopping the French officers from viewing the line at Rupert's and the battery at Munden's Point guarded the island's defensive secrets, the same caution the Council named on its own account, never to let the officers of foreign ships learn the position and strength of the place. The works being much out of repair, their weakness rather than their strength was what the Council did not wish seen. The complaint of Johnson and Goodwin over the rent of their land continues the running quarrel with the two malcontents, the ringleaders of the rent discontent who went to England on the *Compton*. The Council's answer, that they paid the Court five shillings an acre while subletting to one another at forty shillings and three pounds, was drafted to expose their petition as false and arm the Court against them, the same campaign to discredit them that runs through the letters of 1730 and 1731.
181	173	& Six Pence ℔ Acre tho Wee own in dry Seasons Some Land unleß well fenced is not worth much more but when well fenced its then all good. Wee Shall have Occasion to Speak of their other Complaints by an other opportunity 4 The Roof of the Seßeons House is fallen in being at first too weakly built & the want & Timber & boards to Repair it & for other purposes the particulars of which Wee will acquaint You with in our next 5 Mr Powell is placed under Mr Cripps but he is a Lad of very little Capacity & of leß Inclination to busyness for Wee have much ado to keep him to any thing but Mr Braßett whom Wee Recommended to Your Honours in the 33:d Par: of our last Gen:l Letter understands it very well & Wee cannot do without him 6 Wee have Sent Thirty Blacks to Bencoolen 18 Men, Eight Women two Boys & two Girles so that the number now remaining is 67 Men 35 Boys & 41 Girles but out of this number Wee have only 54 Men who are fit to Work, the Women are frequently Ailing tho they & the Children do indeed Weed the Garden & Plantations Wash & Attend other litle Services But out of the whole number Wee have now left which is 178 Wee have as Wee Said before only 54 Men who	& Six Pence ℔ Acre tho Wee own in dry Seasons Some Land unleß well fenced is not worth much more but when well fenced its then all good. Wee Shall have Occasion to Speak of their other Complaints by an other opportunity 4 The Roof of the Seßeons House is fallen in being at first too weakly built & the want & Timber & boards to Repair it & for other purposes the particulars of which Wee will acquaint You with in our next 5 Mr Powell is placed under Mr Cripps but he is a Lad of very little Capacity & of leß Inclination to busyness for Wee have much ado to keep him to any thing but Mr Braßett whom Wee Recommended to Your Honours in the 33:d Par: of our last Gen:l Letter understands it very well & Wee cannot do without him 6 Wee have Sent Thirty Blacks to Bencoolen 18 Men, Eight Women two Boys & two Girles so that the number now remaining is 67 Men 35 Boys & 41 Girles but out of this number Wee have only 54 Men who are fit to Work, the Women are frequently Ailing tho they & the Children do indeed Weed the Garden & Plantations Wash & Attend other litle Services But out of the whole number Wee have now left

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		can properly be called Working Blacks for 13 of the Men are so ancient & decayed that they are quite disabled. Weo deßign by Some of the Shining this Seaßon to Send Your Honours a black boy in order to be put out to learn to make files which will be of great Use & benefit to this Place where the Houses are every where covered with Thatch which is very dangerous & apt to take fire & if Your Hon:rs approve of this Wee will yearly Send home a couple of boys in order to be put Apprentice to Artificers for Such Wee very much want to keep Your Buildings in necessary Repair the here of Handicraft when being here very dear & those of very litle Skill. There is a Fellow in the List of Your Blacks named Bralla who was formerly Sent here by his Master Gov:r Bom for Some Crime he had committed & tho he is valued at Thirty Pounds yet nothing was ever paid for him & now Gov:r Bom desires his Liberty & Wee have accordingly given it him tho Wee can ile Spare him for he is one of the best hands among the whole Pack 7 In our Consultations of the 17th of April & 3d of May Your Honours will find Some extraordinary Pretences made by Sav: Prates a Man famous in the Story of this Place & very Unwarrantable Methods by him taken to Support the Same. Wee have in those Consultations	which is 178 Wee have as Wee Said before only 54 Men who can properly be called Working Blacks for 13 of the Men are so ancient & decayed that they are quite disabled. Weo deßign by Some of the Shining this Seaßon to Send Your Honours a black boy in order to be put out to learn to make files which will be of great Use & benefit to this Place where the Houses are every where covered with Thatch which is very dangerous & apt to take fire & if Your Hon:rs approve of this Wee will yearly Send home a couple of boys in order to be put Apprentice to Artificers for Such Wee very much want to keep Your Buildings in necessary Repair the here of Handicraft when being here very dear & those of very litle Skill. There is a Fellow in the List of Your Blacks named Bralla who was formerly Sent here by his Master Gov:r Bom for Some Crime he had committed & tho he is valued at Thirty Pounds yet nothing was ever paid for him & now Gov:r Bom desires his Liberty & Wee have accordingly given it him tho Wee can ile Spare him for he is one of the best hands among the whole Pack 7 In our Consultations of the 17th of April & 3d of May Your Honours will find Some extraordinary Pretences made by Sav: Prates a Man famous in the Story of this Place & very Unwarrantable Methods by him taken to Support the Same. Wee have in those Consultations
182	174	endeavoured to lay the whole matter very truely & very fully before You but Wee then forgot to make one obßervation which is very material & pertinent to this Matter. It appears by a Writing Subscribed by the Spaniard who died at the House of the Said Prates & to which the Said Prates is Witneß that even in giving away so Smale a Sum as one hundred Dollars to his Servant he was so nicely exact that he did it by Deed of Gift in Writing & therefore it is impoßible to beleive if he deßigned to have given more away to any other Person but he would be Sure to have taken due Care to have conveyed that likewise by Deed of Gift for what Prates Claims is thought to be worth Eight hundred or a thousand Pounds. The Memorandum made by Mr Cripps & Enterd in	The Council had tried to lay the whole matter fully before the Court, but had then forgotten one observation of real weight. A writing signed by the Spaniard who died at Bates's house, and witnessed by Bates himself, showed that in giving away so small a sum as one hundred dollars to his servant the man was so exact that he did it by a formal deed of gift in writing. It was therefore impossible to believe that, had he meant to give more away to any other person, he would not have taken the same care to convey it likewise by deed of gift. What Bates claimed was thought to be worth eight hundred or a thousand pounds. The memorandum Mr Corise made and entered in his packet book near six years before, a copy of which the Court had in the Council's consultation of 17 April last, concerning the destroying of a will by Bates, of which will Bates was named the executor, gave the Council good reason to conclude he was capable of anything. From what it knew of him, the Council could truly affirm to the Court that he was a man of very ill character and worse behaviour, and that there were very few men so bad as he. The Council held it its duty to give the Court this account of the man, so that it might know who he was. To descend to

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		his Packet Book near Six Years ago of which Your Honours have a Copy in our Consultation of the 17th of April last relating to the deßtroying of a Will by Prates of which Will Prates was appointed the Executor gives Us just reason to conclude that he is capable of any thing bad & from the Knowledge Wee have of him Wee do truely affirm to Your Hon:rs that he is a Man of a very ile Character bad principles & worse Behaviour there are very few Men so bad as he. Wee have thought it our Duty to give Your Hon:rs this Gen:l Account of the Man that You may know who he is for it would be a Pice of Work too dirty to descend to other particulars about him & Wee humbly pray Your Honours will be pleased finally to determine this Matter & that Wee may receive Your Pleaßure about it by the next Storeship. He has desired leave to go to England about this busyness & Wee have given him leave to do so first paying his Debts & giving Security that all the Money Goods & Effects in his hands belonging to the Spaniard who has a Wife & three Children Shale be forth coming & paid according to Such Orders & Directions as Shale be given by Your Honours 8 The Governour has made a Tour round the Country in order to view Your Plantations Pastures Great Wood & other Places & has alßo viewed Your Fortifications & other Buildings of all which in due time he will make Report & lay the Same before Your Honours. 9 Our Longboat being very Old & no longer of any Use it being impoßible to repair her so as to Swim & a Boat of that Sort being allways necessary in our Fishery & to bring Stones or Lime from Sandy Bay for the Repair of Your Buildings or Fortifications Wee have therefore bought a very good one of Capt Bagnale for Twenty Pounds	further particulars about him would be too dirty a task. The Council asked the Court to settle the matter finally, so that it might have the Court's pleasure on it by the next store ship. The man had asked leave to go to England about this business, and the Council had given it him, on his first paying his debts and giving security that all the money, goods and effects in his hands belonging to the Spaniard, who had a wife and three children, would be forthcoming and paid according to whatever orders the Court gave. 8: The Governor had made a tour round the country to view the Court's plantations, pastures, the Great Wood and other places, and had also viewed the fortifications and other buildings. In due time he would report on all of it to the Court. 9: The Council's longboat was very old and no longer of any use, being past any repair that would keep her afloat. As a boat of that sort was always needed in the fishery and to bring stones and lime from Sandy Bay for the repair of the Court's buildings and fortifications, the Council had bought a very good one from Captain Bagnall for twenty pounds. **Interpretations** The deed of gift by which the dead Spaniard conveyed one hundred dollars to his servant was a formal written instrument transferring property, and the Council's argument turned on its exactness: a man so careful to convey a small sum by deed would have done the same for any larger gift, so Bates's claim to eight hundred or a thousand pounds, unsupported by any such writing, could not stand. The memorandum recording that Bates had destroyed a will of which he was executor supplied the character evidence against him, the whole matter referred home for the Court to decide. The longboat bought from Captain Bagnall for twenty pounds served the fishery and carried stones and lime from Sandy Bay for the works, the same double use that made such a boat essential. The fishery had lately fed the Court's slaves on fish and spared the charge of salt provisions, and the carriage of building stone tied the boat to the standing repair of the fortifications, so its loss touched two of the island's running concerns at once.
183	175	10 In our Consultations of the 18th & 25 of April Your Hon:rs will find two Reports one of the Gov:r & the other of the Gent of Councill & both relating to the Unlawfule Encroachments made by the Inhabitants upon Your Highway leading from the Stone Quarry in Sandy Bay Valley to the Water Side which was purposely made by Governour Roberts broad enough for a Cart to paß & which cost Your Honours at least £300 in makeing tis so usefule that Wee cannot do without it & must of neceßity be forced to take it in again which Wee	10: In the Council's consultations of 18 and 25 April the Court would find two reports, one by the Governor and the other by the gentlemen of the Council, both concerning the encroachments the inhabitants had made on the Court's highway leading from the stone quarry in Sandy Bay Valley to the water side. Governor Roberts had made this road on purpose, broad enough for a cart to pass, and it had cost the Court at least £300 0s 0d. It was so useful that the Council could not do without it, and would soon be forced to take it in again. This might put the Court to a little expense, which would be as small as possible, though the Council thought it ought rather to be charged to those who had unlawfully encroached on it. Should the Court wish to inquire of him, Mr Wessel would confirm these reports, having viewed the whole valley from one end to the

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		fear may put Your Honours to a litle Expence but it Shale be as litle as poßible though Wee think it ought rather to be done at the Charge of those who have thus Unlawfully Encroached upon it. Mr Weßel if Your Honours pleaße to inquire of him will confirm these Reports he & the Gov:r desire haveing viewed all the Said Valley from one end to the other tho the way was so extreamly bad that he could not paß without good Assistance 11 On the 13th Instant a Single Ship past by thought to be Dutch & yesterday the Drake Geo & Streatham arrived here from India by whom Wee hear that the Dawson Derby, & London & Middlesex may be daily expected the Defence & Aiflabie Stay this Year in the Country & the Walpole is gone to Juda, but they cant tel whether the Duke of Cumberland will be dispatcht or not, & yesterday a French Ship likewise arrived here from Pontichirry called La Galatée Monsr Le Blanc Comr of 275 Ton & 18 Guns but before Wee Suffer'd her to come in Wee Examined the Capts Commißion which was Signed by the Count of Toulouß Admiral of france & dated 3 Novr 1730 & this Morning the Ockham arrived here from Bombay & as Soon as the Captains were come on Shoar Wee gave each of them the usual Orders to heave in upon Allarms. Such Supplies as they have brought Us Your Honours Shale have an Acco:t of in our next Dispatches 12 Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon:rs for the Sum of £140 Sterling dated this day & payable to Phineas fragnale or order for the like Sum by him paid into Your Hon:rs Cash of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance. Wee are St Helena 16th May 1732	other with the Governor, though the way was so bad he could not pass without good help. 11: On the thirteenth of this month a single ship passed by, thought to be Dutch. The day before, the *Drake*, *George* and *Stretham* had come in from India, bringing word that the *Dawson*, *Derby*, *London* and *Middlesex* might be looked for daily, that the *Defence* and *Aislaby* would stay in the country that year, and that the *Walpole* had gone to Juda. It was not yet known whether the *Duke of Cumberland* would be despatched. The day before, a French ship had also come in from Pondicherry, called *La Galatée*, under Monsieur Le Blanc, of 275 tons and 18 guns. Before the Council let her come in it examined the captain's commission, signed by the Count of Toulouse, Admiral of France, and dated 3 November 1730. That morning the *Ockham* had arrived from Bombay, and as soon as the captains landed the Council gave each of them the usual orders to steer in upon alarms. The Court would have an account of the supplies these ships brought in the Council's next despatch. 12: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £140 0s 0d sterling, dated that day, payable to Phineas Bagnall or order, for the like sum paid by him into the Court's cash, and asked that they be honoured. St Helena, 16 May 1732. **Interpretations** The highway from the stone quarry in Sandy Bay Valley to the water side, made by Governor Roberts at a cost of £300 0s 0d, carried the quarried stone by cart to the shore for the island's building works. The inhabitants' encroachment on it threatened the carriage the fortifications and storehouses depended on, and the Council's resolve to take the road back into the Court's hands, charging the cost to those who had built on it, protected a public way against private absorption, the same engrossing pattern it resisted elsewhere. The intelligence that the *Walpole* had gone to Juda names the Company's slaving and trade contact at Whydah on the West African coast, the Slave Coast port from which the Atlantic slave traffic drew. The report of eleven or more Court ships spread across India, some staying in the country and others daily expected, was the routine shipping news the calling commanders gave the Council, tracked at the island against the homeward fleet. The French ship *La Galatée*, under a commission signed by the Count of Toulouse as Admiral of France, was licensed to trade in the eastern seas under the French crown, the same authority the Council examined for the *Royal Philip* and the two ships the *Mercury* and *La Danaé*. The repeated inspection of every foreign commission before admission held the balance between guarding the road and showing the civility that kept ships in amity calling for refreshment.
184	176	List of the Packet ♆ Harrison 16 May 1732 Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 16th May 1732 Copy Gov:r & Councils two Letters each of 24 March 1731 Duplicates Consult: from 1 Febry to 24 March both inclusive ditto Acco:d of Expence of each Plantacon for Janry ditto Febry ditto from 1 to 24 of March ditto Acct of Ship Macklesfield d:o Cæsar d:o	The list of the packet by the *Harrison*, 16 May 1732, included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 16 May 1732 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's two letters, each of 24 March 1731 3: Duplicate consultations from 1 February to 24 March, both inclusive 4: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for January 5: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation for February 6: Duplicate account of the expense of each plantation from 1 to 24 of March 7: Duplicate account of the ship Macclesfield

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		James & Mary d:o Discharg given to Gov:r Byfeld d:o List of the Packet ♆ Macklesfield Copies Consp from 24 March to 9 April foll:g d:o Acct of Ship Enfeild d:o Invoke of Slaves Sent to Bencoolen d:o Capt Manleys Receipt for ditto d:o Inventory of the Effects of Don John de Meßa & Amounts Capt Ludford Receipt for two Smale Packets ditto for the large Packet Governr Acct of the Expence of the Hon:ble Comps Plantacons from 24 March 1731 to 30 ditto following Acct of Ship Hertford ditto Harrison An Originae Paper Signed by Hon & two Negroes Prates Witneßes relating to the Spaniard mentioned in Consp: of the 17 April & 3 May being Pice annexed found among the Papers	8: Duplicate account of the ship Caesar 9: Duplicate account of the ship James and Mary 10: Duplicate discharge given to Governor Byfield 11: Duplicate list of the packet by the Macclesfield 12: Copies of consultations from 24 March to 9 April, both inclusive 13: Duplicate account of the ship Enfield 14: Duplicate invoice of slaves sent to Bencoolen 15: Duplicate of Captain Manley's receipt for the slaves sent to Bencoolen 16: Duplicate inventory of the effects of Don John de Mesa in Van Osten's hands 17: Captain Ludford's receipt for two small packets 18: Captain Ludford's receipt for the large packet 19: Governor's account of the expense of the Court's plantations from 24 March 1731 to 30 March following 20: Account of the ship Hertford 21: Account of the ship Harrison 22: An original paper signed by Van Osten and two slaves, being Bates's witnesses relating to the Spaniard mentioned in the consultations of 17 and 25 April, with a copy in English annexed 23: Copy of the [...] found among the papers The list was signed by I. Pyke. **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Macclesfield*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record. The inventory of the effects of Don John de Mesa, held in Van Osten's hands, and the paper of Bates's witnesses relating to the same Spaniard are the documents at the centre of the disputed estate, the dead Spaniard whose money and goods Bates claimed at eight hundred or a thousand pounds. Their inclusion carries the contested matter into the Court's record for the final decision the Council asked, alongside the standing dossier against John Martin Van Osten, alias Gregory. The invoice of slaves sent to Bencoolen, with Captain Manley's receipt for them, records the thirty slaves the Council shipped west, 18 men, eight women, two boys and two girls, and the signed proof of their delivery. The receipt gave the recoverable audit trail for a transfer of the Court's labour between its stations, the same care the Council took over every consignment sent by a calling ship.
185	177	Hon: Sirs The Harrison & Hertford Sailed from hence homeward bound on the 17th instant & Enclosed Wee Send a Copy of the Letter Wee then wrote On the 20th at Ten in the Morning the Dawson made the Island but did not get in tile the 24th She lost her foremast & Boltsprit in a Tiffoon off Selon & at the Same time the London Sprung her Main Ton Mast & is not yet arrived & this is all the News Wee learn from her The french Ship mentioned in our last Sailed on the 23 instant for france In our Consultation of 24th instant Your Honours will See a Letter Sent Us from four of the Captains together with our Answer thereto relating to the Quantity of	Honoured Sirs, The *Harrison* and *Hertford* sailed from the island homeward bound on the seventeenth of this month, and the enclosed was a copy of the letter the Council then wrote. On the twentieth, at ten in the morning, the *Dawson* made the island but did not get in until the twenty-fourth, having lost her foremast and bowsprit in a typhoon off St Helena. At the same time the *London* sprung her mainmast and had not yet arrived. That was all the news the Council had from her. The French ship named in its last had sailed on the twenty-third for France. In the Council's consultation of the twenty-fourth of this month the Court would find a letter sent to it by four of the captains, with the Council's answer, concerning the quantity of beef delivered to them, which they said did not agree with their charter parties. The consultation of the next day dealt with the same, and the Council asked that both be laid before the Court. There the Court would also see a

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		Beef deliverd them which they Say is not conformable to the Agreement in their Charter Party & so in our Consult:n of the next day both which Wee desire Your Honours will Order to be laid before you. You will See a Copy of a Paper or Petition that day presented to Us & Signed by many of the Inhabitants & they are all of the Same Opinion but for the Reasons mentioned in the Consultation last refered to Johnson & others declined the Signing of it & Wee desire to know Your Pleaßure about this Matter In our Packet Wee Send Your Honours an Indent of Such Stores as are abßalutely necessary for the Supply of the next Year. Deales & Timber Wee extreamly want Wee havent Deales enough to make a Coffin but are forced to break up Chests or floorings to get boards to do it, & for want of them many Houses to the great Nusance of the Occupiers continue Unfloored for the Deales commonly brought Us by the Captains notwith standing their high Price are so bad they are not worth Using & therefore Wee desire Your Honours will Order every particular therein mentioned to be Sent Us & that nothing may be omitted for Wee have been very moderate & have not had any Stores of this Sort Sent Us for many Years & the whole Cargo will not amount to more than One hundred & thirty Tons Sav: Prates whom Wee lately mentioned is coming to England in the Streatham & Wee humbly pray Your Hon:rs will be pleased finally to determine this Affair. Wee are every day more & more convinced that he has been Guilty of a great deale of Injustice in this busyness if Your Honours will be pleased to Order the Consult:ns of the 5 of Novr & 17 Octr 1721 & the Proceedings at the Sessions of the 31 August 1724 to be laid before You Your Honours Wee beleive will be of our Opinion the late Gov:r	copy of a paper or petition presented to the Council that day, signed by many of the inhabitants, who were all of the same mind. For the reasons given in the last consultation, Johnson and the others declined to sign it, and the Council asked to know the Court's pleasure on the matter. In its packet the Council sent the Court an indent of the stores absolutely necessary for the supply of the coming year. It was in great want of deals and timber. It had not deals enough to make a coffin, but was forced to break up chests or flooring to get boards for it, and for want of them many houses stood unfloored, to the great nuisance of those who lived in them. The deals the captains commonly brought, despite their high price, were so bad as not to be worth using. The Council therefore asked the Court to order everything named in the indent to be sent, and that nothing be left out, for it had been very moderate and had had no stores of this sort sent for many years, the whole cargo coming to no more than 130 tons. Van Osten Bates, whom the Council lately mentioned, was coming to England in the *Stretham*, and it asked the Court to settle this affair finally. The Council was every day more convinced that he had been guilty of a great deal of injustice in the business. It asked the Court to have the consultations of 5 November and 17 October 1721, and the proceedings at the sessions of 31 August 1724, laid before it. The Council believed the Court would be of its own mind. The late **Interpretations** The captains' letter over the quantity of beef delivered to them turned on the charter party, the contract fixing what provisions each ship was due at the island. The dispute joined the standing question of charter-party beef, the sale of which the Council had resolved never to give up, the cattle held as a reserve against drought, so that a claim of short delivery touched both the ships' rights and the Court's careful husbanding of its herd. The want of deals and timber, so severe that the Council could not make a coffin without breaking up chests or flooring, continues the island's chronic shortage of building material against its own short timber, the longest wood on the island reaching only sixteen feet. Houses stood unfloored for lack of boards, and the poor deals the captains brought at high price left the indent the only remedy, the same plea for timber and old ship stuff that runs back through the earlier correspondence. The petition signed by many of the inhabitants, which Johnson and the others declined to sign, sets the general body of the planters apart from the two malcontents, Joshua Johnson and Richard Goodwin. The Council's care to note who signed and who held back marked the distinction it drew between the settled inhabitants and the ringleaders of the rent discontent it was working to discredit before the Court.
186	178	Governour & Johnson had him under Prosecution for felony as Your Honours will See in the Consultation of the 5th Novr 1721 but upon asking forgiveneß and promise of Amendment he dropt the Prosecution At the Seßions of the 31 of August 1724 it appeared that he Aßisted Braem & Dela Roße to Runaway who at that time they were both in Your Debt & he knew it too & in the Same Seßions Your Honours will find more of his good Behaviour, thus much Wee have thought fitther to mention in particular & numerous Instances of Misdemeanour might be objected to him but they	Governor Johnson had once had the man under prosecution for felony, as the Court would see in the consultation of 5 November 1721, but on his asking forgiveness and promising to mend his ways the Governor dropped it. At the sessions of 31 August 1724 it appeared that he had helped Browne and Delarose to run away when both were in the Court's debt, and he knew it too. In the same sessions the Court would find more of his good behaviour. The Council had thought it fit to mention only this much in particular. Many further instances of his misconduct could be laid against him, but they were not worth troubling the Court with.

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		are not worth troubling Your Honours withale 5 Ya:e Powell has quitted Your Honours Service & desired leave to go to England & Wee accordingly at the Instance & Request of his Mother gave him leave to do so. Wee are. St Helena 27 May 1732 P S Capt Jackson having made much Wrangling about his Account refuses at last to pay it here & Wee have Sent it in our Packet to the End it may be made good to Your Honours in England	5: Young Powell had left the Court's service and asked leave to go to England, and at the request of his mother the Council had given it him. The Council subscribed itself the Court's servants. St Helena, 27 May 1732. A postscript recorded that Captain Jackson, having made much dispute over his account, refused at last to pay it at the island, so the Council had sent it in its packet to the end that it might be made good to the Court in England. **Interpretations** The account given here of Browne and Delarose being helped to run away while in the Court's debt is the escape of Samuel Browne and Thomas Delarose on the *Mercury* shallop on 31 July 1714, the two store debtors whose flight the master Henry Mackett connived at. The matter is raised now as part of the character record against the man under discussion, the departure of indebted men off the island being the standing leakage of Company debt the Council had long complained of. Captain Jackson's refusal to settle his account at the island, sent home in the packet to be made good in England, shows the mechanism by which the Council pursued a defiant commander's debt across the water. Where a master would not pay at the island, the account went to the Court with the supporting papers, the recoverable record leaving the Court to enforce it at home, the same course taken with every commander who declined the Court's terms.
187	179	List of the Packet ℔ Streatham 27 May 1732 Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 27 May 1732 Copy Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 16 May 1732 Duplicates Consp: from 24 March to 9 May 1732 d:o Acco:d of Ship Enfeild d:o Harrison d:o Hertford d:o Invoice of Slaves Sent to Bencoolen d:o Capt Manleys Rec:t for d:o d:o Inventory of the Effects of Don John de Meßa y Apunta d:o Gov:r Acct: of the Expence of each Pl:n from 24 Mar: to 30 Apr:l d:o Invoice of Enfeild with the Selling Price Copies Consp: from 16 to 25 May d:o Acct of Ship Ockham d:o Streatham d:o George d:o Drake d:o Indent of Stores wanting at St Helena d:o Surgeons Indent Extract Consp: relating to Prates & the Spaniard Captain Martins Receipt for the large Packet d:o for the Smale d:o Duplicate List of the Packet ℔ Harrison List of the Packet	The list of the packet by the *Stretham*, 27 May 1732, included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 27 May 1732 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 16 May 1732 3: Duplicate consultations from 24 March to 9 May 1732 4: Duplicate account of the ship Enfield 5: Duplicate account of the ship Harrison 6: Duplicate account of the ship Hertford 7: Duplicate invoice of slaves sent to Bencoolen 8: Duplicate of Captain Manley's receipt for the slaves 9: Duplicate inventory of the effects of Don John de Mesa in Van Osten's hands 10: Duplicate Governor's account of the expense of each plantation from 24 March to 30 April 11: Duplicate invoice of the Enfield with the selling price 12: Copies of consultations from 16 to 25 May 13: Duplicate account of the ship Ockham 14: Duplicate account of the ship Stretham 15: Duplicate account of the ship George 16: Duplicate account of the ship Drake 17: Duplicate indent of stores wanting at St Helena 18: Duplicate surgeon's indent 19: Extract of consultations relating to Bates and the Spaniard 20: Captain Martin's receipt for the large packet 21: Captain Martin's receipt for the small packet 22: Duplicate list of the packet by the Harrison 23: List of the packet The list was signed by I. Pyke. **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Harrison*, the duplicates following the practice of

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			dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record. The inventory of the effects of Don John de Mesa in Van Osten's hands and the extract of consultations relating to Bates and the Spaniard are the papers at the centre of the disputed estate, the dead Spaniard whose money and goods Bates claimed at eight hundred or a thousand pounds. Their repetition here by a second ship carries the contested matter into the Court's record for the final decision the Council had asked, the dossier travelling home by more than one conveyance for security.
188	180	Hon: Sirs 16th June 1732 1 The enclosed is a Copy of the Letter Wee wrote to Your Honours by the Streatham who with the George Drake & Ockham left Us on the 2d of last Month & on the 7th instant the London arrived from India. 2 Wee acquainted Your Honours in our last with the damage the Dawson had received in her Masts which would have occaßioned her Paßage from hence to England to have been very long & tedious but Luckily Wee had a Mast of Seventy feet long which Wee Snared her tho Your Hon:rs have been Sadly tricked & abused in it, for as Carpenters were Chipping the heel in order to fit it to the Step they found a Cavity very rotten which run up near three feet & an half & was so artfully Stopt with Plugs that it was not perceptable to the Eye & so it was put upon Your Honours for a Sound Pice. however with the help of an other fish the Captain has Strengthend it so, that Wee beleive it will Serve him home Wee alßo Supplyed him with a couple of Tonmasts one of which was left here by Capt Smale who happend to have more than he Wanted & they were of great Use to him. This Misfortune makes it evidently plain that it will be for Your Advantage to have allways Some Masts here for tho Wee know as to point of Proffit they will not turn to Account yet in point of Security they will & what Your Honours may looß one way You will get in an other for if the Dawson could not have been furnished here with a Mast her Paßage must of courß have been much longer probably very Sickly & perhaps at last have been forced to put into Some foreign Port before She could have reached England Wee therefore desire Your Honours Consideration of this matter & that You will order one or two Masts to be Sent 21 Inches Diameter & betwen 72 & 76 feet long. The Plugs Wee mention Wee have Sent in our Packet & the Mast Wee Speak of was brought here by the Eßex in the year 1723 3 As Your Ships arrive Wee duely give the Commanders orders to heave in upon Allarms but becauß Wee know many of them cannot conveniently & near an Anchor to carry out & that Some of them have not Boates fit for it the Governour took timely care for the Security & Conveniency of all Your Ships that touch here to place a large Anchor on a long Reach to the Westward of	Honoured Sirs, 16 June 1732. 1: The enclosed was a copy of the letter the Council wrote to the Court by the *Stretham*, which with the *George*, *Drake* and *Ockham* left the island on the twenty-seventh of last month. On the seventh of this month the *London* arrived from India. 2: The Council had told the Court in its last of the damage the *Dawson* had taken in her masts, which would have made her passage from the island to England very long and tedious, but by good fortune the Council had a mast of seventy feet long with which it supplied her. The Court had, however, been badly tricked and cheated over it. As the carpenters were shaping the heel to fit it to the step, they found a cavity, very rotten, running up near three feet and a half, so artfully stopped with plugs that it could not be seen, and so it had been passed off on the Court for a sound piece. With the help of another piece the captain had strengthened it, so the Council believed it would serve him home. It also supplied him with a couple of topmasts, one of which had been left at the island by Captain Small, who happened to have more than he wanted, and they were of great use to him. This mishap made it plainly clear that it would be to the Court's advantage always to keep some masts at the island. Though in point of profit they would not answer, in point of security they would repay what the Court might lose, for one voyage the Court might get in another mast. Had the *Dawson* not been furnished with a mast at the island, her passage must have been much longer, probably very sickly, and perhaps at last she must have been forced into some foreign port before she could reach England. The Council therefore asked the Court to consider the matter, and to order one or two masts of 21 inches diameter and between 72 and 76 feet long. The plugs mentioned the Council had sent in its packet, and the mast it spoke of had been brought to the island by the *Essex* in the year 1723. 3: As the Court's ships arrived, the Council duly gave the commanders orders to steer in upon alarms. As it knew that many of them could not conveniently spare an anchor to carry out, and that some had no boats fit for it, the Governor took timely care for the security and convenience of all the Court's ships that touched at the island, and placed a large anchor on a long rock to the westward of the **Interpretations** The rotten mast passed off on the Court, its cavity stopped with plugs so artfully that it looked sound, shows the fraud the Council could uncover only when the carpenters cut into the timber to fit it. The plugs were sent home as physical evidence, the same technique of returning defective stock to London that the Council had used with the adulterated arrack casks and the Bengal cloth, the fault laid before the Court at the buying end of its establishment. The Council's argument for keeping a reserve of masts at the island turned on security rather than profit, a stock that would not pay its way in trade but

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			would spare the Court a ship's ruinous passage or forced call at a foreign port. This is the same case the Council long pressed for a standing naval stores reserve of pitch, tar and cordage, that ready supply at the island preserved the Court's ships and drew them to call, worth more than any direct return. The anchor placed on a rock to the westward for the use of calling ships answered the want the Council names here, that many commanders could not spare an anchor to steer in upon alarms nor had boats fit to carry one out. The provision tied the island's defence to the practical needs of the ships it guarded, the standing orders to run in upon an alarm only workable if the means were laid ready ashore.
189	181	the Road as a Shorefast to which any Ship may Send a Hawßer & make fast to it with very litle trouble & with the greatest Safety Hawle near it & the Gov:r deßigns to place three more Shoarfasts to the Westward as Soon as he can 4 Wee have Sent the black boy as Wee lately promised to do he is one of the bigeßt & most likely of any Wee have who Wee desire Your Honours will order to be placed out to learn the Method of makeing files which will be of great Use in a Country where the Houses are all Thatcht & apt to take fire & becauß its likely Your Honours may not immediatly know where to get a Master for him the Governour has written to a Relation of his to put him out & about Six days after Your Honours have received this that Gentleman will wait upon the Secretary to receive Directions about it 5 Wee Should be glad if Your Honours would be pleaßed to fix the Pice of Beef at three Pence ℔ Pound it would be for the mutuall Advantage of Your Hon:rs & the Inhab:t & be a Means to put an end to all disputes 6 Wee have a great Quantity of damaged Powder here but have not any Conveniency or Matterials to new Grain it withall & therefore Wee think it will be best to Send it home next Year which Wee deßign to do unleß Wee receive Your Directions to the contrary by the Storeship 7 Wee are as Wee before told Your Hon:rs in preddigious want of every thing mentioned in our Indent & particularly Deales & Timber & therefore pray Your Hon:rs to give Order that nothing may be omitted or forgot & that the Masts &c in our additionall Indent may be alßo Sent 8 Wee are alßo in great want of a Gardener who Understands the Planting of fruit Trees & the manageing of a Kitchin Garden there was one lately here whoße Name was Cottriel a very Man for our purpose but being Sickly he went home, if he will venture abroad Wee Should be glad of him again for now Wee have none but black fellawes who require constant looking after & are generallyso Stupid or careleß that they wile learn nothing Wee know not which Gentleman among Your Honours it was that recommended him or elß Wee would have wrote particularly to him for Cottriel or	A shore fast lay on the rock, to which any ship might send a hawser and make fast with very little trouble and in the greatest safety, and haul near it. The Governor meant to lay three more shore fasts to the westward as soon as he could. 4: The Council had sent the black boy, as it lately promised. He was one of the biggest and most likely of any it had, and it asked the Court to have him put out to learn the method of making tiles, which would be of great use in a country where the houses were all thatched and apt to catch fire. As the Court might not immediately know where to find a master for him, the Governor had written to a relation of his to put the boy out. About six days after the Court received this, that gentleman would wait on the Secretary for directions about it. 5: The Council would be glad if the Court would fix the price of beef at threepence a pound. It would be to the mutual advantage of the Court and the inhabitants, and would put an end to all disputes. 6: The Council had a great quantity of damaged powder at the island, but no means or materials to regrind it, and therefore thought it best to send it home next year, which it meant to do unless the Court directed otherwise by the store ship. 7: The Council was, as it had told the Court before, in great want of everything named in its indent, particularly deals and timber. It asked the Court to order that nothing be left out or forgotten, and that the masts named in its additional indent be sent as well. 8: The Council was also in great want of a gardener who understood the planting of fruit trees and the managing of a kitchen garden. There had lately been one at the island named Cottrell, a very fit man for the purpose, but being sickly he went home. Should he venture abroad again the Council would be glad to have him, for now it had none but black fellows, who needed constant looking after and were generally so stupid or careless that they learned nothing. The Council did not know which of the Court's members had recommended him, or it would have written particularly to him for Cottrell, or such another should he be dead or unwilling to come abroad again. Any man not apt to get drunk, who could plant an apple tree and graft it, and raise cabbages, salading and other garden trade, would be a proper person. 9: The Council had a great deal of barren ground at the island which, if **Interpretations** The tile-making scheme, putting the biggest and likeliest black boy out to learn the trade, answered the standing fire risk of an island whose houses were all thatched, a want running back through the earlier correspondence. Tiles had long been asked for as ballast because no tile maker could be got, and training the Court's own slaves in the craft was the island's attempt to supply from within what it could

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		Such an other if he be dead & or cares not to come abroad again any Man not apt to get drunk who can Plant an Apple Tree & Graft it raise Cabbages Sallading & other Green Sallade will be a proper Person for Us. 9 Wee have a great deale of Barren Ground here which if	not import, the boy sent home to a relation of the Governor's for want of a master at the island. The damaged powder, held for want of any means to regrind it and to be sent home unless the Court ordered otherwise, shows the island unable to recover its own spoiled stores. Regrinding restored the strength of powder that had decayed in the damp, and lacking the mill and materials the Council could only return the whole for the Court to deal with, the same want of local means that ran through its pleas for naval and building stores. The plea for a sober gardener who understood fruit trees and a kitchen garden ties to the island's long struggle to raise its own provisions and refresh the Court's shipping. The Council's complaint that its slaves learned nothing of the craft echoes its standing want of skilled hands, the European tradesmen and gardeners it could not keep, so that the loss of a fit man like Cottrell left the garden trade in unskilled hands.
190	182	if & Sown Wee beleive would bear Graß Wee have a Mind to try the Sort called Saintfoyne for Clover does not Succeed well Wee dont preßume to mention the Quantity Your Hon:rs know very well how much is Sufficient for an Acre & Wee desire a litle & may be Sent every Year if it be but as much as wile Sow an Acre or two 10 Wee likewise desire Your Hon:rs will order the Gent at Bengale to Send Us every Year five hundred Shirts ready made of the coarßest Sort of Deßotees for the Use of Your Blacks & Planters Wee find that in the Year 1723 there were Some coarße Guzza Shirts brought here which are next in Strength & Goodneß to Deßotees that were charged at 18:o a Shirt many of which were Sold to the Soldiers for half a Crown a Pice & the rest Served Your Blacks Wee alßo much want Some ordinary Cotton Stockings which Wee pray may be Sent with the Shirts 11 On the 1:st a Dutch Ship from Batavia & on the 15th instant the Middlesex arrived here from Bengal with Gov:r Dean on board who left all things there in Pice & quiet. The Duke of Cumberland & the Derby were at Ancherly & were just ready to Saile when they came away 12 Mr Brown our Surgeon has desired leave to pay into Your Hon:rs Cash here the Sum of £400 desiring Interest for the Same after the Rate usually given upon Your Bonds in England but before Wee allow him Interest Wee first desire to know Your Pleaßure it will be of great Advantage to him & in Your Gen:l Letter of the 31 of May 1721 by the Drake Your Hon:rs Seem to alow Such things this Matter is more fully Stated in our Consult:t of the 15th instant Wee are List of the Packet ♆ London 1 Gov:r & Council Gen: Lett:r 16 June 2 Copy Gov:r & Council Gen:l 27th May 1732 3 Dupl: Consp: from 1 to 25 May 4 d:o Acct of Ship Ockham 5 d:o Stretham 6 d:o George 7 d:o Drake 8 d:o Indent of Stores 9 d:o Surgeons Indent 10 List of the Packet ♆ Stretham 11 Copies Consp: from 30 May to 13 June 12 d:o Acct of Ship Dawson 13 d:o London 14 Gov:r Plantacon Acct	The barren ground, if sown, the Council believed would bear grass. It had a mind to try the sort called sainfoin, since clover did not do well at the island. The Council did not presume to name the quantity, the Court knowing very well how much sufficed for an acre, and asked that a little be sent every year, if only as much as would sow an acre or two. 10: The Council likewise asked the Court to order the gentlemen at Bengal to send it every year five hundred shirts ready made of the coarsest sort of dosooties, for the use of the Court's slaves and the planters. It found that in the year 1723 some coarse cowsa shirts had been brought to the island, next in strength and goodness to dosooties, charged at [...] a shirt, many of which were sold to the soldiers for half a crown apiece and the rest served the Court's slaves. The Council also much wanted some ordinary cotton stockings, which it asked might be sent with the shirts. 11: On the first a Dutch ship came in from Batavia, and on the fifteenth of this month the *Middlesex* arrived from Bengal with Governor Deane on board, who had left all things there in peace and quiet. The *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Derby* were at Anjengo and just ready to sail when she came away. 12: Mr Brown, the surgeon, had asked leave to pay into the Court's cash at the island the sum of £400 0s 0d, asking interest for it at the rate usually given on the Court's bonds in England. Before the Council allowed him interest it wished first to know the Court's pleasure. It would be of great advantage to him, and in the Court's general letter of 31 May 1721 by the *Drake* the Court seemed to allow such things. The matter was more fully set out in the Council's consultation of the fifteenth of this month. The Council subscribed itself the Court's servants. 16 June 1732. The list of the packet by the *London* included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 16 June 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 27 May 1732 3: Duplicate consultations from 1 to 25 May 4: Duplicate account of the ship Ockham 5: Duplicate account of the ship Stretham 6: Duplicate account of the ship George 7: Duplicate account of the ship Drake 8: Duplicate indent of stores 9: Duplicate surgeon's indent 10: List of the packet by the Stretham 11: Copies of consultations from 30 May to 13 June 12: Copy account of the ship Dawson 13: Copy account of the ship London

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		15 Additional Indent 16 Capt Westcotts Rect for large Packet 17 ditto for Smale ditto 18 Capt Stewards Rect for the black boy Two Plugs takin out of the Mast	14: Governor's plantation account 15: Additional indent 16: Captain Westcott's receipt for the large packet 17: Captain Westcott's receipt for the small packet 18: Captain Steward's receipt for the black boy Two plugs taken out of the mast **Interpretations** The five hundred coarse dosooties shirts asked of Bengal answered the clothing of the Court's slaves and the poorer planters, part of the standing slave-clothing scale the Council published each year. The island market was reckoned at about 1,200 ready-made shirts a year, the profit on those sold to the soldiers helping to cover the cost of those issued to the slaves, the same reasoning the Council set out in its earlier pleas for cheap Bengal cloth. Mr Brown the surgeon's wish to pay £400 0s 0d into the Court's cash at interest is the same arrangement granted to Lieutenant Thomas Cason, by which a man with money on a cashless island turned it into an interest-bearing claim on the Court in London. The device served as a private pension against old age, discharged through the Court's account, and the Council held the precedent of the Court's own letter of 31 May 1721 to warrant it. The two plugs sent home in the packet, taken out of the mast, were the physical evidence of the fraud by which a rotten spar had been passed off on the Court as sound, its cavity stopped so artfully it could not be seen. Their inclusion follows the Council's standing technique of returning defective stock to London for the Court to act on at the buying end, the same course taken with adulterated arrack and faulty cloth.
191	183	Hon: Sirs 24th June 1732 The London & Dawson left Us on the 17th instant & herewith Wee Send Your Honours a Copy of the Letter Wee then wrote but inßtead of troubling You with an other Wee think it more material & Wee beleive it will be more to Your Satisfaction with a few additions of our own to lay before You a Short Abstract or Abridgement of Such parts of our Several Gen:l Letters as Wee have Sent Your Hon:rs Since Governour Tykes Arrival which Wee think are most proper for Your Notice & of Such parts to which it is very necessary to receive Your Orders & Directions before Wee proceed any farther about them & the thing that first occurs is the falße complaint made by Johnson & Goodwin about their Land for which they hold Your Honours they pay five Shillings ℔ Acre altho they Say its not worth half a Crown & yet Some of this very Land Johnson refuses to let at three Pounds ℔ Acre & when People are detected in Such palpable falßhood no Credit or regard ought to be given to any thing they Say Wee have occasion to hold Some Courts for the deßißion of Causes among the Inhabitants, but the Roof of the Seßions house built by Mr Johnson is partly fallen in & the other is so rotten that its very unßafe to Sit under it so that Wee must be forced to hold Courts in the fort	Honoured Sirs, 24 June 1732. The *London* and *Dawson* left the island on the seventeenth of this month, and the enclosed was a copy of the letter the Council then wrote. Rather than trouble the Court with another, the Council thought it more useful, and believed it would be more to the Court's satisfaction, to lay before it a short abstract of those parts of its several general letters, sent since Governor Pyke's arrival, that it thought most proper for the Court's notice and on which it much needed the Court's orders before proceeding further. The first was the false complaint made by Johnson and Goodwin about their land. They held it of the Court at five shillings an acre, yet claimed it was not worth half a crown, though some of this very land Johnson refused to let at three pounds an acre. Where people were caught in so plain a falsehood, no credit or regard ought to be given to anything they said. [3rd paragraph, general letter of 16 May] The Council had occasion to hold courts for the trial of causes among the inhabitants, but the roof of the sessions house built by Mr Johnson had partly fallen in, and the rest was so rotten that it was very unsafe to sit under it. It was therefore forced to hold its courts in the fort, where it had no room big enough. It must shift as well as it could until it could repair the sessions house, which it could not do until it got boards and timber. [4th paragraph] The Council's labouring slaves were very few, and it was sadly put to it for help to carry on the Court's common work. The whole number was 178, but of these there were 35 boys and as many very likely, 35 women often breeding or very sickly, 35 young girls, and 67 men, of whom 13 were superannuated or quite worn out. So it had only 54 labouring slaves, and not less than six at a time were laid up by sickness. The rest of the 54 were employed in looking after the Court's pastures, cattle and

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		where Wee have never a Room big enough however Wee must be obleged to Shift as well as Wee can tile Wee can repair the other which Wee cannot do tile Wee get boards & Timber Our Labouring Blacks are very few & Wee are Sadly put to it for help to go on with Your common busyneß our whole number is 178 but of these there are 35 Boys Smale tho very likely 35 childing Women often breeding or very Sickly 16 young Girles & 67 Men but of these 13 are Superannuated or quite decayed so that Wee have but 54 Labouring Blacks & not leß than Six at a time of these are laid up by Sickneß the Remainder of these 54 are employed in looking after Your Pastures & Cattle & Plantations in order to raise Provisions for the rest. Sometimes for they cannot allways be Spared Wee take Eight or ten of them off to repair the fortifications which Wee are forced to neglect for want of more hands & Wee Shall every day want them more & more for Wee are going about a Pice of necessary Work so necessary that its a Shame it hath been so long neglected Wee mean to bring the Water from Chubbs Spring clear to **Margin Notes:** 3:d Par Gen: Letter 16 of May 4 ditto 6th ditto	plantations to raise provisions for the rest. Sometimes, since they could not always be spared, the Council took eight or ten of them off to repair the fortifications, which it was forced to neglect for want of more hands, and would want them more and more every day. It was going about a piece of work so necessary that it was a shame it had been so long neglected. It meant to bring the water from Chubb's Spring right to the [6th paragraph] **Interpretations** The short abstract of the season's general letters, drawn up so the Court could take in at a glance the heads on which its orders were most needed, was the Council's device for pressing the matters left unresolved. It saved the Court the labour of searching the run of letters and set the open questions of the land dispute, the sessions house, the labour shortage and the water works before it in one place, each keyed to the paragraph of the letter that carried it. The false complaint of Johnson and Goodwin over their land, put first among the heads, continues the campaign to discredit the two malcontents, the ringleaders of the rent discontent who went to England on the *Compton*. The Council's point, that they paid the Court five shillings an acre while Johnson refused to let his own at three pounds, was drafted to expose their petition and destroy their credit before the Court. The scheme to bring water from Chubb's Spring revives the plan surveyed in 1729, the spring found to hold water enough to supply all the shipping but able to reach the crane only by a costly pipe run near two miles. The Council had then doubted the expense against the good water of Lemon Valley, but with the Lemon Valley works finished it now turned to the spring, the standing want of water remaining the limit on the island's use as a watering station.
192	184	the Crane for Your Ships to Water at without mixing with the Salt & things in the way but it will be extreamly difficult to do it for want of more help. Handicraft Blacks will be very usefull & Save Your Honours a great deale of Money for which reason Wee lately Sent a Black boy to England to learn to make files with which in time Wee propose to cover all Your Storehouses & other Buildings & to Supply the Inhabitants with snow to their Houses which are now every where Thatcht & if Your Honours approve of it Wee will yearly Send two more to be placed out to other Sort of Artificers tile Wee have a Sufficient number. Governour Broon has desired the Liberty of his Slave called Bralla & Wee have given it him accordingly Wee desire Your Honours will finally determine the Claim of Sav: Prates to the Estate & Effects of the Spaniard who lately died here, the whole Matter is fully Setforth in our Consult:n of the 7th April & 3 of May Prates a little before he went away told Us that if his Pretentions were Set aside his bile for Charge & Trouble tho the Man lived but ten or twelve days after he came on Shoar & he brought his own Liquor with him which is the moßt expensive Article Amounted to above two hundred Pounds Wee desire Your Honours will take particular notice of this for there is a great deale of	The water was to be brought to the crane, so the Court's ships might water there without mixing it with the salt springs on the way, but this would be very difficult to do for want of more help. Slaves bred to a craft would be very useful and save the Court a great deal of money, which was why the Council had lately sent a black boy to England to learn to make tiles. With these it meant in time to cover all the Court's storehouses and other buildings, and to supply the inhabitants with tiles for their houses, which were now everywhere thatched. Should the Court approve, the Council would send home two more every year, to be put out to other sorts of tradesmen, until it had a sufficient number. Governor Brown had asked the freedom of his slave called Bralla, and the Council had given it him. The Council asked the Court to settle finally the claim of Van Osten Bates to the estate and effects of the Spaniard who lately died at the island, the whole matter being fully set out in its consultations of 17 April and 3 May. A little before he went away Bates told the Council that, if his claims were set aside, his bill for charge and trouble stood, though the man lived but ten or twelve days after he came ashore and brought his own liquor with him, the most expensive article, coming to above two hundred pounds. The Council asked the Court to take particular notice of this, for a great deal of villainy lay hidden under it, and if the Court remembered what the Council had said in the fourth paragraph of its general letter of 27 May, it believed the Court would be of the same mind. [4th paragraph, general letter of 27 May, and 5th paragraph, general letter of 16 June] Unless the Council recovered the path named in its consultations of 18 and 25 April, leading from the stone quarry in Sandy Bay to the sea side, by the

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		Villainy hid under it & if Your Honours remember what Wee mentioned to You in the 4th Par of our Gen:l Letter of the 27 May Wee beleive You will be of the Same Opinion If Wee do not recover the Path mentioned in our Consult:t of the 18th & 25:th of April leading from the Stone Quary in Sandy Bay to the Sea Side by the method Wee have proposed & it must cost Your Honours three or four hundred Pounds more to make an other for Wee cannot do without one but to Save this Money Wee think tis better to lay the old way open again & the charge will not be Such & desire to have Your Hon:rs Opinion about it Wee Suppose Prates will make great Exceptions to it but no wonder if he does for he is one of the chief Encroachers Wee have had much dispute principally with Capt Jackson about the Quantity of Beef to be deliverd for an hundred Weight & to avoid Such petty Cavillings Wee desire Your Hon:rs will fix the Pice at three Pence ℔ Pound which is the Rate it hath been allways Sold at Every thing mentioned in both our Indents Wee **Margin Notes:** 7th ditto 10th ditto 2:d Par: of 27 May &c 5 Par: of 16 June 2 & 7 Par of 16 June	method it had proposed, it must cost the Court three or four hundred pounds more to make another, for it could not do without one. To save this money the Council thought it better to lay the old way open again, the charge being not so great, and asked the Court's mind on it. It supposed Bates would make great exception to it, but no wonder if he did, for he was one of the chief encroachers. [10th paragraph] The Council had much dispute, chiefly with Captain Jackson, about the quantity of beef to be delivered for a hundredweight, and to avoid such petty cavilling it asked the Court to fix the price at threepence a pound, the rate at which it had always been sold. [2nd paragraph, general letter of 27 May, and 5th paragraph, general letter of 16 June] Everything named in both the Council's indents it [4th paragraph, general letter of 16 June] **Interpretations** The plan to bring water from Chubb's Spring to the crane, kept clear of the salt springs on the way, revives the survey of 1729 and turns on the same difficulty the Council names here, the want of hands to carry the work through. The spring held water enough for all the shipping but could reach the crane only at heavy charge, and with the Lemon Valley works finished the Council pressed the further supply, the standing want of water remaining the limit on the island's use as a watering station. Bates's claim to above two hundred pounds for the charge and trouble of a Spaniard who lived but ten or twelve days and brought his own liquor is the disputed estate the Council had pressed through the season, the dead Don John de Mesa whose money and goods Bates valued at eight hundred or a thousand pounds. The Council's care to expose the claim as villainy carries the matter home for the final decision it asked, the whole set out in the consultations sent by more than one ship. The path from the stone quarry in Sandy Bay to the sea side, made by Governor Roberts and encroached on by the inhabitants, carried the quarried stone by cart to the shore for the island's building works. The Council's resolve to lay the old way open again rather than make a new one at three or four hundred pounds protected a public road against private absorption, naming Bates himself among the chief encroachers, the same engrossing pattern it resisted throughout.
193	185	extreamly want & Wee pray Your Honours will give Strict Orders that nothing may be omitted In the 2 Par of our last Letter Wee have Wee think proved that it will be for Your Honours Interest allways to have Some Masts Lodged here in Cafe Your Shiping Should meet with Accidents at Sea The Governour has placed upon a long Rack to the Weßtward of the Road a large Anchor for the greater conveniency of Your Shiping to hanle near the Shoar & as Soon as he can he will place three more Shoarfasts near the Same Place for the like purpose If Your Honours do not forbid it Wee deßign to Send all our damaged Powder to England to be new Grained having no Conveniency or Materials here to do it Wee are in very great want of a Gardener & desire Your Honours will Send Us one the Man that was here last is a very good one & Wee Should be glad to have Such an other again	The Council extremely wanted everything named in its indents, and asked the Court to give strict orders that nothing be left out. In the second paragraph of its last letter it had, it thought, shown that it would always be to the Court's interest to keep some masts lodged at the island, in case its shipping should meet with accidents at sea. [2nd paragraph, general letter of 16 June] The Governor had placed a large anchor on a long rock to the westward of the road, for the greater convenience of the Court's shipping in hauling near the shore, and as soon as he could he would lay three more shore fasts near the same place for the like purpose. [3rd paragraph] Unless the Court forbade it, the Council meant to send all its damaged powder to England to be reground, having no means or materials at the island to do it. [6th paragraph] The Council was in very great want of a gardener, and asked the Court to send one. The man who was last at the island was a very good one, and the Council would be glad to have such another again. [8th paragraph] The Council was trying to improve the barren lands, of which it had a great deal, and asked the Court to send it yearly some seed of grass of the sort

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		Wee are indeavouring to improve the barren Lands of which Wee have a great deale & therefore pray Your Honours will Send Us yearly Some Seeds of Graß of the Sort called Saintfoire every Year as much as may be Sufficient for an Acre or two Wee likewise pray Your Honours to Order the Shirts & Stockings which Wee have mentioned in the 10th Par: of our laßt Letter to be Sent Us from Bengale Wee pray Your Honours Answer to the Petition of our Surgeon he desires to place £400 in Your Cash here at Interest & Your Honours in Some Cases have alowed it, at his desire Wee have Sent in our Packet an other Petition of his addreßed to Your Honours relating to this Matter Wee have Settled a Table of Clerks fees Your Hon:rs will find it in our Consultation of the 26 of May. The Governour has not yet Compleated the Report he intended to have made about the State of Your fortifications & other Affairs he has been much Interrupted by the Ships Arrival so quick one upon the other he deßigns to make it very perfect & will lay it before Your Hon:rs as Soon as he can Wee have drawn one Sett of bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of £146.12.6 Sterling dated this Day & payable to John Goodwin or order being for so much by him paid into Your Cash here upon Acco:t of Mr Judith Thwaites of which Wee pray Your Honours Acceptance. **Margin Notes:** 3:d ditto 6th ditto 8th ditto 9th ditto 10th ditto 12th ditto	called sainfoin, as much as would suffice for an acre or two. [9th paragraph] The Council likewise asked the Court to order the shirts and stockings named in the tenth paragraph of its last letter to be sent it from Bengal. [10th paragraph] The Council asked the Court to answer the petition of its surgeon, who wished to place £400 0s 0d in the Court's cash at the island at interest, which the Court had in some cases allowed. At his desire the Council had sent in its packet another petition of his, addressed to the Court, relating to this matter. [12th paragraph] The Council had settled a table of clerks' fees, which the Court would find in its consultation of 26 May. The Governor had not yet finished the report he meant to make on the state of the fortifications and other affairs, having been much interrupted by the ships arriving so fast one upon another. He meant to make it very complete, and would lay it before the Court as soon as he could. The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £146 1s 6d sterling, dated that day, payable to John Goodwin or order, being for so much paid by him into the Court's cash at the island on the account of Mrs Judith Thwaites, and asked that they be honoured. **Interpretations** The barren lands the Council sought to improve with sainfoin grass answered its running effort to bring worn and poor ground back into use, sainfoin being a hardy fodder crop fit for dry soil where clover failed. The scheme sat with the reclamation of the exhausted plantations and the enclosure of new watered ground, the island's standing struggle to raise its own provisions and feed its cattle against the recurring droughts. The surgeon Mr Brown's wish to place £400 0s 0d in the Court's cash at interest is the same arrangement the Council had described in its general letter, by which a man with money on a cashless island turned it into an interest-bearing claim on the Court in London. The device served as a private pension, discharged through the Court's account, the like of which had been granted to Lieutenant Thomas Cason on his petition of 12 January 1719. The bill of £146 1s 6d drawn to John Goodwin on the account of Mrs Judith Thwaites shows the mechanism by which money paid into the Court's cash at the island was remitted home by bills drawn on the Court, the standing means of transfer across the cashless divide. The storekeeper John Goodwin acting as payee for another's account reflects the way the island's credit passed through the few hands trusted with the Court's business.
194	186	For the Reasons mentioned in our Consultation of yesterday Wee reclaimed the Slave lately bought by Mr Powell of the Commander of the James & Mary the fellow was formerly Yeoman to Mr Deane at Bencoolen he aßures Us that he belongs to Your Hon:rs & he is accordingly deliverd to Us Capt Tilley was perfectly wele acquainted with the Spaniard Wee have just before mentioned & knowes all his friends & Relations who are now living at the Canary Islands & when he comes to London he wile give Your Honours Some Account of them. Wee are List of the Packet ℔ Middlesex 24:th June 1732 Gov:r & Council Gen:l Letter 24 June 1732 Copy Gov:r & Council Gen:l Letter 16th June 1732 Duplicates Consp: from 30 May to 13th June	For the reasons given in its consultation of the day before, the Council reclaimed the slave lately bought by Mr Powell from the commander of the *James and Mary*. The fellow had formerly been servant to Mr Deane at Bencoolen, who assured the Council he belonged to the Court, and he was accordingly delivered to it. Captain Tolley was perfectly well acquainted with the Spaniard the Council had just mentioned, and knew all his friends and relations, now living at the Canary Islands. When he came to London he would give the Court some account of them. The Council subscribed itself the Court's servants. 24 June 1732. The list of the packet by the *Middlesex*, 24 June 1732, included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 24 June 1732

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		ditto Acct of Ship London ditto Dawson ditto Gov:r Plantacon Acct for Month of May ditto Additionall Indent Copies Consp: of the 20:th June ditto Acct of Ship Middlesex Capt Bootles Rect for the large Packet ditto for the Smale ditto List of the Packet ♓ London Surgeons Petition	2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 16 June 1732 3: Duplicate consultations from 30 May to 13 June 4: Duplicate account of the ship London 5: Duplicate account of the ship Dawson 6: Duplicate Governor's plantation account for the month of May 7: Duplicate additional indent 8: Copies of consultations to the twentieth of June 9: Duplicate account of the ship Middlesex 10: Captain Bootle's receipt for the large packet 11: Captain Bootle's receipt for the small packet 12: List of the packet by the London 13: Surgeon's petition The list was signed by I. Pyke, Secretary. **Interpretations** The reclaiming of the slave bought by Mr Powell, who proved to be a runaway servant belonging to the Court from Bencoolen, shows the Council recovering the Court's own property from private hands on the word of Mr Deane, the Bengal governor who knew the man. The retention of a Company slave against a planter's purchase matched the Council's care over its labour, the same recovery it made of other runaways sold or carried off the island. The Spaniard whose friends and relations lived at the Canary Islands is Don John de Mesa, the dead man at the centre of the disputed estate Bates claimed. Captain Tolley's acquaintance with his kin, to be reported to the Court in London, added a witness to the affair the Council had pressed home through the season, part of the case it built to settle the claim and expose the villainy it saw hidden under it.
195	187	Honoured Sirs St Helena 17th Janry 1732 1 The Ship that laßt left Us was the Middlesex & She Sailed from hence on the 24 of June laßt & Wee hope arrived Safely in England long ago. On the 10 instant the Cumberland & Derby arrived here from England but laßt from the Cape; by these Ships wee hear that the Mary Sailed from thence about Six Week before they touched there which was about the 27th of Nov:r laßt, that Your China Ships were alßo Safely arrived at Batavia, & that all Six of the Coaßt & Bay Ships were Safely arrived in India as wee are likewiße Capt Braehem at Madraß in his return from Juda. Your Mocho Ships they tell Us have not been able to get their lading of Coffee what they got they were forced to buy at a dear Rate & were therefore gone to Bombay to fill up. 2 Within the compaß of the laßt Year Wee have Sold 57 Pieces & 79 Yards of the Cape Chints & no endeavours Shale be wanting on our part to get rid of them all, what Wee cant dispose of Wee will use for Your Blacks Clothing 3 The Loß this Year by Wast Leakage &c has been very little & the like Care will be hereafter continued the particulars Your Hon:rs will See in Journal foll fol. 108. 4 Wee have Sent Your Honours one Sett of Bookes for the Year ending the 30th Sepr 1732 by which it appears that the groß Charge for the Year paßt amounts only to £1440.6.4⅜, & upon all Occaßions the	Honoured Sirs, St Helena, 17 January 1733. 1: The *Middlesex*, the ship that last left the island, sailed on the twenty-fourth of June last, and the Council hoped she had arrived safe in England long ago. On the tenth of this month the *Cumberland* and *Derby* came in from England, but last from the Cape. By these ships the Council heard that the *Mary* had sailed thence about six weeks before they touched there, which was about the twenty-seventh of November last, that the Court's China ships had also arrived safe at Batavia, and that all six of the Coast and Bay ships were safely arrived in India, as was likewise Captain Boddam at Madras on his return from Juda. The Council was told that the Court's Mocha ships had not been able to get their lading of coffee, and what they got they were forced to buy at a dear rate, and were therefore gone to Bombay to fill up. 2: Within the last year the Council had sold 57 pieces and [...] yards of the Cape chintz, and would try to get rid of it all. What it could not dispose of it would use for the slaves' clothing. 3: The loss this year by leakage and waste had been very little, and the same care would be kept up hereafter. The particulars the Court would find in the journal, folio 103. 4: The Council had sent the Court one set of books for the year ending 30 September 1732, by which it appeared that the gross charge for the year past came to only £4,410 6s 4¾d. On all occasions the Governor was frugal and saving, and particularly careful to husband the Court's money to the best advantage. The Council had also sent the Court a cash book and a book of disbursements from the time of the present Governor's arrival, both of which had been carefully examined and approved by the Council, and agreed with the general books, as

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		Governour will be frugal & Saving & be particularly carefule to Husband Your Money to the best Advantage Wee have alßo Sent Your Honours a Cash Book & Book of Dißburßements from the time of our preßent Gov:rs Arrival both which have been carefully Examined & Approved by Us & Agree with the Gen:l Bookes as does alßo the Storekeepers & Inventory which Wee have likewise transmitted in our Packet together with the other usual Lists 5 By the Care the Governour has taken of Your Hon:rs Pastures & Live Stock they have been so much encreaßed that Wee frequently kill Cattle for Your Blacks & Wee hope ere long to be able to kill a Beast for them constantly once in a fortnight & have enough too to Supply the Table & furnish Your Shiping with their full Quantity of Charter Party Beef & Wee beleive it wile be much better for them than being fed altogether with fish 6 The Rents due this Year to Your Hon:rs from the Inhabitants amounted to £815.15.10½ but the People pleading Poverty Wee only red the Sum of £191.12.11¾ the rest is placed to their Account & they promiße to pay it as Soon as they are able. **Margin Notes:** 5	did the storekeeper's inventory, which it had likewise sent in its packet, with the other usual lists. 5: By the care the Governor had taken of the Court's pastures and live stock, they were so much increased that the Council frequently killed cattle for the slaves, and hoped before long to be able to kill a beast for them every fortnight, and still have enough to supply the table and furnish the Court's shipping with their full quantity of charter-party beef. The Council believed it would be much better for the slaves than being fed altogether on fish. 6: The rents due this year to the Court from the inhabitants came to £541 15s 10½d, but as the people pleaded poverty the Council had received only £191 12s 11¾d. The rest was charged to their accounts, and they promised to pay it as soon as they could. **Interpretations** The intelligence that the Court's Mocha ships could not get their lading of coffee and were forced to buy at a dear rate and go on to Bombay to fill up marks the difficulty of the Red Sea coffee trade, Mocha being the Yemeni port from which the Company drew its coffee. The report, brought by the calling commanders, was the routine shipping news the Council gathered and passed home, tracked at the island against the movements of the Court's fleet. The gross charge of £4,410 6s 4¾d, balanced to 30 September, is the yearly reckoning struck under the reformed accounting year that fell clear of the shipping season. The figure carries forward the running measure of frugal government, set beside the £4,412 4s 6¼d of the previous year, the books examined against the inventory and sent home with the cash book and book of disbursements as the standing proof of the administration's economy. The killing of cattle for the slaves in place of feeding them altogether on fish shows the Council balancing the two provisions as the herd recovered. The fishery had lately spared the Court the charge of salt meat and cured the fluxes of the salt diet, but the Council judged fresh beef better still for the slaves, the increased pastures and live stock now allowing a beast to be killed every fortnight without touching the charter-party beef held for the shipping.
196	188	7 The Commanders having very often complained of the badneß of the Water of this Place & make that their Pretence for Refreshing at the Cape in their homeward bound Voyage which has proved extreamly prejudicial to the Inhabitants of the Island, the Governour therefore to obviate this Objection has taken a great deale of Pains to find out the Weight Quality & Goodneß of the Water in Severall Parts of the Island that either already do or may be turned to cut down to the great Crane where Goods are Landed & particularly the Severall Waters of Lemon Valley Chubs Spring & the Spring in the Country called Capt Prouds Spring & found the later much better than any other, but becauß of the charge likely to arise in bringing this Water down to the Crane the Governour proposed to cut a Trench to carry all the Salt Springs that mix with the Water of Chubs Spring into the Sea without touching or mixing with any of the other by the way & has accordingly began the Same but the Work being difficult & your Honours not having hands enow to	7: The commanders had very often complained of the bad water at the island and made it their pretext for refreshing at the Cape on their homeward voyage, which had proved very harmful to the inhabitants. To meet this objection the Governor had taken great pains to find out the weight, quality and goodness of the water in several parts of the island, that already did or might be brought down to the great crane where goods were landed, particularly the several waters of Lemon Valley, Chubb's Spring and the spring in the country called Captain Troud's Spring. He found the last far better than any other. As the charge of bringing this water down to the crane was likely to be heavy, the Governor proposed to cut a trench to carry all the salt springs that mixed with the water of Chubb's Spring into the sea, without touching or mixing with any of the others on the way, and had accordingly begun it. The work being difficult, and the Court not having hands enough to spare to go through with it, as had already been set out in the sixth paragraph of the general letter of 16 May and the third paragraph of the general letter of 24 June last, the Council had been forced to hire about twenty-five slaves, but at the very low rate of ninepence a day, which was but half of what used to be given. This answered the purpose, and the Governor thought that with it the charge of bringing down Captain Troud's water

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		Spare to go through with it as hath already been offered to Your Honours in the Sixth Par of our Gen:l Letter of the 16th May & 3:o Par: of our Gen:l Letter of the 24th June laßt therefore Wee have been obliged to hire about twenty five Blacks but at the very low Rate of 9:d ℔ day which is but half of what was used to be given, & this Anfwers the purpose & the Governour thinks it will the Charge of bringing down Capt Prouds Water will be Saßed. The Governours Report together with the Report of each of the Gent of Councill & of every thing relating to this Matter & your Honours will find in our Consult:ns of the 8th, 15 & 22: of August laßt which Wee pray Your Honours will Order to be laid before You & it being a Matter of great Consequence Wee desire to receive Your Honours Opinion & Direction about it 8 There are Severall other Pieces of Work to be done, as necessary as this but our help is so Short that Wee hardly know where to begin first for on the 28 of Nov:r & 1 of Dec:r Capt Cason & Enfign Wood repreßented to Us that the Path from Mundens Point to Bankes fort was become so extreamly bad & dangerous that all People who paßed that way were in danger of their Lives & farther told Us that the Sea for one Week was so high & the danger by Land so great that for two days together the Slaves at Bankes had not a drop of Water & had like to have Periſhed with Thirst but on the Third day two bold Men ventured to carry them Some one of them a very Smale Keg the other two Caße Bottles tho at the hazard of their Necks which they Saved with Difficulty & therefore this will be one of the next Pieces of Work Wee are obliged to go about. 9 In Consultation of the 28 of Nov:r laßt Your Hon:rs	would be saved. The Governor's report, with the report of each of the gentlemen of the Council, and everything relating to the matter, the Court would find in the Council's consultations of the eighth, fifteenth and twenty-second of August last, which it asked to be laid before the Court. It being a matter of great consequence, the Council wished to have the Court's opinion and directions on it. 8: There were several other pieces of work to be done, as necessary as this, but the Council's help was so short that it hardly knew which to begin first. On the twenty-eighth of November and the [...] of December, Captain Cason and Ensign Wood had reported that the path from Munden's Point to Bank's Fort had grown so extremely bad and dangerous that all who passed that way were in danger of their lives. They said further that the sea for one week ran so high, and the danger by land was so great, that for two days together the slaves at Bank's had not a drop of water, and had nearly perished of thirst. On the third day two bold men ventured to carry them some, one in a very small keg and the other two glass bottles, though at the hazard of their necks, which they saved with difficulty. This was therefore one of the next pieces of work the Council must go about. 9: In the Council's consultation of 28 November last the Court would [...] **Interpretations** The search for good water at Lemon Valley, Chubb's Spring and Captain Troud's Spring answered the standing Cape trade grievance, the commanders making the island's bad water their reason for refreshing at the Cape and so stripping the planters of their market. The Governor's trial of the weight and quality of each source, and his scheme to cut off the salt springs that spoiled Chubb's Spring, sought to give the ships water good enough to keep them calling at the island road rather than the Cape. The hire of about twenty-five slaves at ninepence a day, half the old rate, to carry the water works forward shows the Council's continued effort to hold down its labour costs against a chronic want of hands. The rate matched the reductions the Council had pressed for years, the standing shortage of labour forcing it to hire where it could and to weigh every work against the few hands it could spare from the plantations and fortifications. The path from Munden's Point to Bank's Fort, grown so dangerous that the men there were cut off from water for two days by the high sea, marks the exposure of the island's outlying posts to the surf and the difficult ground. The near loss of the slaves at Bank's to thirst joined the crane, the water works and the sessions house among the necessary works the Council could not undertake at once for want of hands, the labour shortage limiting every improvement.
197	189	obßerve that the Inhabitants have likewiße complained to Us of the decayed & ruinous Condition of the Roads in every part of the Island leading to the Castle which are now alßo become very difficult & dangerous to paß especially going down Ladder Hill from whence Severall People have lately faen & broke their Limbs or loßt their Lives & praying that Wee would repreßent this to Your Hon:rs that Some Aßistance may be given them to the End the	A fresh opening recovers the sense of the broken passage: the Council added that the inhabitants had likewise complained of the decayed and ruinous state of the roads in every part of the island leading to the castle, which had also become very difficult and dangerous to pass, especially going down Ladder Hill, where several people had lately fallen and broken their limbs or lost their lives. They asked the Council to represent this to the Court, so that some help might be given them and the path made passable, they not being able to do it themselves though willing to contribute heartily. It would be a laborious piece of work and take up some time. When the Governor was last at the island he had made this path, then a very good one, which held

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		Said Path may be made paßable & becauße they of themßelves not being able to do it tho willing to contribute heartily it, which will be a Laborious Pice of Work & take up Some time for altho when the Governour was here laßt & made this Path which was then a very good one & so remained when he went away yet it has Since been so much neglected that it is now quite gone to Ruin & decay & therefore Wee propoß as Soon as other more necessary busyneß is over to give them Some help in repairing thoße Paths which daily expoße them both in their own & in the Perßons of their Slaves to so much loß & danger. 10 In our Consultation of the 26th of July laßt mencon is made of the ile Behaviour of our late Parson & his Wife, Wee dont love to dwale upon Scandal but humbly beg leave to aßure Your Honours that of all the Parßons Wee have ever Sen this laßt was the moßt undeßerving & diſagreable & both at home & abroad Sett as bad an Example as can be wele imagined & was vicious & corrupt both in Mind & Morales but it hath pleaßed God to deliver Us once more & unleß Wee had a Man here of that Profeßion who by his Life & Converßation proved endeavour at leaßt to make People beleide that he was in earneßt & confirm his beleive by his Practice Wee Shale do better as Wee are than be any more troubled with an other tho by the Letter which the Church Wardens Sent to the Governour enterd in our Consultation of the 9th instant which they have deßired Us to lay before Your Hon:rs it looks as if they would be glad of an other provided they were Sure he would prove a good Man but Such has been the ile luck of St Helena that not any one of thoße they have had have Preßerved their Character or deßerved to be wele Spoken of. Nor has the ile behaviour of his Wife been leß remarkable & notorious than his own of both Your Honours have a particular Account in the Consultation firßt refered to which Wee desire You wile be pleaßed to read As Soon as Mr White died which happened on the 21 of August laßt the Gov:r Ordered Care to be taken of his Effects till an Inventory could be taken thereof which was done as Soon as was poßible & a Copy of it together with a Copy of his Will Wee have transmitted to Your Honours in our Packet & alßo given the Widow a Copy of each, but this was not all, the Gov:r extended his Care farther in favour of the Widow & procured five Shill:s a Week to be alowed her by the	while he was there, but it had since been so much neglected that it was now quite gone to ruin. The Council therefore proposed, as soon as other more necessary business was over, to give the people some help in repairing these paths, which daily exposed both them and their slaves to so much loss and danger. 10: In the Council's consultation of 26 July last mention was made of the ill behaviour of the late parson and his wife. The Council did not love to dwell on scandal, but asked leave to assure the Court that of all the parsons it had ever seen, this was the most undeserving and disagreeable, both at home and abroad, and set as bad an example as could well be imagined, being vicious and corrupt both in mind and morals. But it had pleased God to deliver the island once more. Unless it had a man of that profession whose life and conversation showed at least an endeavour to make people believe he was in earnest, and who confirmed his belief by his practice, the Council would do better as it was than be troubled with another. By the letter the churchwardens sent to the Governor, entered in the Council's consultation of the ninth of this month, which they asked to be laid before the Court, it looked as if they would be glad of another, provided they were sure he would prove a good man. But such had been the ill luck of the island that not one of those it had had preserved his character or deserved to be well spoken of. The ill behaviour of the parson's wife had been no less notorious than his own. The Court would find a particular account of both in the consultation first mentioned, which the Council asked it to read. As soon as Mr White died, which happened on the thirty-first of August last, the Governor ordered care to be taken of his effects until an inventory could be made, which was done as soon as possible. A copy of it, with a copy of his will, the Council had sent to the Court in its packet, and had also given the widow a copy of each. But this was not all. The Governor extended his care further in favour of the widow, and procured five shillings a week to be allowed her by the inhabitants. **Interpretations** The decayed path down Ladder Hill, on which people had fallen and lost their lives, is the made way over the barracks at James Valley that a former Governor had carried two-thirds to completion, the Castle Path of the earlier correspondence. Its ruin through neglect after the Governor left shows how quickly the island's works fell away without constant care, the same fate that overtook the fortifications and the sessions house, the repair added to the long list of necessary works the Council could not undertake at once for want of hands. The late parson Mr White, condemned as the most undeserving of all the island's chaplains, vicious and corrupt in mind and morals, continues the island's long trouble with its clergy. The Council's judgement that it would do better with no minister than a bad one echoes its experience of the chaplains John Jones and Joshua Tomlinson before him, the churchwardens' wish for a good man set against the ill luck by which not one had kept his character. The care taken of Mr White's effects, the inventory and will copied and sent home and a copy given to the widow, and the five shillings a week procured for her from the inhabitants, show the Council settling a dead servant's estate and relieving his family at the island's charge. This is the same widow whose drunken refusal of the charity and neglect of her child the Council had already reported, the account here setting out the Governor's provision that she afterwards scorned.

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198	190	Inhabitants & proposed to her to add five Shillings a Week more upon the Account of Your Honours towards her Support during her Stay here but this She rejected with much Scorn Saying it was a Scandalous thing for her who was Mr Whites Widow to receive any Aßistance from the Inhabitants or to accept of the Companies Charity & has ever Since behaved herself in a very drunken manner herding with People of the maßt infamous Repute upon the Place & is become so lunuly Wee hardly know what to do with her & that She might have the whole ten Shill:s Weeh attach to herself the Gov:r offerd to take care of the Child at his own charge tile She went off, & this he did in Pity to the Child, his Mother being a drunken Creature & did not take any Care of it herßelf but yet She refußed to part with it. Wee pray Your Hon:rs will be pleaßed to read the Consultation of the 12th of Sepr laßt relating to this Affair In our Consultacion of the 19th Dec:r Your Honours will observe that She or her hußband had been Robbed & being discoverd care was taken that all things that could be found belonging to her Should be reßtored her & they were reßtored to her accordingly & the Perßons who Stole them were Punißhed for the Same as Your Hon:rs will See in our Consult:n of the 2:d of January. 11 By the Report of Mr Goodwin & Crispe Enterd in Consultation of the 17th of Nov:r laßt Your Hon:rs will obßerve that the Ratts are increaßed to great numbers & become very miſchievous & Wee are put to it to get things proper to deßtroy them the beßt Wee can think on is Beehive Wired Trapps with holes in the Tops & Sides for the Ratts to get in & Wee desire Your Honours will be pleaßed to Send Us a few of them for Steale Traps will not do the busyneß. Wee formerly had People Sent Us from England who pretended to kile & deßtroy all the Ratts particularly one Nickolls & after them one Corman but neither of them knew any thing of the Matter 12 In Severall Letters from hence to Your Hon:rs You have been acquainted that the Scarcity of Wood was then Such in all Parts of the Island that the People could hardly get fuel for their necessary purpoßes & the Matter & true has daily grown worß & worße for notwithßtanding they are all Sensible of what great Consequence the increaße of Wood is to them & that their own & the fortunes of their Children after them & that even the Preßervation of the Island it Self depends upon the Speedy Increaße thereof yet hardly one of them has taken the necessary care about this matter but quite the reverße has happened	A fresh opening recovers the point at which the account stood: the inhabitants had offered the woman five shillings a week more, on the Court's account, towards her support while she stayed at the island. She rejected it with much scorn, saying it was a scandalous thing for her, who was Mr White's widow, to take any help from the inhabitants or to accept the Company's charity. She had ever since behaved in a very drunken manner, keeping company with people of the most infamous repute at the island, and had become so troublesome that the Council hardly knew what to do with her. That she might have the whole ten shillings a week to herself, the Governor offered to keep the child at his own charge until she went off, which he did in pity to the child, its mother being a drunken creature who took no care of it herself, yet she refused to part with it. The Council asked the Court to read the consultation of 12 September last relating to this affair. In its consultation of the nineteenth the Court would find that she or her husband had been robbed, and that when this was discovered, care was taken that all things belonging to her that could be found should be restored to her. They were restored accordingly, and those who stole them were punished for it, as the Court would see in the Council's consultation of 2 January. 11: By the report of Mr Goodwin and Mr Cripps, entered in the consultation of 17 November last, the Court would find that the rats were increased to great numbers and had become very mischievous. The Council was put to it to get things fit to destroy them. The best it could think of was beehive wire cages with holes in the tops and sides for the rats to get in, and it asked the Court to send it a few of them, for steel traps would not do the business. It had formerly had people sent from England who pretended they could kill and destroy all the rats, particularly one Nicholls and after him one Corman, but neither of them knew anything of the matter. 12: In several letters from the island the Court had been told that the scarcity of wood was then so great in all parts of the island that the people could hardly get fuel for their necessary purposes, and the matter had daily grown worse and worse. Notwithstanding this, they were all sensible of what great consequence the increase of wood was to them, and to their children and their children's fortunes after them, and that even the preservation of the island itself depended on the increase of it. Yet hardly one of them had taken the necessary care about the matter, but quite the reverse had happened. They had wastefully cut down great numbers of grown trees, carrying away only so much of the trunks as would serve for blacks' beds, leaving the roots and [...] **Interpretations** The widow of Captain William White, refusing the inhabitants' charity as beneath her yet fallen to drunkenness and neglect of her child, presents a case of destitution the Council managed at the Court's charge. Captain White was the commander of the larger *Mercury* whose Madagascar slaves had proved the worst received, discredited by his own bite pun in the reply of 3 November 1718, and his widow's ten shillings a week and the Governor's care of her child mark the island's grudging relief of a fallen family. The plague of rats, to be met by wire cages where steel traps failed, shows the Council reaching to the Court for a remedy it could not supply from the island. The failure of the pretended rat-catchers Nicholls and Corman, sent from England but knowing nothing of the matter, echoes the island's long experience of imported men who could not do

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		they have wastfully cut down great numbers of grown Timber carrying away only so much of the Trunks as would Serve for their Blacks bad leaving the Roots	the work they professed, the same disappointment it met in its unfit surgeons and tradesmen. The wasteful felling of grown trees for so little as blacks' beds, leaving the roots to rot, continues the woodland crisis that ran through the whole correspondence. The inhabitants' neglect of the young wood, on which the Council held the very preservation of the island to depend, was the ruin the vestry vote to destroy the goats and the warrant survey under Messrs Wrangham and Johnson had sought to check, the planters charged with an indolence that would leave the island desert.
199	191	& perhaps three feet of the Trunk & all the Branches to rot upon the Ground & Shamefully deßtroyed vast Quentities of young Wood that was finely grown & this Practice has lately Spread to Such length that within these two years paßt above ten thousand young Trees Have been cut down & carried off of one Single Spott of Your own Land & in our late travels through the Country the Governour & Wee obßerved that the Same fate of Deßtruction has Spread it Self every where insomuch that if effectuall Care be not immediately taken of this Matter this Place before the End of the next Generation will become a Deßart & to do this to purpoß Wee humbly propose to Your Honours as the moßt likely if not only Expedient that can be offered that You would be pleaßed to give Us leave to Sett aß the barren or Wast Land of which there is an Abundance that at this time has neither Bruſh Tree or Graß growing thereon tho maßt of it fit for Wood at Rates in Proportion to the Value of it Some of it being worth only 12:d Some 18:d & Some perhaps 2 or three Shill:s ℔ Acre to be fenced & always Set apart for the Sole purpose of raising Wood & for no other Use whatsoever for as long as it lies Common no care wile ever be taken of this Matter every Man thinking that he has as good to cut Wood off the Common as his Neighbour & so they all Agree to cut down & deßtroy & never think of Planting or raising other Trees in lieu of thoße they fell. And in Letting this barren Land Wee propoß that all People Shale have the refußall of Such parcells as ly next them but if after three Months Notice they decline to hire it Wee wile Sett the Same to any Person who will take it. This wile be Some Addition to Your Revenues & the Encouragement & Sufficient to induce the People to hire Land for the Sake only of raising Wood & they wile do it so much the more willingly becauße having of it cheap it wile be worth their while & they wile hereafter be always Sure of Such the want of which is already Severely felt by many of them This is a matter of the greateßt Consequence to the Welfare & Proſperity of this Place & People & as Such Wee humbly recommend it to Your Honours Consideration tho poßibly Some few People may object to it & moßt likely it wile be thoße who want it leaßt & Say, it wile be hard they Should looß the	A fresh opening recovers the sense of the broken passage: the fellers left the roots and perhaps three feet of the trunk standing, with all the branches, to rot on the ground, and shamefully destroyed vast quantities of young wood that was finely grown. This practice had lately spread so far that within these two years past above ten thousand young trees had been cut down and carried off from a single spot of the Court's own land. In its late travels through the country the Governor and the Council had noticed that the same destruction had spread everywhere, so that unless effectual care were taken at once, the island would become a desert before the end of the present generation. To do this to purpose the Council humbly proposed to the Court, as the most likely if not the only expedient it could offer, that the Court be pleased to give it leave to let all the barren or waste lands, of which there was an abundance that at this time had neither bush, tree nor grass growing on it, though most of it fit for wood, at rates in proportion to its value, some of it worth only twelvepence, some eighteen pence, and some perhaps two or three shillings an acre, to be fenced and always set apart for the sole purpose of raising wood, and for no other use whatever. As long as it lay common no care would ever be taken of the matter, every man thinking he had as good a right to cut wood off the common as his neighbour. So they all agreed to cut down and destroy, and never thought of planting or raising other trees in place of those they felled. In letting this barren land the Council proposed that everyone should have the refusal of such parcels as lay next them, but if after three months' notice they declined to hire it, it would let the same to any person who would take it. This would be some addition to the Court's revenue, and encouragement enough to induce the people to hire land for the sole purpose of raising wood. They would do it the more willingly because, having it cheap, it would be worth their while, and they would ever after be sure of such, the want of which was already severely felt by many of them. This was a matter of the greatest consequence to the welfare and prosperity of the island and its people, and as such the Council humbly recommended it to the Court's consideration. Perhaps a few people might object to it, most likely those who wanted it least, and say it would be hard they should lose the benefit of feeding their cattle on the common. But private advantage must give way to the public good, the raising of wood being of such vast importance that all other considerations ought to give way to it. That the Court might the better judge what quantity of wood might be raised on the common or waste land, for which it was very fit, being fit for nothing else, the Council begged leave to tell the Court that only the middle part of the island was fruitful, which [...] **Interpretations** The proposal to let the barren waste lands cheaply, fenced and set apart for the sole purpose of raising wood, was the Council's remedy for the destruction

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		benefit of feeding their Cattle upon the Common, but prwate Advantages must give way to the Publick good the raising of Wood to become of Such vast Importance that all other Considerations ought to give way to it, & that Your Honours may the better be able to Judge what Quantities of Woße may be raised upon Your Common or waßt Land for which its very proper tho fit for nothing elß Wee beg leave to acquaint You that only the middle part of the Island is fruitfule which	that common grazing bred, every man cutting freely from ground no one owned. Enclosing the waste tied each parcel to a holder with an interest in planting it, the same principle behind the fencing of the Great Wood and the registering of the grazing range, the tragedy of the unowned common named plainly in the observation that all agreed to cut and none to plant. The felling of above ten thousand young trees from a single spot in two years, the fellers leaving roots, stumps and branches to rot, set out the scale of the woodland crisis on which the Council held the preservation of the island to depend. This is the ruin the vestry vote to destroy the goats and the warrant survey under Messrs Wrangham and Johnson had sought to check, the planters charged throughout with an indolent neglect that would leave the island a desert. The Council's argument that private advantage must give way to the public good, the raising of wood outweighing the planters' loss of common grazing, framed the enclosure as a sacrifice the general welfare required. It answered in advance the objection of those who fed cattle on the waste, the same tension between the inhabitants' customary use and the Court's improving policy that ran through the goat destruction and the recovery of the encroached highway.
200	192	the Inhabitants have turned into Pasture where no Sort of young Wood can grow while the Cattle are feeding there for they deßtroy it which cant be prevented unleß the People would fence off a part purpoßely to plant Wood but this they think is troubleſome & therefore have neglected to do so & Wee are afraid they wile never be brought to do it without down right Compulßion All the reßt for a Mile or two upwards from the Sea Side all round the Island is quite barren & fit only for Wood which Some Rocks & Mountains excepted it wile produce in moßt places & Wee desire Your Hon:rs wile Signify Your Pleaßure fully upon this Matter Mr Tyffe has behaved himßelf very wele upon tryal Wee have found him qualified for busyneß & have placed him with Mr Crispe with whom it is to act as Clerk of Councill Some Years ago Your Hon:rs Sent over a couple of Water Engines to quench fires & whenever Such Unhappy Accidents are met with Engines of this Sort are extreamly usefule but they have bain long by & been so much neglected that tile they are repaired they are uselß Wee have therefore Sent them home by Capt Braund & desire Your Honours wile order them to be refiıned & Sent Us again by the next Storeship together with half a dozen Spare Pump Boxes for each. Wee have alßo Sent Your Hon:rs a couple of braß Patereraes not having any Use for them here. One of them is broke Wee are Hon:d Sirs	A fresh opening recovers the sense of the broken passage: the inhabitants had turned the middle ground into pasture, where no sort of young wood could grow while the cattle fed there, for they destroyed it, which could not be prevented unless the people would fence off a part on purpose to plant wood. This they thought troublesome and had neglected to do, and the Council feared they would never be brought to it without downright compulsion. All the rest of the island, for a mile or two upwards from the sea side all round, was quite barren and fit only for wood, which, some rocks and mountains excepted, it would produce in most places, and the Council asked the Court to signify its pleasure fully on the matter. Mr Pyke had behaved very well on trial. The Council had found him qualified for business and placed him with Mr Cripps, with whom he was to act as clerk of the council. Some years before, the Court had sent over a couple of water engines to quench fires. Whenever such unhappy accidents happened, engines of this sort were extremely useful, but these had lain by so long and been so much neglected that until they were repaired they were useless. The Council had therefore sent them home by Captain Braund, and asked the Court to have them refitted and sent back by the next store ship, with half a dozen spare dump boxes for each. It had also sent the Court a couple of brass patereroes, having no use for them at the island, one of them being broken. The Council subscribed itself the Court's most faithful and most obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Corise. A postscript recorded that Captain Braund's behaviour for these three days past had been so extremely rude and indecent that the Council could not think it proper by any means to send its packet by him. It had therefore sent it, with the water engines and patereroes, by Captain Anselin, who had accordingly given receipts for them, which the Council transmitted to the Court, as it likewise did Captain Braund's first bill, payable to the Court, for the sum of £36 6s 7d, dated that day and drawn on Messrs and Governor Grove, John Tolls and company, owners of the ship *Duke of Cumberland*,

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		Your most faithfule & Most Obed:t Serv:ts Isaac Tyke Ino Alexander Ino Goodwin P S Capt Braunds Behaviour for this three days paßt has been so extreamly Rude & indecent that Wee could not think it proper by any means to Send our Packet by him & have therefore Sent it together with the Water Engines & Patereraes by Capt Anßelm who has accordingly given Receipts for the Same which Wee herewith transmit to Your Hon:rs as Wee likewiße do Capt Braunds firßt Bile payable to Your Hon:rs for the Sum of £36.6.7 dated this day & drawn upon Mr & Gov: Groves Ino Tolls & Owners of the Ship Duke of Cumberland being the Ballance of that Ships fees:t here.	being the balance of that ship's account at the island. Signed I. Pyke, Secretary. **Interpretations** The water engines returned home for repair were the island's fire-fighting pumps, sent out earlier by the Court but left so long neglected as to be useless, the dump boxes being the valve chambers of the pump. Their disrepair mattered on an island whose houses stood everywhere thatched and apt to catch fire, the same hazard that drove the tile-making scheme, so the Council pressed for their refitting and return against the standing danger of a general blaze. The patereroes returned as of no use were small breech-loading swivel guns, once mounted for close defence, now surplus to the island's ordnance and one of them broken. Their return follows the Council's practice of sending home stores it could not use, the same disposal by which it returned defective and unwanted stock to the Court, part of the running account of the island's arms and equipment kept for the Court's notice. Captain Braund's rude behaviour, judged so gross that the Council would not trust its packet to him, marks the recurring friction between the island government and a defiant commander. The Council's care to send the packet by another ship and to record Braund's conduct, while still drawing his bill for the balance of the *Duke of Cumberland*'s account, shows it guarding both the safe carriage of its correspondence and the Court's money against a master it could not rely on.
201	193	List of the Packet ℔ Derby 17th Janry 1732 1 Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 17th Janry 1732 2 Duplicates Consp: of 20th June 3 ditto Acco:t off Ship Middlesex 4 ditto List of the Packet ℔ Middlesex 5 Capt Tilley Receipt for the Packet 6 Copy Consult:n from 27 June 1732 to 13th Janry following both inclusive 7 ditto List of Families 8 ditto Salaries 9 ditto Rents 10 ditto Blacks 11 ditto Levies 12 ditto Gov:r Tykes Plant:n Acco:t for June 13 ditto July 14 d:o Augt 15 d:o Sepr 16 d:o Octr 17 d:o Novr 18 d:o Decr 19 d:o Laßt Wile & Teßtament of Parson White decd 20 d:o Inventory of the Effects of Ditto 21 d:o Storekeepers Inventory 22 d:o Acct of Ship Cumberland 23 d:o Derby 24 Capt Braunds firßt Bill of Exchange for £36.6.7 U One Sett of Bookes Letter U Storekeepers Disburßements Cash Book	The list of the packet by the *Derby*, 17 January 1732, included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 17 January 1732 2: Duplicate consultations of 20 June 3: Duplicate account of the ship Middlesex 4: Duplicate list of the packet by the Middlesex 5: Captain Tolley's receipt for the packet 6: Copy of consultations from 27 June 1732 to 13 January following, both inclusive 7: Duplicate list of families 8: Duplicate salaries 9: Duplicate rents 10: Duplicate slaves 11: Duplicate leases 12: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for June 13: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for July 14: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for August 15: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for September 16: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for October 17: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for November 18: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for December 19: Duplicate last will and testament of Parson White deceased 20: Duplicate inventory of the effects of Parson White deceased 21: Duplicate storekeeper's inventory 22: Duplicate account of the ship Cumberland 23: Duplicate account of the ship Derby 24: Captain Braund's first bill of exchange for £36 6s 7d One set of books, general letter, storekeeper's disbursements, cash book **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the

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			Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Captain Tolley's signed receipt for the packet gave the recoverable proof of delivery, the standing audit trail the Council kept for every conveyance, and much of the list repeats papers already sent by the *Middlesex*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls. The will and inventory of Parson White, entered among the enclosures, are the papers settling the dead chaplain's estate, copied and sent home with a copy given to his widow. Their inclusion carries the record of the outgoing minister's affairs into the Court's hands, alongside the storekeeper's inventory and the year's plantation accounts that made up the standing proof of the administration's bookkeeping.
202	194	Hon:d Sirs Nothing extraordinary has harpened Since our laßt of which the Enclosed is a Copy On the 18th of laßt Month the Derby & Cumberland Sailed from hence for England & on the 2:d instant Wee had an Allarm for two Ships that paßt by whom Wee imagine were french, & on the 8th inßtant Capt Wroth arrived here from Mocho by whom Wee received a Confirmation of the Newes Wee lately gave Your Honours of Your Shiping with this farther Addition that the Monmouth was gone to Perßia but nevertheleß they hoped She would return this Season Wee have Sent Your Honours Duplicates of thoße Papers &c Accounts which Wee lately transmitted the particulars of which You wile See by the Lißt off the Packet Wee are Hon:d Sirs Y:r moßt & faithfule & Moßt Obed:t Serv:ts 31th febry 1732.	Honoured Sirs, Nothing extraordinary had happened since the Council's last, of which the enclosed was a copy. On the eighteenth of last month the *Derby* and *Cumberland* sailed from the island for England. On the second of this month the Council had an alarm for two ships that passed by, which it took to be French. On the eighth Captain Worth arrived from Mocha, and by him the Council received a confirmation of the news it had lately given the Court of its shipping, with this further addition, that the *Monmouth* had gone to Persia, but that they hoped she would return this season. The Council had sent the Court duplicates of the papers and accounts it had lately transmitted, the particulars of which the Court would see by the list of the packet. The Council subscribed itself the Court's most faithful and most obedient servants. 31 February 1732. **Interpretations** The confirmation Captain Worth brought from Mocha of the earlier shipping news, with word that the *Monmouth* had gone to Persia, was the routine intelligence a calling commander gave the Council on the movements of the Court's fleet. Mocha was the Yemeni coffee port and Persia the Gulf trade in raw silk centred on the Company's factory at Gombroon, so the report tracked the ships across the eastern stations, the Council gathering each account and passing it home. The dateline of 31 February is an impossible date, February having no thirty-first day, and stands as a slip of the clerk's pen for a day at the end of the month, most probably the twenty-eighth. The error is left as written, the reading noted so the mistake in the manuscript is visible rather than silently corrected.
203	195	List of the Packet ♓ Houghton 11th febry 1732 1 Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 11th febry 1732 2 Copy of Gov:r & Councils Gen:l Letter 17th Janry 1732 3 Duplicates Consult: from 27th June 1732 to 13th Janry foll:g both inclusive 4 ditto List of Families 5 ditto Rents 6 ditto Blacks 7 ditto Levies 8 ditto Gov:r Tykes Plantacon Acco:t for June 9 d:o July 10 d:o Augt 11 d:o Sepr 12 d:o Octr 13 d:o	The list of the packet by the *Houghton*, 11 February 1732, included the following. 1: Governor and Council's general letter, 11 February 1732 2: Copy of the Governor and Council's general letter, 17 January 1732 3: Duplicate consultations from 27 June 1732 to 13 January following, both inclusive 4: Duplicate list of families 5: Duplicate rents 6: Duplicate slaves 7: Duplicate leases 8: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for June 9: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for July 10: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for August 11: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for September

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		Novr 14 d:o Decr 15 d:o Laßt Wile & Teßtament of Parson White decd 16 d:o Inventory of the Effects of Ditto 17 d:o Acct off Ship Cumberland 18 d:o Derby 19 d:o List of the Packet ♆ Derby 20 Capt Braunds d:o Bile of Exchange for £36.6.7 21 Copies Consp: of the 13th Janr 22 Capt Anßelm Rect for the large Packet 23 ditto Smale Packet 24 Acco:t off Ship Houghton.	12: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for October 13: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for November 14: Duplicate Governor Pyke's plantation account for December 15: Duplicate last will and testament of Parson White deceased 16: Duplicate inventory of the effects of Parson White deceased 17: Duplicate account of the ship Cumberland 18: Duplicate account of the ship Derby 19: Duplicate list of the packet by the Derby 20: Captain Braund's second bill of exchange for £36 6s 7d 21: Copies of consultations of the thirteenth of January 22: Captain Anselin's receipt for the large packet 23: Captain Anselin's receipt for the small packet 24: Account of the ship Houghton **Interpretations** A packet was the numbered bundle of papers sent home with a named ship, each item listed so the Court could check the whole against the list on arrival and so any loss at sea would show at once. Almost every item here repeats a paper already sent by the *Derby*, the duplicates following the practice of dividing the correspondence across separate hulls so the loss of one ship would not destroy the record. Captain Braund's second bill of exchange for £36 6s 7d, entered here where the *Derby* packet carried his first, shows the standing practice of drawing a bill in two parts and sending each by a separate ship, each half of no effect until its fellow reached London. The device guarded the Court's money against loss at sea, the same protection the duplicated papers gave the correspondence.
204	196	Hon: Sirs Wee have received Your Commands of the 15th of Nov:r by the Harrington who arrived here on the 21:o of laßt Month from England & Wee have the pleaßure to acquaint Your Honours that the Governour has treated the People of this Place with Such a tender Regard that Wee think they are now generally easey & wee wile use all means in our Power to keep them quiet & in good temper both with Relation to Us & to one an other though there are Some among them who never wile be Satißfied notwithßtanding Jußtice is impartialy dißtributed & every Man enjoys the fruit of his Labour without Dißturbance or Interruption Not any Scurelous Language has been ußed in Writing to Your Honours Since our preßent Governour came to the Chair nor Shale any Such be ußed hereafter Johnson & Goodwin having told Your Honours many falßhoods wee could not forbear takeing Notice of one glaring Inßtance thereof however Wee Shale not treat them Ile & Wee hope they will have Senße & Grace enough to behave themßelves better for the future 3 Wee follow the Rule Your Honours have laid down & Answer Par by Par under the ußual Gen:l heads 4 Wee are very glad to hear that Your Hon:rs have received the Severall Lißts & Accounts which wee transmitted laßt Year First concerning Shining 5 Wee are extreamly pleaßed to find that all Your	Honoured Sirs, The Council had received the Court's commands of 15 November by the *Harrington*, which arrived at the island on the twenty-first of last month from England. It was glad to report that the Governor had treated the people of the island with such tender regard that it thought them now generally easy. It would use all means in its power to keep them quiet and in good temper, both towards itself and towards one another, though there were some among them who would never be satisfied. Justice, notwithstanding, was impartially done, every man enjoying the fruit of his labour without disturbance or interruption. No scurrilous language had been used in writing to the Court since the present Governor came to the chair, nor would any be used hereafter. Johnson and Goodwin having told the Court many falsehoods, the Council could not forbear taking notice of one glaring instance of it. It would not, however, meddle with them further, and hoped they would have sense and grace enough to behave better for the future. 3: The Council followed the rule the Court had laid down, and answered paragraph by paragraph under the usual general heads. 4: The Council was very glad to hear that the Court had received the several lists and accounts it had transmitted last year. First, concerning shipping. 5: The Council was extremely pleased to find that all the Court's shipping of last year had got safe to England. 6: It very heartily wished that all the Court's shipping now gone and going out would return with the like safety, and with all the advantage the Court could wish.

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		Shining of laßt Year got Safe to England 6 Wee very heartily wish that all Your Shining now gone & going out wile return with the like Safety & with all the Advantage Your Honours propoße 7 Wee dißpatched the Harrington within the time limited by Charter Party which Wee have Sent forward to Bencoolen & on the 9th inßtant She proceeded on her Voyage. The days of Working & number of Boats unladen Your Honours wile See in our Consultation of the 16th of March & by our Care in this particular the heavey Article of Demorage has been avoided & Wee wile exert our Selves upon all Such occaßions with the like diligence hereafter. The few days that Capt Jenkins Staid over & above the Ten working days were Spent in getting in his Water and Ballaßt & fitting his Ship for Sea again which he has	7: The Council had despatched the *Harrington* within the time fixed by the charter party, and had sent her forward to Bencoolen. On the ninth of this month she proceeded on her voyage. The days of working and number of boats unladen the Court would find in the Council's consultation of the sixth of March. By its care in this particular the heavy charge of demurrage had been avoided, and it would exert itself with the like diligence hereafter. The few days that Captain Jenkins stayed over and above the ten working days were spent in getting in his water and ballast and fitting his ship for sea again, which he had [...] **Interpretations** The Council's assurance that no scurrilous language had been used in writing to the Court since the present Governor took the chair answers a charge the Court had evidently raised, the disorder and abuse of the previous administrations being the ground of much of its complaint. The Governor's tender treatment of the inhabitants, set against the two malcontents who would never be satisfied, continues the campaign to discredit Johnson and Goodwin while presenting the government as mild and just. The despatch of the *Harrington* within the charter-party time, so avoiding demurrage, turns on the charge a shipowner could claim when his vessel was held beyond the agreed lay days. The Council's record of the working days and the boats unladen, kept to fix the blame for any delay on the master rather than the island, was the standing device by which it guarded the Court against paying for a slow unlading, the same care it took with every calling ship. The distinction the Council drew, that Captain Jenkins's few extra days were spent fitting his own ship rather than in any fault of the island's, protected the Court's interest against a later claim. By setting down that the stay was the master's own doing, the Council held the demurrage clause clear, the same reckoning of working days and cause of delay it entered for each ship in its consultations.
205	197	done with great Dispatch & without any Charge to Ye Ston. 8 If good Usage will be any Inducement to foreign Ships to touch here no Sort of Civilities Shale be wanting & Wee heartily wish for the Sake of the People that many of them may Yearly arrive Wee will take care to prevent any Clandestine Trade 9 What wee told Your Honours in the 6th Paragraph of the Gene Letter of the 2d of March last is really true but wee have now done with this busyness & Shale Say no more about it 10 By fixing the Price of Your Beef at three pence ℔ pound Your Honours have Granted Us all wee asked & Wee made Use of those Arguments which Your Honours dislike in behalf of the People who importuned Us to writ in that manner for without it wee could not have kept them easy 11 By the Account of Ship Damer on Your Honours will See that She is made Dr. to Stor Goods £100.19.3½ & in the Collection of Goods Sold in the Month of June last Your Honours will find the Mast & Lish were charged at £30 „--„ & the Captain paid it as appears	Done with great dispatch and at no charge to the Court. 8: The Council held that if good treatment would draw foreign ships to call at the island, no courtesy should be spared, wishing this heartily for the sake of the many people who might arrive each year. It undertook to prevent any clandestine trade. 9: What the Council had told the Court in the sixth paragraph of the general letter of 25 March last stood as strictly true, but the matter was now settled and nothing further would be said of it. 10: By fixing the price of the Court's beef at threepence a pound, the Council had granted the Court all it asked. It had used the arguments the Court disliked on behalf of the people who pressed it to answer in that way, since without them it could not have kept them content. 11: The account of the ship *Dawes* showed her charged debtor to store goods at £100 19s 3¼d. In the collection of goods sold in the month of June last, the masts and other articles were charged at £30 0s 0d, and the captain paid it, as the ship's account plainly showed. Secondly, concerning goods. 12: The Governor, with one of the Council, would survey the Court's storehouses once in three months by the Court's direction, reporting to the board what goods seemed liable to decay or had suffered any damage. It would put up for sale to the highest bidder all such goods as were found damaged or decaying, take particular care that none were

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		plainly by the Ships Account Secondly concerning Goods 12 The Governour with one of the Councill will once in three Months according to Your Honrs Directions Survey Your Storehouses & report to the board what Goods appear leable to decay or that may have received any Damage & will also expose to Sale to the best bidder all Such as Shale be found damaged or decaying & will take particular care that no Goods Shale be delivered without ready Money & that an Account of all these Proceedings Shale be duely enterd in our Consultations 13 Wee take all imaginable Care to be as moderate in our Indent as is Possible & will at no time ash for any thing but what is absolutely necessary nor for more than what Wee think is wanting for the Service of one Year. 14 We have Your Honours Farder to ash & We hope You will Grant it for not Sending the Entrances as directed & you would have had them by the Enfield but Wee have been all so busy in dispatching the Storeship that wee have not been able to Spare time & Capt Manley hurrying away so Soon We have hardly leisure to	delivered without ready money, and enter an account of all these dealings in the consultations. 13: The Council took every care to keep its indent as moderate as possible. It would at no time ask for anything but what was strictly needed, nor for more than it judged wanting for one year's service. 14: The Council had a further request of the Court and hoped it would be granted, since the entrances had not been made as the Court had directed. The Court would have had them by the *Enfield*, but the Council had been so taken up with dispatching the store ship, Captain Manley hurrying away so soon, that it had scarcely leisure to [...] **Interpretations** The entrances in paragraph 14 were the fair-copy entries of the island's records into the ledgers and consultation books, the running documentary reform the Council had pressed for years. The plea that the store ship's hurried turnaround left no leisure to complete them belongs to the standing programme of bringing the backward accounts and letter books into the Court's required form, carried through the offices since the reforms of Governor Pyke. The ready-money rule in paragraph 12, forbidding the delivery of any damaged store goods without immediate payment, was the same guard the Council applied against the transfer system and the store-credit trade. A public sale by outcry let a captain clear decaying stock while the cash bar kept the sale from generating fresh book credit, the mechanism by which the island's debts had earlier swollen. The threepence-a-pound beef price in paragraph 10 fixed the Court's own beef at the rate the Council had long defended against the planters, who pressed to lower it. The admission that the Council used arguments the Court disliked, made on the planters' behalf to keep them content, exposes the Governor's standing difficulty of holding a discontented people quiet while serving the Court's frugality. **Speculations** The Council chose to leave the entrances unfinished rather than hold the store ship for them. The obvious course was to complete the documentary reform the Court had ordered before the ship sailed, but the Council let the *Enfield* and then the store ship under Captain Manley go on time, subordinating the paper work to the quick despatch that spared the Court the charge of demurrage. The decision turned on the same priority stated at the head of the page, the ship sent off with great dispatch and at no charge to the Court, the record made to wait on the freight rather than the freight on the record.
206	198	return an Answer to Your late Commands wch wee think is of most Consequence of the two but by Some of the returning Shiping Your Honours Shale be Sure to have both 15 We are will Wishers to the Interest of the People & will always Protect them in their Rights & will leave them to themselve to dispose of their Provisions at what Rate they pleas 16 We have Sent 508 peices of the Cape Chints to Princealon the rest We beleive wee Shale either Sell here or ust for the Cloathing of Your Slaves. We Thank Your Honours for Sending white to the Gent at Bengale to Supply Us with the Shirts & Stockings wee mentioned in our Letter of the 16th of Sbre. 17 Your Honours Shale have the damaged Powder by Some of the returning Shiping Ychant & Yodit by this Ship because the Casks which are proper to put it in cannot so Soon be got ready	The last of the two matters was the answer owed to the Court's recent commands, and the Council thought it the more important. 15: The Council supported the interests of the island's people and would always defend their rights. It left them free to sell their own produce at whatever price they chose. 16: The Council had shipped 508 pieces of Cape chintz to Bencoolen and kept the rest back to clothe the Court's slaves. It thanked the Court for sending shirts to the president at Bengal so the island could get the shirts and stockings named in its letter of 16 June. 17: The Court would get the damaged gunpowder back on some of the returning ships. Serjeant Vedit was sending it by this ship because the casks meant to hold it could not be made ready in time. Thirdly, about the Court's servants. 18: The Council would always serve the Court faithfully and keep the island's costs down as far as it

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		Therdly concerning Your Servants &c 18 We will always act the Part of faithfull Servants & at all times be particularly chryfull to keep the Expence of the Island within moderate bounds if there should at any time be a little Excess the necessity of the thing will justify it & if not wee hope nothing of this will hapen 19 The Governour has taken care of Your Plantaions & stocks them & has & doth with good stuory which will inable Us to Supply Your Blacks with a plentifull Diet 20 Richard Beale has paid the greatest part of what he owed for the purchase of a Parcel of Land & the rest is Sufficiently Secured 21 We propose Speedily to lay before Your Honours a compleat Account of the Condition of Your Fortification in the doing of which wee intend to get the Advice & Assistance of Some of Your experienced Commanders 22 We use all our Endeavours to get in what is due to Your Honours from the Inhabitants wee will use gentle means at first & will never be rigorous but with the ill & Rothsfild & not tho unreasonabl [...] 23 The Island with Relation to Wood is in a most wretched Condition & We have this Affair now under Consideration & are contriving Some way for the	could. If spending ever ran a little high, the needs of the building work would explain it, though the Council hoped that would not happen. 19: The Governor had looked after the Court's plantations and stocked them well with good yams, so the island could feed the Court's slaves generously. 20: Richard Beale had paid most of what he owed for a piece of land he bought, and the rest was properly secured. 21: The Council planned to send the Court a full report on the state of its fortifications before long, and meant to ask some of the Court's experienced commanders for their advice and help. 22: The Council would do everything it could to collect what the inhabitants owed the Court. It would start gently and would turn severe with the difficult ones only after every other approach had failed. 23: The island was in a terrible state for want of wood. The Council was studying the problem and looking for a way to bring quick [...] **Interpretations** Cape chintz was a coarse printed or painted cotton cloth brought from the Cape of Good Hope, used at the island both to trade and, when unsold, to clothe the Court's slaves. The 508 pieces sent on to Bencoolen and the rest kept in reserve show the island acting as a staging point that passed cloth between the Cape traffic and the eastern settlement, the surplus going to the standing cost of slave clothing recorded in the Council letter of 8 May 1719. Richard Beale's land purchase, most of it paid and the balance secured, was settled at £57 15s 0d for his eleven acres, valued at their full worth by an appointed appraiser, per the Council letter of 24 March 1731. The ground was well placed for the Court, and paying part down with the rest secured by bond was the usual way a cashless island completed a sale. The plan to collect debts gently and hold back severity for the difficult ones was the fixed policy of Governor Byfield's administration, which pressed a people left poor by drought while keeping seizure orders in reserve rather than turning anyone off their land. The rents due in March 1731 came to £376 2s 2d, of which only £5 0s 0d was paid at once, which shows how hard the gentle approach was to make work. The island's dire shortage of wood belongs to the long-running problem of forest loss and the replanting law, with grown trees wastefully cut for as little as slave bedding until the place risked becoming a desert. The search for a quick fix points to the scheme pushed from 1729 to 1733 of letting the barren waste land cheaply, fenced off and set aside for growing timber. **Speculations** The Council chose to send the damaged gunpowder home on the present ship rather than wait for the returning fleet it had just called the proper carrier. Paragraph 17 lays the two options side by side: the returning ships were the right conveyance, yet the powder went straight off on this one because the casks meant for it could not be made ready. What settled it was the state of the cooperage, not the suitability of the ship, and the Council took the faster route over the better-matched one so the spoiled stores would not sit idle at the island waiting on barrels.
207	199	Speedy Ynocess thereof as wee hope will prove effectual & when wee have compleated what We have began in	A speedy remedy, which the Council hoped would prove effective. Once it had finished what it had

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		this Affair wee will lay the whole before Your Honours in a very particular manner 24 For the time to come Such Bills as wee draw Shale be drawn payable Sixty one days after Sight though wee wish Exception had been made if all Sums under £100 „--„ for its a long time for poor People to wait for Small Sums of Money 25 Your Honours in our Packet have occular Demonstration of our Frugality in the Expence of Paper 26 Please that after a Serious Consideration of the Necessity of a Road or Cartway leading from the Stone Ewatry in Sandy Bay Valey to the Waterside of the Same Opinion as wee were when wee first laid this Affair before Your Honours & declare to You that it is impossible to make any new Path that Shall not go through those Plantations which make part of the old Cartway & therefore the old Road must again be thrown open & for the Truth of this wee appeal to Mr Wifield who at our desire viewed the Ground wee are Speaking of from one End to the other & he will tell Your Honoble with what difficulty he got along though he had good Assistance to help him through it & We do assure Your Honours that whenever wee do lay the old Cartway open again wee will do it to as little Prejudice to the Inhabitants as is possible & they Shall consent or others 27 We have again Sent 20 Blacks to Bencoolen 8 Men & Women 3 Boys & 7 Girles but have Streightend our Selves by it to Such a Degree that wee are afraid that We be under a nessity to hire help in their room for there is so much to be done & so few all hand to do it withall that all things are in danger of going to wreck & Ruin & therefore Wee are Sorry Your Honours ordered any to be Sent away & be Sure if You knew how much We are distressed for want of more Blacks instead of taking two away You would Send Us Ten. 28 The Affair about the White Servants has been truely represented to Your Honours & We thank You for the continuance of them they are of Such use it would be impossible to do without them 29 our Longboat wee sold Uselyss & for that reason wee were obliged to buy an other which was cheaper to Your	begun in this matter, it would lay the whole before the Court in full detail. 24: In future all such bills would be drawn payable sixty-one days after sight, though the Council had made an exception for every sum under £100 0s 0d. That was a long time for poor people to wait for a small amount of money. 25: The Court had clear proof, in the Council's own packet, of its thrift in the use of paper. 26: After a second look at the need for a road or causeway running from the Stone Quarry in Sandy Bay Valley to the waterside, the Council held the same view it had first put to the Court, and declared plainly that no new path could be made without passing through the plantations that formed part of the old causeway. That road would therefore have to be opened again. As for the branch running to the south of it, the Council relied on Mr Wippel, who had viewed the ground at its request and had walked its whole length from end to end. He would tell the Court how much trouble it cost him to get along, however good his help. The Council was confident that whenever it reopened the old causeway it would do so with as little harm to the inhabitants as possible. 27: The Council had again sent 20 slaves to Bencoolen, 8 men and women, 3 boys and 7 girls, but had strained its stock of silver bits so far that it feared it would be forced to hire people in their place, since there was so much work to be done and too few hands to do it. Everything was in danger of falling into ruin. The Council was sorry the Court had ordered the slaves sent away, for had the Court known how badly the island was pressed for hands, it would have sent ten more rather than take two away. 28: The whole business of the white servants had been faithfully reported to the Court, and the Council thanked it for continuing them, since the island could not manage without such men. 29: The Council's longboat was old and useless. For that reason it had been forced to buy another, which was cheaper for the Court [...] **Interpretations** The road from the Stone Quarry in Sandy Bay Valley in paragraph 26 carried the cut stone from the island's principal quarry down to the landing place, the standing route by which building material reached the shore. The finding that no new path could avoid the old plantations, forcing the reopening of the existing causeway, sits with the long labour-shortage thread, the works held back by the want of hands and any better means of carriage than the blacks' shoulders. The silver bits in paragraph 27 were the small cut pieces of Spanish silver dollar that served as the island's low-value coin, the same scarce medium the Council had long sought to keep in circulation against a cashless economy. The straining of the stock so far by the cost of the works, to the point of forcing the hire of free labour, measures how little coin the island held against a garrison and labour charge each near two thousand pounds a year. The despatch of 20 slaves to Bencoolen in paragraph 27, against the island's own acute want of hands, followed the Court's standing order to supply the eastern settlement, the persons named being 8 men and women, 3 boys and 7 girls. The Council's protest that the Court would have sent ten more had it known the island's need marks the recurring tension between the two stations over a labour pool neither had enough of, seen through the earlier drafts sent by the *Drake* and the *Rochester*. Sixty-one days after sight in paragraph 24 was the credit term written on a bill of exchange, the period

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			the drawee had before payment fell due. Fixing so long a term on the larger bills while exempting sums under £100 0s 0d shows the Council guarding the Court's cash flow on the substantial drafts while sparing poor creditors a long wait for small remittances they could ill spare. **Speculations** The Council chose to buy a replacement longboat outright rather than keep the old one in service. Paragraph 29 sets the decision against the boat's condition, old and useless, and rests the choice on cost, the new boat being the cheaper course for the Court. The default of nursing the existing hull along was passed over because a worn-out boat at a place wholly dependent on its landing craft was the falser economy, the purchase justified to the Court not on need alone but on the saving against continued repair of a boat past mending.
208	200	Honours than Sending one out of England would have been The Governour found when he made his Tour round the Country that all Your Fortress & Plantations were in a good order as the Ground & nature of the Soile would permit & by the Directions he has given about them they have been Sunce been continued so & so to the Selveing & Fortification Your Honours as wee have just before mentioned in the 21 Par will have a particular Account of them by Some of the returning Shiping the Governour desires have to assure Your Honours that he will avoid all costly Undertakings & do nothing but what is absolutely necessary to be done for he has it constantly in his Memory to Shun every thing that may put Your Honrs to any needless charge 31 We have a Register Book for Bill of Sale & Leases & will take due care how We Grant Deeds to avoid being imposed upon to the Prejudice of Your Honours. We had full Satisfaction relating to Sterling Land before we had entertained the Right 32 Wee have Sent Manlove to Bencoolen but the other Six are Some of them married here & the other so usefull that we cant possibly Spare them for our Garrison is so weak that we want Recruits but know not where to get them & though We are thus weak We have taken effectual Care according to Your Honours Direction that not one of the Souldiers on board Should desert though We hear they had all a Strong Inclination to do so. For the Reason mentioned in our Consultations the 19th Decr & 2 January relating to Geo Read & for the Reason given in Consultation of the 20th of February last concerning John Bonets We have Sent both the Said Persons to Bencoolen 33 We will contrive Some way or other to let the Widow & Children of the Maynard who died here know Your Honours Opinion concerning their Right to the Effects he died Possessed of & we are glad that the owners are in so fair a way to recover them. As to Mr White he is dead & gone & his Sin will him but if Your Honrs have a Mind to know the Opinion that the Grant of the Place had of him Your Honours will find it in Consultation of the 9th of Yanry last	The Court, than sending one out from England would have been. The Governor found, when he made his tour round the country, that all the Court's pastures and plantations were in as good order as the ground and soil would allow. By the directions he had given about them, they had since been kept up, both for the recovery and improvement of the works. The Council had just before, in the 21st paragraph, promised the Court a full account of them by some of the returning ships. The Governor wished to assure the Court that he would avoid all costly undertakings, and would do nothing but what was strictly needed. He was constantly mindful to shun anything that might put the Court to needless charge. 31: The Council kept a register book for bills of sale and leases, and took care how it granted deeds, to avoid any injury to the Court. It had full satisfaction as to the title of Sterling's land before it confirmed the lease. 32: The Council had sent Manlove to Bencoolen, but the others being either married on the island or otherwise of such use that it could not spare them, the garrison was left so weak that it wanted recruits, though it knew not where to get them. Weak as it was, the Council had taken effective care, by the Court's direction, that not one of the soldiers on board should desert, though it feared they had a strong wish to do so, for the reasons set out in its consultations of the 19 December and 2 January about George Read, and for the reason given in the consultation of the 20 February last about John Bonnet. Both these men the Council had sent to Bencoolen. 33: The Council would find some means to let the widow and children of the man who died on the island have the Court's opinion about their right to his effects. He died worth a fair estate, and the Council was glad the owners were in so fair a way to recover it. As for Mr White, he was dead and gone, and his end. If the Court wished to know the Council's view of the grant of the land made to him, it would find it in the consultation of the 9 January last [...] **Interpretations** The register book for bills of sale and leases in paragraph 31 was the standing record in which the island entered its property transactions, the guard against a disputed or fraudulent grant. The care taken to confirm Sterling's title before sealing his lease sits with the reforms of the transfer and conveyancing records, the deed only passing once the Council had satisfied itself of the right, the mechanism by which the Court was protected against loss on the land it held.

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			The care against desertion in paragraph 32, that not one of the soldiers on board should slip away, followed the Court's standing order and the recurring difficulty of holding a garrison whose men preferred any escape to service on a remote and sickly island. George Read and John Bonnet, sent on to Bencoolen for the reasons entered in the consultations of December, January and February, were removed as men whose strong wish to desert made them a danger to the guard, the transfer between stations the usual disposal of troublesome soldiers. Mr White in the closing lines was the island's chaplain, whose death on 31 August and whose ill conduct and that of his wife the Council reported at length, per the Council letter of 17 January 1733. The reference to the Council's view of the land grant made to him, entered in the consultation of 9 January, shows the parson's estate and his tenure passing under the same scrutiny the Council gave every grant, his death reopening the question of the ground he held. **Speculations** The Council chose to keep most of the men it might have sent to Bencoolen and to forward only Manlove and the two would-be deserters. Paragraph 32 shows the obvious course, meeting the Court's demand for the eastern settlement with a full draft, passed over because the others were either married on the island or too useful to spare, leaving the garrison too weak to answer for. What tipped the decision was the particular unfitness of George Read and John Bonnet, marked out in three separate consultations, so the Council satisfied the Court's order by sending away the men it most wanted rid of rather than the hands it could least afford to lose.
209	201	& wee have nothing farther to Say about him other than that he was a very worthless Undeserving Man 35 If any Letters come from Snate directed to either of the Persons mentioned in this Paragraph they will be delivered to the Governour according to Your Island Directions & they both promise that this Affair Shale be a Sufficient Warning to them for the future but Mr Cripp being more particularly charged he has desired leave to have the honour to make his Defence in a private Address to Your Honours & We have given him leave to do so accordingly & he tells Us that he doubts not but his Defence will Satisfy Your Honours & Reinstate him in Your Favour 36 Notwithstanding what Mr Fyfield has Said to the contrary a Colemade here upon the Island would be of great Service not only to Your Honours but to the Generality of the Inhabitants & may be made without that great Consumption of Wood as is so represented & We are going to try what wee can do for they will come cheaper than Slate from England though wee are apt enough to beleive that Mr Fyfield might Speak as he thought because our present Governour declares that when he went away he left Your Plantation House Tiled but at his last Arrival he found it only Thatched & that all to peices 37 When We Sould the Talle of Tree due to the Secretary wee deduced Sourse & Colects though he received them upon the Same footing as his Predecessors had done before him & that wee left Unalterd wee thought very reasonable & he desires that Your Honours will be pleased to lengthen or enlarge them or to Dash em, Colin or Cake in or Curtale them as you please for	The Council had nothing further to say about him, except that he was a very worthless and useless man. 35: If any letters came from Snale addressed to either of the persons named in this paragraph, they would be delivered to the Governor by the Court's direction. Both men promised that the matter would serve as sufficient warning to them for the future. Mr Cripps, being more particularly charged, had asked leave to have the honour of making his defence in a private letter to the Court, and the Council had allowed him to do so. He said he did not doubt that his conduct would satisfy the Court and restore him to its favour. 36: Whatever Mr Byfield had said to the contrary, a road made here on the island would be of great service, not only to the Court but to the general body of the inhabitants, and it could be made without the great consumption of wood that had been claimed. The Council was going to try what it could do, since the road would come cheaper than one made from England, though the Council was inclined to think Mr Byfield had spoken as he did because the present Governor declared that when he went away he had left the plantation house tiled, but at his last arrival found it only thatched and that all in pieces. 37: When the Council examined the salary due to the secretary, it deducted a certain sum. Even so, in continuing the secretary on the same footing as his predecessors had stood before him, the Council thought it very reasonable, and would be pleased, to lengthen or enlarge the allowance, or to reduce it, or leave it unaltered, as the Court pleased. The secretary could hardly make forty shillings a year of the place. If the people were willing to pay, it would come to more. 38: As for what concerned Major Goodwin, the Governor assured the Court that he did not owe the

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		he hardly makes Forty Shillings a year of them that if the People were willing to Pay they would come to more 38 As to what concerns Major Gee Brazier they Govr assure Your Honours that he does not owe him the Value of a Farthing, that when the Major broke the Governour was advised by the Principall Creditors to be one of the Assignees which he accepted of in his Name that have been Some Suits & the Major has passed a Bill in Chancery against the Govr & his Agents full of Complaints that are absolutely false & to put this into as clear a light as is possible the	Major the value of a farthing. When the Major broke, the Governor was assigned by the principal creditors to be one of the assignees, which accounted for his name having been used in some suits. The Major had put a bill in Chancery against the Governor and his agents, full of complaints, all of them utterly false. To put the matter in a clear light, and to set it [...] **Interpretations** The plantation house left tiled and found thatched in paragraph 36 turns on the standing fire risk of the island's thatched buildings and the long effort to raise a local tile trade, the Court repeatedly asked to ballast its store ships with tiles against the thatch. The present Governor's charge that the house had reverted to thatch, set against Mr Byfield's objection to a new road on the ground of its wood consumption, ties the dispute over the causeway to the wider anxiety over timber, the earlier reforms sending a black boy home to learn the tile-maker's trade in 1731. Major Goodwin's insolvency in paragraph 38 made the Governor one of the assignees, the persons appointed by the principal creditors to gather and distribute a bankrupt's estate, which explains the Governor's name appearing in the suits. Goodwin's bill in Chancery, the English court of equity, was the instrument by which a debtor pressed his grievance at home across the cashless divide, the Council answering the charge as groundless and the same litigious complaint it had long met from the malcontents Johnson and Goodwin, per the Council letters of 1730 and 1731. The secretary's salary in paragraph 37, barely forty shillings a year unless the people paid their fees, reflects the standing pressure of a single office on a poor and remote establishment, the fee income too thin to sustain the post without the Court's allowance. The offer to raise, lower or leave the salary as the Court pleased shows the Council referring a small fiscal question home rather than settling it, the mark of an administration bound to answer the Court paragraph by paragraph. Mr Cripps in paragraph 35 was the island's surgeon, a competent and willing man who gave his medicines to the poor without charge yet received almost nothing from the planters, per the Council letter of 2 April 1731. His request to make his defence in a private letter, more particularly charged than the other, shows an officer under the Court's displeasure using the direct channel to the board to clear himself, the same recourse the Governor had earlier taken in his own suit for advancement. **Speculations** The Council chose to attempt the road itself on the island rather than accept Mr Byfield's objection that it would consume too much wood. Paragraph 36 sets the rejected course, abandoning the work on the wood argument, against the reason the Council pressed on, the road being cheaper made on the spot than one brought from England and useful to the inhabitants as well as the Court. What decided it was the Council's reading of Byfield's motive, his objection traced to his quarrel with the present Governor over the tiled house found thatched, so his warning about the wood was set aside as the complaint of an interested man rather than a true bar to the work.
210	202	the Govr will writ to his Attorney in England that if the Major can make good only one of his Allegations of Complaints he will allow all the rest the Govr therefore & Sure Your Honours do not expect that because the Man is noisy & clamourous that he Should pay his Debts To prevent matter	The Governor would write to his attorney in England, that if the Major could make good only one of his charges of complaint, the Governor would allow it. The Governor therefore hoped the Court would not expect that, merely because the Major was noisy and clamorous, the Governor

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		of Ease & complaint arose from his. When his Houshold Goods were Appraised he desired to have the buying of them himself & instead of paying ready Money there was a Bond taken in the Assignees Name for the Sum without the Govrs Privity & when the Lawyer brought in his Bill of Charges he had Mr Braziers Bond in part of his Bill & the rest the Govr must pay & if the whole Sum due upon the Bond be received neither the Governour nor any of the rest of the Creditors will have Sixpence of the Money but will be all alike defrauded so that there is nothing left that can be Assign'd to Arbitration 39 We hope Mr Ardy will arrive in due time at Bombay with the Recruits Your Honours have been pleased to Send thither 40 Sleigh Williams is Safely arrived & We wish he may be as of Service but as of asaid he wont do for he has required Thirty Men to be under him which is more than probl the number that used to be employed & now We have Sent twenty Blacks to Bencoolen We cant Spare so many Blacks as wee used to do 41 The Governour has received the Signal from the Store the Gamblim of the Committee of Surveis of which the proper Officers wee have notice as Soon as necessary 42 The Deales Your Honours have Sent are very ordinary & many very Short not more than Eight feete long & when they were Shewing the Captain told the Man some of whom they were bought & the Antwerd than they were as short of the wrong Isle. The Plank is also very bad & Use of Sza We designed it for a Cistern & but wee are afraid it wont be fit for the purpose or if wee can make a Shift with it for that prevent it will do little Service We therefore desire Your Honours will give order that we may be better Served for the future 43 We have Six Sows of Lead belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard lately dies which are of no use to Us wee thought Your Honours may Gain something by	should pay his debts. The whole matter of the Major's complaint arose from this: when the Major's household goods were appraised, he wished to buy them himself instead of taking ready money for them. A bond was drawn in the assignee's name for the sum, without the Governor's privity. When the lawyer brought in his bill of charges, the Governor had Mr Beazor's bond in part of his bill, and the rest the Governor was to pay. He received the whole sum due upon the bond, but neither the Governor nor any of the other creditors would have sixpence of the money. All would be alike disappointed, so that there was nothing left that could be referred to arbitration. 34: The Council hoped Mr Ready had by this time arrived at Bombay with the recruits the Court had been pleased to send there. 40: Sleigh Williams was safely arrived. The Council wished he might be of service, but was afraid he would not, since he demanded thirty men to be under him, which was more than the number that used to be employed. Now that the Council had sent twenty slaves to Bencoolen, it could not spare so many people as it used to do. 41: The Governor had received the signal from the fort, the emblem of the Committee of Secrecy, of which the proper officers would have notice as soon as necessary. 42: The dealer's goods the Court had sent were very poor, and many very short, not more than eight feet long. When they were showing the captain the plank of which they were bought, the captain answered that they were shorter than the whole piece. The plank was of very bad use of its kind. The Council had meant it for a custom house, but as it was, it might be fit for the purpose, or the Council could make a shift with it for that. To prevent it being of as little service in future, the Council would give orders that it might be better served for the time to come. 43: The Council had six pieces of land belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard lately died, of which one of no value to the rest they thought the Court might gain something by [...] **Interpretations** The Major's household goods appraised, then bought back on a bond in the assignee's name in the opening paragraph, was the standard machinery of a bankruptcy, the debtor's effects valued and either sold for cash or reacquired against a secured note distributed among the creditors. The Governor's account, that he received the whole sum on the bond yet neither he nor the other creditors would touch a penny of it, casts the dispute as Major Goodwin's attempt to reclaim through Chancery money already committed to the creditors as a body, the estate exhausted and nothing left to arbitrate. The Committee of Secrecy in paragraph 41 was the confidential channel through which the Court sent sensitive orders to the Governor alone, separate from the general correspondence the whole Council read. The signal from the fort as its emblem, with the proper officers to have notice only as needed, shows the mechanism working in practice, the private instruction kept from the board until the moment for acting arrived, as recorded through the Council letters of 1730 and 1731. Sleigh Williams in paragraph 40, arrived to command but demanding thirty men under him, ran against the island's standing shortage of hands, sharpened by the twenty slaves just sent to Bencoolen. The Council's doubt that he could be of service on those terms ties the personnel question to the recurring drain of labour to the eastern

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			settlement, an establishment that could not both answer the Court's demands and man its own works. The short plank in paragraph 42, sent for a custom house but found not more than eight feet long, belongs to the standing want of durable building timber, the island's longest local timber reaching only sixteen feet and old ship timber sought from the English breakers' yards. The captain's admission that the boards were cut shorter than the whole piece shows the short delivery the Council routinely endorsed against a consignment, the defective stuff kept and made shift with rather than refused outright. **Speculations** The Council chose to keep the poorly cut plank and turn it to a lesser use rather than reject it as unfit for the custom house it was meant for. Paragraph 42 sets the intended purpose against the reality, the boards too short at eight feet and cut shorter than the whole piece, yet the Council resolved to make shift with them and only guard against a like delivery in future. What settled it was the island's chronic want of timber, so even defective boards were worth keeping at a place that could not readily replace them, the short measure noted for the record while the material itself was salvaged.
211	203	them if Sent to England & therefore wee desire You will give Us Order to Send them accordingly 44 We have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of Sixty Pound Sterlg dated the 10th instant payable to Duke Crisp for Order for Salary due to him £a Thirty Pound which he that pay paid into Your Stord Cash here of which wee pray Your Acceptance We are St Helena 25th March 1732 Your Honrs [...]	These pieces of land would fetch more if sent to England, and the Council therefore asked the Court to have them sent there accordingly. 44: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court, dated the 10th of this month, for the sum of £60 0s 0d sterling, payable to Duke Cripps by order for salary due to him. Against this, the Council had paid £30 0s 0d into the Court's cash on the island, and it asked the Court to accept the bills. St Helena, 25 March 1732. **Interpretations** The single set of bills of exchange in paragraph 44 was the standing device by which the cashless island discharged a debt, a draft on the Court in London answered against coin or credit paid in at St Helena. The Council's drawing of £60 0s 0d for Duke Cripps's salary while paying £30 0s 0d into the Court's cash shows the mechanism turning idle island coin into a claim redeemable at home, the paper crossing the divide the money could not.
212	204	Honble Sirs. The Enfield Left Us on the 15th of last Month in her way to Ceylone & Inclosed wee Send Your Honbr a Copy of the Letter wee then wrote On the 1st Instant the Sackyeer arrived here from India on the 6th the Lynn on the 12 the Richmond both Ships last from China & on the 18th the Rifflaboe from Bengale by whom & the Seamen wee hear that the Bradford or as gone to China & the Duke of Lorrain to Surat & that the Walpole Cyler Grantham & Nassau & Prince of Orange would all be dispatched home this Seavon & By the China Ships wee hear that the Dutch have Sized an Ostend Ship with a Sweedish Commission homeward bound in the Heights of Sunda & waited there in order to Size the other Ship that went directly from Ostend that the Compton was Sailed for Bombay & the Wyngham was almost ready to proceed to Madras & that Mr Arbuthnot died just as they read the Coast of China where the other three Ships had got near Six Weeks	Honoured Sirs, The *Enfield* left the island on the 15th of last month on her way to England, and the Council enclosed with her a copy of the letter it had written on the 4th of this month. The *Sackville* arrived here from India on the 1st, the *Lyne* on the 3rd, and the *Richmond*, both last from China, on the 8th. The *Aislaby* came from Bengal, and by her the Council heard that the *Bedford* had gone to China, and that the *Duke of Lorraine* to Surat, the *Marlborough*, the *Lyell*, the *Grantham*, the *Nassau* and the *Prince of Orange* would all be despatched home this season. By the China ships the Council heard that the Dutch had seized an Ostend ship carrying a Swedish commission, homeward bound in the Straits of Sunda, and had waited there to seize the other ship that had gone directly from Ostend. The *Compton* had sailed for Bombay, and the *Wyndham* was almost ready to proceed to Madras. Mr Arbuthnot died just as they neared the coast of China, where the other three ships had arrived some weeks before him. The *Prince Augustus* had been at the island, and the *Prince Eugene* had sailed from Bombay a good while before the *Aislaby* put in here. In its consultation of the 27th of last month, the Council took notice how much the Court had been

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		before him the Yorne & Aughboer had been at the Cape Unwas Sailed from thence a good while before the Rifflaboe put in there In our Consultation of the 27th last Month wee have taken notice how much Your Honours have been imposed upon in the purchase of Some of the last Cargo for St Helena, particularly Deales & Blankets there being 780 Dram Deals charged at £17.8 ℔ 120, though many of them hardly hold out 9 feet & great numbers of them barely 8 feet, & 720 Altiona charged at £8.10 ℔ 120 the most of them are only 11 feet long very few reaching to 12 feet & none of them worth bear the Value put upon them by the Invoice, the Blankets also are extreamly coarse very dear & the Refuse in this is so gross that wee have Sent Your Honrs one of our old bone of our new Cargo that you may Your Selves be Eye Witnesses of the Deceipt & the former with the Fifty Gallont are Sold for 45 ℔ Rain & are much better & afresh wider than the later which with the 30th Cent upon them come to 18.10½ ℔ Rain the last Cargo also came Short of the Invoice in the following Articles which are wanting Vizt	imposed upon in the purchase of some of the last cargo for St Helena, particularly the deals and blankets. There were 780 dram deals charged at £57 8s 0d, £120, though many of them barely held out nine feet, and a great number of them barely eight feet. There were 720 Altidena charged at £8 10s 0d, £120. The masts of them were only eleven feet long, very few reaching fourteen feet, and none of them worth near the value put upon them by the invoice. The blankets also were extremely coarse and very dear, and the chintz in this cargo so poor that the Council had sent the Court one of its own old bales of the new cargo, so the Court might be its own witness of the weight. The former, with the fifty gallons of paint, are sold for £5 0s 0d, paint and all, much better and rather wider than the latter, which with the [...] chintz upon them come to £18 10s 0d, £2, paint and all. The last cargo also came short of the invoice in the following articles, which are wanting [...] **Interpretations** The dram deals in the second paragraph were sawn softwood boards of a standard length, a dram deal being a Norway or Baltic plank of set dimensions, the timber the island depended on for its building and which the local wood could not supply. The complaint that 780 of them, charged near £57 8s 0d, barely reached eight or nine feet exposes the same short-measure grievance the Council pressed against every consignment, the boards billed as full lengths but delivered too short for the work, the island's longest home timber reaching only sixteen feet. The Ostend ship seized under a Swedish commission in the first paragraph belongs to the long enforcement of the Company monopoly against the interloping trade, the Dutch here acting against the same unlicensed competition the Court's own ships were appointed to intercept. The detail that the interloper carried a Swedish commission, and that the Dutch waited in the Straits of Sunda for a second ship out of Ostend, shows the shifting flags under which the barred venturers sailed and the readiness of the established companies to take them by force, as tracked through the Council letters of 1730 and 1731. The old bale of chintz sent home as its own witness in the second paragraph was the Council's standing method of proving a defect by physical exhibit, the coarse and dear cloth returned so the Court might judge its weight for itself. The technique follows the long practice of returning defective stock as evidence, the return of the unusable blue cloth and the adulterated arrack casks kept untouched, the specimen carrying the proof the written report alone could not. The blankets charged very dear and found extremely coarse in the second paragraph were part of the standing supply for clothing the Court's slaves, the kersey and blanket issue the island depended on from home and the eastern settlements. The complaint of poor quality at a high price ties the cargo grievance to the recurring charge of slave clothing, the goods received unfit for the purpose they were bought to serve. **Speculations** The Council chose to send home one of its own old bales of the new cargo rather than rest its complaint on the written account alone. The obvious course was to report the poor chintz and short deals in the letter and leave the Court to weigh the charge, but the Council returned a physical sample so the Court could judge the weight and quality itself. What decided it was the difficulty of proving a fraud in the purchase across the distance to London, the

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			returned bale carrying a proof no bill of particulars could, the specimen laid before the Court where its own word against the invoice might not be believed.
213	205	4 Mens Breests to Value £2.12.8 16 Mens Cloth Plates 4.1.4 12 Boy Bushling Combs 4.12. 6 Pair Mens Shoes 4.2. the Boxes or Cases in which these things are Said to be pack't were candld over & fast naild down & the Package Seemingly full & intire & for Your farther Satisfaction herin wee desire Your Honours will direct this Consultation to be laid before you & that you will be pleased to give Order that wee may be better Served hereafter, there is a little Mistake in the Invoice the Price of the Pewter Dishes & Plates being wholly omitted it amounts to £3.9.4 & wee have So enterd it in our Books, the Stockings came out well two & so the Sannware the Ivory was also very good & none of the rest of the things are to be found fault with except the Plank of which wee complained in the 42 Paragraph of our last Letter We have Sent Your Honrs 400 peice of Cuccanees by Capt Elliston the particulars of which are as follows Vizt Cuccanees ℔ Bale Vizt 100 peices Cuccanees £43.15.- 100 ditto 45.- 100 ditto 47.10.- 12 ℔ No: 5 7.4 13 ℔ 6 4.2. 3 ℔ 1 16.18.4 37 ℔ 3 22.16.4 9 ℔ 3 5.19.1 £197.13.6 We have also Sent Your Honrs Eight double Davils of damaged Powder, by the Seaman two double barils by the Lynn two double Bortils, by the Richmond two double Barils & by the Rifflaboe two double Davils & in our Packet you will find the Captains Receipt for the Same & by Capt Elliston first Bill of Lading for the Cuccanees among which are the two Blankets afore mentioned Wee are, 25 ℔ Aprl 1732 P.S: The Davils in which wee had made to put the Powder in proved so large that not one of them could be got through the Ship Skuttle the wee Shewed the Captains the Barils & they thought they would do very well but upon tryal they would not & therefore they are not have Sent but wee have	1 mens breeches, value, £2 12s 8d 16 mens cloth plates, £4 1s 4d 12 boxes brushing combs, £4 12s 0d 6 pairs mens shoes, £1 3s 0d Though the boxes or cases in which these things were sent were said to be very picture, they were nailed down over and fast nailed, the package seemingly full and entire. For the Court's further satisfaction the Council desired this consultation to be laid before it, so that the Court might be pleased to give order for a better delivery in future. There was a small mistake in the invoice, the price of the pewter dishes and plates being wholly omitted. It came to £3 9s 1d, and the Council had entered it in its books. The stockings came out well, the ivory very good, and none of the rest of the things were to be found fault with, except the plank complained of in the 42nd paragraph of the Council's last letter. The Council had also sent the Court 400 pieces of Guineastuffs by Captain Elliston, the particulars of which were as follows: Guineastuffs, 1 bale, £43 15s 0d 100 pieces Guineastuffs, £43 15s 0d 100 pieces Guineastuffs, £45 0s 0d 100 pieces Guineastuffs, £47 10s 0d 12 pieces, number 5, £7 4s 0d 13 pieces, number 6, £4 2s 0d 3 pieces, number 1, £16 18s 4d 37 pieces, number 2, £22 16s 4d 9 pieces, number 3, £5 19s 1d total, £197 13s 6d The Council had also sent the Court eight double dowlas of damaged powder, by the *Sackville* two double barrels, by the *Lyne* two double barrels, by the *Richmond* two double barrels, and by the *Aislaby* two double barrels, ten in the Council's packet. The Court would find Captain Elliston's receipt for the same, and Captain Elliston's first bill of lading for the Guineastuffs among the two packets before mentioned. St Helena, 25 April 1733. The Council added that the barrels in which the powder was sent were so large that not one of them could be got through the ship's scuttle. When it showed the captains the barrels, they thought they would do very well, but on trial they would not pass. They had not therefore been sent, but the Council had set the cooper to work already to make barrels that would be suitable, so as to send it by the next ship. **Interpretations** The Guineastuffs in the second account were coarse cotton cloths carried for the West African slave trade, the plain woven goods used to purchase and clothe slaves on the Guinea coast and standing here as a valuable export the island passed on for the Court. The 400 pieces shipped by the *Aislaby* under Captain Elliston, entered bale by bale to a total of £197 13s 6d, show the island serving as a link in the traffic of trade cloth between the eastern manufacture and the Atlantic markets. The omitted price of the pewter in the first paragraph, the dishes and plates left off the invoice and coming to £3 9s 1d, was the kind of clerical slip the Council routinely corrected against the goods and entered in its own books. The care to set the missing sum right belongs to the standing bookkeeping reform, every credit and charge traced and squared against the invoice, the island's accounts brought to the Court's required form.

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		Set the Cooper already to work to make Davils that are Sizeable in order to Send it by the next Shiping.	The powder barrels too large for the ship's scuttle in the closing note turn on a plain practical limit, the scuttle being the small hatch through which cargo passed below deck, and the casks built too wide to enter it. The Council's setting the cooper to make suitable barrels rather than force the oversized ones follows the earlier difficulty with the damaged powder held back for want of ready cooperage, the spoiled stores waiting on the barrels that would carry them. **Speculations** The Council chose to hold the damaged powder back and have new barrels made rather than send the oversized casks the captains had first approved. The closing note sets the rejected course, the barrels the captains judged would serve, against the trial that proved they would not pass the scuttle, on which the Council set the cooper to work at once. What decided it was the physical bar of the hatch rather than any doubt about the powder, the stores kept at the island a further season so they might go in casks that would actually stow, the sooner despatch given up for a workable one.
214	206	Honbl Sirs. 18th May 1732 We paid our Duty to Your Honrs on the 23 of last Month by the Lynn who together with the Frances Richmond, & the Rifflaboe then Sailed from home for England & the inclosed is a Copy of the Letter wee then wrote On the 6th instant the Prince of Orange arrived here from India by whom wee had a Confirmation that the Grantham Walpole Cyler & Nassau will be all dispatched this Year in due Season & may be Speedily expected the Prince Auguster & Prince William had been at the Cape & the later Sailed from thence a little before this Ship put in there where these Ships lay three Weeks In our Packet wee have Sent Your Honrs Seventy Nine Ounces Pweter Pennyweight in various Corn & four Spec of Gold & also One hundred & six Ounces five Pennyweight of Silver Coin of different Sorts all belonging to our Sturgeon Mr Beaton who by Petition enterd in Consultation of the 1st instant Set forth that he had no Opportunity to remit the Same any other way with Sufficient Security & if it was to be Sent to his hands it might almost prove his Ruin & his request appearing reasonable wee agreed to do so & the particulars relating to this matter Your Honours will find in the Consultan already enterd to which wee desire & You will order to be laid before you Wee have also drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of £131.8. dated the 1st instant Payable to the order John Brown on order he having this day paid into Your Honours Cash here the Sum of £62.5. in Cash Notes of this Place the rest being due to him for Salary as appears by his Accounts on the Books of which wee desire Your Honours Acceptance Other Affairs of Consequence which remain yet to be Spoken to wee defer till wee lay before Your Honours a Summary & Recapitulation of what wee have already mentioned this Season & then you Shall	Honoured Sirs, The Council paid its duty to the Court on the 23rd of last month by the *Lyne*, and shortly after her the *Frances*, the *Richmond* and the *Aislaby*, which sailed from the island for England, and enclosed is a copy of the letter the Council then wrote. On the 6th of this month the *Prince of Orange* arrived here from India, by whom the Council had confirmation that the *Grantham*, the *Walpole*, the *Lyell* and the *Nassau* would all be despatched this year in due season, and might be shortly expected. The *Prince Augustus* and the *Prince William* had been at the Cape, the latter sailing from there a little before this ship put in here, where she lay three weeks. In its packet the Council had sent the Court seventy-nine ounces of pieces of pennyweight in various coin, and four spade of gold value one hundred and six ounces, five pennyweight of silver coin, of sufficient sorts, all belonging to its own store. Mr Beckon, whose petition was entered in the consultation of the 1st of this month, set out that he had had no opportunity to remit the sum any other way with sufficient security, and that if it were not to be paid into ready hands it might almost prove his ruin. His request seeming reasonable, the Council agreed to do it. The particulars relating to this matter the Court would find in the consultation already sent, to which the Council referred it, and which the Court would order to be laid before it. The Council had also drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £131 8s 0d, dated the 1st of this month, payable to John Brown by order, he having this day paid into the Court's cash here the sum of £62 5s 0d in cash notes of this place, the rest being due to him for salary, as appears by his account in the books, of which the Council asked the Court's acceptance. There were other matters of consequence still to be reported. The Council would in its next letter lay before the Court a summary of the reasons in support of what it had already mentioned this season, and the Court would then have a full account of the whole. The Council had sent the Court five double barrels of damaged powder by Captain Elliston, and had passed on the captain's receipt for the same in its packet. The Council would continue to send some by every ship until it was rid of it all. St Helena, 15 May 1733. **Interpretations**

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		have a full & very perfect Account of the whole We have Sent Your Honrs five double Davils of damaged Powder by Capt Elleson and have Transmitted the Captains Receipt for the Same in the Packet wee promise to Send Some by every Ship till wee get rid of it as Wee are St Helena 18 May 1733	The gold and silver coin sent home in the third paragraph, entered by ounces and pennyweight and drawn from the island's own store, was remitted by weight because coin at St Helena served less as a circulating medium than as bullion to be shipped and accounted, the same scarce specie the Council had long struggled to keep on the island. Mr Beckon's petition to remit his money this way, on the ground that no other course gave sufficient security and that failing it might ruin him, shows a private party using the Court's homeward packet as the only safe channel across the cashless divide. The bill of exchange for John Brown in the fourth paragraph worked the standing mechanism of the island's finance, a draft on the Court in London answered against cash paid in at St Helena, here £62 5s 0d in local cash notes with the balance carried to his salary account. The arrangement turned coin the island could not otherwise use into a claim payable at home, the paper crossing where the money could not. The damaged powder sent home five barrels at a time in the closing paragraph belongs to the running effort to clear the spoiled stores by degrees, the casks earlier held back for want of ready cooperage and for being too large to pass the ship's scuttle. The Council's resolve to send some by every ship until it was rid of it all shows the disposal spread across successive hulls, the standing method of returning defective stock rather than holding the whole quantity at the island. **Speculations** The Council chose to carry Mr Beckon's private money home in the Court's own packet rather than leave him to remit it by some other means. The obvious course was to keep the Company's homeward conveyance for the Company's business, but the Council agreed to ship his coin on his plea that no other channel offered sufficient security and that failure might ruin him. What decided it was the want of any safe alternative at so remote a place, the Council extending the Court's packet to a private remittance because the cashless island left a man no other way to get his money home whole.
215	207	Honbl Sirs 31 May 1733 The Ship that last left Us in her way to England was the Prince of Orange & She Sailed from hence on the 10th instant & the Inclosed is a Copy of the Letter wee then wrote to Your Honours. Sine her Departure Several foreign Ships & Some of Your own have touched here Vizt On the 15th a French Ship called the Duke of Anjou of 550 Tons & 26 Guns Monsr Morell & Corns arrived here from China the next day an Ostend Ship called the Duke of Lorrain likewise of 550 Tons & 30 Guns Monsr De Clerk Commandr also arrived here from the Same place & Sailed on the 22d but before wee Suffered her to come in wee very particularly Examined both the Captain and Supra Cargoes & her Licence or Commission which was Signed by the King & Countersigned by their Secretary of State Lord Harrington & dated 18th of Febry 1731/2, & was to continue in force Twenty nine Months from 1st October 1729 the Supra Cargoes were Mr & Sleigh Van Duipen & Coppinger Sons of Sobel Cornells Son Water. The Same day the Walpole came in & on the 23 two French Ships one called the Goiffin of 400 Tons & 8 Guns Monsr Forte & one Herbre Comdr from Pontichebory, the	Honoured Sirs, The ship that last left the island on her way to England was the *Prince of Orange*, which sailed from here on the 10th of this month, and enclosed is a copy of the letter the Council then wrote to the Court. Since her departure several foreign ships, and some of the Court's own, had called here. On the 8th a French ship called the *Duke of Anjou*, of 550 tons and 26 guns, Monsieur Morrell Cornu, arrived here from China. The next day an Ostend ship called the *Duke of Lorraine*, likewise of 550 tons and 30 guns, Monsieur De Clark commander, also arrived here from the same place, and sailed on the 22nd. Before the Council suffered her to come in, it very particularly examined both the captain and the supercargoes, and her licence or commission, which was signed by the King and countersigned by the secretary of state, Lord Harrington, dated 18 February 1731, and was to continue in force twenty-nine months from 1 October 1729. The supercargoes were Mr Jacob Van Inspen and Mr Coppinger, and one Robert Dornan, son of Walter. The same day the *Walpole* came in, and on the 23rd two French ships, one called the *Griffin* of 400 tons and 18 guns, Monsieur Poole and one Herline commander, from Pondicherry. The other was called the *Prince of Orange*, homeward bound, of 290 tons, 46 guns and 140 men, Monsieur Bart commander, put in here for refreshment, the latter not having been able to get round the Cape. Both men and ship

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		other was called the Vinu outward bound of 890 Tons & 6 Guns & 140 Men Monsr Bart Comdr put in here for Refreshment the later not having been able to get round the Cape & both Men & Ship are in a terrible Condition Eighty of the Crew being Sick & those they can well are hardly able to Stand upon their Legs they having been for four Months past at an lc Allowance of a Pint of Water a day Saries eaten up with the Scurvey & were reduced to the last Cask of Water the day they made the Island. The Same day two Ships past by whom wee imagine were the Dutch China Ships. On the 25th a Single Ship past by & the Same day the Mackthonyet arrived from Bombay & on the 27th the Nassau & Grantham from thence & the Greenwich from Bombay. By the Bombay Ship wee hear that the Monmouth was returned from Persia & would be dispatched home this Season. By the Grantham tells Us that the Cyler was to be dispatched from Madrass Eight days after him & wee expect her hourly. The Supply this Ship have brought Us Your Honours wee See in our Cargo of the 16th & 20 instant. The French Ship called the Duke of Anjou Sailed on the 24th for France, the Goiffin wee Saile in a day or two	were in a terrible condition, eighty of the crew being sick, and those they had well were hardly able to stand upon their legs, having been for four months past at an allowance of a pint of water a day. They were quite eaten up with the scurvy, and were reduced to the last cask of water the day they made the island. The same day two ships passed by, which the Council imagined were the Dutch China ships. On the 25th a single ship passed by, and the same day the *Marlborough* arrived from Bombay. On the 6th the *Nassau* arrived from Bombay, the *Greenwich* from Surat and the *Grantham* from Surat, the Council hearing that fifty were near that from Bombay. By the *Bombay* the Council was informed from Persia, and would this month have despatched home this season. The Council was informed that the *Lyell* was on her way to be despatched from Madras, and expected her hourly. Eight days after her the Council looked for the supply ships. What those ships had brought the Court, the Court would see in the Council's account of the 16th and 20th of this month. The French ship called the *Duke of Anjou* sailed on the 24th for France, and the *Griffin* would sail in a day or two [...] **Interpretations** The Ostend ship *Duke of Lorraine* in the second passage, admitted only after close examination of her captain, supercargoes and commission, belongs to the long enforcement of the Company monopoly against the interloping trade, the Council satisfying itself of a foreign ship's papers before allowing her the road. The commission signed by the King and countersigned by Lord Harrington, dated 18 February 1731 and running twenty-nine months from October 1729, shows the licensed cover under which the barred venturers sailed, the standing caution against foreign shipping continued as recorded through the Council letters of 1730 and 1731. The distressed French ship *Prince of Orange* homeward bound, unable to weather the Cape and reduced to her last cask of water with eighty men down with scurvy, was allowed refreshment on the plain ground of common humanity, the treatment the island gave a foreign vessel in real distress. The account of the four-month pint-a-day allowance and the crew barely able to stand shows the peril of the long passage the island's road was meant to relieve, the same relief extended earlier to the *Schonberg* and the *Charming Galley*. The pint of water a day in the same passage was the ration to which a ship in extremity cut her crew when the casks ran low, scurvy being the wasting disease of long voyages that fresh provisions and water were known to cure. The ship reaching the island on her last cask makes plain why St Helena's watering place mattered to the homeward trade, the Council's long argument that its road spared ships the peril of the Cape given concrete force by a vessel that barely made it in. **Speculations** The Council chose to admit the two foreign ships only after examining their commissions rather than turn them away or let them in on sight. The *Duke of Lorraine* was an Ostend interloper of the kind the monopoly barred, yet the Council suffered her to come in once it had scrutinised her captain, supercargoes and the licence signed by Lord Harrington, while the French *Prince of Orange* was relieved outright as a ship in distress. What separated the two responses was not the flag but the state of the vessel and the standing of her papers, the Council holding the balance between guarding the road against unlicensed trade and giving the bare

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			relief due to a crew dying of scurvy on their last cask of water.
216	208	and as Soon as the Venus can be got ready She will proceed on her outward bound Voyage We have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of £500 „--„ Sterg dated the 29th instant & Payable to the Governour or Order being for so much due to him in Your Books of Account here of which wee humbly pray Your Honours Assistance We have Sent Your Honrs Ten Double Barils damaged Powder 5 by Capt Bradham & four by Captain Scunt & in our Packet wee have Trans mitted the Captains Receipts for the Same. We are St Helena 31 May 1733.	As soon as the *Venus* could be got ready, she would proceed on her outward-bound voyage. The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for the sum of £500 0s 0d sterling, dated the 29th of this month and payable to the Governor or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books of account here, of which the Council asked the Court's acceptance. The Council had sent the Court ten double barrels of damaged powder, six by Captain Bradham and four by Captain Leunt, and in its packet it had passed on the captains' receipts for the same. St Helena, 31 May 1733. **Interpretations** The bill of exchange for £500 0s 0d in the second paragraph, drawn to the Governor for a balance owed him in the island books, worked the standing device by which the cashless island settled a debt, a draft on the Court in London answered against credit recorded at St Helena. Drawn payable to the Governor himself for so much due to him, it shows the same paper mechanism serving the head of the administration as it served any private creditor, the money owing at the island turned into a claim redeemable at home. The damaged powder sent home ten barrels at a time in the third paragraph continues the running effort to clear the spoiled stores by degrees, the earlier casks held back for want of ready cooperage and for being too wide to pass the ship's scuttle. The despatch of six by one captain and four by another, with the receipts kept in the packet, shows the disposal spread across separate hulls, the recoverable proof of delivery carried home as the standing guard on the return of defective stock.
217	209	Honbl Sirs. 1 With this wee transmit to Your Honbr a Copy of the Letter wee Sent by the Walpole who with the Marlborough Sailed from hence on the 1st instant as did the French Ship called the Griffin on the 4th & to day the Nassau Grantham & Greenwich proceed on their Voyage for England 2 The Season drawing now near an End & the last of Your Shiping being daily expected wee humbly lay before Your Honours an old Abstract of Such matters as wee have from time to time mentioned to You in our Several Genl Letters of the Year which wee think are of most Consequence to be remembered by You in which wee think & require a particular Answer & wee begin first with our Letter of the 19th of January in the 6th Paragraph of which Your Honours are acquainted that the Captains having made the badness of the Water a pretence for touching at the Cape wee were determined at all events to put an End to it & rather than faile were resolved to have brought the Water out of the Country from Captain Doual Spring near Your Genrl Plantation House but many great difficulties & much Expence being likely to attend this Undertaking wee have laid it entirely aside & by a lucky Experiment the Governour has in all there is no longer any occasion	Honoured Sirs, With this the Council sent the Court a copy of the letter it last sent by the *Walpole*, which sailed home from here on the 4th of this month, along with the *Marlborough* and the French ship called the *Griffin*. On the same day the *Nassau*, the *Grantham* and the *Greenwich* proceeded on their voyage for England. The season now drawing near, and the last of the Court's ships being daily expected, the Council humbly laid before the Court an abstract of what its journal contained, which it had reported from time to time. It turned to those parts of the year's general letter it thought of most consequence for the Court to remember, and on which it would ask a particular answer, beginning first with the letter of the 17th of January, in the 6th paragraph of which the Court complained that the captains had made the badness of the water a pretence for touching at the Cape. The Council was determined to put an end to it at all events, rather than fail, and resolved to bring the water out of the country from Captain Troud's Spring near the Court's plantation house. Great difficulties were likely to attend the undertaking, and the expense would be heavy, so the Council had left it entirely aside. By a lucky experiment the Governor now had no further need of it, for by cutting a trench to carry the salt or mineral springs that mixed with the water off into the sea, the water that ran to the crane, where the Court's ships watered, was now as sweet and wholesome as any water that ran into the ocean. All the Court's ships that could conveniently water there had tried it and found it very good. It would take some time to secure the branches or sides of the channel from the freshes that often happened there, when great stones

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		for it for by cutting a Trench to convey the Salt or mineral Springs that mix with the Water that runs to the Crane where Your Ships Water into the Sea, that Water is now become as Sweet & wholesome as any Water that runs into the Ocean & all Ships who can lastly Water here & they commend it & now its very good, but it will take Some time to compleat the Trench so as to Secure the Banks or Sides thereof from the Breaches that often happen therein by great Stones that frequently fall from the Mountaines & but the charge of doing this will be trifling 3 To Save the Lives of Your Officers & Soldiers who do Duty at Bankes Fort wee have been abliged to paird the way hither the difficulty & danger in passing to & from thence being so great that wee look upon it as so wonderful a Sign of Providence that People Should so often Escape without Mischief & so Soon as Your Shiping are over wee design to perfect what wee have begun for the Work will be Something tedious because the Ship wee so high & Steep the Fellows can hardly Stand to their Labour & the Rocks so hard in	frequently fell from the mountains, but the cost of doing this would be trifling. To the sad state of the Court's officers and soldiers who did duty at Bank's Fort the Council had been obliged to [...] repair the way. The difficulty and danger of getting to and from that place were so great that the Council looked on it as a wonderful act of Providence that its people should not so often perish there without mischief. As soon as the Court's shipping was over, the Council was anxious to perfect what it had begun, since the works would be worth something. Because the ships lay so high, the fellows could hardly stand to their labour, the [...] so hard in [...] **Interpretations** Captain Troud's Spring in the second paragraph, first proposed to carry water out of the country to the crane, belongs to the long effort to fix the goodness of the island's water against the commanders' pretext of bad water for touching at the Cape, the standing grievance that homeward ships watered and provisioned at the rival station to the loss of the island's planters. The abandonment of the costly conveyance for the cheaper trenching of the salt springs that spoiled the run shows the Council choosing the frugal contrivance, the same scheme pressed through the Council letters of 1731 to 1733. The freshes in the same passage were the sudden torrents that swept the island's valleys after heavy rain, carrying down great stones from the mountains, the flash floods to which the watering channel lay exposed. The need to secure the sides of the trench against them ties the water works to the island's violent rains, the same freshes that had earlier torn out the castle's west curtain, the standing hazard of a place whose sudden downpours could destroy an unprotected work. Bank's Fort in the third paragraph was the outpost whose approach lay along a dangerous path where the men were cut off from water and had lost their lives, per the Council letter of 17 January 1733. The Council's resolve to repair the way once the shipping season was over shows the standing subordination of the fortification works to the demands of the calling ships, the labour turned to the road only when the fleet no longer claimed it. **Speculations** The Council chose to abandon the costly plan of bringing water from Captain Troud's Spring and instead cut a trench to carry off the salt springs that fouled the existing run. The second paragraph sets the rejected course, the conveyance from the distant spring with its great difficulties and heavy expense, against the lucky experiment that made the nearer water sweet at a trifling cost. What decided it was the discovery that the crane's own supply could be cleansed by draining the mineral springs to the sea, so the Council dropped the expensive scheme once the cheap remedy proved the water as wholesome as any, the frugal fix answering the commanders' complaint without the charge the first plan would have laid on the Court.
218	210	many places that they can Scare cut through them. 4 When the Trench & the Path to Bankes are fully compleated wee Shale be under a necessity to give the Inhabitants Some help towards repairing the Path up Ladder Hill it being now so bad that no body can pass without danger of Ruin & Yesterday one of Mr Wangham Slaves was lately hided by a fall from thence occasioned by the badness of the Road the when Governour Pyke made it it was a very fine one	Many places that they could scarcely cut through them. 4: When the trenches and the path to Bank's were fully completed, the Council would be forced to give the inhabitants some help toward repairing the path up Ladder Hill, it being now so bad that nobody could pass without danger of their lives. One of Mr Wrangham's slaves was lately killed by a fall from there, caused by the badness of the road. When Governor Pyke made it, it was a very fine one. He left it in very good order at his going away, but it was

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		the last it in very good order at his going away but it now quite gone to Ruin & how all the Road in most part of the Island are in the Same bad Condition & the Inhabitants importune Us daily to give them Assistance wee cant avoid doing so they being very poor & not able to do it themselves though very willing to contribute towards it with all the help they have 5 The Preservation & Encrease of Wood is a Matter of Just Consequence to the present and Succeeding Generations Care People being likely to be so much affected with it that wee have Spent many of our thoughts upon it for in general the Wood is greatly decayed in Quantity on this Place & the Preservation of it too much Neglected all the many necessary Wood orders have been made therein for by the Rules of this Place every man is obliged to Plant one Tree of Land for every Ten Tree he possess yet when that Land is so planted & their Leaves made out to them it is usual with them to turn in their Catle upon it which in a Short time hinders its growth & destroys it for in top the Catle be entirely hurt of the Land the young Wood will not grow up but is trod down or otherwise & there can be no Appearance of young Wood growing when planted unless the Land be Secure & or fenced in & this no Wood growing up upon the generality of People Land & what has formerly grown being cut down daily for the Peoples Use it is every year decreas'd & the People complin that if they Set apart one Tree in Ten they cant afford to pay their Rents & by this means Several hundred Acres of Land that has formerly been good Wood is Sold Sane in Pasturage under and between the Trees have by the Destruction of the Wood become barren intirely & bear now neither Trees	now quite gone to ruin. This road, and other roads made in parts of the island, were in the same bad condition, and the inhabitants pressed the Council daily to give them help. The Council could not avoid doing so, they being very poor and not able to do it themselves, though very willing to contribute toward it with all the help they had. 5: The preservation and increase of wood was a matter of great consequence to the present and succeeding generations, since the people were likely to be much affected by it. The Council had therefore given much thought to it, for the wood in general was greatly decayed in quantity on the island, and its preservation had been too much neglected, though many necessary wood orders had been made about it. By the rules of the island every man was obliged to plant one acre of wood for every ten, and one tree for every ten cut, but perhaps when the land was planted and their leaves came out, it was usual with them to turn their cattle upon it. In a short time this hindered its growth so much that it came to nothing. Unless the young wood was fenced or enclosed, it would not grow up, but was trodden down or eaten by cattle. There could be no assurance of young wood growing when planted unless the land was fenced or enclosed. Otherwise no wood would grow up, and in general the people's land, and what had formerly grown wood, was cut down daily. Since the people's ability grew less every year, they pressed the Council that a piece of land be set apart here and there, since they could not afford to pay their rents. By these means several hundred acres of land that had formerly grown good wood had since gone under, and between the trees, by the destruction of the wood, had become barren entirely. As matters now stood, there were neither trees nor [...] **Interpretations** The Ladder Hill path in paragraph 4, made fine by Governor Pyke and since gone to ruin, was the steep made way rising from James Valley over the barracks, the traverse the earlier reforms had cut within musket shot of the fort. The death of Mr Wrangham's slave by a fall from the decayed road shows the practical cost of the standing neglect of the island's ways, the Council obliged to help the poor inhabitants repair a path they could not maintain themselves, the same want of hands and carriage that held back every work. The wood orders and the one-acre-in-ten rule in paragraph 5 belong to the long thread of woodland destruction and the replanting law, the standing obligation on every planter to set trees against the felling that stripped the mountains. The failure of the law through the turning of cattle onto the young growth, so that unfenced plantings came to nothing, ties the timber crisis to the want of enclosure, the recurring finding that fence must come before planting, pressed through the Council letters of 1729 to 1733. The barren ground between the trees in paragraph 5, several hundred acres once wooded and since worn out, reflects the soil erosion the Council had long traced to the loss of shelter, the felling exposing the earth to wind and rain until the naked rock appeared. The inhabitants' plea that waste land be set apart because they could not pay their rents ties the environmental decay to the debt grip on a people left too poor to plant or to pay, the scheme of letting barren land cheaply for raising wood the answer the Council pressed. **Speculations** The Council chose to lend the poor inhabitants help toward repairing the roads rather than leave the work to those who used them or to the Court's own gangs. Paragraph 4 sets the default, the inhabitants

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			maintaining their own ways, against the reason the Council stepped in, the people too poor to do it themselves yet willing to contribute what little they had, and the roads so ruined that lives were lost on them. What decided it was the death of Wrangham's slave on the decayed Ladder Hill path, the danger making the repair unavoidable, so the Council joined its help to the inhabitants' small means rather than let a necessary way fall wholly to ruin for want of hands that could pay for it.
219	211	nor Grass & what is worse the good Soile that covered the Ground while the Roots of the Trees Spread among it is all washed off by the great Rains & left the originale Rocks appearing on all the Surface of the Land wee have many Instances of this in History from divers parts of the World the Bermuda Islands which have been so famous for exceeding fruitfullness & a healthy Air is now become an Unhealthy Air as wee as less fruitfull than formerly & it was & that is chiefly attributed to the cutting down of the Trees to enlarge their Pasturage & Plantation Grounds & so it is the Same & becolute from Jamaica & other parts of the West Indies & that thing are attributed for the present Barenness of Mount Libanus & great part of Turkey is a Starkling Testimony of the Same, Should our old Rumless & Remedy be found as our Wood has decreasd our Land the most fertile part of them will decrease & lessen too & two & how will not feed a beast that one Tree would formerly have Pastured We have talked with most of the Inhabitants about this matter which is by all allowed to be a truth beweent in the way of discourse lamented but amended by none yet as wee have carefully Saught for a remedy this for the general Opinion & the most Probable wee have found that Laying this down for a Maxim that what has been made that Some of the now waste, and barren Land that at present produces nothing but did wee even in the Memory of our present Governour bear Wood & Herbage may by a great deal of Labour & Industry be brought to the Same again but not while it lies Uninclosed Wast & Common and therefore it has been proposed to Us & wee to thereupon most humbly propose the Same to Your Honours that all the Wast Land may be let out to those who will hire it at low Rates & by States for them to divide & fence it in & replant it with Wood which will make the whole Country more fertile & be a full Supply of fuel to all the Inhabitants & to prevent Disputes to allow every Man who possess Land to have the Liberty of hiring the wast Land that bounds upon his own & if he for Some certain time as Suppose three Months Shall neglect or refuse to hire the Same that then it may be alilorlt to any other that will so fence it & Plant this in our humble Opinion is the most effectual way at present to preserve the Country All which wee Submit to Your Honours	Nor grass, and what was worse, the good soil that covered the ground while the roots of the trees spread among it was all washed off by the great rains, and left the original rocks appearing in place of the surface of the land. There were many instances of this in history from divers parts of the world. The Bermuda Islands, which had once been famous for exceeding fruitfulness and a healthy air, were now become unhealthy and as barren as poor, far less fruitful than they formerly were. That was chiefly attributed to the cutting down of the trees to enlarge their pasturage and plantation grounds. There was the same account from Jamaica and other parts of the West Indies. All these things were alleged for the present barrenness of Mount Lebanon, and a great part of Turkey was a standing testimony of the same. Unless a remedy were found, the wood on the island had decreased the land, and the most fertile part of it would decrease and lessen too and too, and would not feed a beast where one tree would formerly have fattened. The Council had talked with many of the inhabitants about this matter, which all agreed to be a truth, bewailed in discourse but amended by none. As the Council had carefully sought a remedy for this, in the general opinion the most probable it had found was to lay this down for a maxim: that some of the now-waste and barren land, that at present produced nothing but died, even in the memory of the present Governor, and bore wood and herbage, might by a great deal of labour and industry be brought to bear the same again, but not while it lay unenclosed, and wanting of Corman, and therefore it had been proposed to the Court hereupon. The Council most humbly proposed the same to the Court, that all the waste land might be let out to those who would fence it at low rates, easy rates for them, to divide and enclose it in equal parts, and set it with wood, which would make the whole country more fertile and be a full supply of fuel to all the inhabitants. To prevent disputes, and to allow every man who possessed land to have the liberty of hiring the waste land that bounded upon his own, if he for some certain time, as twenty-three months, should neglect or refuse to hire the same, then it might be let first to any other that would so fence it and plant it. This, in the Council's humble opinion, was the most effectual way at present to preserve the country. All which it submitted to the Court. **Interpretations** The comparison to Bermuda, Jamaica, Mount Lebanon and Turkey belongs to the Council's long environmental diagnosis, the felling of trees to enlarge pasture and plantation blamed for the loss of shelter and the washing away of the soil to the naked rock. The array of foreign examples, each once fruitful and since barren, shows the Council arguing its case for the replanting law from a wider pattern of deforestation, the same erosion it had traced at home pressed on the Court as a known and repeated ruin. The scheme to let the waste land cheaply, fenced and set apart for wood, was the remedy the Council had urged through the letters of 1729 to 1733, the barren ground given to whoever would enclose and

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			plant it at easy rates. The provision that a man might hire the waste bounding his own land, and that failing to take it within a set term forfeited his first refusal to another, shows the mechanism built to force the enclosure the unfenced plantings had always failed for want of, the fence made the condition of the grant. The maxim that worn ground might be brought to bear again by labour and enclosure rests on the Council's finding that the failure lay not in the land but in the cattle turned onto unfenced young growth, so that plantings came to nothing. The insistence that the recovery could not happen while the land lay open ties the whole proposal to the standing lesson that fence must come before plant, the enclosure the single condition on which any assurance of young wood depended. **Speculations** The Council chose to propose letting the waste land out cheaply on a fencing condition rather than press the existing wood orders harder on a people who ignored them. The passage sets the failed default, the standing rule to plant an acre in ten and a tree in ten cut, against the new scheme of granting the barren ground to whoever would enclose and set it with wood at easy rates. What decided it was the Council's reading of why the law had failed, the young growth destroyed by cattle for want of enclosure and the people too poor to plant or pay, so it tied the land to the fence and offered the neglected waste on terms that made enclosure the price of the grant, the remedy shaped to the one condition on which wood had ever been got to grow.
220	212	Wisdom & beg You to be pleased to let Us have Your Answer to this Paragraph 6 Your Honours having fixed the Price of Beef at three pence ℔ lb has proved of great Advantage to the Inhabitants if they had Sold under that Rate it would have been vastly to their Prejudice for if the Comman & be could wee get them to lower the Value they would always hold them to it & at this Rate they could never be able to pay their Rents 7 Your Storehouse Shale be quarterly Surveyed & Your Honours Directions in this particular Shale be observed 8 Wee have Sent 508 ℔ of Chints to Bencoolen the rest wee design for Sale for the Use of Your Blacks 9 Tobacco is of great Use here & wee buy Some now wee Sent it we Your Honours did not think fit to have the Coff Gabriel that wee Sent home taught to make them which would have Saved a great deal of Money to Your Honours & then wee also would People that live in the Valley the Deicep at the Cape if Your Slaves by a late Accident had many of their Thatched houses burnt down there there therefore will permit no house to be built or repaired in the Cape Town unless they are Tiled We have a few Grant Time had great Deliverance that wee have also our houses but that built by Governour Roberts for himself which has by Ye that became Governour Honours being only covered with Thatch by a Six Should Happen are in danger of being totally destroyed & the Fort it Self in Such a Case would be in hazard too. 10 The Deales & Blankets last Sent are extreamly bad & part of the Cargo to the Value of £15,9,- ounce came Vizt & Men Serverch Value £2.12.8 & 16 Cloth Plates value £4.1.4 & £18 dozen Bushling Combs in Gross value £3.12. and 6 Mens Shoes value £4.3. 11 In our Packet wee have Sent our Indent which is very moderate & wee desire that every thing therein	Wisdom & beg You to be pleased to let Us have Your Answer to this Paragraph 6 Your Honours having fixed the Price of Beef at three pence ℔ lb has proved of great Advantage to the Inhabitants if they had Sold under that Rate it would have been vastly to their Prejudice for if the Comman & be could wee get them to lower the Value they would always hold them to it & at this Rate they could never be able to pay their Rents 7 Your Storehouse Shale be quarterly Surveyed & Your Honours Directions in this particular Shale be observed 8 Wee have Sent 508 ℔ of Chints to Bencoolen the rest wee design for Sale for the Use of Your Blacks 9 Tobacco is of great Use here & wee buy Some now wee Sent it we Your Honours did not think fit to have the Coff Gabriel that wee Sent home taught to make them which would have Saved a great deal of Money to Your Honours & then wee also would People that live in the Valley the Deicep at the Cape if Your Slaves by a late Accident had many of their Thatched houses burnt down there there therefore will permit no house to be built or repaired in the Cape Town unless they are Tiled We have a few Grant Time had great Deliverance that wee have also our houses but that built by Governour Roberts

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		mentioned may be Sent Us for wee than Sasked for nothing but what wee very much want & particularly Simple & Rathaps of the Sort mentioned in the Indent for wee are & must with Mr Brown who by the Report of Mr & Godwin & others as mensard in Cargo & the Sort last are various numerous & do incredible Mischief.	for himself which has by Ye that became Governour Honours being only covered with Thatch by a Six Should Happen are in danger of being totally destroyed & the Fort it Self in Such a Case would be in hazard too. 10 The Deales & Blankets last Sent are extreamly bad & part of the Cargo to the Value of £15,9,- ounce came Vizt & Men Serverch Value £2.12.8 & 16 Cloth Plates value £4.1.4 & £18 dozen Bushling Combs in Gross value £3.12. and 6 Mens Shoes value £4.3. 11 In our Packet wee have Sent our Indent which is very moderate & wee desire that every thing therein mentioned may be Sent Us for wee than Sasked for nothing but what wee very much want & particularly Simple & Rathaps of the Sort mentioned in the Indent for wee are & must with Mr Brown who by the Report of Mr & Godwin & others as mensard in Cargo & the Sort last are various numerous & do incredible Mischief.
221	213	In our Consultation of the 18 of April last Mr John Purling & Your Sturgeon Brief or Overser of the Catle at the great Wood wee wish much & Some Oaks at the great Wood belonging to Your Honours & made a written Report to the Governour by way of Letter of the decay of the Plantation called Prohins and the Unaccountablenss of trusting for Same to the Plant called Yovorhole Strick & Plantation the first being quite worn out & the later so bad that none of the Blacks so willingly eat them but made chiefly complaints about their whenness that Plantation is Due to which Letter wee desire Your Honours to be Referd because wee have carefully Examined into the Truth thereof & find that Plantations in the Condition Represented is that there remain only two things to be considerd which will be most for Your Advantage to buy Some Game or to buy a Small Plantation of Some of the Planters who live nearst to Your Honours Plantation and at the common buying Price a Years Game will amount to more than the Hire of the Land on which they grow & there is a Small Plantation of the Harpes now to be Sold it being left among Six Children who cannot agree to the Diverson of it which would Suty do our busyness both to present & future it Lying very near to Prohins & being in Reversion by Sichney of the former Governours to be purchased who could not without a too large Price obtain it Governr Johnston was desirous to buy it & so was the present Governour or if he was here before but then it was not to be Sold & at this time it wele he Sold at a low Rate & wee think it is much for Your Honours Interest to have it the Price of it wele be £270 „--„ & it is Such a good Pennyworth that it is not considering the Usefullness of it to be Slighted by Yr Hr 13 In our Consultations of the 1st Yanry 1731/2 there there are two Petitions of the & Beale relating to Thirty Acres of Freehold Land Said to be of the Value of £300 „--„ which he claims as his Right & is kept from him by the Familie wee have examined into his Case & find that it was his Grandfathers and Fathers Freehold Land but after his Fathers death his	In its consultation of the 18th of April last, Mr John Purling, the Court's servant, was made overseer of the castle and the Great Wood, and the Council made a written report to the Governor by way of letter about the decay of the plantation called Prohms, and the inconvenience of keeping cattle upon the plantation called overholt Strike's plantation. The first being quite worn out, and the latter so bad that none of the slaves would willingly eat them, but made daily complaints about their poorness. That plantation was owing, on which subject the Council asked the Court to be excused, since it had carefully examined into the truth of it. Its finding was that the plantations were in the condition set out. There remained only two things to be considered, which would be most for the Court's advantage: either to buy some ground, or to buy a small plantation of some of the planters who lived nearest to the Court's plantation. At the common buying price a year's ground would come to more than the value of the land on which they grew. There was a small plantation of the Harpers, now to be sold, it being left among six children who could not agree to hold. Divided, it would fully do the Council's business, both at present and in future, it lying very near to Prohms. Being in the manors by sixteen of the former Governors, it was to be purchased, which could not be done without too large a price. At which Governor Johnson made a difference. To buy it two years near the present Governor, or when he was here before, but then it was not to be sold. As at this time it would be sold at a low rate, the Council thought it much for the Court's interest to have it. The price of it would be £200 0s 0d. It was such a poor pennyworth that it was not worth considering the usefulness of it to be laid by. 13: In its consultation of the 15th of January last, there were two petitions of goods and effects relating to thirty acres of freehold land, said to be of the value of £200 0s 0d, which he claimed as his right by a deed drawn from him by the families the Council had examined into his life, showing that it was his grandfather's, and his father's freehold land. But after his father's death his father's freehold land, but after his father's death, one Powell blessed from another. He was married to the late John Powell's blessed from another month after the marriage, then

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		Mother was married to the late John Smith & lived from Another was married to the late John Smith & then died & by that his Month after the Marriage & then died & by that his Powel Familie claimed Thirty Acres of Land & had it confirmed to them in Governour Bouchers time	died. By that, he had a parcel. The family claimed thirty acres of land and had it confirmed to them in Governor Roberts's time [...] **Interpretations** The two worn plantations in the first passage, one quite exhausted and the other bearing yams so poor the slaves would not eat them, belong to the standing struggle to feed the Court's slaves from ground that constant cropping had ruined, the same failure of the Fort Valley soil that had earlier driven the Council to clear watered land in Sandy Bay Valley. The proposal to buy fresh ground or a neighbouring plantation rather than persist with the barren plots ties into the long effort at yam self-supply, the want of good land the recurring limit on feeding the establishment without buying provisions. The small Harper plantation, left among six children who could not agree to hold it and so coming up for sale cheap, shows the mechanism by which the Court acquired land at St Helena, a divided inheritance forcing a sale the Council could take at a low rate. The judgement that £200 0s 0d for the ground was a great bargain, worth far more than a year's produce bought at the common price, marks the Council watching for the moment an estate fell to the market, the same care it gave Richard Beale's eleven acres valued by an appointed appraiser. The appointment of John Purling as overseer of the castle and the Great Wood in the opening lines set a Court servant over both the fortified centre and the woodland whose enclosure the Council was pressing, per the consultation of 18 April. The written report to the Governor on the decayed plantations shows the standing practice of entering a finding in form before acting on it, the survey the ground of any purchase or change the Council would afterwards lay before the Court. **Speculations** The Council chose to buy the divided Harper plantation while it stood cheap rather than persist with the two worn-out grounds it already held. The passage sets the failing default, the exhausted Prohms and the plantation whose yams the slaves refused, against the chance to take a neighbouring estate at a low rate because its six heirs could not agree to hold it. What decided it was the coincidence of need and opportunity, the barren plots forcing a search for fresh land just as an inheritance fell to the market at £200 0s 0d, a price the Council judged far below a year's ground bought at the common rate, so it moved to secure the bargain while the family's discord kept it cheap.
222	214	time & have held it ever Since tho wee think the manner of Obtaining it was unjust the Case is thus the Beales were Orphans under Age & had no Guardian but a Tryal was made by one Mr Griffith & means & Griffith Set himself up for both Powels the Plaintiff & Beale Children the Defendants who knew nothing of the matter & so being for both Sides the Employed only by Powell carried it as he would have & Rich Beale the other Petition Us for a Tryal on this Account which is mentioned about, wee have deferd meddling therin till wee have Your Honours Directions in this Matter 14 In Article 6 of Your Honours Instructions wee find order to prevent any one Man from Engrossing or Purchasing too great a Quantity of Land unless it comes to him by Inheritance but as Your Honours have not therein mentioned what Estate You allow one Man to purchase wee are afraid Some Sold 200 Some above 300 Acres & by this means lay aside their usual Industry & only Graze Catle thereon wee	The Beale family had held it ever since. The Council thought the manner of obtaining it was unjust. The case stood thus: the Beale children were orphans under age and had no guardian, but a trial was made by one Mr Griffith. By this means Griffith set himself up for both Powell the plaintiff and the Beale children the defendants, who knew nothing of the matter. Acting for both sides, and employed only by Powell, he carried it as he would have it. Richard Beale, the other petitioner, asked for a trial on this account, which the Council had mentioned. It had deferred meddling with the matter until it had the Court's directions in it. 14: In paragraph 6 of the Court's instructions, the Council found orders to prevent any one man from engrossing, or purchasing too great a quantity of land, unless it came to him by inheritance. But since the Court had not stated what estate it allowed one man to purchase, the Council was at a loss. Some held 200, some about 300 acres, and by these means laid aside their usual industry, and only grazed cattle on it. The Council had considered the matter, and

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		have considered of this Matter & think one hundred Acres enough for any one Man to purchase unless more Shall come to him by Inheritance wee Shalle be glad if Your Honours thought fit to have any number of Acres named but permit purchasing so that our Reason for this wee many but one more particular is that it lessens the number of Families for one Man to possess the Births which formerly Sustained 4, 6 or 8 Families the Powells hates now in their Possession the Habitations of above 25 Families & have let the house thereon fall to ruin or else which is worse keep & old blacks in a house & then that house becomes the nightly resort of thieving & dishonest Blacks who Differ from & damage all the neighbours land 15 We desire Your Honours will Order our Consultation of the 9th January last to be laid before You & also the 10th Day of our Letter of the 17th January both relating to Our late Parson in the former Entry is made of a Representation from the Churchwardens relating to his ill Behaviour & in the later notice is taken both of them & the debauched Life of his Wife which She has very unhappily continued to this Day tho as Your Honrs wee assure by the Parr last refused to the Governour took great Pains to get her out of the way of Sin & Temptation	thought one hundred acres enough for any one man to purchase, unless more land came to him by inheritance. It would be glad if the Court thought fit to have any number of acres named, but permit purchasing above them. The Council's reasons for this were many, but one more particular was that, to lessen the number of families, one man was allowed to hold the plots which formerly sustained four, six or eight families. The Powells held now, with their possession, the plantations of about twenty-five families. They had let the houses on them fall to ruin, or else, which was worse, kept old slaves in a house, and when that house burnt, the nightly resort of thieving and dishonest blacks, who differed from and damaged all the neighbours' [...] 15: The Council asked the Court, in its consultation of the 9th of January last, to lay before it the 10th paragraph of its letter of the 17th of January, both relating to the island's late parson, mentioned in a former entry. In the latter, notice was taken both of him and of the debauched life of his wife, which she had very unhappily continued to this day. As the Council had told the Court, the parson, last married to the Governor, took great pains to get her out of the way of sin and temptation [...] **Interpretations** The engrossing question in paragraph 14 turns on the Court's standing order against any one man buying too much land, the concentration of holdings the Council had long marked as a weakness both to defence and to cultivation. The proposal to cap purchase at one hundred acres, while allowing inheritance to carry a man above it, ties into the militia preservation thread, the same anxiety over property gathered into few hands that had earlier set Mr Gabriel Powell as the type of the engrosser holding land twenty-eight slaves worked. The Powells holding the plantations of about twenty-five families in paragraph 14, the houses fallen to ruin and the ground grazed rather than tilled, shows the practical effect the Council traced to engrossing, the depopulation of a land where single owners displaced the many households that once worked it. The complaint that old slaves kept in the decaying houses became a resort of thieving belongs to the wider tie between the concentration of holdings, the loss of the island's people and the security the small population could not sustain. The Beale children's suit in the opening passage exposes a conflict of interest at the heart of the island's justice, one Griffith acting for both the plaintiff Powell and the orphan defendants who knew nothing of the matter, employed only by the one side. The Council's judgement that the manner of obtaining the land was unjust, and its deferral of the case until the Court directed, shows it treating a tainted proceeding with caution rather than reopening it on its own authority, the same care it gave contested titles and the litigious claims of the island's people. The parson's wife in paragraph 15, whose debauched life the Governor took great pains to remove from temptation, belongs to the running account of the late chaplain Mr White and the disorder of his household, per the Council letter of 17 January 1733. The Council's report of the Governor's efforts, set against the woman's continued conduct, ties the clerical breakdown to the standing difficulty of maintaining religious order at the island, the parson's affairs passing under the same scrutiny as any other matter of government. **Speculations** The Council chose to hold back from the Beale land dispute until the Court directed rather than settle a proceeding it judged unjust. The passage sets

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			the tainted trial, Griffith acting for both sides and carrying it for Powell alone, against the Council's refusal to meddle further without instruction. What decided the restraint was the conflict of interest the Council had exposed, so it laid the whole matter and Richard Beale's request for a fresh trial before the Court rather than overturn a settled title on its own authority, the caution measuring how far it would go against a doubtful judgment without the sanction of the body that could sanction it.
223	215	& proposed to allow her a handsome Maintainance if She would live with any of the Planters in the Country but She flatly refused it & has ever Since continued her drunken & Sinfull & Sort 16 This Year wee have hired four Foreign Ships here three of whom have already Settles extreamly well pleased with their Entertainment Such Provisions as they wanted wee furnished them by the Inhabitants who now begin to behave themselves quietly and to encourage Ships to continue so wee wish upon all occasions treat them kindly 17 A Anchor of about £5.10s have been often demanded of Us especially by those Ships who have Stayed the Year about in Ostrola & if wee had 3 or 4 Sleek they would be proper & useful & if they Should not next Year be so much demand they would take no damage by Lying. This wee readily came into to writ to Your Honours for but Some of the Ships have wanted Cables too, Our Answer to those Sent was that once Your Honours Sent me or three Cables over wee Sold no more than one in three Year & Either they alleage that they had layn by so long that they were Rotted & Ostrol or Uncertain with the Sar & that it was not Safe to trust their Ships to Such decayed Ground Tackle 18 It is natural for People in want of a Commadity not to Value the Price & therefore Such Gentlemen as have wanted Cables have Some of them made the following Proposals & wch that every Ship who has layn the whole Year about in India either by the Loss of their Passage or on a Voyage Should all of them be abliged for the Security of their Ships to take a Cable whether they wanted one or not, others have proposed that if they did not take this Cable they Should Pay 25 ℔ Cent on the Prime Cost & onboard the Cape thee of Sending it out & the damage it might accrue by Lying here, others have proposed that the Storeship Should bring out two Such Cables every Year & if any were left Unsold to Exchange them & the next Storeship taking these on Shear & Sending those which had layn one Year & two to Bencoolen & from thence farther into the Country to Madrass or to Bengale according as they had left Conveyance by Shipwise those & Places touching here & to enforce this Argument Some Sayed if the Honble Company would give leave they would at their own Expence Send out Anchors	The Governor proposed to allow her a handsome maintenance if she would live with any of the planters in the country, but she flatly refused it, and had ever since continued her drunken and dissolute life. 16: This year the Council had hired four foreign ships here, three of whom had already proved extremely well pleased with their entertainment. Such provisions as they wanted were furnished them by the inhabitants, who now began to behave themselves quietly. To encourage them to continue so, the Council would on all occasions treat them kindly. 17: Cables of about £5 10s 0d had often been demanded of the island, especially by those ships that had stayed the year about in India. Had the Council had three or four such, it would have proposed to sell them, if they should not next year be so much wanted, since they would take no damage by lying. The Council was led to write this to the Court because some of the ships had wanted cables too. The Council's answer to those sent was that once the Court sent one or three cables over, there seldom came more than one in three years, either the ships alleging that they had lain by so long that they were rotted, or otherwise, with the tar, that it was not safe to trust their ships to such decayed ground tackle. 18: It was natural for people in want of a commodity not to value the price, and therefore such gentlemen as had wanted cables. Some of them made the following proposal: that every ship which had lain the whole year about in India, either by the loss of their passage or on a voyage, should all of them be obliged, for the security of their ships, to take a cable, whether they wanted one or not. Others had proposed that if they did not take this cable, they should pay 25 per cent on the prime cost on board, the perquisite of landing it out, the damage it might receive by lying here, and others had proposed that the store ship should bring out two such cables every year, if any were left unsold, to exchange them with the next store ship, taking these on shore and sending those which had lain one year to Bencoolen, and from there farther into the country, to Madras or to Bengal, according as they had left conveyance by ships of those places, touching there to reinforce this argument. Some said that if the Court's Company would give leave, they would at their own expense send out cables and anchors [...] **Interpretations** The cables in paragraphs 17 and 18 were the heavy anchor ropes on which a ship rode at her moorings, the ground tackle that failed after long lying and left a vessel unsafe at anchor. The Council's account of ships demanding fresh cables, the old ones rotted or spoiled by tar after three years without resupply, belongs to the standing naval-stores reserve thread, the Court pressed to keep a stock of cordage and anchors at the island both to refit passing ships and to draw the homeward trade to call. The four foreign ships hired in paragraph 16, entertained well and supplied by the inhabitants, reflect the island's value as a refreshment and repair

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			station, the calling ships a market for the planters' provisions the whole rent-paying economy depended on. The note that the inhabitants now behaved quietly, and the Council's resolve to treat the foreign ships kindly to keep them coming, ties the good order of the people to the trade the ships brought, the same connection that ran through the long Cape grievance. The various cable schemes in paragraph 18 were proposals to guarantee a market for stores the island could not otherwise shift, obliging every ship lain a year in India to take a cable whether she wanted one or not, or to pay a penalty on the prime cost. The plan to rotate unsold cables through Bencoolen, Madras and Bengal by the store ships shows the Council seeking a mechanism to keep a costly reserve from wasting, the ground tackle circulated among the settlements rather than left to rot at any one. **Speculations** The Council chose to press the Court to hold a standing reserve of cables rather than leave passing ships to their own rotted tackle. Paragraph 17 sets the default, the ship shifting for herself and lying unsafe on decayed cordage, against the Council's argument that a stock kept at the island would both refit the fleet and turn a profit, since cables took no harm by lying. What decided it was the recurring demand from ships that had lain a year in India, so the Council built its case on the very complaints it received, urging a reserve that answered a proven want rather than a speculative one, and proposing to rotate the surplus through the eastern settlements so the stock would not waste unsold.
224	216	& Cables of the best Sort to Ly here the Year about & so to be removed as aboue & doubled not but to make good Profit by it 19 These are the Sentiments of Several Gentlemen in Your Honours Service the true both Anchors & Cables are often wanted & without Cables Anchors are of no Use though Sometimes when Anchors do happen to be Cut abroad they loose but a Small part of the Cable with it, wee have thought it our Duty to represent this to Your Honours for You to be made herein a Slave then Sujt to Your Honours better Judgment 20 Your Fortifications are far from being in the good Order wee could wish, nevertheless as the Govr & wee are determined to keep the Expence within moderate bounds & not to run into Expencive Undertakings upon any Pretence whatsoever wee will repair them gradually & at the least charge that is possible but the Sepurder House is all to peices & must be rebuilt out of hand & great Repairs are wanting at the Plantation House & other Places Ruperts Fortifications are greatly out of Repair the Repair them will cost as much as the one did to build them but to avoid any Such great Expence wee think it very necessary to have a Small Fort or Platform on the Rock at the West Side of Ruperts Bray & that wee think would be Sufficient to prevent any but a while Fleet of Ships from Landing there & be don with a Small Charge We desired Capt Pilly to go with Us & See the Place who bold Us he thought that would be effectual to hinder Landing in Ruperts Bay & be very proper to be done otherwise they might Shoot into the Bay & be out of the Reach by any Guns to hinder to any purpose 21 We are Still of the Same Opinion as at first about the necessity of a Cartway from the Stone Quaries to Sandy Bay Regt the old way having been Enclosed & as that Land adjoyning inereasid upon in So unreasonable a manner that it is become	Cables of the best sort to lie here the year about, so as to be renewed as above, and doubted not but to make good profit by it. 19: These were the sentiments of several gentlemen in the Court's service. Both anchors and cables were often wanted, and without cables the anchors were of no use. Though sometimes, when the anchors happened to be cut abroad, they lost only a small part of the cable with it. The Council had thought it its duty to lay the matter before the Court, so it might order what it thought fit, according to its better judgement. 20: The Court's fortifications were far from being in the good order the Council could wish. Even so, the Governor and the Council were determined to keep the expense within moderate bounds, rather than run into expensive undertakings on any pretence whatever. It would repair them by degrees, at the least charge possible. But the storehouse was falling to pieces and must be rebuilt out of hand, and great repairs were wanting at the plantation house and other places. Rupert's fortifications were greatly out of repair, and to repair them would cost as much as it once did to build them. To avoid any such great expense, the Council thought it very necessary to have a small fort or platform on the rock at the west side of Rupert's Bay, which it judged would be enough to prevent any but a whole fleet of ships from landing there, and could be done at a small charge. The Council asked Captain Pitt to go with it and view the place, who thought that would be effective to hinder a landing in Rupert's Bay, and very proper to be done, since otherwise the ships might shoot into the bay, being out of the reach of the road, by any guns that might hinder to any purpose. 21: The Council was still of the same opinion as at first about the need for a causeway from the stone quarry to the landing place at Rupert's, the old way having been enclosed. That land adjoining being

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		very dangerous to all who have occasion to pass that way & impracticable to Pass to with great Prickime We hope & wee pray Your Honours to beleive Us that wee did not make the first Representation no more than this out of any Pique or to be revenged upon any body for bounty the Inhabitants that wee have or attempt to do the any hurt & therefore	now enclosed upon it, in an unreasonable manner, it had become very dangerous to all who had occasion to pass that way, and impracticable to pass without great danger. The Council hoped the Court would believe that it did not make this report from any pique, or to be revenged on any body for anything the inhabitants had done. It had no thought of doing anyone any hurt, and therefore [...] **Interpretations** The small fort proposed on the rock at the west side of Rupert's Bay in paragraph 20 answered the standing weakness of that anchorage, which lay beyond the reach of the main fort's guns, the same vulnerability the earlier surveys had marked when the Council pressed a platform and redoubt there. The choice of a cheap battery to bar a landing, rather than the costly rebuilding of the ruined works, ties into the long tension between the fortification programme and the Court's frugality, the least charge always weighed against the defence the position needed. Captain Pitt's survey of the Rupert's site in paragraph 20 continued the standing practice of building fortification advice on the judgement of visiting commanders, the Governor consulting successive captains to ground his proposals in expert opinion. Pitt's endorsement, that the battery would hinder a landing where the road's guns could not reach ships shooting into the bay, shows the Council fortifying its own case to the Court with a commander's confirmation, the same method used at the earlier Rupert's surveys. The causeway from the stone quarry in paragraph 21, its old line enclosed by adjoining land and grown dangerous to pass, belongs to the running dispute over the road that carried cut stone from the quarry to the landing, the same route the Council had earlier found could not be remade without reopening the old way through the plantations. The insistence that the report sprang from no pique against the inhabitants shows the Council guarding against the charge of partiality it had long faced, the enclosure grievance kept to the ground of necessity rather than complaint. The storehouse falling to pieces in paragraph 20, needing to be rebuilt out of hand while the fortifications waited, reflects the standing competition for the island's scarce labour and the priority given to whatever most immediately failed. The urgency of the store repair set against the deferred works ties into the long thread of a building programme held back by the want of hands, one work taken up only as another was let stand. **Speculations** The Council chose to propose a cheap platform on the Rupert's rock rather than rebuild the ruined fortifications the bay already had. Paragraph 20 sets the rejected course, repairing the old works at a cost as great as first building them, against the small battery that would bar all but a whole fleet at a trifling charge. What decided it was the Court's fixed demand for frugality weighed against the real weakness of an anchorage beyond the main guns' reach, so the Council took Captain Pitt's view of a modest work that answered the danger without the expense, the defence shaped to what the Court would pay rather than to what the position might ideally have.
225	217	wee refer the matter back again to know Your Honrs Pleasure thereon 22 Wee have so many things to do that it will be impossible for Us to Spare any more Blacks for Bencoolen so far from it that were wee not fully	The Council referred the matter back again to learn the Court's pleasure upon it. 22: The Council had so many things to do that it would be impossible to spare any more slaves for Bencoolen, so far from it that, were it not fully resolved to keep the Court's revenue at the Court's

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		Resolved to keep Your Expence at the Lowest Pitch wee could well dispence with the Labour of Twenty or Thirty more & without their help wee now have wee cant go forward with any thing, the Gardiner alone demanded Thirty Hands to work under him & from hence Your Honours may judge of our necessity so that Your always contrive things to Save Your Own Money 23 We desire Your Honours will give Us Order to Send Your Sh Six Spear of Gold which wee lately mencond to Afore 24 In our Consultation of the 5th instant Your Honrs will observe Some notorious Instances of the ill behaviour of Sleigh Williams the Gardiner if hee Should be any more guilty of Such infamous lewd Practices We Shale be abliged to Send him home but in Comparison to his Age & Infirmity wee for this time will pass it by 25 Our Cooper having lately cut his Leg in a terrible manner wee can only Send Your Honrs Six double Bard of the damaged Powder he having Set them up just before this Accident happened but as Soon as hee is recovered wee will Set him to work to make more which wee will fit & Send by every Opportunity till wee are rid of the whole. Three Barils come by Captain Bradley & three by Capt Hale. We are. Your Honble Sirs St Helena 7th June 1733 P S Mr Beale has desired to lay before Your Honrs a Petition complaining of the Unjust Detention of Thirty Acres of Land from him by Gab Sarbett this hits of which he & humbly prays Yr Honrs Consideraon	pitch, it could well dispense with the labour of twenty or thirty more. Without their help it could now hardly go forward with anything. The gardener alone demanded thirty hands to work under him. From this the Court might judge of the island's need, and therefore it would always contrive to save the Court's money. 23: The Council asked the Court to give order to send the four spade of gold it lately mentioned before. 24: In its consultation of the 5th of this month the Court would find some notorious instances of the ill behaviour of Sleigh Williams the gardener. Should he be any more guilty of such infamous and lewd practices, the Council would be forced to send him home. But in consideration of his age and infirmity, it would for this time let it pass. 25: The Council's cooper having lately cut his leg in a terrible manner, it could only send the Court six double barrels of the damaged powder, he having set them up just before this accident happened. As soon as he was recovered, the Council would set him to work to make more, which it would send by every opportunity till it was rid of the whole. Three barrels came by Captain Brackey and three by Captain Hale. St Helena, 7 June 1733. The Council added that Mr Beale had asked to lay before the Court a petition complaining of the unjust detention of thirty acres of land from him by Gabriel Corbett, the merits of which the Council humbly asked the Court to consider. **Interpretations** The demand of the eastern settlement for slaves in paragraph 22, met by the Council's plea that it could spare none, continues the long tension between St Helena and Bencoolen over a labour pool neither had enough of, the same strain seen in the earlier drafts sent unwillingly by the *Drake* and the *Rochester*. The detail that the gardener alone wanted thirty hands, and that the island could well use twenty or thirty more, measures the acute want against the Court's standing order to supply the other station. The four spade of gold in paragraph 23 was a quantity of the metal awaiting shipment home, the coin and bullion the island held as a store to be remitted rather than circulated, the same scarce specie the Council had long struggled to keep on hand. The request that the Court order its sending shows the island's treasure passing home by the Court's direction, the standing means of moving value across a cashless divide. Sleigh Williams the gardener in paragraph 24, spared home passage for his age and infirmity despite notorious misconduct, shows the Council tempering discipline with the island's want of skilled hands, unwilling to lose even a badly behaved craftsman where replacements were scarce. The threat to send him home if he offended again, held against the present forbearance, marks the same calculation that had earlier kept useful men on the island rather than forwarding them to Bencoolen. The cooper's injury in paragraph 25, cutting short the supply of barrels for the damaged powder, ties a single accident to the running effort to clear the spoiled stores by degrees, the casks earlier held back for want of ready cooperage and for being too wide to pass the ship's scuttle. The Council's resolve to set the man to work once healed and send the powder by every opportunity shows the disposal still spread across successive hulls, dependent now on the one injured hand who made the barrels. **Speculations** The Council chose to keep Sleigh Williams on the island rather than ship him home for his infamous conduct. Paragraph 24 sets the ready course, sending

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			away a gardener guilty of notorious and lewd practices, against the reason for staying its hand, his age and infirmity and the threat held in reserve should he offend again. What tipped the forbearance was the island's chronic want of skilled hands, the gardener's post demanding thirty men under him at a place that could spare none, so the Council swallowed the misconduct of a craftsman it could ill replace, holding the sanction over him rather than losing the labour by enforcing it.
226	218	Blank page	
227	219	Honble Sirs. July 19th 1733 1 The Greenwich Grantham & Nassau Sailed from hence the 7th of last Month & on the 20th the Monmouth arrived by whom We hear by Letters that were forwarded over Land from Madrass to the Malabar Coast & from thence to Bombay that the Cyler has Sprung a Leak & cannot be home this Season but they dont Report the damage to be great 2 The Inclosed is a Copy of the Letter wee last wrote to Your Honours in which wee have given You Such a particular Account of all things wee say for Ganis & to wee that wee have now with little to Say 3 At our Sessions held on the 2 instant a black Fellow was Tryed for Ravishing two Girles the eldest not Eight Year of Age the other two much younger but for want of legal Proof his Life was Saved however the Sum before to put it of the Power over to do the like again law was then determined he has already Suffered & this bien which Several & have in disgone before without being thereby hindred or disabled from their common Labour which wee think will as effectually deter others from committing the like being as hanging which would certainly have been the Fate if the Witnesses had known any thing of God Religion or the nature of an Oath of all which it appeared at the Tryal they had been bred up in the most gross Ignorance & therefore for the better Instructing the Youth of the Island in the Principles of Christianity & their Duty to God & their Neighbour the Governour proposed to Setup an other School with which the People were extreamly well pleased 4 After the busyness of the day was over the Jury made a Presentment desiring that the & Immorality & all Sort of Lewdness & Debauchery & Idleness might bee prevented which of late had very much increased and being encouraged the People who had neglected & left their Habitations in the Country to come & live in the Fort Valey where they had no visible way of Support or Maintainance but lived in a lewd & Riotous and debauched manner & the Governour told them that he would take their Presentment into Consideration & he hoped he Should be able to find means to cheque the progress of the Evils they complained of & so Soon as wee have an Opportunity we will proceed in this & & Gain.	Honoured Sirs, 19 July 1733. The *Greenwich*, the *Grantham* and the *Nassau* sailed from here on the 7th of last month. On the 20th the *Monmouth* arrived, by whom the Council heard by letters that were forwarded overland from Madras to the Malabar coast, and from there to Bombay, that the *Lyell* had sprung a leak and could not come home this season. But those letters did not report the damage to be great. 2: Enclosed was a copy of the letter the Council last wrote to the Court, in which it had given a full account of everything. The Council now had very little to say. 3: At the general sessions held on the 2nd of this month, a black fellow was tried for ravishing two girls, the elder not eight years of age, the other much younger. But for want of legal proof his life was spared. Even so, the Council was determined he should not do the like again, and had already suffered a castration, which several had undergone before without being thereby hindered or disabled from their common labour. This, the Council thought, would as effectually deter others from committing the like crime as hanging would. That would certainly have been his fate, had the witnesses known anything of God's religion or the nature of an oath, which appeared to be bred up in the most gross ignorance. Therefore, for the better instructing of the youth of the island in the principles of Christianity and their duty to God and their neighbour, the Governor proposed to set up another school, with which the people were extremely well pleased. 4: After the business of the day was over, the jury made a presentment declaring that vice and immorality of all sorts, of lewdness and debauchery and idleness, might be prevented, which of late had very much increased. It had been much encouraged by the people who had neglected to fix their habitation in the country, coming to live in the Fort Valley, where they had no visible means of support or maintenance, but lived in a lewd, riotous and debauched manner. The Governor told them that he would take their presentment into consideration, and hoped he should be able to find means to check the progress of the evils they complained of. As soon as the Council had an opportunity, it would proceed in this matter again. **Interpretations** The castration of the convicted man in paragraph 3, imposed where want of legal proof spared his life, shows the island's court reaching for a punishment it could sustain when the capital sentence failed for evidence, the same body acting within its own rules that had earlier declined to fine Bartholomew Swartz for want of a witness. The reasoning that several had undergone it without being disabled from labour ties the penalty to the standing value of every working hand, the punishment shaped to preserve the man's use even as it marked his crime. The witnesses' ignorance of the nature of an oath in paragraph 3 exposes the practical limit on the island's justice, the girls' testimony unable to carry a

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			capital conviction because they could not swear to it in form. The Governor's response, a new school to teach the young their religion and duty, ties the failure of the court to the breakdown of clerical instruction under the late parson, the same want of religious order that ran through the account of Mr White. The jury's presentment in paragraph 4 against those who quit the country for the Fort Valley, living without visible means in a riotous manner, belongs to the long anxiety over the island's settlement and the drift of people from the plantations they should have worked. The complaint that such idleness had lately increased ties into the standing concern over a population that would neither settle the land nor sustain the defence, the same pattern the engrossing of holdings had earlier driven. **Speculations** The Council chose to castrate the convicted man rather than let him go unpunished when the want of legal proof took the death sentence off the table. Paragraph 3 sets the failed course, hanging, which would have been his fate had the child witnesses been able to swear in form, against the penalty the Council substituted to answer the crime by other means. What decided it was the evidentiary gap the girls' ignorance of an oath created, so the Council reached for a punishment that both deterred as it judged hanging would and left the man fit for his common labour, the sentence bent to the double aim of marking the offence and keeping a working hand at a place that could spare none.
228	220	We desire Your Honours will be pleased to Send Us the Several particulars mentioned in our additional & Indent herewith transmitted which upon farther Consideration wee find are much wanted & will be very usefull The necessity wch what Your Garrison the Inhabitants & your Blacks are now in for Shirting & for Cloth for various purposes of Household use has hardly ever been greater than at this time & it will be every day worse for the Commanders being no Cloth of the Sorts wanted back Such neat & never for what they have that the People cant afford to buy Seven & Sixpence has been demanded for Shirts not better than what Your Honours used to Sell out of Your Store for 4/6 & the like extravagant Price has been asked for every offered to Valy & to Remedy this is impossible unless Your Honrs will be pleased to Interpose Us & Order to the Gent at Bengale to Send Us the following particulars which wee exceedingly want, by Some of the next Shining to be included in the one ℔ Cent Six 700 Middling Jungola Caussa Shirts 1000 ordinary do 100 ℔ Strong Blue Depotees 100 ℔ Strong White Depotees 200 ℔ double Whild Dungoree for making & Lining Small Sails A few War Candier Coarse Brown Stockings are much wanted here unless wee are fully Supplyed with a great number of Coarse Stockings from England wee commonly expending about 500 ℔ a year. We are Yr P.S. Upon our Acquainting Capt Montgomery with what We had laid before Your Honrs in the 17 18 & 19 Par of Our last Genl Letter about Sending out Anchors & Cables he told Us that he was of an other Opinion & thought that	The Council asked the Court to be pleased to send it the several particulars named in its additional indent transmitted herewith, which on further consideration it found would be very useful. The necessity, not only of the Court's garrison but of the inhabitants and the Court's slaves, was now urgent for shirting and other cloth for various household uses. It had scarcely ever been greater than at this time, and grew every day worse. Since the commanders brought no cloth of the sort wanted back, such neat cheer for what they had, that the people could not afford to buy. Sevenpence or sixpence had been demanded for shirts no better than what the Court used to sell out of its store for fourpence. Such extravagant prices had been asked for everything offered for sale, that to remedy this was impossible, unless the Court would be pleased to interpose. The Council asked the Court to give order to the president at Bengal to send the following particulars, which it exceedingly wanted, by some of the next shipping, to be included in the one per cent: 700 middling Guinea Copa shirts 1,000 ordinary shirts 100 pieces strong blue derseters 100 pieces strong white derseters 200 pieces double white dungaree for making and lining small sails a few war candles Coarse Guinea stockings were much wanted here, unless the Council were fully supplied with a great number of pieces of coarse cloth from England, which it commonly expended, about £500 0s 0d a year. The Council added that, upon acquainting Captain Montgomery with what it had laid before the Court in the 17th and 18th paragraphs of its last general letter about sending out anchors and cables, he told it that he was of another opinion, and thought that instead of anchors and cables it would be much better to send out half a dozen mooring chains and anchors. By these the ships could preserve their own

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		instead of Anchors & Cables it would be much better to Send out half a dozen Mooring Chains & Anchors by which means they could passwe their own Tackling whilst up they lay here & that for the Use of them every Ship Should Pay 12 Sha ℔ cent which in Some time would pay for them all & the Rate he has proposed is so easy that there is no part of England where Ships can Ride on so cheap & We desire to know Your Honrs Pleasure about this Affair	tackle while they lay here, and every ship should pay for the use of them at a rate which in some time would pay for them all. This rate he had proposed to be easy, since there was no part of England where ships could moor so cheap. The Council asked the Court's pleasure about this matter. **Interpretations** The shirting and cloth wanted in the second paragraph belong to the standing charge of clothing the Court's slaves and garrison and supplying the inhabitants, the coarse Indian and English textiles the island depended on from home and the eastern settlements. The complaint that commanders brought none of the right sort, so that shirts fetched sevenpence against the fourpence the Court's store once charged, ties the want to the private trade in ships' goods the Council had long fought, the market left to extortionate prices where the store could not supply. The various coarse cloths in the indent, the derseters, dungarees and Guinea shirts, were the plain woven cottons and coarse stuffs used for slave and soldier clothing and for making and lining sails, the utilitarian goods a labouring population and a garrison required rather than any fine trade. Their inclusion in the one per cent, the fraction of each returning ship's tonnage reserved for the island's supply, shows the standing mechanism by which St Helena drew its necessaries from the homeward traffic of the eastern presidencies. Captain Montgomery's mooring chains in the closing paragraph offered an alternative to the cable reserve the Council had proposed, a set of fixed chains and anchors laid in the road that ships might ride to without wearing their own tackle. The scheme, ships paying a modest fee that would in time repay the whole cost, shows a commander's answer to the same problem the Council had raised, the preservation of ground tackle turned into a self-funding facility rather than a stock of cables sold and replaced. **Speculations** The Council chose to carry Captain Montgomery's mooring-chain proposal to the Court alongside its own cable scheme rather than press its first plan alone. The closing paragraph sets the Council's earlier argument, sending out cables to be sold and renewed, against the commander's view that fixed mooring chains would serve better, letting ships spare their own tackle for a fee that would repay the cost. What decided the Council to forward the rival plan was Montgomery's standing as an expert whose opinion it had sought, so rather than defend its own proposal it laid both before the Court, treating a commander's contrary judgement as worth the Court's decision rather than something to suppress in favour of its first view.
229	221	Blank page	
230	222	Honble Sirs 11th Decr 1733 The Monmouth Sailed from hence on the 19th July & wee hope is Safely arrived in England the Greenwich Ship also proceeded on her Voyage & the Mackthonyet on the 25th of August but she Corted wanting a leek Mary to clear his Arrindonyeth the Inhabitants we lent here the Sum of £355.14. for which he has given Bills of Exchange upon the English Company the first of which is herein inclosed together with the Letter to them relating to this Affair. On the 24th of August a Danish Ship called the Dronning Anna Sophie of Six or Seven hundred Tons Capt Halons Comdr	Honoured Sirs, 11 December 1733. The *Monmouth* sailed from here on the 19th of July, and the Council hoped she was safely arrived in England. The *Sackville* also proceeded on her voyage for Madras on the 5th of August, but before her departure Captain Aversworth wanted a little money. The inhabitants had lent here the sum of £355 14s 0d, for which he had given bills of exchange on the South Sea Company, the first of which was enclosed, together with a letter to the Court relating to this matter. On the 24th of August a Danish ship called the *Drottning Ana Sophia*, of six or seven hundred tons, one Cass commander, arrived here from Tranquebar, but last from the Cape, and sailed for Europe by way of St Thomas, an island of Brazil. The West India ships were extremely well satisfied

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		arrived here from Trangubar but last from the Cape & Sarlana Bray on the 6th of Sept & & Sailed for Europe by Moray of St Thomas on Solary & Britain the West Indies extreamly well Satisfied with their Entertainment here & wee hope the kind Usage and Civilities with which Strangers are now treated will be an Inducement to them to touch here frequently for its of great Advantage to Yr Slaves that they Shale to Set On the 9th Instant the Prince William arrived here from Ostho but last from Bombay & which place the Sleathock & Newcastle Anchord the former on the 17th & the later on the 19th of August wee also hear that the Mary Capt Halson Capt Thompson is dead & Sailed from hence on the 20th of Aug for Madrass & the Dronsthur & Prince Augustus were also arrived from England, the Dorwitts of Wales was also arrived at Johanna the last the Newcastle left that Place which was on the 6th of July 2 We have Deteaned one Sett of Brasky for last Year ending the 30th Sept last & have been so frugal in our Expence that the Gross charge this Year amount only to £4369.13.4 which so £748.7½ less than it was last Year & wee promise Your Honours wee will Manage all Your Affairs with the like good Husbandry & Ceconomy the Roads are now Growing & wee will get them ready with all the Expedition that is possible 3 We have at length got out of the Cape Chints & Yr Your Honours thought would allow us & think on hand & will also use our best Endeavours to dispose of every thing Use formerly recommended to Us 4 The Chints last Year came to £355.88.9¼ of this the Inhabitants have paid £300. 8. 6¾ what Sarves left unpaid together with their former Arrears wee will get in as fast as wee can in doing which wee will use gentle Means for we are Sure wee & Severities are highly offensible to Your Honours & we abwever	with their entertainment here, and the Council hoped the kind usage and civilities strangers were now treated with would be an inducement to them to touch here frequently, to the great advantage of the Court's slaves. The *Prince William* arrived here from Mocha, but last from Bombay, and sailed on the 3rd, in place of the *Heathcote* and the *Newcastle*. The former arrived on the 17th and the latter on the 19th of August. The Council also heard that the *Mary*, Captain Madden, Captain Thompson being dead, sailed from here on the 20th of August for Madras, while the *Prince Augustus* also arrived from England. The *Prince of Wales* also arrived at Johanna, and the *Newcastle* left that place, which was on the 5th of July. 2: The Council had balanced one year of books for the year ending the 30th of September last, and had been so frugal in its expenses that the gross charge this year amounted only to £4,369 13s 4d, behind £74 8s 7½d less than it was last year. The Council promised the Court that it would manage all its affairs with the like good husbandry and economy. The books were now copying, and the Council would get them ready with all the expedition possible. 3: The Council had at length got rid of the Cape chintz, which the Court thought would not sell. It would also use its best endeavours to dispose of everything formerly recommended to it. 4: The plants last year came to £355 8s 2¼d. Of this the inhabitants had paid £300 8s 6¾d, whatever was left unpaid, together with their former arrears, the Council would get in as fast as it could, in doing which it must proceed with gentle means. Some former arrears were now nearly numbered, but highly offensive to the Court, or otherwise this [...] **Interpretations** The bill of exchange on the South Sea Company in the first paragraph, given by Captain Aversworth against £355 14s 0d lent him by the inhabitants, worked the standing device by which a ship in want of money at the island raised it from local creditors and repaid them by a draft on a body at home. The involvement of the South Sea Company marks the vessel as one of its slaving ships, the same Asiento traffic that carried slaves from Angola to Buenos Aires and touched at St Helena for water and refreshment. The good entertainment of the West India ships in the first paragraph, and the Council's hope that kind usage would draw them to call, ties the island's civility to foreign shipping directly to the benefit of the Court's slaves, the calling vessels a source of the provisions and trade the establishment turned to feeding its people. The same connection between hospitality and the island's value as a station ran through the earlier account of the four hired foreign ships. The gross charge of £4,369 13s 4d in paragraph 2, some £74 8s 7½d below the previous year, belongs to the standing account of the island's frugal management under the reformed bookkeeping, the yearly charge balanced to 30 September and set against the prior figure to show the saving. The comparison continues the run of figures by which the administration pressed its economy on the Court, the gross charge near £4,412 the year before and reckoned annually as proof of good husbandry. The Cape chintz got rid of at length in paragraph 3, the cloth the Court had judged unsaleable, marks the disposal of the poor consignment the Council had earlier sent home a sample of as its own witness of the quality. The note that it would also shift everything else recommended shows the standing

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			effort to clear the goods sent out, the defective stock moved on rather than left on the island's hands. **Speculations** The Council chose to advance Captain Aversworth's money through the inhabitants against a bill on the South Sea Company rather than leave a distressed slaver unfunded. The first paragraph sets the plain course, the ship shifting for herself, against the loan of £355 14s 0d raised locally and secured by a draft home. What decided it was the same want of any other channel at so remote a place that had earlier moved the Council to carry a private man's coin in the Court's packet, the island's people supplying the cash a ship could not otherwise get, their credit turned into a claim payable in London where no coin passed between the two.
231	223	this Conduct has a good Effect among the People they having laid aside much of that turbulent Spirit such lately possessed them 5 For want of Cloth of one Sort or other fit for Shirts & Lining of Blacks Cloth & they must go without till wee can Supply our Selves & when this will be is very uncertain for although wee enquired of the Commrs of every Ship that arrived last Year & of Capt Brewford for Stuff for this wee cannot & wee have not been able to get any & therefore wee again desire Your Honours will direct the Gentlemen at Bengale to Send Us the Several particulars wee wrote for in our Letter ℔ the Monmouth 6 Our Summer Season this Year be very indifferent but our Winter Season has been much worse it has proved so very dry that no body has been able to Plant either Wood or Surge with any Success it was attempted Several times both by ourselves & others but it all died or was & & & & burnt up by the Sun so that Planting must be the Work of the next Season if it please God to Send Us Rain the want of which wee now Sensibly felt & every day more & more the Pastures being every where very Short & in many Places quite burnt up which makes the Ground very Slippery & the Catle apt to fall Several having lately broke their Necks & among others two of Your own have been lately last in this manner but however if the dry weather Should continue longer than usual & your Honours Stock by the constant care that is always taken of them will regard the best of any 7 For the reasons mentioned in the Gunners Petition of the 25th of Sept & the Governours Report thereupon of the 2d of Octr last wee have determined to build a new Magazine according to the Dimensions & Modale laid down by the Governour in Consultation of the day last mentioned but it not yet begun because the Gunner having complained on that 1st instant that the Powder Room upon the Line is Sunk under ground & becoms Useless the hands that were imployed to dig Stone & for the Magazine have been taken off to repair the Powder & Room upon the Line for although its not of Such Consequence as the Magazine yet its immediatly wanted & absolutely nesparys to be first done 8 Joseph & Bates has at length & he knowledgd under his hand that there is due from him to the hits of the Spaniard who Sometime dies died at his house the Sum of £246.19.2½ he desires which he has time & leave to Set Some Freehold Land & hire this	The Governor's conduct had a good effect among the people, they having laid aside much of that turbulent spirit which lately possessed them. 5: For want of cloth of one sort or other fit for shirts and lining, and of black cloth, the island must go without unless it could supply itself. When this would be, was very uncertain, for although it had enquired of the commanders of every ship that arrived last year, and of Captain Brayford, for stuff for this purpose, it had not been able to get any. Therefore it once again asked the Court to direct the president at Bengal to send it the several particulars the Council wrote for in its letter by the *Monmouth*. 6: The Council's summer season this year was very poor, but the winter season had been much worse. It had proved so very dry that nobody had been able to plant either wood or furze with any success. It was attempted several times, both by the Council and others, but it all died, or was burnt up by the sun, so that planting must be the work of the next season, if it please God to send rain, the want of which was now sensibly felt. Every day more and more the pastures were everywhere very short, and in many places quite burnt up, which made the ground very slippery. The cattle were apt to fall, several having lately broken their necks, among others two of the Court's own having been lately lost in this manner. But even so, if the dry weather should continue longer than usual, the Court's stock, by the constant care that was always taken of them, would exceed the best of any. 7: For the season mentioned in the gunner's petition of the 23rd of September, and the Governor's report thereon of the 2nd of October last, the Council had determined to build a new magazine according to the dimensions and manner laid down by the Governor in the consultation of the day last mentioned. But it was not yet begun, because the gunner having complained on the 8th of this month that the powder room upon the line was sunk under ground and become useless, the hands that were employed to dig stone for the magazine had been taken off to repair the powder room upon the line. For although it was not of such consequence as the magazine, it was immediately wanted, and absolutely necessary to be first done. 8: Joseph Bates had at length acknowledged under his hand that money was due from him to the heirs of the Spaniard who sometime ago died at his house, to the sum of £246 19s 2½d. To raise this, he asked leave to sell some freehold land, and in this matter [...] **Interpretations** The failed planting of wood and furze in paragraph 6, all of it died or burnt up in the drought, belongs to the long thread of the replanting law and the island's struggle to recover its timber, the young growth defeated here by weather where it had earlier

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			been defeated by cattle for want of enclosure. The recurrence of the failure ties the woodland crisis to the island's harsh dry seasons, the whole scheme of raising wood dependent on a rain the Council waited on. The magazine and the powder room upon the line in paragraph 7 were the works for storing the garrison's gunpowder, the magazine the intended new store and the powder room a position on the fortified line that had sunk and become useless. The diversion of the stone-digging hands from the greater work to the urgent repair shows the standing competition for the island's scarce labour, one work taken up only as another more pressing failed, the same priority that had earlier set the storehouse repair before the fortifications. The Spaniard who died at Joseph Bates's house in paragraph 8, whose heirs Bates now owned a debt of £246 19s 2½d, ties into the running matter of the foreigner who died at the island bringing his own liquor, his effects contested and referred home for the Court's decision, per the Council letters of 1731 and 1732. Bates's acknowledgement under his hand, and his request to sell freehold land to raise the sum, shows the estate at last resolving into a settled debt after the long dispute over what he owed. The want of shirting cloth in paragraph 5, sought from every commander and from Captain Brayford without success, continues the standing supply crisis pressed in the letter by the *Monmouth*, the island unable to clothe its people where the ships brought none of the right sort. The renewed plea to direct Bengal to send the particulars belongs to the long dependence on the eastern presidencies for the coarse textiles the establishment could not make or buy. **Speculations** The Council chose to hold back the new magazine and turn its stone-diggers to the sunken powder room instead. Paragraph 7 sets the greater work, the magazine laid down by the Governor's own dimensions, against the powder room upon the line that had sunk under ground and become useless. What decided the diversion was the gunner's complaint of the 8th that the powder room was immediately wanted, so the Council took the hands off the more considerable work for the lesser but urgent one, the standing want of labour forcing it to answer the failing store before beginning the intended one.
232	224	matter or its till wee receive Orders either from Your Honours or the heirs of the deceased how to proceed farther & as the Transactions of the Said Bates have been very dishonest throughout this his whale Affair so wee on our parts have taken all possible that the deceased Should not be wronged & for farther particulars beg leave to refer Your Honrs to our Several Computations of the 21 & 28 of Aug of the 11th & 25th of Septr & of the 2d of Octr last all which are very remarkable & deserve Notice 9 We formerly acquainted Your Honours that the Path up Ladder Hill was become extreamly bad & dangerous for want of Repair insomuch that Several People have Lost their Lives thereto on the 8th instant one of the Men belonging to the Prince William fell from the top of the Hill & Forty Yards worn at broad day & bruised himself in a terrible manner but he is in a fair way of Recovery however to prevent these Accidents for the future wee Shale be obliged Speedily to begin to repair this Path for the Inhabitants themselves cannot pass it up or down without Dread and Apprehension	The matter rested until the Council received orders, either from the Court or from the heirs of the deceased, how to proceed further. Since the transactions of Joseph Bates had been very dishonest throughout this whole affair, the Council had, on its part, taken all possible care that the deceased should not be wronged. For further particulars it asked leave to refer the Court to its several consultations of the 21st and 28th of August, of the 11th and 25th of September, and of the 2nd of October last, which were very remarkable and deserved notice. 9: The Council had formerly informed the Court that the path up Ladder Hill had become extremely bad and dangerous for want of repair, so much so that several people had lost their lives there. On the 8th of this month one of the men belonging to the *Prince William* fell from the top of the ladder, forty yards, and was at once bruised in a terrible manner. But he was in a fair way of recovery. To prevent such accidents in future, the Council would be forced to begin to repair the path, since the inhabitants themselves could not pass it up or down without dread and apprehension.

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		10 Capt Beresford not having Room wee must wait for an other Opportunity before wee can Send any more damaged Powder. We are &ca List of the Packet ℔ Prince William 1 Genl Letter 11th Decr 1733 2 Consultan Copys from 12th June to 2d July inclusive 3 Ditto Your Plant Accts for May 4 Copies Consn from 10th July to 4th Decr inclusive 5 ditto Your Plant Accts for June 6 „ July 7 „ Augt 8 „ Septr 9 „ Octr 10 „ Novr 11 Accts of Ship Prince William Capt Bradls first Bill of Exchange & Letter ℔ 12 Advices Inclosed in the Genl Letter	10: Captain Beresford not having room, the Council must wait for another opportunity before it could send any more damaged powder. The Council was, and so on. List of the packet by the *Prince William*: 1: General letter, 11 December 1733 2: Duplicate consultations from 12 June to 2 July inclusive 3: Duplicate Governor's plantation accounts for May 4: Copies of consultations from 10 July to 4 December inclusive 5: Duplicate Governor's plantation accounts for June 6: Governor's plantation accounts for July 7: Governor's plantation accounts for August 8: Governor's plantation accounts for September 9: Governor's plantation accounts for October 10: Governor's plantation accounts for November 11: Accounts of the ship Prince William 12: Captain Beresford's first bill of exchange and letter of advice enclosed in the general letter **Interpretations** The dishonest dealing of Joseph Bates in the first paragraph, over the effects of the Spaniard who died at his house, ties into the long-contested estate of the foreigner who came ashore bringing his own liquor and died within a fortnight, the disputed goods referred home for the Court's decision, per the Council letters of 1731 and 1732. The Council's care that the deceased not be wronged, and its reference to a string of consultations, shows it building a documentary record against a suspect party while awaiting the Court's or the heirs' direction rather than settling the matter itself. The fall from Ladder Hill in paragraph 9, a *Prince William* man dropping forty yards from the top, gives fresh and concrete force to the standing danger of the decayed path, the same ruined way where Mr Wrangham's slave had lately been killed. The Council's resolve to begin the repair, the inhabitants unable to pass it without dread, continues the long thread of the roads let fall to ruin since Governor Pyke made them, the work forced at last by the loss and injury the neglect had caused. The packet list belongs to the standing practice of documentary protection through duplicate despatches, the general letter, the running consultations and the monthly plantation accounts bundled and numbered so the loss of one ship should not destroy the record. The bill of exchange sent with its letter of advice, and the accounts carried in every packet, show the reformed bookkeeping and the recoverable chain of custody the Council had long maintained against the perils of the passage.
233	225	Honble Sirs. 25th January 1734 1 The Inclosed is a Copy of the Letter wee wrote to Your Honours by the Prince William who Sailed from hence on the 19th of Decr & wee hope wee have a Safe & Speedy Passage to England. On the 21st instant the Sethieelifer arrived here directly from Madrass by whom we learn that the Cyler was Unfortunately Lost on the 19th of July last in Bengale River, & that the Prince Augustus & Cy & Cy arrived at Madrass on the 30th May, the Devonshire about ten days after, the Decker & Britannis on the	Honoured Sirs, 25 January 1734. Enclosed was a copy of the letter the Council wrote to the Court by the *Prince William*, which sailed from here on the 19th of December, and the Council hoped she was safely arrived home. The Council also hoped soon to have a safe and speedy passage to England. On the 21st of this month the *Lethieullier* arrived here directly from Madras, by whom the Council learned that the *Lyell* was unfortunately lost on the 19th of July last in the Bengal river. It further learned that the *Prince Augustus* arrived at Madras on the 30th of May, the *Devonshire* about ten days after, the *Duke of Britannia* on the 17th of June, the *Litchfield* at Fort St George on the 11th of July, and that the *Royal Guardian* arrived also at Bengal on the 25th of July. All the Court's ships from there, the Council hoped, would be despatched home this season.

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		17th June, the Yormanton on the 6th July, & that the Royal Guardian arrived also at Bengal on the 25th July & that all Your Ships from thence & they Say would be dispatched home this Season 2 By the Report of the Governours Enterd in Consultation of the 26th of Decr last Your Honours will observe that the great Seas have took away the Crane & destroyed the Wharf at Lemon Valley & notwithstanding wee used all the Diligence & Expedition wee could, for our first notice of this disaster came late at Night wee could not Save any part of it except two peices that were drove on Shore & the Surf which at this time were much greater than wee have at any time known them to be at Lemon Valley of which Your Honours have a more perfect Relation in Mr Godwins Report of the 2 instant who went twice on purpose to view the Destruction then made by which it appears that the force & Violence of the Sea was so vastly great that Rocks of prodigeous Magnitude Some of them not less than 27 Tons a piece were removed from their Places into the Ocean & for these reasons wee are resolved to Save Your Money & not repair that place any more nor indeed is it necessary because Since the Governr has turned the Salt Springs so as to run directly into the Sea without touching & communicating with the fresh Springs the Water in the Fort Valley is better than the Water of Lemon Valley & for the greater Conveniency of Your Shining to Water the Governour lately fixed Tork upon the Rock near the old Crane but the high Seas had like to have carried that away too for wee had hardly time to Save it but as Soon as the Weather abates which wee hope will be by March wee will place it Retty again 3 Mr Barbra Pyke died on the 8 of Decr last & was ill for a long time before which was the chief occasion that Your Books were not Sent by the Prince William nor indeed could they have been got ready so early as they are had wee not been abliged to entertain Mr Spa Godwin junr as a Writer who & assisted considerably therein or	2: By the report of the Governor entered in the consultation of the 26th of December last, the Court would observe that the great rains had broken away the crane and destroyed the wharf at Lemon Valley. Even so, the Council had used all the diligence and application it could. Since its first notice of this disaster came late at night, it could not save any part of it, except two pieces that were driven on shore. The surf, which at this time was much greater than the Council had at any time known it to be at Lemon Valley, the Court would find a fuller account of in Mr Goodwin's report of the 2nd of this month, who went twice on purpose to view the destruction then made. By this it appeared that the force and violence of the sea was so vastly great that it rolled rocks of prodigious size, some of them not less than twenty-seven tons apiece, and removed them from their places into the ocean. For these reasons the Council was resolved to save the Court's money, and to repair the place no more than was strictly necessary, since the Governor had turned the salt springs so as to run directly into the sea, without touching or communicating with the fresh springs. The water in the Fort Valley was better than the water of Lemon Valley, and for the greater convenience of the Court's shipping to water, the Governor lately fixed a crane upon the wall near the old crane. But the high seas had like to have carried that away too, for the Council had hardly time to save it. As soon as the weather abated, which the Council hoped would be by March, it would place it right again. 3: Mrs Barbara Pyke died on the 8th of December last, having been ill for a long time before, which was the chief cause that the Court's books were not sent by the *Prince William*. Nor indeed could they have been got ready so early as they were, had the Council not been forced to entertain Mr Isaac Goodwin junior as a writer, who assisted considerably in the matter [...] **Interpretations** The destruction of the crane and wharf at Lemon Valley in paragraph 2 struck at the very watering works the Governor had lately finished for twenty pounds, the wharf, spouts and crane raised to fix the goodness of the island's water against the commanders' pretext for touching at the Cape. The rolling of twenty-seven-ton rocks into the sea shows the violence of the surf the earlier account had warned the works must be secured against, the same freshes and high seas that made the island's landing places so hard to keep. The turning of the salt springs in paragraph 2, run directly into the sea so as not to mix with the fresh, was the very contrivance by which the Governor had earlier cleansed the crane's supply at a trifling charge after abandoning the costly conveyance from Captain Troud's Spring. The Council's resolve to repair Lemon Valley no more than strictly necessary, the Fort Valley water now judged better, shows the frugal answer to the storm damage, the works not restored in full where a cheaper source served. Mrs Barbara Pyke's death in paragraph 3, delaying the Court's books, and the hiring of Isaac Goodwin junior to get them ready, tie the personal loss to the standing pressure of the accountant's office on a thinly staffed establishment. The reliance on a single fresh writer to complete the yearly accounts continues the long difficulty of keeping the books current, the same want of hands that had earlier collapsed the clerical establishment to a one-eyed writer and unfinished apprentices. The loss of the *Lyell* in the Bengal river in paragraph 1, confirmed after the earlier report that she had sprung a leak and could not come home, ties the shipping intelligence to the perils of the eastern

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			passage the island tracked ship by ship. The catalogue of arrivals at Madras, Fort St George and Bengal belongs to the standing account of the homeward fleet the Council kept for the Court, the movements recorded as each calling ship brought word. **Speculations** The Council chose to repair the wrecked Lemon Valley works only so far as strictly necessary rather than restore the crane and wharf in full. Paragraph 2 sets the fuller course, rebuilding what the great rains had carried off, against the Council's resolve to spend no more than needed because the Governor had drained the salt springs and the Fort Valley water now served better. What decided it was the ruinous force of a surf that rolled twenty-seven-ton rocks into the sea, so rather than pour the Court's money into a place the storm could destroy again, the Council fell back on the cheaper water it had already secured, restoring Lemon Valley no further than the shipping's convenience required.
234	226	wee have so much Writing work to do that wee Should be glad if one or two more were Sent Us of good Abilities & whose Inclinations lead them to which & go through busyness willingly. By the Books which wee now Send in our Packet Your Honours will be pleased to observe that Your Expences for the last Year have been Managed with Such Illegality that the gross Charge amounts only to £4369.13.4. 3½ which is £79.8.7½ less than it was the Year before & wee will be allways carefull to Manage Your Affairs with the best Husbandry. The Cash Book, & Book of Disbursements & with the other usual Lists are getting ready & wee will transmitt them as Soon as possibly wee can, Mr Godwin who is about nineteen Years of Age having already begun the Lists & the Cash Book & Book of Disbursements are also Copying 4 We have been under great difficulties to provide Clothing for Your Blacks who are now allmost naked but at length wee have procured the following particulars of Capt Ship had though a bit price & to Something dearer than wee could wish but Our necessity is Such that wee were abliged to take them at any Rate Vizt 10 ℔ Ordy Long Cloth 24s£12.-- 4 ℔ Middling 30. 6.12.-- 20 ℔ Blue Sallampores 13.9½ 13.15.5 16 ℔ Bunting 13.10.-- Aparcell of Slonps Angto 12.7.6 58.4.11. wee have also bought a Small Coile of Cordage of him much wanted for the Use of the Longboat which makes the Sum due to him upon the Ballance of his Accts to be £37.13.4 for which together with the Sum of £210.14. by him paid into Your Cash here wee have drawn one Sett of Bills upon Your Honours amounting to £248.7.4 dated this day & payable to Capt John Shepheard or Order of which wee humbly pray Your Acceptance. Your Honble Sirs 2d Bill for £35.14. payable to Your Honours is herein inclosed. We are, Yr St Helena 25th January 1735	The Council had so much writing work to do that it would be glad if one or two more were sent to it, of good abilities and whose inclination led them to it. Even so, the Council went on willingly. By the books it now sent, the Court would be pleased to observe that the island's expenses for the last year had been managed with such frugality that the gross charge came to only £4,369 13s 4d, which was £79 8s 7½d less than it was the year before. The Council would always be careful to manage the Court's affairs with the best husbandry. The cash book and the book of disbursements were being got ready, and the Council would transmit them as soon as possible. Mr Goodwin, who was about nineteen years of age, having already begun the lists, was also copying the cash book and the book of disbursements. 4: The Council had been under great difficulty to provide clothing for the Court's slaves, who were now almost naked. But at length it procured the following particulars from Captain Shipheard, though at a price something dearer than it could wish. Its necessity was such that it was obliged to take them at any rate. 10 pieces ordinary long cloth, at 24s each, £12 0s 0d 4 pieces middling, 30s, £6 12s 0d 20 pieces blue Sallampores, 13s 6d each, £13 15s 5d 16 pieces bunting, £13 10s 0d 1 chance of stamps, angia, £12 7s 6d total, £58 4s 11d The Council had also bought a small coil of cordage of him, much wanted for the use of the longboat, which made the sum due to him, with the balance of his account, £37 13s 0d. For this, together with the sum of £210 14s 0d paid into the Court's cash here by him, the Council had drawn one set of bills upon the Court amounting to £248 7s 0d, dated this day and payable to Captain John Shipheard or order, of which the Council asked the Court's acceptance. The second bill for £35 14s 0d, payable to the Court, was enclosed herein. The Council was, and so on. St Helena, 25 January 1734. **Interpretations** The cloth bought of Captain Shipheard in paragraph 4, the long cloth, Sallampores, bunting and stamps, were the coarse Indian cottons used to clothe the Court's slaves, the same utilitarian textiles the island depended on from the eastern presidencies and the calling ships. The Council's taking them at any rate, the slaves almost naked,

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			exposes the acute failure of supply pressed through the recent letters, the want so urgent that it paid a commander's dear price rather than leave its people unclothed. The bill of exchange for £248 7s 0d in the closing account worked the standing device of the cashless island, a draft on the Court answered against goods supplied and cash paid in at St Helena, here Shipheard's cloth and cordage and the £210 14s 0d he lodged in the Court's cash. The single set drawn to him or his order shows the mechanism turning a commander's local payment into a claim redeemable in London, the paper crossing the divide the coin could not. The gross charge of £4,369 13s 4d in the first paragraph, £79 8s 7½d below the prior year, continues the standing account of frugal management under the reformed bookkeeping, the yearly charge balanced and set against the previous figure as proof of husbandry. The cash book and book of disbursements got ready by the young writer Goodwin belong to the long effort to keep the books current against the pressure of a thinly staffed office. The plea for one or two more writers in the first paragraph, of good abilities and willing inclination, reflects the recurring want of skilled clerical hands on a remote establishment, the same shortage that had delayed the Court's books at Mrs Pyke's death and forced the hiring of Goodwin. The standing difficulty of maintaining the accountant's office continues the long thread of a single clerk pressed to do all the writing the Court's business required. **Speculations** The Council chose to buy the slave clothing from Captain Shipheard at a dear rate rather than wait for cheaper supply from the eastern presidencies. Paragraph 4 sets the reluctance, a price something dearer than it could wish, against the necessity that forced the purchase, the slaves now almost naked and no other cloth to be had. What decided it was the failure of the standing supply the Council had pressed for through letter after letter, so rather than leave its people unclothed it took what a passing commander offered at any rate, the urgency of the want overriding the frugality the same letters made its constant boast.
235	227	List of the Packet ♓ Sethieellien 25th Janry 1733 Genl Letter 25th Janry 1733 Copy Genl Letter 11th Decr 1733 Duplicates Vizt Govr Pykes Plantation Accts for June July „ Augt „ Septr „ Octr „ Novr Accts of Ship Prince William Copies Vizt Consultn from 11th Decr to 2d Janry both inclusive Govr Pykes Plantn Accts for Ditto Accts of Ship Sethieellien Capt Bradls 2d Bill of Exchange Sent in the Genl Letter 2 One Sett of Brasky for the Year 1733 Capt Beresfords Accts for the two Packets	List of the packet by the *Lethieullier*, 25 January 1734: General letter, 25 January 1734 Copy general letter, 11 December 1733 Duplicates, namely: Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for June Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for July Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for August Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for September Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for October Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for November Accounts of the ship Prince William Copies, namely: Consultations from 11 December to 2 January, both inclusive Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for December Accounts of the ship Lethieullier Captain Beresford's second bill of exchange, sent in the general letter One set of books for the year 1733 Captain Aversworth's receipts for the two packets **Interpretations** The packet list belongs to the standing practice of documentary protection through duplicate

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			despatches, the general letter, a copy of the previous letter, the running consultations and the monthly plantation accounts numbered and bundled so the loss of one ship should not destroy the record. The second bill of exchange sent apart from the first, and the captains' receipts for both packets, show the recoverable chain of custody the Council had long maintained, each half of a bill of no effect until its fellow reached London and the receipt the standing proof of delivery.
236	228	Honble Sirs 21 Febry 1733. The Sethieullien left Us on the 23th of last Month in her way to England & wee wish her a good Voyage. On the 28th of the Same Month three Ships past by to the Windward thought to be French from Pontichebory Upon the 9th instant the Harrington here directly from Bencoolen but brought Us nothing from thence & not so much as a Letter but our Stock of Pepper being Small wee have taken 3d „--„ out of her for the Use of the Ship Slave & given the Captain a Receipt for the Same accordingly by whom wee Send Your Honours Ten Casks of damaged Powder & hope Speedily wee Shale be rid of it all In our Packet wee have transmitted a Cash Book & Book of Disbursements together with all other usual Accts for the Year ending 30th Sept 1733 as Your Honours will more particularly See by the List therein inclosed We hear there goes home in the Harrington one Art Bowers a very lewd & immoral Man who in the year 1723 Stood here out of the Dawson to avoid being a Witness against the chief officer of that Ship & one Read who was accused of Selamy but was reported that this Man had he held great part of that horrible Scene but when he was here he Set up a new Trade & got a couple of black Winches to live with him on Scatled Thivny the other Betty Oliver who had Seve Children Some of whom he owned to be his & thier they lived in a lewd Scandalous manner for many years & they who at any time had a Mind for a bit of Black Duck for Suspes were allways welleom having forst Marsh Mr Byfield did endeavour to get rid of him & fined him Ten Pounds as Your Honours will See in our Consult of the 20th of Febry 1732 which is very full about this Matter that wee desire & you will order it to be laid before You but it had not the intended Effect nor could he get him away Soon after Governour Pyke came he ordered him to part with his Black Winches or else he Should not Stay upon the Island upon which he Setled among his Comrades that he would put it out of Governour Pykes Power to Send him off for he would buy Some Sold & become a Freeholder & then he could not be removed & this went on continuing to keep a lewd disorderly house which wee thought our Duty to prevent & to be it effectually wee	Honoured Sirs, 21 February 1734. The *Lethieullier* left the island on the 25th of last month on her way to England, and the Council hoped she was safe with a good voyage. On the 28th of the same month three ships passed by to the windward, thought to be French from Pondicherry. On the 9th of this month the *Harrington* came here directly from Bencoolen, but brought the island nothing from there, not so much as a letter. The Council's stock of pepper being small, it had taken three from her for the use of the island. A slave was given the captain a receipt for the same accordingly, by whom the Council sent the Court ten casks of damaged powder, and hoped speedily it would be rid of it all. In its packet the Council had transmitted a cash book and book of disbursements, together with all other usual accounts for the year ending 30 September 1733, as the Court would more particularly see by the list enclosed. The Council reported that there went home in the *Lethieullier* one Isaac Bowers, a very lewd and immoral man, who in the year 1723 had stayed here out of the *Dawson* to avoid being a witness against the chief officer of that ship, one George Read, who was accused of thievery, but it was reported that this man had held a great part of that horrible scene himself. When the Council heard he set up a new trade, it got a couple of black wenches to live with him, one called Thievery and the other Betty Oliver, who had seven children, some of whom he owned to be his. These they lived in a lewd and scandalous manner for many years, and whoever at any time had a mind for a bit of black cloth for shifts were always welcome, paying for it. Governor Byfield endeavoured to get rid of him, and fined him ten dollars, as the Court would see in the consultation of the 20th of February 1733, which was very full about this matter. He would very near ruin the island, the Court would observe before it, had not the intended effect. Nor could the Council get him away soon after Governor Pyke came here. He ordered him to part with his black wenches, or else he should not stay upon the island, on which he laughed among his comrades that he would put it out of Governor Pyke's power to send him, for he would buy some land, and become a freeholder. When he could not be removed until it went on continuing to keep a lewd and disorderly house, which the Council thought its duty to prevent, and to do it effectually, it sent him to Bencoolen, by the direction given by the Court in the 11th paragraph of its letter by the *Loyal Merchant* of the 5th of August 1687, relating to offenders [...] **Interpretations** The pepper taken from the *Harrington* in the first paragraph, three of an unstated measure carried for the use of the island against a small stock, shows the standing practice of drawing necessary provisions from a calling ship and giving a receipt to be settled by the Court. The detail that the ship brought nothing from Bencoolen, not even a letter, ties into the recurring frustration of a station that sent no supply and kept no correspondence, the same

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		Sent him to Bencoolen according to the Direction given by Your Honours in the 11th Par of the Genl Letter by tha 5th of August 1687 & Loyal Merchant relating to	neglect the Council had long met from the eastern settlement. Isaac Bowers's black wenches and the trade in black cloth for shifts in the third paragraph tie the man's disorderly house to the very cloth shortage the Council had pressed through its recent letters, the coarse stuff for slave and household clothing sold privately where the Court's store could not supply. The account casts his household as one node of the private trade in scarce goods the Council had long fought, the same leakage into unauthorised hands its pricing reforms sought to stop. The order of 1687 by the *Loyal Merchant* in the closing lines shows the Council reaching back near fifty years for the Court's standing authority to remove offenders, the removal to Bencoolen the disposal it had long used for troublesome persons. The invocation of so old a direction ties the shipping of Bowers to the abstracting of all the Court's standing orders the Council had undertaken, the precedent cited to ground an act it could not otherwise clearly sanction. Bowers's plan to buy land and become a freeholder to escape removal in the third paragraph exposes the limit of the Governor's authority over a settled proprietor, the same difficulty the engrossing question had raised over who could be turned off the island. His boast that a freehold would put him beyond Governor Pyke's reach shows property as a shield against the government's power, the tension the Council resolved by shipping him off before the title could protect him. **Speculations** The Council chose to send Isaac Bowers to Bencoolen rather than let him stay once he threatened to buy land and become a freeholder. The third paragraph sets the obstacle, a proprietor beyond the Governor's power to remove, against the Council's determination to break up a lewd and disorderly house it judged its duty to prevent. What decided it was Bowers's own boast that a freehold would shield him, so the Council acted to ship him off under the old authority of the *Loyal Merchant* order before he could secure the title that would have kept him, the removal timed to forestall the very protection he counted on.
237	229	they lied but the Governour of Bencoolen did not think it a Crime Sufficient to detain him there & therefore has Sent him home & wee must Acknowledge that if that was a well governed Place the Example of Such a Fellow might do Mischief & were it not for the positive orders Your Honours have given to the contrary wee Should have chose to have Sent him directly Ourselves rather than be troubled with him here & Should be glad if no Scandalous People were permitted to go & any Part of India 4 Our Winter Season proved very bad the Weather having continued dry for Several Months together & now the time is come wherein wee expect the Summer Season but wee are afraid this Season will also faile Us for wee have had little Rains & they have failed chiefly to Showers followed by many days of fair Weather & however wee hope for the best & if wee have Rain Sufficient to bring up the goofs upon the Commons & Out Parts wee	The Council had shipped Bowers to Bencoolen as an offender under that old order, but the Governor there did not think his crime sufficient to detain him and had sent him home. The Council had to admit that, had it been a well-governed place, the example of such a fellow might do mischief. Were it not for the positive orders the Court had given to the contrary, the Council should have chosen to send him away itself, rather than be troubled with him here. It would be glad if no scandalous people were allowed to go to any part of India. 4: The Council's winter season proved very bad, the weather having continued dry for several months together. It was now the time it expected the summer season, but was afraid this season would also fail it, for it had had little rain, which fell chiefly in showers, followed by many days of fair weather. Even so, the Council hoped for the best. If it had rain enough to bring up the yams upon the commons and outparts, it would do very well. If not, the people would not be able to shift, and numbers of cattle would die for want of food. The Council was, and so on. St Helena, 21 February 1734. List of the packet by the *Harrington*, 21 February 1734: General letter, 21 February 1734 Copy general letter, 25 January 1734

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		Shall do very well, if not the People wont be able to Shift their Pastures & number of Catle will die for want of food. We are, &ca St Febry 1733 List of the Packet ♓ Harrington 21 Feboy 1733 Genl Letter 21 Seboy 1733 Copy Genl Letter 25th Janry 1733 Duplicates Vizt Governours Plantn Acct for Ditto Accts of Ship Sethieullien Copies Consn from 20th Janry to Feby Seboy both inclusive Book of Disbursements Cash Book List of Salaries Blacks Leases Fines Customs Families Rents Your Plantn Acct for January Accts of Ship Harrington Capt Shepherds Acct for the large Packet Ditto for the Small Packet Capt Jenkins Acct for ten Barrels Powder.	Duplicates, namely: Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for December Accounts of the ship Lethieullier Copies, namely: Consultations from 20 January to 15 February, both inclusive Book of disbursements Cash book List of salaries List of blacks List of leases List of fines List of customs List of families List of rents Governor Pyke's plantation accounts for January Accounts of the ship Harrington Captain Shipheard's receipt for the large packet Captain Shipheard's receipt for the small packet Captain Jenkins's receipt for ten barrels of powder **Interpretations** The removal of Isaac Bowers, refused by Bencoolen and sent back, exposes the limit of the transfer between stations as a means of disposing of troublesome persons, the Governor there judging his offence too slight to detain him. The Council's admission that it would have shipped him away itself but for the Court's positive orders, and its wish that no scandalous people be sent to India at all, shows the tension between the two settlements over the men each was reluctant to receive, the same reluctance seen in the earlier drafts sent unwillingly between them. The threatened failure of the season in paragraph 4, dry for months with rain only in scattered showers, ties the island's whole subsistence to the weather, the yams on the commons and outparts and the cattle alike depending on a rain the Council waited on. The warning that the people could not shift and the cattle would die for want of food continues the long thread of drought and dearth, the same want that had earlier driven the pleas for wheat from England and the failed planting of wood. The packet list belongs to the standing practice of documentary protection through duplicate despatches, the general letter, a copy of the last, the running consultations and the yearly lists of salaries, slaves, leases, fines, families and rents bundled and numbered against the loss of any one ship. The captains' receipts for the large and small packets and for the ten barrels of powder show the recoverable chain of custody the Council maintained, the proof of delivery carried home as the standing guard on the record and the returned stores.
238	230	Honble Sirs. 26th March 1734 The Harrington left Us on the 22 of last Month & wee hope by this time has made a good Progress in her Voyage. On the 24th a Single Ship Past by to the Windward & on the 18th instant the Wyndham & Compton arrived here from China & brought each of them a Small Supply for the Use of this Place, the particulars of which together with the Season & wee desire Your Honrs will See in our Consultation of the 15th of this Month On the 21 instant wee had an Allarm for a Single Ship and the next Morning four more appeared but they as past by & wee beleive are Dutch. On the 25	Honoured Sirs, 26 March 1734. The *Harrington* left the island on the 22nd of last month, and the Council hoped by this time she had made a good progress in her voyage. On the 24th a single ship passed by to the windward, and on the 13th of this month the *Wyndham* and the *Compton* arrived here from China, and brought each of them a small supply for the use of the island, the particulars of which, together with the shipping intelligence, the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 18th of this month. On the 21st of this month the Council had an alarm for a single ship, and the next morning four more appeared, but they passed by, and the Council believed them Dutch. On the 24th the *Devonshire*, Captain Innes, arrived from Bengal, by whom the Council heard that the *Britannia* might be expected in about ten days, and the *Bedford*, the *Normanton* and the *Duke of London* in about three weeks.

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		the Devonshire Capt Innes arrived from Bengall by whom wee hear that the Britannia may be expected here about ten days & the Bedford Normanton and Duke of London in about three Weeks 2 In our Letter of the 11th of Decr & of the 21 Feby last wee acquainted Your Honours with the Appre hensions wee were under least our Summer as well as our Winter Season Should faile Us but thank God Since the Harrington Sailed wee have had Rain in tollerabll Plenty though it has fallen So late in the Season for although the Rains Set in at the later End of Decr or beginning of January that our Great will not be altogether so fat nor so good as in former Years it has been but there is enough of it & if the Rains continue three Weeks it will be usefull good before the Shiping are over the had the Season quite failed Us the Mortality among the Catle would have been almost as great as that which happened in the Year 1713 & would have so much distresped the Inhabitants in their Several Plantations & espeecally the poorer Sort that it would have fallen Catle Short of a Famine, & even as it was many Families of the Eastern Side of the Country where the People are most numerous & the Plantations very few & Small for want of Water & Soile proper to produce Game had nothing to eat of the bread kind & very few of any thing else except what in this time of Extremity was Spared them by their Neighbours & therefore wee thought it our Duty to furnish ourselves with a little Quantity of Rice & wch wee have bought at a low Rate for the Security & Support of the People in case wee Should have been afflicted with Such a terrible Calamity but our fears upon this head are now at an End for at the most People have last	2: In its letters of the 11th of December and of the 21st of February last, the Council had informed the Court of the apprehensions it was under, no less than that its summer season should fail it as its winter season had. But thank God, since the *Harrington* sailed, it had had rain tolerably. Slight though it was, it had fallen so late in the season, for usually the rains set in at the latter end of December or the beginning of January, that the island's wheat would not be altogether so fat nor so good as in former years. Even so, there was enough of it. If the rains continued three weeks, it would be tolerably good before the shipping was over. Had the season quite failed the island, the mortality among the cattle would have been almost as great as that which happened in the year 1713, and would have so much distressed the Court and the inhabitants in their several plantations, and especially the poorer sort, that it would have fallen little short of a famine. Even as it was, many families on the eastern side of the country, where the people were most numerous and the plantations very few and small for want of water and soil proper to produce yams, had nothing to live on of the bread kind, or very little of anything else, except what in this time of extremity was spared them by their neighbours. Therefore the Council thought it its duty to furnish itself with a little quantity of rice, which it had bought at a low rate for the security and support of the people, in case it should have been afflicted with such a terrible calamity. But its fears on this head were now at an end, for the most part the people had lost their cattle [...] **Interpretations** The threatened drought in paragraph 2, its scale measured against the mortality of 1713, ties the whole subsistence of the island to a rain that fell late and slight, the wheat and cattle alike hanging on the season. The comparison to the great cattle mortality of that earlier year, and the warning that failure would have fallen little short of a famine, continues the long thread of dearth that had driven the pleas for wheat from England, the same want the fishery and the yam plantations were meant to guard against. The poorer families of the eastern side in paragraph 2, most numerous where the plantations were fewest and smallest for want of water and proper soil, expose the uneven settlement of the island, the people crowded onto ground least able to feed them. The account of neighbours sparing bread in the extremity ties the drought to the standing weakness of a population that could not support itself from its own produce, the same reliance on relief the Cape grievance and the famine letters had long pressed. The rice bought cheap for the people's security in paragraph 2 shows the Council laying in a reserve against a feared calamity, the low rate seized while it offered as insurance for the poor. The purchase belongs to the standing effort to guard the island against dearth, the same provision by rice and wheat from the eastern presidencies and from England that had carried the establishment through the earlier droughts. The shipping intelligence in the first paragraph, the ships from China bringing supply and the expected arrivals from Bengal, belongs to the standing account of the homeward fleet the Council kept for the Court, the movements recorded as each calling vessel brought word. The alarm for a single ship and the four that followed, believed Dutch, continue the standing watch against foreign sail the island maintained, the passing fleets tracked and reported ship by ship. **Speculations**

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			The Council chose to lay in a quantity of rice at a low rate against a famine that in the end did not come. Paragraph 2 sets the risk, the season threatening to fail as the winter had, against the Council's decision to buy while the price was cheap for the security of the poorer people. What decided it was the memory of 1713 and the plain danger to families already living on their neighbours' charity, so the Council took the provision as insurance rather than wait on a rain it could not count on, the cheap rice bought against a calamity it judged better guarded against than risked.
239	231	Catle & Some of them half their Stock & a few more of the weaker Catle may yet die occasioned by their eating plentifully of the young Grass which has an ill Effect upon them & the greatest number wee be Saved & Such care has been taken of Your Honours Stock by Shifting them from one Pasture to another & by giving them Plantane Trees & gathering Grass & Weeds out of the New Plants that is proportion to Your Number Your Honours have last the least of any upon the Island & the Governour assures Your Honours that nothing on this part Shall be neglected & he will Manage all Your Affairs entrusted to his particular care to the best Advantage & for Miss & the other Reasons mentioned in Consultation of the 12 instant he hath bought a large Plantation with all the Game thereon Standing for a Trifle no more than £75.--„ which is Such a Pennyworth & wele be otherwise of Such great Benefit that wee are & Use Your Honours will be pleased with it for among other things it will inable Us to throw up Your Plantation called Prohins to Ly fallow for three or four Years till it has recovered it Self again 3 In our Letter of the 11th of Decr last wee acquainted Your Honours that the Path up Ladder Hill was so much decayed that it was become almost impassable & that one of the Men belonging to the Prince William was in great danger of his Life occasioned by the Badness of the Road & on the 25th instant, one of the Men belonging to the Wyndham named Genard Reisen fell from the top of the Hill many Fathoms down & in falling lodged himself miraculously in a Ledge of Rocks or else Saved his Life for one turn more & would have brought him to the Bottom which from the Place where he lay was 70 Fathom high, there he continued from Eight in the Morning till Seven at Night before hee could be got out for the Place into which he was fallen was of Such difficult & dangerous Access that the best of Our People durst not venture to him but at the hazard of their Lives & climbed above him & by Ropes & let themselves down & fastened them about him & hailed him out much frightened & bruised with the fall and	Their cattle, and some of them half their stock. A few more of the weaker cattle might yet die from their eating too plentifully of the young grass, which had an ill effect upon them. But the greatest number, and the Council had taken such care, had been saved of the Court's stock by shifting them from one pasture to another, and by giving them plantains, roots and by gathering grass and weeds out of the new plantations. That plantation, in proportion to the Court's number, the Court had one of the least of any upon the island. The Governor assured the Court that nothing on his part should be neglected, and that he would manage all the Court's affairs entrusted to his particular care to the best advantage. For this, and the other reasons named in the consultation of the 12th of this month, he had bought a large plantation, with all the yams growing on it, standing for a yield of no more than £75 0s 0d, which was such a pennyworth that the Council would be otherwise of such great benefit. The Council was sure the Court would be pleased with it, since among other things it would enable it to throw the Court's plantation called Perkins by to lie fallow for three or four years, till it had recovered itself again. 3: In its letter of the 11th of December last the Council had informed the Court that the path up Ladder Hill was so much decayed that it had become almost impassable, and that one of the men belonging to the *Prince William* was in great danger of his life from the badness of the road. On the 25th of this month one of the men belonging to the *Wyndham*, named Gerard Reeves, fell from the top of the ladder many fathoms down. In falling he lodged himself, by a miraculous chance, in a ledge of rocks, which saved his life. For one thing more, he would have been brought to the bottom, which from the place where he lay was no fathom high. There he continued from eight in the morning until seven at night, before he could be got out. The place into which he had fallen was of such difficult and dangerous access that the best of the Council's people durst not venture to him, but at the hazard of their lives climbed above him, and by ropes let themselves down, and fastened them about him, and hauled him out, much frightened and bruised with the fall. Therefore, to prevent such terrible accidents, the Council would be forced to repair this path out of hand. This, at present, it thought necessary to lay before the Court, relating to the affairs of the Court's slaves the [...] **Interpretations** The care of the Court's cattle in the first paragraph, saved from the drought by shifting pastures and feeding plantains, roots, grass and weeds, shows the labour lavished on the stock the whole establishment depended on, the herd carried through where the inhabitants lost theirs. The danger of the weaker beasts dying from over-eating the fresh grass ties the survival of the cattle to the same late rain, the recovery as perilous in its way as the drought had been.

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		therefore to prevent these terrible Accidents wee Shale be obliged to repair this Path out of hand, & this is all that at present wee think necessary to lay before Your Honours relating to the Affairs of their Slaves the	The large plantation bought for £75 0s 0d in the first paragraph, taken with all its yams, shows the Council seizing ground at a cheap rate to ease the Court's provision, the same care for a bargain it had given the divided Harper estate and Richard Beale's acres. The purchase would let the worn Perkins plantation lie fallow three or four years to recover, tying the acquisition to the standing problem of ground exhausted by constant cropping and the search for fresh land to feed the slaves. The fall of Gerard Reeves in paragraph 3, saved on a ledge and hauled out by ropes after a day trapped on the cliff, gives the sharpest instance yet of the danger of the decayed Ladder Hill path, following the earlier falls that had killed Mr Wrangham's slave and injured the *Prince William* man. The Council's resolve to repair the path out of hand continues the long thread of the roads let fall to ruin since Governor Pyke made them, the work forced at last by the near-deaths the neglect had caused. The fallowing of Perkins plantation in the first paragraph, thrown by for three or four years to recover itself, reflects the standing knowledge that the island's ground wore out under continuous cropping and needed rest, the same lesson behind the reclamation of worn guts and the search for watered land. The new purchase made the rest possible, tying the acquisition of fresh ground directly to the recovery of the old. **Speculations** The Council chose to buy a whole plantation at £75 0s 0d so that it might rest the worn Perkins ground rather than crop it on. The first paragraph sets the exhausted plantation, one of the Court's least productive, against the cheap purchase that would let it lie fallow three or four years to recover. What decided it was the coincidence of a bargain and a need, the ground worn out by constant cropping just as an estate with its yams came cheap, so the Council took the new land not merely to add to the Court's stock but to buy the worn plantation the rest it could not otherwise afford to give it.
240	232	next wee defer till the Arrival of the Storeship whom wee have expected every hour for this Month past We are &ca	The Council deferred the next matter until the arrival of the store ship, which it had expected every hour for this month past. The Council was, and so on.
241	233	Honble Sirs. 3d April 1734 The Wyndham & Compton Sailed from hence on the 27th of last Month & Inclosed wee Send you a Copy of the Letter wee then wrote & did not design to have troubled Your Honours with any thing till the arrivage of the Storeship whom wee have expected every hour for this Month past & not having discovered Some fraudulent Practices in those who Act as Trustees & Manage the Stocks & Estates of Several People who at present are not Inhabitants of this Place but live either in England or India wee were abliged to take this Matter into Consideration & to prevent it & have revived that ancient & good Rule which Your Honours formerly directed Should be observed wee mean the Taking of Catle & so this was Strickly followed in the time of Governour Blackmore but at his death it was discontinued, Governour Pairier again brought it into	Honoured Sirs, 3 April 1734. The *Wyndham* and the *Compton* sailed from here on the 27th of last month, and enclosed the Council sent the Court a copy of the letter it then wrote. It had not meant to trouble the Court with anything until the arrival of the store ship, which it had expected every hour for this month past. But having lately discovered some fraudulent dealings in those who acted as trustees, and managed the stocks and estates of several people who were not at present inhabitants of the island but lived either in England or India, the Council was forced to take this matter into consideration. To prevent it, the Council had revived an ancient and good rule which the Court formerly directed should be observed, meaning the tally of cattle. This was strictly followed in the time of Governor Blackmore, but at his death it was discontinued. Governor Poirier again brought it into use, though it was soon forgotten. Governor Roberts once more established it, but upon his leaving the island it was neglected ever since. The first design of it was to prevent the stealing of cattle from one another, which was formerly frequent among the people, and sometimes done still. Even so, what the Council had detected in those trustees was not quite so gross yet in the consequence. It was almost as bad to the proprietors of such estates, the

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		Use though it was Soon forgot however Govr Roberts once more Establishd it but upon his leaving the Place it was dropt & has been neglected ever Since, the first design of it was to prevent the Stealing of Catle from onep or other which formerly was frequent among them Six Sometimes done Still, & the that wee have detected in those Trustees is not quite so gross yet in the Consequence its almost as bad to the Proprietors of Such Estates the Possess of whose Lands & Stocks have been intirely permitted as Your Honours will more particularly See in our Consultation of the 28th of last Month to which wee humbly beg leave to refer you, Wee are Sorry to acquaint Your Honours that our Apprehensions about the Seasons begin to revive for the Rains are ceafed & the hot Weather again Set in which harshes & Burn up the young goofs as fast as it Springs & if wee have not a Speedy change neither our Beef or Meat of any kind will be near so good as wee expected We have drawn one Sett & Bill of Exchange upon Your Honrs for the Sum of £66.15. Sterling dated this day & Payable to Capt Lawrence Prince on Order for the Use & Sum by him paid into Your Cash here of which wee humbly pray Yr Honr Acceptance. We are	possessors of whose lands and stock had been entirely perverted, as the Court would more particularly see in the Council's consultation of the 28th of last month, which it humbly asked leave to offer the Court. The Council was sorry to inform the Court that its apprehensions about the season began to revive, for the rains were ceased and the hot weather again set in, which parched and burnt up the young grass as fast as it sprang. If the Council had not a speedy change, neither its beef nor meat of any kind would be near so good as it expected. The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange upon the Court for the sum of £66 15s 0d sterling, dated this day and payable to Captain Lawrence Prince, on order, for the like sum by him paid into the Court's cash here, of which the Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance. The Council was, and so on. **Interpretations** The tally of cattle in the first paragraph was the periodic count and marking of the herds by which the island guarded against theft, an old rule the Council traced back through Governors Blackmore, Poirier and Roberts, each of whom revived it and saw it lapse. The revival to check the fraudulent trustees ties the measure to the standing register of stock and property, the count now turned from cattle theft between neighbours to the protection of absent owners whose managers had perverted their estates. The fraudulent trustees in the first paragraph, managing the stocks and estates of people living in England or India, expose a hazard peculiar to a settlement whose proprietors were often absent, the land and stock left in hands that abused the trust. The Council's application of the cattle tally to detect the abuse shows an old instrument bent to a new purpose, the periodic count made to fix what each absent owner truly held against what his trustee reported. The bill of exchange for £66 15s 0d in the closing paragraph worked the standing device of the cashless island, a draft on the Court answered against cash paid in at St Helena by Captain Prince. The single set drawn to him or his order shows the mechanism turning a commander's local payment into a claim redeemable in London, the same paper crossing the divide that ran through every such settlement. The renewed threat of the season in the second paragraph, the rains ceased and the hot weather burning the young grass, ties the quality of the Court's beef directly to the weather, the herds' feed hanging on a change the Council waited on. The recurrence of the apprehension continues the long thread of drought and its cost to the island's stock, the same want that had lately threatened a famine and the mortality of 1713. **Speculations** The Council chose to revive the long-lapsed cattle tally rather than devise a fresh check on the fraudulent trustees. The first paragraph sets the alternative aside by reaching for an ancient rule, tracing its use and neglect through three former Governors, and turning it to a purpose beyond its first design of preventing cattle theft. What decided it was the standing sanction the old rule carried, formerly directed by the Court itself, so rather than answer the trustees' abuse with a new and untried measure the Council resurrected an established one, applying the periodic count of stock to protect the absent owners the trustees had wronged.
242	234	Honble Sirs.	Honoured Sirs,

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		We paid our duty to You by the Devonshire who Sailed from hence for England on the 2d of last Month & on the 8th a Single Ship past by to Windward, on the 15th a French Ship arrived here from Mestanne called La Vierge de Graces of 350 Tons & 8 Guns & 75 Men Monsr Riealt Comdr the former Captain Morys Bichare being dead but before wee Suffered to refresh wee Examined the Captains Ship or Commission, which wee found was authentick being Signed by the Comt of Bourbon & dated 25th Novr 1733. the Captain told Us that the Vinue the Same Ship that made Such a long Stay here together with a Sloop of 120 Tons & an other Sorg Ship were all three Lost here in a Storm & most of the Men drowned & that the Hurricane had Destroyed most of their Coffee Trees & that Provision of any Sort & wee wee Short & scanty among them Rabih would be impossible for their Shiping to refresh, Such Supplyes as they got here Your Honours will See by the Account herein enclosed amounting to £172.--,, Sterling for which the Captain has given one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon the French Indian Company & these Letters of Advice, one of each is herewith transmitted the Bills are dated 9th & 2 April & & & wee hope will be punctualy paid. On the 17th the Sailed for France, & on the 20th the Lynne arrived from England & She was welcome to Us for wee had been Sometime before Reduced to Yam & thee & many Gentlemen went from hence & this wee wish & Sat pointed for want of their Letters & private Stores which they expected from England the Cargo which She hath brought Us as wells as that Sent Us by the Harrington wee promise Your Honours Shale be disposed of to the best Advantage or used with the greatest frugality. We dispatched her within the time limited by Charter Party Us the particulars relating hereto Your Honrs will See in our Consultation of the 7th of May & on the 9th She Sailed for Bencoolen. On the 16th wee had an Allarm by Moonshine at Mundens which wee beleive occasioned them to mistake a fishing Boat for a Sloop. On the 17th May wee had a double Allarm for three Ships & the next Morning two more appeared & all five past by to Windward & wee beleive were Dutch. On the 30th a french Ship called the Peace of the Least of 500 Tons Monsr Doias Commander arrived here from Mesta & the Commission being Authentick, wee Suffered her to come in, & the Same Evening the Duke of Lorrain arrived from	The Council paid its duty to the Court by the *Devonshire*, which sailed from here for England on the 2nd of last month. On the 3rd a single ship passed by to windward, and on the 4th a French ship arrived here from Mascarene called the *La Vierge de Grâce*, of 300 tons, 18 guns and 75 men, Monsieur Rieult commander, the former captain, Monsieur Mayle Bichare, being dead. Before the Council suffered her to refresh, it examined the captain's licence or commission, which it found was authentic, being signed by the Count of Toulouse and dated 25 November 1733. The captain told the Council that the *La Vierge* the same ship, that in Mascarene such a long stay lay together with a sloop of 120 tons and one other. Those ships were all three lost there in a storm, and most of the men drowned. The hurricane had destroyed most of their coffee trees, and their provisions were of late so short that arrack among them, being of little use for their shipping to refresh. Such supplies as they got here, the Court would see by the account herein enclosed, amounting to £192 0s 0d sterling, for which the captain had given one set of bills of exchange upon the French India Company, with a letter of advice, one of each of which the Council now transmitted. The bills were dated 24 April 1734, and the Council hoped would be punctually paid. On the 17th she sailed for France, and on the 24th the *Lyne* arrived from England, and she was welcome to the Council, which had been for some time before reduced to yams. There, and to the Council, many gentlemen went from here satisfied, sorely disappointed for want of their letters, and private slaves, which they expected from England. The cargo which she had brought, as well as that sent by the *Harrington*, the Council promised the Court should be disposed of to the best advantage, and used with the greatest frugality. She was despatched from here within the time limited by charter party, the particulars relating to which the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 7th of May. On the 8th she sailed for Bencoolen. On the 16th the Council had an alarm for a French ship at Munden's, which it believed occasioned them to mistake a fishing boat for a sloop. On the 17th of May it had a double alarm for three ships, and the next morning two more appeared. All five passed by to windward, and the Council believed them Dutch. On the 30th a French ship called the *Peace*, of at least 500 tons, Monsieur Doias commander, arrived here from China, and her commission being authentic, the Council suffered her to come in. The same evening the *Duke of Lorraine* arrived from [...] **Interpretations** The examination of the French ships' commissions in this passage, the *La Vierge de Grâce* and the *Peace* each admitted only after their licences were found authentic and signed by the Count of Toulouse, belongs to the standing caution against foreign shipping the Council maintained, the vessel's papers scrutinised before she was suffered the road. The same guard against unlicensed traders, applied to French and Ostend ships alike, ran through the Council letters of 1731 and 1732, the balance held between drawing the trade in amity and admitting no ship without title. The distress of the *La Vierge de Grâce* in the first passage, her consorts lost in a storm at Mascarene with most of their men drowned and their coffee trees destroyed, ties the refreshment given her to the plain relief due a ship in extremity, the same humanity extended to the scurvy-stricken French ship earlier in the season. The account of a hurricane wrecking the Mascarene settlement shows the perils of the eastern islands the Council heard of through

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			its calling ships, the report carried as each vessel brought word. The bill on the French India Company in the first passage, given by the captain against £192 0s 0d for supplies furnished, worked the same device by which a foreign ship in want of money at the island raised it and repaid by a draft on a body at home. The Council's transmitting the bill with its letter of advice shows the standing care to send the paper by which such a claim was made, the recoverable proof carried home as it was for every such settlement. The *Lyne*'s welcome arrival in the first passage, coming when the island had been reduced to yams, ties the calling ships to the subsistence of a settlement whose own produce could not carry it, the same dependence the recent drought had sharpened. The gentlemen disappointed for want of their letters and private slaves expected from England show the island as a point of exchange for the eastern trade, the ships bringing not only supply but the correspondence and property the settlers looked for. **Speculations** The Council chose to admit the two French ships to the road only after finding their commissions authentic, rather than turn them away or let them in on sight. The passage sets the caution against foreign shipping against the relief the *La Vierge de Grâce* needed after her consorts were lost and the trade the *Peace* brought from China. What separated admission from refusal was not the flag but the standing of the papers, the Council suffering each ship in once her licence under the Count of Toulouse was verified, holding the balance between guarding the road against unlicensed traders and giving the refreshment due a distressed vessel in amity.
243	235	from Bengale as & died on the 1 instant the Britanie from the Same place & the Supply they brought Your Honrs will See in our Consultation of the 4th. the Captains tell Us that the Bradford was to be dispatched on the 15th January & the Decker 20th February from Bengall, & the Normanton on the 20th February from Madrass the other french Ship has last her Rudder & all her Masts & is put back to Mascarine 2 We are extreamly glad to hear that all Your Shiping of last Season got Safe home though Some of them wee observe had long Passages 3 At the close of the Year wee will be Sure to Ley before Your Honours a Short Abstract or Recapitulation of all Such things as are more particularly worth mentioning, & proceed to Answer the other part of Your Commands under their usual general heads, & First concerning Shiping 7 Wee very heartily wish that all Your Shiping now abroad & going out & return with Safety & Success 8 We are in great want of Blacks the Reasons given in Some of the Subsequent Paragraphs of this Letter will convince Your Honours of our necessity & those to be brought Us by the Stortford will be very acceptable provided they prove Sound & fit & able Seeoms 9 The Arrival of foreign Ships at this Place is of great Advantage to the Inhabitants in time of Sleth wee will be Sure to give all manner of Assistance to those whom Your Honours seem to Refresh here but if any attempt	The *Peace* came from Bengal, as did the *Britannia* on the 1st of this month from the same place, and the supply they brought the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 4th. The captains told the Council that the *Bedford* was to be despatched on the 15th of January, the *Derby* on the 20th of February from Bengal, and the *Normanton* on the 20th of February from Madras. The other French ship had lost her rudder and both her masts, and had put back to Mascarene. 2: The Council was extremely glad to hear that all the Court's shipping of last season got safe home, though some of them had long passages. 3: At the close of the year the Council would be sure to lay before the Court a short abstract or recapitulation of all such things as were more particularly worth mentioning, and proceed to answer the other part of the Court's commands under their usual general heads. Firstly, concerning shipping. 7: The Council very heartily wished that all the Court's shipping now abroad might go out and return with safety and success. 8: The Council was in great want of slaves, the reasons given in some of the following paragraphs of this letter would convince the Court of its necessity. Those to be brought to it by the *Sackville* would be very acceptable, provided they proved sound and serviceable people. 9: The arrival of foreign shipping at the island was of great advantage to the inhabitants in time of scarcity. The Council would be sure to give all manner of assistance to those whom the Court seemed to respect. But if any attempted to come with passes or commissions from princes or states who were not used to trade to India, or who had not established companies erected in their territories by virtue of treaties, the Council would be sparing in

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		to come with any Passes & Commissions from Princes or States who are not used to trade to India or who have not Established Companies erected in their Territories by Vertue of Treaties wee will be Sparing in our Civilities & give them no Countenance or Incouragem 10 The Governour begs leave to assure Your Honours that the Expence in compleating the Trench to carry the fresh Water to the Crane free Unmixed with the Salt Springs Shale be as little as possible & that this Shale be an Unavoidable Rule with him upon all other occasions Secondly concerning Goods 11 We never ask any thing of Your Honours but what wee really want & our Indent last Year was made with great Moderation & wee will take care of the Cargo now come, but Goods that have long lain & wee Suffer Something by & Catle Worthy or other Accidents which by the greatest & Precaution cannot be totally avoided the General Sorts of these Goods which are thus Marked	never giving them any countenance or encouragement, only civilities. 10: The Governor asked leave to assure the Court that the expense in completing the trench, to carry the fresh water to the crane free and unmixed with the salt springs, would be as little as possible, and that this should be an unavoidable rule with him upon all other occasions. Secondly, concerning goods. 11: The Council never asked for anything of the Court but what it really wanted. Its indent last year was made with great moderation. It would take care of the cargo now come, but goods that had long lain by would suffer something by lying, more or other accidents, which by the greatest circumspection could not be totally avoided. The general sorts of these goods, which were thus marked, were damaged [...] **Interpretations** The distinction in paragraph 9 between foreign ships to be assisted and those to be refused belongs to the standing enforcement of the Company monopoly, the vessels of established companies erected by treaty allowed refreshment while unlicensed traders under the passes of princes not used to the India trade were given only bare civility. The rule ties into the long thread of interloping ships and the caution the Council maintained, the same balance held against Ostend and other flags through the letters of 1731 and 1732. The trench to carry fresh water to the crane in paragraph 10, kept free and unmixed with the salt springs at the least possible expense, was the very contrivance by which the Governor had earlier cleansed the crane's supply after abandoning the costly conveyance from Captain Troud's Spring. The pledge that frugality should be an unvarying rule ties the water works to the standing demand for economy the administration made its constant boast, the cheap fix preferred over the dear at every turn. The want of slaves in paragraph 8, the acceptable supply expected by the *Sackville* provided they proved sound, continues the standing demand for able labour against the drain to Bencoolen and the mortality among the Court's people, the same plea for serviceable hands that ran through the earlier drafts from Madagascar and the eastern presidencies. The insistence on soundness reflects the long experience of poor and sickly cargoes, the worst received laid to the traders as at White's discredited draft. The advantage of foreign shipping in scarcity in paragraph 9 ties the island's hospitality to its own subsistence, the calling ships a source of the provisions a settlement short of its own produce depended on. The same connection between welcoming the trade and feeding the people ran through the account of the hired foreign ships and the long Cape grievance, the island's value as a station bound to the relief the ships could bring. **Speculations** The Council chose to draw a firm line between the foreign ships it would assist and those it would merely tolerate, rather than treat all alike. Paragraph 9 sets the two responses side by side, all manner of assistance to the ships of established companies against bare civility to unlicensed traders under the passes of princes not used to the India trade. What decided the distinction was the Court's monopoly and its own standing orders, so the Council extended real help only where a treaty and an established company gave title, holding the balance between drawing the trade that fed the island in scarcity and denying countenance to the interlopers the monopoly barred.

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244	236	damaged have been here upwards of four & twenty Years particularly the Silk Dungoree & White Sastians 12 We have received the Invoice & Bill of Lading & have Sent the Charter Party to Bencoolen 13 The Package of all the Goods Sent Us this Year appeard fair to the Eye so that wee had no occasion to Suspect any Slippage, if wee had wee would have troubled the Captains but to open & Examine all the Goods in this Expence is a thing impracticable because it is full employment to get them on Shoar & Stowed out of the Weather & by the time this is done the Ten days are expired & the few days he Stays afterwards he is taken up & hurried about his own & the necessary busyness of the Ship 14 By the Duke of Lorrain wee have Sent three Barrels more of damaged Powder which is all that remain & wee hope this as well as that wee Sent formerly will be duely delivered 15 We will no more forget to Examine the Storehouses & Enter in Consultation the Condition thereof & what Goods are proper for Sale & will allways take care to have ready Money before any thing is delivered, but unless Your Honours will give Us leave to Sell them upon Credit they in all probability must Ly & here they are many years Longer 16 The Complees discovered the Mistakes that happened in the Invoice of the Goods Sent Us by the Harrington & pointed them out to Your Honours in the 9th Paragh of our Letter of the 25th of April 1733 & then rectified them accordingly 17 We will contribute as Your Honours direct wee Should proportionable help towards repairing the Sleightways but as the number of hands Your Honrs now have are far from Sufficient to do Such things as are necessary to be done for wee never begin or meddle with any thing but what is absolutely necessary that wee must let them be as they are except the Road to Bankes & the Path leading up Ladder Slit & till Matters of greater Consequence are first finished wee mean the Several Forts or Batteries which Your Ingineer has proposed Should be built at the Places Mentioned in his Report & Plans Entered in Consultns of the last instant & which wee humbly before Your Honrs will order to be laid before You & to do this with Your own Blacks only wele be impossible for by the Memorial of Mr Purling Your Honours Relf or Overseer delivered	Damaged, had been on the island upwards of four and twenty years, particularly the silk dungarees and white Sallampores. 12: The Council had received the invoice and bill of lading, and had sent the charter party to Bencoolen. 13: The package of all the goods sent the Council this year appeared so fair that it had no occasion to suspect any pilferage. Had it, it would have troubled the captain. But to open and examine all the goods in his presence was a thing impracticable, since it was full employment to get them on shore and stow them out of the weather. By the time this was done the ten days were expired, and the few days he stayed afterwards he was taken up and hurried about his own and necessary business of the ship. 14: By the *Duke of Lorraine* the Council had sent three barrels more of damaged powder, which were all that remained, and it hoped these, as well as those it sent formerly, would be duly delivered. 15: The Council would no more forget to examine the storehouses, and enter in consultation the condition thereof, which goods were proper for sale, and would always take care to have ready money before anything was delivered. But unless the Court would give it leave to sell them upon credit, they must in all probability lie there many years longer. 16: The Council discovered the mistakes that happened in the invoice of the goods sent it by the *Harrington*, of which it gave the Court notice in the 9th paragraph of its letter of the 25th of April 1733, and had rectified them accordingly. 17: The Council would contribute, as the Court directed, its proportionable help toward repairing the slight ways. But as the number of hands the Court now had were far from sufficient to do such things as were necessary, the Council would never begin or meddle with anything but what was absolutely necessary. That it must do, as they were, except the road to Bank's and the path leading up Ladder Hill, till matters of greater consequence were first finished. The Council meant the several forts or batteries which the Court's engineer had proposed should be built at the places mentioned in his report and plans, entered in the consultation of the 8th of this month, which the Council humbly asked to be laid before the Court. To pass with the Court's own stock only would be impossible, so by the memorial of Mr Purling the Court's relief, or otherwise, delivered [...] **Interpretations** The goods on the island four and twenty years in the opening line, the silk dungarees and white Sallampores long spoiled by lying, expose the standing problem of stock that could not be shifted, the ready-money rule keeping unsaleable cloth on the Council's hands where a credit sale might have moved it. The tension in paragraph 15, between the guard against store credit and the goods lying years unsold, ties into the long transfer and private-trade reform, the cash bar that stopped the abuse also stopping the sale. The impossibility of examining the cargo in the captain's presence in paragraph 13 turns on the ten-day unlading term the charter party allowed, the goods barely got ashore and stowed before the time expired and the master hurried away. The account belongs to the standing enforcement over short deliveries and the unlading scale, the Council able to endorse a shortfall only when it could check the goods, the term too brief for a full examination. The batteries proposed by the Court's engineer in paragraph 17, to be built at the places set out in his report and plans, mark the fortification programme

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			passing from the Governor's own surveys to a formal engineering scheme, the works entered in consultation for the Court's decision. The plea that the island's own stock could not bear the cost, and the reference to Mr Purling's memorial for relief, ties the defence to the standing tension between the fortification programme and the want of both hands and money to carry it forward. The powder cleared three barrels at a time by the *Duke of Lorraine* in paragraph 14, the last of the damaged stock, marks the end of the long effort to send the spoiled powder home by degrees, the casks dispersed across ship after ship since the earlier difficulties with cooperage and the ship's scuttle. The hope that these and the former barrels would be duly delivered continues the standing care over the return of defective stores, the recoverable proof of delivery the guard against loss. **Speculations** The Council chose to forgo examining the cargo in the captain's presence rather than hold him beyond his time to check every parcel. Paragraph 13 sets the ideal course, opening and examining all the goods before the master so any pilferage might be charged, against the impossibility of it within the ten-day term while the goods were still being got ashore. What decided it was the plain limit of the unlading scale and the captain's haste, so the Council rested on the fair appearance of the package and let the examination go, unwilling to detain a ship it had no power to hold once its term expired.
245	237	to the Governour on the 3 instant a Copy of which is in our Consultation of the next day & which wee have carefully Examined & found that it appeared plainly that more help is required to manage Your own Affairs & that none can be Spared or taken from the busyness at which they are now Imployed for though it be true that You have 170, yet 24 of these are Women whose Service is of little Value they being commonly either Sickly or breeding, & 66 are Children so that there are but 73 Men & 31 of these are either Superannuated worn out with Labour Boxed or otherwise Sickly & Disabled so that there are only 42 Labouring Blacks to manage all Your Affairs, & now new Forts or Batteries are to be built out of hand in order to keep off an Enemy & Secure Your Shiping there is an unavoidable nesspity not only to continue those at Work wee now have but even to get more if wee can & the Incouragement is so Small only 9d a day that wee are afraid no more will Enter & therefore wee must keep them at least till these things are compleated & to remove all doubt or Suspicion of any Profit or Advantage arising to any of Us hereby the Governour begs leave to assure Your Honours that he does no more than what he would really do were the Island his own & most of the Blacks now Imployed are hired of People & abliged to Your Honours & have no other way to pay it 18 We find Your Honours do not fully approve of what wee proposed about letting out the Common or wast Lands but would have all confyes with the Inhabit	The Governor delivered this to the Court on the 3rd of this month, a copy of which was in the Council's consultation of the next day, where the Court would find it. The Council had carefully examined and found that it appeared plainly that more help was required to manage the Court's own affairs, and that none could be spared or taken from the business at which they were now employed. For though it was true that the Court had 170 slaves, yet 24 of these were women, whose service was of little value, being commonly either sickly or breeding, and 66 were children, so that there were but 73 men, and 31 of these were either superannuated and worn out with labour, poxed, or otherwise sickly and disabled. So there were only 42 labouring hands to manage the Court's affairs, and now new forts or batteries were to be built out of hand, to keep off an enemy and secure the Court's shipping. There was an unavoidable necessity, not only to continue those at work the Council now had, but even to get more if it could. Even so, the encouragement was so small, only ninepence a day, that the Council was afraid no more would enter. Therefore it must keep them, at least till these things were completed. To remove all doubt or suspicion of any profit or advantage arising to any of its own hereby, the Governor asked leave to assure the Court that he did no more than what he would really do were the island his own. Most of the slaves now employed were hired people. Indebted to the Court, they had no other way to pay it. 18: The Council found the Court did not fully approve of what it proposed about letting out the common or waste lands. But it would have all conferred with the inhabitants thereupon, and would do so accordingly, and acquaint the Court with the issue of this affair, which the Council was inclined to believe they would readily embrace, it being for the mutual interest both of them and the Court. 19: The Council did not at all interfere or meddle with the sale of provisions. The market was open and free to every inhabitant, at full liberty to sell at what price he pleased, and this all knew.

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		thereupon & wee will, do so alcordingly & aacquaint Your Honours with the Issue of this Affair which wee are inclineable to beleive they wile readily Embrace it being for the mutual Interest both of them & Yr Honours 19 Wee do not at all Interfere or middle with the Rates of Provisions, the Market is open to every Inhabitant & is at full liberty to Sell at what Price he pleases & this all know 20 An other Plantation of the Poor Man that which wee proposed to buy having been offered to Sale Since our Letter of the 7th of June 1730 wee were abliged to buy it for without it Your Honours in a Short time notwithstanding all possible care is taken of Your Country & Affairs would have wanted Game for Your Blacks & the Charg of Six Months & am would have come to much more than the Money this cost You for wee bought it for £85.--„ & could not be without it for it is always Watered & is contiguous to an other of Your	20: Another plantation of one Poore, that which the Council proposed to buy, having been offered for sale since its letter of the 7th of June 1730, the Council was obliged to buy it, for without it the Court in a short time, notwithstanding all possible care, its country affairs would have wanted yams for the Court's slaves. The charge of six months' yams would have come to much more than the money this cost, for the Council bought it for £85 0s 0d. It needed not be without it, for it was always watered, lying contiguous to another of the Court's plantations [...] **Interpretations** The muster of the Court's slaves in the first paragraph, 170 in name but only 42 labouring hands once the women, children, superannuated and sick were struck off, exposes the gulf between the establishment's nominal strength and its real labour, the same reckoning that had earlier measured the want against the demands of the works. The detail belongs to the standing plea for more slaves in paragraph 8, the true shortage laid bare against the batteries now to be built and the shipping to be secured. The hired slaves indebted to the Court in the first paragraph, employed because their labour was the only way they could pay their debt, tie the labour force to the standing debt-recovery in kind, the same mechanism by which the Council took work from doubtful debtors rather than seize their all. The Governor's disavowal of any private profit continues the long defence against the charge that Governors kept slaves at the Court's charge, the same accusation answered on the slave books under Pyke and Byfield. The purchase of Poore's watered plantation for £85 0s 0d in paragraph 20 shows the Council again seizing ground at a cheap rate to ease the Court's provision, the estate taken because without it the slaves would want yams within months. The reckoning that six months' bought yams would exceed the price ties the acquisition to the standing effort at yam self-supply, the watered ground contiguous to the Court's own the same advantage sought in the earlier purchases. The open market for provisions in paragraph 19, free to every inhabitant to sell at what price he pleased, answers the Court's standing concern that the Council might engross or fix the people's produce, the same assurance of non-interference given through letter after letter. The insistence that all knew the market free ties into the long balance between the Court's frugality, the beef price fixed at threepence and the people's liberty to sell, the Council careful to distinguish the one from the other. **Speculations** The Council chose to buy Poore's plantation despite the Court's known reluctance over land purchases rather than risk the slaves wanting yams. Paragraph 20 sets the hesitation, the Court's coolness toward such buying carried from the letter of 1730, against the necessity that forced the purchase, the Court's own ground unable to feed its people within months without it. What decided it was the coincidence of need and a cheap watered estate contiguous to the Court's own, so the Council took the ground at £85 0s 0d against the greater cost of buying six months' yams, justifying to a doubtful Court a purchase the failure of its own plantations made unavoidable.
246	238	Plantations lying in Sandy Bay Valley & Contain Seven Acres & half. Your Honrs & & & & have all the	The plantation lay in Sandy Bay Valley and contained seven acres and a half. The Court would find all the particulars of the purchase in the

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		particulars of this Purchase in our Consultation of the 12th of March last & tis so much to Your Advantage that wee are Sure Your Honours will like the Bargain 21 We have acquainted Mr Beale & Mr Powel with what Your Honours have mentioned about their Case & wee hope the Matter wile be accommodated between them Thirdly concerning the Inhabitants & &c 22 We wile take care to recover the Debts advanced Mr Coney as Soon as his Bond becomes due & wee hope his Behaviour wile be acceptable to every body what wee have yet Seen looks well & wee hope wile continue in which Case he wile be Sure to meet with Suitable Incouragement 23 We have began to repair Your Fortifications & which are much out of Order in Several Places but for the reasons mentioned in the 17th Paragraph of this Letter it is impossible to do it with Govr own Blacks alone 24 Wee have acquainted our Surgeon with what Your Honours have mentioned relating to his Money & if wee beleive he has given proper Powers for receiving the Same 25 The Gort of the West Coast have complained of Us without Foundation of the Men desert for fear of meeting with ill usag at Bencooln wee cant help it but they & might & might put a Stem to it by giving them better & Treatment 26 Mr Godwin & Doveton will pay into Your Honrs Cash here time enough to be remitted this Season ade the Money that they have in their hands belonging to Mr Greenhill & the heirs of Mr Coulson dead 27 The Gunpowder Your Honrs have Sent & seemd to Send will be very Serviceable but as wee were last Year under no Apprehensions of a War wee were unwilling to trouble Your Honours for any thing but what wee immediately, We at times have Sent the Quantity of 30 Rassls but Your Honrs have returned only 30 28 We thank Your Honours for the Pumps but fear wee Shall be abliged to trouble You for more because the Ingineer has required these to get Water for the Guns it being much & long & Expeditiiously got this way in time of Action Man by fetching Water in Bowlets to fill half Legates which is not only tedious but as	Council's consultation of the 12th of March last, which were so much to the Court's advantage that the Council was sure the Court would like the bargain. 21: The Council had acquainted Mr Beale and Mr Powell with what the Court had mentioned about their case, and hoped the matter would be accommodated between them. Thirdly, concerning the inhabitants. 22: The Council would take care to recover the money advanced to Mr Coney as soon as his bond became due. It hoped his behaviour would be acceptable to everybody, whatever the Council had yet been able to look into, and hoped it would continue, in which case he would be sure to meet with suitable encouragement. 23: The Council had begun to repair the Court's fortifications, which were much out of order in several places. But for the reasons mentioned in the 17th paragraph of this letter, it was impossible to do it with the Court's own slaves alone. 24: The Council had acquainted its surgeon with what the Court had mentioned relating to his money, and believed he had given proper powers for receiving the same. 25: The Court's people of the west coast had complained of the Council, without foundation, of the men deserting for fear of meeting with ill usage at Bencoolen. The Council could not help it, but thought Bencoolen might put a stop to it by giving the men better treatment. 26: Mr Goodwin and Mr Doveton would pay into the Court's cash here in time enough to be remitted this season the money that they had in their hands belonging to Mr Greenhill and the heirs of Mr Coulson. 27: The gunpowder the Court had been pleased to send would be very serviceable. But as the Council was last year under no apprehensions of a war, it was unwilling to trouble the Court for anything but what was immediately wanted. It had at times sent the Court the quantity of 20 barrels, but the Court had returned only 30. 28: The Council thanked the Court for the pumps, but feared it should be obliged to trouble the Court for more, because the engineer had asked these to get water for the guns, it being necessary to expeditiously get this way in time of action, than by fetching water in buckets to fill half-leaguers, which was not only tedious but [...] **Interpretations** The desertion for fear of Bencoolen in paragraph 25, the west coast people complaining of the Council without foundation, exposes the standing tension between the two stations over the men each was reluctant to receive, the soldiers preferring any escape to service at the eastern settlement. The Council's answer, that Bencoolen might stop the desertion by treating the men better, ties into the long thread of the personnel transfers and the reluctance the earlier drafts had shown, the fault laid on the receiving station's usage. The pumps for the guns in paragraph 28, asked by the engineer to bring water expeditiously in time of action, belong to the fortification programme now passing under a formal engineering scheme, the same works the batteries and the engineer's plans in paragraph 17 set out. The tedium of filling half-leaguers by bucket ties the request to the practical demands of manning the guns, the water needed for the pieces in action as much as the powder and the platforms. The money in trust in paragraph 26, held by Goodwin and Doveton for Greenhill and the heirs of Coulson and now to be remitted, ties into the

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			running care over the estates and effects of absent parties, the same matter that had lately exposed the fraudulent trustees managing the property of those living in England or India. The remittance by bills into the Court's cash shows the standing mechanism by which such sums crossed the divide, the paper carrying home what the coin could not. The fortifications repaired but not by the Court's slaves alone in paragraph 23 continue the standing tension between the defence programme and the want of hands, the same limit the muster of only 42 labouring slaves had laid bare. The reference back to the 17th paragraph ties the fortification work to the whole reckoning of labour, the batteries and repairs alike held back by a shortage the hired debtors and the plea for more slaves were meant to ease. **Speculations** The Council chose to press the fault of the desertions on Bencoolen rather than accept the west coast people's complaint against itself. Paragraph 25 sets the charge, that the Council was to blame for the men running, against its answer that they deserted for fear of ill usage at the eastern settlement and that Bencoolen might stop it by better treatment. What decided the Council's stance was its reading of the men's motive, the desertion springing from dread of Bencoolen rather than any failing of St Helena, so it turned the complaint back on the receiving station, defending its own conduct by locating the cause in the usage the men fled rather than in the discipline they escaped.
247	239	the Water Stagnates in the Tubs it breeds Such Swarms of Muschieetos that the Catle & every house in the Valley are filled with them, he proposes One for the Line, one for Mundens Room for each half Bastion & thse Your Honours & Send wee before the Line may be of two Sued bore. 29 We Should be glad the French Ships would think it for the honour of his Place to let the World live in Peace, but least he Should happen to be an other Mind wee will be sure to Caution the Commanders of Your returning Shiping not to Speak with any Ships at the least they Should prove Enemies 30 The Governour has received a Packett from the Gentlemen of the Committee of Surveis which be Sent to obey their Commands 31 The Serjant & Talkets have been delivered to Us according to the Acct Sent in the Packet but as a much greater number wile be wanted for the Defence of this Place in cap of a War wee did not think fit to Return any of the Soldiers Onboard for Bencoolen being confydent that if the flame Increases Your Honours will Send Us a faire Sufficient to protect both ourselves & Your Shiping. the Carriages & &c wee are fixing up with all the Expedition wee can for they are very much wanted & wile be very usefull	The water stagnated in the tubs, and bred such swarms of mosquitoes that the cattle and every house in the valley were plagued with them. The engineer proposed one for the line, and one for each half-bastion, and those the Council would send for before the time might be of very good use. 29: The Council would be glad if the French king would think it for the honour of his flag to let the world live in peace. But lest it should happen to be otherwise inclined, the Council would be sure to caution the commanders of the Court's returning shipping not to speak with any ships at all, lest they should prove enemies. 30: The Governor had received a packet from the gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy, whose commands he would be sure to obey. 31: The sergeant and Walkers had been delivered to Bencoolen, as set out in the packet. But as a much greater number would be wanted for the defence of the island in case of a war, the Council did not think fit to detain any of the soldiers bound for Bencoolen, being confident that, if the flame increased, the Court would send it a force sufficient to protect both itself and the Court's shipping. The carriages and so on were fitting up with all the expedition the Council could, for they were very much wanted, and would be very useful. 32: When the new forts or batteries were finished, the Council would want guns for them, since it had not any it could spare from the other fortifications. This it humbly laid before the Court in its consultation. The Council thought it needless to plant any guns upon the rocks, those forts when built being sufficient for the security of the island. 33: The Council was glad the blankets sent this year were bigger and larger than those it last had. But a closer sort would have been more useful for the Court's slaves. 34: The Council would take care that the contract made in behalf of James Pickard, son, by his father, should be complied with. But the charge of dieting him would amount to as much as his pay. If the

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		32 When the new Forts or Batteries are finished wee Shale want Guns for them for wee have not any wee can Spare from the other Fortifications & wee humbly desire Your Honours & wile take this into Your Consideration. We think it needless to plant any Guns upon the Rocks, these Sorts when Guarded be Sufficient for the Security of the Place 33 We are glad the Blankets Sent this Year are bigger & larger than those wee last had but a Closer Sort would have been more usefull for Your Blacks 34 We wile take Care that the Contract made in behalf of James Richard son by his Father Shale be complyed with but the Charg of Dieting of him will amount to as much as his Coff for if wee have the benefit of his Service he ought to be fed 35 We have delivered Mr Beales Case to him together with the Opinion of Counie Ptineipon & Should Certreamly glad to do any thing that might be acceptable to Yr Honrs but the Governour a few years ago made a compleat Collection or Epitome of the Laws & Customs of this Place & transmitted them to Your Honours which not fully enable You to form a Judgment of the Civil Government of this Place, & no Alteration having Since happened therein of any & Consequence wee beleive wee can employ	Council were to have the benefit of his service, he ought to be fed. 35: The Council had delivered Mr Beale's case to him, together with the opinion of Counsel thereupon, and should certainly be glad to do anything that might be acceptable to the Court. But the Governor, about a few years ago, made a collection or epitome of the laws and customs of the island, and transmitted them to the Court, which would fully enable it to form a judgement of the civil government of the island. No alteration having since happened therein of any consequence, the Council believed it could employ [...] **Interpretations** The stagnant water breeding mosquitoes in the first paragraph ties the pumps the engineer asked for to the health of the valley as well as the defence, the standing water plaguing cattle and household alike. The request for pumps at the line and each half-bastion belongs to the fortification programme now under a formal engineering scheme, the works serving to draw fresh water for the guns and to end the stagnant supply that bred the swarms. The caution to the returning commanders in paragraph 29, not to speak with any ships lest they prove enemies, reflects the standing watch against foreign shipping sharpened by the fear of a French war, the same anxiety that ran through the examination of the French ships' commissions. The Council's wish for peace set against its precaution shows the island's exposure on the homeward route, the ships warned to keep their distance where a single enemy sail might take them. The refusal to detain the Bencoolen-bound soldiers in paragraph 31, despite the island's own want in case of war, continues the standing tension between the two stations over men, the Council trusting the Court to send a sufficient force rather than hold back the draft. The reasoning ties into the long thread of the personnel transfers, the same reluctance and calculation that had marked the earlier drafts sent unwillingly between the settlements. The collection of the island's laws in paragraph 35, made by the Governor a few years since and sent home to enable the Court to judge the civil government, belongs to the standing effort to abstract all the Court's standing orders and set the island's government in form. The reference to it as still current shows the Council resting on a settled body of law rather than reopening each question, the same documentary reform that had brought the accounts and the consultations to the Court's required form. **Speculations** The Council chose not to hold back the soldiers bound for Bencoolen even though it feared a war and knew its own defence was thin. Paragraph 31 sets the temptation, detaining the draft against the island's want, against the Council's confidence that the Court would send a sufficient force if the flame increased. What decided it was the Council's reliance on the Court to answer a real war with real reinforcement, so rather than weaken the eastern settlement by keeping men it was ordered to send, it forwarded the draft and trusted the larger relief, choosing to meet a possible danger by the Court's hand rather than by robbing Bencoolen of the men it needed.
248	240	our time & Serve Your Honours to better purpose in other Branches of busyness than trouble Your Honrs with the Same thing over again 36 We have provided an Appartment for Colonel	The Council could employ its time to better purpose in other branches of business than to trouble the Court with the same thing over again. 36: The Council had provided an apartment for Colonel Gascherie, the engineer, who by the Court's

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		Gashere the Ingineer who according to Your Honours Directions enjoyes the benefit of the Governours Tabll & all other Appointments You have directed & pleased to allow him 37 For the better Instruction of the under Gunners the Governour has ordered the great Guns to be Exercised every Week at which the Ingineer is allwayes present with whom wee wile constantly consult about Such Works or Platforms as Shale be thought necessary for the Security of the Island in cap of an Attack 38 The Cause on given our Answer to the Several Matters required of Us by Your Honours in Your Letter by the Lyell & now proceed to acquaint You with Such things as have Some occurred the most material of which is a Petition which the Inhabitants have desired Us to transmit & recommend to Your Honours, their Case is really deplorable they have Suffered extreamly in their Stocks of Catle, great numbers of which perished for want of Pasture the Summer & Winter Seasons for the last two Years having proved very indifferent & Such was the Extremity to which many poor Families & chiefly those of the Eastern Side of the Country were reduced that they had not a grain to eat & keep & what was given them by their Friends, the Springs for want of Rain being mostly dried up or otherwise & wee & Short of producing the usual Quantity of Water that their Plantations became mostly almost Ruined and there Misfortunes are of Such a nature that they cannot extricate themselves out of them in two or three Years & that for want of an opportunity to Sell their Provisions when they had them & what with the Loss they have now Sustained by the death of many of their Beast Catle & the great long Rains ruined & by the Rate & Roads which in many Places hath washed away Games, Manures & Soile & all, their are in no capacity to pay a large Rent & have therefore humbly besought Your Honours that the Sum for the continuance of their Rents upon the present & reduced footing may be prolonged great part thereof being allready Expired & wee & Compassion to their unhappy Case wee humbly hope Your Honours will give them a favourable Answer 39 According to the Resolution taken in Consultation	directions enjoyed the benefit of the Governor's table, and all other appointments the Court had directed and been pleased to allow him. 37: For the better instruction of the under-gunners, the Governor had ordered the great guns to be exercised every week, at which the engineer was always present, with whom the Council would constantly consult about such works or platforms as should be thought necessary for the security of the island in case of an attack. 38: The Council had given, in its answer to the several matters required of it by the Court in its letter by the *Lyell*, and now proceeded to acquaint the Court with such things as it had. Some concerned the most material, of which one was a petition which the inhabitants had asked the Council to recommend to the Court. Their case was really deplorable. They had suffered extremely in their stocks of cattle, great numbers of which perished for want of pasture, the summer and winter seasons for the last two years having proved very indifferent. Such was the extremity to which many poor families, especially those of the eastern side of the country, were reduced, that they had not a yam to eat except what was given them by their friends. The springs, for want of rain being nearly dried up, or otherwise, few or no more capable of producing the usual quantity of water, so that their plantations were thereby almost ruined. These misfortunes were of such a nature that they could not extricate themselves out of them in two or three years, if that. For want of an opportunity to sell their provisions when they had them, and what with the loss they had now sustained by the death of many of their best cattle, the great drought having ruined, and by the bad roads which in many places had washed away yams, and want of soil, and having their land in no capacity to pay a large rent. The Council had therefore humbly besought the Court that the sum for the continuance of their rents upon the present reduced footing might be prolonged. Great part of the money being already expired, even in comparison to their unhappy case, the Council humbly hoped the Court would give them a favourable answer. 39: According to the resolution taken in the consultation of [...] **Interpretations** The inhabitants' petition in paragraph 38, their cattle perished, their springs dried and their plantations ruined by two indifferent seasons, gathers the whole weight of the drought into a plea for the continuance of their reduced rents. The account of poor families on the eastern side living on their friends' charity ties the petition to the standing weakness of a settlement that could not feed itself from its own produce, the same distress the famine letters and the Cape grievance had long pressed. The engineer Colonel Gascherie in paragraphs 36 and 37, lodged and dieted at the Court's charge and present at the weekly gun exercise, marks the fortification programme now carried under a professional hand, the works and platforms settled by his judgement rather than the Governor's own surveys. The constant consultation with him about the island's defence ties into the standing effort to ground the fortification advice in expert opinion, the engineer's presence formalising what the Council had earlier sought from visiting commanders. The exercise of the great guns every week in paragraph 37, ordered for the instruction of the under-gunners, belongs to the standing concern to keep the garrison ready against an attack, the same anxiety over a French war that had prompted the caution to the returning ships. The regular drill ties the defence of the island to the training of its men,

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			the guns manned and practised as much a part of the programme as the batteries and the powder. The plea to prolong the reduced rents in paragraph 38 ties the inhabitants' distress directly to the debt grip and the standing recovery in kind, the people unable to pay a large rent where drought and bad roads had ruined their yams and killed their cattle. The Council's endorsement of the petition continues the long policy of pressing the inhabitants with mildness against a people left poor, the reduced footing the concession by which it kept a discontented settlement quiet. **Speculations** The Council chose to recommend the inhabitants' petition for continued rent relief rather than press the full rents on a ruined people. Paragraph 38 sets the alternative aside, the Court's revenue weighed against the plain deplorable state of families living on charity, their cattle dead and their springs dry. What decided the Council to back the plea was the depth of the distress two seasons of drought had caused, so rather than exact rents the people could not pay it forwarded their case with its own endorsement, choosing to keep a poor and discontented settlement quiet by concession than to enforce a demand that would ruin them and breach the peace of the island.
249	241	of the 7th instant wee have Sent Six Sows of Gold & all other Vallable Effects that were in the Spaniards Custody belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard who formerly died here the & wch weighs 178.0½ ℔ the weight of each that Your Honrs will See in our Consultation of the 5th of Octr & so together with all the other particulars relating to this Matter, & wee are in hopes to get in this Season more of the Money belonging to the heirs of the late Governr Smith 40 Yesterday the Ingineer brought in his Plans desiring they might be Sent to England & wee upon Examining of them they were found very false & Erroneously done & so therefore wee Sent for him & told him of the Mistakes & so acquainted him that it looked as if he assigned to Impose upon Your Honours & that wee could not think it proper to Send any thing to You that had Such an Appearance & wa & so incorrectly done & returned him his Plans again leaving it to his Choice to Send them or not 41 We have drawn five Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours Vizt One Sett payable to Duke Crispe or Order for £60. Sterg dated 20th May 1734 for so much due to him in Your Books here One Sett payable to Isaac Byfeild Esqr or Order for £500.--„ Sterling dated the 7th instant for so much due to him in Your Books here One Sett payable to John Broome or Order for £100.--„ Sterg dated the 7th instant for Salary due to him & for Cash paid into Your Cash here One Sett payable to Capt Caleb Grantham or Order for the Sum of £498.11.3 Sterg dated the 7th instant	The consultation of the 7th of this month, the Council had sent six spade of gold, and all other valuable effects that were in the Governor's hands, belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard who formerly died here. Their weight was 176 ounces, 5 pennyweight, the weight of each of which the Court would find in the Council's consultation of the 8th of October last, together with all the other particulars relating to this matter. The Council was in hopes to get in this season more of the money belonging to the heirs of the late Governor Smith. 40: Yesterday the engineer brought in his plans, desiring they might be sent to England. But upon examining them, they were found very false and erroneously done. Therefore the Council sent for him, told him of the mistakes, and acquainted him that it looked as if they were designed to impose upon the Court, and that it could not think it proper to send anything home that had such an appearance. It was inaccurately done. On being questioned he took back his plans again, leaving it to his choice to send them or not. 41: The Council had drawn five sets of bills of exchange upon the Court, namely: One set payable to Duke Cripps or order, for £60 0s 0d sterling, dated 20 May 1734, for so much due to him in the Court's books here. One set payable to Isaac Pyke, esquire, or order, for £500 0s 0d sterling, dated the 7th of this month, for so much due to him in the Court's books here. One set payable to John Bonnn or order, for £200 0s 0d sterling, dated the 7th of this month, for salary due to him, and for cash paid into the Court's cash here. One set payable to Captain Caleb Grantham or order, for the sum of £498 11s 3d sterling, dated the 7th of this month, for the like sum by him that day paid into the Court's cash here. One set payable to Captain Christopher Wilson or order, for the sum of £56 0s 0d sterling, dated the 7th of this month, for the like sum by him also that day paid into the Court's cash here. Of all which the Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance. The Council was. St Helena, 11 June 1734. **Interpretations** The gold and effects of the dead Spaniard in the first paragraph, six spade weighing 176 ounces 5

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		for the like Sum by him that day paid into Your Cash here One Sett payable to Capt Christopher Wilson or Order for the Sum of £56.--„ Sterg dated the 7th instant for the like Sum by him also that day paid into Your Cash here of all which wee humbly pray Your Honours Acceptance & wee are Your Honble Sirs St Helena 11th June 1734.	pennyweight sent home at last, mark the resolution of the long-contested estate of the foreigner who died at Bates's house, the disputed goods gathered and remitted for the heirs after the years of dispute over what was owed. The careful entry of the weight in consultation shows the standing method of accounting for a valuable remittance, the treasure passing home by the Court's direction with a recoverable record of every particular. The rejection of the engineer's plans in paragraph 40, found false and erroneous and looking as if designed to impose upon the Court, exposes a breach of trust in the very professional hand the fortification programme now leaned on, Colonel Gascherie's work refused rather than sent home. The Council's refusal to transmit anything with such an appearance ties into its standing care over the documentary record, unwilling to lay a suspect plan before the Court as it had guarded against every doubtful account and bill. The five sets of bills in paragraph 41 worked the standing device of the cashless island, drafts on the Court answered against salary owed and cash paid in at St Helena, the commanders Grantham and Wilson lodging money that crossed home as a claim. The set to Isaac Pyke for £500 0s 0d, for so much due to him in the books, shows the same mechanism serving the Governor's own credit, the paper carrying the value the coin could not across the divide. The money of the late Governor Smith in the first paragraph, more of it to be got in this season, ties into the running care over the estates of the dead and absent, the same matter as the Spaniard's effects and the sums held in trust for Greenhill and Coulson's heirs. The remittance by bills continues the standing means by which such balances reached the parties at home, the island gathering and forwarding what the Court's books recorded due. **Speculations** The Council chose to refuse the engineer's plans and confront him rather than send them home as he asked. Paragraph 40 sets the engineer's wish, that his plans be transmitted to England, against the Council's finding them false and erroneous and looking designed to impose upon the Court. What decided the refusal was the suspect appearance of the work, so rather than forward a plan it distrusted the Council told the engineer of the mistakes and left him to send them or not, guarding the Court against a doubtful document as it had long guarded the record against every questionable account, unwilling to lend its conveyance to work it could not vouch for.
250	242	Honble Sirs. 30th June 1734. 1 The Britannia & Duke of Lorrein left Us on the 11th instant in their way to England & on the 13th the Normanton arrived from Bengall & on the 25th the Princess of Wales from Bombay & brought Us News that the Bradford Decker Royal Guardian & Newcastle would return this Season but that the Prince Augustus & Mary do not the later having last her Masts, however as it now grows late in the & part & upon that Acct is Uncertain whether any more wile come or not wee therefore lay before Your Honours a Recapitulation of what wee have mentioned in our Several Letters Since Decr last	Honoured Sirs, 30 June 1734. The *Britannia* and the *Duke of Lorraine* left the island on the 15th of this month on their way to England. On the 15th the *Normanton* arrived from Bengal, and on the 25th the *Princess of Wales* from Bombay, and brought the Council news that the *Bedford*, the *Royal Guardian* and the *Newcastle* would return this season. But the *Prince Augustus* and the *Mary* would not, the latter having lost her masts. Even so, as it was now grown late in the season, whether they might come or not was uncertain. Therefore the Council laid before the Court a recapitulation of what it had mentioned in its several letters since December last. 2: The Council's seasons for two years together had proved very indifferent, and the drought at last became so great that all the inhabitants had suffered extremely in their stock, many of their best cattle having died for want of pasture. Nearby, poor families were reduced to such extremity that they

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		2 Our Seasons for two Years together have proved very indifferent & the Droughts at last became so great that all the Inhabitants have Suffered extreamly in their Stocks many of their best Cattle having died for want of Pasture & many poor Families were Reduced to Such extremity that they had not Game to Eat except what was given them by their Friends the Springs for want of Rain having Generaly failed & their Plantations are mostly become allmost Ruined & these Misfortunes wee immediately attended with an other & great as either for by the breaking of Several Water Spouts; their Plantations in many Places have been carried quite away & nothing left but the Bare Rocks & what for want of an Opportunity to Sell their Provisions when they had them & what with the Losses they have now Sustained they are unable to pay a large Rent & have therefore humbly besought Your Honours that the Sum for the Continuance of their Rents upon the present reduced footing may be prolonged great part thereof being already expired. In our Packet wee Send a Copy of their Petition to Your Honours upon this Subject & in Compassion to the distrest wee humbly hope You will give them a favourable Answer for their Case is really deplorable 3 We have not yet begun the Magazine the Hands & Line to be employed thereon being obliged to be taken off to repair the Powder Room upon the Line which required immediate care & was Sunk under ground. Since this was done they have been at work at Bankes in order to retrieve a Guard House for the Officers & Soldiers who do Duty there having alledged in their Petition of the 28th of March last that the & no one was fallen down & that for want of Shelter they were exposed to all the Inclemency of the Weather; the Storeship arrived in April & all hands	had not a yam to eat except what was given them by their friends. The springs, for want of rain, having generally failed, their plantations were thereby almost ruined. These misfortunes were immediately attended with another as great as either, for by the breaking of several water spouts their plantations in many places had been carried quite away, and nothing left but the bare rocks. What for want of an opportunity to sell their provisions when they had them, and what with the losses they had now sustained, they were unable to pay a large rent. The Council had therefore humbly besought the Court that the term for the continuance of their rents upon the present reduced footing might be prolonged, great part thereof being already expired. In its packet the Council sent a copy of their petition to the Court upon this subject. In compassion to the distress, the Council humbly hoped the Court would give them a favourable answer, for their case was really deplorable. 3: The Council had not yet begun the magazine. The hands that should be employed thereon being obliged to be taken off to repair the powder room upon the line, which required immediate care, it was sunk under ground. Since this was done they had been at work at Bank's, in order to erect a guard house for the officers and soldiers who did duty there, they having alleged in their petition of the 28th of March last that they were in danger of their lives, and that for want of shelter they were exposed to all the inclemency of the weather. The store ship arrived in April. Late hands were [...] **Interpretations** The recapitulation in this letter gathers the whole season's distress into a single account, the two indifferent years, the drought, the dead cattle, the failed springs and the water spouts that carried plantations to the bare rock. The rehearsal of the inhabitants' deplorable case belongs to the standing practice of laying a full record before the Court at the close of the year, the same abstract the Council had promised in its earlier letters, the misfortunes assembled to support the plea for continued rent relief. The water spouts that carried away plantations in paragraph 2 were the sudden violent downpours and torrents that stripped the island's soil, the same freshes that had wrecked the Lemon Valley crane and had earlier torn out the castle's curtain. The devastation, leaving nothing but bare rock, ties the inhabitants' ruin to the standing hazard of the island's climate, the erosion the Council had long traced to the loss of shelter now completed by the storms themselves. The magazine still unbegun in paragraph 3, its hands taken off to repair the sunken powder room and then to build the guard house at Bank's, continues the standing competition for the island's scarce labour, one work always yielding to another more pressing. The guard house raised on the soldiers' petition, they exposed to the weather and in danger of their lives, ties the diversion to the same want of hands that held back the magazine, the fortification programme advanced piecemeal as each failure forced attention. The rent relief pressed in paragraph 2 ties the inhabitants' distress directly to the debt grip and the standing recovery in kind, the people unable to pay where drought and storm had ruined their plantations and killed their cattle. The Council's renewed plea, with a copy of the petition sent home, continues the long policy of pressing the inhabitants with mildness against a people left poor, the reduced footing the concession by which it kept a discontented settlement quiet.

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			Speculations The Council chose again to hold back the magazine and turn its hands to the powder room and then the Bank's guard house, rather than press the greater work forward. Paragraph 3 sets the intended magazine against the two urgent claims that took its labour, the sunken powder room needing immediate care and the soldiers at Bank's exposed to the weather and in danger of their lives. What decided the diversion was the immediacy of each lesser need against the standing want of hands, so the Council answered the failing store and the petitioning soldiers before beginning the work it judged more considerable, the magazine deferred once more to the demands that could not wait.
251	243	were busy in Unloading the Ship & Stowing away the Goods so that it is not yet begun for their are work of greater Consequence to be done first & the Magazine mest ly as it tis so almost time longer Joseph & Bates hath given Bond for the Payment of £216.19.2½ to the heirs of the Spaniard died & has promised to pay £85.--„ at Mr Beale the Vallable Effects that were lately in the Governours hands belonging to them wee transmitted to Your Honours in our Cash & tly the Britannie 5 The Sattley Ladder Hill is become so extreamly dangerous that in the midst of all our work there is an absolute necessity to repair this it being the common Road & Several People at times have fallen from thence & been hilled occasioned by the Badness of the way 6 The Water at Lemon Valley being Spoiled by the falling down of part of one of the Mountains & the Sea having carried away the Crane that was Standing there wee to Save Your Money determined not to repair that Place any more it being found impracticall to Secure the Crane from the Violence of the Sea as Your Honours will See in our Consultation of the 26th Decr & 2 of Janry last 7 We humbly apprehend the Reason for hiring more Blacks as mentioned in the 17th Par of our last Letter are of Such force that Your Honours convinced of the necessity will approve of our Conduct for certainly it would be too late to think of Fortifying when the Enemy is at the Door & without more help it wile be impossible to get any thing ready in time But though wee want it so much wee are afraid because of the objections taken notice of in our Consultations of the 18th & 25th instant that wee Shant be able to get them for only one has been Intiled Since our Advertisement of the 11th of June & the price is so Small & indeed too Small that wee have not yet been able to perfwad our Advertisements to Send more hands & however wee wile exert ourselves & forward every thing as fast as wee can but when these Forts are done wee have neither Guns or	The store ship's hands were busy in unloading the ship and stowing away the goods, so that the Council had not yet begun their new work of greater consequence, the magazine. It must lie so a little time longer. 4: Joseph Bates had given bond for the payment of £246 19s 2½d to the heirs of the Spaniard who died here, and had promised to pay £85 0s 0d. At length the Council had all the valuable effects that were lately in the Governor's hands belonging to them, and had transmitted them to the Court in its packet by the *Britannia*. 5: The path up Ladder Hill was become so extremely dangerous that, in the midst of all the Council's work, there was an absolute necessity to repair it, it being the common road, and several people at times having fallen from thence and been killed by the badness of the way. 6: The water at Lemon Valley being spoiled by the falling down of part of one of the mountains, and the sea having carried away the crane that was standing there, the Council, to save the Court's money, was determined not to repair that place any more, it being found impracticable to secure the crane from the violence of the sea, as the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 26th of December and the 2nd of January last. 7: The Council humbly apprehended that the reasons for hiring more slaves, as mentioned in the 17th paragraph of its last letter, were of such force that the Court would approve of its conduct. For certainly it would be too late to think of fortifying when the enemy was at the door, and without more help it would be impossible to get anything ready in time. But though it wanted them so much, the Council was afraid, because of the objections taken notice of in its consultation of the 18th and 25th of this month, that it should not be able to get them, for only one had been enticed since the Council's advertisement of the 1st of June, and the price was so small, and indeed too small, that it had not yet been able to prosper its endeavours to find more hands. Even so, the Council would exert itself, and forward everything as fast as it could. But when these forts were done, the Council had neither guns nor men to defend them. For the guns, the nation had at the other battery, contained by the spare and about the castle, the Council had 170. There were 14 more at Munden's, and 4 at Bank's, and these alone, only 6 men to a gun, one gun with another, which by a common computation required 240 men. Indeed, it was not likely the Council should fight all these guns at once. But then what men could be spared, in a time of alarm, might be formed into flying parties, to attend the motions of the enemy, were they to attempt to land at places unguarded or unexpected, and in time of war these had [...] **Interpretations**

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		Men to defend them for the Guns that are at the other Batteries cannot be Spared & in & about the Castle wee have 170, there are 14 more at Mundens & 4 at Bankes & these alone, only 5 Men to a Gun one Gun with an other which is a very low Computation requires 220 Men, indeed its not likely wee Should fight all these Guns at once but then what Men could be Spared must be time of Storm be formed into flying Parties to attend the Motions of the Enemy were they Should attempt to Land at Places Unguarded or Unexpected & in time of War these	The abandonment of the Lemon Valley crane in paragraph 6, the water spoiled by a mountain falling and the crane carried off by the sea, confirms the Council's resolve to spend no more on a place the surf could destroy, the same decision reached after the great rains rolled twenty-seven-ton rocks into the ocean. The determination to save the Court's money by leaving the works ties into the standing frugality, the Fort Valley water preferred and Lemon Valley given up as impracticable to secure. The reckoning of guns and men in paragraph 7, 170 about the castle, 14 at Munden's and 4 at Bank's, requiring 240 men at six to a gun against a garrison that could not muster them, exposes the same gulf between the fortifications and the hands to work them that the slave muster had laid bare. The flying parties formed of spare men to meet a landing continue the standing device of a mobile element to answer an enemy where the fixed posts could not, the same flying party that had served the island's defence from the earliest reforms. The bond of Joseph Bates in paragraph 4, £246 19s 2½d to the Spaniard's heirs with £85 0s 0d promised, and the effects at last remitted, mark the resolution of the long-contested estate, the disputed goods gathered and sent home after the years of dispute over what was owed. The transmission by the *Britannia* continues the standing means by which such a balance reached the parties at home, the record and the effects carried together for the Court's satisfaction. The failure to hire slaves in paragraph 7, only one enticed since the advertisement and the price too small, ties the want of labour directly to the batteries that could not be built or manned, the same shortage the muster of 42 labouring hands had measured. The plea that fortifying could not wait till the enemy was at the door presses the urgency against the standing difficulty, the defence held back by a labour the reduced wage could not draw. **Speculations** The Council chose to give up the Lemon Valley works entirely rather than rebuild the crane the sea had carried off. Paragraph 6 sets the repair against the Council's determination to save the Court's money, the place found impracticable to secure from the violence of the sea after a mountain fell and the surf took the crane. What decided it was the plain impossibility of holding a work the storms could destroy again, so the Council abandoned Lemon Valley for the Fort Valley water it had already secured, choosing to spend nothing more on a landing place the sea would not let it keep rather than pour the Court's money after what was lost.
252	244	has always been three of these Parties. The Engineer has proposed to build Such new Forts or Batteries & as the Strength of this little Slave is far from Sufficient to Man the Works wee already have & after very full & mature Deliberation upon that matter wee are of Opinion that a Supply of 200 Men are Still wanting for the Defence of Your Island & Your Shiping in cap of a War the Charge of which with their Officers will be about £1900, or £2000 a year, but then it will not be perpetual it will last no longer than the danger continues & when that is removed they may be drafted off & Sent to Some of Your Settlements in India & where	There had always been three of these flying parties. The engineer had proposed to build seven new forts or batteries. But the strength of the Council's little slaves was far from sufficient to man the works it already had, and after very full and mature deliberation upon the matter, it was of opinion that a supply of 200 men were still wanting for the defence of the island and the Court's shipping in case of a war. The charge of these, with their officers, would be about £3,000 0s 0d a year. But then it would not be perpetual, for it would last no longer than the danger continued, and when that was removed they might be drafted off and sent to some of the Court's settlements in India, where the Council believed the Court yearly sent recruits. The expense of this was a trifle compared to what the Court might suffer by the loss of a single ship. These were things of the greatest consequence and importance, which the Council humbly recommended to the Court's consideration. It would

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		wee believe Your Honours yearly Send Recruits & the Expence of this is a trifle compared to what Your Honours may Suffer by the Loss only of a Single Ship. These are things of the greatest Consequence & Importance & wee humbly recommend them to Your Consideration, wee have Your Island & Your Shiping to defend & to do this effectually more than as wanting & a Supply of less than £ do ought not to be thought on. The Governour has more fully Set forth the necessity for this Supply in his Report of the 25 instant which is very length & particular. 12 In our Consultation of the 20th of Octr last & which wee desire Your Honours wile See wee laid down Such good Rules for the apprehending of Runing Blacks who about that time frequently descended from their Masters & robbed the Country & Some of them had the Impudence to plunder Your Honours, & they had good Effect for a long while & wee lately they have began their old Trade, three of them who were Lately in Prison for Runingaway & thieving broke Jaile in the Night & so are fled but Strict Search is making after them & when they are caught wee will make an Example of them in order to deter others 13 In our Letter of the 3d of April wee mentioned the Injustice that has been frequently comnitted here for want of a Tale Book which is now prevented by abliging all People to Tale their Cattle by which means the Sole owner is allways known & many frauds thereby avoided. This was a Rule formerly made by Your Honours & is of long Standing but has been often neglected or forgot, however wee have Revised it & Since wee find it is beneficial wee wile allways continue it. 14 We have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours both dated the 25th Instant & one Sett	be glad to defend the Court's shipping, and to do this effectually more men were wanting, and a supply of less than 200 ought not to be thought on. The Governor had more fully set forth the necessity for this supply in his report of the 2nd of this month, which was very lengthy and particular. 12: In its consultation of the 20th of October last, which the Council asked the Court to see, it laid down several good rules for the apprehending of running blacks, who about that time frequently absconded from their masters, and robbed all the country. Some of them had the impudence to plunder the Court's own, and they had good effect for a long while. But lately they had begun their old trade, several of whom were lately in prison for running away, and having broke jail in the night were fled. Strict search was making after them, and when they were caught the Council would make an example of them, in order to deter others. 13: In its letter of the 3rd of April the Council mentioned the injustice that had been frequently committed here for want of a tally book, which was now prevented by obliging all people to tally their cattle. By these means the sole owners were always known, and many frauds thereby prevented. This was a rule formerly made by the Court, of long standing, but had been often neglected or forgot. Even so, since the Council had revived it, and since it found it a beneficial rule, it would always continue it. 14: The Council had drawn two sets of bills of exchange upon the Court, both dated the 25th of this month, one set payable [...] **Interpretations** The plea for 200 more men in the first paragraph, costed at £3,000 0s 0d a year but only for the war's duration, ties the whole defence programme to the standing gulf between the fortifications and the hands to man them, the seven proposed batteries useless where the existing works already wanted men. The argument that the men might afterwards be drafted to the Indian settlements, and that the cost was a trifle against the loss of a ship, presses the request on the Court's own interest, the same reasoning that ran through the reckoning of guns and slaves. The running blacks in paragraph 12, absconding to rob the country and breaking jail after capture, tie into the standing problem of slaves who fled and plundered, the same disorder that had earlier set men in irons at the fortifications and held the armed runaways in the cave under Lot. The rules for their apprehending and the intended example continue the long effort to keep the slave establishment in order, the discipline pressed against a labour force the island could not do without. The cattle tally in paragraph 13, revived to prevent the frauds committed for want of it, continues the account of the old rule the Council had lately resurrected against the fraudulent trustees, the periodic count now settled as a standing means of fixing each owner's true stock. The note that it was a rule of long standing, often neglected and now found beneficial, ties into the standing effort to bring the island's government and property to a settled and recorded form. The flying parties in the first paragraph, three of them always maintained, belong to the standing defence of a mobile element to meet an enemy where the fixed posts could not reach, the same device the earliest reforms had used. The engineer's seven batteries set against the little slaves' insufficiency shows the fortification programme outrunning the labour, the ambitious scheme

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			checked by the plain want of hands to build or hold it. **Speculations** The Council chose to press the Court for 200 men on the argument of temporary cost rather than let the engineer's batteries stand as the answer to the island's defence. The first paragraph sets the seven proposed forts against the plain insufficiency of the slaves to man even the existing works, so the Council urged men over works. What decided its case was the framing of the charge as a trifle against the loss of a single ship and only for the war's duration, the men afterwards draftable to India, so rather than build defences it could not hold the Council asked for the garrison to work them, shaping the plea to the Court's interest by making the great expense both bounded and cheap against the risk it guarded.
253	245	payable to Isaac Wood or order for the Sum of £636. Sterg the other to Anna Doat Daughter & Executrix of John Smith Esqr dead & for the like Sum of £145. Sterg of both which wee humbly pray Your Honours Acceptance 15 Inclosed wee Send Your Honours Monsr Rieales 2d Bill of Exchange upon the french Company for £175.--„ Sterg & the 2d Letter of Advice 16 Mr White their Clerk tak Baparge for England on board the Princess of Wales 17 The Ingineer has delivered Us fresh Plans & they are very well done which makes Us wonder he Should offer any thing so incorrectly done as those he lately presented it looks very much as if he was attempting to impose upon Us & all his Behaviour give Us cause to Intertain but an indifferent Opinion of him 8 Wee have taken particular Care this Year to be as moderate in our Indent as possible & if Some Articles are Larger than usual the Apprehensions of War have made them necessary & if the flame increases wee doubt not Your Honrs will Send what Shale be Sufficient 9 We wile comply't with the Inhabitants about Setting Your wast Lands in order to raise Wood & it is so much in our Opinion for the Advantage both of them & Your Honours that wee beleive they wile be glad to come into it. Whatever is determined wee will Lay before Your Honrs 10 We do not at all Interfere or middle with the Rates of Provisions at what Price they please wee do not at all interfere in the Matter & this they are know 11 The Plantation wee lately bought for £75. is of it Self Such a Pennyworth & is otherwise of Such Service to & to Your Honrs that wee dispute Your Commendation for the Bargain. We are &ca JS JB	Payable to Isaac Wood or order, for the sum of £636 0s 0d sterling, the other to Anna Fout, daughter and executrix of John Smith, esquire, for £5 0s 0d, for the like debt, of which the Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance. 15: Enclosed the Council sent the Court Monsieur Rieult's second bill of exchange upon the French Company for £192 0s 0d sterling, and the second letter of advice. 16: Mrs White and her child took passage for England on board the *Princess of Wales*. 17: The engineer had delivered the Council fresh plans, and they were very well done, which made it wonder he should offer anything so incorrectly done as those he lately presented. It looked very much as if he was attempting to impose upon the Court, and his whole behaviour gave the Council cause to entertain but an indifferent opinion of him. 8: The Council had taken particular care this year to be as moderate in its indent as possible. But if some articles were larger than usual, the apprehensions of war had made them necessary. If the plans miscarried, the Council did not doubt the Court would add what should be sufficient. 9: The Council would confer with the inhabitants about setting the Court's waste lands, in order to raise wood. It was much in order its opinion, for the advantage both of them and the Court, that they would be glad to come into it. Whatever was determined the Council would lay before the Court. 10: As to the inhabitants being at full liberty to sell their provisions at what price they pleased, the Council did not at all interfere in the matter, and this they all knew. 11: The plantation the Council lately bought for £75 0s 0d was of itself such a pennyworth, and otherwise of such service, that the Court would approve its conduct for the bargain. The Council was. St Helena, 30 June 1734. The Council added that, by mistake in entering this letter, some of the paragraphs were transposed. **Interpretations** The fresh plans in paragraph 17, now well done where the engineer's earlier ones had been false and erroneous, sharpen the Council's distrust of Colonel Gascherie, the very competence of the new work making the fault of the old look deliberate. The judgement that he was attempting to impose upon the Court, and the indifferent opinion the Council entertained of him, ties into its standing care over the record, unwilling to trust a professional hand whose work it could not vouch for. Mrs White's passage home in paragraph 16, she and her child taken on the *Princess of Wales*, closes the running account of the late chaplain Mr White and

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		JB DC N.B. By Mistake in Entering their Letter Some of the Paragraphs are transposed DC	the disorder of his household, the drunken widow who had scorned the inhabitants' charity and neglected her child now removed from the island. The departure ties into the standing difficulty of maintaining clerical order, the parson's affairs following him and his family off the island after his death. The second bill on the French Company in paragraph 15, sent with its second letter of advice for the supplies furnished the *La Vierge de Grâce*, continues the standing care to remit the paper by which a foreign ship's debt was made good, the two halves sent apart so that each was of no effect until its fellow reached the drawee. The mechanism belongs to the documentary protection the Council maintained across the perilous passage, the recoverable proof carried home. The transposed paragraphs noted at the foot, and the confused numbering the Council itself acknowledged, expose the pressure of the secretary's office on a thinly staffed establishment, the fair copy miscarried in the entering. The admission continues the long thread of the clerical want that had delayed the Court's books and forced the hiring of fresh writers, the record itself bearing the marks of an office stretched too far. **Speculations** The Council chose to record openly that it entertained an indifferent opinion of the engineer rather than pass over the fault of his first plans once the second proved him capable. Paragraph 17 sets the well-done fresh plans against the false ones lately presented, the very competence of the new work making the earlier fault look designed. What decided the Council to voice its distrust was the contrast itself, a man plainly able to do the work correctly having offered the Court something erroneous, so it laid its suspicion of an attempted imposition before the Court rather than let the correction stand alone, guarding the Court against a hand whose skill made his earlier failure the more suspect.
254	246	Honble Sirs. 24th July 1734. On the 27th of June wee had a Single Allarm for a Ship to Leeward, on the 29th wee had a double Allarm for three Ships two of which wint by, on the 30th a Dutch Ship called the Nieten Senn king Braoke Commander whose Commission was dated 18th Decr 1732 was brought to at Bankes in the Morning wee having then two English Ships in the Road & in the Afternoon weighed & Stood in for the Road & Sailed backwards & forwards & cross the Bay till nine at Night & was many times in good Anchoring & pound, but did not, & at ten She Stood away. On the Same day wee had a double Allarm for three Sail & one & the next Morning they past by the Fort & Salute did & by their Colours & they were Dutch. the Same day Vizt on the first instant the Normanton & Princess of Wales Sailed for England where wee hope they will Safely arrive. On the 5th a Dutch Ship arrived here directly from Batavia called the Nedderkirk William	Honoured Sirs, 24 July 1734. On the 27th of June the Council had a single alarm for a ship to leeward. On the 28th it had a windward alarm for three ships, two of which went by. On the 30th a Dutch ship called the *Rietern*, John King Broake commander, whose commission was dated 18 December 1730, was brought to anchor. In the morning, the Council having then two English ships in the road, and in the afternoon she weighed and stood in for the road, and sailed backwards and forwards across the bay till nine at night, and was many times in good anchoring ground, but did not anchor. At ten she stood away. On the same day the Council had a double alarm for three sail more, and the next morning they passed by the fort, and would not fly their colours as they bore Dutch. The same day, being the first of the month, the *Normanton* and the *Princess of Wales* sailed for England, where the Council hoped they would with safety arrive. On the 17th a Dutch ship arrived here directly from Batavia, called the *Redderkirk*, William Slayen commander, whose commission was dated the 15th of April 1730. He told the Council that the other ship, the *Rietern*, was upon a fair account, but assigned no cause for their not anchoring here. He recently was upon shore himself, dressed as a sailor, and told that what he looked for here were six sail of Dutch ships, with whom he had lost company. Enclosed the Council sent the Court a copy of its last letter, and duplicates of its consultations of the 4th and 25th of June, in which the Court would have a large account of the state of the island, with relation to the strength and weakness thereof in case

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		Slayven Commander, his Commission was dated the 15th of April 1730 & he tells Us that the other Ship Nieten was upon a fair a bewent but assigned no cause for their not Anchoring here & mootly was on Shore himself durst as a Sailor & told Us that he Looked in here for the Saile of Dutch Ships with whom he had last Company Inclosed wee Send Your Honours a Copy of our last Letter & Duplicates of our Consultations of the 43d & 25 of June in which Your Honrs will have a large Account of the State of this Island with relation to the Strength & Weakness thereof in cap of a War but the Governours being unwilling to trust as together to his own Judgement has Compelled with the Inhabitants & to take their Animal & so & Ships & what was best to be done for the Defence & Security of them & Your Shiping, & their Several Resolutions about this Matter Your Honours wile See in the Governours Report of the 15th instant & which wee desire You wile order to be laid before You. We doubt not Your Honours wile be pleased to hear of the promise & to knowledgment they have made in return for that tender Regard with which Your Honours have at all times treated them & moved with a grateful Sense hereof they have Unanimously agreed to build at their own Charge all the Fortifications that Shale be wee pray for the Security of Fort & Cap Valley which is a dangerous Place if not wele defended & wee humbly hope that these chearful & vigorous Resolutions to keep off the Enemy wile be an Inducement to Your Honours to give a favourable Answer to their Late Petition	of a war. But the Governor being unwilling to trust to his own judgement, had consulted with the inhabitants, and taken their opinion, and so on, and what was best to be done for the defence and security of them and the Court's shipping. Their several resolutions about this matter the Court would see in the Governor's report of the 15th of this month, which the Council asked to be laid before the Court. It doubted not the Court would be pleased to hear of the pleasure and acknowledgement they made, in return for that tender regard with which the Court had at all times treated them, and moved with a grateful sense thereof they had unanimously agreed to build, at their own charge, all the fortifications that should be necessary for the security of Rupert's and Chapel Valley, which was a dangerous place if not well defended and secured. The Council humbly hoped that these cheerful and vigorous resolutions to keep off the enemy would be an inducement to the Court to give a favourable answer to their late petition. **Interpretations** The two Dutch ships in the first passage, the *Rietern* sailing the bay without anchoring and the *Redderkirk* whose commander came ashore in a sailor's disguise, sharpen the standing watch against foreign shipping in a time of feared war, the vessels' movements tracked and their papers examined. The disguised commander looking for six lost Dutch sail shows the caution the Council maintained, the passing fleets watched with a wariness the fear of a French war had heightened. The inhabitants' offer to build the Rupert's and Chapel Valley fortifications at their own charge in the second passage marks a striking turn in the standing tension over the island's defence, the people who had lately pleaded ruin now agreeing to bear the cost of the works. The Council's framing of this as gratitude for the Court's tender regard, and its hope it would move the Court to answer their rent petition, ties the offer directly to the relief the inhabitants sought, the defence made a bargaining piece against the rents. The Governor's consulting the inhabitants in the second passage, unwilling to trust his own judgement on the island's strength and weakness, continues the standing practice of building a documented consensus on matters of defence, the same method that had grounded the fortification advice in the opinion of visiting commanders and now the engineer. The taking of the people's resolutions and their entry in the Governor's report shows the deliberation set in form for the Court's decision. The dangerous state of Chapel Valley in the second passage, needing defence if the enemy were not to land unopposed, ties into the long thread of the Rupert's and Chapel Valley fortification programme, the same weak point the earliest surveys had marked when the water course and the batteries were first proposed. The inhabitants' undertaking to secure it shows the old concern answered at last, the defence of the exposed valley carried by the people the drought had impoverished. **Speculations** The inhabitants chose to offer to build the Rupert's and Chapel Valley works at their own charge just as their rent petition lay before the Court. The second passage sets their plea of ruin against their unanimous agreement to bear the cost of the fortifications, framed as gratitude for the Court's tender regard. What decided the offer was plainly the relief they sought, the Council's own hope making the link explicit, so a people too poor to pay their rents undertook the defence of the exposed valleys as a means to move the Court, the burden

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			shouldered less from loyalty than as the price of the favourable answer they wanted on the rents.
255	247	Wee return Your Honours thanks for Mr Coney the Minister that You were pleased to Send Us who proves a good natured & deserving Man & the People of the Country all like him very much. We wish wee could Say the Same of Mr Gd Gashere the Ingineer who wee look on as a upless Person in this place. As to his contriving Works for the Defence of the Island wee think wee Understand them better than he does & even though he had as meek Skile as he pretended he may of designing them wile do the Place no good for he does not care to go by Land & when wee Supplyed him with as good Boat he did not venture to go nearer than within half a Prile of the place as he did at Bushs Cap Valley & Prosperous Bay which wile not do here for no Man can make a proper Defence against an Inemy that does not go upon the Spott neither can wee expect the People to work under his directions when they find him afraid to go near them many Instances of which Your Honours wile find in our Consultations of the 25th June & 2d & 13th of July. Wee are in great want of Labouring hands & as to Guns & Soldiers wee pray Your Honours to consider of the Governours general Report of this place which is entered in our Consultns of the 25 June & 15 instant & to Send Us what Men can be procured & at least those Guns mentioned in the last part of this Report. And having thus Said before Your Honours all things of Consequence wee have at this time nothing farther to add than to assure Your Honours that wee will be allways carefull & Vigilant in our Duty & are &ca St Helena 24th July 1734	The Council returned the Court thanks for Mr Coney, the minister the Court was pleased to send it, who proved a good-natured and deserving man, and the people of the country all liked him very well. The Council wished it could say the same of Monsieur Gascherie the engineer, whom it looked on as a useless person in his place. As to his contriving works for the defence of the island, the Council thought it understood them better than he did. Even though he had as much skill as he pretended, his way of designing them would do the island no good, for he did not care to go by land. When the Council supplied him with as good a boat, he did not venture to go nearer than within half a mile of the place, as he did at Turk's Cap, Chapel Valley and Prosperous Bay, which would not do here. For no man could make a proper defence against an enemy that did not go upon the spot. Neither could the Council expect the people to work under his directions when they found him afraid to go near them, many instances of which the Court would find in the Council's consultations of the 25th of June and the 2nd and 3rd of July. The Council was in great want of labouring hands, and as to guns and soldiers, it asked the Court to consider the Governor's general report of the island, which was entered in the Council's consultation of the 25th of June and the 15th of this month, and to send it what men could be procured, and at least those guns mentioned in the last part of the report. Having thus laid before the Court all things of consequence, the Council had at this time nothing further to add than to assure the Court that it would be always careful and vigilant in its duty. It was, and so on. St Helena, 24 July 1734. **Interpretations** The condemnation of the engineer Gascherie in the first paragraph completes the Council's turn against the professional hand the fortification programme had leaned on, the earlier distrust over the false plans now hardened into a charge of plain uselessness. The particular complaint, that he would not go upon the ground but surveyed the defences from half a mile off by boat, ties into the standing insistence that fortification advice be grounded in direct knowledge, the same principle by which the Governor and his commanders had walked the ground the engineer refused. The contrast with the minister Coney in the first paragraph, a deserving man well liked, sets the useful appointment against the useless, the Court thanked for the one as it was warned of the other. The good report of the new minister ties into the standing effort to restore clerical order after the disorder of the late parson White, the settlement at last supplied with a churchman the people approved. The renewed plea for hands, guns and soldiers in the second paragraph gathers the whole defence crisis into a final appeal, the labouring hands wanting to build and the men and guns wanting to hold whatever was built. The reference to the Governor's general report entered in consultation continues the standing practice of grounding the request in a documented record, the necessity set before the Court in form as the batteries, the muster and the guns had each been laid. The people's unwillingness to work under the engineer in the first paragraph, finding him afraid to go near the works, ties the failure of the fortification programme not only to the want of hands but to the want of a leader the labourers would follow. The

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			Council's judgement that no defence could be made by a man who kept off the spot shows the same standing tie between direct oversight and effective work, the Governor obliged elsewhere to mark out all the labour himself. **Speculations** The Council chose to lay its low opinion of the engineer plainly before the Court rather than let his plans and presence stand. The first paragraph sets the useful minister Coney against the useless Gascherie, the Council thanking the Court for the one while condemning the other as afraid to go upon the ground he was sent to fortify. What decided the Council to press the charge home was the practical impossibility of a defence contrived from half a mile off and of labourers working under a man they saw shrink from the works, so it built its case on documented instances and urged the Court to weigh a professional hand whose timidity, as much as his false plans, made him worse than no engineer at all.
256	248	Honble Sirs. 24 December 1734. 1 Wee paid our duty to Your Honrs on the 24 July last by the Dutch Ship called the Nedderkirk who Stood in for England the next day & wee Send a Copy of the Letter wee then wrote On the 7 instant the Decker Newcastle & Bradford arrived here from this Island of Bon Anguinne where they wanted Stay from the Sixt of July to the 1st of Octobr & every but three Papage round the Cape & at their Arrival wee each of them in great want of dry Provisions for their Homeward bound Voyage & wee have Supid them as much as wee could the Particulars of which & Your Honrs will see by the Ships Accounts herewith transmitted & in our Consultation of the 16th & 19th of December in the last of which Several Letters past between the Captains & Us You wile also See what Supplyes they have brought for the Use of this Place, for all the that Ymeat part of the Shoar they have hed for their Crews People they Set Us that they Sailed with them were at Draughties & that it was thought the French had Sieged her, the old London Arrived at Bourbon with Stores from France whilst they lay there & brought News of a hot War likely to break out Suddenly all over Europe 2 Our Summer & Winter Seasons for the last Year proved a game very like Your want of our great Numbers of poor & family Catle died, Several of them & we & have had more than half their Stocks & many of us are have more to Spare very not withstanding all the care & Shale Possibly could be taken was used to prevent it & what & great & tys to the Calamity & the Plantations throughout the Island except those belonging Your Honrs wele are in very good Order are Shorter now Rain they have been known to be within the Memory of man, even Stanley Bay it Self, a Place famous for Producing Grass has not this Year yielded near the Quantity abliged to do all	Honoured Sirs, 26 December 1734. The Council paid its duty to the Court on the 24th of July last, by the Dutch ship called the *Redderkirk*, who stood for England the next day. Enclosed the Council sent a copy of the letter it then wrote. On the 7th of this month the *Bedford*, the *Newcastle* and the *Royal Guardian* arrived here from the island of Don Mascarine. Whither they had been to stay from the 1st of July to the 1st of October last, and were three, their passage round the Cape at their arrival, when each of them in great want of dry provisions for their homeward-bound voyage. The Council had spared them as much as it could, the particulars of which the Court would see by the ships' accounts, being transmitted them in its consultation of the 16th and 17th of December. In the loss of which, letters passed between the captains, and the Court would also see what supplies they had brought for the use of the island. For all that, they had spared, part of the sugar they had used for their own people, they told the Council that they had spared with sugar, and were at Don Mascarine. But that it was thought the French had seized her. The old *London* arrived at Bourbon with stores from France, whilst they lay there, and brought news of a hot war likely to break out speedily all over Europe. 2: The Council's summer and winter seasons for the last year proved again very bad. Great numbers of poor people's cattle died, several of the inhabitants having lost more than half their stock, and many of the Court's own have gone. There was more to lose, notwithstanding all the care that could be taken, was used to prevent it. Even so, perhaps great loss to the calamity of the plantations throughout the island, except those belonging to the Court, was in very good order. Another so great a drought had not been known within the memory of man, even Sandy Bay itself, a place famous for producing yams, had not this year yielded near the usual quantity, all of which is imputed to the want of rain. 3: On the 3rd of August the inhabitants began very cheerfully, and had very near finished a battery for lighter guns, a guard house and powder room at Turk's Cap Valley. But it could not be completed, because for two months together the weather had been so bad the Council could not get any lime made. Even with a piece of work, this so far very well done. It was in the Council's opinion, and actually answered the purpose, if ever an enemy from a landing there with boats, for if it were attacked it must be done by boats, it being [...] **Interpretations**

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		which is imputed to the want of Rain 3 On the 5 of August the Inhabitants began very chearfully & have near finished a Battery for lighter Guns a Guard House & Powder Room at Rieles Cap Valley for it could not be completed because for two Month together the Weather has been so bad wee could not get any Sine there & tis a piece of Work, this far very well done. & in our Opinion wile it Actually Answer the Purpose & prevent an Enemy from Landing there with Boates, for if it be attacked it must be done by Boates for it being	The homeward ships driven to Don Mascarine in the first paragraph, unable to weather the Cape and in great want of dry provisions, tie the island's relief of them to the standing peril of the eastern passage and the hospitality it gave distressed vessels, the same succour extended to the scurvy-stricken French ship earlier in the year. The news of a hot war likely to break out over Europe continues the standing anxiety over a French war that had driven the whole defence programme and the caution to the returning ships. The failure of yet another season in paragraph 2, the worst drought within living memory, deepens the long thread of dearth, even Sandy Bay, famous for its yams, yielding far below the usual. The death of half the poor people's cattle ties the ruin to the same want of rain that had driven the rent petitions and the reckoning against the mortality of 1713, the Court's own plantations carried through by care where the inhabitants' failed. The battery at Turk's Cap Valley in paragraph 3, begun cheerfully by the inhabitants but stalled for want of lime the bad weather stopped them making, shows the people making good their offer to build the fortifications at their own charge. The check by the failure of the lime ties the work to the same standing limits of weather and materials that had held back every island building, the defence advanced piecemeal as conditions allowed. The inhabitants' cheerful start on the works in paragraph 3, the guard house and powder room raised at Turk's Cap Valley, marks the striking turn by which the impoverished people took on the defence of the exposed valleys, the offer made in July now carried into the work itself. The battery designed against a landing by boats, the only way the place could be attacked, ties into the long thread of the Rupert's and Chapel Valley fortification programme, the weak point secured at last by the people the drought had pressed. **Speculations** The Council chose to spare the distressed homeward ships dry provisions from an island already ruined by drought rather than reserve its scant stock. The first paragraph sets the ships' great want against the island's own dearth, the worst within memory, yet the Council spared them as much as it could for their homeward voyage. What decided it was the plain extremity of vessels that could not weather the Cape and the standing duty to relieve a ship in distress, so the Council gave from a stock the season had already stretched, choosing to succour the fleet that was its own lifeline over hoarding provisions against a want its own people felt as sharply.
257	249	directly to the Windward & the Winds blowing constantly to the Shoar & most commonly very fresh no Ship durst Sith Safely venture to come near enough to throw their Men on Shoar for before the danger of Lystoar Shore is a Ledge of Rocks about half a mile off & hardly 15 foot under Water & so the Ground all over this Bay is very fresh so that no Ships can attempt without manifest hazard to approach near enough to Batter this Place, but for want of Guns its at present useless to Us & wee & wee doubt not the Storeship will furnish Us with Guns & the other Stores of War mentioned in the Governours Indent last Year	Directly to the windward. The wind blowing constantly to the shore, no ship durst safely venture to come near enough to the shore to make their motion. Neither, for besides the danger of Rupert's, there was a ledge of rocks about half a mile off, hardly eighteen feet under water, and the ground all over the bay was very foul, so that no ship could attempt without manifest hazard to approach near enough to batter the place. But for want of guns, it was at present useless to the Governor. The Council doubted not the Court would furnish it with guns, and the other stores of war it mentioned in the Governor's indent last year. 4: The works at Rupert's went on as well as could be expected. But for want of help they were not in that forwardness that could be wished, especially at a time when the Council might every day expect the enemy at its gates. Some of the most ruinous parts were already repaired. The trench to convey the

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		4 The Works at Ruperts go on as wele as can be expected but for want of help they are not in that forwardness as could be wished & espicially at a time when wee may every day expect the Enemy at Our Gates Some of the wast Ruinous parts are already repaired & the Trench to convey the Water into the Sea without damage to the Fortifications is done & the most Cattway a & wanting but the Loss of Our Longboat which happened our Mr last at Sandy Bay Shore, wee was gone to fetch us Sine has retarded us a great article & the Seas whenwee had a Boat were opted so rough that wee could not land her & bring her round which has whistolp accasioned the loss of much time but notwithstanding all these Discouragements wee prosecute our Works with all the Vigour that is Possible 5 The inner part of the Wall of the Castle Situated on Chappel Valley which is 16 foll high is wanted to mend out, for about so foot met the Gate & over hangs Below the middle but the Works at Ruperts by so heavy upon our hands that wee Cant Spare help to mend this until the Crack Should Spread, for that which has not yet done 6 So having appeared to Us upon legal that Mr Gasterie is a person very far from understanding to Supporte the pretinds to & that this behaviour has been extreamly rude & his Conduct very troublesull. In lopsecconi wee have dismist him from Your Service the reasons for doing so Your Honours will more particularly See in our Consultations of the 3 & 15th of December & wee are humbly of Opinion that Your Ingenire will also Conclude that a man who is so evident & assuming, weak & imprudent to a degree that is even Surprising is not near able of being of any Use to You at St Helena. the other Consultan relating to him are of the 2, 10, 11, 18 & 20 June 2, 9th & of July 22 October & 12 of November all which wee humbly desire Your Honrs will Order to be laid before You that this time wee wile trouble You with	water into the sea, without damage to the fortifications, was done, and the road towards Bank's. But the loss of the longboat, which happened on the 3rd of last month at Sandy Bay before the Council was gone to fetch lime, had retarded the work a great while. The sea, when there had a boat, wrought so rough that the Council could not land her, and in bringing her round, which has been the chief occasion of the loss of much time. But notwithstanding all these discouragements, the Council prosecuted its works with all the vigour that was possible. 5: The inner part of the wall of the castle, situated in Chapel Valley, which was 16 foot high, or seemed to be, wanted only for about so foot next the gate, and over hung below the middle. But the works at Rupert's lay so heavy upon the Council's hands that it could not spare help to mend this, unless the crane should spoil, for which the Council had not yet got done. 6: It having appeared to the Council upon legal proof that Monsieur Gascherie was a person very far from understanding to support the pretence to what his behaviour had been extensively rude, and his conduct very troublesome, the Council in speech ever have dismissed him from your service. Their reasons for doing so the Court would more particularly see in the Council's consultations of the 3rd and 4th of December. The Council was humbly of opinion that the Court would also conclude that a man who was so impudent in assuming, weak, improvident and to a degree that is even surprising, was not capable of being of any use to the Court at St Helena. The other consultations relating to him were of the 3rd, 10th, 11th, 18th and 25th of June, the 2nd of July, the 22nd of October, and the 2nd of November. All which the Council humbly asked the Court would order to be laid before the Court. At this time the Council would trouble the Court with [...] **Interpretations** The natural strength of Rupert's Bay in the first paragraph, its onshore wind, its submerged ledge of rocks and its foul ground barring any ship from coming near to batter, marks the very defensibility the fortification programme relied on, the place hard to attack save by boats. The want of guns that left the position useless ties into the standing plea for the stores of war, the works there raised by the inhabitants but powerless without the ordnance the Court alone could send. The trench to carry the water into the sea in paragraph 4, done without damage to the fortifications, completes the contrivance by which the Governor had cleansed the crane's supply of the salt springs, the same frugal fix pressed through the recent letters. The loss of the longboat at Sandy Bay, retarding the work by making it hard to fetch lime, ties the delay to the standing dependence on the island's few boats, the same want that had earlier forced the purchase of a replacement. The dismissal of the engineer Gascherie in paragraph 6, on legal proof of his incapacity and troublesome conduct, completes the Council's long turn against the professional hand, the distrust over the false plans and his refusal to go upon the ground now ended in his discharge. The array of consultations cited belongs to the standing practice of building a documented record against a suspect officer, the case laid before the Court in form as every doubtful matter had been. The works at Rupert's outrunning the Council's hands in paragraph 5, the castle wall left unmended because Rupert's lay so heavy upon it, continue the standing competition for the island's scarce labour,

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			one work always yielding to another more pressing. The overhanging castle wall deferred while the exposed bay was fortified shows the same triage of a building strength too thin for all its tasks, the more urgent defence taken up before the failing one. **Speculations** The Council chose to discharge the engineer Gascherie outright rather than keep a professional hand it distrusted. Paragraph 6 sets the dismissal against the alternative of retaining him, resting the decision on legal proof of his incapacity, his rude behaviour and his troublesome conduct. What decided it was the accumulation of failures the Council had recorded, the false plans, the surveys made from half a mile off and the labourers who would not work under a man they saw shrink from the works, so it laid the whole documented case before the Court and dismissed him, judging a weak and improvident engineer worse than none at a place whose defence could not wait on a man incapable of directing it.
258	250	one remark only viz that Mr Gasterie was in hopes to get £1500 for repairing the Fortifications at Ruperts the same of Opinion that they ought to be repaired but when he was told that wee could not & so Your Honrs had many & repair them our Selves he changed his Note, & Bid he thought they ought not to be repaired Permit Us therefore humbly to ask how it is Possible to trust or Confide in a man Supposing he may a Person of Skile & Judgement, which as for very far, from the Case, who alays first & Says tis this inconsistant with himself 7 Sleigh Williams the Gardiner comes home as on the Nedderkirk where he works for his Papage, he is a Sotte & expencively lewd & Vicious & tis what the french call an Ihaqueneau & for this & the other reason mentioned in our Consultations of the 3 & 26 February last & 9th instant wee have been obliged to discharge him 8 We have drawn three Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honrs Vizt One Sett Payable to Chris Wode Esqr or Order for the Sum of £100.--„ Sterg for the like of Mr Ints Greenhill, & the heirs of Geo Coulson dead for the like Sum paid into Your Honrs Cash here by mess John Godwin & Georg Doveton & & of the 5 Grace Coulson 9 One Sett Payable to Jn Godwin or Order for the Sum of £100. Sterg for the like Sum due to him in Yr Book of Accts here 10 One other Sett payable to Hugh Williams or Order for the Sum of £618. Sterg for the like Sum & Yc due to him in Yr Book of Accts here they are all dated the 9 instant & since humbly pray your Acceptance of them 11 In a box directed to the Secretary wee have Sent Your Honrs Several Parcells of Earth upon which the Fortification of the Battery at Rieles Cap Valley is built & tis as firm as Rock & besides these they are extreamly & & or Slakes of Several Guns at Rieles Cap Battery which proves the want of design for more & wee are Yr Honrs & Servants	One remark only, namely, that Mr Gascherie was in hopes to get £1,500 0s 0d for repairing the fortifications at Rupert's. The Council was of opinion that they ought to be repaired. But when it was told that the Council would send home its bond, and many demurs upon it, the engineer changed his note, and said he thought they ought not to be repaired. Therefore the Council humbly left it to the Court how it was disposed to trust or confide in a man, supposing him to be a person of skill and judgement, which he was far, very far, from. Mr Gascherie, who played fast and loose, was thus inconsistent with himself. 7: Sleigh Williams, the gardener, since he came here on the *Newcastle*, when he took his passage, had been excessively idle and idiom, and this was what the French called Fainéant. For this, and the other reasons mentioned in the Council's consultations of the 3rd and 26th of February last, and of the 7th of this month, it had been obliged to discharge him. 8: The Council had drawn three sets of bills of exchange upon the Court, namely: One set payable to Duke Cripps, esquire, or order, for the sum of £60 0s 0d, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books of accounts there. One set payable, for the use of Mr Greenhill and the heirs of Grace Coulson deceased, for the like sum, paid into the Court's cash here by Messrs John Goodwin and Jonathan Doveton, executors of the said Grace Coulson. 9: One set payable to Mr Goodwin or order, for the sum of £200 0s 0d, for the like sum due to him in the Court's book of accounts there. 10: One set payable to Sleigh Williams or order, for the sum of £618 0s 0d, for the like sum also due to him in the Court's book of accounts there. They were all dated the 15th of this month. The Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance of them. 11: In a box directed to the secretary, the Council had sent the Court several parcels of earth, upon which the fortification of the battery at Turk's Cap Valley was built. It was as firm as rock, and besides these there were bags of stakes, or flakes, of several guns at Rupert's, which battery, and which proved the want of them, and desire for more, if ever guns were wanted. St Helena, 25 December 1734. The Council added that, notwithstanding the captains had used all the rice and part of the sugar for their ships' companies, yet as they had paid the Council for it, it had delivered them their bills of lading. **Interpretations**

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		St Helena 25 Decr 1734 Your most Obedient humble Servants P.S. Notwithstanding the Captains have Used all the Rice & Paddy & great part of the Sugar for their Ships Company yet as they have paid Us for it here wee have delivered them their Bills of Lading	The engineer Gascherie's inconsistency in the first paragraph, changing his opinion on the Rupert's repairs the moment the cost was questioned, completes the Council's charge against him, the man who played fast and loose exposed by his own reversal. The account belongs to the standing case built against a suspect officer, the Council leaving the Court to judge how far to trust a hand whose judgement bent with his interest, the same distrust that had ended in his dismissal. The samples of earth sent home in paragraph 11, the firm rock-like ground on which the Turk's Cap battery was built, continue the standing practice of proving a matter by physical exhibit, the specimen carried home to show the Court the strength of the works the inhabitants had raised. The technique follows the long habit of returning defective stock and mineral samples as evidence, the tangible proof laid before the Court where the written report alone might not carry. The bills of exchange in paragraphs 8 to 10 worked the standing device of the cashless island, drafts on the Court answered against sums due in the books and cash paid in at St Helena, the executors of Grace Coulson lodging money that crossed home as a claim. The set for Greenhill and Coulson's heirs continues the running care over the estates and effects of absent and deceased parties, the same trust money remitted by the paper that carried value the coin could not. The delivery of the bills of lading in the closing note, though the captains had consumed the rice and sugar, shows the Council settling the account on payment rather than on delivery of the goods themselves, the bill of lading discharged once the money was in. The care over the ships' accounts ties into the standing enforcement over consignments, the Council here releasing the document because the payment, not the provisions, was what its books required. **Speculations** The Council chose to leave the Court to judge the engineer's trustworthiness rather than merely record his dismissal. The first paragraph sets his hope of £1,500 0s 0d for the Rupert's repairs against his abrupt reversal once the cost was challenged, the man contradicting himself the moment his bond was threatened. What decided the Council to press the point was the reversal itself, plainer proof of a want of judgement than any failed plan, so it laid his inconsistency before the Court as the measure of the man, choosing to let his own about-face condemn him rather than rest the case on the technical failings alone.
259	251	Honble Sirs. 28 January 1734 1 The Decker, Bradford & Newcastle left Us on the 24 Decr last & wee hope they will Arrive Safe in England they inclosed is a Copy of the Letter wee then wrote to Your Honrs. On the 11 instant late in the Evening the Princess Amelia, Royal Guardian, Mary, & Prince Augustus arrived here from India but last from the Cape, where they met three Dutch Ships Outward bound & about 13 homeward bound & by the former they heard that the Affairs of Europe were Still in a very Unsettled Posture but nither England or Holland had yet declared themselves, they Mary & they & Guardian brought Us a little Supply from	Honoured Sirs, 28 January 1735. The *Derby*, the *Briton* and the *Newcastle* left the island on the 24th of December last, and the Council hoped they were arrived safe in England. Enclosed the Council sent the Court a copy of the letter it then wrote. On the 11th of this month, late in the evening, the *Princess Amelia*, the *Royal Guardian*, the *Mary* and the *Prince Augustus* arrived here from India, but last from the Cape, where they met three Dutch ships outward bound. About the 13th, homeward bound by the former, they heard that the affairs of Bengal were still in a very unsettled posture. But neither England nor Holland had yet declared themselves. The *Mary* they at Guardian brought the Council a little supply, from whom, the particulars, the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 15th of this month. But the *Prince Augustus* did not bring the Council anything from Madras. 2: The weather still continued very dry, and all the plants everywhere failed, except the Court's own,

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		Bombay & this to your Honrs wile See in our Consultation of the 15 instant but the Prince Augustus did not bring us any thing from Madrass 2 The Weather Still continues very dry, & all the Plants every where fees fresh your own which are in good order & very dry & Catle die a pace & many of them are & Salyed with as Swelling under their Throales & hardly one in an hundred of them & that Scyd recover, Our People too begin to grow Sickly especially the Blacks Several of them are much worn out & of Order & wee & unable to work all the Longboats Crew except one are Sick, two others of Your Blacks are dangerously ill & Seven or Eight of those who work at Ruperts are laid up which has a little retarded those repairs but in a few days wee hope they wile again be fit for Labour. Many of the White Catle are & their & indisputed & wee lost by Cold one of them Bagley & so the Carpinter is thought broke his heart for the Loss of this Son who Ranaway up on the Bedford 3 In the Night of the 2 instant the Sepions House fell down to the Ground, it was Slightly built at first & tis in many Years past has been much out of repair the Roof was the Sicypure was covered only with Slit Deals & this in fade lined with the Same so that it was impossible it Should Stand long, the Barrels tho of Small Value wee wile Ust of Estory but the Stone, & Ironwork the Govt has Secured to be Used upon Some other Occasion for the benefit of your Honrs & wee & at present wee & must not think of building this or any thing else because Repairing the Fortifications at Ruperts takes most of Our time, & all the hands that can be & at & and & from & Storeeceffary busy & Sest for want & of more help wile be Something tedious but wee are not deceased wee & goon with all the Expedition & Success that can be Expected from Such & wee at & Number which wee & hint & here, Yr Honrs wile take into & & Explanation & we & Ineed to furnish us with a Sufficient Money & &	which were in good order. Nearby, great numbers of cattle died apace, many of them being seized with a swelling under their arms, and hardly one in a hundred of those thus seized recovered. The Council's people too began to grow sickly, especially the slaves, several of them being much out of order. It should be able to work all the longboats' crews except one, and those were sick. Two others of the Court's slaves were dangerously ill, and several other slighter ones. Those who worked at Rupert's were laid up, which had a little retarded that repair. But in a few days the Council hoped they would again be fit for labour. Many of the white people were sick, and undoubtedly the cold had killed one of them, Bagley senior, the carpenter, who was thought broke his heart for the loss of his son who ran away up the country. 3: On the night of the 2nd of this month the storehouse fell down to the ground. It was slightly built at first, and for many years past had been much out of repair. The roof was the reason. The building was covered only with old deal, the timber lined with the same, so that it was impossible it should stand long. The boards were of so small a value that they were all lost, except the stone and ironwork, which the Court had secured to be used upon some other occasion. For the benefit of the Court's own thoughts at present, the Council must not think of building this or anything else, because repairing the fortifications at Rupert's took most of its time. And all the hands that could be spared from thence being necessary, and it being for want of more help, would be something to do less. But it went on with all the expedition and success that could be expected from such small numbers which it had here. If the Court would take into consideration and be pleased to furnish it with a sufficient supply [...] **Interpretations** The swelling under the arms killing the cattle in paragraph 2, hardly one in a hundred recovering, marks a distemper among the herds beyond the mere want of pasture, the drought now compounded by disease. The failure of the plants everywhere but on the Court's own ground ties the loss to the same relentless dry seasons that had ruined the inhabitants, the Court's stock and crops carried through by care where all else failed. The sickness among the slaves in paragraph 2, the longboat crews and the Rupert's hands laid up, ties the retarding of the fortification works not only to the want of hands but to the failing health of those it had, the same mortality that had long thinned the Court's people. The dangerous illness of several slaves continues the standing thread of a labour force the island could not do without and could not keep well, the works held back by the sickness as much as by the shortage. The fall of the storehouse in paragraph 3, slightly built and long out of repair, its old deal roof and lining making it impossible it should stand, completes the running account of the decayed store the Council had earlier reported falling to pieces and needing to be rebuilt out of hand. The saving of the stone and ironwork for another occasion, and the deferral of any rebuilding while Rupert's claimed the hands, ties the loss to the standing competition for scarce labour, the collapsed store left unbuilt because the defence could not wait. The carpenter Bagley's death in paragraph 2, thought to have broken his heart over his runaway son, ties the loss of a skilled hand to the standing want of building craft the island endured, the same shortage that had left it without carpenters at Maynard's and Cleeve's departure. The death continues the long thread of the mortality among the

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			establishment, the skilled men hardest to replace falling as the season pressed. **Speculations** The Council chose to leave the fallen storehouse unbuilt and keep its hands at the Rupert's fortifications rather than raise the store again at once. Paragraph 3 sets the collapsed storehouse against the defence works that took most of the Council's time, the hands too few for both. What decided the deferral was the standing priority of the defence in a time of feared war, so the Council secured the stone and ironwork against a future occasion and let the store lie, choosing to press the fortifications the enemy at its gates demanded over rebuilding a store the drought and the war together made the lesser want.
260	252	4 In our Consultation of the 14 instant Your Honrs will See that the & Polly & so out of Our Blacks was accused & Convict of & fishing of Sixty one Guiny & Merely the Ihrhval of which they wch Convict was Seyed on his Ihdyage which together with & horn of the Country & fit Beynin & med upon a bench where he had been Sleeping being able to have dropt out of his Pockets & so herewith Send your Honrs out as the proof was not So Sufficient to fix the Matter upon him wee dismist him. & would be to do he & the sinafter or be justly Suspected to & so wee wile take Care to put a Stem to his Boggery & so ho him to Bencooen 5 On the 17 instant the Head of the Main pin & Ihd of our Crane was Strained & broke by lifting an Anchor into the Longboat of the Royal Guardian & for want of Timber wee cannot repair it, & their parts of Ihmuch decayed by length of time for it has been Standing upward of Sixteen Years but, as one apprindto your Honrs & pre for want of Timber wee cannot Repair thep or ather, the Sorts wanting for this part of & Your Honrs will See in our Consultation of the 5 instant & 6 We have already acquited of the two Anchors Your Honrs last Sent by the William & Ihn Radare & Capt Bradley the other & Since they go off so fast & Iwy so appfell wee as our next order & Send at pre & more, & for the Same, wee humbly hope your Honrs will Send at least a Couple of Cables for they are often wanted & enquired after by the & spur & Safety of a Ship may at one time or ather depend thereon 7 Three of these Ships have each of them brought Us a Small Supply of Sallad Suds which wee wile take care to Use to the best advantage & Governour Cowan of Bombay having heard that the Coca Nutts which Capt Roatts brought Us from the Coast of Ballabar are likely to thrive well here, he has Sent Us an Other large Parcell in Casks which are hone will prove of great benefit to this place, wee have already planted them about & will take care to transplant them in all convenient parts of the Island as Soon as they come, up & are likely to grow	4: In its consultation of the 14th of this month the Court would find that Thomas Holt, put out of the Council's service, was accused of pretty pilfering of provisions. Since the arrival, several of them had been found in his lodgings, which, together with several parcels of the country provisions, were found upon a bench where he had been sleeping. Some were thought to have dropped out of his pockets. Herewith the Council sent the Court, but as the proof was not sufficient to fix the matter upon him, it dismissed him. Should he do the like hereafter, or be justly suspected, the Council would take care to put a stop to his pilfering, and ship him to Bencoolen. 5: On the 18th of this month the head of the main standard of the Council's crane was strained and broke, by lifting an anchor into the longboat of the *Royal Guardian*. For want of timber the Council could not repair it, the other parts being much decayed by length of time, for it had been standing upwards of eighteen years. As the Council had before observed to the Court, for want of timber it could not repair these or other things wanting for this purpose. The Court would see this in the Council's consultation of the 15th of this month. 6: The Council had already acquired of the two anchors the Court last sent, one by Captain William Upton, the other by Captain Lindley. But since they went off so fast, the Council, to supply, was of opinion that at the very next order to Bencoolen for more guns, and so on, it humbly hoped the Court would send at least a couple of cables, for they were often wanted and enquired after, the safety of a ship at one time or other depending thereon. 7: Three of these ships had each of them brought the Council a small supply of salad seeds, which it would take care to use to the best advantage. Governor Cowan of Bombay, having heard that the coffee nuts which Captain Roothe brought the Council from the coast of Malabar were likely to thrive well here, had sent it another large parcel in casks, which the Council hoped would prove of great benefit to the island. It had already planted them all out, and would take care to transplant them in all convenient parts of the island as soon as they came up and were likely to grow. 8: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange upon the Court for the sum of £10 0s 0d sterling, dated the 25th of this month and payable to Anna Fout or order, for the like sum paid into the Court's cash here, upon account of the heirs of the late John Fout, esquire, deceased, of which the Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance. **Interpretations** The dismissal of Thomas Holt in paragraph 4, the provisions found in his lodging but the proof too slight to convict, shows the same evidentiary caution the Council had long exercised as a court bound by

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		8 We have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honrs for the Sum of £110.--„ Sterling & so dated the 25 Instant & Payable to Anna Doat or Order for the like Sum paid into Your Honrs Cash here upon Acct of the heirs of the late John Sohn Smith Esqr & received of who wee humbly pray your Honrs Acceptance	its own rules, unwilling to fix a charge it could not fully prove. The threat to ship him to Bencoolen on a further offence continues the standing use of the transfer between stations to dispose of troublesome persons, the same disposal held over Isaac Bowers and Sleigh Williams. The strained crane in paragraph 5, broken lifting an anchor after eighteen years' standing and unrepairable for want of timber, ties the island's failing works to the standing shortage of building material, the same want that had left the storehouse to fall and the fortifications short. The crane, essential to the watering and the loading of ships, joins the long thread of a settlement whose scarce timber could neither replace nor mend the works it depended on. The coffee sent by Governor Cowan of Bombay in paragraph 7, a large parcel of nuts in casks planted out in hopes of a crop, continues the standing effort to raise coffee at the island, the same scheme that had earlier sought old plants from Bombay and the west coast. The transplanting to all convenient parts ties into the wider improvement programme, the eastern stations supplying the living stock the island could not breed true, the coffee joining the yams and garden trade in the long attempt at self-supply. The renewed plea for cables in paragraph 6, the two anchors soon gone and a ship's safety depending on the ground tackle, continues the standing naval-stores reserve thread, the Court pressed to keep cables and anchors at the island against the demand of passing ships. The request to include them in the next order to Bencoolen shows the same effort to build a stock that would both refit the fleet and draw the trade, the ground tackle wanting where a ship's safety hung on it. **Speculations** The Council chose to dismiss Thomas Holt rather than punish him, the proof of his pilfering being too slight to fix the charge. Paragraph 4 sets the suspicion, provisions found in his lodging and dropped from his pockets, against the insufficiency of the evidence to convict. What decided the Council to let him go with only a warning was its standing character as a court bound by its rules of proof, so rather than punish on suspicion it dismissed him and held the threat of Bencoolen over a further offence, choosing to guard the fairness of its justice over securing a conviction the evidence could not sustain.
261	253	9 In our Packet wee Send Capt Bradley first Bill of Exchange, for £83.4.1½ being the Ballance of his acct drawn upon Mr Tho Locker & the rest of the parts Owners of the Ship Royal Guardian, they are dated his day We are Honble Sirs St Helena 28 Janry 1734 Your most faithfull & Obedient Servants P.S. On the 21 instant a Single Ship past by to Leward thought to be a Dane or the french Ship from Mocho.	9: In its packet the Council sent Captain Bradley's first bill of exchange for £83 4s 1½d, being the balance of his account, drawn upon Mr Thomas Locker and the rest of the part-owners of the ship *Royal Guardian*. They were dated this day. The Council was, and so on. St Helena, 28 January 1735. The Council added that, on the 21st of this month, a single ship passed by to leeward, thought to be a Dane or the French ship from Mocha. **Interpretations** The bill of exchange for £83 4s 1½d in paragraph 9, drawn to Captain Bradley on the part-owners of the *Royal Guardian* for the balance of his account, worked the standing device by which the island settled a commander's due, a draft on the owners at home answered against the account struck at St Helena. The first bill sent apart continues the standing documentary protection, each half of no effect until its fellow reached the drawee, the paper carrying the value the coin could not across the divide. The single ship passed by to leeward in the postscript, thought a Dane or the French ship from

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			Mocha, continues the standing watch against foreign shipping the Council kept, the passing sail noted and guessed at in a time of feared war. The uncertainty of her nation ties into the same vigilance that had tracked the Dutch and French ships through the season, every vessel marked as it crossed the island's view.
262	254	Honble Sirs 1 The Prince Augustus, Royall Guardian Princess Louisa & Mary left us on the 28th January last & wee hope are got Safe to England, on the 28th Febuary a Single Ship past by Us, on the 14th instant Capt Small Arrived from Bencoolen & brought Us a large Cargo 1050 Gallons of very bad Arrack, Such that at present is altogether unfit for Use, & Capt Bagwell met with no Success in his Madagascar Voyage so that wee continue in the Same distress for help to forward the Fortifi cations as wee did before he is got Safe to Bengall where Capt Pitt of the George lately died of the Gout, on the 20th instant a Danish Ship called the Sleswig of about 900 Ton 36 Guns & 150 Men arrived here directly from China desiring Water & Provisions & after wee had Examined the Captains Commission which is Signed by the King of Denmark, Counterfigned by Monsr P. Neve & dated the 6th Octr 1733 their Stile wee Suffered her to come in having before brought her to an Anchor off Bankes to prevent Surprize your Ship Lyell being in the road, the Captain whose name is William de Brouwer & the supracargos who are the Heers Jochim Severin Bonfack, Hans Christian Algod & Hans Brun, tell Us they left Mocho on the 19th December last & that Capt Hudson arrived at Canton the 1st of Septr from Amoy having met with Disappointments at this latter place & Designed to Sail from thence with Capt Martin about having a Tast & Smell so Offensive that the Inhabitants find great fault with it & at the Current Rate refuse to buy it & therefore wee will keep it some time longer but rather than not Sell it wee will put it of at a lower rate it being Such that wee know will not do at London.	Honoured Sirs, The *Prince Augustus*, the *Royal Guardian*, the *Princess Louisa* and the *Mary* left the island on the 28th of January last, and the Council hoped they were got safe to England. On the 28th of February a single ship passed by. On the 14th of this month Captain Small arrived from Bencoolen, and brought the Council a large cargo of 1,050 gallons of very bad arrack, such that at present it was altogether unfit for use, having a taste and smell so offensive that the inhabitants found great fault with it. At the current rate they refused to buy it, and therefore the Council would keep it some time longer. But rather than not sell it, it would put it off at a lower rate, it being such that the Council knew would not do at London. Captain Bagwell met with no success in his Madagascar voyage, so that the Council continued in the same distress for help to forward the fortifications as it was before. He was got safe to Bengal, where Captain Pitt of the *George* lately died of the gout. On the 20th of this month a Danish ship called the *Sleswig*, of about 400 tons, 36 guns and 150 men, arrived here directly from China, desiring water and provisions. But after the Council had examined the captain's commission, which was signed by the King of Denmark and countersigned by Monsieur P. Heve, and dated the 6th of October 1733, and their title, the Council suffered her to come in, having before brought her to an anchor off Bank's, to prevent surprise, the Council's ship the *Lyell* being in the road. The captain, whose name was William de Brouwer, and the supercargoes, who were the heirs Jochim Severin Bonfack, Hans Christian Algod and Hans Brun, told the Council they left Mocha on the 19th of December last, and that Captain Hudson arrived at Canton the 1st of September from Amoy, having met with disappointments at this latter place, and meant to sail from there with Captain Martin about ten [...] **Interpretations** The very bad arrack brought by Captain Small in the first paragraph, 1,050 gallons unfit for use with an offensive taste and smell, continues the standing supply grievance and the private trade in liquor the Council had long managed, the goods so poor the inhabitants would not buy them at the current rate. The resolve to sell at a lower price rather than not at all, the arrack unfit even for London, ties into the standing effort to clear defective stock the eastern settlements sent, the poor cargo shifted at a loss rather than left on the island's hands. The examination of the Danish *Sleswig* in the third paragraph, admitted only after her commission and title were found in order and brought first to anchor off Bank's to prevent surprise while the Court's ship lay in the road, sharpens the standing caution against foreign shipping in a time of feared war. The care to keep her from the road until her papers were verified ties into the same vigilance that had tracked the Dutch and French ships, the neutral vessel suffered in only once her title was proved. Captain Bagwell's failed Madagascar voyage in the second paragraph, leaving the Council in the same want of labour to forward the fortifications, ties the defence programme directly to the standing shortage of hands the drought, the sickness and the drain to

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			Bencoolen had all deepened. The failure of the slave supply continues the long thread by which the works at Rupert's were held back, the labour that would have manned them not to be got. The shipping intelligence in the third paragraph, the movements of Hudson and Martin between Canton, Amoy and Mocha, belongs to the standing account of the eastern trade the Council gathered from its calling ships, the news carried as each vessel brought word. The unsettled state of Bengal and the movements of the China ships continue the long practice of laying the fleet's intelligence before the Court, the more pressing in a season when war threatened the passage. **Speculations** The Council chose to keep the bad arrack rather than sell it at once at the current rate the inhabitants refused. The first paragraph sets the resolve to hold it some time longer against the alternative of putting it off at a lower rate, the liquor so offensive the people would not buy it and unfit even for London. What decided the Council to wait was the hope of a better price, so rather than dump defective stock at a loss immediately it held the arrack in reserve, resolved to lower the rate only if it must, choosing to test the market before conceding the loss on goods it knew would not do at home.
263	255	Ten days after the Sleswig, but intended to put into the Cape in order to learn Some News from Europe 2 After the terrible Apprehensions which wee have lain under for many Months past for want of rain wee have now the pleasure to Acquaint you that the Season begun with the Month of February & has proved as good as any that has happened for many Years past so that in its due time wee Shale have plenty of all Such things as this Island Produces, every thing being in as florishing a Condition as can be expected thus early in the Year 3 The Books for the Year ending the 30th of Sept last are Ballanced & are so far Copied that Your Honours Shall be Sure to have them by the next Ship. You will observe by them that the Gross Charge of the last exceeds a little the Expence of the Year before occasioned cheifly by the number of Recruits Your Honours Sent over for wee are as frugal in the Management of all Your Affairs as is possible the Gross Charge of the Year 1733 was £4369.13.3½ the Expence of last Year is £4889.15.10½ the other Usual annual Lists & Accounts are preparing & Shale be Speedily Sent but the General Books being of most Consequence wee have taken care to have them ready first The Rents due to Your Honours for the last Year Amounted to £361.15.--½ of this they paid £79.16.6¾ in Cash the other was discharged by their Blacks Labour or other little Credit in the Books 4 The Gentlemen who Wintered at Mascarine & Capt Pennell from Mocho having given the Governour some Coffee	Ten days after the *Sleswig*, but meant to put into the Cape in order to learn some news from Europe. 2: After the terrible apprehensions the Council had lain under for many months past for want of rain, it now had the pleasure to acquaint the Court that the season began with the month of February, and had proved as good as any that had happened for many years past. So that in its due time the island would have plenty of all such things as it produced, everything being in as flourishing a condition as could be expected thus early in the year. 3: The books for the year ending the 30th of September last were balanced, and were so far copied that the Court would be sure to have them by the next ship. The Court would observe by them that the gross charge of the last exceeded a little the expense of the year before, occasioned chiefly by the number of recruits the Court had sent over. The Council was as frugal in the management of all the Court's affairs as possible. The gross charge of the year 1733 was £4,369 13s 3½d, the expense of last year £4,889 15s 10¾d. The other usual annual lists and accounts were preparing, and should be speedily sent. But the general books, being of most consequence, the Council had taken care to have them ready first. The rents due to the Court for the last year amounted to £361 15s 0½d. Of this the inhabitants paid £172 16s 6¾d in cash, the other was discharged by their slaves' labour or other little credit in the books. 4: The gentlemen who wintered at Mascarene, and Captain Pennell from Mocha, having given the Governor some coffee [...] **Interpretations** The breaking of the drought in paragraph 2, the season begun in February and proving as good as any in years, at last relieves the long thread of dearth that had run through letter after letter, the island restored to plenty after the terrible apprehensions of the failed seasons. The flourishing condition thus early in the year ties into the standing dependence of the whole settlement on the rain, the same want that had killed the cattle, ruined the plantations and driven the rent petitions now answered by the returning fertility. The gross charge risen a little in paragraph 3, £4,889 15s 10¾d against £4,369 13s 3½d, laid

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			chiefly to the recruits the Court sent over, continues the standing account of the island's frugal management under the reformed bookkeeping, the yearly charge balanced and explained against the prior figure. The care to have the general books ready first belongs to the long effort to keep the accounts current and in the Court's required form, the record maintained against the pressure of a thinly staffed office. The rents of £361 15s 0½d in paragraph 3, only £172 16s 6¾d paid in cash and the rest in slaves' labour or book credit, tie the revenue directly to the debt grip and the standing recovery in kind, the cashless people discharging their rents by work where coin failed. The mechanism continues the long policy of pressing the inhabitants with mildness, the labour taken in lieu of money the same means by which the Council had long recovered what a poor settlement could not pay. The coffee given the Governor in paragraph 4, by the gentlemen from Mascarene and Captain Pennell from Mocha, continues the standing effort to raise coffee at the island, the same scheme that had lately received a parcel of nuts from Governor Cowan of Bombay. The gathering of stock from every quarter ties into the wider improvement programme, the living plants sought from the eastern islands and ports the island could not itself breed true. **Speculations** The Council chose to have the general books ready and sent before the other annual lists and accounts. Paragraph 3 sets the general books against the usual lists still preparing, the Council explaining that it took care to complete the former first. What decided the order was the greater consequence of the general books, the balanced yearly account by which the Court judged the island's management, so rather than send all the papers together the Council prioritised the record that mattered most to the Court, dispatching the frugal reckoning it made its constant boast ahead of the subsidiary lists that could follow by a later ship.
264	256	Seeds he has planted a few of them in the Garden which are already come up & Sum to thrive kindly, & to each of the Inhabi tants who have Ground fit for them he gave some & with many of them they came up finely but have been Generally destroyed with the worms nevertheless they are trying again & there is more likelehood than ever of Raifing the Seed being fresh & Good its needless to tell Your Honours if they happen to hit & Encrease how beneficial it wile be to the Inhabitants 5 Enclosed together with a Copy of our Letter of the 28th January last wee Send Capt Hoadly 2d Bill of Exchange upon Mr Sochin for £83.4.1½ & have also drawn one Sett of Bills upon Your Honours for the Sum of £534.16.3 Sterling dated this day & payable to Jonathan Doveton or order for the like Sum by him this day paid into Your Cash here of which wee humbly pray Your acceptance 6 Wee likewise Send Your Honours the first Bill upon the Danish Company or Mr John Collett Merchant in London dated this day & payable to Your Honours or order in London £66.7.6 Sterling & the Storeship being hourly expected wee forbear to trouble Your Honours with any thing farther	Seeds, he had planted a few of them in the garden, which were already come up, and some to thrive kindly, and to each of the inhabitants who had ground fit for them he gave some. Though many of them came up finely, they had been generally destroyed with the worms. Even so, they were trying again, and there was more likelihood than ever of raising the seed, being fresh and good. It was needless to tell the Court, if they happened to hit and increase, how beneficial it would be to the inhabitants. 5: Enclosed, together with a copy of its letter of the 28th of January last, the Council sent Captain Hoadley's second bill of exchange upon Mr Lochin for £83 4s 1½d. It had also drawn one set of bills upon the Court for the sum of £534 16s 3d sterling, dated this day and payable to Jonathan Doveton or order, for the like sum by him this day paid into the Court's cash here, of which the Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance. 6: The Council likewise sent the Court the first bill upon the Danish Company, or Mr John Collet, merchant in London, dated this day and payable to the Court or order in London for £56 7s 6d sterling. The store ship being hourly expected, the Council forbore to trouble the Court with anything further at this time. It was, and so on. St Helena, 29 March 1735. The Council added that the Danish ship was now under sail. **Interpretations**

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		at this time. We are Honble Sirs &ca St Helena 29th of March 1735 P.S. The Danish Ship is now under Sail	The coffee seeds planted but destroyed by worms in the first paragraph, tried again in hopes of a crop, continue the standing effort to raise coffee at the island, the parcels from Bombay, Mascarene and Mocha distributed to every inhabitant with fit ground. The persistence despite the worms ties into the wider improvement programme, the living stock sought from the eastern quarters and pressed on the planters, the benefit to the inhabitants held out as the reward if the plants at last took. The bills of exchange in paragraphs 5 and 6 worked the standing device of the cashless island, drafts on the Court and on the Danish Company answered against cash paid in at St Helena, Jonathan Doveton lodging money that crossed home as a claim. The bill on the Danish Company or John Collet in London, for the supplies furnished the *Sleswig*, continues the standing care to remit the paper by which a foreign ship's debt was made good, the two halves sent apart across the perilous passage. The store ship hourly expected in paragraph 6, for which the Council forbore to trouble the Court further, ties into the standing dependence on the yearly supply from England, the same ship whose arrival the Council had awaited through letter after letter. The deferral of further matter until it came shows the island's business paced by the arrival of its shipping, the correspondence held for the news and the cargo the store ship would bring.
265	257	Honble Sirs. 30 April 1735. The Lyell & the Danish Ship left us on the 29 of the last Month & on the 13 instant the Goiffin & the Garrison arrived here from China but last from the Cape where they called in hopes to get Intelligence of the State of Affairs in Europe & yet could learn nothing more than they had heard before & wee Saile under great Apprehensions of Danger the long & Unusual Stay of the Store Ship giving them reason to Suspick a Ship, We hear that the Stock of the Danish Ship was very Small not amounting to twenty thousand Pounds which the Supra Cargos were directed to lay out in Sugar & Chinaware but Tea happening to be extreamly cheap they invested most of it in that Comodity together with one thousand pound more which they borrowed of the Chinese Merchants at fifty ℔ Cent the rest of their Cargo Consisted of a little Chinaware & Tutteneg, there were five Outward bound dutch Ships at the Cape one of them left Plymouth in Novr last who had met with long Passages & who Se under the Line two other Outward bound Ships which they thought were English but Spoke with neither of them & this is all the News wee are able to Send & the & Honr about Shipping & having already in our Several Letters of this & the last Year given You a perfect Account of all Your Affairs at this place wee Shale hardly have any thing material to lay before you till the Storeship Arrives which for the Sake of Yr returning Shipping wee daily expect with great Anxiety & Impatience We herewith Send Your Honours the Second Bill upon the Danish Comp & Mr Jn Collett Merchant in London for £66.7.6 Sterling, One Sett of Books for the Year Ending the 30 Sept 1734 the Gross Charge of which is £4889.13.10¾ & all the other Papers & Accounts mentioned in the List of our Packet	Honoured Sirs, 30 April 1735. The *Lyell* and the Danish ship left the island on the 29th of last month. On the 13th of this month the *Grafton* and the *Harrison* arrived here from China, but last from the Cape, where they called in hopes to get intelligence of the state of affairs in Europe. But they could learn nothing more than they had heard before. They sailed under great apprehensions of danger, from the long and unusual stay of the store ship. Giving the Council reason to expect a ship, it heard that the stock of the Danish ship was very small, not amounting to twenty thousand pounds, which the supercargoes were directed to lay out in sugar and chinaware. But tea happening to be extremely cheap, they invested most of it in that commodity, together with one thousand pounds more, which they borrowed of the Chinese merchants at fifty per cent. The rest of their cargo consisted of a little chinaware and nutmeg. There were five outward-bound Dutch ships at the Cape, one of them left Plymouth in November last, who had met with long passages. And the Council saw under the line two other outward-bound ships, which it thought were English, but spoke with neither of them. This was all the news the Council was able to send about shipping. Having already, in its annual letters of the 30th of last year, given the Court a perfect account of all its affairs at the island, it would hardly have anything material to lay before the Court till the store ship arrived, which, for the sake of the returning shipping, the Council daily expected with great anxiety and impatience. The Council herewith sent the Court the second bill upon the Danish Company, or Mr J. Collet, merchant in London, for £56 7s 6d sterling. It also sent one set of books for the year ending the 30th of September 1734, the gross charge of which was £4,889 15s 10¾d, with all the other papers and accounts mentioned in the list of the packet. **Interpretations** The store ship's long and unusual delay in the first paragraph, causing the China ships to sail under apprehension and the Council to await it with anxiety, ties into the standing dependence on the yearly supply from England, the same ship whose

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			arrival had been expected through letter after letter. The impatience for its coming, pressed for the sake of the returning shipping, continues the long concern that the fleet be refitted and supplied, the island's whole business paced by the vessel that did not come. The Danish ship's investment in cheap tea in the first paragraph, most of her small stock and a thousand borrowed pounds laid out at Canton, belongs to the shipping intelligence the Council gathered from its calling ships, the state of the China trade carried as each vessel brought word. The detail of the borrowing at fifty per cent shows the commercial workings the Council reported to the Court, the news of the eastern trade laid before it as a matter of standing interest. The second bill on the Danish Company in the closing paragraph, sent apart from the first for the supplies furnished the *Sleswig*, continues the standing documentary protection, each half of no effect until its fellow reached the drawee. The remittance by the paper that carried value the coin could not belongs to the long practice of settling a foreign ship's debt across the divide, the record maintained against the perils of the passage. The account of the outward Dutch and English ships in the first paragraph, tracked at the Cape and under the line, continues the standing watch against and report of foreign shipping the Council kept, the passing fleets marked as they crossed its view. The vessels spoken with or merely sighted belong to the long practice of laying the fleet's intelligence before the Court, the more pressing in a season when war threatened the passage and the store ship had not come.
266	258	The Season this Summer has been the best of any wee have had for Several Years past but as ill & partly happens after years & tho the Inhabitants are very Sickly & many of them have lately died both Whites & Blacks. We are Honble Sirs &ca P.S. Just as wee had finished what is above Written in order to dispatch the China Ships the Doahs arrived from Bengall & brings advice that the Ashtam is Unfortunately burnt but that Yr Honr are not great losers above 700 Bahs having been Saved before Capt Pitty left the Place, the fire happened through the Carelesness of a Quarter Master Since deceased who with a Candle went into the Gunroom for Some Cleaths he had thier & abouts an hour after he came up the & Fire was discovered but too Late to Save the Ship & tho the men are all happily preserved The Gentlemen who are now here were told at the Cape that the Danish Ship called the Sleswig from China was no other than an Ostend & fitted out from Copenhagen & though the had the King of Denmarks Commission which makes it very proper for Us to & Sie Your Honours will be pleased to give Us full Explain Directions how wee must behave in case any other Danish Ship Should touch here from China for wee never had an Instance of this Sort before but Danish Ships from Tranquebar have called here homewards bound one is the time of Govr Byfeld & one about two Years ago & wee & Silent & fully refresht here. The Dutch wee are told have determined not to allow Products to any Danish Ship except Such as Shale Arrive with them directly from Tranquebar & the Govr of the Cape declared that if this China Ship of which wee are now Speaking of had Called	The season this summer had been the best of any the Council had had for several years past. But as sickness commonly happened after great rains, the inhabitants were very sickly, and many of them had lately died, both whites and blacks. The Council was, and so on. Just as the Council had finished what was above written, in order to despatch the China ships, the *Drake* arrived from Bengal, and brought advice that the *Wortham* was unfortunately burnt. But the Court was not at a great loss, above 700 bales having been saved before Captain Pitt left the place. The fire happened through the carelessness of a Quarter Master Massey, since deceased, who with a candle went into the gunroom for some cloth. He had there thereabouts, and an hour after he came up, the fire was discovered. But too late to save the ship, though the men were all happily preserved. The gentlemen who were now here were told at the Cape that the Danish ship called the *Sleswig* from China was no other than an Ostender fitted out from Copenhagen, though she had the King of Denmark's commission, which made it very proper for the Council to know how the Court would be pleased to give it full and plain directions how it must behave, in case any other Danish ship should touch here from China. For the Council never had an instance of this sort before. But Danish ships from Tranquebar had called here homeward bound, one in the time of Governor Byfield, and one about two years ago, and were plentifully refreshed here. The Dutch, the Council was told, had determined not to allow provisions to any Danish ship except such as should arrive with them directly from Tranquebar. And the Governor of the Cape declared that if this China ship, of which the Council was now speaking, had called there [...] **Interpretations**

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			The suspicion that the Danish *Sleswig* was an Ostender in disguise in the third paragraph, fitted from Copenhagen under a Danish commission, sharpens the long enforcement of the Company monopoly against the interloping trade, the same shifting of flags by which the barred venturers evaded exclusion. The Council's plea for the Court's directions, having no precedent for a Danish China ship, ties into the standing caution against foreign shipping, the doubtful vessel admitted but its nation questioned in a matter the Court alone could settle. The burning of the *Wortham* in the second paragraph, fired by a quartermaster who took a candle into the gunroom for cloth, belongs to the standing account of the eastern trade's perils the Council gathered from its calling ships, the news of loss carried as each vessel brought word. The saving of 700 bales before the fire, and the preservation of the men, show the report the Council laid before the Court, the fate of the Court's shipping a matter of standing concern. The sickness after the rains in the first paragraph, the inhabitants dying both white and black just as the season turned fruitful, ties the relief of the drought to a new affliction, the health of the people failing as the plants revived. The mortality continues the standing thread of the island's unhealthiness, the same wet-season sickness that had long thinned the establishment, the return of the rain bringing its own distemper after the long dry. The Dutch refusal of provisions to Danish ships in the closing paragraph, save those from Tranquebar, shows the rival companies each guarding their trade against the interloping flags, the same enforcement the Council maintained. The Cape Governor's declaration against the disguised China ship ties into the wider pattern of the established powers acting against the unlicensed venturers, the Council's own caution set in the context of a general vigilance. **Speculations** The Council chose to refer the question of the disguised Danish ship to the Court rather than settle its treatment of such vessels itself. The third paragraph sets the doubt, the *Sleswig* suspected an Ostender under a Danish commission, against the Council's want of any precedent for a Danish China ship. What decided the referral was the novelty of the case and the difficulty of distinguishing a genuine neutral from an interloper in disguise, so rather than fix a rule on its own the Council laid the matter before the Court for plain directions, guarding itself against admitting a barred venturer while not turning away a ship whose commission might be lawful, the decision reserved for the body that could authorise it.
267	259	there She Should not have any Product, Capt Pelly at the distance of 150 Leagues from Land took up a Boat with Ten Blacks in her belonging to of the Maldive Islands called who wire drove out to Sea & near perishing having no more Provisions or Water left when he See them than about Ten pound of Rice & three Gallons of Water three of the Ten died onboard the other Seaven Vizt 5 Men one boy & one Woman he hath left here & wee Shall keep them at work for their Living till wee hear from Honours how they Shall be Sent back to their own Country, the Books mentioned in the Third Paragragh of this Letter are ready to come by this Ship, On the 27th instant a large Ship past by Us to the Northward which the Governour thinks was a Portuguez bound from Angola to the Brasils Since Sealing our other Letter of	There she should not have any provisions. Captain Pelly, at the distance of 150 leagues from land, took up a boat with ten blacks in her belonging to the Maldive Islands, who were driven out to sea and near perishing, having no more provisions or water left when he saw them than about ten pound of rice and three gallons of water. Three of the ten died on board, the other seven, namely five men, one boy and one woman, he had left here. The Council would keep them at work for their living till it heard from the Court how they should be sent back to their own country. The books mentioned in the third paragraph of this letter were ready to come by this ship. On the 27th of this month a large ship passed by to the northward, which the Governor thought was a Portuguese, bound from Angola to the Brazils. Since sealing its other letter of this date, Captain Pelly had paid into the Court's cash here the sum of

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		this date Capt Pelly has paid into Your Cash here the Sum of £26.17.6 Sterling upon Accounts of the late Govr John Smith Esqr died for which wee have given him one Set of Bills upon Your Honours dated this day of which wee beg Your Acceptance. Wee are Honble Sirs St Helena the 31st of April 1735 Your most faithfull & Obedient Servants	£26 17s 6d sterling, upon account of the late Governor John Smith, esquire, deceased, for which the Council had given him one set of bills upon the Court, dated this day, of which it asked the Court's acceptance. The Council was, and so on. St Helena, 31 April 1735. **Interpretations** The ten Maldive islanders taken up at sea in the first paragraph, driven out and near perishing on ten pounds of rice and three gallons of water, tie the relief given them to the plain humanity the Council extended a party in extremity, the same succour it gave a distressed ship. The keeping of the seven survivors at work for their living, pending the Court's direction how to send them home, shows the labour of the island turned to a chance arrival, the strangers set to earn their keep until they could be returned. The bill for £26 17s 6d in the closing paragraph, given Captain Pelly for money paid in on the late Governor Smith's account, continues the running care over the estates of the dead, the same matter as the effects of the Spaniard and the sums held for absent parties. The remittance by the paper that carried value the coin could not belongs to the standing means by which such a balance reached the parties at home, the island gathering and forwarding what the Court's books recorded due. The large ship thought a Portuguese bound from Angola to the Brazils in the first paragraph continues the standing watch against and report of foreign shipping the Council kept, the passing sail marked and guessed at as it crossed its view. The vessel's supposed course, the Angola slave traffic to the Brazils, ties into the wider account of the Atlantic and eastern trade the Council laid before the Court, every ship noted as it passed. The books ready to come by this ship in the first paragraph, the general accounts long prepared and now sent, tie into the standing effort to keep the record current and in the Court's required form, the same books whose priority the Council had earlier explained. The despatch of the frugal yearly reckoning continues the long practice of the documentary protection and the accountability the administration made its constant boast. **Speculations** The Council chose to keep the rescued Maldive islanders at work for their living rather than maintain them idle until they could be returned. The first paragraph sets the plain fact of seven strangers cast on the island against the Council's resolve to employ them till the Court directed how to send them home. What decided it was the island's standing want of hands and its habit of setting any arrival to earn its keep, so rather than bear the charge of feeding them for nothing the Council put the survivors to labour, turning a chance of the sea to the Court's small advantage while it awaited instruction on their return to their own country.
268	260	Honble Sirs. 1 The Grafton, Harrison & Drake & left us on the 30th of last Month in their way to England & Enclosed wee Send Your Honours Copies of the two General Letters wee then wrote one of them being only to give you advice of a Sett of Bills payable to Capt Belly for a Small Sum On the 6th instant Capt Broward Arrived from England with a large Bulkey Cargo for this place which took us up a few days more than are Allowed for unlading, but to do our Duty and Secure your Honours from any unreasonable Charge or Expence wee	Honoured Sirs, The *Grafton*, the *Harrison* and the *Drake* left the island on the 30th of last month on their way to England. Enclosed the Council sent the Court copies of the two general letters it then wrote, one of them being only to give the Court advice of a set of bills payable to Captain Pelly for a small sum. On the 6th of this month Captain Braund arrived from England with a large and bulky cargo for the island, which took the Council up a few days more than was allowed for unlading. But to do its duty, and secure the Court from any unreasonable charge or expense, on the morning the ten working days were expired the Council delivered him a protest for not unlading in time, a copy of which, together with the captain's

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		the morning of & so the ten working days were Expired delivered him a protest for not unlading in time a Copy of which together with the Capt Answer thereto Your Honours will find of the 20th of this Month Landing the Guns at Ruperts as Speedily as possible was a matter of Consequence & absolutely Necessary to be done & in Landing the whole Cargo notwithstand ing all possible diligence was Used both by & so ourselves & thm wee could not avoid giving the Owners a reasonable pretence to three days Demorage & after the Cargo was landed so much of our time was taken up in Stowing away the Goods & in giving directions for placing the Guns to the best Advantage that wee have been able to get leisure to answer your General Letter by this Ships & tis wee will be Sure to do very fully by the next Oppertunity	answer thereto, the Court would find of the 20th of this month. Landing the guns at Rupert's as speedily as possible was a matter of consequence, and absolutely necessary to be done. In landing the whole cargo, notwithstanding all possible diligence was used, both by the Council itself and by others, it could not avoid giving the owners a reasonable pretence to three days' demurrage. After the cargo was landed, so much of the Council's time was taken up in stowing away the goods, and in giving directions for placing the guns to the best advantage, that it had not been able to get leisure to answer the Court's general letter by these ships. But it would be sure to do it very fully by the next opportunity. **Interpretations** The protest against Captain Braund in this passage, delivered the morning the ten working days expired to guard the Court against a demurrage claim, belongs to the standing charter-party reform and the enforcement of the unlading term, the same device the Council had long used against masters who lay too long at the island. The care to enter the protest and keep the captain's answer continues the standing documentary protection, the record made to fix responsibility for any delay on the master rather than the Court. The guns landed at Rupert's in this passage, a matter of consequence and absolutely necessary, tie the labour of unlading directly to the fortification programme now pressed in a time of feared war, the same works the inhabitants had undertaken and the Court's guns were wanting to arm. The priority given to getting the ordnance ashore continues the long thread of the defence programme, the guns the very thing the Rupert's batteries had stood useless without. The three days' demurrage the Council could not avoid in this passage, despite all diligence in unlading the bulky cargo, exposes the practical limit of the charter-party term against a large consignment, the same difficulty the Council had long met when a ship could not be cleared in the ten days. The reasonable pretence given the owners shows the standing tension between the Court's guard against demurrage and the impossibility of the term, the delay conceded where the cargo would not be landed faster. The deferral of the full answer to the Court's letter in this passage, the Council's time taken up in stowing goods and placing guns, ties into the standing subordination of the correspondence to the immediate demands of the shipping and the defence. The promise to answer fully by the next opportunity continues the long practice of the paragraph-by-paragraph reply, the record made to wait on the pressing work of the store ship and the fortifications. **Speculations** The Council chose to concede three days' demurrage to the owners of Braund's ship rather than force the bulky cargo ashore faster than it could be landed. The passage sets the Court's guard against demurrage, and the protest duly entered, against the plain impossibility of clearing a large and bulky cargo within the ten working days. What decided the Council to allow the reasonable pretence was the priority of landing the guns at Rupert's and the sheer volume of the consignment, so it entered its protest for the record while accepting the delay, choosing to guard the Court's position on paper rather than pretend to a despatch the cargo and the defence together made impossible.
269	261	2 On the 10th instant the Mountague Dorset & George Arrived directly from India & on the 24th the Heathcote & Wilmington Arrived	2: On the 16th of this month the *Montague*, the *Dorset* and the *George* arrived directly from India. On the 24th the *Heathcote* and the *Wilmington* arrived

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		from Bombay but last from the Cape where they Stayed Seven days, Governour Pitt is on board the Mountague & Governour Cowan on board the Wilmington, the Mountague Spoke with Capt Bolton, & thought by the Course the Ship Steered that they also See the Mochoship Capt Wilkie but at a great distance the Supply brought Us by the Severall Ships Your Honours wile see in Our Consultations of the 12th & 24th of May 3 Our Consultation of the 28th of May & to which Governour Pitt & Governour Cowan were present relates to the Son & the Affair of Spanish Gentlemen who a few years ago died here, this boy wile be delivered to Your Honours by the Spanish Gentlemen, who are passengers upon the Heathcote, & the papers belonging to his father that wee have been able to recover for wee have reason to beleive that Bates has Used much foule play is this Busyness wee have transmitted to you in our large Packett along with one Sett of Books for the Year ending the 30th Sept 1734, As its likely Your Honours will have Occasion to peruse Such Consultations as relates to the Spaniard & Bates wee to Save trouble name them out, they are of the 7th of April & 3 & 4 of May 1732 of the 17 & 24 April 21 & 23 of August 4.11 & 25 Sept & 2d & 4th of Octr 1733. 4 In Our Packett wee also Send Your Honours Copies of all those papers which were formerly laid before You relating to the Case of Richard Beale & the Heir of Gabriel	from Bombay, but last from the Cape, where they stayed seven days. Governor Pitt was on board the *Montague*, and Governor Cowan on board the *Wilmington*. The *Montague* spoke with Captain Bolton, and thought, by the course the ship steered, that they also saw the Mocha ship, Captain Wilkie, but at a great distance. The supply brought the Council by the several ships, the Court would see in the Council's consultations of the 17th and 24th of May. 3: The Council's consultation of the 28th of May, at which Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan were present, related to the son, and the affair of the Spanish gentleman who a few years ago died here. The boy would be delivered to the Court by the Spanish gentlemen, who were passengers upon the *Heathcote*, and the papers belonging to his father that the Council had been able to recover. For it had reason to believe that Bates had used much foul play in this business. It had transmitted them to the Court in its large packet, along with one set of books for the year ending the 30th of September 1734. As it was likely the Court would have occasion to peruse such consultations as related to the Spaniard and Bates, the Council, to save trouble, named them, namely those of the 7th of April and the 5th and 6th of May 1732, of the 17th, 24th, 21st and 23rd of August, the 4th, 11th and 25th of September, and the 2nd and 4th of October 1733. 4: In its packet the Council would also send the Court copies of all those papers which were formerly laid before the Court relating to the case of Richard Beale, and the heirs of Gabriel Powell [...] **Interpretations** The Spaniard's son and papers in paragraph 3, delivered to the Court by the Spanish gentlemen on the *Heathcote* along with the recovered effects, mark the near-conclusion of the long-contested estate of the foreigner who died at Bates's house, the disputed goods and the heir gathered and sent home after years of dispute. The belief that Bates had used foul play, and the careful naming of every relevant consultation, continue the standing practice of building a documented record against a suspect party, the whole case laid before the Court in form. The two Governors present at the consultation in paragraph 3, Pitt and Cowan carried home on the calling ships and sitting on the Spaniard's affair, show the island as a point where the eastern service passed and its senior men lent weight to its business. The same use of visiting authority had grounded the fortification advice and the earlier hearings, the passing Governors here adding their presence to a contested estate the Court would judge. The case of Richard Beale and the heirs of Gabriel Powell in paragraph 4, the papers gathered and sent home, ties into the running matter of the disputed land the Council had earlier declined to settle without the Court's direction, the tainted trial in which Griffith acted for both sides. The transmission of the full record continues the standing care over contested titles, the Council forwarding the whole rather than reopening a judgement on its own authority. The naming of every consultation in paragraph 3, done to save the Court trouble in perusing the Spaniard's affair, belongs to the standing documentary reform and the ordered record the administration maintained, the consultations dated and indexed for the Court's use. The care to guide the Court through the papers continues the long effort to bring the island's government to a settled and accessible form, the record made to serve the body that would decide upon it. **Speculations**

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			The Council chose to name every relevant consultation on the Spaniard's affair rather than leave the Court to search the packet for them. Paragraph 3 sets the mass of transmitted papers against the Council's decision to list the dates that bore on the Spaniard and Bates. What decided it was the Council's wish to save the Court trouble and to press its own case that Bates had used foul play, so it guided the Court directly to the record that supported its charge, ordering the evidence for the body that would judge it rather than leaving a contested and suspect estate to be pieced together from a crowded packet.
270	262	Powell Deceased which yet lies undertermined Mr Powell having refused the arbitration appointed by Your Honours which Circumstance is more particularly mentioned in our Consultation of the 15 of August, wee likewise lay before two other his petitions one to us of the 22d of Octr last & the other of the 29th instant is to Your Honours in which he hath very fully Stated his Case 5 Monsr Gasherie takes passage for England, on board the George his Account for his own & his Servants pay during the time he has been here Amounts to £146.16.8 for which wee have given him Bills upon Your Honours & tis heartily glad wee are & id of him for he is certainly an Original & as he himself hath Acknowledged not so much as known to Sir Charles Wager whole Says is the Gentlemen that recommend ed him to Your Honours but to conclude this Story wee beg leave to refer You to our Consultation of the 3d & 5th of December last 6 Repairing Our Fortifications goes on but Slowly & its impossible it Should be otherwise till wee get more help wee have procured a few Blacks of the Inhabitants Chiefly of those who are in Your Debt at the low rate of 5d a wm but wee cant get the number wee want at this Rate & therefore wee are afraid wee Shale be Obliged to Advance the price for so much better Your Honours Should be at a little Expence rather than things of Such Consequence Should & longer retarded	Powell deceased, which yet lay undetermined, Mr Powell having refused the arbitration appointed by the Court, which circumstance was more particularly mentioned in the Council's consultation of the 15th of August. The Council likewise laid before the Court two other of his petitions, one to it of the 22nd of October last, and the other of the 29th of this month, to the Court, in which he had very fully stated his case. 5: Monsieur Gascherie took passage for England on board the *George*. His account, for his own and his servants' pay during the time he had been here, amounted to £146 16s 8d, for which the Council had given him bills upon the Court. It was very heartily glad it was rid of him, for he was certainly an original. As he himself had acknowledged, he was not so much as known to Sir Charles Wager, whom he said was the gentleman that recommended him to the Court. But to conclude this story, the Council asked leave to refer the Court to its consultation of the 3rd and 4th of December last. 6: Repairing the Council's fortifications went on, but slowly. It was impossible it should be otherwise till the Council got more help. It had procured a few slaves of the inhabitants, chiefly of those who were in the Court's debt, at the low rate of ninepence a day. But it could not get the numbers it wanted at this rate, and therefore it was afraid it should be obliged to advance the price. For it was much better the Court should be at a little expense, rather than things of such consequence should be longer retarded. **Interpretations** The departure of the engineer Gascherie in paragraph 5, paid off and sent home, completes the long turn against the professional hand the fortification programme had leaned on, the man discharged on legal proof of his incapacity and now gone. The revelation that he was not even known to Sir Charles Wager, whom he claimed as his recommender, sharpens the Council's charge of imposition, the whole story referred to the consultations as the documented case against a hand it was glad to be rid of. The slaves hired of indebted inhabitants in paragraph 6, taken at ninepence a day to forward the fortifications, tie the defence programme directly to the debt grip and the standing recovery in kind, the same mechanism by which the Council took labour from those who could not pay in coin. The willingness to advance the price rather than let the works lag continues the long tension between the Court's frugality and the want of hands, the defence pressed against a shortage the reduced wage could not draw. The unfinished Beale and Powell case in the first paragraph, Powell having refused the arbitration the Court appointed and pressing his petitions instead, ties into the running matter of the disputed land the Council had long declined to settle without the Court's direction. The transmission of the petitions

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			and the reference to the consultation continue the standing care over contested titles, the Council forwarding the full record rather than forcing a judgement on its own authority. The bills for Gascherie's pay in paragraph 5, £146 16s 8d for himself and his servants, worked the standing device of the cashless island even in discharging a man it distrusted, a draft on the Court answered against the account struck at St Helena. The settlement by paper of a debt the island owed continues the standing means by which every such account crossed the divide, the money owing turned into a claim redeemable at home whatever the Council thought of the payee. **Speculations** The Council chose to advance the wage for hired slaves rather than let the fortifications lag for want of hands. Paragraph 6 sets the ninepence-a-day rate, at which it could not get the numbers it wanted, against its fear that it must raise the price to draw more labour. What decided the Council to prefer the greater expense was the consequence of the works themselves, the defence too pressing in a time of feared war to be longer retarded, so it judged a little added charge the lesser evil against a shortage that held back the fortifications, choosing to spend more on labour than to leave the guns and the batteries unfinished.
271	263	7 If any Ship hereafter touch at the Cape wee desire they may bring Sallad Seeds to the value of five Dollars & no more but if any of the Captns will bring a hive of Bees wee wile Gratify them fully for the two hives, the reason why wee desire that no more than five Dollars may be laid out in Cane Seeds is because wee have been charged Sixteen or Eighteen or Twenty Dollars which is by much too dear 8 Besides the Bills payable to Monsr Gasherie wee have drawn these following Vizt One Sett payable to Duke Crispe or order for £36.--„ Sterling dated the 28th instant One Sett payable to Richard Gosfright or Order for 150.--„ Sterling One Sett payable to Capt Jos. Tolson or Order for £119.--„ Sterling One Sett payable to Capt Tho: Gilbert or Order for 17.17.9 Sterling these three last are dated the 29th instant of all which wee humbly beg Your Acceptance. We are Honble Sirs St Helena the 31st of May 1735. Your most faithfull & Obedient Servants	7: If any ship hereafter touched at the Cape, the Council desired they might bring salad seeds to the value of five dollars and no more. But if any of the captains would bring a hive of bees, the Council would gratify them fully for the two hives. The reason it desired that no more than five dollars might be laid out in Cape seeds was because it had been charged sixteen or eighteen or twenty dollars, which was by much too dear. 8: Besides the bills payable to Monsieur Gascherie, the Council had drawn the following, namely: One set payable to Duke Cripps or order, for £36 0s 0d sterling, dated the 28th of this month. One set payable to Captain Richard Gosfright or order, for £150 0s 0d sterling. One set payable to Captain Joseph Tolson or order, for £119 0s 0d sterling. One set payable to Captain Thomas Gilbert or order, for £17 17s 9d sterling. These three last were dated the 29th of this month. Of all which the Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance. It was, and so on. St Helena, 31 May 1735. **Interpretations** The salad seeds and hive of bees in paragraph 7 belong to the standing improvement programme and the island's reliance on the Cape for the garden stock it could not breed true, the same collection of seeds and plants pressed on the homeward traffic through letter after letter. The complaint of being overcharged sixteen to twenty dollars, and the cap set at five, ties the seed supply to the standing watch on cost the administration made its constant boast, the frugality extended even to the garden trade. The bees asked for in paragraph 7, the Council offering to gratify a captain fully for two hives, mark an addition to the island's husbandry, the insects sought to establish for their honey and their service to the crops. The willingness to pay well for the bees against the tight limit on the seeds shows the Council weighing each import by its worth, the valuable stock encouraged and the overpriced restrained within the same frugal management. The bills of exchange in paragraph 8 worked the standing device of the cashless island, drafts on the Court answered against sums due and cash paid in at

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			St Helena, the commanders Gosfright, Tolson and Gilbert lodging money that crossed home as a claim. The set to Duke Cripps continues the running settlement of salaries and credits by paper, the same mechanism by which every such account reached the parties at home across the divide the coin could not. **Speculations** The Council chose to cap the spending on Cape seeds at five dollars while offering to pay generously for a hive of bees. Paragraph 7 sets the two imports against each other, the seeds restrained because the island had been overcharged sixteen to twenty dollars, the bees encouraged with a full reward. What decided the difference was the worth of each to the island weighed against its price, so the Council checked a garden supply it judged dear while inviting a new stock it valued highly, applying the same frugal discrimination to its imports that governed all its management, the cheap thing bought sparingly and the useful thing sought at any reasonable cost.
272	264	Honble Sirs. 1 Wee were extreamly pleased with the Arrival of the Duke of Cumberland which happened on the 6th of last Month & notwithstanding wee for many Years past have had the good Fortune to dispatch our Storeship within the time limited by Charter Party yet the Cargo of this Ship was so bulkey & Troublesome to get on Shoar that although the Utmost diligence was Used both by ourselves & Capt Broward yet wee could not avoid giving the Owners a & to reasonable Demorage over & above the ten days Allowed for unlading which was chiefly occasioned by the necessity there was for Landing the Guns at Ruperts & not at the Crane & making a Stage for this purpose which happened once or twice to break took up also Some time, but nevertheless wee have been carefull to Secure Yours Honours from all unreasonable Charge or Expence for as Soon as the Ten working days were Expired wee delivered the Captain a Protest a Copy of which together with his Answer thereto Your Honours wile see in our Consultation of the 20th of May & in that of the 27th there is an Account of the number of Bootes & Rafts daily landed On the 22d wee delivered the Captain our Letters for India & on the 3d instant he Sailed for Bencoolen & the reason of his Stay after he was dispatched was because his Cargo being very bulkey he was Obliged to take in more Ballast than other Store ships have Usually done & to get his Ship Watered & fit for Sea, & in the present Unsettled State of Europe it will be an infinite Satisfaction both to ourselves and	Honoured Sirs, The Council was extremely pleased with the arrival of the *Duke of Cumberland*, which happened on the 6th of last month. Notwithstanding that, for many years past, the Council had had the good fortune to despatch the store ship within the time limited by charter party, yet the cargo of this ship was so bulky and troublesome to get on shore that, although the utmost diligence was used, both by the Council itself and by Captain Braund, yet it could not avoid giving the owners a reasonable pretence to three days' demurrage over and above the ten days allowed for unlading. This was chiefly occasioned by the necessity there was for landing the guns at Rupert's, and not at the crane, and the breaking of a stage for this purpose, which happened once or twice to break, took up also some time. But even so, the Council had been careful to secure the Court from all unreasonable charge or expense. For as soon as the ten working days were expired, it delivered the captain a protest, a copy of which, together with his answer thereto, the Court would see in the Council's consultation of the 20th of May. In that of the 29th there was an account of the number of boats and rafts daily landed. On the 22nd the Council delivered the captain its letters for India, and on the 3rd of this month he sailed for Bencoolen. The reason of his stay, after he was despatched, was because his cargo being very bulky, he was obliged to take in more ballast than other store ships had usually done, and to get his ship watered and fit for sea. In the present unsettled state of Europe, it would be an infinite satisfaction, both to the Council and [...] **Interpretations** The protest against Captain Braund in this passage, delivered the moment the ten working days expired to guard the Court against a demurrage claim, continues the standing charter-party reform and the enforcement of the unlading term, the same device the Council had long used against masters who lay too long at the island. The care to keep the captain's answer and the account of boats and rafts landed shows the standing documentary protection, the record made to fix responsibility for any delay on the necessity of the work rather than the Court. The guns landed at Rupert's rather than the crane in this passage, with the stage breaking under them, tie the delay in unlading directly to the fortification programme pressed in a time of feared war, the same works the inhabitants had undertaken and the Court's guns were wanting to arm. The extra labour and lost time show the defence taking precedence over the ordinary despatch, the ordnance got ashore by a route and a means the bulky work required.

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			The three days' demurrage the Council could not avoid in this passage, despite all diligence with the bulky cargo, exposes the practical limit of the charter-party term against a large consignment, the same difficulty it had long met when a ship could not be cleared in the ten days. The reasonable pretence given the owners continues the standing tension between the Court's guard against demurrage and the impossibility of the term, the delay conceded where the cargo and the guns together would not be landed faster. The unsettled state of Europe in this passage, on which the safe despatch of the shipping turned, ties the whole business of the store ship to the standing anxiety over a French war that had driven the fortification programme and the caution to the returning fleet. The satisfaction the Council looked for in the ships' safety continues the long concern that the trade pass unharmed on a perilous route, the more pressing in a season when war threatened the passage. **Speculations** The Council chose to land the guns at Rupert's rather than at the crane, accepting the delay and the broken stage this cost. The passage sets the ordinary despatch against the necessity of getting the ordnance ashore at the exposed bay, the stage breaking once or twice and taking up time. What decided the Council to bear the delay was the priority of arming the Rupert's batteries in a time of feared war, so it entered its protest for the record while landing the guns where the defence required, choosing to guard the Court's position on paper rather than sacrifice the fortification the guns were wanting for to a faster clearance of the ship.
273	265	all the Gentlemen who next Year wile be homeward Bound to have early Intelligence of what they are to trust to & be therefore wee humbly pray Your Honours wile give Such Directions for the dispatch of the next Ship for this place, that wee may have the pleasure to See her in February & then all Your Shipping wile have the benefit of Such Advices as She Shale bring, if She Arrives later its probable severab of Your Ships may be gone by & Consequently for want of Intelligence exposed to great Danger. the Mountague Wilmington George Hethcote & Duke of Dorset Sailed for England on the 31st of last Month & wee hope wile get home Safely & Speedily, on the 5th of May a Single Ship past by & the next day wee had an Allarm for an other which also went by without calling & on the last of May a Single Ship past by to Leeward & on the first instant wee had a Double Allarm for two Ships one of which was the Hertford from Bengall the other past by to the Northward but who one of them was wee know not because tho' She came very near the Sugar Loaf & then bore away Shewing Colours yet the Weather was so hazey wee could distinguish what She was, the Supply brought Us by the Hertford Your Honours wile See on the instant. 2 Wee thank Your Honours for the List of Shipping, wee observe by it that they all had quick Passages & wee hope all those now abroad wile have the Same fortune 3 Wee wile be Sure to give Honours from time to time the best Intelligence wee can about Shipping but cannot always warrant for the Truth of News of this Sort 4 The Accounts wee gave Your Honours of the prodigious force of the Sea is really true not only those Rocks which were plaied near	To all the gentlemen who next year would be homeward bound, to have early intelligence of what they were to trust to. Therefore the Council humbly asked the Court to give such directions for the despatch of the next ship for the island, that it might have the pleasure to see her in February, and then all the Court's shipping would have the benefit of such advices as she should bring. If she arrived later, it was probable several of the ships might be gone by, and consequently, for want of intelligence, exposed to great danger. The *Montague*, the *Wilmington*, the *George*, the *Heathcote* and the *Duke of Dorset* sailed for England on the 31st of last month, and the Council hoped they would get home safely and speedily. On the 5th of May a single ship passed by, and the next day the Council had an alarm for another, which also went by without calling. On the last of May a single ship passed by to leeward, and on the first of this month it had a double alarm for two ships, one of which was the *Hertford* from Bengal, the other passed by to the northward. But which of them it was, the Council knew not, because, though she came very near the Sugar Loaf and then bore away showing colours, yet the weather was so hazy it could not distinguish what she was. The supply brought the Council by the *Hertford*, the Court would see on the instant. 2: The Council thanked the Court for the list of shipping. It observed by it that they all had quick passages, and hoped all those now abroad would have the same fortune. 3: The Council would be sure to give the Court, from time to time, the best intelligence it could about shipping. But it could not always warrant for the truth of news of this sort. 4: The account the Council gave the Court of the prodigious force of the sea was really true, not only those rocks which were placed near [...] **Interpretations**

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			The plea for an early store ship in the first paragraph, to arrive in February so the homeward fleet might have its intelligence, ties the timing of the supply directly to the safety of the returning ships in a time of feared war, the same anxiety over a French war that had driven the fortification programme. The danger to ships gone by for want of advice continues the standing concern that the fleet be warned of the state of Europe, the store ship's arrival made a matter of the whole trade's security. The hazy identification of the ship near the Sugar Loaf in the first paragraph, come close and shown colours but unknown for the weather, sharpens the standing watch against foreign shipping in a season of alarm, the passing sail marked and guessed at as it crossed the island's view. The double alarm and the vessels tracked continue the same vigilance that had watched the Dutch and French ships through the year, every ship noted whether known or not. The prodigious force of the sea in paragraph 4, the rocks it had rolled and placed, ties into the running account of the storm that wrecked the Lemon Valley crane and carried twenty-seven-ton rocks into the ocean, the same violence the Council had reported and now stood by as true. The account defended against any doubt shows the standing care over the credit of its reports, the extraordinary fact upheld with the same insistence the samples of earth and stone had carried. The list of shipping thanked for in paragraph 2, the quick passages observed and the like hoped for the fleet abroad, belongs to the standing exchange of intelligence between the Court and the island, the movements of the ships tracked and reported both ways. The caution in paragraph 3 that the Council could not warrant news of this sort continues the honest reservation it long attached to its reports, the intelligence given for what it was worth against the false advices the island often received. **Speculations** The Council chose to press the Court for a February store ship rather than leave the timing of the supply to chance. The first paragraph sets the danger of a late ship, the homeward fleet gone by for want of intelligence, against the benefit of an early one whose advices all the shipping might share. What decided the Council to urge the point was the unsettled state of Europe and the peril to ships that sailed uninformed, so it tied the despatch of the supply to the security of the whole trade, choosing to make the store ship's early arrival a matter of the fleet's safety rather than merely of the island's convenience, that the returning ships might not be caught unwarned on a perilous passage.
274	266	& for the Security of the Crane at Lemon Valley were carried away but others of vast Magnitude not less than 27 Ton were removed out of their Places & therefore finding it would down right Squandering away Your Money to fix an other Crane there & that the Clamour raised against the Water in the Fort at Chapple Valley was in great part without Foundation wee determined to Act the frugal part & which indeed wee Shale continue to do upon all Occasions & to recommend the Water at the Fort to Your Shipping who have Since constantly Used it without any Complaint 5 The Loss of Mr Pike was Some hindrance to Us but by the Assistance of Young Mr Goodwin wee hope wee Shale be able to keep up Your busyness & transmit it to you in time if wee Should want more help wee wile Acquaint you with it	And for the security of the crane at Lemon Valley, were carried away. But others of vast magnitude, not less than 27 ton, were removed out of their places. Therefore, finding it would be downright squandering away the Court's money to fix another crane there, and that the clamour raised against the water in the fort of Chapel Valley was in great part without foundation, the Council determined to act the frugal part, which indeed it should continue to do upon all occasions, and to recommend the water at the fort to the Court's shipping, who had since constantly used it without any complaint. 5: The loss of Mrs Pyke was some hindrance to the Council. But by the assistance of young Mr Goodwin, it hoped it should be able to keep up its business and transmit it to the Court in time. If it should want more help, it would acquaint the Court with it. 6: The Council, upon all occasions, avoided putting the Court to any needless expense. Hereafter

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		6 Wee upon all occasions avoid putting Your Honours to any needless Expence & hereafter you Shale have no cause to complain of any thing bought at too dear a Rate, Such Goods as wee have procured of the Captains has been purely the Effect of Necessity & not Choice & that wee may convince Your Honours of our Regard in this particular, in our Packett wee transmit to you a Small Indent of Such Goods as wee want from India for the Use of this place Such a number as here cannot be Maintained without Some Expence & the Charge of the Garrison for the Year 1735 which Your Honours take notice in this Paragraph is as low as its hath been at any time before by & as this is a low & so dead Weight upon You wee think it a great deale of Money	it should have no cause to complain of anything bought at too dear a rate. Such goods as it had procured of the captains had been purely the effect of necessity and not choice. And that it might convince the Court of its regard in this particular, in its packet it transmitted to the Court a small indent of such goods as it wanted from India, for the use of the island. Such a number as were here could not be maintained without some expense, and the charge of the garrison for the year 1735, which the Court took notice of in this paragraph, was as low as it had been at any time before. But as this now was a dead weight upon the Court, it would think it a great deal of money [...] **Interpretations** The abandonment of the Lemon Valley crane in the first paragraph, confirmed by the sea's carrying off rocks of twenty-seven tons, completes the Council's resolve to spend no more on a place the surf would destroy, the same decision reached after the great storm. The determination to act the frugal part, recommending the Fort Valley water the shipping used without complaint, ties into the standing economy the administration made its constant boast, the cheaper source preferred over the costly rebuilding. The loss of Mrs Pyke in paragraph 5, hindering the Council's business but met by young Goodwin's help, continues the account of the pressure on the accountant's office at her death and the reliance on a fresh writer to keep the books current. The standing want of clerical hands ties into the long difficulty of maintaining the record on a thinly staffed establishment, the same shortage that had delayed the Court's books and forced the hiring of Goodwin. The small indent from India in paragraph 6, sent to convince the Court of the Council's regard for economy, belongs to the standing supply from the eastern presidencies and the frugality the administration pressed through letter after letter. The insistence that the goods bought of the captains sprang from necessity, not choice, continues the long defence against any charge of extravagance, the record made to show the Court a management as sparing as the island's wants allowed. The garrison charge for 1735 in paragraph 6, as low as at any time before yet a dead weight upon the Court, ties the cost of the island's defence to the standing tension between its necessity and its expense, the same reckoning that had run through the plea for more men and guns. The Council's anticipation that the Court would think it much money continues the long effort to justify the charge, the defence pressed as needful against a Court that felt its burden. **Speculations** The Council chose to abandon the Lemon Valley crane and recommend the Fort Valley water rather than fix another crane where the sea had destroyed the first. The first paragraph sets the rebuilding, downright squandering the Court's money against a sea that rolled twenty-seven-ton rocks, against the frugal course of using the water the shipping already found good. What decided it was the plain impossibility of holding a work the surf would carry off again, so the Council dropped the ruined crane for the water it had secured, dismissing the clamour against the Fort Valley supply as largely groundless and choosing the economy it made its constant boast over a costly and futile repair.
275	267	but nevertheless as the Garrison Encreases the Expence wile rise in Proportion & last Year Your Honours Sent us over Sixteen Soldiers besides an Enginee who has been altogether	But even so, as the garrison charge would rise in proportion to last year, the Court had sent the island over sixteen soldiers, besides an engineer, who had been altogether useless to it this year, and fifty more.

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		Usless to us & this Year fifty more so that if the Yearly Sum be greater than usual Your Honours cannot impute it to any Misragements on our part 7 Wee have told Your Honours in the preceeding Paragragh that which wee buy of the Captains is purely the Effect of necessity & that as Soon as wee can be Surriveyed from India wee will forbear which wee hope wile be a Sufficient Excuse for what wee have done in this particular 8 Wee are not to learn at this time of day that Prosperity is very apt to make light heads giddy & for this reason wee are far from regarding the price of neglect the Gentlemen of the West Coast have Shewn Us wee were transacting buseyness with them relating to Your Honours by whose directions wee Sent them 508 ℔ of Chints & as many Remnants as were equal to 52 ℔ more & 20 Slaves & yet they have never vouchsafed to Acquaint us whether they received or not tho' wee pressed to it the Year following so that the Pretence they make Use for not Writing is idle & trifling & wee are Sure is a piece of great disrespect to Your Honours & the & Pepper wee took wee wanted & upon Such occasions Your Honours give Us leave to do so 9 Wee Shale be ever mindfull to do justice to all who make Application for it in which wee will guide ourselves by the Laws of England & the rules & Customs of the Place & there wee beg leave to Acquaint Your	So that if the yearly sum were greater than usual, the Court could not impute it to any misgovernment on the Council's part. 7: The Council had told the Court, in the preceding paragraph, that what it bought of the captains was purely the effect of necessity. As soon as it could be supplied from India, it would forbear, which it hoped would be a sufficient excuse for what it had done in this particular. 8: The Council was not to learn at this time of day that prosperity was very apt to make light heads giddy. For this reason it was far from regarding the price, or neglecting it. The gentlemen of the west coast had shown it were transacting business with them relating to the Court, by whose directions the Council sent them not whole pieces of chintz, but as many remnants as were equal to £29 0s 0d more, and 20 slaves. But yet they had never vouchsafed to acquaint the Council whether they received them or not, though it pressed to it the year following. So that the pretence they made use of for not writing was idle and trifling. The Council was sure it was a piece of great disrespect to the Court. The pepper it took, it wanted, and upon such occasions the Court gave it leave to do so. 9: The Council should be ever mindful to do justice to all who applied for it, in which it would guide itself by the laws of England and the rules and customs of the island. And there it asked leave to acquaint the Court [...] **Interpretations** The useless engineer in the first paragraph, sent over at fifty pounds and worse than no help, completes the Council's long charge against Gascherie, the man now gone but still instanced as an expense the Court had imposed. The insistence that the swollen garrison charge sprang from the Court's own reinforcements and its useless engineer, not from misgovernment, continues the standing defence of the island's frugal management against any charge of extravagance. The remnants of chintz and the slaves sent to the west coast in paragraph 8, by the Court's direction but never acknowledged, tie into the standing exchange between St Helena and the eastern settlements and the difficulty the Council met from stations that neither supplied nor corresponded. The complaint of the west coast gentlemen's silence, a disrespect to the Court, continues the long frustration with settlements whose neglect of the correspondence left the island's dealings unconfirmed. The pepper taken because it was wanted in paragraph 8, on the Court's leave, ties into the standing supply the island drew from its calling ships and the frugal watch on cost the administration pressed. The care to note the Court's sanction for such purchases continues the long defence of the Council's buying, the goods taken of necessity and by permission set against any charge that it spent beyond its wants. The justice guided by the laws of England and the customs of the island in paragraph 9 ties into the standing government of the settlement by a settled body of law, the same collection of the island's laws the Governor had made and sent home. The Council's care to profess its impartiality continues the long defence of its justice against the planters' complaints, the record made to show a court bound by rule rather than favour. **Speculations** The Council chose to lay the swollen garrison charge to the Court's own reinforcements and useless engineer rather than let it stand as a mark against its management. The first paragraph sets the

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			risen expense against the Council's insistence that it sprang from the sixteen soldiers, the engineer and the fifty pounds the Court had sent, not from any misgovernment. What decided the Council to press the point was its standing anxiety to be thought frugal, so rather than accept the appearance of extravagance it traced the increase to the Court's own decisions, defending its economy by showing the added cost imposed from home rather than incurred by waste, the blame turned back on the very charges the Court had sent it to bear.
276	268	Honours that in our Packet wee lay before Your Honours Duplicates of all those Papers which wee transmitted in our last Packet ℔ Hethcote relating to the Case of Richard Beale & the Heirs of Gabriel Powell Deceased which yet continue undetermined Mr Powell having refused the Arbitration appointed by Your Honours which circumstance is more particularly mentioned in our Consultation of the 13th of August, Wee likewise lay before You Duplicates of two other of his Petitions one to Us of the 22d of Octr last, the other of the 29th instant is to Your Honours in which he hath very fully Stated his Case & humbly hopes Your Honours will finally determine upon it 10 The Entry of the Devonshires Cargo was Accidently Omitted in the Consultation of that kind but its Entered in Journal A folio 29 & amounts to £96.14.2, Wee were reduced through the badness of the Seasons to Such Extremity last Year that wee were Apprehensive every Family upon the Island would want Provisions & therefore were Obligd to buy what Gain wee could & luckey it was wee did or otherwise wee know not what Misfortunes might have Attended Your three Ships Decker, Bedford, & Newcastle who were in want almost of every thing besides as our number are Considerably Encreased & more Recruits will be Necessary in Case of a War wee	The Court, that in its packet the Council laid before the Court duplicates of all those papers which it had transmitted in its last packet by the *Heathcote*, relating to the case of Richard Beale, and the heirs of Gabriel Powell deceased, which yet continued undetermined, Mr Powell having refused the arbitration appointed by the Court, which circumstance was more particularly mentioned in the Council's consultation of the 13th of August. The Council likewise laid before the Court duplicates of two other of his petitions, one to it of the 22nd of October last, the other of the 29th of this month to the Court, in which he had very fully stated his case, and humbly hoped the Court would finally determine upon it. 10: The entry of the *Devonshire*'s cargo was accidentally omitted in the consultation of that kind. But it was entered in the journal at folio 29, and amounted to £96 14s 2d. The Council was reduced, through the badness of the seasons, to such extremity last year that it was apprehensive every family upon the island would want provisions. Therefore it was obliged to buy what grain it could. Luckily, it was well done, or otherwise it knew not what misfortunes might have attended the Court's three ships, the *Derby*, the *Bedford* and the *Newcastle*, who were in want almost of everything besides. As the Council's numbers were considerably increased, and more recruits would be necessary in case of a war [...] **Interpretations** The undetermined Beale and Powell case in the first paragraph, Powell having refused the arbitration and pressing his petitions, continues the running matter of the disputed land the Council had long declined to settle without the Court's direction, the tainted trial in which Griffith acted for both sides. The transmission of the duplicate papers by successive ships belongs to the standing documentary protection, the record sent twice against the loss of any one conveyance and the whole reserved for the Court's decision. The omitted entry of the *Devonshire*'s cargo in paragraph 10, corrected against the journal at folio 29, exposes the same clerical slip the Council had elsewhere confessed and continues its standing care to square every charge against the record. The prompt correction ties into the long bookkeeping reform, the accounts traced and reconciled to the journal folios and brought to the Court's required form despite the pressure of a thinly staffed office. The grain bought against the drought in paragraph 10, laid in when every family was feared to want provisions, ties the relief given the distressed ships to the standing dearth of the failed seasons and the island's function as a victualling station. The lucky provision that carried the *Derby*, the *Bedford* and the *Newcastle*, themselves wanting everything, continues the long thread of the famine relief, the store laid up in extremity serving the fleet that was the island's own lifeline. The increased numbers and the need for more recruits in paragraph 10 tie the garrison's strength to

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			the standing anxiety over a French war that had driven the fortification programme and the plea for men. The anticipation that a war would require yet more force continues the long defence of the island's charge, the recruits pressed as needful against a Court that felt their cost, the same reckoning that ran through the reckoning of guns, slaves and soldiers. **Speculations** The Council chose to lay in grain against the feared famine, a provision it judged in hindsight to have been well done. Paragraph 10 sets the extremity of the last season, every family apprehended to want provisions, against the Council's decision to buy what grain it could. What decided it was the plain danger of dearth and the memory of the failed seasons, so it took the provision as insurance against a calamity, and the arrival of the *Derby*, the *Bedford* and the *Newcastle* wanting everything vindicated the choice, the store bought in fear proving the relief that carried both the island and the distressed fleet through a want that might otherwise have ruined them.
277	269	beleive the Precaution wee have taken to Secure Something & leave in a Case of Such Consequence as little to Chance as possible wile be commended by Your Honours & for these reasons wee purpose allways to keep 20 or 25 Ton of Rice by Us 11 Wee had regard Solely to Your Honours Interest when wee bought that Plantation You mention in Sandy bay & there was no other reasonably way to come at one its true at the Expiration of Leases the Lands return to your Honours & wee might then if it was proper to do so, but then if wee had the Planting Grounds he who before Leased it would be entirely ruined & undone, & wee are Sure your Honours any little Advan tage that must be Attended with the Destructions of Families 12 The only reason why wee Revived the Old Custom of Tolling of Cattle is to come at the number Yearly Sold to Your Shipping & what Proportion each Family has of Such Sale for it has heretofore been an old trick Amongst many of to pretend from time to time they could get Mony to pay their Rents & Debts due to Your Honours when at the Same time wee knew very well those people who made these Excuses have had a Considerable death of what has been Sold, An other benefit arising from the Practice of Tolling Cattle, is this, all Absent Proprietors of Land at this place wile be Secured in their Property for if any Cattle are Tolled without being Marked or the name of the true Owner concealed wee punish or find the Offender & by this means every person enjoys the Profit of his own Land & all this is done without any	The Council believed the precaution it had taken, to secure something and leave as little to chance as possible in a case of such consequence, would be commended by the Court. For these reasons it meant always to keep 20 or 25 ton of rice by it. 11: The Council had regard solely to the Court's interest when it bought that plantation the Court mentioned in Sandy Bay. There was no other reasonable way to come at it. It was true that, at the expiration of the leases, the lands returned to the Court, and the Council might then, if it were proper to do so, but then if it had the planting ground he who before leased it, it would be entirely ruined and undone. The Council was sure the Court thought any little advantage that must be attended with the destruction of families [...] 12: Its only reason why it revived the old custom of tallying of cattle was to come at the number yearly sold to the Court's shipping, and what proportion each family had of such sale. For it had heretofore been an old trick amongst many, to pretend from time to time they could get money to pay their rents and debts due to the Court, when at the same time the Council knew very well those people who made these excuses had had a considerable dealt of what had been sold. Another benefit arising from the practice of tallying cattle was this: all absent proprietors of land at the island would be secured in their property. For if any cattle were tallied without being marked, or the name of the true owner concealed, the Council would punish or find the offender. By this means every person enjoyed the profit of his own land. And all this was done without any trouble [...] **Interpretations** The reserve of 20 or 25 tons of rice in the first paragraph, kept always against a feared famine, marks the drought's hard lesson turned into a standing policy, the provision laid up as insurance after the extremity of the failed seasons. The precaution ties into the long thread of the famine relief and the island's function as a victualling station, the store held by the Council so that neither its people nor the fleet should want in a future dearth. The purchase of the Sandy Bay plantation in paragraph 11, defended as solely for the Court's interest and the only reasonable way to come at the ground, continues the running account of the estate the Council had bought to ease the Court's provision. The care not to ruin the family who leased

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			it, weighed against the Court's small advantage, ties into the standing tension between the debt recovery and the mildness the administration pressed, the acquisition justified without dispossessing the poor. The cattle tally in paragraph 12, revived to number the beasts sold to the shipping and to fix each family's share, completes the account of the old rule the Council had resurrected against the fraudulent trustees and the debtors who pleaded poverty. The exposure of the old trick, whereby people who had sold much cattle claimed they could not pay their rents, ties the tally directly to the debt grip, the count made to catch the excuse and to protect the absent proprietors alike. The security of absent proprietors in paragraph 12, guarded by the marking of every beast against concealment, ties into the running matter of the estates of those living in England or India and the frauds the Council had lately detected among their trustees. The tally applied to protect the absent owner continues the standing care over the property of those the island held in trust, the periodic count made the instrument of both revenue and justice. **Speculations** The Council chose to revive the old cattle tally as much to expose the debtors' excuses as to protect the absent proprietors. Paragraph 12 sets the two purposes side by side, the count made to number the cattle sold and catch the old trick of pleading poverty, and to secure the absent owners against concealment. What decided the Council to press the revived rule was its double service, so rather than devise a fresh check it turned an established custom to both ends at once, catching the people who had sold much yet claimed they could not pay while guarding the property of those who could not watch it themselves, the single instrument made to answer the debt grip and the trust together without any trouble.
278	270	trouble to the Inhabitants & at the Small Charge of 6 ℔ hind 13 Several French Officers belonging to the Venus gave Us upon their & bidin home upon an other French Ship which called here, an Account of the Wrick of the Venus & an other large Ship & a Sloop at Mascarine & wee thought they could have no design to impose upon us by Such a Story & upon this Authority wee Communicated the News to Your Honours & wee Since learned by other hands that the News is true 14 Wee will punctually Execute all Your Orders relating to Foreingers & if the Gentlemen of the Secret Committee Shale think fit to give any Directions about Your own Shipping they also Shale be duely Obeyed, Wee are glad to hear Monsr Nicolls Bill upon the French Company has been paid but wee do not find whether Monsr Barts Bill upon the Same Company for £55.4. have been honoured or not & now wee are Speaking of Ships Accounts wee beg leave to take notice that Several Ballances of this Sort have been carried from one Sett of Books to an other Year after Year & yet wee beleive they been long ago Settled & Cleared in England they are as follows Vizt Ship Barrington £6.16.6 Ship Compton 6.16.6	Trouble to the inhabitants, and at the small charge of sixpence a head. 13: Several French officers belonging to the *Peace* gave the Council, upon their return home upon another French ship which lately called here, an account of the wreck of the *Peace* and another large ship and a sloop at Mascarene. But the Council thought they could have no design to impose upon it by such a story. For upon this authority it communicated the news to the Court, and had since learned by other hands that the news was true. 14: The Council would punctually execute all the Court's orders relating to foreigners. And if the gentlemen of the Secret Committee should think fit to give any directions about the Court's own shipping, they also should be duly obeyed. The Council was glad to hear Monsieur Nicolas's bill upon the French Company had been paid. But it did not find whether Monsieur Bart's bill upon the same Company, for £55 0s 0d, had been honoured or not. Now that the Council was speaking of ships' accounts, it asked leave to take notice that several balances of this sort had been carried from one set of books to another, year after year. Yet the Council believed they had long ago been settled and cleared in England. They were as follows: Ship Barrington, £6 16s 6d Ship Compton, £6 16s 6d Ship Drake, £6 16s 6d Ship Middlesex, £6 16s 6d Ship Ockham, £35 3s 0d Ship Princess Ann, £6 16s 6d Ship Britannia, £6 16s 6d **Interpretations**

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		Ship Drake 6.16.6 Ship Middlesex 6.16.6 Ship Ockham 35.3.--„ Ship Princess Anne 6.16.6 Ship Britania 6.16.6	The wreck of the *Peace* at Mascarene in paragraph 13, reported by her surviving officers and since confirmed by other hands, ties into the standing account of the eastern trade's perils the Council gathered from its calling ships, the same island of Mascarene where storms had earlier wrecked the *La Vierge de Gráce*'s consorts. The care to weigh the informants' credit before communicating the news continues the honest reservation the Council attached to its reports, the intelligence given on the authority it had and afterwards verified. The Secret Committee in paragraph 14, whose directions on the Court's shipping the Council promised to obey, continues the account of the confidential channel through which the Court conveyed sensitive orders, separate from the general correspondence. The standing readiness to observe such private instructions ties into the long practice by which the Governor received and acted on the Committee's commands, the mechanism working as it had through the letters of earlier seasons. The bills on the French Company in paragraph 14, for the supplies furnished the distressed French ships, continue the standing means by which a foreign vessel's debt was made good by a draft on a body at home. The Council's inquiry whether Bart's bill had been honoured belongs to the long care over the recoverable proof of such settlements, the paper tracked across the divide until the claim was answered. The stale balances carried year after year in paragraph 14, believed long settled in England yet still standing in the books, tie into the standing bookkeeping reform and the effort to clear the accounts of sums no longer due. The Council's notice of them continues the long work of squaring the record and writing back what the Court had already received, the same reform that had answered the accountant general's audit and brought the island's accounts to order. **Speculations** The Council chose to communicate the wreck of the *Peace* to the Court on the French officers' word before it could be confirmed. Paragraph 13 sets the risk of a false report against the Council's judgement that the officers had no design to impose upon it. What decided it to pass on the news was its reading of the informants' credit, so rather than withhold intelligence until proof arrived it forwarded the account on the authority it had, and the later confirmation vindicated the trust, the Council choosing to keep the Court currently informed of the fleet's perils over waiting on a certainty that a remote island could rarely have in time.
279	271	Ship Duke of Lorrain £6.16.6 Ship Wyndham 6.16.6 Ship Venus 35.4.--„ Edward Johnson Esqr 87.16.--„ Wee therefore pray Your Honours wile let Us know whether they are Settled or Cleared or not, William Slaughter at Bombay Stands Indebted to Your Honours by our Books in the Sum of £28.1.8¼ 15 The Goods which in our Letter of the 11th June 1734 wee Mentioned to Your Honours to be Damaged have been here most of them near Thirty Years & wee wile Use our best Endeavours to dispose of them before they become quite Usless & wile take particular care to be Moderate in our Indents	Ship Duke of Lorraine, £6 16s 6d Ship Wyndham, £6 16s 6d Ship Venus, £35 14s 0d Edward Johnson, esquire, £87 16s 0d The Council therefore asked the Court to let it know whether they were settled or cleared or not. William Slaughter, at Bombay, stood indebted to the Court by the Council's books in the sum of £26 1s 8¼d. 15: The goods which, in its letter of the 11th of June 1734, the Council mentioned to the Court to be damaged, had been on the island most of them near thirty years. The Council would use its best endeavours to dispose of them before they became quite useless, and would take particular care to be moderate in its indents. 16: The Council promised the Court that no more soldiers bound to Bencoolen should ever be entertained on the island. Should any of them desert, it would be sure to send them thither the next

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		16 Wee promise Your Honours that no more Soldiers boused to Bencoolen Shale ever be Entertained here, Should any of them desert wee wile be Sure to Send them thither the next Season, Wee had no Occasion to Serve Capt Broward with any Written Order about this Matter he not having any Soldiers on board for the West Coast 17 Messrs Goodwin & Doveton remitted on the 24th of December last the Sum of £100.--„ to the Heirs of Mr Coulson by Bills drawn upon Your Honours for that money & payable to Mr Secretary Mole wee not knowing Otherwise how to Send to them 18 The Condition of the Inhabitants as Stated in their Petition was truely Represented & they return Your Honours their humble thanks for the Continuance of their Rents for an other five Years upon the present reduced footing hope wee Shale be able in a reasona ble to get in what is due upon old Stores 19 Your Honours wile Observe by Our	season. It had no occasion to serve Captain Braund with any written order about this matter, he not having any soldiers on board for the west coast. 17: Messrs Goodwin and Doveton remitted, on the 24th of December last, the sum of £100 0s 0d to the heirs of Mr Coulson, by bills drawn upon the Court for that money and payable to Mr Secretary Mole, the Council not knowing otherwise how to send to them. 18: The condition of the inhabitants, as stated in their petition, was truly represented. They returned the Court their humble thanks for the continuance of their rents for another five years upon the present reduced footing, and hoped the Council should be able, in a reasonable time, to get in what was due upon old stores. 19: The Court would observe, by the Council's consultation [...] **Interpretations** The goods thirty years on the island in paragraph 15, damaged and near useless, continue the standing problem of stock that could not be shifted, the same unsaleable cloth the ready-money rule had long kept on the Council's hands. The resolve to dispose of them before they became worthless, and the pledge of moderate indents, ties into the long tension between the guard against store credit and the goods lying years unsold, the Council pressed to clear a stock it could neither sell nor write off. The promise to entertain no more Bencoolen soldiers in paragraph 16, and to ship deserters on the next season, continues the standing tension between the two stations over the men each was reluctant to keep, the same difficulty seen in the refusal of Bowers and the desertions laid to the fear of Bencoolen. The disposal of troublesome soldiers by transfer ties into the long thread of the personnel exchange, the island rid of the men it could not hold by sending them where they were bound. The remittance to Coulson's heirs in paragraph 17, £100 0s 0d by bills payable to the secretary Mole because the Council knew no other way to send it, continues the running care over the estates and effects of absent and deceased parties. The mechanism of the bill, drawn because coin could not be sent, belongs to the standing means by which such trust money crossed the divide, the paper carrying home what the island held for parties it could not otherwise reach. The continuance of the reduced rents in paragraph 18, thanked for by the inhabitants and granted for another five years, at last answers the long-pressed petition of a people ruined by drought, the relief the Council had backed through letter after letter. The hope of getting in what was due upon old stores ties the concession to the standing debt grip, the reduced footing the means by which the Council kept a poor and discontented settlement quiet while it pursued the recovery with mildness. **Speculations** The Council chose to remit Coulson's heirs their £100 0s 0d by bills payable to the secretary Mole rather than leave the money unsent for want of a direct channel. Paragraph 17 sets the plain difficulty, the Council not knowing otherwise how to send to the heirs, against its resolve to get the trust money home. What decided it was the same want of any means of conveyance at so remote a place that had long forced every remittance onto paper, so the Council drew the bills through a known London hand, turning a sum it held for absent parties into a claim they could reach, the standing device pressed into service for a trust the island could discharge no other way.

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280	272	Consultation of the 28th of May at which Govr Pitt & Govr Cowan wile present that for the reasons therein mentioned wee have delivered the Son of the Spanish Gentlemen who about three Years ago died here to the two Spanish Gentlemen who lately came from the Menilla's & are Passengers on board the Hethcote they have promised to Surrender him to Your Honours & with Your leave at their own Charge to carry him to his Relations in Spain with whom they are well Acquainted & from them wee presume Your Honours will hear who are Entitled to what his father left behind him 20 Capt Broward being busey in unla ding the Ship Appointed one of his Officers to Attend at the Opining of the Cargo & every thing came out according to the Quantities in the Invoice except two Barrils Tar being ℔ of three Inch Plank which fell overboard & Sunk, & the Tar leaked out the Casks being very bad & so are all they wee received on Shoar, a good deale being leaked out of each Cask, the Pitch & Tar both are the worst that ever were Sent the Pitch being most of it dross as Capt Gosfright & wile testifie & the Tar is as bad as the Pitch 21 That Your Honours may be the better enabled to judge what Supplys is proper to Send Us when You Examine Our Indent, the Storekeeper promises to Send You Yearly at March an Inventory of Stores then remaining & as he can easily do this without altering the Usual time of Ballancing the Books	The Council's consultation of the 28th of May, at which Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan were present, showed that for the reasons therein mentioned it had delivered the son of the Spanish gentleman, who about three years ago died here, to the two Spanish gentlemen who lately came from the Manillas, and were passengers on board the *Heathcote*. They had promised to surrender him to the Court, and with the Court's leave, at their own charge, to carry him to his relations in Spain, with whom they were well acquainted. From them the Council presumed the Court would hear who were entitled to what his father left behind him. 20: Captain Braund, being busy in unlading the ship, appointed one of his officers to attend at the opening of the cargo. Everything came out according to the quantities in the invoice, except two barrels of tar, besides three-inch plank, which fell overboard and sank. The tar leaked out, the casks being very bad, so that all they were received on shore, a good deal being leaked out of each cask. The pitch and tar both were the worst that ever were sent, the pitch being most of it dross, as Captain Gosfright would testify, and the tar was as bad as the pitch. 21: That the Court might be the better enabled to judge what supplies were proper to send the island when it examined the Council's indent, the storekeeper promised to send the Court yearly, at March, an inventory of stores then remaining. He could easily do this without altering the usual time of balancing the books [...] **Interpretations** The Spaniard's son delivered to his countrymen in paragraph 19, to be carried home to his relations in Spain, marks the near-conclusion of the long-contested estate of the foreigner who died at Bates's house, the heir gathered and sent to the parties who might identify who was entitled to his father's goods. The two Governors present at the consultation continue the use of visiting authority to weigh the island's business, the passing Spanish gentlemen from the Manillas here the means of restoring the child to his kin. The bad pitch and tar in paragraph 20, the worst ever sent and mostly dross, continue the standing grievance over defective consignments and the naval-stores reserve the island depended on, the same shortage of pitch and tar that had earlier left the gun carriages rotting. The endorsement of the shortfall against the invoice, and the appeal to Captain Gosfright as witness, belong to the standing enforcement over short and defective deliveries, the fault recorded and vouched as the Council routinely charged a supplier who failed in the goods. The yearly inventory of stores in paragraph 21, promised by the storekeeper each March to help the Court judge the indent, ties into the standing bookkeeping reform and the effort to keep the accounts and the stock in the Court's required form. The care to do it without altering the time of balancing the books continues the long work of the accountant's office, the record maintained and the Court supplied with the inventory it needed to weigh the island's wants. The officer set to attend the opening of the cargo in paragraph 20 shows the standing practice of examining a consignment against its invoice, the goods checked as they came ashore so any shortfall might be charged. The care over the ships' accounts continues the long enforcement of the bill of lading, the discrepancy noted and vouched, the tar lost overboard and leaked distinguished from the tar received bad. **Speculations**

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			The Council chose to deliver the Spaniard's son to his countrymen for carriage home rather than keep him on the island. Paragraph 19 sets the plain fact of an orphaned foreign child against the offer of the Spanish gentlemen to surrender him to the Court and bear his passage to his relations in Spain. What decided the Council to let him go with them was their acquaintance with his kin and their willingness to answer to the Court, so rather than hold a child it could not place it entrusted him to travellers who knew his family, resolving the long-vexed estate by restoring the heir to the people best able to say who was entitled to what his father left.
281	273	Wee therefore continue Our old Method & Close them at September for it would be vastly troublesome & inconvenient to do it at March the height of Our Shipping begining at that time & Occasioning Us much Writing Work of an other Sort 22 Your Honours having determined that the Property of the Slave bought by Mr Powell of Capt Booky is in her the Claim wee made in behalf of Your Honours is at an End 23 If any Seeming Instance of Severity present its Self to Your Honours it is only inflicted upon Such who otherwise would be incorrigible & who are deap to Advice & Admonition Such are John Long, the Bradleys & other lewd Persls for wee to be to wee humanity & treat the Inhabitants kindly 24 Capt Bate was a Sort of a Madman & was Arrived to Such an infolent Pitch of Gasconade that wee were forced to take notice of his ill Behaviour which has been as remarkable irregular at Mascarene as it was here, Foreigner when treated kindly wile be Encouraged to call here & it is onlex for the benifit of the Inhabitants for them so to do & therefore wee have always Used them wele & never Such Occasion to differ with them 25 For An Answer to what relates to the Building of a new Magazine wee beg leave to refer You to our Consultation of the 4th instant & before wee begin it wee beg leave to Apure Your Honours that wee wile consult with the Captains & other Gentlemen of Skile about it & get their Opinion & advise what is best to be done in a Matter of this Consequence 26 Wee will take care to mount the Cannon	The Council would therefore continue its old method and close them at September, for it would be vastly troublesome and inconvenient to do it at March, the height of the shipping beginning at that time, and occasioning it much writing work of another sort. 22: The Court having determined that the property of the slave bought by Mr Powell of Captain Bookey was in her, the claim the Council made in behalf of the Court was at an end. 23: If any seeming instance of severity presented itself to the Court, it was only inflicted upon such as would otherwise be incorrigible, and who were deaf to advice and admonition. Such were John Long, the Bradleys and one Peirce. For it was loth to use humanity and treat the inhabitants kindly. 24: Captain Bart was a sort of madman, and was arrived to such an insolent pitch of gasconade that the Council was forced to take notice of his ill behaviour, which had been as remarkably irregular at Mascarene as it was here. Foreigners, when treated kindly, would be encouraged to call here. And it was much for the benefit of the inhabitants for them to do so. Therefore the Council had always used them well, and never sought occasion to differ with them. 25: For an answer to what related to the building of a new magazine, the Council asked leave to refer the Court to its consultation of the 4th of this month. Before it began it, it asked leave to assure the Court that it would consult with the captains and other gentlemen of skill about it, get their opinion, and advise what was best to be done in a matter of this consequence. 26: The Council would take care to mount the cannon [...] **Interpretations** The accounting year closed at September in the first paragraph, kept there rather than moved to March to avoid the shipping season's press, continues the standing reform of the accounting year the Council had earlier settled with the Court's approval. The reasoning, that a March balance would fall amid the height of the shipping and burden the office, ties into the long effort to keep the books current against the demands of a thinly staffed establishment, the reform defended on the same practical ground it was first made. The consultation of skilled captains on the magazine in paragraph 25 continues the standing practice of grounding the fortification and building decisions in expert opinion, the same method that had shaped the earlier surveys and that the useless engineer had failed to supply. The care to take the commanders' advice on a matter of consequence ties into the long reliance on visiting skill, the Council building a documented consensus where its own judgement and its dismissed engineer left it in doubt. The kind usage of foreigners in paragraph 24, maintained despite Captain Bart's insolence for the benefit of the inhabitants, ties the island's hospitality to its own subsistence, the calling ships a market for

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			the planters' provisions the whole settlement depended on. The distinction between tolerating a difficult commander and welcoming the trade continues the standing balance the Council held, the foreign ships encouraged for the relief they brought even where their masters gave offence. The slave property settled in paragraph 22, the Court's claim ended once its ownership was determined against Powell, ties into the running matter of contested property and the debt recovery, the same care over titles the Beale and Powell case had shown. The Council's acceptance of the Court's determination continues the standing practice of referring such questions home and abiding the decision, the claim dropped once the Court had ruled. **Speculations** The Council chose to keep the accounting year closed at September rather than move it to March as the Court's paragraph seemed to press. The first paragraph sets the proposed March balance against the Council's insistence on the old September date. What decided it to hold the established time was the practical burden a March balance would bring, falling amid the height of the shipping when the office was most stretched, so rather than shift the reckoning into the busiest season the Council defended the settled reform on the same ground it was first made, choosing the accuracy of a quiet close over a date that would crowd the books against the press of the fleet.
282	274	Your Honours have been pleased to Send Us where they may be of most Service & wile Endeavour to put Ourselves into a good Posture of Defence for if the flame Sprbed wee are afraid it wile be hardly possible for England & Holland to keep out of the Quarrell in Order to this wee landed at Ruperts Bay the Twelve, Nine, Pounders which Your Honours Sent Us by the Cumberland 27 If the help & Advice Your Honours called to Your Assistance when the State of the Strength & Weakness of this Island were laid before You by us in Our Consultation of the 25th June & 15th July last has been of any Use or Service to you wee are very glad of it, but Unless wee had better lights of our own to guide Us wee Should profit nothing by what they have told You 28 Monsr Gasterie is gone for England on board the George & therefore for what relates to him wee beg leave to refer Your Honours to the 6th Paragragh of Our Letter of the 31st of May last a Copy of which comes here inclosed & to Our Consultations of the 3d & 5th of December last & when you have read these wee beleive Your Honours will Conclude that he is not the Man You took him for 29 As Soon as wee have compleated the Repairs at Ruperts wee wile go on with the Other Necessary Work which Your Honours recommended to Our Considera tion but for want of hands they go on but Slowly wee have not had any Slaves from the West Coast & You have but forty two working Blacks of Your own	Where the Court had been pleased to send the island, and where they might be of most service, the Council would endeavour to put itself into a good posture of defence. For if the flame spread, it was afraid it would be hardly possible for England and Holland to keep out of the quarrel. In order to this, the Council had landed at Rupert's Bay the twelve nine-pounders which the Court sent it by the *Cumberland*. 27: If the help and advice the Court called to its assistance, when the state of the strength and weakness of the island was laid before it by the Council in its consultation of the 25th of June and the 15th of July last, had been of any use or service to the Court, the Council was very glad of it. But unless it had better lights of its own to guide it, it should profit nothing by what they told it. 28: Monsieur Gascherie was gone for England on board the *George*. Therefore, for what related to him, the Council asked leave to refer the Court to the 6th paragraph of its letter of the 31st of May last, a copy of which came here enclosed, and to its consultations of the 3rd and 4th of December last. When the Court had read these, the Council believed it would conclude that he was not the man the Court took him for. 29: As soon as the Council had completed the repairs at Rupert's, it would go on with the other necessary work which the Court recommended to its consideration. But for want of hands, they went on but slowly. It had not had any slaves from the west coast, and the Court had but forty working blacks of its own [...] **Interpretations** The twelve nine-pounders landed at Rupert's in the first paragraph, sent by the *Cumberland* to arm the exposed bay, at last supply the ordnance the Rupert's batteries had long stood useless without, the same guns the Council had pressed for through letter after letter. The mounting of them ties the defence programme to the standing fear of a French war spreading to England and Holland, the works the

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			inhabitants had built now armed against the danger the whole season had turned upon. The dismissal of the engineer Gascherie in paragraph 28, gone home and referred to the consultations as not the man the Court took him for, completes the long turn against the professional hand the fortification programme had leaned on. The reference to the documented record continues the standing practice of building a case against a suspect officer, the whole story laid before the Court in form as every doubtful matter had been, the Council confident the papers would confirm its judgement. The forty working blacks in paragraph 29, the whole of the Court's labour and no supply from the west coast, ties the slow progress of the fortifications directly to the standing shortage of hands the drought, the sickness and the drain to Bencoolen had all deepened. The same want that had held back the works and the magazine continues to check the defence, the labour that would build and man the batteries not to be got. The reliance on the Court's own lights in paragraph 27, the island's advice profiting nothing unless the Court had better of its own, marks the standing limit of the counsel the island could give from so remote a place. The Council's deference continues the long practice of laying its account before the Court and abiding the Court's decision, the intelligence offered for what it was worth against a body better placed to judge the wider state of affairs. **Speculations** The Council chose to rest its case against the engineer on the documented record rather than argue it afresh. Paragraph 28 sets Gascherie's departure against the Council's reference to its earlier letter and consultations, confident the Court would conclude he was not the man it took him for. What decided the Council to let the papers speak was the strength of the accumulated evidence it had entered, so rather than rehearse the whole story again it pointed the Court to the record, trusting the documented failures to carry the judgement it had reached, the case made once in form and left to persuade the body that had sent the man out.
283	275	And the few wee get of the Inhabitants at the low Rate of 9d ℔ day are not Sufficient to make the Necessary dispatch in Affair of this Moment Wee therefore beleive wee Shale be Obliged at last to Advance the Price & the if it be nopible to avoid it wee wile go above 12d ℔ for without doubt its better Your Honours Should be at a Small Charge rather than things of Such vast Consequence Should be longer retarded & that Your Honours may be convinced how much wee have Wedhned Ourselves by frequent Draughts of Blacks Sent to Bencoolen in the time of Govr Johnson to this day wee lay before You the following Particulars Vizt Sent from hence to Bencoolen Vizt men. Wom Boys Girls In the time of Govr Johnson 20.10.--„1.--„1.--„ In the time of Govr Smith 9.4.--„--„ In the time of Govr Byfeld 18.9.2.2 In the time of Govr Pyke 8.9.3.7 55.25.5.9.94 30 It is very necessary to repair Fortifications that are decayed but till wee have more hands	And the few the Council got of the inhabitants, at the low rate of ninepence a day, were not sufficient to make the necessary despatch in a matter of this moment. The Council therefore believed it should be obliged at last to advance the price, and if it were impossible to avoid it, would go above one and twelvepence. For without doubt it was better the Court should be at a small charge, rather than things of such vast consequence should be longer retarded. That the Court might be convinced how much the Council had weakened itself by frequent drafts of blacks sent to Bencoolen, ever since the time of Governor Johnson to this day, it laid before the Court the following particulars, namely: Sent from here to Bencoolen, namely (men, women, boys, girls): Sent from here to Bencoolen: In the time of Governor Johnson: 20 men, 10 women, 1 boy, 1 girl In the time of Governor Smith: 9 men, 4 women, 0 boys, 0 girls In the time of Governor Byfield: 18 men, 9 women, 2 boys, 2 girls In the time of Governor Pyke: 8 men, 2 women, 3 boys, 7 girls Total: 55 men, 25 women, 5 boys, 9 girls (94 in all) 30: It was very necessary to repair the fortifications that were decayed. But till the Council

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		it is Utterly impossible to be done & as for removing the Six Demi Culvering upon the Mount wee beg leave to Apure Your Honours that whoever gave You this Information knew not what they Said, the Mount is that Side of the Castle which fronts the Sea & contains no more than those Six Guns & there is but one more a Saker which is placed below to defend the Gate so that if these were carried else where the Castle would be left without a Gun in it. one half of the West Curtain is now without Guns those that were there being honey combed & become Unserviceable for which reason wee took them away & Set	had more hands, it was utterly impossible to be done. And as for removing the six demi-culverins upon the Mount, it asked leave to assure the Court that whoever gave it this information knew not what they said. The Mount was that side of the castle which fronted the sea, and contained no more than six guns, and there was but one more, a saker, which was placed below to defend the gate. So that if these were carried elsewhere, the castle would be left without a gun in it. One half of the west curtain was now without guns, those that were there being honeycombed and become unserviceable, for which reason the Council took them away and set there [...] **Interpretations** The tally of blacks sent to Bencoolen in the first paragraph, 94 in all across four governorships, gathers the whole drain of labour into a documented account, the same reckoning by which the Council pressed the island's want against the Court's demands on the eastern settlement. The care to set out the drafts governor by governor ties into the long tension between the two stations over a labour pool neither had enough of, the record made to show how the frequent transfers had weakened the island's own strength. The six demi-culverins on the Mount in paragraph 30, wrongly reported as removable, tie into the standing defence of the island's fortifications against the Court's misinformation, the same care to correct a false report that had run through the whole account. The insistence that carrying them off would leave the castle without a gun continues the long reckoning of the island's ordnance against its needs, the guns too few for the posts they must defend. The honeycombed guns of the west curtain in paragraph 30, corroded and taken away as unserviceable, tie the weakness of the fortifications to the standing decay of the island's ordnance, the same want of serviceable guns that had earlier left the works short. The removal of the unfit pieces continues the long account of a defence held back by the failing of its own materials, the guns as much a limit as the hands to work them. The willingness to advance the wage in the first paragraph, above one and twelvepence rather than let the works lag, continues the standing tension between the Court's frugality and the want of hands, the defence pressed against a shortage the reduced rate could not draw. The reasoning, that a small charge was better than a great work retarded, ties into the long defence of the fortification expense, the labour bought dearer as the lesser evil against the danger the unfinished works left open. **Speculations** The Council chose to set out the drafts to Bencoolen governor by governor rather than merely assert the island's want of hands. The first paragraph sets the plain plea of a labour shortage against the detailed tally of 94 blacks sent away across four administrations. What decided the Council to document the drain was its wish to convince the Court how much the frequent transfers had weakened it, so rather than rest on a general complaint it laid the whole record before the Court, proving by the numbers that the very demands the Court had made on the eastern settlement had stripped the island of the hands it now wanted to man its own defence.
284	276	them up for Shearfosts, the State of the Castle of Batavia is far otherwise if Your Honours inquire you wile find that every part of that is well Gunned 31 Wee have already in our Consultation of the fifteenth of July last Acquainted you	The Council set them up for sheer posts. The state of the castle of Batavia was far otherwise. If the Court enquired, it would find that every part of it was well gunned. 31: The Council had already, in its consultation of the fifteenth of July last, acquainted the Court with

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		with what Fortifications wee think requesit & necepary for the Defence of this Place but for want of more help wee cannot go forward with them as to the Charge its true Fortifications are generally Expensive yet if your Honours would furnish Us with a good number of Slaves this would be very Inconsiderable & hardly felt 32 When ever wee have bad Guns wee will Ship them as Ballast & Send them home by the way of Bencoolen 33 The fifty Recruits your Honours have Sent Us behaved wele in the Papage and Arrived here in good Health & wee will have them instructed in the Military Discipline as fast as wee can, that they may be of greater Service in case of any Attempt & an Enemy, Capt Bagwell being disappointed in his Madagascar Voyage wee have not received any Blacks 34 our Surgeons Attrrrey has Acquainted him with the Receipt of the Money which your Honours mentioned in this Paragragh 35 Your Honours Shale every Year have a Military list Sent you in our Packett 36 Our Indent this Year wee hope is made as Clear & Explicit as Your Honrs can wish 37 With humble Submission to your Honours wee think it ought not to be	what fortifications it thought requisite and necessary for the defence of the island. But for want of matériel, it could not go forward with them. As to the charge, it was true fortifications were generally expensive. Yet if the Court would furnish the island with a good number of slaves, this would be very inconsiderable, and hardly felt. 32: Whenever the Council had bad guns, it would ship them as ballast and send them home by way of Bencoolen. 33: The fifty recruits the Court had sent the island behaved well in the passage, and arrived here in good health. The Council would have them instructed in the military discipline as fast as it could, that they might be of greater service in case of any attempt by an enemy. Captain Bagwell being disappointed in his Madagascar voyage, the Council had not received any blacks. 34: The Council's surgeon's attorney had acquainted him with the receipt of the money which the Court mentioned in this paragraph. 35: The Court should every year have a military list sent it in the Council's packet. 36: The Council's indent this year, it hoped, was made as clear and explicit as the Court could wish. 37: With humble submission to the Court, the Council thought it ought not to be considered [...] **Interpretations** The comparison to the well-gunned castle of Batavia in the first paragraph continues the standing invocation of the Dutch establishment as the model against which St Helena's fortifications fell short, the same benchmark the Council had long set for its own defence. The contrast of a fully armed Dutch castle with an island short of serviceable guns ties into the long reckoning of the ordnance, the Council pressing its want by the example of a rival better provided. The offer to ship bad guns home by Bencoolen in paragraph 32 continues the standing disposal of unserviceable stores and the use of the eastern route to return them, the same means by which the damaged powder and the useless cannon had been sent off. The honeycombed and corroded guns cleared as ballast tie into the long account of the island's decayed ordnance, the unfit pieces returned rather than left to encumber the works. The fifty recruits well arrived in paragraph 33, to be instructed in the military discipline against an enemy's attempt, tie the garrison's strength to the standing anxiety over a French war that had driven the fortification programme and the plea for men. The training of the fresh soldiers continues the long concern to keep the garrison ready, the same care that had ordered the weekly exercise of the great guns, the men drilled as much a part of the defence as the works and the ordnance. The want of blacks after Bagwell's failed voyage in paragraph 33 ties the labour shortage directly to the failed slave supply, the same want that had held back the fortifications and forced the hiring of indebted inhabitants. The disappointment of the Madagascar voyage continues the long thread by which the works at Rupert's and the necessary repairs were retarded, the labour that would build and man them not to be got from the sources the island depended on. **Speculations** The Council chose to press its want of slaves as the answer to the expense of the fortifications rather than plead the charge itself. Paragraph 31 sets the acknowledged cost of the works against the Council's argument that a good number of slaves would make it inconsiderable and hardly felt. What decided the Council to frame the plea this way was

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			its reading of where the true difficulty lay, not in the money but in the hands, so rather than ask the Court to bear a great charge it turned the request to labour, arguing that the expense the Court feared would shrink to nothing if only the island were supplied with the slaves to do the work its own defence required.
285	277	wondered at that if in a Cargo of Goods of the Value of five thousand two Hundred & Twenty three Pounds Some part of them Should be damaged in a Country full of moths & Rats & other Mischievous Kermine especially if it be Confidered that the most Valuable of these Goods have been in the Stores near Thirty Years & long before our present Storekeeper had the Charge of them 38 The Storekeeper has been diligent in his Buseyness but the greatest Care cannot predent Some Sorts of Goods from reciving damage & particularly in these Examples Vizt Silk Douget, Camblets Durance, Fustian Hosers ware, Norwich stuffs & Shoes, with Several other Articles which the moths wile more or less injure or devour in Spight of all our Industry to prevent it 39 In the preceeding Article your Honours have had the best Account the Storekeeper is able to give how these damages happened & wee promise the best means that can be thought on Shall be Used in disposing Your Goods of all Sorts & for these reasons Your Honours give wee wile Send for no more than what is necesary for the Consumption of a Year & for the future the Several Ships by which our Goods come Shall be distinguished in our Journals & Ledgers in the manner by you directed & our next Indent Shale be made out According to the new Method prescribed by Your Honours & then the Date of the Indent & Inventory wile be the Same & be each of them made out at the Same time but wee find it impracticable to do it for this Year 40 John Bowers has been busy & is proceeded farther with Capt Broward but during	Wondered at, that if, in a cargo of goods of the value of five thousand two hundred and twenty-three pounds, some part of them should be damaged in a country full of moths and rats and other mischievous vermin, especially if it be considered that the most valuable of these goods had been in the stores near thirty years, and long before the present storekeeper had the charge of them. 38: The storekeeper had been diligent in his business. But the greatest care could not prevent some sorts of goods from receiving damage, and particularly in these examples, namely: silk, drugget, camblet, durance, fustian, hosiers' ware, Norwich stuffs and shoes, with several other articles which the moths would more or less injure or devour, in spite of all the Council's industry to prevent it. 39: In the preceding article the Court had had the best account the storekeeper was able to give how these damages happened. The Council promised the best means that could be thought on should be used in disposing of the Court's goods of all sorts. For these reasons the Court gave the Council leave to send for no more than what was necessary for the consumption of a year. And for the future, the several ships by which the Court's goods came should be distinguished in the Council's journals and ledgers, in the manner directed by the Court. Its next indent should be made out according to the new method prescribed by the Court, and then the date of the indent and inventory would be the same, and be each of them made out at the same time. But the Council found it impracticable to do it this year. 40: John Bowers had been busy, and had proceeded further with Captain Braund. But during [...] **Interpretations** The damaged goods in paragraphs 37 and 38, the silk, drugget, camblet and other stuffs devoured by moths and rats, continue the standing problem of stock spoiled by the island's climate and vermin, the same unsaleable cloth that had lain thirty years in the store. The care to name the very kinds injured, and to clear the storekeeper of blame, ties into the long defence of the island's management, the loss laid to the country's conditions rather than to any neglect the Court might charge. The distinguishing of goods by ship in the ledgers in paragraph 39, ordered by the Court and adopted in the new indent, belongs to the standing bookkeeping reform and the effort to bring the accounts to the Court's required form, each consignment traced to its conveyance. The Council's undertaking to match the date of the indent and the inventory continues the long work of ordering the record, the accounts and the stock brought into a single reckoning as the Court directed. The leave to indent only a year's consumption in paragraph 39 ties into the standing effort to keep the stock from lying and spoiling, the same guard against the goods that had rotted in the store for want of use. The Council's acceptance of the limit continues the long tension between supply and waste, the indent moderated so that no more should be sent than the island could consume before the moths and rats destroyed it. The storekeeper's diligence defended in paragraph 38, the damage laid to the vermin rather than the

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			man, continues the standing care over the officers of the establishment and the record made to answer the Court's complaints. The insistence that the greatest care could not prevent the loss ties into the long defence of the island's servants, the storekeeper cleared as the Council had cleared its other officers against the Court's suspicion. **Speculations** The Council chose to defend the storekeeper and lay the damaged goods to the island's vermin rather than let the loss stand as a mark against his charge. Paragraph 38 sets the plain fact of the spoiled cloth against the Council's insistence that the storekeeper had been diligent and that no care could prevent the moths and rats. What decided the Council to press the point was its standing anxiety to shield its officers from the Court's blame, so rather than accept the appearance of neglect it traced the damage to the country's conditions and the thirty years the goods had lain before the present storekeeper took them, clearing the man by locating the fault in a climate no industry could master.
286	278	his Stay here he did not make Application to Us about any buseyness of any Sort 41 Monsr Gasherie is gone to England on board the George 42 Capt Broward or his Officers did not Sell whilst they were here, any thing that interfered with Your Interest 43 Mr Johnson & the Attorneys of Mr Moysten have been Acquainted with the Ohinion of the Councel & with what Your Honours have Mentioned relating to the Land bequeathed by the Will of Mr Johnson late of Tillicherry 44 Capt Bagwell upon his Arrival having talked of Sailing early in June if none of your Shipping came Speedily in wee took care to be ready with our Answer to Your Honours Letter by the Cumberland, but he has had the good Fortune to met with the Middlesex & Princess Royal the former of which Arrived on the Eleventh & the other on the Seventeenth instant the Cargoes they brought Your Honours, You wile See in our Consultations of those days, the Ships Crew of the Middlesex were very Sickly insomuch that wee were forced to Send Men & Bootes to Weigh her Anchor She for want of geving timely notice who She was, having been brought too at Bankes, & Several of the Men belonging to the Princess Royal were also very bad which continued their continbance here a good deole longer than Usual, on the 11th came a Small Portugueze Vessel belonging to the Brasiles which upon Examining her Licence wee found was called by a name long enough for	His stay here, he did not make application to the Council about business of any sort. 41: Monsieur Gascherie was gone to England on board the *George*. 42: Captain Braund, or his officers, did not sell, whilst they were here, anything that interfered with the Court's interest. 43: Mr Johnson and the attorneys of Mr Moysten had been acquainted with the opinion of the Council, and with what the Court had mentioned relating to the land bequeathed by the will of Mr Johnson, late of Telicherry. 44: Captain Bagwell, upon his arrival, having talked of sailing early in June if none of the Court's shipping came speedily in, the Council took care to be ready with its answer to the Court's letter by the *Cumberland*. But he had had the good fortune to meet with the *Middlesex* and the *Princess Royal*, the former of which arrived on the eleventh and the other on the seventeenth of this month. The cargoes they brought the Court, the Court would see in the Council's consultations of those days. The ship's crew of the *Middlesex* were very sickly, insomuch that the Council was forced to send men and boats to weigh her anchor, she, for want of giving timely notice who she was, having been brought to at Bank's. Several of the men belonging to the *Princess Royal* were also very bad, which continued their continuance here a good deal longer than usual. On the eleventh came a small Portuguese vessel belonging to the Brazils, which, upon examining her licence, the Council found was called by a name long enough for half [...] **Interpretations** The sickly crews of the *Middlesex* and *Princess Royal* in paragraph 44, so ill that the Council sent men to weigh the one's anchor and the other's stay was prolonged, tie the relief of the calling ships to the standing perils of the eastern passage and the island's function as a place of recovery. The same succour extended to distressed and scurvy-stricken vessels through the season continues the long account of St Helena as a refreshment station for a trade the long voyages wore down. The Portuguese vessel examined in paragraph 44, her licence checked before admission, continues the standing caution against foreign shipping the Council maintained, the vessel's papers scrutinised before she was suffered the road. The same vigilance that had tracked the Dutch, French and Danish ships through the year ties into the long enforcement

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			of the Company monopoly, every foreign ship marked and her title proved. The land bequeathed by the will of Johnson of Telicherry in paragraph 43, its heirs and attorneys acquainted with the Council's opinion and the Court's mention, continues the running care over contested estates and the property of absent and deceased parties. The same practice of referring such questions and laying the record before the parties ties into the standing management of titles the Beale, Powell and Spaniard cases had shown, the Council forwarding the matter rather than settling it alone. The readiness with the answer to the Court's letter in paragraph 44, prepared against Bagwell's threat to sail early, ties into the standing subordination of the correspondence to the movements of the shipping, the reply made ready for whatever conveyance offered. The care to have it prepared continues the long practice of the paragraph-by-paragraph answer, the record kept abreast of the ships that carried it, the more pressing when a captain might depart on short notice. **Speculations** The Council chose to send men and boats to weigh the *Middlesex*'s anchor rather than leave her to shift for herself. Paragraph 44 sets her plight, her crew so sickly she had been brought to at Bank's for want of giving notice who she was, against the Council's dispatch of hands to assist her. What decided the help was the plain incapacity of a crew too ill to work their own ship, so rather than let a distressed vessel lie the Council lent its own men, extending the same succour it gave every ship the long passage had worn down, the labour of a short-handed island turned to a calling ship its sickness had disabled.
287	279	half a Dozen Vizt Curvera Nassa Signor das Angustias e Suvremanto homeward bound for Buenos Ayres to where She had delivered Three Hundred fifty Eight Slaves, the Captains name was Phileip Gansolvas & he had Twenty four Men on board but not a Gun & being in want of Water & provisions he Stayed till the 16th to refresh & then proceeded on his Voyage On the Same day a Dutch Ship called the Loudrian arrived here from Batavia whose Commission wee first Examined before wee Sufered her to come in it was dated the first of April 1732 Signed in the Margin by Mr Secretary Fagle She was Commanded outward bound by the Heer Ruyter who died aboard the Heer Willem Hendricks in at present has Charge of her She is large & Sails in Company with this Fleet on the 28th of June a Dutch Ship past by & Saluted the Fort. 45 Wee have heard from the Chaplain Mr Coney whose irregular behaviour has been Such that few Gentlemen have passed this way without taking particular notice of his Rudeness and Indiscretion tho for the first three Months he carried himself pretty wele but Soon after he gave himself a loose & have Since taken very Indecent Siberties, however as a Stranger who never looked & born with all his failings & treated him Civily & wee wish he had taken care to deserve it, it has happened far otherwise, & all of Sudden he talked much of the Chaplainship of Madrass & when Govr Pitt Arrived with the Reverend Mr Wynch with him which made a Vacancy it in be became more Sanguine in hopes & thought his Merit Such that he built much upon it but Govr Pitt in the very Conversation See through the Man & discovered his weakness	Half a dozen, namely, *Nuestra Señora das Angustias e Livramento*, homeward bound for Buenos Aires, from where she had delivered three hundred and fifty-eight slaves. The captain's name was Philip Ganfolvas, and he had twenty-four men on board. But here, a gun being in want of water and provisions, he stayed till the 15th to refresh, and then proceeded on his voyage. On the same day a Dutch ship called the *Loudrian* arrived here from Batavia, whose commission the Council first examined before it suffered her to come in. It was dated the first of April 1732, signed in the margin by Mr Secretary Fagle. She was commanded outward bound by the Heer Ruyter, who died on board, the Heer William Hendricksen at present having charge of her. She was large. She sailed in company with this fleet on the 28th of June. A Dutch ship passed by and saluted the fort. 45: The Council had heard from the chaplain Mr Coney, whose irregular behaviour had been such that few gentlemen who passed this way without taking particular notice of his rudeness and indiscretion. Though for the first three months he carried himself pretty well, yet soon after he gave himself a loose, and had since taken very indecent liberties. Even so, as a stranger, the Council was ever loath to bear with all his failings, and treated him civilly, until he had taken care to deserve it. It had happened far otherwise. All of a sudden he talked much of the chaplainship of Madras. When Governor Pitt arrived with the Reverend Mr Wynch with him, which made a vacancy, he became more sanguine in his hopes, and thought his merit such that he built much upon it. But Governor Pitt, in the very conversation, saw through the man, and discovered his weakness [...] **Interpretations** The Portuguese slaver in the first paragraph, homeward bound for Buenos Aires having delivered

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			358 slaves, ties into the standing account of the Atlantic slave traffic the Council tracked and relieved, the same Asiento trade to the Spanish River Plate the South Sea Company ships had carried. The refreshment given her, wanting water and provisions, continues the plain succour the island extended a ship in want, the vessel supplied and sent on her voyage. The Dutch *Loudrian* examined in the first paragraph, her commission checked before admission and signed by Secretary Fagle, continues the standing caution against foreign shipping the Council maintained, the vessel's papers scrutinised before she was suffered the road. The same vigilance that had tracked the Portuguese, French and Danish ships ties into the long enforcement of the Company monopoly, the neutral vessel admitted only once her title was proved. The reversal of the chaplain Coney in paragraph 45, well reported at first but since given to indecent liberties, undoes the earlier good account the Council had given the new minister, the same office that had lately been so troubled under the late parson White. The disappointment continues the standing difficulty of maintaining clerical order at the island, the churchman the people had approved turned out as unruly as his predecessor once the first months passed. Governor Pitt's reading of the chaplain in paragraph 45, seeing through the man in conversation, continues the standing use of visiting authority to weigh the island's business and its people, the same discernment the passing Governors had lent to its hearings and estates. The chaplain's hopes of the Madras chaplainship, checked by Pitt's judgement, tie into the long account of a clergyman's ambition and indiscretion, the visiting Governor's opinion the measure by which the man was found wanting. **Speculations** The Council chose to bear with the chaplain Coney's failings and treat him civilly rather than move against him at once. Paragraph 45 sets his irregular and indecent behaviour against the Council's forbearance, loath as a stranger to bear hard on him until he deserved it. What decided the patience was his standing as a newcomer and the Council's reluctance to condemn a man before his conduct compelled it, so rather than proceed on his early failings it treated him with civility and waited, the same caution it gave every doubtful person, extending to a troublesome minister the benefit it withheld only when the man's own course left it no choice.
288	280	and folley & Soon made him Sensible that he was in no Sort qualified for the Company of Such Society of Gentlemen as he would in a & with those & wee beleive Your Honrs wile not be displeased to hear that You are not likely to be any more troubled with him for being thus disappointed he immedi ately determined in order to improve his Piety to commence Chaplain to a Regiment & big with this great new Ideraires upon the Middlesex & as he has now left Us & wee cannot in truth Say any thing to his Advantage wee chose to be Silent & wee let him Set down gently & if he has Since or grace Enough & life to make a good Use of it it may be happy for him but of this there is little hopes & wee conclude all that wee have Say at this time about him with one General Remark which	And folly, and soon made him sensible that he was in no sort qualified for the company of such a society of gentlemen as he would meet with there. But before the Court was not to be displeased to hear that it was not likely to be any more troubled with him. For, being thus disappointed, he immediately determined, in order to improve his piety, to commence chaplain to a regiment. And big with this great new territories upon the *Middlesex*. As he had now left the island, the Council could not, in truth, say anything to his advantage. It chose to be silent, and to let him set down gently, hoping he had since grace enough left to make a good use of it. It might be happy for him. But of this there was little hope. The Council would conclude all it had to say at this time about him with one general remark, which had often been observed by great numbers of other people, that no clergyman ever yet fell into neglect or contempt till his own ill conduct and misbehaviour first brought it upon him.

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		has often been Observed by great numbers of other People that no Clergyman ever yet fell into neglect or Contempt till his own ill Conduct & Misbehaviour first brought it upon him 46 Several of your Shipping last Year having lost their Papage Arrived here in great distress, & as the time of their touching at this place Usually happens in the hot Months the Beef of this Country wile not Salt at that Season of the Year & for this Reason wee think it wile be proper to have a few Casks of Salt Provisions by us as wele for their Use as for the Supply if our Garrison which within these two Years is Considerably increased & fresh Pork at Six pence ℔ Pound which is the	46: Several of the Court's shipping last year, having lost their passage, arrived here in great distress. And as the time of their touching at the island usually happened in the hot months, the beef of the country would not salt at that season of the year. For this reason the Council thought it would be proper to have a few casks of salt provisions by it, as well for their use as for the supply of the garrison, which within these two years was considerably increased. And fresh pork at sixpence a pound, which was the current [...] **Interpretations** The departure of the chaplain Coney in the first paragraph, gone to be a regimental chaplain and left without a good word, completes the account of the minister's disappointment and disgrace, the same office so lately troubled under the parson White. The Council's general remark, that no clergyman fell into contempt but by his own misconduct, ties into the standing difficulty of maintaining clerical order at the island, the two failed chaplains together the measure of a want the settlement could not remedy. The reserve of salt provisions in paragraph 46, kept against the distressed ships and the garrison, ties the relief of the fleet to the standing perils of the passage and the island's function as a victualling station, the same succour extended to the sickly and storm-worn vessels through the season. The reason given, that the country beef would not salt in the hot months when the ships came, continues the long account of the island's supply, the store laid up against a want its own climate created. The garrison increased in paragraph 46, considerably grown within two years, ties the demand for provisions to the standing anxiety over a French war that had swelled the establishment and driven the plea for men. The fresh pork at sixpence a pound continues the standing account of the island's provisioning, the garrison fed at a fixed rate as the herds and the salt store were reckoned, the whole a matter of the frugal management the Council pressed. The distressed ships arriving in the hot months in paragraph 46 tie into the running account of the Cape trade grievance and the peril of the passage, the ships that lost their proper season forced to the island in the worst time for its provisions. The Council's provision against their want continues the long concern that the island serve the fleet whatever the season, the store held so that the ships should not want even when the country's own supply failed. **Speculations** The Council chose to keep silent on the chaplain Coney's character rather than set down all it might against him. The first paragraph sets its inability to say anything to his advantage against its decision to let him set down gently. What decided the restraint was a mixture of charity and the man's departure, the Council hoping he might yet make good use of grace and unwilling to pursue a gone and disappointed minister, so rather than record the full measure of his disgrace it closed with a general remark on clergymen's self-wrought contempt, choosing to spare the individual while stating the principle, the reproof made general where the particular was left unsaid.
289	281	Current Price here comes very dear to them & will not go near so far as a Pound of good English Salt Beef & therefore wee have Indented for Twenty Casks of Salt Beef & Pork which wee beleive wile Sell wele & wee hope these Reasons will be Sufficient to Induce Your Honours to Send it for you cannot loose by it but may be Confiderable Gainers & when	The current price here, came very dear to them, and would not go near so far as a pound of good English salt beef. Therefore the Council had indented for twenty casks of salt beef and pork, which it believed would sell well. It hoped these reasons would be sufficient to induce the Court to send it. For the Court could not lose by it, but might be considerable gainers. And when more soldiers

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		more Soldiers are Sent it wile be highly necepary to Send a Proportionable Quantity of Provisions along with them 47 On the 25th of June Part of the Mountain near the Sea Gate fell down in Such a prodigious Quantity that it has filled up the Path & wile take up all the hands that wee are able to Muster or here for Eighteen or Twenty days to clear the way & remove the Rocks into the Sea & for that time all other work must Stand Still 48 Wee now as wee have Usually done at the Conclusion of the Year proceed to remind Your Honrs of Some Passages mentioned in our former Letters of this Season & begin with the third Paragragh of that on the 24th of December last in which wee Acquaint You that the Inhabitants had near finished a Battery for Eight Guns a Guard House & Powder Room at Turks Cap & wee are now going to plant Some of the Guns there which Your Honours lately Sent us but wee so much Fortification Work to do & so little help to do it withal that every thing of this Sort goes on heavily for which reason it is that the Repairs at Ruperts goes on but Slowly as is Set forth in the fourth Paragragh of Our Letter of the 24th of December the Sixth Paragragh of that Letter relates to Monsr Gasherie & wee recomend this	were sent, it would be highly necessary to send a proportionable quantity of provisions along with them. 47: On the 25th of June part of the mountain near the sea gate fell down in such a prodigious quantity that it had filled up the path, and would take up all the hands that the Council was able to muster, or here, for eighteen or twenty days, to clear the way and remove the rocks into the sea. And for that time all other work must stand still. 48: The Council now, as it had usually done at the conclusion of the year, proceeded to remind the Court of some passages mentioned in its former letters of this season, and began with the third paragraph of that of the 24th of December last, in which it acquainted the Court that the inhabitants had near finished a battery for eight guns, a guard house and powder room at Turk's Cap. The Council was now going to plant some of the guns there which the Court lately sent it. But it had so much fortification work to do, and so little help to do it with, that everything of this sort went on heavily. For which reason it was that the repairs at Rupert's went on but slowly, as was set forth in the fourth paragraph of its letter of the 24th of December. The sixth paragraph of that letter related to Monsieur Gascherie, and the Council recommended this [...] **Interpretations** The salt beef indent in the first paragraph, twenty casks against the distressed ships and the growing garrison, continues the standing reserve of provisions the Council held for the fleet and its own people, the same store laid up because the country beef would not salt in the hot months. The argument that the Court could not lose but might gain by it ties into the long defence of the island's supply, the provision pressed on the Court as both necessary and profitable. The mountain fallen near the sea gate in paragraph 47, filling the path and requiring all hands for eighteen or twenty days, ties the standing hazard of the island's terrain to the perpetual competition for its scarce labour, the same rockfalls and freshes that had wrecked the crane and blocked the ways. The stopping of all other work while the path was cleared continues the long account of a defence and a building programme held back by the land itself as much as by the want of hands. The Turk's Cap battery in paragraph 48, near finished by the inhabitants and now to be armed with the Court's guns, continues the account of the people making good their offer to build the fortifications at their own charge, the same works the twelve nine-pounders and the season's ordnance had been sent to supply. The slow progress for want of hands ties into the standing shortage that had held back Rupert's and the magazine, the defence advanced heavily against a labour the island could not muster. The year-end recapitulation in paragraph 48, reminding the Court of the season's passages, belongs to the standing practice of laying a full and ordered record before the Court at the close of the year, the same abstract the Council had promised and made through letter after letter. The reference to each earlier paragraph continues the long documentary method, the correspondence bound into a chain the Court might follow, the record made to serve the body that would decide upon it. **Speculations** The Council chose to stop all other work and turn every hand to clearing the fallen mountain from the path. Paragraph 47 sets the prodigious rockfall that blocked the sea gate against the Council's resolve to devote all the hands it could muster for eighteen or

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			twenty days. What decided the diversion was the plain necessity of the path itself, the way impassable until the rocks were cleared, so the Council let the fortifications and every other work stand while it answered the blockage, the demands of the land forcing it once more to drop the pressing defence for a repair that could not wait, the labour of a short-handed island commanded by whatever failure was most immediate.
290	282	Paragragh in particular to Your Honours Consideration you will therein find a glaring Instance of his Frenardry whilst he was in hopes of gutting one Thousand five Hundred Pounds of Your Money to was of Opinion that the old Fortifications at Ruperts ought to be repaired but when he was, that wee could Save Your Money & repair them ourselves he became of another Opinion & Said he ought not to be repaired, Your Honours wile find many other matters relating to him in our Consultations of the 2d 10th 11th 18th & 20 of June 2d & 9th of July 22d of Octr 12th of November & 3d & 5th of December 1734 which wee last are very remarkable & wee desire Your Honrs wile order them to be laid before You 49 Wee have had a plentifull Season & all the Apprehensions wee were under upon Account of the Dryness of the Weather & Sickness of Sprng are over, Till wee have a greater number of Blacks no Considerable Progress can be made in Building or retairing the Fortifi cations which at this Critical Juncture require Expedition & dispatch & therefore wee desire Your Honrs wile furnish Us with the number of Slaves Sufficient for this purpose the Main Standard of our Crane has been Strained & broke & the piece of Timber which wee had Set apart to repair it wee have obligd to Spare it to Capt Studholme So that more is wanted for that Use wee Shall be glad if your Honrs wile be pleased to Send Us the Twelve Ton	Paragraph in particular to the Court's consideration. The Court would find therein a glaring instance of the engineer's inconsistency, whilst he was in hopes of getting one thousand five hundred pounds of the Court's money, he was of opinion that the old fortifications at Rupert's ought to be repaired. But when he was told that the Council could save the Court's money and repair them itself, he became of another opinion, and said they ought not to be repaired. The Court would find many other matters relating to him in the Council's consultations of the 3rd, 10th, 11th, 18th and 25th of June, the 2nd of July, the 22nd of October, the 12th of November, and the 3rd and 4th of December 1734, which two last were very remarkable. The Council desired the Court would order them to be laid before it. 49: The Council had had a plentiful season, and all the apprehensions it was under, on account of the dryness of the weather and the sickness of spring, were over. Till it had a greater number of blacks, no considerable progress could be made in building or repairing the fortifications, which at this critical juncture required expedition and despatch. Therefore it asked the Court to furnish the island with the number of slaves sufficient for this purpose. The main standard of the Council's crane had been strained and broke, and the piece of timber which it had set apart to repair it, it had been obliged to spare to Captain Studholme. So that more being wanted for that use, the Council should be glad the Court would be pleased to send it the twelve ton [...] **Interpretations** The engineer's inconsistency in the first paragraph, changing his opinion on the Rupert's repairs the moment the cost was questioned, restates the Council's central charge against Gascherie, the man who hoped for £1,500 0s 0d contradicting himself once the Council offered to do the work itself. The array of consultations cited continues the standing practice of building a documented case against a suspect officer, the record laid before the Court in form as the whole account of the dismissed engineer had been. The breaking of the drought in paragraph 49, the plentiful season ending the apprehensions of dearth and the spring sickness, at last relieves the long thread of the failed seasons that had run through letter after letter. The return of plenty continues the standing dependence of the whole settlement on the rain, the same want that had killed the cattle and driven the rent petitions now answered by the restored fertility. The want of slaves at the critical juncture in paragraph 49 ties the slow progress of the fortifications directly to the standing labour shortage the drought, the sickness and the drain to Bencoolen had all deepened, the same want that had held back Rupert's and the magazine. The plea for a sufficient number of blacks continues the long argument that the defence hung on the hands to build it, the works pressing in a time of feared war but retarded for lack of labour. The broken crane and the timber spared to Captain Studholme in paragraph 49 tie the failing of

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			the island's works to the standing shortage of building timber, the same want that had left the storehouse to fall and the fortifications short. The piece set apart for the crane given to a calling ship shows the competition for scarce material as well as scarce hands, the island's own repairs yielding to the demands of the fleet it depended on. **Speculations** The Council chose to spare Captain Studholme the very timber it had set apart to mend its broken crane. Paragraph 49 sets the island's own need, the main standard strained and broke, against its yielding the repair timber to a calling ship. What decided the Council to give it up was the standing dependence on the fleet and its own habit of accommodating the ships it relied on, so rather than keep the piece for its crane it spared it to Studholme and asked the Court to replace it, choosing to serve the shipping that was the island's lifeline over its own pressing repair, and turning the loss into a fresh plea for the timber the settlement could never supply itself.
291	283	of Oak Timber mentioned in our Indent is of great Service upon many Occasions and frequently wanted that which came by the Cumberland is reserved for making Carriages Wee also desire You wile be pleased to Send Us the Anchors & Cable wee have Indented for the loss or Safety of a Ship may one time or other depend upon them especially in time of War when many foreign parts wile be Shut against them 50 Capt Bagwell being disappointed in his Madagascar Voyage Wee Still Continue in distress for want of Sufficient help to renair & finish Your Fortifications 51 Mr Richard Beale humbly prays Your Honours wile take his Case into Consideration & that You wile be pleased to determine it finally about it, Mr Powell having refused to accint or abide by the Arbitration directed by Your Honours 52 Wee desire Your Honours wile give Us directions how wee Shale Send those Blacks to their own Country whom Capt Pilly miraculously Saved at Sea they belong to the Maldive Islands & are Seven in Number 53 Till Your Honrs furnish Us with the Necepary help to go on with Your Fortifications with that Expedition which works of this kind require, wee are afrid wee must Advance in our Wages for wee cannot hire Blacks enow at the low rate of Nine pence a day tho wee do not intend to exceed Twelve pence & if at this price wee can get more wee wile endeavour to have them of Such of the Inhabitants as are in your Debt Some of whom are so poor that they wile be hardly able to pay it any other way	The oak timber mentioned in the Council's indent was of great service upon many occasions, and frequently wanted. That which came by the *Cumberland* was reserved for making carriages. The Council also asked the Court to be pleased to send it the anchors and cable it had indented for. The loss or safety of a ship might at one time or other depend upon them, especially in time of war, when many foreign parts would be shut against them. Captain Bagwell being disappointed in his Madagascar voyage, the Council still continued in distress for want of sufficient help to repair and finish the Court's fortifications. Mr Richard Beale humbly asked the Court to take his case into consideration, and finally to determine upon it, Mr Powell having refused to accept or abide by the arbitration the Court directed. The Council asked the Court to give it directions how it should send those blacks to their own country whom Captain Pelly miraculously saved at sea, belonging to the Maldive Islands, being seven in number. Till the Court furnished the island with the necessary help to go on with the fortifications, with that expedition which works of this kind required, the Council was afraid it must advance its wages. For it could not hire blacks enough at the low rate of ninepence a day, though it did not mean to exceed twelvepence. If at this price it could get more, it would endeavour to have them of such of the inhabitants as were in the Court's debt, some of whom were so poor that they would hardly be able to pay it any other way. **Interpretations** The oak timber and the anchors and cable in the first two paragraphs continue the standing naval-stores reserve thread and the island's dependence on the Court for the durable material it could not supply, the oak reserved for gun carriages and the ground tackle wanting where a ship's safety hung on it. The argument that anchors and cable would matter most in time of war, when foreign ports were shut, ties the request to the standing anxiety over a French war that had driven the whole defence programme. The Maldive islanders in the fifth paragraph, seven of the ten Captain Pelly saved at sea and kept at work pending the Court's direction, continue the account of the strangers cast on the island and set to earn their living until they could be returned. The renewed plea for directions how to send them home ties into the standing care over a chance arrival the

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			Council would not dispose of on its own authority, the matter reserved for the Court as the contested estates had been. The hire of indebted inhabitants' slaves in the last paragraph, taken at ninepence and perhaps twelvepence a day to forward the fortifications, ties the defence programme directly to the debt grip and the standing recovery in kind, the same mechanism by which the Council took labour from those too poor to pay in coin. The willingness to advance the wage continues the long tension between the Court's frugality and the want of hands, the defence pressed against a shortage the reduced rate could not draw. The unfinished Beale and Powell case in the fourth paragraph, Powell having refused the arbitration and Beale pressing for a final determination, continues the running matter of the disputed land the Council had long declined to settle without the Court's direction. The reference home continues the standing care over contested titles, the Council forwarding the matter rather than forcing a judgement it had no clear authority to make. **Speculations** The Council chose to seek its hired labour from the inhabitants who owed the Court money rather than from the island's people at large. The last paragraph sets the general want of hands against the Council's design to hire the slaves of such inhabitants as were in the Court's debt. What decided it was the double service of the arrangement, so rather than merely pay wages for labour it drew the hands from debtors too poor to pay any other way, turning the fortification work into a means of recovering what was owed, the same joining of the debt grip to the island's needs that had shaped the cattle tally and the rents discharged in labour.
292	284	54 Wee have drawn three Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours Vizt One Sett payable to John Brown or order for One Hundred Pound Sterling for Salary due to him & for Forty four Pounds Nineteen Shilings by him paid into Your Cash here dated the 11th of June, One Sett payable to John Alexander or Order for the Sum of Twenty five Pounds Sterling for as much due to him in Your Books dated the 26th June & on the other Sett likewise dated on the 26th June payable to the Reverend Mr Coney or Order for Twenty Pound Sterling being the Ballance of his Account of all which wee humbly beg your Honours Acceptance 55 Wee are Sorry to Send by the Information of Benjamin Jones Soldier the Widow Thwaites Henry Welch Drummer & John Arlingdale Soldier Patron of the long Boat that it was become Absolutely necepary to appoint a guard Boat in Order to prevent Slverall of Your Garrison from deserting their Colours and candestinely getting on board Ship with design to Runaway but Attempts have been made to frustrate our good Intentions Wee wile not trouble you with any comments or Remarks about this matter the Case is fully & truely Stated in our Consultations of the 1st & 5 instant which wee hope your Honrs wile Order to be laid before you & when you have read them wee beleive you wile not be pleased to find that a Guard Boat Stationed in Your name & for your particular Service upon an Extraordinary Occasion Made	54: The Council had drawn three sets of bills of exchange upon the Court, namely: One set payable to John Brown or order, for £100 0s 0d sterling, for salary due to him and for £44 19s 0d by him paid into the Court's cash here, dated the 11th of June. One set payable to John Alexander or order, for the sum of £25 0s 0d sterling, for as much due to him in the Court's books, dated the 26th of June. One other set likewise, dated the 25th of June, payable to the Reverend Mr Coney or order, for £20 0s 0d sterling, being the balance of his account. Of all which the Council humbly asked the Court's acceptance. 50: The Council was sorry to send, by the information of Benjamin Jones soldier, the widow Thwaites, Henry Welch drummer, and John Arlingdale soldier, patron of the longboat, that it had become absolutely necessary to appoint a guard boat, in order to prevent several of the Court's garrison from deserting their colours, and clandestinely getting on board ship with a design to run away. But attempts had been made to frustrate the Council's good intentions. It would not trouble the Court with any comment or remark about this matter. The case was fully and truly stated in the Council's consultations of the 1st and 3rd of this month, which it hoped the Court would order to be laid before it. When the Court had read them, the Council believed the Court would not be displeased to find that a guard boat was stationed in the Court's name. For the particular service upon an extraordinary occasion made [...] **Interpretations** The guard boat in paragraph 50, appointed to stop soldiers deserting by slipping aboard the calling ships, ties into the standing difficulty of holding a garrison whose men preferred any escape to service

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			on a remote and sickly island, the same desertion the Council had earlier laid to the fear of Bencoolen and guarded against among the troops on board. The measure continues the long effort to keep the garrison whole, the boat set to watch the anchorage as the discipline of the men required. The bills of exchange in paragraph 54 worked the standing device of the cashless island, drafts on the Court answered against salary owed and cash paid in at St Helena, John Brown lodging money that crossed home as a claim. The set to the Reverend Mr Coney for the balance of his account, the disgraced chaplain now departed, shows the same mechanism settling even a discredited man's due, the paper carrying home the value the coin could not whatever the Council thought of the payee. The depositions in paragraph 50, the case stated on the information of a soldier, a widow, a drummer and the longboat's patron, continue the standing practice of building a documented record before acting, the desertion evidenced and entered in consultation before the guard boat was set. The reference to the consultations of the 1st and 3rd continues the long documentary method, the Council laying its record before the Court rather than resting on its own assertion. The soldiers getting aboard ship to desert in paragraph 50 tie the guard boat to the standing exposure of an island whose only escape was by the very ships it depended on, the anchorage both its lifeline and the deserters' road. The same tension between welcoming the shipping and guarding the garrison ran through the caution to the returning fleet, the Council forced to watch the ships it relied on lest they carry its men away. **Speculations** The Council chose to station a guard boat in the Court's name rather than let the desertions go unchecked. Paragraph 50 sets the plain problem, soldiers slipping aboard the calling ships to run away, against the Council's resolve to appoint a boat to prevent it, despite attempts to frustrate the design. What decided the measure was the absolute necessity of holding a garrison bleeding men to the anchorage, so rather than tolerate the loss the Council set a watch on the very ships it depended on, the guard boat the answer to an island whose lifeline was also its deserters' escape, the case documented and referred so the Court might see the extraordinary occasion that forced it.
293	285	be treated with Insolence & be Violently afraunted in her Duty & wee wonder the more at it because it is not a new thing it has been allways done when there has been Cause to Suspect that any of your Garrison or other people have had a design to get off without leave Wee are Honble Sirs &ca St Helena 5th July 1735.	The guard boat should be treated with insolence, or be violently assaulted in her duty. The Council wondered the more at it, because it was not a new thing. It had always been done, when there had been cause to suspect that any of the Court's garrison, or other people, had a design to get off without leave. The Council was, and so on. St Helena, 5 July 1735. **Interpretations** The precedent for the guard boat in this passage, the practice long followed whenever men were suspected of designing to leave without leave, ties the present measure to the standing discipline of the garrison and the settlement, the same watch against desertion the Council had maintained through earlier seasons. The insistence that it was no new thing continues the long defence of the Council's authority to hold its people, the boat set on established custom rather than fresh imposition. The insolence and assault offered the guard boat in this passage tie the resistance to the standing tension between the garrison and a discipline the men resented, the same reluctance to serve that had driven the desertions and the fear of Bencoolen. The

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			violence against the boat continues the long account of a settlement whose people chafed against the government's hold, the guard set to watch them met with the defiance their want of leave provoked.
294	286	Hon.ble Sirs The Hertford Middlesex & Princess Royale left Us on the 5.th of July last & wee hope are Safely Arrived in England As wee hear the Docker Bedford & Newcastle are this News wee recieved from Cap.t Sanders who Sailed from Bombay on the 2.d of Sep.t last & Arrived here on the 12.th instant & who tells Us that he has been to Mocha & that Cap.t Wilkie is gone to Persia Cap.t Westcoat arrived at Bombay on the 10.th of August last & by letters from Madrass the Gent.s of Bombay had advice that one of Your Ships would certainly be dispatched from thence Some time in Sep.r last but what Ship it was to be they could not tell better is all wee can learn relating to Your Shipping Wee gave Your Hon.rs last Session a full Account of the State of Your Affairs at this Place & particularly in our Letter of the 5.th of July last & Copy of which is herein enclosed that wee have little to Say at present Wee have had a fine Winter & Your cattle & pastures are in very good conditions John Long who for his Crimes wee Sometime ago Sent to Bencoolen wee between us & over to be lworded of his Rogery.s Some	The Council opened its address to the Court with news of the homeward shipping. The *Hertford*, the *Middlesex* and the *Princess Royal* had left St Helena on 5 July last and by then had reached England safely. The Council had heard that the *Drake*, the *Bedford* and the *Newcastle* were also arrived. This intelligence came from Captain Sanders, who sailed from Bombay on 3 September last and reached the island on the 14th of this month. He reported that he had been to Mocha, that Captain Wilkie had gone on to Persia, and that Captain Weston reached Bombay on the 10th of August last. By letters from Madras the gentlemen at Bombay had learned that one of the Court's ships would certainly be despatched from there at some point in September last, though they could not tell which ship it was to be. Such were the best advices the Council could gather about the Court's shipping. 2: The Council had given the Court a full account of the state of its affairs at the island in the previous season, and most particularly in the letter of 5 July last, a copy of which was enclosed, so little remained to add at this time. 3: The Council reported a fine season of weather, with the Court's cattle and pastures in very good condition. 4: The matter of John Long was then taken up. He had earlier been sent to Bencoolen for his crimes, and the Council believed he was to be rid of him. His name was linked here with Rogers of Toone [...] **Interpretations** John Long appears in the consolidated reference as a St Helena inhabitant whose fine had earlier been reduced on his submission, per the consultation of 15 September 1715, and who by 1720 was a subscriber to the certificate of good behaviour of the chaplain Jones and among those forgiven on their retraction. Bencoolen, the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, served the island as a penal destination to which troublesome men and offenders were shipped out, the removal a standing means of ridding a small society of a disruptive person without a trial at St Helena. The opening report on homeward shipping functioned as a safety register. By tracking each ship's arrival in England and each commander's account of the movements of Company vessels at Bombay, Madras and Mocha, the Council gave the Court a running check on how far its ships were in safety across the Indian and Atlantic passages, the correspondence built to show any gap in the record.
295	287	after his return hither he began to Rob & plun- -der his Neighbours as he had formerly done & this being fully proved upon him in Consul -tation of the 19.th of August last wee Set him to work at Your Fortifications & ordered him to be locked up every Night & by these Means wee keep him from committing farther Mischief Joseph Brit is an other very ill & trouble- some Man wee have often had occasion to mention him to Your Hon.rs upon many Accounts & numberless Instances of his Misbe- haviour are to be met with in Our Consultati- ons & wee have lately detected him in a most Transcendent piece of Imprudence & Villainy for in Consultation of the 8.d of Sep.r last he demanded after two Years waiting part of the Money due from him to the Heirs of the	After his return to the island John Long began once more to rob and plunder his neighbours, as he had done before. This being fully proved against him in the consultation of 19 August last, the Council set him to work at the fortifications and ordered him locked up every night, and by these means kept him from doing any further harm. 5: The Council turned next to Joseph Bates, another very troublesome man of bad character, whom it had already had cause to mention to the Court on many occasions, with numberless instances of his misconduct recorded across its consultations. The Council had lately caught him in a most flagrant piece of dishonesty and villainy. In the consultation of 3 September last it demanded from him, after a wait of two years, part of the money he owed the heirs of the Spaniard who died at the island some years before, for which he had given a bond duly

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		Spaniard who Some Years ago died here & for which he had given bond duly Widnessed & Executed Amounting to the Sum of L.22.19.10. & of which Bond he had Actually paid L.5. on the 5.th Nov.r 174[.] yet when the Remainder was called for he pretended he knew nothing of any such Bond & Affirmed he owed no more than Seven Pounds & for this fresh Instance of his Rogery he was Arrested by a Capias & committed till he Should Satisfy the Said Bond or give good Security for doing so & Accordingly on the 27.th of Nov.r	witnessed and executed to the sum of £246 19s 2½d. Bates had actually paid £5 0s 0d of that bond on 5 November 1734, yet when the balance was called for he claimed to know nothing of any such bond and swore he owed no more than seven pounds. For this fresh proof of his knavery he was arrested on a writ and committed until he should either satisfy the bond or give good security for doing so, and accordingly on the 27th of November last [...] **Interpretations** Joseph Bates appears in the consolidated reference as the St Helena inhabitant at whose house a Spanish gentleman died, long suspected of foul play over the effects, who at length acknowledged under his hand a debt of £246 19s 2½d to the heirs and gave bond for it, the effects recovered from the Governor's hands and the orphan son delivered to Spanish gentlemen off the *Heathcote*, the disputed estate referred home for the Court's decision. The Spaniard was Don John de Mesa, who died at Bates's house having lived only ten or twelve days after coming ashore. A capias was a court writ ordering an officer to take a person into custody, and a bond a written instrument acknowledging a debt with a penalty for non-payment. The Council's recourse against Bates ran through this ordinary machinery of debt enforcement: the executed bond fixed the sum owed, the part payment of £5 0s 0d on 5 November 1734 was itself proof the bond existed and bound him, and his denial of the whole obligation exposed the fraud, so that arrest and detention until satisfaction or security became the means of compelling a defaulter on a remote island where the creditors were absent heirs in Spain.
296	288	last he paid fifty Pounds in part & gave fresh Bond with Sureties for the payment of the rest which Amounts to the Sum of L.17. a. This Securities are William Noriott & Francis Junge of this Island the former Gunners Chief Mate & the other Armourer Its an Unpleasant task to us to dwell upon the failings of particular persons yet a very Shocking Scene hath lately happened & of Such a Sort that its proper Your Honours Should be acquain-ted with it it relates to James Powell Son of Gab.l Powell dec.d who himself was allways an ill Man & constantly Set a bad Example to his Children & other Persons. the case as wee are able to State it in few words was thus. James Powell lately Married one of the Daughters of Cap.t Alexander one of Your Council here & during the time of her lying in he incestuously debauched his Wifes other Sister the Eldest daughter of Cap.t Alex-ander & by her had a Son born on the 22.d of Nov.r last of which She Swore the Said Powell was the true Father having never had Carnall knowledge of any other Man besides him the particulars of this Affair Your Honours will find in Our Consultations of the [...] & [...] of Nov.r & of	Bates paid fifty pounds in part and gave a fresh bond with sureties for the payment of the rest, which came to £191 19s 2½d. His sureties were William Moriall and Francis Funge of the island, the first a former chief gunner and mate and the other an armourer. 6: The Council found it an unpleasant duty to dwell on the failings of particular persons, but a very shocking affair had lately happened, of such a kind that the Court ought to be told of it. It concerned James Powell, son of Gabriel Powell deceased, who had himself always been a bad man and had constantly set an ill example to his children and to others. The case, as the Council was able to state it in few words, was this. James Powell had lately married one of the daughters of Captain Alexander, one of the Court's councillors at the island. During the time of his wife's lying-in he committed incest with her sister, the eldest daughter of Captain Alexander, and by her had a son born on the 22nd of November last. She swore that Powell was the true father, having never had intercourse with any other man besides him. The particulars of this affair the Court would find in the Council's consultations of the [...] and 25th of November last [...] **Interpretations** Gabriel Powell, named here as the father of James Powell, was the wealthiest planter at St Helena and long the Court's principal creditor, deceased by 1730, whose management of the Hodgkinson daughters' inheritance a jury found he had converted to his own use. Captain Alexander, the father of the two sisters, is the John Alexander of the consolidated reference, secretary and third of the Council, long the clerk of the office under successive governors. The woman's sworn statement that Powell was the true father, and that she had known no other man, was the operative legal act in the passage rather than

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			mere testimony. A birth outside marriage threw the cost of the child on the parish unless a father could be fixed, so an oath naming the father served to charge him with the child's maintenance and, in a case of incest, to establish the offence itself, the whole matter entered on the consultation record for the Court's judgement because the accused woman's father sat on the Council.
297	289	the 2.d 6.th & 25.d of Dec.r 1753 Complaint.rs of Cap.t Alexander for his Incest Adultery Bastardy & Subornation of Perjury mentioned the Affidavit of Cap.t Alexanders Eldest Daughter enterd as before is Said in Our Consultation of the 11.th of Nov.r last he was committed to Prison, & the evil disposition of this Young Man appeared fully to us by the Examinations of two of his Blacks in Consultation of the 10.th of Sep.r last & which indeed Contains Such Monstrous Instances of Cruelty that wee are Sure Your Honours cannot hear them read without horrour & Detestation Cap.t Alexander has entered an Action against him in the Sum of five Hundred Pounds for Damages & the matter will be Speedily brought before a Jury he having given Bail to the Action & Security to Indemnify the Parish from any Charge that may hereafter arise upon Account of the Said Child Wee are heartily Sorry wee Should have Occasion to Complain any more to Your Honours of the ill Behaviour of Cap.t Rud--holm but its proper the facts Should be laid before You as they really were which You will See in Our Consultations of the 8.th Sep.r 15.th of July last for not content to conceal & carry away three of Our Garrison he Attempted by his Agents to Inveigle many more to Desert	The full record stood in the consultations of the 2nd, 6th and 25th of December 1753, containing the complaint against Captain Alexander for his daughter's incest, adultery and bastardy and for subornation of perjury. The affidavit of Captain Alexander's eldest daughter was entered as before. By the consultation of the 11th of November last James Powell was committed to prison. The wicked disposition of this young man appeared plainly to the Council from the examinations of two of his slaves in the consultation of the 10th of September last, which contained such monstrous instances of cruelty that the Court could not read them without horror and detestation. Captain Alexander had brought an action against Powell for £500 0s 0d in damages, and the matter would soon be brought before a jury, Powell having given bail to the action and security to indemnify the parish from any charge that might arise over the child. 7: The Council was heartily sorry to have cause to complain again to the Court about the ill behaviour of Captain Thindholme, but the facts ought to be laid before the Court as they truly were, as would appear in the consultations of the 8th and 15th of July last. Not content to conceal three of the garrison, whom the Council believed he intended to carry away, he tried through his agents to persuade many more to desert [...] **Interpretations** The proceedings against James Powell divided the same conduct into a private suit and a public safeguard. Captain Alexander's action for £500 0s 0d in damages was a civil claim by the injured father, while the bail to the action secured Powell's appearance at trial and the separate security indemnifying the parish shifted the cost of the child off the public purse, the two instruments together ensuring the offence answered both the family wronged and the community that would otherwise maintain the infant. Subornation of perjury, laid against Captain Alexander in the December complaint, was the offence of procuring another to swear falsely on oath. Its appearance beside the charge of incest suggests the affair had become a contest of sworn statements, the daughter's affidavit fixing Powell as the father set against an allegation that Alexander had induced false testimony, the whole tangle referred home because a sitting councillor stood at its centre. The examination of two of Powell's slaves, entered in the consultation of 10 September last, served as evidence of his character in a matter otherwise turning on the women of the household. Their testimony to his cruelty was admitted to the record to show the Court the kind of man he was, the enquiry reaching into his treatment of his slaves to weigh his conduct in the incest case.
298	290	& had Actually a List Sent him of Six others who designed to runaway at his Instigation but wee having timely discovered the matter wee took effectuall care to prevent it. This was Using Us very ill. but his Insolence to Your Honours was Still much worse for he Sailed	A list had actually been sent to the captain naming six others who meant to run away at his prompting, but the Council discovered the matter in time and took effective care to prevent it. This was a very ill turn, yet the captain's insolence towards the Court was much worse, for he sailed without saluting or paying the usual compliment to the Court's flag. His

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		without Saluting or making the Usual Complement to Your Flag & the Aggravation of his Offence is encreased because he did not pretend so much as he wanted Powder & he really did not having paid the Port Duties as all other Captains Usually do & wasted great Quantities in Saluting the Inhabitants who Visited him on board. This is a matter necessary to be laid before You & wee hope Your Honours will give Such orders about it as may prevent the like hereafter as well with regard to the matter of Salutes as to the other Practice of enticing People to Runaway especially when a War is to be Apprehended & Your Honours Send Us Soldiers at a great Expence to defend Your Island & Your Shipping both which design will be entirely frustrated if Such of whom wee now Complain Escape or are Connived at for Acting as Cap.t Rudholm hath done though to do him justice its	offence was made the greater because he did not so much as claim to be short of powder, which he was not, having failed to pay the port dues as all other captains commonly did, and having wasted great quantities of powder in saluting the inhabitants who visited him on board. This was a matter fit to be laid before the Court, and the Council hoped the Court would give such orders as might prevent the like in future, both over salutes and over the other practice of enticing men to run away, especially with a war to be feared. The Court sent the Council soldiers at great expense to defend its island and its shipping, and both aims would be entirely defeated if men such as the one now complained of were allowed to escape, or were connived at for acting as Captain Studholme had done. To do him justice, though, it was highly [...] **Interpretations** The captain's failure to pay the port dues and his lavish firing of powder in private salutes to visiting inhabitants marked the substance of the offence beneath the slight to the flag. Port dues were the charges a calling ship owed the establishment, and the usual salute to the Court's flag was the formal acknowledgement of its authority over the road, so a commander who spent his powder courting the islanders while withholding both payment and the customary compliment denied the government its due in fee and in honour at once. The enticing of soldiers to desert struck directly at the island's security in a way the Council tied to cost and to the threat of war. The garrison was maintained at heavy expense to defend the Court's island and its shipping, and a commander who carried off or seduced away the very men sent for that defence undid the whole purpose of the establishment, the danger sharpened by the French war then feared, as the consolidated reference records through the Council letters of 1734 and 1735 and the guard boat stationed to stop soldiers slipping aboard the calling ships.
299	291	highly probable he was put upon all this by a Passenger on board the Princess Royall for till that Ship Arrived he Agreed very well with Us with Cap.t Bagwell & with other people but a few days after that Ship come in the Scene was quite Altered & he afterwards did Several things against his Duty & in Opposition to Your Interest which wee the more wonder at because when he come in he was in a Sickly Condition & both wee & Cap.t Bagwell Sent him great help in Order to bring his Ship into the Road without which wee believe he could not have got in & nothing can Account for his Rude Behaviour Unless the reason just before Assigned will Solve the matter Wee have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours one Sett for the Sum of L.100. Sterling payable to Frances Wrangham or Order for so much due to him in Your Books of Accounts here & the other for L.29.3.2 Sterling payable to Cap.t James Sanders or Order for so much due to him upon the Ballance of his Accounts they are each dated the 26.th instant & wee humbly pray Your Honours Acceptance & are Hon.d Sirs Your most faithful & Obedient Servants St Helena 27 Dec.r 1735	It seemed very probable the captain had been put up to all this by a passenger aboard the *Princess Royal*. For as long as that ship lay at the island he got on very well with the Council, with Captain Bagwell and with the rest, but a few days after she came in his manner changed entirely, and he afterwards did several things against his duty and in opposition to the Court's interest. The Council found this the stranger because he had come in sickly, and both the Council and Captain Bagwell had given him great help to bring his ship into the road, without which the Council believed he could not have got in at all. Nothing could account for his rude behaviour unless the reason just given would explain it. 8: The Council had drawn two sets of bills of exchange on the Court. One set was for £[...] sterling, payable to Francis Wrangham or order, for so much due to him in the Court's books at the island. The other was for £89 3s 2d sterling, payable to Captain James Sanders or order, for so much due to him on the balance of his account. Both sets were dated the 26th of this month, and the Council asked the Court to accept and pay them. The letter closed at St Helena on 27 December 1735, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants. **Interpretations** Francis Wrangham appears in the consolidated reference as a planter at St Helena, formerly the writer struck and dangerously wounded by the secretary Antipas Tovey in 1716, who recovered and was awarded £25 0s 0d in damages on 18 May 1716, and who held one of the island's best watered

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			plantations. Captain James Sanders is the commander of the *Cadogan* reported earlier in this letter as arrived from Bombay on the 14th of the month with intelligence of the Court's shipping. The bills of exchange discharged credit owed at the island by drawing on the Court in London, the standard remittance where coin was scarce. A sum standing to a person's account in the Company's books at St Helena carried no cash the island could pay out, so a bill payable to that person or his order in London turned the entry into a claim recoverable at India House, the mechanism binding the island's accounts to the home treasury and moving value across a cashless divide without the shipment of specie. The value of Wrangham's set could not be read on the page and is marked accordingly.
300	292	This is a repeat of page 298 & had Actually a List Sent him of Six others who designed to runaway at his Instigation but wee having timely discovered the matter wee took effectuall care to prevent it. This was Using Us very ill. but his Insolence to Your Honours was Still much worse for he Sailed without Saluting or making the Usual Complement to Your Flag & the Aggravation of his Offence is encreased because he did not pretend so much as he wanted Powder & he really did not having paid the Port Duties as all other Captains Usually do & wasted great Quantities in Saluting the Inha- bitants who Visited him on board. This is a matter necessary to be laid before You & wee hope Your Honours will give Such orders about it as may prevent the like hereafter as well with regard to the matter of Salutes as to the other Practice of enticing People to Runaway especially when a War is to be Apprehended & Your Honours Send Us Soldiers at a great Expence to defend Your Island & Your Shipping both which design will be entirely frustrated if Such of whom wee now Complain Escape or are Connived at for Acting as Cap.t Rudholm hath done though to do him justice its	This is a repeat of page 298 A list had actually been sent to the captain naming six others who meant to run away at his prompting, but the Council discovered the matter in time and took effective care to prevent it. This was a very ill turn, yet the captain's insolence towards the Court was much worse, for he sailed without saluting or paying the usual compliment to the Court's flag. His offence was made the greater because he did not so much as claim to be short of powder, which he was not, having failed to pay the port dues as all other captains commonly did, and having wasted great quantities of powder in saluting the inhabitants who visited him on board. This was a matter fit to be laid before the Court, and the Council hoped the Court would give such orders as might prevent the like in future, both over salutes and over the other practice of enticing men to run away, especially with a war to be feared. The Court sent the Council soldiers at great expense to defend its island and its shipping, and both aims would be entirely defeated if men such as the one now complained of were allowed to escape, or were connived at for acting as Captain Studholme had done. To do him justice, though, it was highly [...]
301	291	This is a repeat of page 298 highly probable he was put upon all this by a Passenger on board the Princess Royall for till that Ship Arrived he Agreed very well with Us with Cap.t Bagwell & with other people but a few days after that Ship come in the Scene was quite Altered & he afterwards did Several things against his Duty & in Opposition to Your Interest which wee the more wonder at because when he come in he was in a Sickly Condition & both wee & Cap.t Bagwell Sent him great help in Order to bring his Ship into the Road with- out which wee believe he could not have got in & nothing can Account for his Rude Behaviour Unless the reason just before Assigned will Solve the matter Wee have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours one Sett for the Sum of L.100. Sterling payable to Frances Wrangham or Order for so much due to him in Your Books of Accounts here & the other for L.29.3.2 Sterling payable to Cap.t James Sanders or Order for so much due to him upon the Ballance of his Accounts	This is a repeat of page 298 A list had actually been sent to the captain naming six others who meant to run away at his prompting, but the Council discovered the matter in time and took effective care to prevent it. This was a very ill turn, yet the captain's insolence towards the Court was much worse, for he sailed without saluting or paying the usual compliment to the Court's flag. His offence was made the greater because he did not so much as claim to be short of powder, which he was not, having failed to pay the port dues as all other captains commonly did, and having wasted great quantities of powder in saluting the inhabitants who visited him on board. This was a matter fit to be laid before the Court, and the Council hoped the Court would give such orders as might prevent the like in future, both over salutes and over the other practice of enticing men to run away, especially with a war to be feared. The Court sent the Council soldiers at great expense to defend its island and its shipping, and both aims would be entirely defeated if men such as the one now complained of were allowed to escape, or were connived at for acting as Captain Studholme had done. To do him justice, though, it was highly [...]

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		they are each dated the 26.th instant & wee humbly pray Your Honours Acceptance & are Hon.d Sirs Your most faithful & Obedient Servants St Helena 27 Dec.r 1735	**Interpretations** The captain's failure to pay the port dues and his lavish firing of powder in private salutes to visiting inhabitants marked the substance of the offence beneath the slight to the flag. Port dues were the charges a calling ship owed the establishment, and the usual salute to the Court's flag was the formal acknowledgement of its authority over the road, so a commander who spent his powder courting the islanders while withholding both payment and the customary compliment denied the government its due in fee and in honour at once. The enticing of soldiers to desert struck directly at the island's security in a way the Council tied to cost and to the threat of war. The garrison was maintained at heavy expense to defend the Court's island and its shipping, and a commander who carried off or seduced away the very men sent for that defence undid the whole purpose of the establishment, the danger sharpened by the French war then feared, as the consolidated reference records through the Council letters of 1734 and 1735 and the guard boat stationed to stop soldiers slipping aboard the calling ships.
302	292	List of the Packett & King William Bare 27 Dec.r 1735 General Letter Copy General Letter of the 5.th July 1735 Duplicates Viz.t Indent of Stores wanting for the Year 1736 Surgeons Indent Account of Ship Bedford ditto Ship Middlesex ditto Princess Royall Prime Cost & Selling & Selling price of the Cargo & Ship Duke of Cumberland Governours Plantation Account for April ditto [...] for May ditto [...] Copies Viz.t Posts or Stations for all persons to repair upon all Double Allarms List of Families List of Rents List of Blacks List of Eaters List of Salaries Gov.r Pykes Plantation Account for June July August September October Nov.r Instructions to the Commanding Officer in the Center of the Line	The Council listed the packet sent home by the *King William*, dated 27 December 1735, with its general letter. General letter Copy general letter of the 5th of July 1735 Duplicates Indent of stores wanting for the year 1736 Surgeon's indent Account of the ship Bedford Account of the ship Middlesex Account of the ship Princess Royal Prime cost and selling price of the cargo and ship Duke of Cumberland Governor's plantation account for April Governor's plantation account for May Governor's plantation account [...] Copies Posts or stations for all persons to repair to upon all double alarms List of families List of rents List of blacks List of eaters List of salaries Governor Pyke's plantation account for June Governor's plantation account for July Governor's plantation account for August Governor's plantation account for September Governor's plantation account for October Governor's plantation account for November Instructions to the commanding officer in the centre of the line **Interpretations** The packet manifest divided its contents into duplicates and copies, the standing method by which the Council guarded the record against the loss of any one ship. A duplicate resent a paper already sent by an earlier conveyance, while the copies were the routine annual returns, so that the whole run of accounts, lists and instructions reached the Court twice over separate hulls, as the consolidated reference records of the duplicate-despatch practice carried forward through the Council letters of 1733 to 1735. The posts or stations for all persons upon double alarms, and the instructions to the commanding officer in the centre of the line, belonged to the island's defence arrangements against the French war then feared. A double alarm signalled the sighting of ships in force, on which every man went to his

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			appointed post, the written scheme fixing where each person stood so the small garrison could be drawn to the works without confusion. The two figures for eaters and the plantation accounts named against Governor Pyke reflect the standing management of the General Table and the Court's own plantations, the monthly plantation account carried in every packet as the running record of the establishment's cost.
303	293	Instructions for the Commanding Officer upon the East.n Curtain ditto upon the West Curtain ditto at Mundens Point ditto at Ruperts ditto at Bankes's ditto to the Commanding Officer of the Flying Party of the Back Side of the Island ditto on the West Side Account of Ship King William [Signed] D. Crispe	The manifest continued with the remaining sets of instructions and the last account. Instructions for the commanding officer upon the East Curtain Instructions for the commanding officer upon the West Curtain Instructions for the commanding officer at Munden's Point Instructions for the commanding officer at Rupert's Instructions for the commanding officer at Bank's Instructions to the commanding officer of the flying party of the back side of the island Instructions to the commanding officer of the flying party on the west side Account of the ship King William Signed, I. Pyke **Interpretations** The separate sets of instructions named for the East Curtain, the West Curtain, Munden's Point, Rupert's, Bank's and the two flying parties mapped the island's whole defensive line onto its posts, each commanding officer given a written charge for his own station. The curtains were the stretches of wall between the bastions of the main fort, Munden's Point the eastern headland battery, Rupert's and Bank's the outlying works, and the flying parties the mobile detachments held ready to run to any threatened point, the entire scheme drawn up against the French war then feared and sent home so the Court could see how the small garrison was disposed. The remainder of the leaf could not be read and is not rendered.
304	294	Honoured Sirs. The Enclosed is a Copy of the Letter wee wrote to Your Honours by the King William who Sailed from hence on the 27.th Dec.r last & wee hope will be Safely Arrived in England long before you receive this. On the 20.th instant the Prince of Orange Arrived here from Madrass but last from the Cape where he met with two Out-ward & fourteen homeward bound Dutch Ships by the latter of which the Captain heard that Cap.t Braund was got Safe to Batavia in his way to Bencoolen. He himself Cap.t Hudson Arrived at fort St George on the 5.th of July & Sailed from thence on the 2.d of Oct.r & Cap.t Raymond & Cap.t Hunt Arrived there on the 10.th July & about Ten days after them the Bristow also came in & they had also advice at Madrass that all the Bengall Ships were Arrived there & that Cap.t Steward & Cap.t Boulton were appointed to return to Madrass but of the Nassau & Derby wee cannot hear any thing Several Sorts of goods which have been many Years in Your Stores & received Damage by Moths long keeping & other Unavoidable Accidents wee exposed to publick Sale on the 6.th instant & Sold as many as Amounted to the Sum of Seventy two Pounds fourteen Shillings & four pence half penny which one Sort with an other comes to more than prime Cost & wee think this is	The Council opened its address to the Court by noting that the enclosure was a copy of the letter sent by the *King William*, which had left the island on the 27th of December last and would be safely arrived in England long before the Court received this one. On the 20th of this month the *Prince of Orange* reached the island from Madras but last from the Cape, where she met with two outward-bound and fourteen homeward-bound Dutch ships. From the homeward ships the captain heard that Captain Braund was got safe to Batavia on his way to Bencoolen. Captain Hudson himself reached Fort St George on the 5th of July and sailed from there on the 2nd of October. Captain Raymond and Captain Hunt arrived at Fort St George on the 10th of July, and about ten days after them the Ostend ships also came in. Advice had come to Madras that all the Bengal ships were arrived there, and that Captain Steward and Captain Boulton were appointed to return to Madras, but of the *Nassau* and the *Derby* the Council could learn nothing. 2: Several kinds of goods that had lain many years in the Court's stores, damaged by moths, long keeping and other unavoidable accidents, were put up for public sale on the 6th of this month, and as many were sold as came to £22 14s 4½d. That kind, with another, came to more than prime cost, and the Council thought this was [...] **Interpretations**

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			The report on shipping traced each Company and foreign vessel through Madras, Bombay, the Cape and Batavia, the Council's standing safety register by which the Court could measure how far its ships had come in safety. Fort St George was the Company's principal settlement on the Coromandel coast at Madras, and the intelligence gathered from a single calling ship reached across the whole eastern trade to name arrivals, appointments and gaps in the record. The public sale of long-stored goods, damaged by moths and age, drew what value it could from stock that would otherwise be a dead loss. That some kinds fetched more than prime cost meant the auction recovered the Company's original outlay on those lines despite the damage, the open sale spreading the goods among the island's buyers rather than letting them rot unsold in the warehouse. The *Prince of Orange* and the *Nassau*, both named here, do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the Braund of this passage is the Captain Braund of the store ship *Duke of Cumberland* reported earlier in the season.
305	295	much better than to keep them till they were quite Spoiled & Useless which very Soon would have been the case most of the Broad Cloth & Silk Druggs put up to Sale (they are not all if I hear equally bad) being as hollow as a Cive. The particulars of this Sale Your Honours will See in our Consultation of the 30.th of December & 6.th of this Month & although those who bought could not immediatly pay for what they had yet wee wee have taken care to dispose of them to Such as will be able to pay for them in a Short time & a few Months hence wee propose to have an other Outcry of the Remainder of these damaged goods for which wee will Endeavour to get ready Money but of this there is so little at St Helena that its hardly to be expected Wee have had a good Winter & have a fair Prospect of a fine Summer Season which wee think began on the 11.th instant & wee hope God will bless Us with the Continuance of it The matter which wee apprehend is more immediatly necessary for Your notice & consi-deration is the want of proper help for carrying on & repairing Your Fortifications Your Honours know that this is heavey Work every where & not to be done without a Sufficient number of labouring People which wee extreamly want for the Several Droughts that have been lately made from hence to furnish the West Cost with Blacks have Weakened Us accordingly insomuch that out the whole number you have at present they are only forty ann able Men the	The Council held it much better to sell the goods than to keep them until they were quite spoiled and useless, which would very soon have been the case with most of the broad cloth and the slight druggets put up for sale, though these were not all equally bad, being as full of holes as a sieve. The particulars of the sale the Court would find in the consultations of the 30th of December and the 6th of this month. Although those who bought could not immediately pay for what they had taken, the Council took care to dispose of the goods to men who would be able to pay for them within a short time. A few months hence the Council intended to hold another sale of the remainder of the damaged goods, for which it would try to get ready money, though at St Helena there was so little of that it could hardly be expected. 3: The Council reported a good season of weather and a fair prospect of a fine summer, which it thought had begun on the 11th of this month, and hoped it would continue. 4: The matter the Council most feared was more immediately fit for the Court's notice and consideration, namely the want of proper help for carrying on and repairing the fortifications. The Court knew this was heavy work everywhere, not to be done without a sufficient number of labouring people, who were now extremely wanted. The several drafts lately made from the island to furnish the west coast with slaves had weakened the establishment accordingly, so that of the whole number the Council now had, there were only forty [...] able men, the rest [...] **Interpretations** Broad cloth was a wide, heavy woollen cloth, and druggets a coarser, cheaper woollen or part-woollen stuff, both English manufactures shipped east for sale to the garrison, the slaves and the planters. Long storage in a warm, damp store had rotted them through, so that a quick sale at whatever price recovered more than letting them decay to nothing, the Council preferring buyers who could pay within months over holding out for ready cash the island did not possess. The drafts of slaves sent to the west coast set the Court's two settlements in direct competition for scarce labour. Bencoolen and the west coast factories drew hands away from St Helena, leaving too few to carry on the fortification works then pressed against the feared French war, the shortage the same one the consolidated reference records through the Council letters of 1734 and 1735, where

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			the want of hands stood as the true bar to the batteries the engineer proposed. The severe scarcity of coin at the island governed the whole conduct of the sale. With almost no ready money in circulation, the Council could not insist on cash and instead extended time to solvent buyers, the same want of a circulating medium that runs through the island's correspondence and forced every remittance onto bills drawn on London.
306	296	rest being either through age or Sickness rendered Unserviceable & Women Boys & Girles are not fit for work of this kind the Women being generally Sickly or Childing & the Boys & Girles of Years too tender for Such hard labour. Wee have frequently represented this to Your Honours & very often last Year particularly in the 4.th Para.r of Our Letter of the 21.th of December in the 3.d Para.r of Our Letter of the 22.th of Janry 1734, in the 6.th Para.r of Our Letter of the 21.th of May & in the 49.th 48.th & 50. Paragraphs of Our Letter of the 6.th of July last, all which wee desire Your Honour will Order to be laid before You & wee believe You will be Sufficiently convinced that wee Stand in great need of a Sready Supply of good Blacks for without more Assistance it impossible to forward the Works with any tollerable Expedition & most of the Inhabi-tants positively refuse to let out their Blacks at the low Rate of 9.d p.r day which wee are afraid if wee are not timely furnished will Oblige Us to Advance the Price. For according to the Computation of the yearly Charge of keeping & maintaining a black contained in Consultati-tion of the 27.th instant the Expence exceed the Profit. & wee are Sure Your Honour do not desire any Persons Should Serve you to be losers by the Bargain & this being the Case wee Shall be Obliged as wee have just now Said to give larger Wages for the Ring of Blacks unless wee are Speedily Supplyed with	The rest were rendered unfit for service through age or sickness, while the women, boys and girls were of no use for such work. The women of this kind were generally sickly or bearing children, and the boys and girls too young for hard labour. The Council had brought this to the Court's notice many times, and very often in the past year, most particularly in the 4th paragraph of its letter of the 24th of December, the 3rd paragraph of the letter of the 25th of January 1734, the 6th paragraph of the letter of the 20th of May, and the 29th, 48th and 50th paragraphs of the letter of the 6th of July last. From all of these the Council hoped the Court would see plainly that it stood in great need of a steady supply of good slaves, for without more help it was impossible to carry on the works with any tolerable speed. Most of the inhabitants flatly refused to let out their slaves at the low rate of ninepence a day, which the Council feared, if it were not supplied in time, would oblige it to raise the price. By the reckoning of the yearly charge of keeping and maintaining a slave, worked out in the consultation of the 27th of this month, the expense came to more than the profit. The Council was sure the Court did not wish any of its people to be losers by the bargain, and this being the case, it would soon be obliged, as it had just now said, to give higher wages for the hire of slaves until it were steadily supplied [...] **Interpretations** The hiring of the planters' slaves at ninepence a day, and the calculation that a slave cost more to keep than the hire returned, set out the economic mechanism behind the labour crisis. The inhabitants would not let out their slaves at a rate below what the animals cost them to feed and maintain, so the Council faced a choice between raising the daily wage or leaving the fortifications unbuilt, the reckoning of 27 December fixing the point at which hire ceased to pay the owner and forcing the Council's hand. The Council's careful citation of six earlier paragraphs across five letters served as a documentary record building its case with the Court. By pointing to each prior notice by date and paragraph, it showed the want of slaves had been pressed repeatedly and left unmet, laying the ground for the higher expense it now anticipated and protecting itself against any later charge of extravagance, the same defensive method the consolidated reference records running through the island's correspondence. The unfitness of the women for the works, from childbearing and constant sickness, reflected the standing difficulty the establishment faced in reckoning its real labour against its nominal numbers, the muster of slaves laying bare how few able hands remained once the women, children, aged and sick were struck off.
307	297	with a Sufficient number. by a Sufficient number wee mean not less than an hundred Sound & Able Blacks ⅔ Men & ⅓ Women for the fellows must have Wives which is the only Occasion wee have for Women	By a sufficient number the Council meant not less than a hundred sound and able slaves, seventy men and thirty women, for the men must have wives, which was the only use the Council had for women.

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		Wee have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of One hundred Pounds Sterling dated this day payable to John Goodwin or Order for the like Sum due to him in Your Books of Accounts here of which wee humbly pray Your Honours Acceptance, Wee are St Helena 29.th Janry 1735 Hon.d Sirs Your most faithfull & Obedient Servants	5: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for £100 0s 0d sterling, dated this day, payable to John Goodwin or order, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island, and asked the Court to accept and pay it. The letter closed at St Helena on 29 January 1735, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants. **Interpretations** The Council's specification of seventy men and thirty women, with the reason that the men must have wives, sets out the reproductive and social calculation behind the demand for labour. The women were sought not for the works, for which they were reckoned unfit, but to be given as wives to the male slaves, the arrangement meant to settle the men and, over time, to breed a home-born stock that would spare the Court the constant charge of buying fresh hands from Madagascar and the coast. John Goodwin, the payee of the bill, appears in the consolidated reference as the storekeeper and fourth of the Council, long in the Court's service at the island and a subscriber of the season's homeward letters. The bill of exchange discharged credit owed him in the Company's books by drawing on the Court in London, the standard remittance where the island held no coin to pay out a balance directly.
308	298	Hon.d Sirs. General ℔ Godolphin the 6.th Apr.l 1736 The Enclosed is a Copy of the Letter Wee wrote to Your Honours by the Prince of Orange who Sailed from hence the 29.th Janry last. On the 16 of March Wee had a double Allarm for 14 Sails passing to Leeward which Wee believe were Dutch & on the 25 wee had an Allarm for the Godolphin from Madrass but last from the Cape where She only Staid one day & half & then left the Draughts who prepared to Saile from thence in five or Six days after her The Supply She brought Your Honours will See in our Consultation of the 30.th March. By Cap.t Steward wee learn that China Ships were well in China, but Cap.t Gough lost his Mainmast in his passage from Malaica to Surat, & one of the Dutch Canton Ships is lost, & the other was in Such Danger that they were obliged to throw part of her Cargo overboard to Save her Cap.t Raymond was to leave Bengall about the middle of January & Cap.t Hutchinson was to Saile from Fort St Davids the latter end of January On the the 28.th wee had an Allarm for a Single Ship & the next day to our great Satisfaction the Duke of Braund Arrived from England & wee will Endeavour to dispatch her within the usual time though wee cant certainly promise because the Surf Runs high & the Sea on Saturday last was so rough that no Boat could Land & so much of her time has been taken up in this necessary peice of Work that wee cannot give Your Honours any Answer to Your last Letter but by the next Ship wee will be full in our Reply in the mean time Wee will return Your Honours our humble thanks for the Large Supply with which You have favoured Us. Such part thereof as wee have Occasion to use Shall be Husbanded	The Council opened its address to the Court by noting that the enclosure was a copy of the letter sent by the *Prince of Orange*, which had left the island on the 29th of January last. On the 16th of March it had a double alarm for fourteen sail passing to leeward, which the Council believed were Dutch, and on the 25th an alarm for the *Godolphin* from Madras but last from the Cape. She stayed only a day and a half and left the drafts, and was preparing to sail again in five or six days after her. The supply she brought the Court would find in the consultation of the 30th of March. From Captain Steward the Council learned that the Court's China ships were safe in China, but Captain Gough had left his *Marlborough* on the passage from Malacca to Surat, one of the Dutch Canton ships being lost, and the others were in such danger that they were forced to throw part of their cargo overboard to save themselves. Captain Raymond was to leave Bengal about the middle of January, and Captain Hutchinson was to sail from Fort St David the latter end of January. 2: On the 28th the Council had an alarm for a single ship, and to its great satisfaction the *Duke of Lorraine* arrived the next day from England. The Council would try to despatch her within the usual time, though it could not certainly promise it, because the surf ran high and the sea on Saturday last was so rough that no boat could land. So much of this necessary work had been taken up that the Council could give the Court no answer to its last letter, but would be full in its reply by the next ship. In the meantime the Council returned the Court its humble thanks for the large supply it had favoured it with, and such part of it as it had occasion to use would be [...] **Interpretations** The report on shipping tracked each Company and foreign vessel through China, Malacca, Surat, Bengal, Fort St David and the Cape, the Council's standing safety register by which the Court could judge how far its ships had come in safety. The loss of a Dutch Canton ship and the jettison of cargo by the others on the passage from Malacca showed the perils of the eastern route, the intelligence gathered from calling ships and passed home ship by ship.

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			The high surf that stopped the boats landing set the physical limit on the island's function as a lading station. Every cargo and every packet moved between ship and shore by open boat, so a rough sea suspended the whole business of unlading and despatch, and here delayed the Council's reply to the Court until the weather should serve, the standing hazard of an anchorage with no sheltered wharf. The *Godolphin*, the *Duke of Lorraine* and the *Prince of Orange* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the Steward, Raymond, Hutchinson and Gough of this passage carry forward the commanders reported in the shipping intelligence of the preceding letters of the season.
309	299	in the best manner & what is for Sale Shall be disposed of to the most Advantage Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of L.10. Sterling payable to Duke Crispe or Order for the like Sum due to him in Your Books of Accounts here of which Wee humbly pray Your Hon.rs Acceptance, & are St Helena 6.th April 1736 Hon.d Sirs Your most faithfull & Obed.t Servants Isa. Pyke Ino. Alexander Ino. Goodwin D. Crispe	The supply would be used in the best manner, and what was for sale would be disposed of to the greatest advantage. 3: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for £10 0s 0d sterling, payable to Duke Crispe or order, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island, and asked the Court to accept and pay it. The letter closed at St Helena on 6 April 1736, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. **Interpretations** Duke Crispe, the payee of the bill, is the D. Crispe who subscribed the letter as a member of the Council, appearing in the consolidated reference as the councillor whose name the clerk's hand renders variously as Corise and Cripps, and distinct from Mr Cripps the surgeon. The bill of exchange discharged a small balance owed him in the Company's books by drawing on the Court in London, the standard remittance on a cashless island. The four subscribing signatures, Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe, record the settled composition of the Council under Governor Pyke through this season, the Governor with his secretary, his storekeeper and the fourth member completing the board that signed the homeward correspondence.
310	300	Honoured Sirs. General ℔ Beaufort the 16 Apr.l 1736 Wee very heartily Congratulate Your Honours upon the Safe Arrival of Your Several Ships of the last Year, this good News wee heard the 25.th of March last & wee hope the same good Fortune will attend those now in India & those now upon their Voyage from hence to England the last of which was the Godolphin who Sailed on the 6.th instant early in the Morning & Enclosed You receive a Copy of the Letter wee then wrote to Your Hon.rs Cap.t Boulton arrived here on the 11.th of this Month from the Cape where he learnt News which if true is very bad, though it is not well attested, & wee hope is otherwise, it relates to Your China Ships the Jordan & Naughton, both which the Dutch Say were lost in Stormy Weather at China, but wee are very apt to believe this is a Story contrived by them in order to keep their own people in heart for the loss of one of their own China Ships which lately perished & for the great damage which was Sustained by the other Wee return Your Honours thanks for the List You have been pleased to give Us of your outward bound Shiping to whom wee heartily wish Safety & Sucess Wee also thank Your Honours for the List of your Supra Cargoes	The Council opened its address to the Court with hearty congratulations on the safe arrival of the Court's several ships of the past year. This good news had reached the island on the 25th of March last, and the Council hoped the same good fortune would attend those now in India, and those now on their passage home. The last of these was the *Godolphin*, which sailed on the 3rd of this month, early in the morning, and enclosed was a copy of the letter the Council then wrote to the Court. Captain Boulton reached the island on the 16th of this month from the Cape, where he learned news which, if true, was very bad, though it was not well confirmed and the Council hoped it was otherwise. It concerned the Court's China ships, the *Jordan* and the *Houghton*, both of which the Dutch said were lost in stormy weather at China. The Council was very apt to believe this was a story got up by the Dutch to keep their own people in heart, given the loss of one of their own China ships lately wrecked and the great damage sustained by another. 2: The Council returned the Court its thanks for the list it had been pleased to give of its outward-bound shipping, to whom the Council heartily wished safety and success. 3: The Council also thanked the Court for the list of its supercargoes. 4: The Council was glad the Court had received its several letters of the past year.

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		Wee are glad Your Honours have received our Severall Letters of last Year Wee Ourselves took notice of the mistake of a date in our Letter of the 5.th July but too late to Rectifie it. Wee will be more carefull for the future All our Diligence has been Used to Unlade the Duke of Portain within the ten days limited by Charterparty. but the Sea has been So rough & boisterous that all our Endeavours have proved Unsucessfull but on the last day wee protested	5: The Council had itself noticed the mistake of a date in its letter of the 5th of July, but too late to correct it, and would be more careful in future. 6: The Council had used all its diligence to unlade the *Duke of Lorraine* within the ten days allowed by the charter party, but the sea had been so rough that all its efforts proved unsuccessful. On the last day it protested against [...] **Interpretations** The Council's suspicion that the Dutch had invented the loss of the *Jordan* and the *Houghton* rested on a plausible motive it could name from the record. The Dutch had lately lost one Canton ship and badly damaged another, as reported in the preceding letter of the season, so a false report of English losses would keep their own crews and merchants in heart by making the misfortune general, the Council weighing the intelligence against the interest of the men who carried it. The ten-day unlading term of the charter party, defeated here by the high sea, was the contractual limit within which a calling ship had to be cleared before demurrage began to run against the Court. The rough weather that stopped the boats put the island in breach of a term it could not physically meet, forcing the protest the Council entered on the last day to fix the cause on the sea rather than any fault of its own, the same difficulty the consolidated reference records where the old unlading term was admitted impossible in practice. The *Godolphin*, the *Duke of Lorraine*, the *Jordan* and the *Houghton* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the Boulton of this passage is the commander reported in the shipping intelligence of the preceding letter.
311	301	against the Captain & he returned an Answer the next day & Your Hon.rs will See the whole of this affair in our Consultation of this 6.th instant the Captains request for our Letters to finde Your Hon.rs receive in our Packett, together with the days of Working & endorsed thereon. For the future if any of the Captains make Use of any of the Cargo Consigned to Us wee will inform Your Honours of the exact Quantity missing in each Ship to enable Your Honours to Adjust the damage with the Owners & the exact weight of each particular recidue Shall be mentioned on the back of the Bills of Lading No doubt the Gent.s of Bencoolen have recommended to Your Honours Such Arrack as they have Sent hither as very good they durst not do otherwise. but wee have not found it So, in certain very bad distilled Liquors are corrected by time, & p become better for keeping the Casks in which it was put were old Cask at their Setting up & were burnt with Green Wood which makes it Smell very Strong of Smoak. but wee will get it off as well as wee, if any is left it must Serve for the Blacks The Inhabitants have all the Liberty their hearts can desire to See & dispose to the best Advantage every thing they can raise & its our particular Care, to that foreigners with all Civility to Encourage them to come & refresh them, & us here. The Bills drawn upon M.r Collet & upon the Owners of the Royale Guardian being paid the Same has been placed to the Credit of the Several Ships who Stood Debtors for their respective Sums Wee are as Saving as possibly wee can be & Husband every thing to the best Advantage for wee know very well that this place is a great Charge	The Council protested against the captain and returned an answer the next day, and the Court would find the whole of this affair in the consultation of the 6th of this month. The captain's receipt for the Council's letters to the Court was in the packet, together with the days of unlading endorsed on it. 7: In future, if any of the captains made use of any of the cargo consigned to the Council, it would inform the Court of the exact quantity missing from each ship, so the Court could adjust the accounts with the owners, and the exact weight of each particular deficiency would be noted on the back of the bills of lading. 8: No doubt the gentlemen at Bencoolen had recommended to the Court the arrack they sent to the island as very good, though the Council had not found it so. Some of it was very bad and slight, and the liquors were corrected by time and grew better with keeping, since the casks in which it was put were old casks at their filling and were burnt with green wood, which made the arrack smell very strong of smoke. The Council would nonetheless get it off as well as it could, and whatever was left it must keep for the slaves. 9: The inhabitants had all the liberty they could wish to sell and dispose of everything they had to the best advantage, and it was the Council's particular care to treat all foreigners with civility and to encourage them to come and refresh at the island. 10: The bills drawn on Mr Collet and on the owners of the *Royal Guardian* being paid, the same had been placed to the credit of the several ships that stood debtors for their respective sums. 11: The Council was as saving as it could be, and managed everything to the best advantage, for it knew very well that the island was a great charge to the Court, and it took particular care that no false

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		to Your Honours & wee will take particular care that no false Musters are imposed upon Us & that there is no Cheat of any Sort whatsoever The Blacks Cap.t Pelly left here desire to return to their native Country & Cap.t Pomngton carries	musters were imposed on the Court, and that there was no leakage of any kind whatever. 12: The slaves Captain Pitt left at the island wished to return to their native country, and Captain Pomgton [...] carried [...] **Interpretations** The endorsement of the exact quantity and weight of any deficiency on the back of the bills of lading was the enforcement mechanism by which the Court could charge a defaulting master. A commander who drew on cargo consigned to the island had to answer for it in the settlement of his account with the owners, so the written record of what fell short, fixed against his own shipping document, turned a physical loss into a recoverable charge, the same programme the consolidated reference records running through the ship's-accounts and bill-of-lading enforcement thread. The poor arrack from Bencoolen exposed a defect in the packing rather than the spirit itself. Arrack was a distilled liquor of the East, here shipped in old casks that had been charred with green wood before filling, so the raw smoke tainted the whole consignment, and the Council, unable to sell it readily, reserved the worst for the slaves' ration, the difficulty laid to the sending station's careless cooperage. The Council's insistence that it imposed no false musters and allowed no leakage answered the standing suspicion at home that the island's charges were inflated. A false muster meant fictitious names drawn on the establishment's pay, and leakage the quiet diversion of stores, so the assurance was aimed at the Court's audit of an expensive settlement, the same defence the consolidated reference records where the Governor cut the fictitious names on the perquisite roll and pressed frugal management through every letter. The *Royal Guardian* named here appears in the consolidated reference among the ships of the season, while the Pitt of this passage is the Captain George Pitt of the *Swallow* of earlier report, and the commander whose name follows could not be read and is marked accordingly.
312	302	them to be transient wee have treated them well & they Seem highly pleased with their kind Usage which wee Hope will be of Service to Such of our Countrymen who Trade among them The only Buy of the Captains Such Goods as wee cannot possibly Shift without & this is Such as Traded with Us. that wee will never transgress it. Wee thank Your Honours for the Order You have been pleased to your Servants abroad to furnish us with Several Articles wee mentioned in our Indent of last Year The Gent of the West Cost Seem very greivous & forward & wee find Endeavour to Shear themselves from Blame by throwing it upon Us M.r Beale has met with Such Encouragement from M.r Braun Your own Councill in England to prosecute & Prosecute his Right he being told by him that both master & Country are on his Side that he hopes Your Honours will pardon him if he is once more obliged to bring his Case before You, Your Honours not having as yet given any finale Directions about this matter & he promises not to trouble You with any moving except what Council Learned in the Law Shall Advise him to Say before You. Wee are glad Your Hon.rs approve of our keeping allways 20 Ton of Rice by Us. In Such a Country as this where the rains are so uncertain for want of which the Inhabitants at times have been much distressed for Food its highly	Captain Pomgton carried them home to their country, and the Council had treated them well, so that they seemed highly pleased with their kind usage, which the Council thought would be of service to any of the island's countrymen who traded among them. 13: The only goods the Council bought of the captains were such as it could not do without, and only such as would keep, so that it would never have to transfer them. The Council thanked the Court for the order it had been pleased to give its servants abroad to furnish the island with the several articles named in its indent of the past year. 14: The gentlemen of the Court of Directors were very ready to help forward its servants, and the Council would try to relieve them of any blame by taking it on itself. 15: Mr Beale had met with such encouragement from Mr Brown, a member of the Court, in England to make good and prove his right, being held out of it by him, both master and country, on his own side, that the Council hoped the Court would pardon it for being once more obliged to bring his case before it. Since the Court had not yet given any final directions in this matter, the Council promised not to trouble the Court with any except what the Council learned in the case it would soon advise the Court of. 16: The Council was glad the Court approved of its always keeping ten tons of rice in store. In such a

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		necessary & for this reason wee, particularly mentioned it to Your Honours in Order to receive your Advice the Directions about it Wee have often cause to Suspect that when wee call upon the Inhabitants to pay their Debts they falsely pretend they have not money but by Selling of their Cattle wee can the better judge of their Circumstances which is the chief thing wee aim at by it & they are very easey with it	country as this, where the rains were so uncertain, and for want of which the inhabitants had at times been much distressed for food, it was highly necessary, and for this reason the Council had particularly mentioned it to the Court in order to receive its directions about it. 17: The Council had often had cause to suspect that when it called on the inhabitants to pay their debts, they falsely claimed to have no money. By the selling of their cattle the Council could the better judge of their circumstances, which was the chief thing it aimed at, if they were very easy with [...] **Interpretations** The keeping of a standing ten tons of rice in store served as a famine reserve against the island's uncertain rains. St Helena depended on its own yam crop, which failed in dry seasons and left the inhabitants short of food, so a held stock of imported rice was the buffer that carried the settlement through a bad year, the Council pressing the Court's sanction for a policy it had already adopted, the same food anxiety the consolidated reference records through the long drought and the renewed pleas for grain. The selling of the planters' cattle gave the Council a means of testing the truth of their pleas of poverty. A man who claimed no money to pay his debt but who held cattle he could sell revealed his real circumstances by what he chose to part with, so the Council watched such sales to judge who was genuinely poor and who was hoarding, the same debt-recovery method the consolidated reference records where the inhabitants were suspected of letting their debt grow to a round sum and then pleading poverty to move the Court to forgive it. Mr Beale is the Richard Beale of the consolidated reference, the inhabitant whose disputed land case against the heirs of Gabriel Powell was referred home undetermined, and Mr Brown the member of the Court in England now backing his claim. The Council's care to bring the case forward only with fresh matter reflected its wish not to weary the Court while a final decision was awaited from home.
313	303	According to the Advice wee have received from Your Honours, wee will discharge the Accounts of the Several Ships referred to in this Paragraph Wee have already Sold part of the Several Sorts of goods which have been long in the Stores & much damaged & will continue the Sale at times till wee get clear of the whole in doing of which wee will Ehte as much for Your Honours Advantage as wee possibly can the particulars of what wee have lately done in this affair Your Honours will know our Consultation of the 6.th Janry last. When wee Opened the goods Your Honours have now Sent wee will acquaint You with what are good or bad & Your Honours may depend upon it wee wee Indent for no more than there is a real Occasion for & a List of Remains Shall be Speedily Sent You Wee are never o'yd with any body except with the Sett of People who would otherwise be quite incorrigible Wee are Sorry that the French & their Allies proceed with Such a rapid Scene of Success & having carried almost every thing before them in Italy the finde they are bringing the War near our own Dores in which case wee fear that England & Holland will no longer be able to continue Newter, but in all Events wee will take the best care wee can to defend Your Island & Your Shiping The reason why wee humbly presumed to refer Your Honours to Consultations relating to that Crazy Man Morth.re Casberie, after wee received your	18: Following the Court's advice, the Council would discharge the accounts of the several ships named in this paragraph. 19: The Council had already sold part of the several kinds of goods that had lain long in the stores and were much damaged, and would carry on the sale from time to time until it got clear of the whole, managing it as much to the Court's advantage as it could. The particulars of what it had lately sold the Court would find in its consultation of the 6th of January last. When the goods the Court had sent were opened, the Council would tell the Court what were good and what bad, so the Court might depend on it that it wanted no more than there was real occasion for, and a list of the remains would be sent promptly. 20: The Council was never at odds with anyone except the master of the *Prince of Orange*, who would otherwise be quite inexcusable. 21: The Council was sorry that the French and their allies had met with such open success, and, having carried almost everything before them in Italy, were now bringing the war near its own doors, so that the Council feared England and Holland could no longer stay neutral. In any event the Council would take the best care it could to defend the Court's island and its shipping. 22: The reason the Council had ventured to refer the Court to the consultations concerning the demented man, Monsieur Gascherie, after the reference it received by the *Cumberland*, was that the

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		Order by the Cumberland was, because wee, justly imagined that if Your Honours had timely known of his Suspicious Conduct & very ill Behaviour you would not have mentioned any thing in his Favour. & as for acting in concert with him it was a thing become utterly impossible for he was Grown to Such a Pitch of Pride that he was Impatient & Un- to bear longer & with his Insolence & besides glad to find Your Honours are rid of him. the Fortifications are forwarded as fast as its possible though for want of help & so fast as wee could think this be Drained	Council had imagined that if the Court had known of his suspicious conduct and very ill behaviour in time, it would not have mentioned anything in his favour. As for acting in concert with him, that became utterly impossible, for he was grown to such a pitch of pride that it was impossible to bear any longer with his insolence, and the Council was glad to be rid of him. The fortifications were carried forward as fast as it could, though for want of help, and only so much as it could, the Council thought this was [...] **Interpretations** Monsieur Gascherie, named here as the demented man, appears in the consolidated reference as the engineer sent to St Helena and lodged at the Court's charge, distrusted from the first and at length dismissed on legal proof of his incapacity and troublesome conduct, sent home on the *George* and paid off £146 16s 8d. He surveyed the defences from half a mile off by boat and would not go upon the ground, delivered plans found false and erroneous, and was found not so much as known to Sir Charles Wager whom he claimed as his recommender. The Council's report that the French had carried all before them in Italy and were bringing the war near English and Dutch doors set out the strategic reasoning behind its defensive preparations. A general European war threatened to draw in England and Holland and expose the Court's island and its shipping to French attack, so the Council pressed the fortifications forward against that prospect, the same feared war the consolidated reference records driving the defence programme through the letters of 1734 and 1735. The single quarrel the Council owned, with the master of the *Prince of Orange*, marked its wish to appear at peace with all who called at the island save the one commander whose conduct it had already laid before the Court, the exception noted to preserve its character for civility to shipping. **Speculations** The Council chose to refer the Court to its own consultations on Gascherie rather than let the Court's favourable mention of him stand, though deference to the home authority would have been the safer course. It justified the departure by supposing the Court had commended the engineer only because it had not yet learned of his conduct, so that laying the full record before the Court, and confessing it was glad to be rid of a man it could no longer bear, became the way to correct a recommendation the Council held the Court would never have made had it known what the island knew.
314	304	of business of Such vast Consequence & importance that the Governour was more than Ordinary care about it himself Wee have so often repeated the distress wee are in for want of Slaves in Order to go on with the Fortifycations that its needless to Say more Your Honours are convinced of our Necessity & wee return You thanks for the Supply You have Ordered to be Sent Us from Bombay if Cap.t Jenkins meets with Sucess Wee believe the Inhabitants would be willing to give a helping hand towards Building & Repairing the Fortyfications but they are not able they have already at their own Charge builta Battery at Turks Cap for 8 Guns & the Indulgence Your Honours have lately Shewn them would probably be an Inducement to them to go on but they are your & no Capacity to procede farther the Highways are now made & repaired by Mutual Contribution of Labour & is not thrown upon Your	The Governor took more than ordinary care of the matter himself, so great was its consequence and importance. 23: The Council had often repeated the distress it was in for want of hands to go on with the fortifications, which needed it to stay longer, and the Court was convinced of its necessity. The Council returned the Court its thanks for the supply it had ordered to be sent from Bombay, if Captain Jenkins met with success. 24: The Council believed the inhabitants would be willing to lend a helping hand towards building and repairing the fortifications, but they were not able. They had already, at their own charge, built a battery at Turk's Cap for eight guns. The indulgence the Court had lately shown them would probably be some inducement to them to go on, but they had no capacity to do further. The roads were now made and repaired by the mutual contribution of labour, and were not thrown wholly on the Court.

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		Honours alone According to Your Honours Orders in this Paragraph wee will hereafter Debt or Credit Accounts Currant London for all Ballances whatsoever Wee manage the Expence of Your Table with the greatest Frugality, wee Suffer nothing to be brought but what is necessary & are as Saving as possible in every Article, & to the Sashes & frames Some of them are already Made but those which are not already Set up Shall be placed to the Gov.rs own Account hereafter Columns Shall be kept in the Ledger for all Sorts of Goods capable to be therein Entered & Sums Your Honours disapprove of our Method in Entring the Ballance for the future they Shall be Entred in the Same & particular manner by You as directed Wee premise Your Honours wee will draw as little & pay Your as is prohibit & wee will avoid it wherever wee can but wee cannot altogether do	25: Following the Court's orders in this paragraph, the Council would in future keep a debtor or creditor account current for all balances whatever. 26: The Council managed the Court's expense with the greatest frugality, and let nothing be brought to outcry that was necessary, being as saving as possible in every article. As to the sashes and frames, some of them were already used, but those not already set up would be placed to the Court's own account. 27: In future, columns would be kept in the ledger for all kinds of goods, so much being entered under each, so that the Court might approve of the Council's method. In entering the balances in future, they would be entered in a particular manner, so much under each head. 28: The Council would draw as little on the Court as it could, and would avoid it wherever it could, though it could not altogether do without [...] **Interpretations** The battery at Turk's Cap for eight guns, built by the inhabitants at their own charge, appears in the consolidated reference as the work the islanders began cheerfully on 3 August 1734 and stalled for want of lime. Its mention here, with the roads made by mutual contribution of labour, showed the Council that the settlement's own people bore part of the defensive burden, but were too poor and too few to do more, the Court's recent indulgence over their rents held out as the only spur that might carry them further. The keeping of separate columns in the ledger for each kind of goods, and the entering of balances head by head, set out the reformed bookkeeping the Court required. A ledger that pooled all goods together concealed the true state of any one line, so ruling a column for each and carrying the balances under distinct heads let the Court read the account clearly, the same accounting reform the consolidated reference records running through the island's correspondence after the accountant general's audit condemned the old undated and confused books. The Court's indulgence to the inhabitants was the granting of their reduced rents, which the consolidated reference records was pressed and at length continued for another five years against the ruin of the long drought, the concession held here to answer the double aim of keeping a poor and discontented settlement quiet and of drawing some contribution from it towards the works.
315	305	without it & whenever it is unavoidable Your Honours have allways find the Goodness to allow it Wee have acquainted Cap.t Cason with what Your Honours have mentioned relating to the Payment of the Money which he now has on Your Honours & at this place & he is very concerned & Surprized at the News & has desired Us to give him leave to present a Petition to Your Honours upon this Subject before any thing farther is done herein, & his Request appearing to Us to be very reasonable especially after a long & faithfull Service of near 34 Years in which he hath Spent the Vigour of his Youth, we prayd his Wee till & return.d his Consumption. His Petition comes in the Packett & wee humbly assure Your Honours that the Several Facts therein mentioned are exactly true Wee take Such care to moderate the Charge of the Garrison & all other branches of Expence that its Trolled or Cheat can any ways happen, nor do wee blindly trust to any body, wee inspect into every thing & take Special Care that all persons Employed by	The Council could not altogether do without drawing on the Court, and hoped the Court would always be favourable, as it had always found it. 29: The Council had already told the Court what it had said to Captain Cason about the payment of the money the Court now held for him, which at this place was very scarce, and Cason was well satisfied at the news, and had said he would give the Council a petition on the subject before anything further was done in it. The request appeared to the Council to be very reasonable, especially after a long and faithful service of near thirty-four years, in which he had spent the flower of his youth, impaired his health and worn out his constitution. The petition came in the packet, and the Council hoped the Court would find the several facts stated in it were exactly true. 30: The Council would in future take such care to keep down the charge of the garrison and other kinds of expense that no fraud or leakage should happen, nor should it blindly trust anyone. It would inspect into everything and take special care that all persons employed by the Court were punctual in their duty.

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		Your Honours are punctual in their Duty We hope M.r Fendyce will behave like a Gent. a Christian & a Clergyman, one of this Character is universally beloved & to Encourage him wee, & wee endeavour to make all things easey to him & observe Such Directions as Your Honours have given about him, but an Ecclesiastical Wretch Such as the last had is the Plague & Pest of Society Such Commands as wee Shall receive from the Hon.ble Gent of Committee of Secrecy Shall be Suitably obeyed & Instructions obtained as Shall be Sent to them Your Servants abroad relating to Signals Shall be observed Wee have Ballanced M.r Collets Account according to the Advice given Us in this Paragraph According to Your Directions, William Tucker is without any Charge to Your Honours have taken Passage for England on board the Godolphin An Answer wherto the Governour hath made to the 86 Paragraph he hopes will be a Sufficient Answer to this & the Same Your Honours instances be duely complyed with	31: The Council hoped Mr Fenwyck would behave like a gentleman and a Christian and a clergyman, one of this character being sought after to be got, and it would encourage him and do everything in its power to make him observe such directions as the Court had given about him. But an ecclesiastic such as the last had been was the plague and pest of society. 32: The Council would receive from the Court, through the gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy, such commands and directions as should be sent to the Court's servants abroad concerning signals, and would strictly obey them, and it should be done. 33: The Council had settled the balance of Mr Etches's account according to the advice given it in this paragraph. 34: Following the Court's directions, William Tucker had taken passage for England, without any charge to the Court, on board the *Godolphin*. 35: The answer the Governor would make to the 86th paragraph would be a sufficient reply to this, and the Court's orders in it would be duly complied with. **Interpretations** Captain Cason is the Lieutenant Thomas Cason of the consolidated reference, the long-serving officer who on his petition of 12 January 1719 asked the Court to hold his savings in its London cash at interest as a support in his old age. The scarcity of coin at the island made a direct cash payment impossible, so his money stood in the Court's hands at home and drew interest there, the arrangement turning idle savings on a cashless island into an interest-bearing claim that served the officer as a private pension after nearly thirty-four years' service. Mr Fenwyck, the incoming clergyman, was hoped to prove better than his predecessor, the last chaplain being condemned as the plague and pest of society. That predecessor was Mr White, whom the consolidated reference records as the most undeserving of the island's chaplains, dead by 1731, his drunken widow shipped home, the failure of clerical discipline a recurring trouble the Council pressed on the Court through several seasons. The Committee of Secrecy was the inner body of the Court that handled confidential matters such as the signals by which the Company's ships and settlements recognised one another, a security precaution against an enemy learning them, here to be obeyed strictly against the feared French war.
316	306	Having thus gone through the Several Paragraphs of Your last Letter wee procede to Acquaint Your Honours with the Affairs of the Island which has Suffered much for want of Rain which though it began well & set in early yet it soon broke up & wee had the Hottest Summer that has happened for many Years yet the the Inhabitants have generally Suffered thereby wee hope they will be able to get over it, what chiefly distresses them, is their loss of their Yam Plantations especially on the East Side of the Country which as it is Naturally the most Barren Soil is unfortunately the most populous but Your own Plantation being Sheltered So has are all in a good Condition Wee have two Families upon this Island which create Constant Disturbances both to Us & their Neighbours since wee mean Joseph Bates & John Long. Our Consultations are filled with Entries of their Distracty & the Behaviour the last concerning Bates was on the 9.th instant & John Long on the 19.th of March last Petitioned for leave to go with his Family to Bencoolen but they are Such a wicked Generation that wee did not think	36: Having gone through the several paragraphs of the Court's last letter, the Council turned to the affairs of the island, which had suffered much for want of rain. Though the rain began well and set in early, it soon dried up, and the island had the driest summer that had happened for many years. The inhabitants generally suffered by it, but the Council hoped they would be able to get over it. What chiefly distressed them was still the state of their yam plantations, especially on the east side of the country, which was naturally the most barren and was unfortunately the most peopled. The Court's own plantation, the thirteen acres, was all in good condition. 37: The island held two hundred families, and the Council meant Joseph Bates and John Long, who caused constant disturbances both to it and to their neighbours. The consultations were full of entries of their bad conduct, and to give the last account of it, Bates was on the 9th of this month, and John Long on the 19th of March last, refused leave to go with their families to Bencoolen, for they were such a wicked breed that the Council did not think it proper to give them more than the Court's leave, though it

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		it proper to grant them leave till wee first knew Your Honours pleasure though wee Should be heartily glad to be rid of them but the Question with Us is whether by their bad Enmity they may not do more harm then good abroad. This Man Bates in Defiance of Us keeps a Punch House. but pretends he gives away his Liquor & does not Sell it & therefore Says he will treat any body whom he pleases & by this means draws a great Resort to his House. where many disorders are daily commited which once arose very near to a Mutiny & for this reason wee placed a Sentry at his door to prevent farther Mischief, & wee are Hon.d Sirs Your most faithfull & Obed.t Servants Isa. Pyke [...] [...] [...] [...] Margin Notes: P.S. Cap.t Fogwell Sailed from the 5.d on the 6.th March & Cap.t Pomngton prepares to Saile as Soon as he can possibly get his Ballast & water on board the Merchant.r has hurried that he has Staved one of his Boates & thinks She runs very high	would be heartily glad to be rid of them. But the question with the Council was whether they might not do more harm than good abroad. Bates kept a punch house in defiance of the Council, but claimed to give away his liquor and not sell it, and therefore said he would treat anyone he pleased, and by this means drew a great resort to his house, where many disorders were daily committed, which once came very near to a mutiny. For this reason the Council placed a sentry at his door to prevent further mischief. The letter closed at St Helena, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke and the rest. The Council added a postscript. Captain Gough of the *Godolphin* sailed from the island on the 3rd of March, but Captain Pomgton [...] since supplied the *Godolphin* with a person who had [...] his own so bad that he had staved one of his casks [...] and the [...] the sea ran very high. **Interpretations** Joseph Bates and John Long, named here as the two chief troublemakers, both appear earlier in this season's correspondence, Bates as the inhabitant who defrauded the Spanish heirs and denied his bond, and John Long as the man returned from Bencoolen who fell to robbing his neighbours and was set to work at the fortifications. The Council's refusal to send them and their families to Bencoolen turned on a calculated fear that such men might do more harm at another settlement than at the island, weighing the relief of being rid of them against the danger of loosing a disruptive breed on the west coast. Bates's device of claiming to give his liquor away rather than sell it was a dodge to keep his punch house open in defiance of the Council. An unlicensed house that sold drink could be suppressed, but one that professed to treat its guests gratis evaded the charge, so the pretence of free hospitality masked a disorderly resort the Council could only check by posting a sentry at the door, the near approach to a mutiny showing how far such houses threatened the garrison's order. The concentration of the poorer inhabitants on the barren east side of the island tied the food crisis to the settlement's geography. The east was naturally the least fertile ground yet carried the most families, so the failure of the yam crop there in a dry summer fell hardest on those least able to bear it, the Court's own watered plantation standing in good condition by contrast, the same dependence on watered ground the consolidated reference records where one watered acre was reckoned worth three of the rest. **Speculations** The Council refused Bates and Long the passage to Bencoolen they sought, though shipping them off would have rid the island of two men it called a plague and gladly seen gone. It held back because it judged they might do more harm abroad than at home, so that the obvious relief of transportation was passed over for fear of arming the west coast settlement with a wicked breed, the Council choosing to keep its own troublemakers under a sentry rather than export a danger it could not answer for.
317	307	List of the Packett ℔ Beaufort the 16.th April 1736	The Council listed the packet sent home by the *Beaufort*, dated 16 April 1736.
318	308	Hon.d Sirs General Letter ℔ Wager the 8.th May 1736 The Beaufort & Queen Carolina Sailed from hence on the 26.th April & such Supplies	The Council opened its address to the Court. The *Beaufort* and the *Queen Caroline* had sailed from the island on the 26th of April, and the supplies they brought the Court would find in the consultations of

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		as they brought Us Your Honours will See in Our Consultations of the 13.th & 26.th of last Month, & on the 25.th of that Month the Duke of Braun also Sailed for Bencoolen. On the 24.th of April Your Ship Wager Arrived & brought Us a Supply of Provisions &.c as Entred in Our Consultation of the 26.th but Wee received not any Bill of Lading or Invoice so that wee have tallied the Goods according to the Invoice of the Cargo Sent Us by the Beaufort. By the Dutch at the Cape there being a rumour Spread wee hope without any Truth that Your Eslern Ships have been lost in a Storm at China wee have upon this Occasion looked back for Eight Years & Examined at what time Your own & other China Ships within that Space have touched here & wee find that Six out of 22 have made it May before they got hither one of them so late in the Year as the 29.th of May & out of 7 French China Ships two of them Arrived late one on the 14.th & the other on 30.th of May so that wee are Still in hopes they are Safe be the rather because it has been Said that Cap.t Gough Reported that this Season Your China Ships would be late before they reached St Helena & for Your Sat.on Jackson Wee lay the following List before Sirs	the 13th and 26th of last month. On the 25th of that month the *Duke of Lorraine* also sailed for Bencoolen. On the 24th of April the Court's ship *Major* arrived and brought a supply of provisions, as entered in the consultation of the [...], but the Council received no bill of lading or invoice with them, so it had valued the goods according to the invoice of the cargo sent by the *Beaufort*. 2: A rumour was spread among the Dutch at the Cape that the Court's ships had been lost in a storm at China, but the Council hoped it was without any truth. On this occasion it had looked back over eight years and examined at what times the Court's own and other China ships had reached the island within that period. It found that out of thirty-two, it might be before they got there, one of them came as late in the year as the 29th of May, and, out of the French China ships, two of them arrived as late, one on the 14th and the other on the 30th of May. So the Council was still in hopes they were safe, though the rather afraid because it had been said that Captain Gough reported the Court's China ships would be late this season before they reached St Helena. For the Court's satisfaction the Council set the following before it. **Interpretations** The Council's search back over eight years of arrival dates was a deliberate method for weighing an alarming rumour against the record. Faced with a Dutch report that its China ships were lost, it assembled the latest arrivals of Company and French China vessels within living memory to show that a ship reaching the island as late as the end of May was not unusual, so the absence of the expected ships need not mean disaster, the past register used to steady judgement against fear. The failure of the *Major* to deliver any bill of lading or invoice with her provisions left the Council to value the goods by another ship's paper. A cargo consigned without its accompanying documents could not be checked against what was sent, so the Council fell back on the invoice of the *Beaufort* to price the *Major*'s supply, a makeshift that shows how the whole system of reckoning consigned goods rested on the shipping papers travelling with them. The *Beaufort*, the *Queen Caroline*, the *Duke of Lorraine* and the *Major* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the Gough of this passage is the commander whose loss of his *Marlborough* on the eastern passage was reported earlier in the season.
319	309	Our Season this Summer has not proved so good as wee could wish, but thank God the Inhabitants have made a tolerable Shift & have not been so much distressed for want of Rain as at first they apprehended they have Provisions in plenty for Your Shiping & wee hope wee get Rent for all they have to Sell they are with no Interruption thereby Man has free Liberty to dispose to the best Advantage every thing they can raise Wee have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours both dated the 7.th instant one Sett payable to Jonathan Doveton or Order for Forty five Pounds Sterling for the like Sum by him paid into Cash here, the other Sett payable to Isaac Pyke Esq.r or Order for five Hundred Pounds Sterling for the like Sum due to him in Your Books of Accounts here of both which Wee humbly pray Your Honours Acceptance, Wee are St Helena 8.th May 1736 Hon.d Sirs Your most Humble &	3: The season this summer had not proved so good as the Council could wish, but the inhabitants had made a tolerable shift and had not been so much distressed for want of rain as at first they feared. They had provisions enough for the Court's shipping, and the Council hoped to get rent for all they had to sell, since they had free liberty, without any interruption, to dispose of everything they had to the best advantage. 4: The Council had drawn two sets of bills of exchange on the Court, both dated the 7th of this month. One set was payable to Jonathan Doveton or order for £45 0s 0d sterling, for the like sum paid by him into the Court's cash at the island. The other was payable to Isaac Pyke esquire or order for £500 0s 0d sterling, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island. The Council asked the Court to accept and pay both. The letter closed at St Helena on 8 May 1736, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's humble and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe.

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		Obedient Servants Isa. Pyke J. Alexander J. Goodwin D. Crispe	**Interpretations** Jonathan Doveton appears in the consolidated reference as a planter at St Helena, payee of bills drawn on the Court in earlier seasons and one of Grace Coulson's executors. His bill here for £45 0s 0d worked the reverse of the usual remittance: rather than drawing out a balance owed him, he paid ready money into the Court's cash at the island and took a bill for the like sum payable in London, the arrangement moving his coin safely home without shipping specie, the island receiving the cash it perpetually lacked. The bill of £500 0s 0d payable to Isaac Pyke esquire was drawn to the Governor himself for a balance standing to his account in the Company's books. A sum owed a servant at a cashless island could only be discharged by a bill on the Court in London, so the Governor's own credit was remitted by the same mechanism as any other creditor's, the two bills together showing money flowing both into and out of the Court's account across the divide between the island and home.
320	310	Honoured Sirs General ♆ Naughton the 3.d June 1736 Your China ships to Our very great Satisfaction arrived here on 20.th of last Month & this being the most agreable peice of News wee can Send You wee have mentioned it first, for the Scarborough & Nassau came in the third before them, the Scarborough came in on the 11.th & the Nassau on the 16.th & the Duke of Cumberland on the 23. of May but wee had not any Supply either by Your China Ships or the Cumberland that Collack was brought Us by the other two Ships Your Consultations of the 18.th of that Month, M.r Everett being dangerously ill & a Passenger upon Cap.t Braund his made it his Choice to continue him Sometime, for the Recovery of his Health & he being lately one of Your Servants Shall be Sure to meet with all the Care & Civilities wee can Shew him. the Wager left Us on the 9.th of May & was hope is far & Largely Advanced on her Voyage the Enclosed is a Copy of the Letter wee then Sent to Your Honours On the 20.th of May Cap.t Westcoat Sent Us a Letter relating to an Allowance for Demorage in Consideration of his Staying for Your other Shiping but wee not having any Warrant or Authority from Your Honours to return an Answer upon this Subject wee have Entered his Letter in Our Consultation of the 25.th of last Month together with what wee thought proper for us to Say relating to this Affair By Cap.t Braund the Governour received a Letter from the Generall of Batavia in Answer to one Sent him the Year which being wrote in a friendly & obliging Straine wee present Your Honours with the following Translation of it, by M.r Lyca one of Your Supra Cargoes viz.t	The Council opened its address to the Court with news of the China ships. 1: The Court's China ships arrived at the island on the 20th of last month, to the Council's great satisfaction, and this being the most welcome piece of news it could send the Court, it mentioned it first. The *Scarborough* and the *Nassau* came in the road before them, the *Scarborough* on the 11th and the *Nassau* on the 16th, and the *Duke of Cumberland* on the 25th of May. The Council had no supply either by the China ships or by the *Cumberland*, that of the *Cumberland* being brought by the other two ships, as the Court would find in the consultation of the 18th of that month. Mr Everest was dangerously ill, and being a passenger with Captain Braund, the captain chose to keep him aboard for a while for the recovery of his health. Everest being lately one of the Court's servants, the Council would be sure to treat him with all the care and civility it could. The *Major* left the island on the 9th of May, and the Council hoped she was far enough advanced on her voyage. The enclosure was a copy of the letter the Council had sent the Court. 2: On the 6th of May Captain Weston sent the Council a letter about an allowance for demurrage, on account of his staying for the Court's other shipping, but the Council had no warrant or authority from the Court to give any answer on the subject. It had entered his letter in the consultation of the 25th of last month, together with what it thought proper to say about the affair. 3: By Captain Braund the Governor received a letter from the Governor General of Batavia in answer to one the Council had sent him. This being written in a friendly and obliging manner, the Council set the following translation of it before the Court, made by Mr Lyca, one of the Court's supercargoes. **Interpretations** Captain Weston's demand for an allowance for demurrage put the Council in a bind it could not resolve on its own authority. Demurrage was the compensation owed a shipowner for a vessel detained beyond her agreed time, and Weston had been held at the island to sail in company with the Court's other shipping for security, but the Council held no power from the Court to grant such an allowance, so it could only enter his claim on the record and refer the matter home, the practice of keeping ships together against pirates and war running up against the limit of the island's authority to pay for the delay.

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			The Council's care of Mr Everest, dangerously ill and kept aboard by Captain Braund for his recovery, reflected his standing as a former Company servant. Everest appears in the consolidated reference as the chief supercargo who reached the island on the *Princess Amelia* in 1727 and took the garrison muster in 1731, so the civilities promised him were owed to a man of rank in the Company's service rather than an ordinary passenger. The friendly letter from the Governor General of Batavia, translated by a Company supercargo, marked a channel of civil correspondence between the English island and the Dutch East India establishment. Batavia was the seat of Dutch power in the eastern seas, so an obliging answer touching, perhaps, the safety of shipping or the treatment of each other's vessels was worth setting before the Court, the translation supplied because the original was in Dutch. The *Scarborough*, the *Nassau*, the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Major* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the Braund and Weston of this passage carry forward the commanders reported earlier in the season.
321	311	To the Hon.ble M.r Isaac Pyke Governour for the Right Hon.ble the English East India Company at the Island of St Helena Hon.ble Sir. I received Your Hon.rs Letter of the 3. July last by Cap.t Benjamin Braund of the Ship Duke of Cumberland who Arrived here on the 15.th Sept.r following & inclined here again on his returning Voyage from Bencoolen to Europe Yr.s I Suppose he wch Stopt at Your Island, would not Slip this Opportunity of returning You thanks for Your Friendship & Civility Shewn to the Captain of the Ship Kidderskirk as well as Your Communicating to one what is necessary to be observed by Ships that pass this Island the observation of which I have recommended to the homeward bound Ships now dispatched at this Season in case any by Accident Should be obliged to put in there, Cap.t Braund inform.d & wee in Company with our Ships & to Stop at the Cape for which reason took care that he had a Copy of the Signals delivered to them for the better keeping Company in Consideration of the Civility our People have already received at Your Hands, the imagine that our last homeward as well as the Gouardian which was despat- ched hence in March in last Year (which in Consequence of our braces) have further Your Port but as to what You have further Communicated to Us must remain ignorant Wee do not doubt but the above mentioned Shiping have profited by Your Friendship & Civility as You have already obliged Us in admitting the Ship Kidderskirk & On return will agreable to our former Conduct have indeavoured to assist the last arrived Shiping (being those from China) as likewise the aforementioned Ship Duke of Cumberland in every thing they had occasion for, Remain Hon.ble Sir Your most Hon.rs & broth.r Abr.m Patras Batavia Castle the 22 Janry 1736. By Cap.t Worth wee have Sent Your Honours great Setts of Accounts for the Year ending the 30.th	The Governor General of Batavia had addressed his letter to Isaac Pyke, Governor for the Right Honourable English East India Company at the island of St Helena. He had received the Governor's letter of the 3rd of July last by Captain Benjamin Braund of the *Duke of Cumberland*, who reached Batavia on the 15th of September following and left again on his homeward voyage from Bencoolen to Europe. He supposed Braund, on touching at the island, would not miss the chance of returning the Governor thanks for his friendship and civility, both to himself and to the captain of the *Ridderkerk*, and for communicating to him what the ships of that island ought to observe. He had passed those observations on to the homeward-bound Dutch ships despatched that season, in case any should be forced by accident to put in at the island. Captain Braund had agreed to sail in company with the Dutch ships from the Cape, and for that reason took care to have a copy of the signals delivered to them for the better keeping of company. In consideration of the civility the Dutch people had already received at the Governor's hands, he supposed that the Dutch last homeward ship, and the *Guardian* despatched in March of the past year in the following of the Dutch galleys, had given the Governor further account of the Dutch affairs. But if not, the Dutch must remain ignorant of what he had failed to communicate. He did not doubt that the ships already mentioned had profited by the Governor's friendship and civility, as the Governor had already obliged them by admitting the *Ridderkerk*. On his return he would, agreeable to the former conduct between them, try to assist the Governor's last-arrived shipping, the ships from China, as also the *Duke of Cumberland*, in everything they had occasion for. The letter was subscribed at Batavia Castle on the 22nd of January 1736 by Abraham Patras, as the Governor's most humble servant. 4: The Council resumed its own letter. By Captain Worth it had sent the Court a great set of accounts for the year ending the [...] of April [...] **Interpretations** The reciprocal arrangement between St Helena and Batavia turned on the exchange of signals and mutual assistance to each other's shipping. Signals were the private codes by which ships and settlements recognised friendly vessels, so the delivery of a copy to Captain Braund let him keep

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			company safely with the Dutch fleet from the Cape, the whole understanding resting on a settled practice by which the English admitted Dutch ships in distress and the Dutch undertook to help English vessels in return, a working accommodation between rival companies for their common safety on a dangerous ocean. The *Ridderkerk*, named here as the Dutch ship the Governor had admitted at the island, was the occasion of the Batavia Governor's gratitude and of his promise to assist the Court's China ships and the *Duke of Cumberland* in return. Abraham Patras, the writer, was the Dutch Governor General at Batavia Castle, the seat of the Dutch East India Company's power in the eastern seas, so the courtesy passing between the two governors marked a personal channel of civil dealing across the divide between the two companies. The *Ridderkerk*, the *Guardian* and the *Duke of Cumberland* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference as Dutch or English vessels of this exchange, and the Worth of the closing paragraph is the Captain Philip Worth reported in the consolidated reference as commander of the *Townsend* and the *Compton* in earlier seasons.
322	312	Apr.l 1735. the gross Charge of which amounts to the Sum of L.5.353. 8. 6 which is L.448. 12. 7½ more than the Year before & this Excess is occasioned by the pay due to the Recruits Sent Us by Cap.t Smale which in the Books of last Year had pay only from May to Jan.r which is only five Mo.d ths but in these Books they have pay for the whole Twelve month, another Encrease is Occasioned, Fifty Recruits Sent Us by Cap.t Braund, otherwise the Charge is less than it was the Year before drew faithfully promise Your Honours that all Your Affairs Shall be managed with the Utmost frugality the Sashes & frames placed to the Governours Credit have been Sold in five Lots at 12.d a Sash more than was allowed the Gov.r so that Your Honours are a Small Gainers by the bargain In a Letter directed to the Secretary wee have Sent Your Honours the Sample of two Sorts of Pitcase. 50 of which wee desire may be made after the Pattern with the Mark, on it, they being for Honours own Use, & much wanted & p thother wee desire may be made after the fashion of the other Sort & without any Mark they being for Sale to the Planters Wee Sent Your Honours by the Derby in Janry 1732 two water Engines in Order to be Repaired but have never Since heard any thing of them, Machines of this Sort are very necessary here & wee desire Your Honours will direct them to be returned to Us Sufficiently mended & fit for Service wee at the Same time Sent Your Honours two Paternens but have never heard any thing of the receipt either of the Engines or them Wee hope Your Honours will be pleased to take notice that Our Indent this Year is made with great moderation, wee have asked for nothing but what is much wanted & therefore desire Y.ee will give Orders that every thing wee have mentioned may be Sent Us	The accounts for the year ending in April 1736 showed a gross charge of £5,353 2s 6d, which was £448 12s 7½d more than the year before. This increase came from the pay due to the recruits sent by Captain Small, who in the books of the past year had pay only from May to December, that is only five months, whereas in these books they had pay for the whole twelve months. Another cause was the fifty recruits sent by Captain Braund, for otherwise the charge would be less than the year before. The Council faithfully promised the Court that its affairs would be managed with the utmost frugality. 5: The sashes and frames placed to the Governor's credit had been sold in five lots at twelvepence a lath, which was more than they cost the Governor, so the Court was a small loser by the bargain. 6: In a letter directed to the secretary, the Council had told the Court about the two kinds of pitas. Of these it wished fifty might be made after the pattern, with the mark on them, being for the Court's own use and much wanted, and it wished the other kind might be made after the fashion of the other sort, and without any mark, being for sale to the planters. 7: The Council had sent the Court by the *Derby* in January 1732 two water engines to be repaired, but had never since heard anything of them. Machines of this sort were very necessary at the island, and the Council wished the Court would order them to be sufficiently mended and fit for service, and sent back. At the same time it had sent the Court two patereroes, but had never heard anything of the receipt either of the engines or of them. 8: The Council hoped the Court would notice that its indent this year was made with great moderation. It had asked for nothing but what was much wanted, and therefore wished the Court would give orders that everything named in it might be sent [...] **Interpretations** The rise of £448 12s 7½d in the year's charge was traced to a precise cause the Council was careful to name. The recruits sent by Captain Small carried a full year's pay in these books against only five months in the last, and the fifty further recruits sent by Captain Braund added their wages besides, so the whole increase lay in the garrison's pay rather than any waste, the accounting distinguished to protect the Council against the Court reading extravagance into the larger figure, the same defensive care the

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			consolidated reference records where the gross charge was fixed to a specific instruction obeyed. The water engines sent home for repair in 1732 were fire engines, machines for throwing water to fight the fires that threatened the island's thatched buildings and its stores. The consolidated reference records the standing fire risk of the thatch and the Council's efforts to guard against it, so the loss of these engines, sent for mending and never returned, left the settlement without a means it held very necessary, the patereroes sent with them being small swivel guns for close defence. The pitas were fibre or cordage of an aloe or agave plant, worked into rope or matting, some marked for the Court's own use and some left unmarked for sale to the planters, the distinction of mark serving to separate the Company's stock from the goods put to private sale. The Council's insistence that its indent was made with moderation answered the Court's standing watch over the expense of an island it found a heavy charge, the plea aimed at securing the supply of what was genuinely wanted.
323	313	Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours payable to Duke Crispe or order for the Sum of Fourty Pounds Sterling for the like Sum due to him on Your Books of Accounts here they are dated the 22. May 1736 of which wee humbly pray Your Acceptance, & are St Helena the 3.d June 1736 Honoured Sirs Your most faithfull & Obedient Serv.rs Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe	9: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court, payable to Duke Crispe or order, for £40 0s 0d sterling, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island. They were dated the 22nd of May 1736, and the Council asked the Court to accept and pay them. The letter closed at St Helena on the 2nd of June 1736, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. **Interpretations** Duke Crispe, the payee of the bill, is the D. Crispe who subscribed the letter as the fourth member of the Council, appearing in the consolidated reference as the councillor whose name the clerk's hand renders variously as Corise and Cripps, distinct from Mr Cripps the surgeon. The bill of exchange discharged a balance owed him in the Company's books by drawing on the Court in London, the standard remittance on a cashless island where no coin could be paid out directly.
324	314	Hon.d Sirs. General ♆ Bristow 15.th June 1736 On the 3.d instant Your Ships Naughton London, Scarborough Nassau & Duke of Cumberland Sailed from hence for England & on the 6.th the Bristow arrived from Bengall & brought Us a Supply the particulars of which Your Hon.rs will See in Our Consultation of the 8.th of this month. Cap.t Boteler tells Us that the Scarborough was to be dispatched in Eight or Ten days after him & he having had a long passage wee expect her every hour & by her according to Our usual Custom at the Close of Your Shiping wee will lay before You an Abstract of our Several Generall Letters of this Season & point out to you what is most therein material Governour Everest Still continues in a dangerous Condition & is more likely to die than recover Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours dated this day & payable to John Goodwin junior or order for the Sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling for the like Sum due to him in Your Books of Accounts here of which Wee humbly pray Your Acceptance & are St Helena	The Council opened its address to the Court with news of the departing shipping. 1: On the 3rd of this month the Court's ships the *Houghton*, the *London*, the *Scarborough*, the *Nassau* and the *Duke of Cumberland* sailed from the island for England, and on the 6th the *Onslow* arrived from Bengal and brought a supply, the particulars of which the Court would find in the consultation of the 8th of this month. Captain Austen told the Council that the *Scarborough* was to be despatched in eight or ten days after him, and having had a long passage, the Council expected her any day. By her, and following its usual custom at the close of the Court's shipping, it would lay before the Court an abstract of its several general letters of the season, and point out to the Court what was most material in them. 2: Governor Everest still continued in a dangerous condition, and was more likely to die than to recover. 3: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court, dated this day and payable to John Goodwin junior or order, for £50 0s 0d sterling, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island, and asked the Court to accept and pay them. The letter closed at St Helena on the 15th of June 1736, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by

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		15.th June 1736 Hon.d Sirs Your most faithfull & Obed.t Servants Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe	Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. **Interpretations** Mr Everest, styled Governor here and reported dangerously ill in the preceding letter, appears in the consolidated reference as the chief supercargo who reached the island on the *Princess Amelia* in 1727 and took the garrison muster in 1731. His declining condition marked the loss of a senior Company servant taken ill on his passage, the courtesy title reflecting his rank in the service rather than any office at the island. John Goodwin junior, the payee of the bill, is the young writer of the consolidated reference, about nineteen years of age, hired at St Helena on the death of Mrs Barbara Pyke to help ready the Court's books, distinct from John Goodwin the storekeeper and councillor who subscribed the letter. The bill discharged a balance owed him in the Company's books by drawing on the Court in London, the usual remittance on a cashless island. The *Houghton*, the *London*, the *Scarborough*, the *Nassau*, the *Duke of Cumberland* and the *Onslow* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the Council's promise of a closing abstract of the season's letters carried forward its standing practice of summarising the year's correspondence for the Court at the end of the shipping.
325	315	Hon.d Sirs General ♆ Marlborough the 7.th July 1736 The Bristow left Us on the 16 of June last & on the 23 of that Month the Marlborough arrived from Bengall with a Supply from this place the particulars of which are Entred in Our Consultation of the 19.th of June last Wee are as usual at the Close of Your Shiping lay before Your Honours Such Minutes or Extracts of our Several Generall Letters of this Season as wee think most proper for Your Notice, & Wee begin with Our Letter of the 27.th of December last of which You have a large Account of the ill Behaviour of John Long As to this Man so often mentioned in our Consultation as a vile & Pilfering fellow against whom wee have frequent Complaints from all his Neighbours round him who are Sufferers by his Thievery & robb.g us Our last Consultation was on the 30.th May last we are at a loss what to do with him & would be glad of Your Honours so thought fit to Send him to England where he might able to might trouble You a Short time with Some of his false & lying Storis yet wee think he cannot long be any trouble thereafter to him or him is well. that wee believe he would soon be hanged out of every bodys way which is what he has a long time deserved Your Honours desire.d for people of Such vile behaviour to Send them to Bencoolen wee have done so by him but he has found means to come back again on Account of his large Family & to follow his ill Trade, but if Your Honours are of Opinion that people of evil behaviour Should be Sent then, & yet due to Order that those very insolent then for Misbehaviour	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping. 1: The *Onslow* left the island on the 15th of June last, and on the 23rd of that month the *Marlborough* arrived from Bengal with a supply, the particulars of which were entered in the consultation of the 29th of June last. Following its usual custom at the close of the Court's shipping, the Council set before the Court such minutes or extracts of its several general letters of the season as it thought most fit for the Court's notice, and began with its letter of the 27th of December last, which held a large account of the ill behaviour of John Long. This man was so often mentioned in the Council's consultations as a vile and pilfering fellow, against whom it had frequent complaints from all his neighbours, who suffered by his thieving and disturbance. The last consultation about him was on the 30th of March last, when the Council was at a loss what to do with him. It would be glad if the Court thought fit to send him to England, where he might trouble the Court a while with some of his false and lying stories, though the Council thought he could not long be any trouble there, for it believed he would soon be hanged out of everyone's way, which was what he had long deserved. The Council had tried, as the Court advised for men of such vile behaviour, to send him to Bencoolen, but he had found means to get back again on account of his large family and his bad trade. If the Court were of opinion that people of ill behaviour should be sent there, the Council wished the Court to order that men so violent in their misbehaviour should not be allowed to go from Bencoolen to any other part of India until they had lived there a certain time, as the Court should think proper. There would then be less scandal in sending out such women as the Council had here, born both at Bengal and at Madras, whom Bencoolen would not receive any of the island's people without, unless the Council sent a certificate with them of their good behaviour. The Council thought it a pity that people [...] **Interpretations** John Long, named here as the vile and pilfering fellow, appears earlier in this season's

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		Should not be permitted to go thence to any other part of India untill they have dwelt there Such a certain time as Your Honours Shall think proper & then wee Shall not be so much Scandelized for Sending out Such Women as wee have been both at Bengall & Madrass whom they will not receive any of the people unless wee Send Certificate with them of their good behaviour & indeed wee think its pretty that people	correspondence as the man returned from Bencoolen who fell to robbing his neighbours and was set to work at the fortifications, and in the consolidated reference as an inhabitant whose fine was reduced on his submission in 1715. The Council's difficulty in disposing of him turned on his having escaped transportation once already, so that the ordinary remedy of shipping a troublemaker to Bencoolen had failed, his large family and his trade drawing him back. The Council's proposal that men sent to Bencoolen be barred from moving on to other parts of India for a fixed term set out a scheme to make transportation stick. A man shipped to the west coast could otherwise work his way to Bengal or Madras and back to the island, so a rule confining him to Bencoolen for a time would keep him from returning, the reform aimed at closing the loophole through which Long had slipped, the standing use of Bencoolen as a penal destination running through the island's correspondence. The certificate of good behaviour that Bencoolen required before receiving the island's people reflected a settled reluctance between the two settlements to take one another's undesirables. The requirement that women born at Bengal or Madras come with a written character shows Bencoolen guarding itself against being made a dumping ground, the same mutual caution that made the Council weigh whether its own troublemakers would do more harm abroad than at home.
326	316	of bad lives Should be permitted to go to India where they bring a disgrace on this Country & other of good Carriage be refused that & deny Wee have had a great deal of trouble about Some Lewd Incestuous Actions between James Powell & two of Cap.t Alexanders daughters which are mentioned at large in Our Consultations of the 11.th & 25.th Nov.r & of the 2.d 6.th & 25 of Dec.r to which wee pray Your Honours to be referred & desire that, if You please to read them over & Send Us Your Opinion thereon Sisince Such a Case has never yet been determined here & this is Chiefly to be a Presedent in future Joseph Bates is another very ill Man in the 5.th Paragraph of Our Letter of the 27.th of Dec.r Your Honours have a very full Account of his impudent design to cheat the Heirs of the Spaniard out of L.22. 19. 10. for which Sum he had Actually given bond though when the Money was called for he confidently denied that he had given any Such bond however wee have Since bound him faster & have also taken care to prevent those disorders which are almost daily comnitted at his House. under pretence of treating the Soldiers & other people with Punch & other Liquors tho' in fact he privately Sold them In Janry last wee disposed of Severall parcells of Damaged Goods at publick Sale & wee propose to have another Outcry Speedily the Fortifications are at a Stand for want of help but as Soon as more hands are procured the Gov.r Promises Your Honours that he will vigorously prosecute what is necessary to be done. the Inhabitants are poor & not able to give Us any farther Assistance towards compleating this necessary Work Wee hope Your Honours will return a favourable Answer to the Petition of Cap.t Cason & permit his Money to continue in Your hands	The Council thought it a pity that people of ill lives should be allowed to go to India, where they carried a disgrace on the island and were, besides, a good passage, and it wished this could be refused them. 3: The Council had had a great deal of trouble about some sad incest and adultery actions between James Powell and two of Captain Alexander's daughters, which were set out at large in its consultations of the 11th and 25th of November, and the 2nd, 6th and 25th of December, to which it referred the Court. It wished the Court to read these, and to give the Council its opinion, since no such affair had ever yet been decided at the island, and this would be the chief precedent in future. 4: Joseph Bates was another very ill man, of whom the Court had a full account in the 5th paragraph of the letter of the 27th of December. This concerned his impudent attempt to cheat the heirs of the Spaniard out of £246 19s 2½d, for which he had actually given his bond, yet when the money was called for he confidently denied he had ever given any such bond. The Council had since bound him faster, and had taken care to prevent the disorders daily committed at his house, where under the pretence of treating the soldiers and other people with punch and other liquors he in fact sold them privately. 5: In January last the Council disposed of several parcels of damaged goods at public sale, and it proposed to hold another sale shortly. 6: The fortifications were at a stand for want of help, but the Governor promised the Court that as soon as more hands were got, he would vigorously carry on what was necessary. The inhabitants were poor and not able to give the Council any further help towards completing this necessary work. 7: The Council hoped the Court would return a favourable answer to Captain Cason's petition, and allow his money to continue in the Court's hands at the usual rate of interest [...] **Interpretations**

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		at the usual Interest of 8 p.r Cent Margin Notes: 5.th Par. Lett.r of Dec.r 27.th Par. Lett.r 15.th April 5.th Par. 9.th & 24.th Janry 4.th Par. Lett.r 24.th Janry 23.th Par. Lett.r 16.th April 55.th Ditto 24.th Ditto 24.th Par. Lett.r 16.th Ap.l	The incest and adultery case between James Powell and the two daughters of Captain Alexander, set out earlier in this season's correspondence, was here referred home as the chief precedent for the future because no such affair had ever been decided at the island. The Council sought the Court's direction rather than settle it alone, both because a sitting councillor stood at its centre and because the island's court had no earlier judgement to guide it, the whole record of consultations laid before the Court for its opinion. Joseph Bates's device of giving away punch under pretence of treating the soldiers, while in fact selling it privately, was the dodge by which he kept an unlicensed and disorderly house open, the same trick reported earlier in the season. An open sale of drink could be suppressed, but a profession of free hospitality masked the trade, so the Council could only bind him faster and check the disorders his house drew, the near approach to a mutiny there showing the danger such resorts posed to the garrison. Captain Cason is the Lieutenant Thomas Cason of the consolidated reference, whose petition of 12 January 1719 asked the Court to hold his savings in its London cash at interest as a support in his old age. The scarcity of coin at the island made a direct payment impossible, so his money stood at home drawing interest, the arrangement serving the long-serving officer as a private pension the Council pressed the Court to grant. The fortifications standing at a stand for want of hands, and the inhabitants too poor to help, carried forward the labour crisis that runs through this season's letters, the same want the consolidated reference records as the true bar to the works against the feared French war.
327	317	The Sashes & Frames have been Sold in five Lots at 12.d a Sash more than was allowed the Governour so that Your Honours are a Small matter gainers by the Bargain Wee desire Your Honours will be pleased to Order the two Water Engines to be returned to Us which wee Sent home by the Derby in Janry 1732 to be mended at the same time Sent Your Honours two Paternens they being useless here. but have never heard whither You ever received either the Engines or them Our Indent this Year has been made with great Moderation & humbly desire that the Severall particulars therein mentioned may be Sent Us. Wee are St Helena 7.th July 1736 Hon.d Sirs Your most Humble & Obedient Serv.rs Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe P.S. Since writing the Paragraph relating to John Long he has committed Severall other Thefts & Pilfering & it becomes incorrigible that wee thought to keep him Constantly at hard Labour till wee have Your Hon.rs Answer to what wee have already wrote about him the last matter relating to him is in Our Consultation of the 2. instant	8: The sashes and frames had been sold in five lots at twelvepence a lath, more than they cost the Governor, so the Court was a small gainer by the bargain. 9: The Council wished the Court would be pleased to order the two water engines it had sent home by the *Derby* in January 1732 to be returned to it, having sent them to be mended. At the same time it had sent the Court two patereroes, but had never heard whether the Court ever received either the engines or them. 10: The Council's indent this year had been made with great care, and it wished the several things named in it might be sent to it. The letter closed at St Helena on the 7th of July 1736, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's humble and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. The Council added a postscript. Since writing the paragraph about John Long, he had committed several other thefts and disturbances, and because he was incorrigible, the Council thought to keep him constantly at hard labour until it had the Court's answer to the account it had already sent about him, in its consultations of the 2nd of this month. Mr Beale claimed that much injury and injustice had been done him by the Powell family over his right to thirty acres of freehold land, and had asked leave to lay his claim once more before the Court. His case seemed hard, but the Council could say nothing further about it until the matter came regularly before it. For his packets, at his request, the Council had sent such papers as he asked might be forwarded to the Court, so that, without giving the Court any needless trouble, he had again applied to

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		M.r Beale Alledges that much Injury & Injustice has been done him by the Family of the Powells relating to his Right to 30 Acres of Traded Land & has resived leave to lay his Claim once more before You & his Case Seems hard but of this wee cannot farther Say any thing till the matter Shall come regularly before Us for their Packets at the desire wee have Sent Such papers as he requested might be transmitted to You & the like as that he armed giving Your Honours any needless trouble. he this again applyed to Your own Councel for Advice & Directions in pointof Law M.r Everest died on the 16 of June last & his debt was so easy that without a Stopper it may be truely Said he Sett a Stop this Will Inventory of his Effect & now Your Honours will See in Our Consultations of the 24.th June & 1.st of July Wee have drawn One Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Hon.rs dated the 3. instant for the Sum of Fifty Pounds Sterling payable to Isaac Pyke Esq.r or Order for the like Sum due to him in Your Books of Accounts here of which wee humbly beg Y.d Acceptance Margin Notes: 6.th Par. Lett.r 3.d June 7.th Par. Lett.r 3.d June 8.th Par. 3.d June	the Council for its advice and directions in getting his land. Mr Burnet died on the 16th of June last, and his estate was so easy that it might truly be said to plead its own claim. His will and inventory the Court would find in the consultations of the 16th of June and the 1st of July. The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for £[...] sterling, dated the 3rd of this month, payable to Isaac Pyke esquire or order, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island, and asked the Court to accept and pay them. **Interpretations** Mr Beale is the Richard Beale of the consolidated reference, the inhabitant whose disputed land case against the heirs of Gabriel Powell was referred home undetermined, the earlier trial tainted by one Griffith acting for both sides. His renewed application over the thirty acres, and the Council's care to forward his papers while awaiting the matter's regular course, reflected a contest the island's court could not close and that turned on the Court's final decision, the same unresolved dispute the consolidated reference records running through the letters to 1735. The water engines sent home for repair in 1732 were fire engines, machines for throwing water against the fires that threatened the island's thatched buildings and stores, and the patereroes small swivel guns for close defence. Their loss, sent for mending and never returned, left the settlement without a means it held necessary, the standing fire risk of the thatch recorded in the consolidated reference. Isaac Pyke, the payee of the closing bill, was the Governor himself, the balance owed him in the Company's books discharged by a bill on the Court in London, the usual remittance where the island held no coin. The value of the set could not be read on the page and is marked accordingly.
328	318	Honoured Sirs Gener.l ℔ the Dutch Ship call.d the Young William Aug.t 14 1736 There having been a Dutch Ship named the Young William that touched here in her passage to Europe & I take leave to Use this Opportunity of Acquainting Your Hon.rs with what is a matter in this place As to Your work & Affairs in General, they are got as well on as usual, only in the late Rains there came great Floods of Water at the p.la called Bab has which is beloth to the Backward of the Sugar Loafe, & carried away great part of the House & Walls of a Small Fortification there, so that wee have been obliged to leave the Rupetrs Battery & to new build there at Bankes's which wee Shall before or at farthest by Christmass finish in a much better manner than they were in before But Notwithstanding this damage by the last Rains I take leave to Acquaint Your Hon.rs that this no manner of Extraordinary Expence to You because this is the place I mentioned in my Generall Report of Your Fortifycations on the 15.th of July 1735 wherein I gave Your Honours an Account that this place was so greatly out of repair that if Your Honours had not Sent out Monsr Casberie to Superintend that Sort of Work wee Should a Set about this place first of all because it lies so much in the view of all the Shiping that arrives here who go close by it at their first coming in that it is a great Expo-sore to Set a Fortification just at the Entrance into a Port to lya in Such ruinous Condition but as the great Rains have carried this away	The Governor opened his address to the Court by seizing the chance of a Dutch ship, the *Young William*, which touched at the island on her passage to Europe, to tell the Court of a matter fit for its notice. As to the Court's works and affairs in general, they went on as well as usual, only in the late rains there came a great flood of water at the place called Bob's, which lies at the back of the Sugar Loaf. It carried away a good part of the house and the walls of a small fortification there, so that the Governor had been obliged to leave this fort and to build a new one at Bank's, which he would finish before, or at furthest by, Christmas, in a much better manner than they were in before. But despite this damage by the late rains, the Governor told the Court that this was no extraordinary expense, because this was the place he mentioned in his general report of the fortifications on the 15th of July 1735. In that report he gave the Court an account that the place was so far out of repair that, had the Court not sent out Monsieur Gascherie to superintend that kind of work, the Governor would have set about this place first of all, because it lies so much in the view of all the shipping that arrives at the island. Ships pass close by it at their first coming in, so that it is a great expense to have a fortification just at the entrance into a port lying in such a ruinous condition. But as the great rains had carried it away, the Governor must now make use of the same rainy season to rebuild it, because at Bank's there was no water to make the mortar with except just at the rainy season. It was for this reason that the Governor thought it his duty to

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		so wee must make use of the Same rainy Season to rebuild it because at Bankes theres no Water to make the Morter withall but just at the rainy Season this I thought it my Duty to Acquaint Your Hon.rs but Set Should Wast giving this Account till the carrying of great works & p by which time I hope this place of work will be	tell the Court, so that it should not want this account of the outset of a great work, by which time he hoped this piece of work would be finished [...] **Interpretations** The flash flood at Bob's, behind the Sugar Loaf, illustrates the standing hazard the island's sudden heavy rains posed to its works. The consolidated reference records the Sugar Loaf as a point on the north side under the guard schedule, and here a torrent tore away a house and the walls of a small fort, forcing the Governor to abandon that post and rebuild at Bank's, the same violence of the rains that elsewhere washed the thin soil to bare rock. The Governor's insistence that the rebuilding was no extraordinary expense answered the Court's watch over the cost of an island it found a heavy charge. By pointing to his own report of 15 July 1735, in which he had marked this very fort as first in need of repair but for Gascherie's arrival, he showed the work was long foreseen rather than a fresh call on the Court, the reference to the dismissed engineer, whom the consolidated reference records was distrusted and sent home, tying the delay to a cause outside his own management. The necessity of building at Bank's only in the rainy season turned on the want of water to make mortar there at any other time. Mortar could not be mixed without water, and Bank's had none save when the rains fell, so the same season that wrecked the old fort supplied the only means of raising the new, the Governor bound to seize the wet months for a work he could not undertake in the dry. **Speculations** The Governor abandoned the damaged fort at Bob's and built afresh at Bank's rather than repair the old work in its place, though patching the existing walls would have been the readier course. He chose the new site because the ruinous fort at the very entrance of the port lay in full view of every ship that came in, so that its condition reflected on the Court before all the shipping, the visible disgrace of a broken work at the mouth of the road weighing enough to justify starting over at a better-placed position.
329	319	finished but for a very troublesome, & bad Man wee have here named Joseph Bates who is the man that gott into his hands & Embezled so much of the Spanish Gentlemans Don John di Nofecis & take This Bates is allways in Some trap or bad Contrivance or other & now he has been attempting to get false Pagodas coined as will appear by the Enclosed Information but wee take the Chief of this Villany to Consist in a Silly Contrivance that he had to put this Island in the Hands of the French as may appear more at large by the Same enclosed Information where tho' his designes are weakly layed yet they do not want for wickedness he being allways ready to do any unfaithfull Action As I took this Scheme of his to be Wherefore I pray Your Hon.rs would please to let me have Your Opinion what to do with Such a bad Man who I think deserves not to be Suffered to remain among Us he was Used formerly to keep a Punch House but he played so many bad tricks that way that wee were obliged to hinder his Selling any Strong Ligours for that he was so Angry that he contrived to Shoot me as I walked in the Garden but as Soon as I knew of it I Caused him to be whiped at the publick whiping post which I	The Governor turned to a very troublesome and bad man at the island, Joseph Bates, who was the man that got into his hands and embezzled so much of the Spanish gentleman Don John de Mesa's estate. Bates was always in some trap or bad contrivance or other, and lately he had been trying to get some pagodas coined, as would appear by the enclosed information. But the Governor took the chief of this villainy to lie in a foolish scheme to put the island into the hands of the French, as might appear more fully by the same enclosed information. Though these designs of his were weakly laid, he did not want for wickedness, being always ready to do any faithless act, as the Governor took this scheme of his to be. The Governor therefore asked the Court to give him its opinion on what to do with such a bad man, who he thought deserved not to be allowed to remain among them. Bates had formerly kept a punch house, but played so many bad tricks that way that the Governor was obliged to stop his selling any strong liquors, for which he grew so angry that he plotted to shoot the Governor as he walked in the garden. But as soon as the Governor learned of it, he had Bates whipped at the public whipping post, which he believed cured him of that shooting notion.

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		believe has Cured him of that Shooting fancey But these things mentioned in the Enclosed Information I take to be too bold to be put up with Silence & tis that which Chiefly occasions to Your Honours Your present trouble I am &c	These things, set out in the enclosed information, the Governor thought too bad to be passed over in silence, and it was chiefly on their account that he gave the Court its present trouble. **Interpretations** Joseph Bates, named here as the man who embezzled the Spaniard's estate, appears throughout this season's correspondence as the inhabitant who defrauded the heirs of Don John de Mesa and denied his executed bond, the disputed estate recorded in the consolidated reference as referred home for the Court's decision. His fresh offences, the coining of pagodas and the alleged design to betray the island, deepened the case against a man the Governor held unfit to remain, the whole laid before the Court because the island had no power to expel him on its own authority. The counterfeiting of pagodas was a grave offence against the currency. A pagoda was a gold coin of southern India, and the making of false coin struck at the money that circulated at the island, an act the more serious on a settlement already starved of a sound medium, the consolidated reference recording the island's perpetual want of a circulating stock. The Governor's stopping of Bates's liquor trade, and Bates's answer in a plot to shoot him, show how the regulation of the punch houses touched the safety of the government itself. An unlicensed house that sold strong drink drew a disorderly resort the Governor moved to suppress, and the keeper's violent resentment, punished at the public whipping post, marked the personal danger that enforcement could bring, the near approach to a mutiny at Bates's house recorded earlier in the season.
330	320	Honoured Sirs. General Letter ♆ Britannia the 7.th July 1736 The Marlborough left Us on the 7.th July last in her to England & how wee hope She is Safely Arrived, & on the 11.th instant the Britannia arrived from Bombay which place She left on the 30. Sep.r last & Cap.t Ering who Succeeded Cap.t Frognell after his death which happened on the 27. July last at Mocha confirms the Melancholly news of the loss of the Derby, & further told Us that Angria had Since taken a Country Vessel in which was M.r Hampton late one of Your Councel at Bengall, the Captain also told Us that he he heard at Bombay that the Prince William was to be Early dispatched from Madrass that he expected either to have found her here or that She had been lately gone from hence. Cap.t Jenkins Sailed from Bombay on the 1.st Sep.r last where he left 160 Slaves which wee hear were all we could get & wee all them already employed so that wee are under great Apprehensions of being disappointed of that Supply of help which Your Honours gave Us hopes to expect without which it is impossible to carry on & finish Your Fortifications with that Expedition that is necessary for the Inhabitants generally refuse to let their Blacks at 9.d p.r day, & You have but 38 Men Slaves of Your Capable of Labour. Our Winter Season, this Year been rather more favourable to Us than Our last, & wee believe Our Summer Rains began on Xmas day wee having ever Since had Dripping weather & if it continues there will be plenty of every thing for the Supply of Your Shiping which will be of mutual	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping. 1: The *Marlborough* left the island on the 7th of July last on her way to England, and the Council hoped she was safely arrived. On the 4th of this month the *Britannia* arrived from Bombay but last from Mocha, on the 30th of September last. Captain Boyne had succeeded Captain Frowd after his death, which happened on the 27th of July last at Mocha, and this confirmed the melancholy news of the loss of the *Derby*. Captain Boyne further told the Council that Angria had lately taken a country vessel, in which was Mr Hampton, late one of the Court's councillors at Bombay. The captain also told the Council that he heard at Bombay that the *Prince William* was to be despatched early from Madras, so that he expected either to have found her at the island or that she had lately gone from it. Captain Jenkins sailed from Bombay on the 1st of September last, where he left a hundred and sixty slaves, whom the Council heard were all it could get. Those already at the island were so fully employed that the Council was in great fear of being disappointed of the supply of help the Court had led it to expect, without which it was impossible to carry on and finish the fortifications with the speed they required. The inhabitants generally refused to let out their slaves at ninepence a day, and the Council had only thirty-eight men slaves capable of labour. 2: The season this year had been rather more favourable than the last, and the Council believed the summer rains began on Christmas day, having had wet weather ever since. If it continued, there would be plenty of everything for the supply of the Court's shipping, which would be of mutual service [...] **Interpretations** Angria, named here as having taken a country vessel carrying a former Bombay councillor, was the family of Maratha admirals whose fleet preyed on

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			Company shipping along the west coast of India. A country vessel was a locally owned trading ship of the Indian seas, and its seizure with a Company servant aboard marked the standing danger that these coastal powers posed to the Court's trade, the intelligence carried to the island and passed home ship by ship. The severe shortage of able slaves, only thirty-eight men fit for labour, set against the fortifications that could not be finished without more hands, carried forward the labour crisis running through this season's letters. The inhabitants would not let out their slaves below the ninepence a day at which the animals earned nothing, so the Council depended wholly on the supply the Court had promised from Bombay, the same want the consolidated reference records as the true bar to the works against the feared French war. The southern-hemisphere reckoning of the seasons governs the whole passage. The summer rains began about Christmas and set in through the following weeks, so a wet Christmas was the promise of a plentiful season, the island's provisioning of the Court's shipping turning on rains that fell in the months an English reader would count as deep winter. The *Marlborough*, the *Britannia*, the *Derby* and the *Prince William* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the Jenkins of this passage is the commander reported earlier in the season as bringing the supply of slaves from Bombay.
331	321	Service both to them & Your Inhabitants. In Our Consultation of the 21. August discovery was made to the Governour of a design formed by Several Blacks to Runaway with the Longboat Some of whom were Seized just as they were going to put their design in Execution & by prosecuting the most guilty and pardoning or immoderately correcting those who Suffered themselves to be persuaded into Such a design wee believe wee have effectually Stopt Such Attempts for the future An ugly Intreague & of a very bad example was laid before Us on the 21. Sep.r last it was between a black Man Slave belonging to Robert Gurling & his Daughter Mary Gurling who Suffered herself to be gotten with Child by the Said Nettoe & was accordingly delivered of a black Male Child tho' She had a free months before made Oath that the Child was begotten by Joshua Worrale one of Your Soldiers & for this offence She was publickly whiped at the common whiping Post & the fellow after one or two Severe whipings was castrated which wee hope will be a Sufficient Terrour & prevent all others from commiting the like Practice hereafter An Answer of an Incestuous kind also lately happened between Benjamin Beale Planter & Elizabeth Edwards his Wives Sister by whom he has a bastard Child for this offence he was fined L.10. to Your Honours & obliged to give Security to Indemnify the Parish & he was publickly whiped at the whiping Post & as it appeared to Us that this Crime was committed through ignorance they both believing that they might lawfully marry which they both had before, & besides are more inclined to deal more gently by them Your Honours have the whole Story in Our Consultation of 16. Nov.r last Wee know it is very disagreeable to Your	The plentiful season would be of mutual service both to the ships and to the inhabitants. 3: In the consultation of the 21st of August, the Council recorded a design formed by several slaves to run away with the longboat, some of whom were seized just as they were going to put their plan into execution. By punishing the most guilty and pardoning, or moderately correcting, those who had let themselves be drawn into such a design, the Council believed it had effectively stopped any such attempt in future. 4: A very ill affair of a bad example was laid before the Council on the 21st of September last. It was between a black man slave belonging to Richard Gurling and his daughter Mary Gurling, who let herself be got with child by the slave, and was accordingly delivered of a black male child. She had, a few months before, sworn that the child was begotten by Joshua Worrall, one of the Court's soldiers. For this offence she was publicly whipped at the common whipping post, and the slave, after one or two severe whippings, was castrated, which the Council hoped would be a sufficient deterrent to prevent others from doing the like in future. 5: An affair of an incestuous kind had also lately happened between Benjamin Beale, a planter, and Elizabeth Edwards, his wife's sister, by whom he had a bastard child. For this offence he was fined £10 0s 0d, and the Council was obliged to give security to indemnify the parish. Beale was publicly whipped at the whipping post, but it appeared to the Council that this offence was committed through ignorance, both believing they might lawfully marry, which they had both done before. The Council was therefore inclined to deal more gently with them, and the Court would find the whole story in the consultation of the 16th of November last. 6: The Council knew it was very disagreeable to the Court [...] **Interpretations** The design of the slaves to seize the longboat and escape carried forward a standing danger the

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			consolidated reference records through the ship-seizure and longboat conspiracies of earlier decades. The Council's method, punishing the ringleaders severely while pardoning or lightly correcting those merely drawn in, was the settled way of breaking such a plot by dividing the guilty from the led, the graded penalty meant to deter without provoking the whole body of slaves. The castration of the slave in the Gurling affair reflected a punishment the consolidated reference records the island using in place of hanging, reckoned as effectual a deterrent while preserving a working hand at a place that could spare none. The woman's earlier false oath naming a soldier as the father shows the sworn charge of paternity as the operative act by which fatherhood, and the maintenance of the child, was fixed, her later delivery of a black child exposing the perjury. The gentler treatment of Benjamin Beale and Elizabeth Edwards turned on their honest belief that a man might lawfully marry his deceased wife's sister, a union many held permissible and others forbidden as incest. The fine of £10 0s 0d and the security to indemnify the parish met the offence and the cost of the child, while the Council's leaning to mercy rested on the couple's ignorance of the law, the same charge of incest that fell far more heavily on James Powell earlier in the season where no such excuse stood. **Speculations** The Council dealt gently with Beale and Elizabeth Edwards, fining and whipping them yet inclining to mercy, though it had treated the like offence of James Powell as a grave crime referred home as a precedent. It chose the softer course because the pair had acted through ignorance, both believing their marriage lawful and having married before, so that the presence of an honest mistake, absent in Powell's case, turned what might have been a severe judgement into a lenient one anchored to their good faith.
332	322	Honours to hear of vice of any Sort but more besides the instances already mentioned has Since happened for Thomas Arundle Soldier has lately had a bastard by a free black Wench for which he did the Woman Horse two Hordes with his face blacked all over, & according to the Law in force in his Majesties foreign Plantations the Wench having forfeited her freedom She & the Child are made Slaves to Your Honours & the Wench as Soon as She is out of the Straw is to be publickly whipt the other Villanious peice of Debauchery was committed by a black fellow named Casbr aged about fifty belonging to Gunner French who Attempted to commit it & Rape upon the body of black infant Child hardly 18 months belonging to M.rs Francis Wrangham which upon his Apprehension the Fellow has owned his Accusation & the Proceedings thereupon are Entered in Our Consultations of the 21. & 28. Dec.r & 11. of this Month, the design to make an Example of him but are not yet determined about his Punishment John Long about whom Your Honours have been so often troubled is not to be mended or reclaimed he is now become altogether incorrigible but as wee hope Speedily to receive Your Directions what Shall be done with him wee forbear to descend to particulars but if Your Honours desire to hear how he has behaved himself Since August last You have full Accounts of it in Our Consult.ns	The Council knew it was disagreeable to the Court to hear of any offences, but another had happened besides those already mentioned. Thomas Swindle, a soldier, had lately had a child by a black woman, for which he had ridden the wooden horse two hours with his face blacked all over. By the law in force in the King's foreign plantations, the woman, having forfeited her freedom, was, with the child, made a slave to the Court, and the woman, as soon as she was out of the straw, was to be publicly whipped. The other villainous act was the debauchery committed by a black fellow named Caesar, aged about fifty, belonging to Gunner French, who tried to commit rape on the body of a black infant child, hardly eighteen months old, belonging to Mrs Francis Wrangham. On his apprehension the fellow owned the charge, and the proceedings on it were entered in the Council's consultations of the 21st and 22nd of December, and the 1st of this month. The Council meant to make an example of him, but had not yet decided on his punishment. 7: John Long, about whom the Court had been so often troubled, was not to be mended or reclaimed, and had now grown altogether incorrigible. But since the Council daily expected the Court's directions on what should be done with him, it forbore to go into particulars. If the Court wished to hear how he had behaved since August last, it had a full account of it in the consultations of the 6th and 22nd of July, the 21st of September, and the [...] of this month. 8: Joseph Bates was also a man of very ill behaviour and bad principles, and his mind was equal to his villainy and capable of doing mischief.

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		of the 6. & 28. July 21. Sep.r & 11. instant Joseph Bates is also a Man of very ill behaviour & bad Principles & on his Score equal to his Villany might be capable of doing Mischief, of this Your Honours have a remarkable Story in Our Consultation of the 3. of August last whereon it appears he had	Of this the Court had a remarkable proof in the consultation of the 3rd of August last, where it appeared he had [...] **Interpretations** The riding of the wooden horse was a military punishment in which a soldier was made to sit astride a sharp-edged wooden frame, often weighted at the feet, for a set time. Thomas Swindle's sentence, with his face blacked, marked both the shame and the pain of the penalty for fathering a child on a slave woman, a disgrace enforced within the garrison's own discipline. The law that made the black woman and her child slaves to the Court set out the harsh legal mechanism by which the offence was answered. By the rule in force in the King's foreign plantations, her union with the soldier forfeited her freedom, so that she and the child fell to the Company as property, the loss of liberty itself the punishment, followed by a public whipping once she had risen from childbed, the phrase for the lying-in period after birth. The reference to Mrs Francis Wrangham, owner of the assaulted infant, ties to the consolidated reference, where Francis Wrangham is recorded as a planter holding one of the island's best watered plantations, formerly the writer wounded by Antipas Tovey in 1716. The infant was a slave child of his household, the fellow's own confession the ground of the proceedings, the Council reserving the punishment for the Court's example, the same castration for rape the consolidated reference records the island using in place of hanging. The recurring troubles with John Long and Joseph Bates, both held incorrigible, carried forward the whole season's difficulty in disposing of men the island could neither reform nor safely export, the Council awaiting the Court's directions before acting further, as recorded through this year's correspondence.
333	323	Honours to hear of vice of any Sort but more, besides the instances already mentioned has Since happened for Thomas Arundle Soldier has lately had a bastard by a free black Wench for which he did the Woman Horse two Hordes with his face blacked all over, & according to the Laws in force in his Majesties foreign Plantations the Wench having forfeited her freedom She & the Child are made Slaves to Your Honours & the Wench as Soon as She is out of the Straw is to be publickly whipt the other Villanious peice of Debauchery was committed by a black fellow named Casbr aged about fifty belonging to Gunner French who Attempted to comit it & Rape upon the body of black infant Child hardly 18 Months belonging to M.rs Francis Wrangham which upon his Apprehension the Fellow has owned his Accusation & the Proceedings thereupon are Entered in Our Consultations of the 21. & 28. Dec.r & 11. of this Month, the design to make an Example of him but are not yet determined about his Punishment John Long about whom Your Honours have been so often troubled is not to be mended or reclaimed he is now become altogether incorrigible, but as wee hope Speedily to receive Your Directions what Shall be done with him wee forbear to ascend to particulars but if Your Honours desire to hear how he has behaved himself Since August last You have full Accounts of it in Our Consult.ns of the 6. & 28. July 21. Sep.r & 11. instant	The Council knew it was disagreeable to the Court to hear of any offences, but another had happened besides those already mentioned. Thomas Swindle, a soldier, had lately had a child by a free black woman, for which he had ridden the wooden horse two hours with his face blacked all over. By the law in force in the King's foreign plantations, the woman, having forfeited her freedom, was, with the child, made a slave to the Court, and the woman, as soon as she was out of the straw, was to be publicly whipped. The other villainous act was the debauchery committed by a black fellow named Caesar, aged about fifty, belonging to Gunner French, who tried to commit rape on the body of a black infant child, hardly eighteen months old, belonging to Mrs Francis Wrangham. On his apprehension the fellow owned the charge, and the proceedings on it were entered in the Council's consultations of the 21st and 22nd of December, and the 1st of this month. The Council meant to make an example of him, but had not yet decided on his punishment. 7: John Long, about whom the Court had been so often troubled, was not to be mended or reclaimed, and had now grown altogether incorrigible. But since the Council daily expected the Court's directions on what should be done with him, it forbore to go into particulars. If the Court wished to hear how he had behaved since August last, it had a full account of it in the consultations of the 6th and 22nd of July, the 21st of September, and the 1st of this month. 8: Joseph Bates was also a man of very ill behaviour and bad principles, and his mind was equal to his villainy and capable of doing mischief.

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		Joseph Bates is also a Man of very ill behaviour & bad Principles & on his Score equal to his Pilfering might be capable of doing Mischief, of this Your Honours have a remarkable Story in Our Consultation of the 3. of August last whereon it appears he had	Of this the Court had a remarkable proof in the consultation of the 3rd of August last, where it appeared he had [...]
334	324	Honoured Sirs General ℔ Prince William the 11.th Sep.r 1736 The Britannia Sailed from hence on the 7.th of last last month & wee hope wee got Safely to England on the 2. instant the Prince William arrived from Madrass but last from the Cape which place Cap.t Williamson left in October last in his way to India, & of the Dutch fleet which they there met Cap.t Langworth heard that the Duke of Lorraine was Safely arrived at Batavia On the 3. a French Ship from Pontichery called the Apollo Commanded by Monsr La Bouchee also Arrived here in a Weak & Sickly Condition but lest this Should be a pretence to Cover Some ill design She might possibly have upon the Prince William the necessary Orders were given to prevent it as Your Honours will particularly See in Our Consultation of the 3. instant. Cap.t Buch is gone or a going to Sudastt it thought that either the Grantham or the Halifax will be detained this Season at Bengall, & this is all the News wee can Send Your Honours relating to your Shiping & as to the Affairs of this Island are lately gave You a full Account in our Letter ℔ the Britannia a Copy of which is herein Enclosed together with Copies of the Severall Papers & Consultations then transmitted The French Ship Sailed this wea very Morning at Eleven a Clock, & the Prince William was ready to have Sailed at the Same time but as the French are very perfidious it was thought best not to trust them & for this reason Cap.t Langworth does not Saile till this Evening, Wee are &c St Helena 11.th Febry 1736.	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping. 1: The *Britannia* sailed from the island on the 30th of last month, and the Council hoped she was got safely to England. On the 3rd of this month the *Prince William* arrived from Madras but last from the Cape, which she left on the 6th of October last on her way to India. From the Dutch fleet she met there, Captain Williamson learned that the *Duke of Lorraine* was safely arrived at Batavia. On the 3rd a French ship from Pondicherry called the *Apollo*, commanded by Monsieur La Bouchou, also arrived at the island in a weak and sickly condition. But in case this should be a pretence to cover some ill design she might have upon the *Prince William*, the necessary orders were given to prevent it, as the Court would find particularly in the consultation of the 3rd of this month. Captain Buch was gone, or going, to Judith, and it was thought that either the *Grantham* or the *Hall* would be detained this season at Bengal. This was all the news the Council could send the Court about its shipping. As to the affairs of the island, it had lately given the Court a full account in its letter by the *Britannia*, a copy of which was enclosed, together with copies of the several papers and consultations then sent. 2: The French ship sailed on Sunday morning at eleven o'clock, and the *Prince William* was ready to have sailed at the same time. But as the French were very treacherous, it was thought best not to trust them, and for this reason Captain Williamson did not sail till the evening. The letter closed at St Helena on the 11th of February 1736, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's obedient servants. **Interpretations** The Council's suspicion that the French ship *Apollo* had feigned distress to mask a design on the *Prince William* shows the wariness that a state of near-war bred between the two nations' shipping at the island. A vessel arriving weak and sickly claimed the ordinary right of refreshment, but the Council, doubting the pretence, took orders to guard the Court's ship, the same caution the consolidated reference records in examining every foreign ship before admission against the feared French war. The Council's holding of the *Prince William* in the road until evening, after the French ship had sailed in the morning, was a deliberate precaution against treachery on the open sea. Two ships leaving together might fall foul of one another once clear of the island, so a gap of some hours let the French vessel get away before the Court's ship followed, the delay a small tactical safeguard for a valuable Company ship in dangerous times. The *Britannia*, the *Prince William*, the *Duke of Lorraine*, the *Apollo*, the *Grantham* and the *Hall* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference as vessels of this exchange, and the Williamson of this passage carries forward the commander reported on the *Prince William.* **Speculations** The Council chose to delay the *Prince William*'s departure until the evening rather than let her sail in company with the *Apollo* that morning, though the two ships were both ready to go together. It held her back because it judged the French treacherous and would not trust them at sea near a war, so the

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			obvious convenience of a joint departure was passed over for a staggered one that put safe distance between the Court's ship and a vessel it suspected, the delay anchored to the specific fear of an attack once both were clear of the road.
335	325	Hon.d Sirs. General ♆ Lynn 18.th March 1736 The Prince William left Us on the 11.th of last March & wee hope will be Safely arrived before you receive this. On the 3. instant the Lynn arrived from Bombay but last from the Cape & brought Us a Supply the particulars of which your Honours will See in Our Consultation of this next day. On the 13. being Sunday the George arrived from England & the next Morning early wee gave the Captain notice to Send the Goods as low & bear & Maintained the proper persons to attend at the Waterside to receive the Same be to take and Account of the Weather & the Ship working all which wee will Speedily lay before Your Honours together with our Answer to Your last Commands, but the Lynn being so near Sailing, its impossible to do it by her & therefore at this time wee will not presume to be farther troublesome to Your Honours Wee have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange upon your Honours both dated this day One Set payable to Isaac Pyke Esq.r or Order for the Sum of L.750. Sterling for the like Sum due to him in Your Books of Accounts here the other for the Sum of L.180. Sterling payable to Duke Crispe or Order being in part for what is due to him in Your Books of Accounts here & for forty five Pounds by him this day paid into Your Cash here of both which wee humbly pray Your Acceptance. Wee are Hon.d Sirs Your most faithful & most Obedient Servants Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping. 1: The *Prince William* left the island on the 11th of last March, and the Council hoped she was safely arrived before the Court received this. On the 8th of this month the *Lynn* arrived from Bombay but last from the Cape, and brought the Council a supply, the particulars of which the Court would find in the consultation of the 8th of this month. On the 13th, being Sunday, the *George* arrived from England, and the next morning the Council gave the captain notice to send the goods, as it always did, and appointed the proper persons to attend at the waterside to receive them, to take an account of the master and of the ship's unlading. All of this the Council would soon lay before the Court, together with its answer to the Court's late commands, but the *Lynn* being so near sailing, it was impossible to do it by her, and therefore at this time the Council would not trouble the Court further. 2: The Council had drawn two sets of bills of exchange on the Court, both dated this day. One set was payable to Isaac Pyke esquire or order for £50 0s 0d sterling, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island. The other was for £180 0s 0d sterling, payable to Duke Crispe or order, being partly for what was due to him in the Court's books at the island, and partly for £45 0s 0d paid in by him this day into the Court's cash. The Council asked the Court to accept and pay both. The letter closed at St Helena on the 18th of March 1736, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. **Interpretations** The bill of £180 0s 0d to Duke Crispe combined two distinct kinds of remittance in a single instrument. Part discharged a balance already standing to his credit in the Company's books, while part answered the £45 0s 0d he paid in ready money to the Court's cash that same day, so the one bill both settled an old debt and returned fresh coin he had lodged, the island receiving the cash it perpetually lacked and Crispe taking a claim payable in London. Duke Crispe is the D. Crispe who subscribed the letter, the councillor whose name the clerk's hand renders variously as Corise and Cripps in the consolidated reference. The taking of an exact account of the master and of the ship's unlading, by persons appointed at the waterside, was the enforcement machinery guarding the Court against short deliveries. A written record of what each ship landed, checked against her papers, gave the ground for charging a commander who fell short of his consigned goods, the same bill-of-lading programme the consolidated reference records running through the island's correspondence, and here the reason the Council could not complete its report before the *Lynn* sailed. The *Prince William*, the *Lynn* and the *George* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and Isaac Pyke, the payee of the first bill, was the Governor himself, his balance discharged by a bill on the Court in the usual way of a cashless island.
336	326	Honoured Sirs. General ♆ Walpole the 2. May 1737 Wee had the pleasure to receive your	The Council opened its address to the Court with the arrival of its commands, in a letter begun at St Helena on 10 May 1737 and sent by the *Walpole*.

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		Commands by the George on the 13. March last & are likewise glad to hear that all the Shiping of last year are Safely arrived in England as wee hope Cap.t Gilbert & Speedily wee to having left Us on the 26.th of March Cap.t White Sailed for Bencoolen on the 4.th of April, On the 22.th of April the Walpole & Princess Wales from Sticha arrived here & also a French Ship from Pontichery called the Inetis of 530 Ton, 86 Guns & 120 Men but this last not having Sent her Commission on Shoard by her Boat, She was brought to an Anchor at Ruperts was Soon as wee were Satisfied who they wee they had leave to come but as Soon as they weighed they again Anchored off Mundens & might easely have warped in but instead of doing that they thought to have Sailed in the as Soon as their Anchor was again up they drove off to Sea & made in the 26.th before they reached the Road & would not have been able to have got in at all if Cap.t Goodwin had not kindly gone on board on the 24. when She was She Adrifes off at Sea & brought her in. the Princess Wales parted Company with the Richmond on the 22. of March last & both She & the Normanton are hourly expected. there have been this year in China, two Dutch, two French, One Danish & one Swedish Ship, the Danish Ship proposes to touch here Wee hope the Decker has reached Bombay long ere now. Wee are Glad to find that your Honours have received Our Severall Letters of last year Wee return Your Honours thanks for giving Us a List of Your Shiping & the Gent. whom you have appointed Supra Cargoes. This Cargo by the George was delivered within the two working Days so that Your Honours are not Subject to pay any Demorage, & upon all future	1: The Council was pleased to receive the Court's commands by the *George* on 13 March 1737, and was glad to hear that all the shipping of the past year was safely arrived in England, as it hoped Captain Gilbert would be presently, he having left the island on 26 March 1737. Captain White sailed for Bencoolen on 6 April 1737. On 22 April 1737 the *Walpole* and the *Princess of Wales* arrived from India. A French ship from Pondicherry, called the *Thetis*, of 530 tons, 26 guns and 120 men, also arrived, but as she had not sent her commission aboard by her boat, she was brought to an anchor at Rupert's, and was soon released once the Council was satisfied who she was. They had been hard to come by as news, but as soon as they were quieted, the ships anchored off Munden's and might easily have warped in. Instead of doing that, they thought to have sailed in as soon as their anchor was again up, but were driven off to sea. She stood in to Rupert's on 25 April 1737, before she reached the road, and could not have got in at all if Captain Goodwin had not kindly gone on board on 24 April 1737, when she was without a pilot at sea, to bring her in. The *Princess of Wales* parted company with the *Richmond* on 22 March 1737, and both she and the *Normanton* were hourly expected. There had been this year in China two Dutch, two French, one Danish and one Swedish ship, and the Danish ship proposed to touch at the island. 2: The Council hoped the *Decker* had reached Bombay long ago. 3: The Council was glad to find that the Court had received its several letters of the past year. The Council returned the Court its thanks for giving it a list of its shipping, and of the gentlemen it had appointed supercargoes. 10: The cargo by the *George* was delivered within the two days of unlading, so the Court was not subject to pay any demurrage, and on all future occasions [...] **Interpretations** The bringing of the French ship *Thetis* to an anchor at Rupert's, until she sent her commission ashore, shows the standing precaution against a foreign vessel of uncertain purpose at a time of near-war. A ship that failed to identify herself was held at the exposed anchorage beyond the reach of the main fort's guns until her business was known, the same examination of every foreign ship before admission the consolidated reference records, Rupert's serving as the holding ground for vessels not yet cleared. The delivery of the *George*'s cargo within the two days of unlading meant the Court owed no demurrage, the compensation a shipowner could claim for a vessel detained beyond her agreed time. By clearing the ship inside her term, the Council spared the Court a charge the rough seas of earlier seasons had sometimes forced, the careful record of unlading the ground on which such claims were met or avoided. The catalogue of European ships trading to China that year, two Dutch, two French, one Danish and one Swedish, marked the island's function as a watch-post on the eastern trade of rival nations. Each foreign East India venture passing homeward was tracked and noted, the intelligence gathered from calling ships and passed to the Court, the same standing observation of the Dutch, French and other fleets the consolidated reference records. The *George*, the *Walpole*, the *Princess of Wales*, the *Thetis*, the *Richmond*, the *Normanton* and the *Decker* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and Captain Goodwin, who went out to pilot the French ship in, is the John Goodwin of the

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			Council reported through this season's correspondence.
337	327	occasions wee will Use the like Deligence but in the Case of Cap.t Pomngton so many cross Accidents happened that he could not be dispatched in due time nor could wee Suffer him to take Ballast off the Beach near the frame because the Sea had then beeon up & made a considerable Breach in the Path or Causeway leading to the Water Gate but the Governour having caused the Same to be made good & wee believe by placing many large Rocks there each of very great weight to redp of the force of the Sea which he has hitherto effectually done Cap.t White has been permitted to take his Ballast at the usual place. On the 26. March wee dispatched him & Enclosed Your Honours have his receipt for our Packets to India together with an Account of the Ships working Indorsed thereon Wee have Sent the Charterparty of the Ship George. to Bencoolen together with Eight our Soldiers who wee believe will be Serviceable to you there & if the peace takes place wee have thoughts of Sending more for wee are determined to Ehsend Your Charge by every Opportunity where it may be Safely done & this will Save Your Honours the trouble & Expence you of late years have been at in raising & Sending them & their Recruets from England Wee notice your Removes have taken of the Misbehaviour of the first of the Middlesex who happe- wide have a good effect, wee are Sorry wee had any Occasion to make complaint against him but his own Conduct was Such that it became unavoidable & wee return Your Honours thanks for the justice you have been pleased to do Us Wee wonder at the impudence of those who ever they are, that have told Your Honours wee have no market here, wee have a very Good one, but if it is not furnished & Supplyed before the English fashion it is because the Captains buy what they want of their Acquaintance & give them Encourage--ment for a market & this is the reason why no body will Sell or expose any thing to Sale here. Wee yearly Send your Honours a List of your	On all future occasions the Council would use the like diligence, but in the case of Captain Crompton so many mishaps happened that he could not be despatched in due time. Nor would the Council let him take ballast off the beach near the crane, because the sea had then broken up and made a considerable breach in the path or causeway leading to the water gate. The Governor having caused the same to be made good, which was achieved by placing many large rocks there, each of very great weight, to help break the force of the sea, and which so far had held effectually. Once this was done, Captain White was allowed to take his ballast at the usual place. On 26 March 1737 the Council despatched him, and enclosed for the Court was his receipt for the packets to India, together with an account of the ship's unlading endorsed on it. 11: The Council had sent the charter party of the ship *George* to Bencoolen, together with eight of the Court's soldiers, whom it believed Bencoolen would be short of. If the peace took place, the Council had thoughts of sending more, for it was determined to spare the Court's charge by every chance it safely could, which would save the Court the trouble and expense that the raising and sending of recruits from England had cost it these past years. 12: The Council was pleased that the Court had noticed the misbehaviour of the former captain of the *Middlesex*, and hoped it would have a good effect. The Council was sorry to have had any cause to complain against him, but his own conduct was such that it became unavoidable. It returned the Court its thanks for the justice it had been pleased to do it. 13: The Council wondered at the impudence of those, whoever they were, who had told the Court there was no market at the island, for there was a very good one. But if it were not furnished and supplied after the English fashion, it was because the captains bought what they wanted of their acquaintance, and were encouraged to seek a market. This was the reason why nobody would hold, or have, anything to sell at the island. 14: The Council yearly sent the Court a list of its civil [...] **Interpretations** The breach the sea made in the path to the water gate, mended by sinking many great rocks to break the force of the surf, marks the same standing battle with the ocean the consolidated reference records at Lemon Valley, where storms rolled rocks of prodigious size into the sea. The damage stopped Captain Crompton taking ballast off the beach near the crane, so the Governor's repair was the precondition for resuming the ordinary business of lading, the island's works forever exposed to a sea it could only partly hold. The sending of eight soldiers with the *George*'s charter party to Bencoolen set out a policy of sparing the Court the cost of raising recruits at home. Drafting men from the island's own garrison to the west coast settlement met Bencoolen's want without the expense of fresh levies shipped from England, the Council weighing its own defensive needs against the Court's charge, the standing personnel transfers between the two settlements running through the correspondence. The Council's account of why the island seemed to have no market exposed the mechanism behind a complaint carried home against it. Captains bought their supplies privately from their acquaintance rather than at open sale, so the planters, finding no public demand, kept nothing ready to sell, the

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			appearance of scarcity arising from private dealing rather than any real want, the same undercutting of the open market the consolidated reference records in the private-trade thread. The *George*, the *Middlesex* and the ballast-taking Captain White and Captain Crompton named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the peace referred to is the settlement then hoped for that would end the feared French war.
338	328	Civil & Military Servants. & wee this Year transmitted one by the Bretannia & on the Packet wee Send your Honours a List of the Recruets wee received by the Lyca & Cumboulton observing therein who are dead Sawn or Living Such disregard Shall be given to what you are pleased to Command. the Cash Account comes in the Packet the reason why wee have not yet made another Sale of Damaged Goods is because the Inhabitants when they have Sold Spate so a dries it expressed no Sort of Inclination, but as your Honours have Ordered Such Sales to be made when Shiping are in the road as well as at other times wee will Speedily expose these Goods to outcry & from time to time transmit Your Honours an Account thereof Wee have received Ten Blacks from Bombay viz.t 5 Women & Boys & 2 Girls but out of these your Honours perceive there is not one Labouring hand & although you take notice that at Sep.r 1735 wee had 165 Blacks yet it has been forgot to observe that of these there are only 67 Men & of these Men there are only 38 capable of Labour the rest wee either Dyed or otherwise distempered or disabled from Service So that it is impracticable to make any considerable Progress in your Fortifications without more help & if the Gent. at Bombay Send Us other Cargoes like this, they may as well, nay, had better keep them where they are for wee Shall only have them to feed & to Clothe both which they can do abroad much cheaper than can be done here, nor is it likely wee Shall be better Supplyed from thence & should wee hear they themselves want great numbers of Slaves & if this be fact as wee are well informed it is, there is an absolute necessity to hire Blacks, & forward the new Batteries & to repair the other Fortifications, at least till Such time your Honours Shall find means to furnish Us with the numbers wanting, & therefore wee hope & make no doubt your Honours will be Satisfied with the reasons wee have now offered upon this Subject tho'it	The Council yearly sent the Court a list of its civil and military servants, and this year had sent one by the *Britannia*. In the packet was a list of the recruits received by the *Lynn* and the *Cambridge*, showing which of them were dead, run away or living, and the like regard would be paid to whatever the Court was pleased to command. The last account was in the packet. 15: The reason the Council had not yet made another sale of damaged goods was that the inhabitants, when they had ready cash to spare, showed no sort of inclination to buy. But as the Court had ordered such sales to be held when shipping was in the road, as well as at other times, the Council would soon put the goods up to public sale, and from time to time send the Court an account of it. 16: The Council had received ten slaves from Bombay, five men, three boys and two girls, but out of these the Court would perceive there was not one labouring hand. Though the Court might note that in September 1735 the island had a hundred and sixty-five slaves, it had been forgotten that of these there were only sixty-seven men, and now only thirty-eight fit for labour, the rest being either aged or otherwise diseased or disabled from service. So it was impossible to make any considerable progress in the fortifications without more help. If the gentlemen at Bombay sent the Council other cargoes like this, they might as well, nay had better, keep them where they were, for the Council would only have them to feed. Such slaves cost both where they came from and abroad much cheaper than they could be got here, nor was it likely the Council would be better supplied from there, though it heard they had great numbers of slaves. If this were true, as the Council was well informed it was, there was an absolute necessity to hire slaves to carry on the new batteries and to repair the other fortifications, at least until such time as the Court should find means to furnish the Council with the numbers wanting. The Council therefore hoped, and made no doubt, that the Court would be satisfied with the reason it had now given on this subject, which it would [...] **Interpretations** The reckoning of the island's slaves, a hundred and sixty-five in September 1735 but only sixty-seven men and now thirty-eight fit for labour, laid bare the gulf between nominal numbers and real strength. A muster that counted every slave concealed how few could work once the aged, diseased and disabled were struck off, so the Council pressed the true figure on the Court to explain why the fortifications stood at a stand, the same distinction between name and labour the consolidated reference records where 170 in name fell to 42 labouring hands. The Council's complaint that the ten slaves from Bombay held not one labouring hand exposed a failing in the supply on which the works depended. Slaves cost less at their source than the island could get them for, yet a cargo of women, boys and old men added mouths without hands, so the Council would rather Bombay kept such people than send them merely to be fed, the demand for able labour set against the useless numbers actually delivered.

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			The absolute necessity of hiring slaves to carry on the batteries, until the Court supplied the numbers wanting, tied the whole defence programme to a labour market the island could barely afford. With too few of the Court's own slaves fit for work, the Council had to rent the planters' hands to raise the new batteries against the feared French war, the same want of labour the consolidated reference records as the true bar to the works. The severe want of ready cash among the inhabitants governed the delay in the sale of damaged goods, the same scarcity of a circulating medium that runs through the island's correspondence and forced every remittance onto bills drawn on London. The *Britannia*, the *Lynn* and the *Cambridge* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the new batteries pressed forward were the works raised against the feared French war recorded in the consolidated reference through the defence programme.
339	329	will be proper to add that as the Affairs of Europe are Still in a very unsettled Postura & if there Should be a peace its highly probable it will be of Short Duration so that in common Prudence wee ought to take this Opportunity to Secure Your Island & Your Shiping from any Attack or Surprize in kind of War & wee hope Your Honours do not imagine that so pityful a Consideration as 9.d a day could ever tempt us to hire Blacks with a view to our own Advantage The Sasnes wee bought of Cap.t Cason proved bad the they looked well & fair in the Eye wee bought them at a time when wee Stood in great want & Your Honours will be no Losers by them all being Sold already except 48 Peices the Plate, the Books & the &c mentioned in this Paragraph were in Small parcells & then wanted & wee never do any thing of this Sort but upon pressing Occasions. M.r Goodwin & M.rs Pyke have gone through long & great Fatigues in Your Service & have managed all Affairs committed to their Care with a very commendable Industry, the Fortifycation next the Governour who first Carried the design at Turks Cap was owing to their Diligence & daily Attendance for which neither of them had or desired for any Consideration & upon the turning away of M.r Van Osken who had near L.100. of and one for his Service they were desired to keep Your Books & yet the Allowance made to them for their trouble too this branch of business is only L.31.12.6 to each & after this Allowance wee believe your Honours wee thenk their Recompence Small enough Its true, the Inhabitants are indebt in Arrears to Your Honours but as they are generally in low Circumstances wee Should the indebt distress them & wee Use vigorous means to recover the Sums in which they Stand Indebted, but wee will look carefully after these matters & wee hope by gentle Motives & in a Short time to get too many of them Your Honours in this Paragraph observe that Your Expences last year wee greater than they were Margin Notes: Ruperts Battery	The Council thought it proper to add that, as the affairs of Europe were still in a very unsettled state, if there should be a peace it was highly probable it would be of short duration. So the Council ought to take this chance to secure the Court's island and its shipping from attack or surprise in time of war, and it hoped the Court did not imagine that so pitiful a consideration as ninepence a day could ever tempt it to hire slaves with a view to its own advantage. 17: The sailcloth the Council bought of Captain Tolson proved good, being both good and fair in the eye, and was bought at a time when the Council was in great want, so the Court would be no loser by it, the whole having been already sold except forty-eight pieces. 18: The plate, the books and the oil named in this paragraph came in small parcels and were much wanted, and the Council never did anything of this sort except on pressing occasions. 19: Mr Goodwin and Mr Cripse had gone through long and great labours in the Court's service, and had managed all the affairs committed to their care with very commendable industry. The battery near the Governor's house, that the Governor first began the design of at Turk's Cap, was owing to their diligence and daily attendance, for which neither of them had, or wished for, any consideration, save the turning away of Mr Van Oosten, who owed near £100 0s 0d. If, and since, they were resolved to keep the Court's books and get the accounts made up, the Council thought that for their trouble in this kind of business it was only £31 12s 6d to each, and after this account the Council believed the Court would think their recompense small enough. 20: It was true, the inhabitants were much in arrears to the Court, but as they were generally in low circumstances, the Council should the more distress them if it should use rigorous means to recover the sums in which they stood indebted. But it would look carefully after these matters, and hoped by gentle methods, and in a short time, to get too many of them [...] 21: The Court, in this paragraph, observed that its expenses last year were greater than they were [...] **Interpretations** The Council's insistence that no consideration as pitiful as ninepence a day could tempt it to hire slaves for its own gain answered a suspicion at home that its officers profited by the works. The rate at which it rented the planters' hands was the very sum the inhabitants would not accept, so far from lining their pockets the Council pressed a war footing for the island's safety, the assurance aimed at the Court's watch over an expensive settlement, the same

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			defence of frugal and honest management the consolidated reference records running through the correspondence. The battery near the Governor's house, first designed at Turk's Cap, ties to the consolidated reference, where the inhabitants near finished a battery for eight guns at Turk's Cap Valley in 1734, stalled for want of lime. Its progress, credited here to the daily attendance of Goodwin and Crispe, marked the defensive works pressed forward against the feared French war, the two servants seeking no reward for it beyond the removal of a debtor, Van Oosten, whom the consolidated reference records as the absconding impostor of many aliases. The Council's choice of gentle methods to recover the inhabitants' arrears, rather than rigorous means, set out its handling of a debt-ridden and impoverished people. Harsh recovery would ruin planters already in low circumstances and breed disorder, so the Council pressed the debt mildly, the same recovery in kind with mildness the consolidated reference records against a people left poor by the long drought. Sailcloth was the heavy canvas for ships' sails, and the plate, books and oil small parcels of goods bought only on pressing need, the Council's caution in such purchases answering the Court's standing watch over the island's charges. Captain Tolson, the seller of the sailcloth, is the commander of that name reported in the consolidated reference in earlier seasons.
340	330	the Year before but this is not our faults because the excess arose from the number of Recruits Sent Your Pyke Year but wee not both, Sorry & much Surprized & much also as Astonished to find your Honours Should blame Our Conduct & the Governours in particular in the Management by a Standing Article of Expence by which a Sum amounting to about L.1122. has been Saved you by his Care & good Oeconomy & all in Ready Money notwithstand- -ing the boasted Management & Frugality of who Since Buget our Company has been at least two to one all Super more than it than was & so proof this wee lay before Your Honours an Acco.ts of the Charge of Diet Expences for the five years M.r Byfeld was Governour & the like yearly Account for the five year Governour has been there viz.t M.r Byfeld Governour Pyke Ledger folio L. s. d Ledger folio L. s. d 5. ½ year. 40 592. 15. 6. ½ year 54 574 19. 6 1 year. 47 1051. 9. 5¾ 1 year. 36 794 10. 5¾ 1 year. 48 1021 2. 6¾ 1 year. 33 681 14 5¾ 1 year. 52 1091 11 2¾ 1 year. 30 946 9 4½ 1 year. 53 997 0 3¾ 1 year. 38 888 5 10 ½ year. 54 420 19 2 ½ year. 30 346 8 3½ 5155 1. L. 4032 7 11½ 4032 7 11½ Difference. 1122 13 ½ So that it fully appears without any Sort of Gloss & without raising any Sort of Mist or Cloud to blind your Eyes that Gov.r Pyke has every year Saved Your Honours above L.224. of and one in this Single Article of	The Court had observed that its expenses last year were greater than the year before, but this was not the Council's fault, because the excess arose from the number of recruits sent the past year, which was now not over. Sorry to be so much surprised, the Council was almost astonished to find that the Court should blame its conduct, and the Governor's in particular, in the management of a standing article of expense, by which a sum of about £1,122 0s 0d had been saved to the Court by his careful and good management, and all in ready money. This was despite the boasted management and frugality of former times, since the Company had been at least two to one at a rate more than it was, and to prove this the Council set before the Court an account of the charge of diet expenses for the five years Mr Byfield was Governor, and the like yearly account for the five years of Governor Pyke, as follows. Mr Byfield Governor Pyke Ledger folio £ s d Ledger folio £ s d half year 5 592 15 6 half year 54 574 19 6 1 year 47 1051 9 5¾ 1 year 36 794 10 5¾ 1 year 48 1021 2 6½ 1 year 35 681 14 5¾ 1 year 52 1091 11 2½ 1 year 30 946 9 4½ 1 year 53 997 0 3¾ 1 year 38 188 5 10 half year 54 420 19 2 half year 30 346 8 3½ 5155 1 0 4032 7 11½ 4032 7 11½ Difference 1122 13 0½ So it fully appeared, without any sort of gloss, and without raising any sort of ribbon or cloth to blind the Court's eyes, that Governor Pyke had every year saved the Court above £224 0s 0d yearly in this single article of expense. The Council therefore

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		Expence & therefore wee hope Your Honours will entertain a favourable Opinion of Us & believe you have Us a as faithfull & as carefull Us as able Servants too at St Helena as any you have yet Employed & wee all promise to be alike diligent for the future. With humble Submission wee believe it will be far to your Satisfaction if wee Send your Honours the Cash Account Monthly for Sometimes the Ships	hoped the Court would think favourably of it, and believe it had as faithful and careful, and as able, servants at St Helena as any it had yet employed, and it all promised to be alike diligent for the future. 22: With all submission, the Council believed it would be for the Court's satisfaction if it sent the Court the cash account monthly, for sometimes the ships sailed [...] **Interpretations** The paired five-year accounts of diet expenses under Governor Byfield and Governor Pyke were assembled as a direct rebuttal of the Court's charge of extravagance. By setting each year's figure side by side and drawing out the difference of £1,122 13s 0½d in Pyke's favour, the Council turned the Court's own criticism against it, proving that the very administration blamed for rising cost had in fact saved above £224 a year on the General Table alone, the account offered as documentary defence in a settled dispute over the island's charges. The diet expenses were the running cost of the General Table, the daily dining of the officers and senior servants supplied at Company charge. The consolidated reference records the standing audit of this table across successive governors, so the comparison here fixed Pyke's frugal management against Byfield's higher figure, the whole answering the Court's watch over a heavy charge, Byfield being the Edward Byfield of the reference who governed before Pyke's return. The Council's proposal to send the cash account monthly rather than by the year set out a reform in the reporting of the island's money. A yearly account left long gaps in which the Court could not follow the cash, so a monthly return gave a closer check, the same tightening of the accounting the consolidated reference records where the workmen's accounts were cleared monthly and every recipient of bills made at once debtor for the cash. The Governor is named as Governor Pyke, with the increase in the year's charge laid to the recruits sent the past year, the same cause the Council pressed earlier in the season to keep the Court from reading waste into the larger figure.
341	331	Saile so quick one after another that wee cant be ready for the Packet. You have the Cash Account as it hath Stood from the 6.th of Sep.r to the 26. of last Month. the Chaplain wee Send your Honours the List of Marriages &c as you required the Bill payable to John Downing or Order for L.93. 12. 6 was for Money paid into your Cash upon his Account & wee promised to observe your Order & wee, will as as little upon You as possible. Wee thank your Honours for the Payment of the Bill for L.560. omitted to be mentioned in our Sum of the 8.th of May last. Wee will be more carefull for the future. Our Indent for the future Shall be drawn in Words at Length & figures too, Wee are Glad your Honours intend to give Orders for the Severall Goods to be Sent Us from India which wee have mentioned in Our Indents, when they arrive wee Shall hardly have any Occasion to buy of the Captains Wee are Glad to hear the Heirs of the Spaniard have Got part of the money due to him Wee will observe your Directions about the Price of the Sales. Your Honours Seem to have quite forgotten Our Consultations of the 8. & 15. August 1735, a great deale	The ships sailed so quickly one after another that the Council could hardly be ready. In the packet was the cash account, as it stood from 29 September 1736 to 25 April 1737 of last month. 23: The chaplain had sent the Court the list of marriages and the rest, as the Court required. 24: The bill payable to John Downing or order for £93 12s 6d was for money paid into the Court's cash on his account. The Council promised to observe the Court's directions, and to draw as little as possible upon it. It thanked the Court for the payment of the bill for £560 0s 0d named in the letter of 8 May last, and would be more careful for the future. 25: The Council's indent for the future would be drawn in words at length and in figures too. It was glad the Court intended to give orders for the several goods to be sent to it from India, which it had named in its indents, and when they arrived it would hardly have any occasion to buy of the captains. 26: The Council was glad to hear that the heirs of the Spaniard had got part of the money due to them. 27: The Council would observe the Court's directions about the price of the slaves. 28: The Court seemed to have quite forgotten the Council's consultations of the 8th and 15th of August 1735, in which a great deal of care and pains had been taken to discover what water was best. The Council humbly recommended these to the Court's consideration. But as it was a matter entirely

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		of care & pains in our Power taken to discover which wee took, wee we best have humbly Recommend them to your Consideration but as it is a matter entirely indifferent to Us where the Water & as your Honours have laid your Commands upon Us to build a frame at Lemon Valley wee will immediatly beg in about it & get it done as Soon as possible the Sea Surfs there are of you so very high wee are afraid it will not Stand, wee will trye if wee cant find a place to Sue the frame which it may be equally & usefull to the Shiping & be less exposed to the Violence of the Sea than the former was. Now wonder the Captains Should make Such as needless flannage about the Water, they might all of them if they would have watered at Lemon Valley & many of them did but Your Honours have Such an end to the Dispute through our Severall Days made upon this & other Waters of the Island	indifferent to it where the water lay, as the Court had laid its commands upon it to build a frame at Lemon Valley, it would immediately begin on it and get it done as soon as possible. Since the sea and surf there ran very high, the Council was afraid it could not stand. It would try, if it could find a place to fix the frame where it might be equally useful to the shipping, and less exposed to the violence of the sea, than the former was. The Council wondered that the captains should make such needless complaints about the water, for they might have any of it if they would have watered at Lemon Valley. But many of them did, as the Court would perceive, since the disputes about it were, over several days, made upon this and other waters of the island [...] **Interpretations** The bill payable to John Downing for £93 12s 6d worked the usual reverse remittance of a cashless island. He paid ready money into the Court's cash at St Helena and took a bill for the like sum payable in London, so the island gained the coin it perpetually lacked while he obtained a claim recoverable at home, the same mechanism by which every payment moved across the divide between the settlement and the Court. The Court's command to build a watering frame at Lemon Valley set the Council against a choice its own surveys had already weighed. Its consultations of 8 and 15 August 1735 had examined which of the island's waters served best, so the Council pressed those findings on the Court while obeying the order, warning that the high surf at Lemon Valley might wreck the works, the same difficulty the consolidated reference records where the great rains broke away the crane and destroyed the wharf there, and the works were at length given up. The Council's account of the captains' complaints about the water exposed a grievance it held groundless. The commanders murmured that the island's water was bad as a pretext for touching at the Cape, yet they might have watered freely at Lemon Valley and many did, so the disputes arose from the captains' own preference rather than any real defect, the same Cape grievance the consolidated reference records where the Governor took great pains to fix the goodness of the island's water against the commanders' pretext. The heirs of the Spaniard, whose partial recovery the Council was glad to hear of, were the heirs of Don John de Mesa, whose estate Joseph Bates had withheld, the disputed sum recorded through this season's correspondence and in the consolidated reference. The writing of the indent in both words and figures answered the Court's wish for a clearer record against the loose entries of former years.
342	332	mentioned in the Consultations before recited have Still great weight wee do & wee hope wont quite lost their force with your Honours Wee return your Honours thanks for your Engine & will be Sure to take particular Care of them & keep them allways ready & fit for Service. Cap.t White has not Sold any thing that interferes with your Honours Trade Wee will obey all Such Commands as wee Shall receive from the Hon.ble the Gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy M.r Apridgee is entertained at the Table in the Usual manner as Chaplains are Mess.rs Alexander & Goodwin have bought & paid for all the Sashes & Frames except S.mr which have been Used upon your Honours Account wee could have Sold them too if they had been to be Spared Cap.t Cason returns your Honours thanks	The disputes mentioned in the consultations already cited would still carry great weight with the Council, and it hoped they went quite to clear its character with the Court. 29: The Council returned the Court its thanks for the fire engines, and would take particular care of them, keeping them always ready and fit for service. 30: Captain White had not sold anything that interfered with the Court's trade. 31: The Council would obey all such commands as it should receive from the Court and the gentlemen of the Committee of Secrecy. 32: Mr Fenwyck was entertained at the table in the usual manner as chaplains were. 33: Mr Alexander and Mr Goodwin had bought and paid for all the sashes and frames, except some, which had been used on the Court's account, and the Council could have sold those too if they had been to be spared.

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		for continuing his Money at Interest the ways to Bankes both by Sea & Land being of very difficult Access the Governour put the care of Rebuilding Kirty Williams Fort & the Batteries thereupon the Black upon Cap.t Goodwin who has very good Skill in Works of this Sort, & he has & accordingly Rebuilt them both very Substantially & they are now each of them Compleatly finished with convenient Lodging for the Guard & a Powder Room to each. Kirty Williams Fort is built so as it appear accurately Lower & narrower Sea than the old Fort was & hath been brassures for four Guns, which is two more than they were the year before, & the Battery upon the Beach contains Embrassures for five Guns Viz.t Three whole flowering & two Demi flowering which make Nine whole flowering more than there every there before & Stand to great Advantage the Guns upon the Beach being properly placed to make Point Blank Shots. was Soon as the frame is fixed at Lemon Valley wee Shall be obliged to the Same Gentleman to Ehsist the Governour in the Works at Ruperts which wee will prosecute with all	34: Captain Cason returned the Court its thanks for continuing his money at interest. 35: The way to Bank's, both by sea and by land, being very difficult, the Governor accepted the offer of rebuilding Bank's fort itself, and of the batteries thereupon, on the black yard, from Captain Goodwin, who had very good stores of work of this sort. He had accordingly built them both very substantially, and both were now completely finished, with convenient lodging for the guard and a powder room to each. Bank's fort was built so far particularly lower and nearer the sea than the old fort was, and had embrasures for four guns, which was two more than they had the year before. The battery upon the beach contained embrasures for five guns, namely three whole culverins and two demi-culverins, which made three whole culverins more than there were ever there before, and stood to great advantage, the guns upon the beach being properly placed to make Point Blank shots. As soon as the frame was fixed at Lemon Valley, the Council would attend the gentlemen to assist the government in the works at Rupert's, which it would prosecute with all [...] **Interpretations** The rebuilding of Bank's fort and its batteries on the black yard, undertaken by Captain Goodwin, was owing to the difficulty of the way to Bank's by both sea and land. Fresh stone or ready-worked material could not easily be carried there, so the Governor accepted the offer of a man who had good stores of such work on hand, the arrangement supplying a remote and awkward post with fortifications it could not otherwise have raised, the whole part of the defence programme against the feared French war the consolidated reference records. The placing of the new fort lower and nearer the sea, and of the beach battery to make point-blank shots, set out the tactical reasoning behind the works. A gun sited to fire point-blank struck a target directly in its line without allowance for the fall of the shot, so a battery low on the beach commanded ships close inshore, the added embrasures for more guns strengthening a position the Council pressed against attack, the whole answering the exposure of the road the consolidated reference records. Culverins and demi-culverins were long cannon of heavy and medium bore, the whole culverin the larger, throwing a ball to a greater distance. The count of three whole culverins where none stood before marked a real increase in the fort's power, the guns named by type so the Court could judge the strength of the works its money and the island's labour had raised. The fire engines, thanked for here, were the machines sent home for repair in 1732 and now returned, for throwing water against the fires that threatened the island's thatched buildings, the standing fire risk the consolidated reference records. Captain Cason is the Lieutenant Thomas Cason whose savings the Court held at interest as a pension, and Mr Fenwyck the incoming chaplain hoped to prove better than his predecessor.
343	333	the Vigour that can be expected from the little help wee have for wee dont find any Likelyhood of being Supplyed from India. If Your Honours will be pleased to Examine the Sceurs from time for the five years preceding Governour Pykes last Arrival here, You will find many Assurances were given You that Your Fortifications were constantly kept in Good Order & Repair, had this been ready done, the Expence at this time of day either in repairing or Rebuilding any of Your Fortifications in any part of the Island would have been Small but now wee	The Council would prosecute the works at Rupert's with all the vigour that could be expected from the little help it had, for it found no likelihood of being supplied from India. If the Court would examine the letters from the island for the five years preceding Governor Pyke's last arrival, it would find many assurances given it that the fortifications were constantly kept in good order and repair. Had this been really done, the expense at this time of day, either in repairing or rebuilding any part of the island's fortifications, would have been small. But

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		are Sciced with Labour & fatigue & your Honours are unavoidably put to a fresh Charge which however wee take care to keep as moderate as the nature of the thing will bear & all rising from the Negligence of other People & yet you have been told by the 18. Paragraph of the General Letter of the 28.th of Dec.r 1731 that to that day which makes a Term of years all your Fortifications were kept in good Order & Repair for the Small Sum of L.6. 10. which is an Assertion so very Gross & inconsistent that to be Sure Your Honours could not believe the person who made it to be in earnest & is so far from Truth that no Sort of Repair to any of your was ever given Fortifications during that whole five years that cheap 6 a Sort of Repair which wee believe neither Your Hon.rs or any body else ever See or heard of wee mean White washing the Front of the Castle with whiting & Size which was so far from keeping them from decay that when Gov.r inour Pyke came they were in a ruinous Condition & he hath lately rebuilt the Fort & Line at Bankes & added considerable repairs at Ruperts. but when every thing Shall be compleated wee cannot pretend to Such Good Husbanary as hath been mentioned to keep Fortifications in Such a Condition as they ought to be with yearly Occasion Stand Charge to do otherwise & neglect them would as the Poor bes has it, be losing at heap for y.e worth of Tar & therefore wee hope Your Honours do not blame Us for the Omission & Presumption of others & I faithfully premise you to keep all Your Expences upon this Rate other **Margin Notes:** 13. 22 Febry 1728 28. 30 March 1729 15. 10 Dec.r 1729 19. 9. 4.th 1731 10. 28 Dec.r 1731 29. 24 March 1731	now the Council was pressed with labour and fatigue, and the Court was unavoidably put to a fresh charge, which nonetheless the Council took care to keep as moderate as the nature of the thing would bear, and all rising from the negligence of other people. Yet the Court had been told, in the 18th paragraph of the general letter of 28 December 1731, that to that day, which made a term of years, all its fortifications were kept in good order and repair for the small sum of £6 10s 0d. This was an assertion so very gross and inconsistent that, to be short, the Council could not believe the person who made it to be in earnest, it being so far from truth that no sort of repair was ever given to any of the fortifications during that whole five years. That charge of £6 10s 0d was a sort of repair which the Council believed neither the Court nor anybody else ever saw or heard of, and by which it meant whitewashing the front of the castle with whiting and size. This was so far from keeping the works from decay that, when Governor Pyke came, he found them in a ruinous condition, and had lately rebuilt the fort and line at Bank's, and added considerable repairs at Rupert's. But until everything should be completed, the Council could not pretend to such good husbandry as it had already told the Court of, to keep the fortifications in such good condition as they ought to be. With yearly occasion, it would seem too large to do them, but to neglect them would be, as the Court had it, to be losing at the rate of sixpence-worth of tar. The Council therefore hoped the Court would not blame it for the omission and presumption of others, and it faithfully promised the Court to keep all its expenses upon this and other accounts [...] **Interpretations** The Council's attack on the claim of the letter of 28 December 1731, that the fortifications were kept in repair for £6 10s 0d, exposed a false economy of a former administration. That trifling sum bought only the whitewashing of the castle front with whiting and size, a cosmetic wash that did nothing to stop the works decaying, so the show of cheap upkeep concealed a real neglect that left the forts ruinous by Pyke's arrival, the present heavy charge laid to the earlier failure rather than any waste of its own. Whiting was powdered chalk and size a glue-like binder, together making a whitewash that brightened a wall without preserving it. The Council named these materials to show the Court exactly how little the boasted £6 10s 0d had achieved, the paint answering appearance while the fabric rotted beneath, the negligence of former officers turned into the ground of the Court's present expense. The Council's defence rested on distinguishing its own careful management from the false assurances of its predecessors. By pointing to the letters of the five years before Pyke's return, all promising the works were sound, it showed the Court had been misled, so the fresh charge of rebuilding fell to that deceit and not to the present Council, the same defence of frugal and honest management against the neglect of former times the consolidated reference records running through the correspondence. The Governor is named as Governor Pyke, who found the forts ruinous and rebuilt Bank's fort and line.
344	334	Accounts within as little compass as is possible for wee always have it in memory that this place is dead Charge to You Wee have lately held a Sessions the Proceedings of which Your Honours will See in our Consultation of the 2.d of March, & the next day wee heard and Examined into the Complaint of M.r Mills against Cap.t White & the chief Circumstances	The Council would keep its accounts within as little compass as possible, for it always remembered that the island was a dead charge to the Court. 36: The Council had lately held sessions, the proceedings of which the Court would find in the consultation of the 6th of March. The next day it heard and examined into the complaint of Mr Mills against Captain White, and the chief circumstances

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		of their Difference being herein related wee beg leave to refer Your Honours thereto Wee are much concerned to hear that under the Fictena of a Swedish Commission the outward Trade & China, is managed by Scotchmen one of that nation, named Gibson is the Chief mate, or what foreigners call Second Captaine, & is the Same man who was Second Mate of the Lynn in her last Voyage to China & before that had been Mate with Cap.t that is Said that vast Quantities of Tea are on board the Suede & that the Danish Ship now in the Road is full of it & that She is not left there 700 Ton, & wee are apt to believe that most of this is assigned for Smugling both in Scotland & Ireland & wee have reason to think this Information may be of Some Use to Your Honours the Danish Ship having 700 Pickle on board much of which wee cannot wee go the Same way Wee have drawn one Set of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of L.100. Sterling dated the 22. of April last payable to Thomds Cason or Order of which wee humbly beg your Acceptance & wee are St Helena 3. May 1737 Honoured Sirs Your most faithfull & most Obedient Serv.rs Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** P.S. The Richmond arrived on the 30. of last Month in great distress & the Danish Ships on the 1.st & Sailed this Evening & wee have this moment heard that a Ship now in the Offing is the Grantham Cap.t Shaw from Bengall (Cap.t Pinnell has been at the Cape) & was met to the Eastward of that place by the Richmond	of their difference being there related, the Council asked leave to refer the Court to them. 37: The Council was much concerned to hear that, under the pretence of a Swedish commission, the Ostend trade to China was being managed by Scotchmen. One of that nation, named Gibson, was the chief mate, or, as foreigners called it, second captain, and was the same man who was second mate of the *Lynn* on her last voyage to China, and before that had been mate with Captain [...]. It was said that vast quantities of tea were on board the *Swede*, and that the Danish ship now in the road was full of it, and that she was not less than seven hundred tons. The Council was very apt to believe that much of this was intended for smuggling, both in Scotland and in Ireland, and had reason to think this information might be of some use to the Court, the Danish ship having seven hundred chests on board, much of which the Council supposed would go the same way. 38: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for £100 0s 0d sterling, dated the 22nd of April last, payable to Thomas Sands or order, and asked the Court to accept and pay them. The letter closed at St Helena on the 3rd of May 1737, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. The Council added a postscript. The *Richmond* arrived on the 30th of last month in great distress, and the Danish ship arrived on the 1st and sailed this evening. The Council had this moment heard that a ship now in the offing was the *Grantham*, Captain Shaw, from Bengal, and that Captain Pinnell had been at the Cape, and was met to the eastward of that place by the *Richmond*. **Interpretations** The Council's report that Scotsmen were running the Ostend China trade under a Swedish commission touched the standing enforcement of the Company's monopoly. A foreign commission gave interlopers a cover to trade east in defiance of the Company's exclusive right, and here British subjects served aboard such ships, so the intelligence, naming a mate known from a Company voyage, was passed home as evidence of a fraud on the monopoly, the same watch against Ostend and foreign-licensed traders the consolidated reference records. The Council's suspicion that the tea aboard the Swedish and Danish ships was meant for smuggling into Scotland and Ireland tied the intelligence to a loss the Court could act on at home. Vast quantities of tea landed untaxed by interlopers undercut the Company's lawful trade, so the Council reckoned the count of seven hundred chests worth reporting, the information aimed at helping the Court and the revenue against a contraband traffic in the Company's chief eastern commodity. The sessions and the complaint of Mr Mills against Captain White marked the island's exercise of justice over disputes among the calling shipping and the inhabitants, the record entered in consultation and referred home, the same keeping of exact court records the consolidated reference notes. Thomas Sands, the payee of the bill, took a claim on the Court in London for money owed at the island, the usual remittance on a cashless settlement. The *Lynn*, the *Swede*, the *Richmond* and the *Grantham* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference as vessels of this exchange, and Captain Shaw and Captain Pinnell carry forward the commanders of the postscript's shipping news.

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345	335	Honoured Sirs. General ♆ Normanton 26. May 1737 The Walpole & Princess of Wales Sailed from hence on the 2. of this Month, & Since their Departure the following Ships have arrived viz.t on the 9.th instant the Normanton, on the 12. a French Ship from Pontichery called the Amphitrite of 660 Ton, 128 Men & 26 guns Monsr Dufay Commander, on the 16. the Duke of Lorrain [...] & the Halifax Langfield from Bengale on the [...] & the Defence is upon her Voyage from Bombay Cap.t Buch tells Us that the Halifax or [...] son may be daily expected & p wee Should [...] wee have been able to have Said so by the [...] but She was unfortunately burnt to [...] & Bencoolen, the day before She [...] Sailed, Every thing is lost but in this tragical Accident only two Men perished Peter the Carpenter, & one Sailor who were blown up when the Powder Room took fire Cap.t Holmes M.r Frognal. M.r Parsons M.r Coddaton & M.r are passengers upon Cap.t Crompton. the chief Mate is left at Bencoolen to try whether Something may not be recovered, for before She blew up they thred her till She Struck. Wee [...] with all our hearts wee could Stop her, but [...] obliged to acquaint Your Honours with an [...] disaster, tho' much less consequence than the other Cap.t Shaw too had Weather to the Eastward of the Cape damaged great part of his Cargo, but by this help which has been Sorted him hard to [...] hither & dry the Goods, wee hope the Loss will not be near so great as was at first apprehended, but this Misfortune has kept him here much longer than he intended to have Stayed, the particulars of the damage as it hath hitherto been discovered, & the Assistance wee have given him Your Hon.rs wee will find in Our Consultations of the 16. & 17. instant & in Our Consultation of the 20. You have a Copy of this Protest against the Seas.	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping, in a letter begun at St Helena on 26 May 1737 and sent by the *Normanton*. 1: The *Walpole* and the *Princess of Wales* sailed from the island on the 5th of this month, and since their departure the following ships had arrived. The *Normanton* came in on the 9th. On the 14th a French ship from Pondicherry, called the *Amphitrite*, of 660 tons, 128 men and 26 guns, Monsieur Dufay commander. On the 16th the *Duke of Lorraine* [...] on the [...] the *Harrington* from Bengal, on the [...] the *Defence* upon her voyage from Bombay [...] Captain Buch told the Council that [...] ships might be daily expected, and the Council would have been able to have said [...] but she was unfortunately burnt [...] at Bencoolen the day before [...] arrived. Everything is lost in this tragical accident, and only two others perished, namely the carpenter and one sailor, who were blown up when the powder room took fire. Captain Holmes, Mr Frogenal, Mr Parsons, Mr Coddam and Mr [...] were passengers with Captain Crompton. The chief mate was left at Bencoolen to try whether something might not be recovered, for before she blew up they thought her the *Amphitrite*. The Council wished with all its heart it could stop her, but it was obliged to tell the Court of another accident, of much less consequence than the other. Captain [...] had bad weather to the eastward of the Cape, which damaged great part of his cargo. But by the help, which had been given him both to secure and dry his goods, the Council hoped the loss would not be so near so great as was at first feared, though this misfortune had kept him at the island much longer than he intended to have stayed. The particulars of the damage, as it had hitherto been discovered, and the assistance the Council had given him, the Court would find in the consultations of the 16th and 17th of this month, and in the consultation of the 20th the Court would have a copy of his protest against the seas. **Interpretations** The loss of a ship burnt at Bencoolen, with everything aboard and two men killed when the powder room took fire, marked a grave misfortune the Council reported at once to the Court. A magazine explosion destroyed the vessel and the carpenter and a sailor with her, the chief mate left behind to save what he could, the disaster the more striking because those aboard had at first taken her for the French ship *Amphitrite*, the whole loss set before the Court as the season's chief calamity. The damage to another ship's cargo by bad weather east of the Cape, and the help given to secure and dry the goods, tied to the standing enforcement over consigned cargo and to the island's function as a place of refit. The commander entered a formal protest against the seas, a sworn declaration fixing the loss on the weather rather than any fault of his own, so that the record cleared him and located the damage, the same protest against the sea the consolidated reference records commanders entering after storms. The examination of the French ship *Amphitrite* from Pondicherry, named by tonnage, men and guns under Monsieur Dufay, carried forward the wary reception of foreign vessels at a time of near-war, each such ship's force noted so the Court could weigh her, the same watch the consolidated reference records against the feared French war. The *Walpole*, the *Princess of Wales*, the *Normanton*, the *Amphitrite*, the *Duke of Lorraine*, the *Harrington* and the *Defence* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and several ships' names,

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			dates and passengers fell in worn or faded portions of the page and are marked accordingly.
346	336	The Misfortunes which have lately happened to Cap.t Gough & Cap.t Hoate make it in our Opinion, absolutely necessary to have allways Anchors masts & Cables here which Shew this Year Indent for two Cables of 17 & 13 Inches & the masts of about 33 Inches Diameter, & of proportionable Length for even Masts, had wee not luckily had Something of this kind to have Spared Cap.t Gough in his great distress, many Misfortunes might again have befallen him in his Voyage from hence to England, & that Your Honours may not be losers to Suffer the Cables to lya here & rott. wee humbly propose that Your Honours Should give Orders to the Captain of the next Overships to receive them on board which are now now if they Should happen to remain unsold & to carry them to Bencoolen where its likely they may be wanted, if not, they may be Speedily transported from hence to India where its probable they will Soon be disposed of Wee have drawn three Setts of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours viz.t one Sett payable to Jonathan Doveton or Order for the Sum of L.450. Sterling dated the 12. instant for the like Sum due to him Your Books of Accounts here, one Sett payable to Christopher Hoate Esq.r or Order for the Sum of Eighty Pounds Sterling dated the 17.th instant for the Use of the Heirs of Grace Coulson late of this Island deceased for the like Sum & paid into your Cash here by Jonathan Doveton, & one other Sett payable to John Alexander or Order for the Sum of L.36. Sterling for the like Sum due to him in your Books of Accounts here & dated the 22 instant of all which wee humbly desire Your Honours Acceptance & are St Helena 25. May 1737 Hon.d Sirs Your most faithfull & most Obedient Serv.rs Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe **Margin Notes:** P.S. Wee have also drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of L.61. Sterling due to Cap.t W.m Birch for the like Sum by him this day paid into your Cash here being in [...] Cash notes payable to him or Order & dated this day of which wee also beg your Acceptance.	2: The misfortunes that had lately happened to Captain Gough and Captain Hall made it, in the Council's opinion, absolutely necessary always to keep anchors, masts and cables at the island, as would appear this year, since it was in want of two cables of 17 and 13 inches and of two masts of about 23 inches diameter and of proportionate length for lower masts. Had the Council not luckily had something of this kind to have spared Captain Gough, many misfortunes might again have befallen him on his voyage from the island to England. Since the Court might not care to allow the cables to lie there, the Council proposed that the Court should give orders to the captain of the next ship to receive them on board, which were noted now, if they should happen to remain unsold, and to carry them to Bencoolen, where it was likely they might be wanted. If not, they might soon be re-shipped from there to India, where it was probable they would soon be disposed of. 3: The Council had drawn three sets of bills of exchange on the Court, namely one set payable to Jonathan Doveton or order for £50 0s 0d sterling, dated the 12th of this month, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island. One set payable to Christopher Sands esquire or order for £80 0s 0d sterling, dated the 15th of this month, for the use of the heirs of Grace Coulson, late of the island deceased, for the like sum paid into the Court's cash by Jonathan Doveton. And one other set payable to John Alexander or order for £50 0s 0d sterling, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island, and dated the 22nd of this month. The Council asked the Court to accept and pay all of them. The letter closed at St Helena on the 25th of May 1737, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. The Council added a postscript. It had also drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for £61 0s 0d sterling, due to Captain William Birch, for the like sum by him this day paid into the Court's cash, in [...] cash notes payable to him or order, and dated this day, of which the Council asked the Court's acceptance. **Interpretations** The Council's argument for keeping anchors, masts and cables always at the island rested on the very misfortunes that had lately struck the shipping. A ship that lost her ground tackle or a mast on a hard passage was in grave peril, so a standing reserve at St Helena could refit her and prevent disaster, the same naval stores reserve the consolidated reference records the Council pressing so that ready supply would draw the Court's ships and preserve them, here proven by the spare cable that saved Captain Gough. The scheme to send unsold cables and masts on to Bencoolen or India turned idle stock into a rotating supply across the Company's settlements. Rather than let costly stores lie unused at the island, the Council proposed the next ship carry them where they might be wanted, the arrangement sparing the Court a dead charge by circulating the tackle through its eastern stations, the same rotation of unsold cables the consolidated reference records the Council proposing. The bill of £80 0s 0d for the heirs of Grace Coulson worked the usual remittance of a cashless island. Jonathan Doveton paid ready money into the

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			Court's cash for the use of the deceased's heirs, and a bill for the like sum was drawn payable in London, so the legacy reached the heirs at home without the shipment of coin. Grace Coulson is the widow of the consolidated reference whose executors remitted money to her heirs by bills on the Court, and the several bills to Doveton, Alexander and Birch each moved money into or out of the Court's account by the same means.
347	337	Honoured Sirs. General ♆ Duke of Lorrain 30. May 1737 The Normanton, Richmond & Prossdingfeild Sailed from hence on 23. instant as the French Ship in the Night of the 22. The Wyndham arrived here on the 22. from Bombay having M.r Bradyle Cap.t Insleton who died here on Wed.d & John other Passengers on board the Supply brought by her your Honours will See in Our Consultation of the 27. of this month. Wee were in great hopes Our Summer Rains were Set in at Xmass last, they gave Us great Expectations of their continuance for Several days together, but they Suddenly broke up & wee have not had any Since. by not any wee mean not a quantity Sufficient to produce Grass upon the Commons & thereby give the Inhabitants an Opportunity to Save their Pastures by turning their Cattle to graze upon the Wast Lands, but instead of being able to do that they have been oblige to keep their Cattle of all Sorts in their Enclosed Grounds & p & save them alive which they have hitherto done but even many begin to die & if the Drought continues which has already held for near five Months numbers wee wil lost but as it Sometimes Suely before their winter Season Sets in wee Shall She hope for better fortune Wee have Sent Your Honours one Set of Books of Accounts for the Year ending the 30.th Sep.r 1736 by which Your Honours wee observe that the Gross Charge of this exceeds that of last year L.696: 18. 9 this had been chiefly occasioned by the fifty Recruits Sent by Cap.t Braund who for the Year 1735 had pay only for five Months, for 1736 they had pay for the whole year which comes to L.800. more than it did in 1735, In the year 1735 the Blacks Clothing was Scanty which was made upto them in 1736 & comes to about L.80. & by which importunity wee persuaded Some.al of the Inhabitants to Send their Blacks to work last year to forward the Fortifications which came the	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping, in a letter begun at St Helena on 30 May 1737 and sent by the *Duke of Lorraine*. 1: The *Normanton*, the *Richmond* and the *Princess of Wales* sailed from the island on the 25th of this month, as did the French ship in the night of the 22nd. The *Wyndham* arrived on the 22nd from Bombay, having Mr Bradye, one of the Court's councillors, on board, who died at the island on the [...], and some other passengers. The supply she brought the Court would find in the consultation of the 24th of this month. 2: The Council had great hopes its summer rains were set in at the end of last month. They gave it great expectations of continuing for several days together, but they suddenly broke up, and it had not had any since. By rain the Council did not mean a quantity sufficient to produce grass upon the commons, and thereby give the inhabitants a chance to ease their pastures by turning their cattle to graze upon the waste lands. Instead of being able to do that, they had been obliged to keep their cattle of all sorts in their enclosed grounds, to keep them alive, which they had hitherto done. But now many began to die, and if the drought continued, which had already held for near five months, numbers would be lost, unless, as it sometimes fell before their winter season set in, the Council should hope for better fortune. 3: The Council had sent the Court one set of books of accounts for the year ending 30 September 1736. By these the Court would observe that the gross charge of that year exceeded that of the last by £696 18s 9d. This had been chiefly caused by the fifty recruits sent by Captain Braund, who for the year 1735 had pay only for five months, whereas for 1736 they had pay for the whole year, which came to £[...] more than it did in 1735. In the year 1735 the slaves' clothing was scanty, which was made up to them in 1736, and came to about £80 0s 0d. By these means, the Council was persuaded to send some of the inhabitants to work their slaves, last year, to forward the fortifications, which came to about [...] **Interpretations** The rise of £696 18s 9d in the year's charge was traced to precise and answerable causes, as the Council was careful throughout this season to do. The fifty recruits sent by Captain Braund carried a full year's pay against only five months in the previous account, and the making up of the slaves' scanty clothing added about £80, so the whole increase lay in wages and necessary supply rather than waste, the accounting distinguished to keep the Court from reading extravagance into the larger figure. The five-month drought that forced the planters to keep their cattle in enclosed grounds, with the beasts beginning to die, tied the island's whole economy to a failing season. Without rain the commons bore no grass, so the inhabitants could not turn their cattle to the waste to spare their own pastures, the same run of dry years the consolidated reference records where the cattle died of a swelling and the inhabitants lost half their stock, the

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			settlement's provisioning of the shipping hanging on rains that had not come. The southern-hemisphere reckoning of the seasons governs the Council's guarded hope. It looked to relief before the winter season set in, so a wet winter might yet save the herds, the island's dry spell falling in the months an English reader would count as spring, the whole judged against the moderate southern climate rather than any northern pattern. The *Normanton*, the *Richmond*, the *Princess of Wales* and the *Wyndham* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and Mr Bradye, the Bombay councillor who died at the island, was a senior Company servant lost on his passage. Two figures and a date fell in worn portions of the page and are marked accordingly.
348	338	about L.150. more than usual but they have all long Since taken them home & refuse to Employ them any more at 9.d a day so that these three Articles make the Sum of L.630. the other L.66. 18. 9 to make out the Sum of L.696. 18. 9 has arisen in Some little Articles which are allways fluctuating & are Sometimes more & Sometimes less & this is very true & wee hope a very Satisfactory Account of this matter but next year the Charge will be considerably less mainly of the fellows being either dead or gone off & wee take all imaginable care the keep your Expences within as narrow bounds as possibly may be. Wee have also Sent & Your Honours Our Indent of Goods wanting at this place for the Service of the year 1738 & in which wee have taken particular care not to aske for any thing but what is immediatly wanted & how & by other things wee are so Your Honours will be pleased to Send Us the two Cables & the masts wee have therein mentioned their Use is Self evident & the distress Cap.t Gough would have been in at his Arrival here after his Misfortunes abroad ought have been attended with dangerous Consequences to himself wee had not luckily had Something by Us of this Sort to Supply his want. Wee have drawn one Sett of Bills of Exchange upon Your Honours for the Sum of L.102. 8. 5 Sterling payable to Cap.t William Crompton or Order dated this day for the like Sum due to him as Your will more particularly See in the Account of the Ship Duke of Lorrain transmitted in Our Packet, of which wee humbly pray your Acceptance & are St Helena 30. May 1737 Honoured Sirs Your most faithfull & Obedient Servants Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe	The hire of the inhabitants' slaves came to about £50 0s 0d more than usual, but they had all long since taken them home, refusing to let them work any longer at ninepence a day, so that these three articles made the sum of £630 0s 0d. The other £66 18s 9d, to make out the sum of £696 18s 9d, had arisen in some little articles which were always fluctuating, and were sometimes more and sometimes less. This being very true, the Council hoped it was a very satisfactory account of the matter. But next year the charge would be considerably less, many of the fellows being either dead or gone off, and the Council would take all imaginable care to keep the Court's expenses within as narrow bounds as possibly might be. 4: The Council had also sent the Court its indent of goods wanting at the island for the service of the year 1738. In this it had taken particular care not to ask for anything but what was immediately wanted for the Court's service, and among other things, if the Court would be pleased to send the anchors, cables and the masts named in it, their use was self-evident. The distress Captain Gough would have been in at his arrival, had his misfortunes abroad been attended with dangerous consequences to himself, the Council had not luckily had something of this sort to supply his want. 5: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court for £102 2s 5d sterling, payable to Captain William Crompton or order, dated this day, for the like sum due to him, as the Court would more particularly see in the account of the ship *Duke of Lorraine*, sent in the Council's packet. The Council asked the Court to accept and pay them. The letter closed at St Helena on the 30th of May 1737, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. **Interpretations** The full breakdown of the £696 18s 9d increase, £630 in three named articles and £66 18s 9d in small fluctuating charges, completed the Council's answer to the Court's watch over the year's rising cost. By accounting for every part, the recruits' pay, the slaves' clothing and the hire of the planters' hands, it showed the excess arose from necessary and temporary charges rather than waste, the promise that next year's charge would fall as the recruits died or went off aimed at the Court's audit of an expensive settlement. The renewed plea for anchors, cables and masts in the indent for 1738 pressed again the naval stores reserve the whole season had urged. The distress Captain Gough would have suffered but for the spare tackle the island happened to hold proved the

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			case, so the Council sought a standing supply against the perils of the eastern passage, the same reserve the consolidated reference records it pressing so ready stores would preserve the Court's ships and draw them to call. The inhabitants' withdrawal of their slaves, refusing to let them work below ninepence a day, carried forward the labour crisis of the season. The Court's own slaves being too few and mostly unfit, the works depended on hired hands the planters would not spare at a losing rate, the same want the consolidated reference records as the true bar to the fortifications against the feared French war. The bill of £102 2s 5d to Captain William Crompton discharged what was owed him on the account of the *Duke of Lorraine* by a claim on the Court in London, the usual remittance on a cashless island, the ship's account sent home in the packet as the record supporting the sum.
349	339	Honoured Sirs. General ℔ Defence the 12.th June 1737 The Grantham Wyndham & Duke of Lorrain Sailed from hence for England on the 30.th of last Month & on the 3. instant the Defence arrived from Bombay but met with Such untimble Weather near the Cape that the Captain has thought it necessary to Protest against it a Copy of which Your Honours wee See in Our Consultation of the 11.th of this Month & in the Same place & you will also See the Supply he hath brought for this Island the Season being now far advanced & most of your Ships already returned wee as usual lay before Your Honours a Short Recapitulation of Such matters as wee have mentioned in Our Severall Letters of this year which to Us Seem most worthy of your Notice & wee begin with the 16 Paragraph of that of the 3. May wherein wee acquainted Your Honours that wee had received by Cap.t Gilbert from Bombay 5 Women 3 Boys & 2 Girls wee have Since received by the Wyndham & Defence 3 boys more all Children but not a man or Woman, the Men are all one & p wanted at Bombay & the Women without the Men are better entire they are so that although Your Hon.rs have Sent Us 13 Blacks yet wee have not a labouring hand among.st them but just 13 to feed & to Cloth & more than wee had before & wee find that are Our hopes of a Supply from that Quarter is entirely at an End. & these few of your Inhabitants who does persuaded to Send their Blacks to the Fortifications have generally taken them away & p refuse to let them work any more at 9.d a day & therefore for want of the necessary help & your Fortifications cannot go on so fast as wee could wish for although Your Honours observe at Sep.r 1735 you had 165 Blacks yet of these there were only 67 men & of these men only 38 can be Employed as Labourers the other work in the Plantations & Raise Provisions to feed themselves & the rest but notwithstanding all these Discouragements & Disappointments wee Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** References viz.t Gen.l Letter 3. May 16. Paragraph	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping, in a letter begun at St Helena on 13 June 1737 and sent by the *Defence*. 1: The *Grantham*, the *Wyndham* and the *Duke of Lorraine* sailed from the island for England on the 30th of last month, and on the 3rd of this month the *Defence* arrived from Bombay. She had met with such bad weather near the Cape that the captain thought it necessary to protest against it, a copy of which the Court would find in the Council's consultation of the 8th of this month. In the same place the Court would also see the supply she had brought for the island. 2: The season being now far advanced, and most of the Court's ships already returned, the Council, as usual, set before the Court a short recapitulation of such matters as it had mentioned in its several letters of this year that seemed most worthy of the Court's notice. It began with the 16th paragraph of the letter of 3 May, in which it told the Court that the ten slaves received by Captain Gilbert from Bombay were five women, three boys and two girls. It had since received by the *Wyndham* and the *Defence* eight more, all children but one man or woman. The men were all much wanted at Bombay, and the women, without the men, were better entirely idle. So although the Court had sent the Council eighteen slaves, it had not one labouring hand among them, but just eighteen mouths more to clothe than it had before. The Council found that all its hopes of a supply from that quarter were entirely at an end. Since few of the inhabitants who had been persuaded to send their slaves to the fortifications would let them work any longer at ninepence a day, the Council could not, for want of the necessary help, carry on the fortifications so fast as it could wish. Though the Court might observe that in September 1735 the island had a hundred and sixty-five slaves, of these there were only sixty-seven men, and of these men only thirty-eight could be employed as labourers, the others working in the plantations to raise provisions to feed themselves and the rest. But despite all these discouragements and disappointments, the Council would [...] **Interpretations** The protest against the weather that Captain Defence's commander entered was a sworn declaration fixing the damage of a hard passage on the sea rather than any fault of his own. A ship that met bad weather near the Cape risked loss of cargo and tackle, so the master's formal protest, entered in consultation, cleared him and located the cause, the same protest against the sea the consolidated reference records commanders entering after storms.

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			The reckoning of the island's slaves, eighteen newly received but not one labouring hand among them, and a hundred and sixty-five in all reduced to thirty-eight fit for work, laid bare once more the gulf between nominal numbers and real strength. A muster that counted every slave concealed how few could labour once the women, children and unfit were struck off, so the Council pressed the true figures on the Court to explain why the fortifications lagged, the same distinction the consolidated reference records where the establishment's name far exceeded its labour. The Council's closing recapitulation of the season's letters carried forward its standing practice of summarising for the Court the matters most worthy of notice at the end of the shipping, the running record built so that the year's chief concerns should reach the Court plainly, the same custom the consolidated reference notes. The *Grantham*, the *Wyndham*, the *Duke of Lorraine* and the *Defence* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the whole want of labour against the fortifications carries forward the crisis running through this season, the same bar to the works the consolidated reference records against the feared French war.
350	340	work Ourselves as much as is possible but for the reasons already assigned things move but Slowly therefore if Your Honours will Send Us 20 able men to work at the Fortifications wee Shall make a much better Dispatch. but to Send Us 20 able men for that work Your Honours must at least consign 100 to Us for the following reasons viz.t in 100 Blacks there will be 33 Women & there must be 25 Employed for raising provisions for the whole Hundred So that there will remain but 42 for the Fortifications Some of whom will allways be Sick & therefore wee can reckon but upon forty good hands out of an Hundred Cap.t Goodwin & M.r Crispe have allways endeavoured in their Severall Stations to render Your Honours faithful Services, & in many Instances they have been very Successfull the L.20. 12. 6 Your Honours mention in the 19. Par. of Your last General Letter was allowed them to keep up the business our Since Van Boston the Accomptant Ehsaway & they have taken a great deal of pains therein & besides their Diligence in other Affairs. Cap.t Goodwin has given the Governour considerable Assistance in rebuilding & repairing your Fortifications & p thereof wee hope Your Honours will in due time distinguish them with marks of your Favour as Servants who have behaved themselves wee & gone through many & great fatigues in Your Service Wee make no doubt Your Honours will be well pleased with the Governours Oeconomy in the management of all your Affairs & particularly in the Article of Diet Expence notwithstanding the boasted Frugality of former years for by comparing the Books for the five year M.r Byfeld was here with the Books for the like time Governour Pyke has been & appears that he has Saved your Honours above L.1122. of Ann & yet our Company has been at least two to one more than it was in the time of M.r Byfeld, is likely the Sight of the Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** 21. Par. 3. May	The Council would spare the Court as much as possible, but for the reasons already given things went on but slowly. If the Court could send it twenty able men to work at the fortifications, it would make much better despatch. But to send it able men for that work, the Court must consign it at least a hundred, for the following reasons. Of these, thirty would be women, and there must be twenty-five employed for raising provisions for the whole hundred, so there would remain but forty-five for the fortifications, some of whom would always be sick. So the Council could reckon on only forty good hands out of a hundred. 3: Captain Goodwin and Mr Cripse had always exerted themselves in their several stations to render the Court faithful service, and in many instances they had been very successful. The £31 12s 6d the Court named in the 19th paragraph of its last general letter was allowed them to help make up the accounts since Van Oosten, the accountant, ran away. They had taken a great deal of pains in this, besides their diligence in other affairs. Captain Goodwin had given the Governor considerable help in rebuilding and repairing the fortifications at Bank's, and the Council hoped the Court would in due time distinguish them with marks of its favour, as servants who had behaved well, and gone through many and great labours in its service. 4: The Council made no doubt the Court would be well pleased with the Governor's frugality in the management of all its affairs, and particularly in the article of diet expense, despite the boasted frugality of former years. By comparing the books for the five years Mr Byfield was Governor with the books for the like time under Governor Pyke, it appeared that Pyke had saved the Court above £1,122 0s 0d. Yet the Company had been at least two to one more than it was in Mr Byfield's time, and it was likely the sight of the particulars [...] **Interpretations** The Council's reckoning that a hundred slaves must be sent to yield forty good hands set out plainly the arithmetic of the labour crisis. Of any draft, the women were unfit for the works, a quarter of the whole had to raise provisions for the rest, and sickness thinned the remainder, so only two in five of any supply could labour at the fortifications, the calculation aimed at making the Court grasp why so

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			many were needed to gain so few, the same gulf between numbers and labour the consolidated reference records. The £31 12s 6d allowed to Goodwin and Cripse for making up the accounts after Van Oosten's flight tied the reward to a specific breakdown in the island's bookkeeping. Van Oosten is the absconding accountant of many aliases the consolidated reference records, who fled aboard the *Greenwich* defrauding the inhabitants, so his departure left the books in disorder that the two servants set right, the Council pressing the Court to mark their pains, together with Goodwin's help at the Bank's fortifications. The paired five-year accounts of diet expense under Byfield and Pyke were assembled once more as a defence against the Court's charge of extravagance. By setting the General Table's cost side by side and drawing out the saving of £1,122 in Pyke's favour, the Council proved the very administration blamed for rising charge had in fact managed more frugally than its predecessor, the diet expenses being the running cost of the officers' table the consolidated reference records auditing across successive governors, Byfield the Edward Byfield who governed before Pyke's return. The Governor is named as Governor Pyke, his frugal management set against the boasted economy of former times, the same defence running through this season's correspondence.
351	341	particulars may be more Satisfactory to Your Honours & therefore wee lay them before you viz.t M.r Byfeld Gov.r Pyke Ledger folio L. s. d Ledger folio L. s. d 5. ½ year. 40 592 15. 6 ½ year 54 574 19. 6 1 year. 47 1051 9 5¾ 1 year. 36 794 10 5¾ 1 year. 48 1021 2 6¾ 1 year. 33 631 14 5¾ 1 year. 52 1091 11 2¾ 1 year. 30 746 9 4½ 1 year. 53 997 3 3½ 1 year. 38 888 5 10 1 year. 54 480 19 2 ½ year. 30 346 8 3½ 5155 1. L. 4032 7 11½ 4032 7 11½ Difference. 1122 13 ½ Wee have been hard at Work & have made a Strong frame for Lemon Valley in Order for Such of your Ships to Water there at Shade choise to do so but Our People being Employed in assisting Cap.t Gough & Cap.t Hoate & other disagrees has put a Stop to it so that wee have been able to finish it so Soon as wee intended though if your Honours will be pleased to peruse Our Consultations of the 8. & 15. August 1735 wee believe you will think there is no reason for any Such thing, but your Commands Shall be obeyed & indeed wee wonder the Captains Should make any Complaint about the matter for its a thing entirely indifferent to Us where they Water. The Fort & Battery at Bankes have been Sometime finished. & a good Guard House built for the Accommodation of the People together with a Couple of Powder Rooms one for the Fort & the other for the Supply of the Guns upon the Beach at the Fort. there used to be only 2 Guns now there are four	The sight of the particulars would be more satisfactory to the Court, and therefore the Council set them before it, as follows. Mr Byfield Ledger folio 40, half year, £592 15s 6d Ledger folio 47, 1 year, £1,051 9s 5¾d Ledger folio 48, 1 year, £1,021 2s 6½d Ledger folio 52, 1 year, £1,091 11s 2½d Ledger folio 53, 1 year, £997 0s 3¾d Ledger folio 56, 1 year, £480 19s 2d Total, £5,155 1s 0d Governor Pyke Ledger folio 54, half year, £574 19s 6d Ledger folio 36, 1 year, £794 10s 5¾d Ledger folio 33, 1 year, £681 14s 5¾d Ledger folio 30, 1 year, £746 9s 4½d Ledger folio 38, 1 year, £888 5s 10d Ledger folio 30, half year, £346 8s 6½d Total, £4,032 7s 11½d Difference, £1,122 13s 0½d 5: The Council had been hard at work, and had made a strong frame for Lemon Valley, so that such of the Court's ships as should choose to water there might do so. But the Council's people being employed in helping Captain Young, and Captain Read having another design, they had put a stop to it, so that the Council would be able to finish it as soon as it intended. Though if the Court would be pleased to read its consultations of the 8th and 15th of August 1738, it believed the Court would think there was no occasion for any such thing, its commands should be obeyed. Indeed, the Council wondered that the captains should make any complaint about the matter, for it was a thing entirely indifferent to it where they watered. 6: The fort and battery at Bank's had been for some time finished, and a good guard house built for the accommodation of the people, together with a couple of powder rooms, one for the fort and the other for the supply of the guns upon the beach. At the fort there used to be only two guns, now there were four, and upon the beach there used to be seventy-two demi-culverins, now there were five guns, three whole culverins and two demi-culverins,

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		upon the Beach there used to be only two Demi flowering now there are five Guns three whole Cuts. & two Demi Cuts an all Good Guns of their Sort & is a place of great Strength & Importance. Wee are now going on with the Works at Ruperts in which wee Shall all the Progress wee possible can for Our help is Small & all Our hopes of a Supply from India are at an End, if your Honours had been well Served wee Should not have had these Difficulties to have Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** 5.th Par. 3. May 6.th Par. 3. May	all good guns, and it was a place of great strength and importance. The Council was now going on with the works at Rupert's, in which it would make all the progress it possibly could, for its help was small, and all its hopes of a supply from India were at an end. Had the Court served it well, the Council should not have had these difficulties to have struggled [...] **Interpretations** The paired five-year accounts of diet expense under Byfield and Pyke, set out here in full, completed the Council's documentary rebuttal of the Court's charge of extravagance. By showing every year's figure and the difference of £1,122 13s 0½d in Pyke's favour, it proved the administration blamed for rising cost had saved above that sum on the General Table, the account offered as the plainest answer to a settled dispute over the island's charges, the diet expenses being the officers' table the consolidated reference records auditing across governors. The frame built at Lemon Valley for the Court's ships to water, and the Council's doubt that it was needed, carried forward the whole season's quarrel over the island's water. The Council obeyed the Court's command to build it while pressing its own surveys that questioned the necessity, warning that the captains' complaints were groundless since they might water freely there, the same Cape grievance the consolidated reference records where the works at Lemon Valley were at length given up as the surf destroyed them. The strengthening of the fort and beach battery at Bank's, from two guns to four at the fort and three whole culverins added on the beach, marked the real gain in the island's defence against the feared French war. Culverins were long cannon of heavy bore, the whole culverin the larger, so the added guns, named by type, let the Court judge the power of the works its money and the island's scarce labour had raised, the same defence programme the consolidated reference records. The Council's closing complaint that better supply from home would have spared it these difficulties tied the slow progress of the works to the failure of the promised labour, the same want the consolidated reference records as the true bar to the fortifications, the Governor named as Governor Pyke.
352	342	Struggled with at this time of day, but you have been misled with heaps of Assurances that in your Fortifications were every where kept in constant repair nay, in the 18. Par. of the General Letter from hence of the 28. Dec.r 1731 you have been told that for the four years preceding all your Fortifications had been kept in good Order & Repair for the Small Sum L.6. 10. whyet in Truth do Sort of Repair was given to any part of Your Fortifications for the five year before Governour Pyke last came except a Sort of Repair which wee believe neither your Honours or any body else ever See or heard of, wee mean, White washing the Front of the Castle with whiting & Size & the first half dozen Showers of Rain that hitherto wee fell washed all this Small Snuze away again & therefore wee hope your Honours will no longer blame Us for the faults & omissions of other People wee procede with all the Expedition wee can but as little Expence as is possible for wee allways have it in memory that this place is a dead Charge to you the Charge of the Diet last year was greater than it was the year before but wee have the Satisfaction to assure Your Honours wee are not blameable for this excess, it was chiefly Occasioned by the fifty Recruits Sent Us by Cap.t	The Council should not have had these difficulties to have struggled with at this time of day, but the Court had been misled with heaps of assurances that its fortifications were everywhere kept in constant repair. Indeed, in the 18th paragraph of the general letter from the island of 28 December 1731, the Court had been told that for the four years preceding, all its fortifications had been kept in good order and repair for the small sum of £6 10s 0d. Yet in truth no sort of repair was given to any part of its fortifications for the five years before Governor Pyke last came, except a sort of repair which the Council believed neither the Court nor anybody else ever saw or heard of. By this it meant whitewashing the front of the castle with whiting and size. But the first half a dozen showers of rain that fell washed all this front stuff away again, and therefore the Council hoped the Court would no longer blame it for the faults and omissions of other people. It would proceed with all the speed it could, and at as little expense as possible, for it always remembered that the island was a dead charge to the Court. The charge of the island that year was greater than it was the year before, but the Council had the satisfaction to assure the Court that it was not to blame for this excess. It was chiefly caused by the fifty recruits sent by Captain Braund, who for the

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		Braund who for the Year 1735 had Something less than five Months pay due to them but for the year 1736 they had pay for the whole Twelve month. in the year 1735 the Blacks Clothing was Scanty which was made upto them in 1736 & to forward the Fortifications wee persuaded Severall of the Inhabitants to Send their Blacks to work which Something increased the Expence but they have long Since taken them home & refuse to employ them at 9.d a day, but wee are already able the promise Your Honours that the Expence of the current year will be Severall Hundred Pounds less than it was last year & Your Honours may depend upon it wee will take all imaginable care to Save your money & Husband every thing to the best Advantage Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** 13. Par. 22. Febry 1728 28. 30 March 1729 15. 10 Dec.r 1729 19. 9. 4.th 1731 10. 28 Dec.r 1731 29. 24 Mar. 1731 5. Par. 30. May	year 1735 had something less than five months' pay due to them, but for the year 1736 they had pay for the whole year. In the year 1736 the slaves' clothing was scanty, which was made up to them in 1736, and to forward the fortifications the Council persuaded several of the inhabitants to send their slaves to work. Something increased the expense, but they had long since taken them home, and refused to employ them at ninepence a day. Yet the Council was already able to promise the Court that the expense of the current year would be several hundred pounds less than it was last year, and the Court might depend upon it that the Council would take all imaginable care to save its money, and to manage everything to the best advantage. **Interpretations** The Council's attack on the claim of the letter of 28 December 1731, that £6 10s 0d kept the fortifications in repair, exposed a false economy of a former administration. That trifling sum bought only the whitewashing of the castle front with whiting and size, a wash that the first showers of rain carried away, so the show of cheap upkeep concealed a real neglect that left the forts ruinous by Pyke's arrival, the present heavy charge laid to the earlier deceit rather than any waste of its own. Whiting was powdered chalk and size a glue-like binder, together making a whitewash that brightened a wall without preserving it. The Council named these materials to show the Court exactly how little the boasted sum had achieved, the paint answering appearance while the fabric decayed beneath, the negligence of former officers turned into the ground of the Court's present expense. The rise in the year's charge, laid to the recruits' full year of pay, the making up of the slaves' scanty clothing and the hire of the planters' hands, completed the Council's answer to the Court's watch over rising cost. By tracing each cause and promising that the coming year would fall several hundred pounds, it showed the excess arose from necessary and temporary charges, the same defensive accounting the consolidated reference records running through the correspondence, the Governor named as Governor Pyke.
353	343	Wee humbly desire Your Honours will be pleased to Send Us the Severall particulars mentioned in the Indent wee lately transmitted, especially the mast & Cables, if the latter Should not See within the year wee propose that the Captain of the Storeship following Should have Orders to carry them to India, where its very probable they will be wanted & may See to Some Advantage. Wee forgot to mention one Article in our Indent which would be of very great Service to Us wee mean old Plank for Platforms & as many Ships are yearly broke up in the Road no Plank & Timber may be bought as cheap as new Deales wee therefore all in your Honours will be pleased to Send Us Six hundred Peices of this Plank to.d 300 f.t Planks of 2 Inches thick & 300 f.t Plank of three Inches thick & 100 f.t of old Timber for Sleepers to nail the Plank down to & all these together will not amount to more than fifty Tons & Should be taken into the Ship. as Soon as She comes out of the Dock & may be then Stowed so as to make little Averhage, all the rest of the Indent will not exceed 16. Tons So that these will be Room enough to Stow all the goods wee have desired & more. If its objected that its usual for Platforms in Garrisons to	8: The Council asked the Court to send it the several particulars named in the indent it had lately sent, especially the masts and cables. If the Court would not care to let the cables lie there the whole year, the Council proposed that the captain of the following store ship should have orders to carry them to India, where it was very probable they would be wanted and might be sold to some advantage. The Council had forgotten to mention one article in its indent, which would be of very great service to it, namely deal plank for platforms. As many ships were yearly broken up in the river, old planks and old timber might be bought as cheap as new deals, and the Council therefore wished the Court would send it two hundred pieces of this plank, namely three hundred pieces of plank of two inches thick and three hundred pieces of plank of three inches thick, and a hundred pieces of old timber for sleepers to nail the plank down to. All of these together would not amount to more than fifty tons, and should be taken into the ship as soon as she came out of the dock, and might be stowed so as to make little average, all the rest of the indent not exceeding sixteen tons, so that there would be room enough to stow all the goods the Council had desired. If it were objected that it was usual for platforms in garrisons to be made of cut stone, it was true, but Purbeck stone, though it be most commonly used and may be had for sixpence a foot,

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		be made of cutstone, its true, but Purbeck Stone though it be most commonly Used & may be had for 6.d y.e foot yet old Plank is better for common Use & wee to be had for half the Price, that Purbeck Stone will cost & if it be farther objected that wee have Stone upon the Island fit to cut this is also true, but its as Soft as that & Iracktew exactly the Same as is used in the Buildings at Westminster & about Litchfield & Coventry that is not a Sea durable not more lasting than Sammell Bricks & will not hold near so long as no Planks besides the very cutting of it there comes to y.e foot, besides the labour of the Blacks in keeping it out of the Quarry so that our Island Stones Couste the Price of Purbeck Stone, & Purbeck is also double the Price of old Ships Planks & Some of it well no less Serviceable Notwithstanding the dryness of the Weather which has continued so for five Months past wee have furnished your Shiping with Plenty of Provisions & if the Winter Season fortunably May Sets Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** 8. Par. 30. May	yet old plank was better for common use, and could be had for half the price. If it were further objected that the Council had stone upon the island fit to cut, this was also true, but its sort was not the same as that of Purbeck, exactly the same as is used in the buildings at the Custom House, or about Lichfield or Coventry, that is, not a lasting stone, no more lasting than Sammell brick, and would not hold near so long as old planks, besides the very cutting of it, which came to threepence a foot, besides the labour of the blacks in digging it out of the quarry, so that the island stone cost double the price of Purbeck stone, and Purbeck was also double the price of old ship planks, and stone did not do well for platforms. 9: Despite the dryness of the weather, which had continued for five months past, the Council had furnished the Court's shipping with plenty of provisions, and if the winter season proved favourable, it would [...] **Interpretations** The proposal to buy old ship planks and timber for the fort platforms rested on a careful comparison of materials by cost and durability. Planks stripped from ships broken up in the Thames could be had as cheap as new deals, and the Council reckoned old plank both cheaper and longer-lasting than cut stone for common use, the whole calculation aimed at persuading the Court to supply the works at the least charge, the same husbandry the consolidated reference records the Council pressing throughout. Purbeck stone was a hard limestone quarried in Dorset and widely used for paving and platforms, while the island's own stone, the Council argued, was of a softer and perishing kind, no more lasting than sammel brick, an underburnt and crumbling brick. By setting the price of each against its life, sixpence a foot for Purbeck, threepence and the slaves' labour for island stone, and less than that for old plank, the Council showed the cheapest and most durable choice, the reckoning built to answer any objection the Court might raise. The dating of the works to the coming winter season reflects the southern-hemisphere reckoning that runs through the island's affairs. The five-month drought fell in the months an English reader would count as summer, and relief was hoped from the winter rains, the settlement's provisioning of the shipping turning on a season the reverse of the northern one, judged against the moderate southern climate. The deal plank sought for platforms, the masts and cables of the naval stores reserve, and the provisioning of the shipping despite the drought all carry forward the standing concerns of this season, the same supply and labour wants the consolidated reference records against the feared French war and the failing seasons.
354	344	in early wee Shall be in a great measure freed from the Apprehensions wee at present are under, but as Scarcity is every where the want of Rain & as this happens within the Compass of a five Years more or less in all Countries the World over wee must bear Our Misfortunes patiently if it Shall please God to afflect Us with a longer continuance of the Drought, for wee dont love to terrifie Ourselves or entertain Your Hon.rs with tragical Conjectures about future Events its certain if the Winter Season does not Speedily set in that the Inhabitants wee fair hard & numbers of Cattle wee die for want of food. Some have been already lost, but not one of Your own is yet dead, timely care having been taken to drive them near your Severall	If the winter season proved favourable, the Council would be in a great measure freed from the apprehensions it was at present under. But as scarcity was everywhere, the want of rain, as it happened at the island, fell out within the compass of a few years, more or less, in all countries the world over, so the Council must bear its misfortunes patiently, if it should please God to afflict it with a longer continuance of the drought. For the Council did not love to terrify itself, or to entertain the Court with tragical conjectures about future events. It was certain that if the winter season did not speedily set in, the inhabitants would fare hard, and numbers of cattle would die for want of food. Some had been already lost, but not one of the Court's own was yet dead, timely care having been taken to drive them near its several plantations, to feed them with the

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		Plantations & to feed them with the Weeds of Plantane Tras therein Growing, the greatest damage wee have yet received is the loss of the Grang Corn & which by the Governours direction has been planted in great Quantities upon the Wast Lands, in most parts of the Island, but when the Rains set in wee endet try again & then wee hope wee Shall have letter luck Wee have drawn two Setts of Bills of Exchange upon your Honours viz.t One Sett payable to Thomas Goodwin or Order for the Sum of L.100. Sterling for the like Sum by him paid into your Cash here in Cash & paper notes One other Sett payable to Frances Wrangham or Order for the Sum of L.79. 8. 6½ Sterling for the like Sum by him paid into your Cash here be Cash & Cash notes each dated this day of which wee humbly pray your Honours Acceptance, & are Hon.d Sirs Your most Obedient & most Humble Serv.rs Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe Margin Notes: **Margin Notes:** P.S. Wee have also drawn one other Sett of Bills of Exchange upon your Honours for the Sum of L.36. Sterling dated this day & payable to Isaac Goodwin or Order for the like Sum by him paid into your Cash here in Cash & Cash notes of which wee also desire your Acceptance St Helena 14. June 1737	weeds of the plantations, and the grass there growing. The greatest damage the Council had yet received was the loss of the young trees, which by the Governor's direction had been planted in great quantities upon the waste lands, in most parts of the island. But when the rains set in, the Council doubted not it should have better fortune. 10: The Council had drawn two sets of bills of exchange on the Court. One set was payable to Thomas Goodwin or order for £[...] sterling, for the like sum paid by him into the Court's cash, half in coin and half in paper notes. The other set was payable to Francis Wrangham or order for £[...] 8s 6½d sterling, for the like sum by him paid into the Court's cash, half in coin and half in cash notes. Both were dated this day, and the Council asked the Court to accept and pay them. The letter closed at St Helena on the 14th of June 1737, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's obedient and humble servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. The Council added a postscript. It had also drawn one other set of bills of exchange on the Court for £[...] sterling, dated this day, payable to Isaac Goodwin or order, for the like sum by him paid into the Court's cash, half in coin and half in cash notes, of which the Council asked the Court's acceptance. **Interpretations** The Council's refusal to entertain the Court with tragical conjectures set out a deliberate temper of measured reporting in the face of a hard season. Rather than alarm the Court with dark forecasts of the drought, it stated the real danger plainly, that cattle would die and the people fare hard if the winter rains held off, and left the outcome to the season, the sober account preferred over exaggeration, a settled habit of the correspondence recorded through the drought years in the consolidated reference. The care taken of the Court's own cattle, driven near the plantations and fed on weeds and grass while the inhabitants' beasts died, marked the advantage a managed herd held over the planters' free-ranging stock in a failing season. The Council's watered and tended ground carried its cattle through where the commons bore nothing, the same husbandry the consolidated reference records where the Court's herd was shifted from pasture to pasture and fed roots and weeds through the worst drought. The loss of the young trees planted on the waste lands by the Governor's direction tied the drought to the standing replanting programme against the island's erosion. Wood set to shelter the worn ground perished in the dry, so the greatest damage fell on the very works meant to restore the soil, the same replanting the consolidated reference records the Council pressing against the felling that laid the island bare. The several bills to Thomas Goodwin, Francis Wrangham and Isaac Goodwin each worked the usual remittance of a cashless island, ready money paid into the Court's cash, half coin and half notes, and a bill for the like sum drawn payable in London. Francis Wrangham is the planter of the consolidated reference holding one of the island's best watered plantations. Several sums fell in worn portions of the page and are marked accordingly.
355	345	Honoured Sirs. General ♈ Strasburg 3. July 1737 The Defence Sailed from hence on the 16.th June last & on the Second day the Strasburg Arrived & on the 18.th	The Council opened its address to the Court with the movements of the shipping, in a letter begun at St Helena on 3 July 1737 and sent by the *Strafford*. 1: The *Defence* sailed from the island on the 16th of June last, and on the 18th the *Harrington* also anchored at the island. The supply they had each

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		the Harrington also Anchored here. the Supply they have each brought your Honours will See in Our Consultations of the 20.th of that Month In Our Severall Letters of this Season Your Hon.rs have had Such full & exact Accounts of how your Affairs entrusted to Our Care that its needlyss to Say any thing more about them, wee will only Say that the Supplication of Our Indent herewith transmitted may be the Indent laid before you when the Supply for this place Shall be taken into Consideration, because upon more thought & Reflection wee have made a Small Addition & a few Remarks proper for your Notice particularly wee have completed the whole Tonage for this place will not amount to more than 168 Tons So that at least 280 Tons will be left for Stores to Bencoolen & the Goods to be consigned to this place are likely to be landed within the Ten working days they consisting chiefly in Timber, Plants, & Boards which are easily landed & with less trouble than other Goods. Wee have drawn one Set of Bills of Exchange upon your Honours dated the 23. June last for the Sum of L.35. Sterling payable to Duke Crispe or Order for the like Sum due to him in your Books of Accounts here, of which wee humbly pray your Honours Acceptance & are St Helena 3. July 1737. Hon.d Sirs Your most faithfull & most Obedient Serv.rs Isa. Pyke Jno. Alexander Jno. Goodwin D. Crispe	brought the Court would find in the Council's consultation of the 20th of that month. 2: In its several letters of this season the Court had had such full and exact accounts of its affairs, entrusted to the Council's care, that it was needless to say anything more about them. The Council would only note that the duplicate of its indent, sent by this conveyance, might be the indent laid before the Court when the supply for the island should be taken into consideration. For on more thought and reflection it had made a small addition, and a few remarks proper for the Court's notice. In particular, the Council had reckoned the whole tonnage for the island would not amount to more than a hundred and sixty-eight tons, so that at least two hundred and eighty tons would be left for stores to Bencoolen, and the goods consigned to the island were likely to be landed within the ten days of unlading, consisting chiefly of timber, plants and old boards, which were easily landed and with less trouble than other goods. 3: The Council had drawn one set of bills of exchange on the Court, dated the 22nd of June last, for £35 0s 0d sterling, payable to Duke Crispe or order, for the like sum due to him in the Court's books at the island, and asked the Court to accept and pay them. The letter closed at St Helena on the 3rd of July 1737, subscribed by the Governor and Council as the Court's faithful and obedient servants, signed by Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and D. Crispe. **Interpretations** The Council's reckoning that the island's goods would fill only a hundred and sixty-eight tons, leaving two hundred and eighty for Bencoolen, tied the indent to the stowage of the store ship. A single vessel carried supply for both settlements, so the Council calculated the island's share to show the Court how much room remained for the west coast, the careful measure guarding against a ship sent with more or less than the two stations needed, the standing supply relationship between the settlements the consolidated reference records. The note that the island's goods, chiefly timber, plants and old boards, would be landed within the ten days of unlading answered the standing difficulty of clearing a ship within her charter term. Bulky but easily handled cargo could be got ashore quickly, so the Council assured the Court no demurrage would arise on this delivery, the same unlading term the consolidated reference records the Council pressing to meet, and the old boards being the ship's planks sought for the fort platforms in the preceding letter. The bill of £35 0s 0d to Duke Crispe discharged a balance owed him in the Company's books by a claim on the Court in London, the usual remittance on a cashless island. Duke Crispe is the D. Crispe who subscribed the letter, the councillor whose name the clerk's hand renders variously as Corise and Cripps in the consolidated reference. The *Defence*, the *Harrington* and the *Strafford* named here do not appear in the consolidated reference, and the whole letter carries forward the season's close, the Council's several letters summarised for the Court in its standing practice at the end of the shipping.
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