

St Helena Records 1731-1735

Introduction: This is the twentieth volume in the series of *St Helena Records*, which summarises the proceedings of official meetings held by the island's Governor and Council, during which matters of government, defence, supplies, justice and discipline were discussed and recorded.

Source: Images of the original records can be viewed on the British Library's website: <https://eap.bl.uk/archive-file/EAP1364-1-1-21>.

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.

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

Pagination: Pages are numbered in the top left corner on verso sides and in the top right corner on recto sides. The sequence begins with Film No. 4 and continues consecutively until 71/68. This is a right-hand page (recto side). Film No. 72 is also a right-hand page and is marked as page 70, which suggests that the photographer omitted to capture the left-hand (verso) side of page 69. The sequence therefore runs: 70/67, 71/68, 72/70, 73/71, and so on.

The numbering continues sequentially until 306/304, after which several anomalies occur. Film No. 307 is given as page 309, and Film No. 308 is marked as page 301. The pages then run sequentially until 311/304, but Film No. 312 is again marked as page 309 before the sequence resumes. At the same time, both 307/309 and 308/301 are right-hand pages (recto sides), which again suggests the photographer omitted to capture a left-hand (verso) page. The sequence at this point runs as follows: 305/303, 306/304, 307/309, 308/301, 309/302, 310/303, 311/304, 312/309, 313/310, and continues forward sequentially until 350/347.

A further anomaly appears at this stage because two pages are marked as page 347. The sequence here runs: 349/346, 350/347, 351/347, 352/348, 353/349, 354/350, and so on, sequentially through to the end of the volume.

Dates: During the period of this volume, England and its colonies followed the Old-Style Julian calendar, in which the legal new year began on 25 March (Lady Day). This volume records consultations at St Helena between 10 August 1731 and 3 June 1735.

The Council meetings were held during the administrations of Edward Byfield (1727-1731) and Captain Isaac Pyke (1731 – 1738).

AI Generated Summary

Introduction

This account covers five years of the East India Company's government of St Helena, from August 1730 to June 1735. It opens in the last year of Edward Byfield's governorship, follows the whole of Isaac Pyke's second administration, and closes with the island building fortifications against a war with France that had not yet come. The record throughout is the council's own: weekly consultations at Plantation House and later at Union Castle, monthly accounts from the Governor, storekeeper, gunner and steward, annual musters of slaves and stock, and the audit of the books before fair copies went home to the Court of Directors in London. [Film No. 4–5, 17–20, 104, 304, 361]

It must be read as what it is: an administrative record kept by the men whose conduct it describes, written for an audience five weeks away who could judge them. It is fullest where the council wished to justify itself and thinnest where it did not. The clearest instance comes early, in the case of the chaplain George White, whose prevarication over a servant's passage home was recorded in detail and then, at his own request, kept out of the papers sent to London; what survives in the Company's copy is his letter asking indulgence with no account of the offence. Later, the case against Colonel Gaultier occupies six consecutive entries and is set out with a thoroughness applied to nothing else, because the council was acting against a man London had chosen. By contrast the cruelty in the Greentree household, which produced complaints across two years, is recorded in a few paragraphs and ended without any finding against anyone. [Film No. 69, 70, 375, 378, 399, 403]

What the record does supply in abundance is quantity. The island was administered by counting: cattle by class, powder by the pound, yams by the thousandweight, slaves by name, age and rating. That habit makes it possible to test the council's statements against its own figures, and they do not always agree. The gross charge for the year to 30 September 1730 was reported at £4,214 6s 0d against £4,809 6s 0d for the year before, yet the figure entered on 18 November 1729 for that earlier year had been £3,144 6s 0d. The abstracts were drawn on different bases, and a comparison set before the council by a governor known for economy does not survive checking against the record he had himself approved. The routine tallies nobody thought worth shaping preserve the texture of the place more faithfully than the narrative sections do. [Film No. 20, 108, 149]

Three facts shape almost everything that follows. St Helena had no sheltered harbour, so cargo came ashore by open boat and a ship in the road could not be defended unless hauled under the guns. It had no coinage worth the name, so debts were settled in cattle, labour or bills drawn on London. And it held a Company slave establishment that never reproduced itself, declining from 210 people in 1730 to 180 in 1733 and to 73 hands, of whom only 42 were fit for labour, by 1734. Almost every difficulty in these pages follows from one of the three. [Film No. 17–18, 68, 139, 314]

Governance and administration

The council met almost every Tuesday, four men sitting: the Governor with John Alexander, John Goodwin and a clerk whose name appears as David Crisp until mid 1732 and Duke Crisp thereafter. Its business was overwhelmingly land grants, account approvals and small disputes. Journal folio references were appended to garrison payments so that the authority for a disbursement and its entry in the books could be checked against each other, which served in place of any separate audit trail. [Film No. 5, 11, 25]

The annual audit of October and November 1730 shows the system at its most deliberate. The council examined the journal across four consecutive sittings from 27 to 30 October, took the ledger to 1 November, and compared the inventory against both on 2 November, finding them to agree. Six sittings fell outside the ordinary Tuesday cycle. The purpose was not to detect fraud, for which the council was ill placed, but to certify that three sets of records agreed before transcripts went home to the Court of Committees, the only body that could actually judge. [Film No. 20–21]

Byfield delivered the keys of the castle to Isaac Pyke on Sunday 25 March 1731 and sailed for England the same morning. Pyke had been appointed to succeed as early as February 1727, when his commission arrived aboard the *Princess Anne*, yet Byfield governed four years more. The change was proclaimed by beat of drum, the only means of reaching a scattered population across steep country at once. The old style year ended on 25 March, so the transfer fell exactly at the turn of the accounting year and the stock books were struck at 24 March to match. [Film No. 48, 50]

Pyke's method is visible from his first weeks and never changed. He went into Sandy Bay Valley himself in April 1731 rather than wait for a report, found the Company's cart road reduced to a footpath, and brought the matter to the board the next day. The same instinct runs through the water inquiry of 1732, where he refused to let the council resolve anything until every member had walked the ground, tasted each spring and submitted a separate written opinion; through the yam crisis of 1733, adjourned until each councillor had viewed Sandy Bay; and through the magazine question of 1733, where he measured the building himself before agreeing it was unfit and then took a further week so every member could view the proposed site. [Film No. 59, 92, 93, 155, 224, 229]

That procedure deserves scrutiny rather than admiration alone. Requiring three signed papers before a decision protected the Governor as much as it informed the council, since the Company had already dismissed the water complaint once, replying in October 1729 that no captain had raised it. A recommendation carrying four independent signatures was harder for London to brush aside than one carrying the Governor's alone. The same caution appears over the money of Captain Gough, an instruction that had lain unexecuted since reaching the island aboard the *Drake* in May 1731: Pyke referred it back to London and asked each councillor to record his view separately, a council acting without authority on a Company instruction being personally answerable for the sum. [Film No. 78, 91, 92]

The council also distinguished carefully between what it could decide and what required London. It split the two path repairs of December 1732 on a clear principle: the route to Banks's served the garrison, so the council authorised the work itself, while the country paths served the inhabitants at far greater cost and therefore went home for direction. Governor Pyke was equally careful where his own interest touched the Company's. Buying seven and a half acres from Captain Goodwin in 1734 to relieve the exhausted Perkins plantation, he entered on the record what he paid, what the ground had cost Goodwin seven years earlier, and his reasoning that the more he had for the money the better he knew his duty. The consideration is nonetheless recited as £75 0s 0d in the assignment and £25 0s 0d in the receipt, both copied into the book without reconciliation. [Film No. 114, 281, 282]

Annual charges moved considerably across the period and measure the change of governors. The gross charge stood at £3,144 6s 0d under Byfield in 1729, rose to £4,939 13s 4.5d for the year to 30 September 1732, the heaviest in the run, then fell to £4,469 18s 3.75d for the year to September 1733, still far above Byfield's figure. Pyke had reversed his predecessor's economies and the books show it. [Film No. 108, 245]

Military affairs and defence

The island carried 128 pieces of ordnance, and the inventory of 30 September 1730 records the same complement in identical proportions as the two preceding years: twelve demi-cannon, five whole culverins, forty-eight demi-culverins, five minions, sixteen sakers, twenty-seven falcons, eleven twelve-pounders and four three-pounders. The figure held unchanged through every annual return to 30 September 1734, a seventh consecutive year without a gun added or lost. Bomb shells stood untouched at a hundred, 5,000 flints lay unused, and ten round shot were expended across the whole year to 1733, eleven the year following. Match at 197 lb and then 222.5 lb was the heaviest consumption of any store, since a length

burned at every guard post through every watch. This is a heavily armed station kept in constant readiness that never once fired in earnest. [Film No. 12, 106, 225, 363]

The powder accounts measure shipping rather than danger, and they do so with great precision. Through August and September 1730 the gunner expended nine pounds a month, the monthly muster and nothing else, the anchorage having stood empty since the June fleet sailed. Consumption rose to fifty pounds in December with the *Heathcote*, a hundred and six in January 1731 and a hundred and thirty-six in February. May 1731 consumed 325 lb across eight arrivals and six departures; June 1732 consumed 262 lb; August 1732, when not a single ship touched, consumed 22 lb for a muster and the guard. The pattern holds throughout: 187 lb in April 1733, 269 in May, the heaviest of that run, 143 in June as departures replaced arrivals and 65 in July once the fleet had gone; 153 lb in March 1734 with the *Wyndham* and *Compton* in the road; 170, 279 and 272 lb across May, June and July 1734. [Film No. 7, 11, 21, 65, 76, 100, 162, 171, 192, 290, 347–348]

The waste followed from a flagstaff that could not identify a sail until she closed the road, so every arrival drew an alarm first and a salute afterwards, and three separate alarms in March 1734 were fired for ships that merely passed at a cost of 42 lb. Royal occasions drew the heaviest single charges: twenty-one guns for the King's birthday on 30 October 1730 and forty-one pounds for the Queen's birthday on 1 March 1731. Salutes were graded, nine guns for a returning Indiaman and eleven for a foreign vessel whose captain held a royal commission. [Film No. 21, 39, 47, 290]

Live firing occurred as identification rather than defence. On 23 January 1731 guns were fired from Banks's battery and Munden's Point to bring a stranger to, three round shot expended, and she proved to be the French *Royalle Philip* of 720 tons out of Pondicherry under Major Delagard; her commission was examined before she was admitted. A Dutch fleet saluted the fort on 9 February and drew eighty-eight pounds of powder across fifty guns. Every arriving commander received a standing order to heave in upon alarms, warping close under the castle's guns, since a ship lying out in the road could not be protected from the batteries. On 26 April 1734 a single shot went from a demi-culverin at Munden's Point, the only round discharged in earnest that whole period. [Film No. 31, 37, 39, 45, 46, 299]

Discipline within the garrison was uneven and one case shows how seriously a lapse was taken. Ensign John Young left his post at Banks's while a Company ship lay in the road and another vessel of unknown character stood in the offing, went aboard a Dutch ship, drank until evening and slept at his house in the valley. He evaded the charge, then admitted it, offering the excuse that a hail from the headland could not carry to the fort. The council dismissed him and appointed Isaac Wood, a settled inhabitant and former churchwarden, in his place. Banks's battery, mounting seven guns on an isolated headland, generated repeated business: Captain Cason and Ensign Wood reported in November 1732 that the path had become so narrow and so directly over a precipice that men could carry only two quart bottles at a time, and in December the sea ran so high that the guard went two days without a drop of water. [Film No. 79, 113, 118]

One entry stands apart from all the ceremonial firing. When the *Harrington* sailed in March 1733 the gunner recorded that no salute passed, expressly to avoid telling the many runaway slaves watching the anchorage that the ship was ready to weigh, lest they steal boats and follow her out. A garrison that would forgo a customary compliment to keep its own labourers from escaping tells us more about the island's internal security than the ordnance returns do. Two other entries remain unexplained: in November 1732 fifteen pounds of powder went to fill grenadier pouches, with 24 lb of musket balls, and five pounds more followed in December, though the annual inventories show those pouches standing untouched for years and no ship had touched the island since June. [Film No. 118, 123, 150]

The gunner John French petitioned on 25 September 1733 that the magazine was dangerously placed, standing near the sea behind a wall two or three feet thick that an enemy's fire could beat and that gave no protection against a bomb, while dry thatch on the adjoining buildings made fire a constant hazard. He set out a history of failure: powder damaged by rain under Governor Johnson, a replacement built by Governor Smith directly beneath a water course that proved damp and spoiled more, and six months' delay before

the stock was moved back. Pyke measured both buildings and put the cumulative loss at some 120 barrels, about eighty entirely spoiled. [Film No. 223, 224, 229]

His design of 2 October 1733 was modest and technically sound: twenty-four feet within by twelve wide, arched over twice with a bed of earth between and a high sloping roof after the manner of the King's magazines, sited south of the fort so the fort's own mass stood between it and the sea, entered through a warehouse. A curved masonry roof carries the force of an overhead burst outward into the walls. The plan likened it to the magazine at Tilbury Fort. The cost came to about 200 deals, a door case and eight pairs of shutters, the labour supplied by the Company's own slaves. The most striking entry in the same season is fifty barrels of powder sent home to England, better than a quarter of the whole stock, shipped within days of the gunner's petition; twenty-two more followed in 1734. [Film No. 225, 229, 230, 363]

The sea then destroyed the island's shore works. Giles Smith reported on 24 December 1733 that heavy seas had carried the whole crane away at Lemon Valley. Captain Goodwin viewed the ruin and reported rocks four feet in diameter, others thirteen or fourteen feet long and weighing not less than twenty-seven tons, forced into the ocean, with iron crows leaded into the rock drawn straight through the stone. Byfield had repaired the place at great cost five years earlier. The council resolved on 2 January 1734 to abandon the site entirely, holding the water there neither as good as the fort supply nor as easy to draw. The crane at the fort itself broke on 17 January 1735 while lifting an anchor, and the repair required oak beams up to 44 feet after scarfing, none of which could be had from any tree on the island. [Film No. 250, 251, 389]

The fortifications were failing alongside the shore works. Isaac Wood petitioned in 1734 that King William's Fort, built many years earlier and poorly done at first, had fallen entirely to pieces with no roof to shelter the guard by day or night, and that Sergeant Mitchell Sweazy had been violently seized with the bloody flux. Dysentery among men standing guard through the wet season turned a complaint about a leaking roof into one about survival, and sweet lime was issued to the garrison in both March and April against sickness. [Film No. 285, 293, 301]

News of an approaching conflict with France reached St Helena in the spring of 1734, and the Company sent out an engineer, Colonel Gaultier, expressly to fortify the place. His report of 4 June 1734 is the first professional military survey of the island in this record and is a serious piece of work. He assessed the whole coastline for landing places rather than counting what already stood, identifying Rupert's Bay as the critical weakness: a sandy beach where twenty boats might land abreast, defended only by an old work already decayed. He proposed a platform on Chubb's Rock built almost level with the sea, so that its guns would rake boats in flank and rear rather than plunging fire from a height. [Film No. 314]

His reasoning about Sandy Bay shows the same grasp. The bay lies to windward, so the trade wind blows directly onshore and makes it a lee shore from which a ship cannot claw off; an attacker must send boats from a safe offing, which reduces the problem to stopping small craft at the beach. He dismissed a battery on the west rocks as needless, an enemy having no reason to land where the ground gave him nothing. This was judgement rather than a wish list. Two ships' commanders, Ridge and Mead, were brought in to test him and confirmed that the old Rupert's line had no foundation and would shake itself down when heavy guns fired, the earth being too light to bear a substantial building. They added an observation of real technical weight: Munden's Point stood too high by 103 feet, so its shot plunged rather than raking a hull. [Film No. 315, 317, 322]

The scheme collapsed on arithmetic. Gaultier returned a table requiring 115 men to defend seven positions in an alarm and 170 to build them, 45 at Rupert's alone. Pyke then demonstrated that the 40 hands requested for Rupert's were only the men on the wall: adding boat crews to fetch lime, quarrymen, limeburners, sand carriers, mortar makers and an overseer to every twenty brought the true demand to 110. Against 42 fit men in the whole establishment, the scheme was impossible rather than merely expensive. [Film No. 316, 324]

Meanwhile the mountings were failing. On 28 May 1734 the gunner reported the carriages of three demi-cannon and three whole culverins so cracked they would not bear firing. On 2 June a carriage at Munden's Point broke to pieces in the act of firing to bring a ship to. The main fort's survey found the carriages very

bad and many irreparable, with twenty new ones lately arrived and twenty-five more wanted. An island proposing new batteries could not discharge the guns it already had. The council responded on 11 June by ordering every gun kept loaded at all times, even in peace, and the gunner to examine each for honeycombing, the pitting that forms inside a barrel until the piece may burst. [Film No. 312, 316, 319, 327]

The gunner's own coastal survey, a schedule of 86 guns across eight positions, is a professional document in its own right and disagrees with the engineer at nearly every point. He rejected paired small forts on the ground that an enemy carrying one could turn its guns on the other, preferred a single concentrated battery, argued for firing guns in alternating pairs so smoke could clear and crews reload, and dismissed Gaultier as no proper judge of Prosperous Bay, having seen it only from a boat at half a mile. He had been bred under Sir Martin Beckman, Chief Engineer of England. Both he and the ships' commanders preferred light guns loaded with cartridge shot rather than ball at the water's edge, on the reasoning that a charge of small shot sweeps a crowded landing boat where a single ball may pass clean through. [Film No. 322, 324–325, 328–329, 333]

The relationship broke down over rank. Gaultier held that he ranked next after the Governor and ought to command all the men on the line, including the captain, lieutenant, ensign and gunner. The council answered that he might be consulted on the fortifications but was not to sit above any member, and produced from its own books a regulation made by Governor Roberts placing the engineer immediately below the chaplain. Both positions were defensible: in continental service an engineer directing fortifications commonly commanded the troops manning them. The practical objection was decisive, since the men on the line were planters and inhabitants who served under the Governor because they held their land from the Company, and no separate commission could transfer that relationship. The council settled the matter by reading out the Office of Ordnance's own definitions of engineer and surveyor. [Film No. 330–331, 333, 338]

The council's conduct was not blameless. It rejected his plans on 10 June as hastily and carelessly done, telling him they looked designed to impose upon the Company, then handed them back and left him free to send them himself, so any consequence fell on him alone. It disparaged the recommendation of Sir Charles Wager, First Lord of the Admiralty, by establishing from Gaultier's own admission that the two had never met. Most strikingly, it entered on the record that yielding to him would mean giving up the island to a Frenchman for fear the French should come and take it, setting his birth against the English origins of Cason, the lieutenant and the gunner three times over. [Film No. 317, 333–334]

Gaultier's insistence on a written order before returning to Rupert's answered a real professional exposure rather than mere obstinacy. He had reported on 18 June that the parapet was built without its stones laid on the surface of the earth and had proposed abandoning it, and Ridge and Mead had confirmed the ground was too light. Being directed to repair a work he had certified unsound, he wanted a document showing the decision was not his. Unable to dismiss a Company appointee, the council constructed a practical sanction instead: it would begin the hardest part of the work itself, at the breach the water course had made in Rupert's line, to convince him the island could do everything without him, while expressly declining to put him out of his employment. [Film No. 320, 331, 334, 339]

That restraint did not hold. By November 1734 the Governor set out a fuller complaint: the engineer neglected his duty, quit the Company's table without notice, kept to his house by day and went out at night where nobody knew, and claimed a lameness contradicted by his travelling the country freely. What turned irritation into alarm was his private journey to view the new fortifications at Sandy Bay, a work he had refused to attend, at a moment when the island stood under apprehension of war with France and Gaultier was a Frenchman by birth. Pyke required each councillor to submit a separate written account, and the secretary was directed to bring the papers into method and order. [Film No. 372, 374]

The composite report of 3 December 1734 is remarkable. It found his title of Colonel an imposture, his highest rank having been lieutenant colonel in Courland under Maurice de Saxe, whose works the Muscovites demolished almost as soon as they were built. It traced his service through the French navy, the Jacobite cause at La Hogue, and the employment of most of the princes of Europe, some of it in secret

work the council took to be spying, and drew its sharpest inference from an absence: none of those princes would take him back when a general war was expected. It traced his recommendation to a kinsman who served Sir Charles Wager as a translator of French papers and a coffee house acquaintance with a merchant of interest in the Company. The single admitted fact on which divided loyalty rests is that Gaultier waited on the French ambassador immediately after contracting with the Company, which he acknowledged himself. He had also gone among the inhabitants telling them the works would not hold. [Film No. 374–376]

One element of the case deserves scepticism. The council held it obstruction that Gaultier refused to examine the guns unless they were first unloaded, but his demand was professionally correct: a loaded gun cannot be inspected internally. The conflict arose from the council's own order that every piece be kept charged, and stripping the line would have left the island's chief work defenceless for as long as the survey took. What the council read as evasion was a genuine collision between two duties it had itself created. The report was read to Gaultier's face on 5 December 1734; asked whether he approved the Turk's Cap work he refused to answer either way. He was dismissed the Company's service, forbidden the country under threat of confinement, and barred from the public table, protesting that the papers were false and that the council had no power to dismiss him. [Film No. 376–378]

The inhabitants' plan and the works

Pyke resolved the impasse by going to the inhabitants. On 11 July 1734 he had the churchwardens notify the principal residents, who chose twelve men of substance to consult with him. They met on 16 July, considered the map and the several fortifications, and produced a defence scheme of a wholly different character from the engineer's, resting on natural ground, lookout parties and equipment rather than masonry. Their central instrument was the iron crow, a heavy pointed lever for prising loose the rocks standing on the hillsides. The Dutch had been driven off at Lemon Valley by stones rolled down upon them, and the twelve proposed defending most of the western valleys with ten or a dozen white men with small arms and as many blacks with crows, asking for 300 or 400 bars from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 6 inches, specifying wrought rather than cast iron because the brittleness of cast metal makes such bars useless under a sideways load. [Film No. 335–337]

The division of weapons follows the line the island's law already drew. Firearms went to the whites and crows to the blacks, consistent with a jurisdiction where the testimony of blacks was inadmissible and householders were required to lock up their slaves at night. The crow was effective on a steep hillside, useless as an offensive weapon against an armed man, and indistinguishable from an ordinary tool the rest of the year. It armed a defensive force far larger than the island's white population without arming it in any threatening sense. [Film No. 337]

Their judgement of the coast inverted the engineer's priorities instructively. Prosperous Bay, where the English retook the island from the Dutch in 1673 and where any number of men could land easily, they advised leaving unfortified, since twenty or thirty men could stop 500 in the ascent. Turk's Cap, where a boat could scarcely come ashore without staving, they judged the most dangerous point on the island, because it is the ground all shipping first makes and because easy ascents lead from it into the Great Wood. They set the cost of a work against the ground behind the beach rather than the beach itself. [Film No. 335]

The vestry approved the plan on 21 July with not one objection, and the inhabitants began building at Turk's Cap on 5 August at their own charge after the Governor staked it out. The Company would find guns and carriages while the planters found the hands, secured by an appeal to the Company's fatherly care and what the inhabitants owed in return. That converted a wage negotiation the council had lost into an obligation of gratitude, and it worked where ninepence a day had not. Pyke forwarded this scheme to London rather than the engineer's and put its cheapness first, adding that men trained at the Portsmouth works or at the siege of Gibraltar would think themselves well provided on half Gaultier's allowance. [Film No. 336–338, 342]

The works ran through the following year and never quite finished. Captain Goodwin reported in October 1734 that Rupert's went as fast as could be expected but wanted more hands. Turk's Cap stood three long boat loads of stone short of completion when the long boat itself was lost at Sandy Bay on 19 September

1734, and the battery remained unfinished for want of a vessel rather than of labour or materials. The gunner's schedule of July 1734 had called for 76 guns across eight positions with ten more in store; nothing arrived. Proving reached demi-cannon for the first time in October 1734, and the Governor proposed a new earth platform at Munden's for four great guns, since the new carriages ran on cast iron trucks that would break on rough stone paving. [Film No. 355, 357–358, 362, 367, 370, 385]

Powder discipline tightened as the season emptied. When the King's coronation fell in October 1734 with no ship in the road, Pyke declined the customary salute and gave a general dinner to the inhabitants instead, holding that every grain that possibly can ought to be saved. Salutes thereafter were made up almost entirely of falcons, the smallest pieces, so that three ships could be saluted in and out for 70 lb. That economy did not survive company worth impressing: when Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan passed through in May 1735, their landings drew 21 guns apiece from the heavy batteries and their joint departure consumed 149 lb, against 58 lb for the five Indiamen sailing the same day. [Film No. 365, 387, 419]

Settlement, land and agriculture

Land dominates the consultations, and the early pattern never varies: a petition for waste land, a grant, an instruction to Goodwin to measure, a lease drawn once the ground was walked. The sequence was fiscal rather than ceremonial, since rent ran at a rate per acre and the obligation to plant wood and furze was proportioned to acreage, so an unmeasured grant fixed neither income nor duty. Grants ranged from twenty acres down to Francis Wrangham's forty feet square at two shillings a year, sought only to keep his neighbours' cattle out of his pasture. The usual rent was 5s an acre. [Film No. 4–6, 10, 27, 112–114]

The Caleb Davis petition of September 1730 states most clearly what tenure meant. Nathaniel Nichols had been allocated about twenty acres in Sandy Bay seven or eight years earlier, had never taken out a lease, paid rent, fenced or enclosed. Davis, who signed with his mark and held no land anywhere, argued the parcel was kept from poorer islanders who had no means of supporting their children. The council found the substance true and treated the holding as vacant, granting Davis twenty-one years from 25 December. It did not sue for arrears, because no instrument existed fixing any rent to enforce. Allocation without a lease conferred nothing. [Film No. 6]

Freehold cost far more than the ground was worth agriculturally, and men paid it for security of inheritance. Richard Beale bought eleven acres for £57 15s 0d in November 1730, ground Goodwin reported very indifferent and carrying no wood; Jonathan Doveton bought three and a half acres at £4 an acre in December, land Goodwin thought hardly worth that. A lease ran twenty-one years with no right of renewal, and the Company had warned in 1728 that renewal would carry a heavy fine, so a tenant who wished to leave ground to his children had to buy. Every sale was preceded by an independent valuation. [Film No. 25, 30, 31]

The Sandy Bay road and the lease reform of 1732

The Sandy Bay road affair of April 1731 is the clearest case of private encroachment on public property. Governor Roberts had built a cart road at a charge of at least £300 0s 0d, and by 1731 Joseph Bates, Joshua Johnson, Richard Insley, John Seale and Jonathan Higham had between them enclosed well over a mile of it, reducing the route in places to a path not a foot broad. The surveyors distinguished ground where a cartway could still be cut outside a wall from ground made impassable by precipices and gullies, which is what makes their report useful rather than merely accusatory. [Film No. 59, 60]

What the council did with that report repays attention. It stated plainly that every offender could justly be compelled to throw out what he had enclosed, and declined to do it. Each man was instead to open a way ten feet wide outside his own fence, and where the ground made that impossible the public kept a right of passage straight through the plantation. The Company recovered a usable route at no cost and without ruining five tenants, but the enclosures stood. Whose interest that served is not hard to see: three of the five encroachers were substantial planters, and the council depended on such men for rent, for beef and for parish office. [Film No. 61]

The lesson was written into the form of every lease in July 1732. No lease was to be renewed until the surveyors certified the ground duly fenced and planted with a fair proportion of thriving wood, no fresh

parcel granted until the Governor had viewed it, and every lease was to reserve a right to make a path or cartway through the ground whenever thought necessary. A future encroachment thereby became a breach of covenant rather than a trespass requiring proof of a road nobody could trace. Martin Harper's renewal of twenty acres in September 1732 was the first to pass cleanly through the new procedure. The Company separately directed the council to prevent the engrossing of land, and Samuel Doveton's assignment of twenty acres was refused registration until London gave direction. [Film No. 85, 86, 96, 101]

The reform bit steadily thereafter. Petitions from Thomas Coffee, William Seale junior and Benjamin Beale were the first to complete the full process together in November 1732. James Hayes was granted seventeen acres only on terms that he fence and plant within twelve months, give bond against waste once done, and receive no lease at all until both were complete, which reverses the ordinary sequence and removes the incentive to neglect. John Defountaine's renewal was allowed on security for planting the unwooded part, showing the policy applied flexibly where a tenant was substantially in compliance. By April 1734 five petitions arrived on a single day, from Samuel Doveton, James Harding, Joseph Harding, Robert Girling and the two Orlando Bagleys, and every petitioner asserted his ground duly fenced and planted before being asked. [Film No. 108, 112–114, 213, 218, 232–233, 290]

Petitioners framed requests against the engrossing rule too. Isaac Wrangham noted carefully that he already held 17 acres and had learned only days earlier that none would in future hold beyond a certain quantity. The council's reasoning elsewhere was frankly social: it refused Giles Player land for attempting to impose on it, then relented in consideration of his large family, holding a single man should have had none. Land existed to support households. [Film No. 115, 118, 119]

Title, deeds and possession

Title was fragile on an island five weeks from England, and almost every dispute turned on missing paper. John Durling petitioned in November 1730 for a fresh deed to twenty-five acres held by inheritance, the original lost or carried accidentally to England; the council traced the chain through John Thwaites and John Crisp and found no one who questioned it. Alexander explained that people commonly neglected to register a deed once it reached their hands, which was why the register showed nothing. When Goodwin and Crisp traced Captain Alexander's right to 25 acres they found two documents across five owners and nearly forty years, and reported that they could find no writing whatever showing how the land passed from one to another, but were sure by common report that the title was good. Benjamin Pledger held five acres with no deed at all. [Film No. 25–26, 135, 137, 141]

The council developed a standard remedy. Isaac Wood received a deed for thirty-five acres on 13 November 1733 after an enquiry running since January had found no writing surviving for most of the chain, the council falling back on long possession and common report and publishing a limitation notice fixing a date after which no claim would be received. Pledger's five acres went through the identical procedure with 13 February 1734 as the bar. A public advertisement followed by a fixed date converts an untraceable title into a good one by extinguishing everyone else's right to object. [Film No. 202, 241]

Water rights mattered more here than in England, since the supply ran in narrow channels down steep valleys and a wall across a course could cut off a neighbour entirely. Thomas Greentree was made to reopen a hole in his wall after stopping the water that had always run into Richard Insley's plantation, restoring the position rather than punishing him. The Bagleys, petitioning for adjoining parcels, asked expressly that the flow from the upper into the lower be preserved. Fencing was the other constraint: in August 1730 Bagley and Phelps complained that Seale and Insley drove cattle daily through their pastures, and the council rationed the passage to one crossing a day rather than extinguishing a right of way that was the only route to water. [Film No. 4, 31, 36, 280, 290]

The woodland and the rats

The island's deforestation runs through the whole period as a problem nobody solved. The advertisement of 21 October 1729 had warned that no timber would be left standing within seven or eight years, and the goat was the animal held responsible. In November 1732 came a discovery the council had not anticipated: Goodwin reported fire trees at Greenwood barked and killed by rats, and Crisp described nests two feet long built in the treetops of the Great Wood, each holding ten or eleven young. The inhabitants confirmed

the same everywhere, and the council was told the rats had once destroyed everything, turned on one another and devoured about half their number, but had been as numerous as ever since 1728. Barking kills a tree outright, so this reframed a crisis the council had spent years blaming on tenant negligence. [Film No. 112]

The response is harder to defend. Rather than attacking the infestation with the labour and materials to hand, the council resolved to ask London for wire traps, a request that could not produce a single trap in under a year. The record explains the choice as a judgement about the instrument: the councillors held wire traps far more useful than any other kind, and the island had no means of making them. Four rat traps at £15 6s 0d duly appear in the storekeeper's account for the summer of 1734, nearly two years later. [Film No. 112, 350–352]

A second cause emerged in 1734. The Great Wood was described as almost entirely destroyed, and the council identified tanning. Bark rather than timber yields the tannins that convert hide to leather, and a tree stripped for bark dies where one felled for fuel at least yields its wood. The remedy was to license a single tanner, forbidding all others to dress or tan leather except shoemakers and curriers, concentrating the damage where it could be watched. The jury's presentment of July 1733 had already named the continuing destruction of the woodland and the failure to protect trees already planted as a public nuisance, a complaint running back through surveys, advertisements and lease reforms without evident success. [Film No. 189–190, 273]

The Company's stock and provisioning

The stock accounts are the most continuous series in the whole record and they respond to two forces: the season and the anchorage. Neat cattle rose from 383 at the end of August 1730 to 443 by February 1731, held near 436 in March 1731 and 418 in August 1732, then rose again through 1733 to reach 525 head by the end of December, on an increase of 513 births against 65 sold to shipping, 26 killed and eight dead. Breeding turned decisively with the southern summer: two calves in October 1732, then 17 in November, 34 in December, 26 in January and 20 in February. [Film No. 9, 22, 35, 64, 74, 111, 117, 124, 133, 143, 245]

Sales moved entirely with the shipping and the pattern never varies across five years. Nothing went to a vessel between June and December 1730; the *Heathcote* took three bullocks in December, the *Cadogan* two in January, and eight went in the twenty-four days of March 1731 when five ships touched. May 1731 saw 28 head sold, the heaviest disposal of that run, its composition telling: fifteen bullocks, four cows and nine heifers, breeding females going aboard because the bullock stock alone could not meet four ships' demands. From July to September 1732 not a beast was sold and the row was left off the ruled sheet entirely. The same absence recurs in the autumn of 1732, in July 1733 and between July and December 1734. [Film No. 44, 48, 64, 87, 98, 104, 191, 197, 361]

Two entries in the series are artefacts of accounting rather than husbandry. The increase row for September 1732 carries 161 head and that for March 1733 carries 240, figures no calving could produce. Both months close a Company accounting period, and the numbers represent a general muster bringing in animals that had run on the ranges without ever appearing on the monthly sheets. The cut and grown rows then move animals between classes without altering the total, 218 beasts in March alone. Anyone reading these tallies as a record of real growth would be badly misled. [Film No. 104, 149]

Dry weather appears as a stated cause of death for the first time in January 1734, carrying off a cow, four calves and a sow. Four more beasts died in February and eleven in March, five cows and six calves together. Twenty animals died of the weather in three months, and the herd fell from 525 on 1 January to 465 by the end of April. More serious than the deaths was the collapse in breeding: nineteen calves in December 1733, three in each of January and February, then none at all in March or April. Cows under nutritional stress cease to conceive, so the drought took from the herd twice, in the animals it killed and the calves never born. [Film No. 264, 275, 291, 300]

The decline continued without relief. Cattle fell from 465 at the end of April 1734 to 436 by the end of July, to 428 when the Company year closed in September, 389 by December, 365 by January 1735 and 320 by the end of May. Calving failed again through October, November and December 1734, with one calf in the

whole of March 1735 and the eight of April marking the first real recovery after more than a year. Four or five beasts died in December 1734 of swellings under the throat, a disease the Governor said scarcely one beast in a hundred survived. The council told three homeward commanders in December 1734 that the rains had failed for three seasons past, that potatoes would no longer grow in any quantity and there were no beans. [Film No. 344–346, 354, 360–361, 386, 406, 410]

Shipping compounded the loss and the composition of sales tells the story. Sixty-four head went aboard across the year to September 1734. The disposals then came in violent bursts: nineteen in December 1734 when three ships arrived from Mocharine, twenty-eight in January 1735 with four Indiamen in the bay, thirty-three in May 1735 when five sailed together. Fourteen heifers stood among the twenty-eight of January and twenty-one among the thirty-three of May, so the breeding stock was being spent to meet the demand of a single season. Rockfalls from the steep volcanic slopes above the pastures killed two cows and a sow in November 1733 and a cow and heifer in December, their carcasses issued to the slaves rather than wasted. [Film No. 227, 247, 361, 386, 392, 418]

Sheep and hogs behaved quite differently and show what stock could withstand the conditions. Twelve lambs came in March 1734 and nine in April against no calves at all, and the flock rose from 175 in January to 192 by April with only a single wether lost to the weather. Sheep graze closer and need far less water than cattle. That advantage did not survive the shipping season: ewes fell from 25 at the start of May 1734 to 14 by the end of July, nine being killed in June alone to feed four ships' companies ashore. Killing breeding females during the winter mating season removes the following spring's lambs as well as the animals. [Film No. 275, 279, 291, 300, 344–346, 349]

Poultry ran against the herd for most of the period and then collapsed twice. Pyke bought 356 fowls, 72 turkeys, 60 ducks and four geese for a breed in April 1731, restoring a yard reduced to 24 fowls, and the flock stood at 292 by June 1732. Of 607 fowls carried after the year's increase to September 1733, some 502 were killed and 43 died, closing at 62. The flock was drawn to 48 by March 1734, recovered through heavy hatches to 108 and reached 120 by December. In April 1735 Pyke reported an unfamiliar disease killing birds across the island, the head swelling first, then blindness, then a giddiness that carried them off; by the end of May the Company's flock stood at two fowls where 86 had been carried at the month's opening. The birds had become the fort's principal fresh meat as the herd fell. [Film No. 64, 74, 81, 98, 245, 354, 407, 410, 418]

The goat destruction

The most dramatic movement in the early accounts was deliberate policy. The inhabitants voted forty to eleven at the country church on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island, and the council resolved to kill the Company's stock also, two years being allowed from 1 September. The herd stood at 409 when the Company's year opened in October 1729, rose to 624, and closed at 85 after 339 killed, 152 dead and 48 stolen. It fell to 59 in November, 40 in December, 19 in January, and in February 1731 the last ten does, eight kids and the final ram were killed. By March the clerk had dropped the heading from the table. The work took six months of a term of two years. [Film No. 9, 14, 22, 29, 35, 38, 44, 48]

The treatment of sheep exposes what the vote actually meant. Sheep were included in the same resolution, yet the flock stood at 83 in February 1731, almost where it had been in November, breeding gently on while the goats were exterminated. Pyke then bought ten sheep for breeding on his arrival, which runs directly against the vote. The council plainly read it as directed at the browsing that had stripped the island's timber rather than at grazing stock as such. Three ewe goats appear valued in a private inventory of 1734, and John Alexander asked in 1735 for ten acres of rocky waste proposing to raise sheep or goats there, four years after the island had voted to destroy every goat upon it. Feral goats survived long afterwards, so the books record the end of a herd, not the end of goats on St Helena. [Film No. 14, 22, 29, 44, 48, 64, 279, 404]

Yams and the failure of the plantations

Yams were the staple of the slave establishment, divided between the plantations, the fort slaves and the Great Wood. The July 1730 account recorded no yams at all, the old crop exhausted and potatoes filling the gap, but from August the new harvest came in and monthly issues held between 31,260 lb and 32,975 lb for eight consecutive months. On 24 March 1731 the standing crop across all plantations was stated at

948,000 lb, roughly thirty months' consumption, and against the total failure of January 1729 that reserve represented a complete recovery. The issue ran near 31,000 lb through the winter of 1732, fell to 24,000 lb in July as seed went into the ground, then almost doubled to 46,250 lb in August when hired labour on the trench had to be fed, rose to 46,550 lb in December and fell to 25,150 lb by March 1733. [Film No. 9, 13, 22, 35, 44, 48, 81, 87, 98, 104, 111, 124, 149]

On 10 April 1733 the overseer Isaac Durling wrote to Pyke that Perkins plantation, the chief provision ground for the slaves, was almost exhausted. He identified two distinct mechanisms of loss. Continuous cropping had worn the soil thin, which a year fallow and a dressing of manure might repair; but over much of the ground the topsoil had been physically washed away where bushes had been cleared, leaving stony land that could not be planted at all. The second was irreversible in a way the first was not. He added that the yams grown at the fort plantation were unfit for the slaves and must be set aside for the hogs, a formal downgrading of a crop already harvested. [Film No. 154]

The arithmetic he set out is stark. He returned the weekly requirement at 63,920 pounds, and gave the seven plantations' combined capacity in good condition as 672,000 pounds: Sandy Bay 340,000, the fort plantation 100,000, the Bamboo Gut and the Peak 80,000 each, Suffdale and the limekiln 30,000 each, and Perkins 12,000. A full year's crop therefore supplied roughly ten weeks of provision. Perkins, described as the establishment's chief support, stood second lowest of the seven, which measures the extent of its collapse. Against the 948,000 pounds standing in March 1731, the fall in capacity across two years was substantial. [Film No. 154–155]

The monthly issues confirm the shortfall biting through the season. April 1733 recorded 33,000 pounds, split 18,000 to the plantations and 15,000 to the slaves. By May the slaves' share had climbed to 22,550 while the plantations' fell to 16,500; in June the slaves drew 28,350 of a total 46,350. In July the plantation share rose sharply to 27,500 as the winter planting went into the ground, committing a large part of a failing crop to seed rather than to the table. The issue fell to 13,700 lb to the slaves in August 1733, and in November only 11,700 lb reached them while 18,100 lb went into the ground. The reversal came in December, when planting finished and the slaves received 28,500 lb of a total 48,800 lb. [Film No. 161, 163, 172, 191, 197, 214, 247, 253]

The recovery strategy worked. Seed was committed heavily through 1734, 19,500 lb to the plantations in January and 21,600 lb in April, and the Company bought replacement ground rather than merely resting the worn soil. Monthly issues held near 47,000 lb through the drought and reached 50,000 lb in March 1734, the highest of the year, with 30,500 lb going to the slaves. Roots lie underground and survive dry weather far better than pasture, which is precisely why the island depended on them. Yams held between 43,700 lb and 51,900 lb through the winter of 1734, the two shares entered separately from June and the plantations' portion identified in September as feed for hogs and poultry. [Film No. 254, 264, 291, 300, 382, 386, 394]

Imported rice and the island's own pork carried the difference throughout. From June 1733 two bullocks a month were killed expressly for the slaves and the entry settled into the accounts as a standing charge. Pork entered the fort table in June 1733 at 120 lb, rose to 170 in July and exceeded beef by August at 215 lb against 250 lb, and ninety-three hogs were killed across the Company year against a herd that closed level at 91, which is only possible because pigs breed several times faster than cattle. Rice at 28 hundredweight was charged to the slaves in November 1733 alone, and 60 hundredweight in October 1734 against nine across the previous three months, with 52 hundredweight more in November and December. [Film No. 191–192, 197–198, 214–215, 228, 243, 248, 354, 364]

Water

The water question dominates 1732 and shows the settlement's vulnerability better than any other episode. It began with an accusation that a man named Smith, given as Wilkes Smith in one entry and Giles Smith in another, had gone among the inferior officers of several ships warning them that the water at the crane was brackish and unwholesome and directing them to Lemon Valley instead. Several captains refused the crane supply in consequence. The council noted that Smith had an interest in ships watering at Lemon Valley, the sailors carrying their arrack to his house. The same man was barred from going aboard any ship

for a season in February 1735 for telling the *Royal Guardian's* people exactly the same thing. [Film No. 79, 89, 391]

Pyke answered a rumour with a measurement. In August 1732 he weighed six island samples against a bottle of Bristol water lately come from England, the Hotwells spring being the one standard nobody would dispute, and recorded the results to the pennyweight. The findings cut across the accusation rather than settling it. Chubb's Spring weighed lightest of the island waters yet tasted harsh, would not lather with soap and would not boil peas, all three being the household tests for hard water. Maria Spring at Plantation House matched the Bristol standard exactly. Crucially, Chubb's Spring and the ship's water both matched that standard once strained, which located the fault not in the spring but in the 540 rods of open channel between the spring head and the crane, gathering saline seepage along its whole length. [Film No. 89, 90]

Each councillor then walked the ground and reported separately. All three preferred Maria Spring, Alexander putting the extra distance at only 44 rods, Goodwin proposing a course of wooden pipes and 25 or 30 extra hands, Crisp calling it perfectly good and far beyond the others. Their reasoning was commercial rather than sanitary. Alexander stated that bad water was the excuse commanders used to shirk the road, and Crisp that the inhabitants subsisted wholly on the little profits made from the Company's shipping. Both were right: the accounts show cattle sales, storekeeper's takings and the fort's table charges rising and falling exactly with the number of vessels anchored. [Film No. 92, 93, 94]

The cheap remedy worked. Hiring twenty slaves at ninepence a day in August 1732 to trench the salt springs away from the main water course made the fort water sweet, and the whole fleet of the following year watered there alone. That success is what allowed the council to abandon Lemon Valley entirely on 2 January 1734 when the sea destroyed the crane, holding the water there neither as good as the fort supply nor as easy to draw. The commission of 1 April 1729 had feared that commanders would divert their watering to the Cape, which it said would ruin the island; that danger had been removed by a trench dug at trifling cost. [Film No. 95, 250, 251]

Trade, shipping and the island economy

Everything in the island's cash economy moved with the anchorage, and the record contains two long silences that demonstrate it. The first ran from 30 June to 20 December 1730, nearly six months without a sail: the fort's table fell from £76 7s 2d in June to £40 3s 0d in October, retail sales dropped by half, no beast was sold, and powder fell to nine pounds a month. The second ran from 25 June 1732 to 10 January 1733, when the *Cumberland* and *Derby* anchored after more than six months' silence. A third followed between the Dutch ship of 25 July 1734 and the *Newcastle*, *Decker* and *Bedford* on 8 December, visible as powder at 42 lb in November, beef on the table falling to 207 lb in September, and no beast sold for five consecutive months. [Film No. 7, 24, 28, 104, 126, 362, 379, 384]

The recoveries were correspondingly abrupt. From December 1730 the season opened with the *Cadogan* from India carrying 302 gallons of Batavia arrack, the French *Royalle Philip* from Pondicherry, and in March the *Macclesfield* and *Caesar* from China, the *James and Mary* from Bencoolen, the *Enfield* carrying Pyke and the *Monmouth* from England with the packet. The shipping season of 1733 was exceptionally busy, with four Indiamen in the road across April and eight vessels passing through in May. Bread and flour together reached £120 0s 0d in March 1734 when the *Wyndham*, *Compton* and *Devonshire* lay in the road, where January had recorded no bread sold at all. Bread is the clearest marker of shipping in these accounts. [Film No. 31, 36, 46, 47, 162, 171, 291–292]

Landing cargo was the standing difficulty. Everything came ashore by open boat to the landing rock, and the record kept in March 1731 shows work stopped by heavy surf on two of twelve days, with longboats, skiffs and yawls delivering on the rest. That account was kept expressly to prove discharge against the term fixed by the charter party, which tells us the Company in London disputed such matters and expected evidence. The point recurred in May 1735, when the charter party allowed ten days for the *Duke of Cumberland's* discharge and the cargo was not clear when they expired. The council protested formally against Captain Braund, the ship and her owners; Braund answered that surf had stopped the landing for days and that the council's own order to land the guns at Rupert's Valley had cost him two days building

stages and limited him to four guns a day. Both documents went to the same directors as competing statements of the same events. [Film No. 8, 15, 51, 414, 415]

The council took real initiative over the safety of the road. The Company had instructed commanders to warp in on any alarm, but many could spare neither an anchor nor a boat fit to carry one out. The council therefore laid a large anchor with a hawser to the westward of the road, stating openly that it acted of its own authority, so that any ship might send out her stream cable and heave in with little trouble. Since the island has no sheltered harbour and a vessel lying off cannot be defended unless hauled under the guns, this converted an order many captains could not follow into one they could. [Film No. 127]

Friction with the shipping was constant. In May 1731 four commanders wrote jointly complaining that the beef delivered fell short of the charter party allowance of 280 lb for every twenty men, and the council answered that no mistake had been made. The same month the inhabitants subscribed a paper fixing prices on provisions, a combination including almost every substantial planter along with two members of the council itself. Joshua Johnson refused to sign, agreeing that fixing prices served the inhabitants' interest but declining to touch the price of the Company's beef without a direct order from London. The council had itself fixed a minimum beef price in December 1729 to protect the inhabitants against a schooner master undercutting them. Both episodes show that the island's producers and its Company employers were rarely on the same side of a price. [Film No. 71, 72]

The council was also a willing auditor of its employers' suppliers. Examining the *Harrington's* cargo in March 1733 it found 780 deal boards charged as full lengths that scarcely held eight feet, 730 Christiana deals falling short of twelve, and shoes invoiced well above the price of better goods in an earlier cargo. Crisp and Bagley found cloaks, coats and combs missing from cases nailed fast with every seam full, and were willing to swear to it. Goods short from a package showing no sign of having been opened placed the loss in London, not on the crew. The council resolved to send a sample of each sort home so the Company might see how far it had been deceived. [Film No. 147]

Where the island could not replace a thing it refused to supply it. Captains Braund and Anselm asked leave to cut wood in January 1733 and were refused outright on the ground of scarcity, but were granted three chaldrons of coal apiece, the council stating plainly that a Company ship forced into a foreign port for want of fuel would expose the vessel and her cargo. Coal came by sea and could be replaced; a stand of timber could not. The same reasoning appears in December 1734, when Wells, Williamson and Lewes asked between them for cables, cordage, canvas, pitch, tar, paint, coals, biscuit, rice, flour and sugar: the council offered cattle in any number for salting while declining rice to all three, noting pointedly that Wells owed 47 bags by his bill of lading and Williamson 48, neither delivered. The flour they received was the Governor's own, recorded twice in postscript so that no one could later say Company stores had been given away. [Film No. 126, 128–129, 381–383]

Cargoes, currencies and the storekeeper

Invoices from the eastern factories were reckoned in rupees, annas, maunds and pies, with a batta of ten per cent added as an exchange allowance where a cargo crossed between rupee zones, and charges merchandise covering packing and boat hire. A leaguer ran to about 150 gallons and a maund to about 80 pounds. The supplies landed by the *Ockham*, *Drake*, *George*, *Danvers*, London and *Middlesex* between May 1731 and June 1732 follow a standard specification: four half leaguers of Batavia arrack at 120 rupees per leaguer, ten bags of sugar, a run of rice bags, batta at ten per cent and charges merchandise at the foot. The consistency indicates the Bengal agents made up each island consignment to a fixed pattern rather than shipping whatever came to hand. [Film No. 36, 37, 46, 67, 68, 72, 77, 78]

That pattern held for five years. Totals in 1733 clustered closely, the *Salisbury* at 402 rupees, the *Prince of Orange* at 373, the *Nassau* at 371, the *Grantham* at 386 and the *Walpole* at 416. The *Duke of Lorraine*, *Britannia* and *Normanton* brought near-identical loadings within a fortnight in 1734, and the three cargoes of May 1735 were assembled to an identical specification. A ship's route could be read from the units on her invoice: the *Princess of Wales* from Bombay carried Goa arrack and sugar reckoned by the candak with no rice at all, while the *Wyndham* and *Compton* invoices from China were reckoned in taels, mace and candareens, the money of account at Canton, with sterling selling prices in the margin. Western ships from Bombay and the Arabian

side brought rice by the farah, paddy and Goa arrack with no sugar. [Film No. 157, 166–167, 170, 283, 287, 313, 320–321, 379, 388, 409, 413, 415]

Cloth grew as a share of the Bengal trade across the period: doosetees, plain cotton piece goods sold by the corge of twenty, formed the largest part of the *Devonshire's* consignment at 319 rupees, well ahead of the provisions; blue gurrachs came in the *Bedford*, blue devatees in the *Drake*, doosooties, shirts and stockings in the *Duke of Dorset*, *George* and *Mountague*. The storekeeper's monthly collections show an island buying components rather than finished goods: holland tape, ferreting, garting, two thousand needles, 27.5 gross of shirt buttons, 49 dozen pins and lace by the dozen appear together in October 1733, so households assembled their own clothing from materials sold across the counter. Duroy and sagathy, both light worsteds, accounted for some £190 of September's sales. [Film No. 215, 226, 244, 292, 379, 409, 413]

A recurring practice was the disposal of damaged goods into the island at reduced prices: 798 pieces of damaged chintz in September 1730 at £59 12s 6d, 143 pairs of moth-eaten stockings at half invoice cost in October, eleven pieces described as part of the wrecked goods in January 1731, 103 partly damaged shirts making up the bulk of August 1733's sales at £142 13s 6d, and 1,062 yards of damaged chintz with 104 pairs of stockings and damaged white lead in April 1733. Goods spoiled by damp on the passage could not be sent home, and selling them cheaply into a captive market recovered something where returning them would have recovered nothing. The practical consequence was that the island's households and slaves were clothed substantially in the Company's spoiled stock. [Film No. 15, 23, 40, 163, 199, 215]

The storekeeper's collection for May to July 1734, totalling £818 0s 1.5d, shows where the island's money went at the end of the period. Fishing tackle dominates: 456 dozen hooks and 524 lines to the inhabitants, with more charged to the Company's slaves. Rice at £45 10s 0d was nearly the whole of the slaves' section. A separate fortification heading records twenty pickaxes, forty-four shovels, canvas and cordage, the material trace of the works actually begun. [Film No. 350–352]

Finance, currency and debt

The island ran almost without coin, and the record shows what that meant in practice. Sums owed to Governor John Smith, who had sailed for England in March 1727, were still being pursued in 1731 and 1732. Debtors were summoned in batches and every one answered that he had no money. Payment was offered in cattle or sheep, or promised at September or Christmas, or deferred as long as three years. The largest sums were Matthew Mudge at £24 0s 0d, John Scale and Orlando Bagley at £27 10s 0d jointly, Robert Girling at £25 0s 0d and Richard Beale at £20 1s 0d. Girling alone promised payment out of money due to him in England, bills drawn on funds held in London being how the island's larger transactions were settled. [Film No. 68, 72, 73, 76, 77]

Purchases ran as debts on the storekeeper's books, settled half-yearly. On 30 September 1730 the council reckoned with the inhabitants for rents: of £936 2s 6.5d due, only £361 10s 6d was received, leaving £574 12s 0.5d charged to individual accounts against promises to pay when able. This was the largest arrear in the run and the trend was worsening across the preceding three reckonings. The explanation lies in the same records: the inhabitants sold their produce to shipping, and no shipping had come since June. A rent pegged to acreage while income depended on the arrival of the Indiamen was structurally liable to fall into arrears whenever the fleet was late. [Film No. 11]

Lending ran both ways. In January 1731 Francis Wrangham asked the council to lend him £61 for three months at six per cent to complete a land purchase; it agreed unanimously and took his bond on his whole estate. Six per cent was the English legal maximum, and a private agreement of August 1730 had run at eight, so the Company lent below the market. Wrangham was the island's largest wood-holder and a survey commissioner, which is why his circumstances could be called good without inquiry. Running the other way, the surgeon John Brown held £400 0s 0d and offered to lend it to the Company on the terms his father had accepted in England, asking that interest be paid in England. The attraction lay in the place of payment rather than the rate: money earned at St Helena was almost impossible to remit. Pyke held the Company had no present need to borrow but offered 6 per cent from the day the money reached its cash. [Film No. 37, 77, 78]

Small transactions show how a cashless economy functioned at the bottom. Sarah Bradley, owing the Company £2 6s 0d and desperately poor, asked that her slave be employed at the Company's works at ninepence a day to clear the debt, and James Whaley senior made the identical request in 1734. Joseph Bates, owing £246 19s 2.5d, could only offer land; he was told he might sell to any purchaser not already holding above a hundred acres, applying the Company's standing direction against engrossing at precisely the moment a forced sale might otherwise have gathered land into few hands. Mary Powell, widow of a man whose estate had been valued above £1,200 0s 0d, admitted a debt of seven years' standing and could offer only a bullock in part payment. Stock was the island's liquid asset and could be turned into cash only when vessels lay in the road. [Film No. 204, 231, 237, 260, 312]

Debt could be structured with some sophistication. William Slaughter, formerly an ensign here and now in London, executed a release in November 1732 discharging Orlando Bagley senior and his wife of all interest on a £180 0s 0d bond for their lives, undertaking not to sue until both were dead, when the principal would fall due against the estate and begin running interest again. Bagley read this not as friendship but as a design to throw his children on the parish, and the council assured him of quiet possession. Its confidence rested on the poor rate. [Film No. 139, 140]

Judiciary and the estates

The longest single proceeding in the whole record concerns Don John de Mesa y Aniento, a native of Tenerife long settled at Manila and described in one paper as its late Governor, who landed sick from a French ship on 27 January 1731, lodged with the planter Joseph Bates and died of a dropsy fourteen days later. Bates claimed the whole estate under an alleged spoken bequest and asked that two witnesses be sworn to it. Under examination he admitted concealing a share of gold, gold shoe buckles, two rings, two pagodas and other things, and having already disposed of five shares of gold before any inventory was taken. Asked why, he said he was resolved Governor Byfield should not know how much he had. [Film No. 54, 59]

The council applied the Statute of Frauds of 1677, which required three witnesses present together at the making of a spoken will, an estate under £30 0s 0d, and an express request that those present bear witness. The claim failed on every limb. John Slew, who had interpreted throughout the illness, swore the deceased never spoke to him of a will; the servant Miguel Sandegan swore his master expressly told him to declare nothing to Bates or anyone else, and that the two men were never in the room together. Sandegan had counted the money on landing and put it at fifteen shares of gold and ninety pagodas; Captain Slower and Mr Bonnell reported the whole at not less than £2,000 0s 0d. [Film No. 55–58]

Two pieces of evidence from outside the circle Bates controlled decided the matter. The surgeon John Brown deposed that he had urged the dying man to make a will and provide for his child at Manila, and that the Spaniard had asked for the Governor and council to attend as witnesses; nobody came, the Governor and part of the council being in the country. The chaplain George White deposed that Bates had described himself as trustee for the child, expected nothing beyond payment for his trouble, and had advised White to make out his burial bill to be shown to the relations. Most damaging of all was an entry in Bates's own pocket book recording that in October 1726 he had destroyed Henry Johnson's will by tearing off the name and seals, having found the debts exceeded the effects. [Film No. 56, 58, 63]

When Bates produced a fresh witness a month after the finding, the council's scepticism was well founded. The slave Philip admitted staying three or four nights at Bates's house with dinner, supper and drink at every meal, could give no account of having been carried ashore in heavy irons, and confirmed the very fact that had defeated the claim, that his master had talked of sending for the Governor and council. A written declaration of 4 March 1731 signed by Slew, Sandegan and Philip was directly contradicted by their sworn examinations of 7 April. The council concluded the whole was a scene of forgery, found the deceased intestate, and declared all three witnesses unfit to be believed on any occasion. That last penalty fell on a slave, a servant and an interpreter rather than on the man who had procured their signatures. [Film No. 61–63]

The accounting took two years and four months more. Ordered on 3 May 1731 to render his bill, Bates produced nothing until 21 August 1733, pleading illness, then claimed £238 4s 8d as the estate's creditor.

The delay had served him, and the commissioners saw it: every month the dead man's son Emanuel remained in his house added board, clothing and shoes to the bill, while two unverifiable items, £30 0s 0d for himself and his wife nursing the dying man and ruining their bedding, and £20 0s 0d for a tomb, made up a fifth of the total. Alexander, Goodwin and Crisp found no precedent on the island for charges of that kind and reduced the whole to an account current. Their reckoning inverted his position entirely: he held £604 1s 6.5d of the dead man's money against allowances of £357 2s 4d, leaving £246 19s 2.5d owing from him. [Film No. 205–207, 211]

The individual rejections show a consistent test. Payments made without order, receipt or warrant fell away regardless of whether money changed hands. The tomb existed nowhere in the churchyard or elsewhere. Both black men said to have received ten shillings denied it. The interpreter had served Bates rather than the dying man. Mr Crisp remembered warning Bates when taking his fee that the cost of the papers would fall on him personally if the claim failed. The commissioners also noted the bill carried no date until one was added after delivery, which they thought done deliberately to conceal foul practices. A second examination compared his two inventories and found sixteen articles in one absent from the other, with £291 1s 6.5d in cash simply missing. Confronted on 25 September 1733 he confirmed both accounts on oath rather than abandoning either, which as the commissioners observed makes both false. [Film No. 211–213, 220–221, 223]

He retreated a week later, admitting he had spent a great part of the money and taken a dozen or more shirts, declaring he would not swear falsely to be master of all the wealth of Peru, and offering seven acres of freehold he valued at £600 0s 0d. Payment came in £25 instalments, the second not until October 1734. The son Emanuel remained on the island four years; in May 1735 two Spanish passengers of the *Heathcote* asked to carry him to his relations in Spain, and the council, advised by Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan sitting with it, agreed only on a signed undertaking that he be delivered to the Court of Directors on the ship's arrival in the Thames and taken no further without the Company's leave. That kept claimant and property in the same jurisdiction. [Film No. 230–231, 371, 416]

The Beale and Powell dispute

This claim runs across the whole period without resolution and shows the cost of appeals to London. Richard Beale pursued the Powell estate over land reaching back to 1701, alleging that his mother Margaret had held thirty acres in trust for himself and his brother as infants, and that Gabriel Powell obtained the ground in 1711 by bribery. His specific allegation is precise and serious: that Daniel Griffith sat as a member of council, acted as counsel for Powell, and stood to take a third of whatever land Powell recovered, while the orphans were minors with no guardian and nobody appeared for them. [Film No. 155–156, 186–188]

Mary Powell's answer relied on a court of judicature held on 18 August 1711 under the Company's own direction, which awarded Gabriel Powell a third part, followed by a deed from Governor, council and Company together. Her argument was that reopening it would unsettle every title on the island, since all planters held on the same footing, and that Beale had come of age ten or twelve years earlier and had slept on his right. Both points are sound in law and both also served her interest. Beale chose his forum deliberately, asking the council to set aside its own predecessors' judgement as procedurally void rather than suing before a jury, because a fresh action on title would have run against that deed. [Film No. 145–146, 156, 188–189]

The Company directed arbitration by instructions sent out in the *Lyell*. Beale agreed readily; Mary Powell refused absolutely in August 1734 and said her son would not consent on any terms whatever. Her husband had refused two earlier arbitrations proposed by Governor Boivier in 1701 and Governor Roberts in 1710. Beale then argued that her refusal left a new trial available, since a jury requires no consent from the defendant, and asked in the alternative for sequestration so that she should not profit from delay. The council granted neither, holding it would behave indifferently until the Company gave plainer directions, which put the matter into a third year. [Film No. 343, 367–368, 390]

Beale's complaint that the council contrived delays deserves weighing. He had been told not to apply while shipping lay in the road, which described a real constraint rather than an evasion, and the council's citing of the two earlier refusals answers the charge of partiality by showing the Powell side had declined

settlement three times across thirty-three years. Yet the practical effect was that the party in possession continued to hold. When Beale later asked for copies of papers, the council allowed him to inspect and copy whatever touched his own claim but would release no originals, a careful line protecting the island's muniments. The council neither compelled Mary Powell nor recorded her in contempt, but entered the whole exchange on a record the directors would read. That entry was the sanction. [Film No. 343, 368, 390]

Other estates and the law of inheritance

Pyke's handling of the Marsh and Aldis estates in July 1732 illustrates a different judicial instinct. Mary Marsh died intestate leaving a net estate of £388 2s 11d, and four claimants appeared; three told him plainly they were not satisfied with his opinion and wanted a jury. He pushed the other way, warning them against needless expense, and turned the hearing into a negotiation over a destitute grandson with no legal standing at all, dividing £109 16s 0d into nine parts so that each principal claimant took two ninths and one ninth went towards keeping Richard Long's widow, with Mr Wood undertaking to keep the boy for life. In the Aldis and Burnham dispute he set aside a clean legal answer, both parties having agreed in advance to be bound, and split the property down the middle because both men were in low circumstances. Whether that is equity or the substitution of a governor's judgement for the law is a fair question, and the claimants' own preference for a jury suggests they had doubts. [Film No. 83, 84]

Two substantial inventories illustrate the shape of island fortunes. James Greentree's estate closed at £1,255 7s 9d gross and £1,034 2s 9.5d clear, among the largest private fortunes in the record. Land and houses accounted for £705 0s 0d of it, and the valuations distinguish sharply between tenures: twenty acres with a house stood at £220 0s 0d while fifty-two acres of leased land were worth only £65 0s 0d, barely a quarter of the rate per acre. Silver plate was appraised purely by weight at five shillings the ounce with nothing allowed for workmanship, which is precisely how it functioned on an island almost without coin. John Knipe's estate showed the opposite condition, the personal estate standing at £99 13s 6d against debts of £106 1s 8d, so nothing remained to divide once creditors were paid; Pyke endorsed the original will with his own hand that a clause binding adult children to wait on a younger sibling was contrary to law. [Film No. 207–209, 221–222]

Executorship was a liability rather than a benefit where debts exceeded assets. Captain Goodwin renounced outright on Barlace Pyke's estate, appraised at £96 0s 9.5d against debts the appraisers reported greater still, and Isaac Wrangham accepted only after the Governor warned him that payment for extraordinary trouble came solely from what survived the creditors. Somebody had to act, since an estate with no acting executor cannot be wound up and creditors have no route to payment. [Film No. 255, 257]

The council refused to take inventories on trust. Edmund Nicholls had boasted shortly before his death of twenty fat bullocks offered to the commanders, and the appraisal six months later named not a single one. The council ordered the executors to make strict enquiry before swearing, and the further account produced only four beasts. Twelve remained unexplained against an estate of £418 1s 2d clear. That enquiry exposed a wider fraud. Cattle ranged free and their ear marks served as portable title deeds, a crop being a squared cut, a swallow fork a V notch, a slash a lengthwise cut. The survey of Crafford's pastures found four red bullocks carrying Nicholls's mark, three whose ears had been cropped away entirely, and a calf with no mark at all. Cropping both ears destroys the device it replaces, and an unmarked beast on open ground belonged to whoever claimed it first. The council named this stealing the marks and ordered a tally book requiring the true owner's name against every beast sold. [Film No. 277, 280, 283–285, 287]

The same survey measured what broken fences transferred between neighbours. Powell held nine acres of poor ground yet grazed 21 head on sixty acres of good pasture belonging to Benjamin Beale and James Crafford, whose fences lay down in many places, nearly half the stock on a seventh of the land at no cost to himself. Absentee proprietors were structurally vulnerable, their estates managed by trustees at five months' distance from any complaint. [Film No. 285]

A contested devise arrived from India in October 1733. John Johnson, dying at Tellicherry on the Malabar coast, left his St Helena land, slaves and cattle to his nephew Thomas Moynston by a will attested by only two witnesses. Sarah Johnson petitioned that the devise was void, the Statute of Frauds requiring three or four witnesses for a disposal of land where two sufficed for movables. Francis Wrangham and John Bagley,

acting as Moynston's attorneys, answered from wholly different ground: Joshua Johnson had enjoyed the estate rent-free for sixteen or seventeen years and had since surrendered it to them. Both sides competed to pay the quit rent, since continuous payment builds the record of possession a court would later read. [Film No. 235–239]

The Coles estate

The dominant legal business of early 1734 was a single land dispute running from February to May. Thirty acres in Sandy Bay had passed under a deed of gift made in 1721 by Joseph Coles, then departing for Bencoolen, which gave the land to five named siblings with survivorship while handing his stepmother Bridget an unlimited power to distribute or sell it. Three incompatible claims were pressed on that one instrument: John Savage in his wife's right, attorneys for William Coles claiming the whole, and Joseph Bates for his own children. [Film No. 265–266, 269]

The council read the twentieth chapter of 11 Henry VII, restraining a widow from alienating her husband's land away from his heirs, together with the act for settling intestates' estates. The first eliminated the Bates children, who had no blood connection to John Coles. The second determined how the remainder descended once Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles died childless and intestate: land to the heir at law, personal estate among the next of kin. The 30 acres therefore returned to Joseph Coles, the very donor whose deed had set the arrangement in motion. Pyke held that Coles had been tricked, observing that a deed reciting brotherly love had conferred an unlimited power of appointment on a stepmother with children of her own, who exercised it entirely in their favour. [Film No. 268–270]

John Alexander dissented, arguing that a man who gave land away could never inherit it again. Pyke's answer distinguished two rights in the same man: Coles was barred as donor but took a fresh title as heir to his sisters. The dissent was recorded twice rather than suppressed, the only instance in the record of a councillor openly opposing the Governor on law. The sharpest finding concerned professional conduct: John Savage held a letter of attorney from Joseph Coles and Margaret Gunn dated November 1733 and produced it only when questioned, having claimed against them in his own name throughout. Captain Robert Jenkins of the *Harrington*, who had witnessed that very document, sat with the council and signed the opinion against his own passenger and third mate. [Film No. 268, 270, 272]

The widow's right: John Young's will

The most substantial legal decision of 1734 shows the council legislating rather than merely adjudicating. John Young left his widow a third part of the real estate for life. The executors objected that this was contrary to the Company's orders and the custom of the island, by which a widow holds half for life among lands her husband purchased during the marriage. Land inherited or bought before marriage might be disposed of freely; land gathered during it could not. Young's estate was gathered entirely after he married. [Film No. 302–303, 308]

The council's language is unusually sharp. Young had come out as a poor soldier chosen from among the Palatine refugees, German Protestants driven from the Rhineland who reached England around 1709 and were dispersed to the colonies, and had brought not sixpence with him; he was maintained among the inhabitants, married a daughter of the island, and built his estate through their joint industry, she being a careful woman of good character. A foreigner who had gathered his estate among the inhabitants must not prescribe rules to the council. The stated reason for intervening was expressly protective: a defective clause approved once becomes a form others copy, and such a will might in time prejudice the good women of the island by setting a precedent to their loss. [Film No. 303, 308]

The council accordingly approved the residue of the will and disallowed that one division, admitting the widow to half for life. Whether the nationality argument was necessary to the outcome is doubtful; the custom would have applied to an Englishman equally. What the ruling protects is real enough, and this record shows why: a woman's property passed at law into a new husband's control, and Mary Powell had carried the whole Hodgkinson estate into her marriage with Gabriel Powell, taking no inventory and keeping no accounts, the profits falling to him for nearly twenty years. Ann Slaughter's will, proved in the same period, illustrates the ordinary shape of an island estate: a slave woman named Jenny to her son-in-law and executor, feather beds and fir chests to her children, and to her daughter the debt owed by Orlando

Bagley senior, bequeathed as an asset in its own right. She signed with her mark, as many island testators did. [Film No. 304, 308, 309]

Crime and punishment

The quarter court was adjourned for want of business on 28 September 1730 and again on 28 December, continuing a run reaching back through 1729. Five consecutive quarters passed without a case worth trying. The council preferred informal settlement: cattle disputes resolved by regulating passage, fence complaints by an undertaking to repair, an accusation of enticing sailors dismissed for want of proof but followed by an order barring the man from going aboard for the season. Justice was administrative rather than judicial, which is one reason the record is thin on conflict. [Film No. 10, 32, 53]

The dominant legal difficulty of the whole period was that the testimony of black witnesses was inadmissible against a free defendant. Every serious case had to be built from physical recovery and cross-examination instead. When Sophia White was robbed of rings, linen and small ornaments in 1732, the goods were traced through the chests of the soldier George Beard, the Company's slave Caesar and Abigail, a woman belonging to John Isaac. Beard was whipped and dismissed as an overseer for buying a ring he knew stolen; Caesar and Abigail appear at that stage only as the persons on whom goods were found, because a case resting on what one slave said of another could not be brought. [Film No. 119]

The theft from the church was pursued much further. Caesar had taken the surplice and communion table cloth and cut them into shirts, a jacket and breeches, denying everything until the cut cloth was placed before him. The council tested his claim that the material came from a Swedish ship by comparing another slave's purchase and finding it linen of a different make, then matched a tear mended by Mary Vaughan to the fragment in Abigail's chest. Anthony, who had hidden the cloth in a hollow wall, gave an account of watching the burial in the dark that collapsed under the council's observation that a man close enough to see would have been seen himself. [Film No. 120–121]

The sentences were designed as public theatre. Caesar was to be led in a halter by George Beard from the church gate to the White Stone and back with the stolen goods in a wheelbarrow, stripped and whipped the whole way, with Meg, whom he had falsely accused, giving the first six stripes. Anthony received thirty stripes and a month in a leg chain; Abigail ten stripes more on her bare back and an iron shackle until the rest of the surplice was produced, turning the punishment into an instrument of investigation. The council fixed the day deliberately: Saturday, when the guards were relieved and stores drawn, so the assembly would be largest. That sacrilege did not bring a capital sentence deserves comment, since English law treated theft from a church with great severity and Caesar's own companions expected him to hang. Caesar was Company property, and hanging him would have destroyed an asset the books carried. [Film No. 122]

Transportation to Bencoolen was the heaviest sanction short of death and the council's standard means of removing men it could not convict. Having examined the printed digest *Laws in Force in His Majesty's Plantations* and cited Virginia, Jamaica, Barbados and Maryland to show its own treatment had been mild, the council determined to send John Bowers there; he answered that he was ready to go at any time. The citation of five jurisdictions is an argument for escalation dressed as comparative law, and it is notable that the council reached for printed colonial precedent rather than resting on its own authority. [Film No. 137]

John Long

John Long is the standing example of what the evidential bar meant in practice. He had been reprimanded for beating John Martin Vandeston, named among those grazing goats illegally, suspected twice of shooting the Company's goats with his firearms revoked and his dogs ordered killed, bound over for abusing James Ryder, charged with stealing a silver tankard and finally with harbouring runaways, and had never once been convicted, since every witness against him was a slave. In February 1731 the council granted him two acres on the side of Bates Valley and bound him over in the same breath. In 1733 it sidestepped the difficulty by making him answer in damages for the runaway Simon's thefts, which required no criminal proof. [Film No. 42, 152–153]

The protection failed when his own household turned. On 24 April 1733 George Knight, a free man whose oath the court could receive, swore that Long had beaten and whipped him and that his life stood in danger,

and the justices committed him. In June his two sons Joseph and James, examined separately, each stated that their father had shown them James Vaughan's fowls and told them to catch them, and his slave Pompey described being sent to silence a fellow slave who had witnessed it. In September Joseph informed again, deposing that his father was in league with old James, the Company's slave keeping the plantation at the Peak, who let him have yams weekly, and that Long and his slave Anthony fetched them almost nightly; he asked not for a prosecution but to be removed from his parents' household. [Film No. 160, 175–176, 216–217]

The disposal of the three parties in the yam case measures the council's working assumptions exactly. The Governor issued a warrant reciting 43 Elizabeth chapter 7, an English act of 1601 against unlawful taking of crops which allowed summary punishment without a jury. Long, a free man, was whipped publicly with ten lashes, allowed for this first time to receive them clothed as a planter, with notice that any future offence would see him treated as a common negro. James, a Company slave who held a position of trust and betrayed it, was severely whipped and removed elsewhere. Anthony was excused the lash altogether on the ground that a slave must obey his master, but warned that concealing an unlawful order in future would bring the severest punishment, which creates a duty to inform against his own master that no slave could safely discharge. The crowd that watched was reported as concerned only that Long did not receive the stripes on his naked body and in greater numbers. [Film No. 219–220]

Yet when the council at last held evidence sufficient to convict, it declined to use it. On 19 June 1733 it accepted his petition for voluntary exile to Bencoolen, stopped the prosecution and discharged him on bonds of £20 0s 0d each from Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward, both of whom said plainly they were glad at any rate to be rid of him. The council recorded its own scepticism openly, suspecting the petition a mere device to escape punishment, and the Governor repeated the point publicly at the sessions, adding that what aggravated Long's conduct was his having led his own sons into theft. Transportation removed him as surely as any sentence. He nevertheless remained on the island that August, his house identified as the place where a French captain was drawn into a quarrel with the garrison. [Film No. 178, 180, 202]

The general sessions of 2 July 1733

The sessions met in the church at James Valley because the sessions house had fallen down and was useless, a detail sitting alongside the report that the country chapel had stood roofless for two or three years. A jury of twelve was sworn, headed by Isaac Wood, and the Governor opened with a charge congratulating them on how rarely serious matters had arisen, holding frequent courts a poor sign rather than a good one. [Film No. 179–180]

The principal trial was that of Mingo, a slave belonging to Samuel Jephry, indicted on two counts of raping children under seven and eight years of age, Margaret Jephry and Sarah Pledger. He had first been charged in February 1733 on his master's oath with attempting to rape Margaret. The evidence was substantial and unusually well corroborated: the slave woman Meg deposed to finding him with one of the children and to his attempt to silence her; both children gave detailed accounts; and two free women, Mary French and Bridget Thwaites, swore that they had examined the children independently a fortnight earlier and that their accounts matched in every particular. That corroboration was a deliberate check against coaching. [Film No. 130, 180–181]

The trial then broke on a point of form. Brought into court, both girls confirmed their statements, but on questioning proved not to know what an oath was, nor who made the world, nor any catechism. The judge held that no oath could be administered to them, and without sworn evidence a man's life could not lawfully be taken. The jury spared Mingo's life but determined that he be punished in the most exemplary manner to deter other slaves, and castration was proposed, the cost of the operation falling on his master and the country to indemnify the master at a moderate value should he die under it. The proceeding treats the slave simultaneously as an offender punishable at law and as property to be compensated for. Meg's sworn evidence was received without difficulty because Mingo was himself a slave, which shows the exclusion functioning to protect a free defendant's standing rather than as any judgement on the reliability of slave witnesses. [Film No. 182]

The jury closed the sessions with a presentment on its own initiative, naming two public nuisances. The first was the unlicensed lodging houses in James Valley, which filled with drunken visitors during the shipping season, received stolen goods from slaves, supplied drink and harboured other people's slaves. The jury's objection was economic as much as moral: people were abandoning agricultural work in the country to live off the anchorage at exactly the moment the plantations were failing to feed the establishment. The second was the continuing destruction of the island's woodland. [Film No. 189–190]

The council acted within a fortnight. On 17 July the wife of James Peet, soldier, was identified as one of the disorderly persons and ordered out of the valley, with three months allowed to find a settled place in the country: she was neither fined nor imprisoned but relocated, the offence being treated as residence itself. The following week Sutton Marsh was accused of saying that four jurors had tried to seduce his daughter Rebecca, one of them offering her ten shillings. He admitted saying it but denied meaning harm. The council committed him to prison for further prosecution, treating the slander as an attack on the administration of justice rather than a private wrong, since an unanswered charge of that kind would have supplied every household facing removal with an argument that the campaign was hypocrisy. He was released on 31 July, not on his apology but on the removal of his daughter to the west side of the island. [Film No. 195–196]

Slavery and coerced labour

The muster of 30 September 1730 lists the establishment at 210 people: 101 men, 35 women, 33 boys and 41 girls, each adult entered with name, age, station and a rating running from very good through good and indifferent to very indifferent and good for nothing. Daniel the tailor, aged thirty, is entered as good for nothing and lame, which on the books meant carrying no value at all. The valuation was the muster's purpose, falling at the close of the accounting year alongside the annual settling of the slave children's worth in proportion to age. Human beings were assets restated yearly as they aged and declined, and slaves appear in private inventories on the same footing: six in the Greentree estate at £86 0s 0d and three in John Knipe's at £46 0s 0d, appraised individually from £25 0s 0d down to £6 0s 0d. [Film No. 17–18, 209, 222]

The ratings cluster by station in a way that shows how labour was allocated. Every man in the fishing boats is rated all good, as are the stonelayers on the fortifications, while the herdsman watching sheep, horses, cattle and hogs are without exception rated very indifferent: stock-tending required little strength and absorbed the men whose value had fallen. At the other end, boys of eleven, twelve and thirteen appear among the handicrafts as carpenter, cooper and butcher, trades begun young because the island could not buy skilled hands. Two superannuated men were set to watch the skirts of the Wood. [Film No. 17]

The establishment declined steadily and never reproduced itself. It stood at 219 in March 1728, 210 in September 1730, 128 in 1732 of whom thirteen were superannuated and only 55 men fit for heavy work, and 180 in February 1733 by John Durling's return of 80 men, 27 women, 33 boys and 40 girls, many of the men sickly, worn out and past their labour. Births were reported to council and entered in the books for accounting reasons rather than registry: Moll delivered of a girl named Susannah in September 1730, Mercy of a boy named Blackheath in December, Monkey of a boy named Augustus in January 1731; five births in a single week of August 1733, each child recorded by its mother, since a slave child carried a book value from birth. Deaths ran alongside, and the Company continued to buy and exchange people rather than rely on births. [Film No. 10, 18, 31, 40, 45, 90, 139, 203]

The Bencoolen draft of February 1733 was the sharpest single blow. The Company ordered twenty men and ten women shipped; Durling replied that it was impossible, that fences, plantations, stock, country business and fortifications all required hands and more were wanted rather than fewer. The council complied only partly, sending eight men, two women, three boys and seven girls, and entered its reasoning on the record so that no blame could attach to it in London, anticipating having to hire labour to make up the loss. This is the clearest instance of the council quietly resisting an instruction it thought damaging. One exchange is unexpectedly revealing: the parents of a boy named Gabriel said the Governor was no good man, having sent their son to England to learn a trade and never returned him, and now sending another child to Bencoolen. Durling set them apart for greater severity; Pyke forbade it outright, judging the words the effect of sudden sorrow, and directed instead that they be given arrack and tea and allowed aboard to see their children as often as they wished. The children still sailed. [Film No. 138–139, 142]

The cost showed within a year. Durling's memorial of 4 June 1734 compared the slaves employed at the plantations in 1732 and 1733: the total had fallen from 59 to 23, with the Grand Plantation cut from 25 hands to eight and the limekiln plantation from five to 1. His second table is more revealing still. The whole establishment stood at 73 against 101 two years earlier, but 11 were superannuated, worn out, disabled or sickly, leaving only 42 men actually fit for labour. One class had grown: handicraftsmen rose from seven to 14 while every other fell, a deliberate reallocation toward the trades that served the fort and the stores at the direct expense of the ground that fed the establishment. He warned plainly that if fresh batteries were built and more slaves taken, the plantations must unavoidably go to ruin. [Film No. 313–314]

Conditions, control and hired labour

The slaves' accounts consist almost entirely of fishing gear and provisions: hooks by the dozen, lines, twine, china silk, lead for weights and rice. The fishery dates from 1 March 1727, when Byfield abolished the slaves' meat ration and replaced it with fish, keeping ten or eleven men constantly in the boats. By 1730 the catch reached the fort's own table, 179 lb in September and 166 lb in October, and two inhabitants petitioned for ground to build fish houses in the fort valley. An economy imposed on the slaves had become a general resource of the island. Corryden, the Company's chief fisherman, fell 150 feet from the Rupert's path carrying fish in July 1734 and could not be recovered from the water. [Film No. 8, 10, 16, 23, 28, 49, 139, 340]

Clothing was issued annually as cloth rather than garments, 400 yards of kersey and 100 blankets going to the tailor on 30 September 1730. The system failed that winter. In January 1731 the storekeeper recorded 115 shirts made for the plantation women and girls, with the plain admission that there was not cloth enough to be got for them all, so the tailor and older girls made up what could be had and the rest went without. When 339 white shirts appear in the February account, immediately after a ship had called, the sequence is unmistakable: the shortage was one of supply, relieved only when a vessel happened to arrive. Unusual blanket issues appear in June and July 1733, well ahead of the annual September provision, corroborating the runaway Cornelius's complaint that he had no clothing to cover him. [Film No. 16, 40, 43, 193, 199]

Control rested on restriction. In October 1730 the council ordered every householder to lock up his slaves each evening and let none out before morning without a written note, so that anyone found abroad could be identified and traced to his owner. The mechanism was chosen because the testimony of blacks was inadmissible, which had made conviction impossible in every goat-shooting case brought in 1729. A written pass reversed the difficulty: instead of proving what a slave had done, the watch need only ask what paper he carried, and an absent pass made the owner answerable. The burden of policing shifted from the Company onto the private householder. [Film No. 19]

The apprenticing of Company children to inhabitants, begun by Byfield in 1727 to save their keep, depended on the council retaining ownership and being willing to act. Eight girls appear as placed out in 1730, each under a registered bond; only girls were placed out, boys being kept to be raised into the trades. On 30 September 1730 the children were examined about their treatment and reported that they had been well used, as at every previous examination, which is the only enforcement the record shows and whose value is doubtful: children questioned before the men who governed the island and knew their masters had every reason to say what was expected. In August 1732 George Knight and his wife Sarah, herself formerly a Company slave, were found to have beaten the girl Blackman so severely that the Governor took her back into Company work, while another girl, Mary, complained of ill usage by Gunner Search and the council, not finding the case established, ordered him to take better care of her or lose her. [Film No. 11, 18, 78, 95]

Hired slave labour supplied what the establishment could not, and the rate tells its own story. The planters offered about twenty-five men at ninepence a day in 1732, expressly half the former rate, on condition they were used only outside the planting season, and twenty were at work on the drainage trench within a week. The falling rate is evidence of straitened conditions, since the Company had stopped hiring Orlando Bagley's slaves at eighteenpence two years earlier. By June 1734 the rate had become an obstacle. The council computed that sixteen more hands were needed, then deliberately advertised for six only, reasoning that if the true figure were known some holders would stand off and enhance the price, and offered

preference to slaves belonging to those indebted to the Company. Not one was tendered. The inhabitants answered that ninepence would not feed and clothe a slave, and that a single illness consumed the profit of all the rest. Their calculation was sound and the council did not dispute it. [Film No. 95, 97, 319–320]

The Governor afterwards identified the flaw in his own council's notice: a man indebted to the Company held one or two slaves at most, so the preference had targeted precisely those least able to spare labour while excluding the substantial planters who could. Worse, the rains had broken and every holder now had three times the usual work getting exhausted ground back into cultivation. Asked to set an example, Captain Alexander offered one man, Captain Goodwin two, and Duke Crisp said he held no slaves at all. The council never raised the rate, and its reason was presentational rather than economic: having once fixed ninepence, paying more would look like allowing the inhabitants to impose upon the Company. Pyke recalled that when Rupert's line was first built the Company had paid white men five shillings a day, the chief among them ten, and two shillings for every black hired, before growing weary of the charge and leaving the work unfinished. [Film No. 320–322, 332]

Flight was constant and the examinations of runaways are the most valuable material in the whole record, precisely because they preserve voices that had no standing in any court on the island. Simon, a Malay belonging to the soldier John Clew, was at large nearly two months in April 1733, hiding among the rocks and mountains by day, lying nightly at an outhouse of the planter John Long, and living by theft from a dozen named plantations. Between August 1733 and January 1734 a run of examinations was taken, each questioned separately, and the accounts are consistent in a way that argues for their reliability: almost every one names a specific grievance about food, clothing or beating rather than complaining in general terms. [Film No. 152, 204, 233]

Survival while absent depended entirely on other slaves. Walker begged yams from his countryman Bourton at Mr Greentree's, worked a day among Mr Steward's slaves and obtained fire from another household, while Sauney sought Walker out specifically for food. Moll's examination of 17 November 1733 described a whole network, naming Pompey, Harry, Sue, Sanders and Guttee, and an arrangement in which a runaway worked for another man's slave in exchange for silence. Their movements traced a fixed circuit through the cabbage tree woods of Sandy Bay, Rose's Gully, Roberts's Valley, Beale's Hill, Suffdale's gut and the Scots pasture. Bartholomew Guian, a deserter from the French ship *Venus*, survived thirty-one days on the same terms. Cornelius, examined in August 1733 after five weeks at large, had lived by taking yams from his own mistress's ground. [Film No. 203, 205, 234, 239]

The council's sentencing scale moved with two variables: what the runaway did while absent, and how far the owner was to blame. Walker and Sauney, who stole and ate a Company calf, drew an iron collar for a twelvemonth according to what the council called the ancient custom of the place, six months' hard labour split between the Company and the highways, and sixty lashes apiece. Caesar, who stayed out three days and stole nothing, was whipped with thirty lashes and returned. Sauney was rated the greater offender expressly because his master had been kind where Walker's was cruel, which makes ill usage an accepted mitigation rather than merely a reported grievance. [Film No. 235, 242]

That reasoning hardened into a stated rule. When Martha of the widow Greentree was taken in November 1733, describing daily beatings with a stick, a firebrand or a pair of tongs and an arm so damaged she could no longer use her right hand, the council set her to work on the highways at her own offer, spared her the whip and the collar entirely, and charged her mistress the half-crown recovery fee. On 18 December, after she ran a second time following a beating administered for obeying one mistress against the countermanding order of another, the council stated the principle plainly: slaves driven away by their owners' cruelty ought not to be punished if guilty of no other fault. Sarah of the same household, examined on 8 January 1734 after being shackled on both legs, stripped and beaten for what she believed was two hours, had her chains struck off and was withheld from her mistress until the widow Greentree should promise to treat her slaves more kindly. Jack of the soldier John Bradley went further still: the runaway was not punished at all and Bradley was threatened with dismissal from the service, his plantation being left untilled so that the whole household went hungry. [Film No. 239–240, 249, 252]

This is the council working around an evidential bar it could not remove. Martha reported that her mistress, while beating her, told her to go and complain at court if she liked, a taunt which assumed exactly that immunity. She took the invitation literally and it worked, because the council did not need to convict anyone of anything to reach the same result. Declining to punish the slave, charging the owner the fee and withholding the labour achieved a sanction against an owner it could not prosecute. The most striking case is Orange, belonging to Thomas Clough, who complained repeatedly of cruelty and insufficient food and clothing. The council could not convict Clough, so it reached him through his livelihood: it advised him to sell the man, and when he and his wife refused in a very impudent manner, warned that his licence to sell strong liquor would not be renewed and that he would be permitted to buy no more slaves. They agreed at once and sold him the same day. [Film No. 239–240, 249, 252, 294]

The limits of that sympathy should not be overstated. Walker was told that the law of the island required the loss of a finger joint for each flight, on top of the collar and the whipping, a penalty held in reserve rather than abolished, and the Governor mentioned in passing that Betty, a slave of Mr Greentree, had lately been hanged for killing the Company's stock. Where a slave offered no defence the council escalated: Mitt, a boy of Thomas Greentree, claimed severity and was contradicted by Captain Goodwin, receiving twenty lashes and a month in the iron collar; Cornelius was whipped publicly until he would promise obedience, holding out a long time before doing so; Harry, a boy of Francis Wrangham, ran twice and expressly denied want of clothes, food, beating or overwork, then refused to give any reason, and drew a second whipping, six further months in the collar and a shackle. Meg, alleging that sailors from the *Wyndham* and *Compton* had held her down and made her drunk with arrack, drew twenty-five lashes and the runaway collar for three months. [Film No. 209, 222, 240, 261, 273, 289, 290]

The council's systematic answer came on 30 October 1733 in rules published by beat of drum. Owners were to report any flight within three days or make good every loss the runaway caused; any runaway taken was to be brought to the Governor, the owner paying twenty shillings and the cost of recovery; and a reward of twenty shillings went to any free person or black who apprehended one. Corporal Joseph Player was appointed to search on notice, though the office settled in practice on Joseph Hayes. The design is revealing. It attaches every duty and penalty to the owner, who was answerable at law and against whom no evidential question arose, while buying the labour of slaves with a standing reward. It leaves the harbourer alone entirely, though John Long's premises had sheltered runaways for years. [Film No. 237–238, 249]

Two further cases show the reach and limits of ownership. When a Company slave named Philip was found aboard a ship in the road in 1732, sold to Mr Powell by the commander of the *James and Mary*, the council simply reclaimed him and pursued nobody, a prosecution having required evidence from a departing ship and from a slave whose testimony the courts would not receive. The case of Greenwich in 1733 was more remarkable: a slave sold to Powell three years earlier came before the council to say he was the Company's property, bought at Batavia, held at Bencoolen, seized and sold by Malays to the Spaniards, bought back by a Captain Jarvis who called him a Madagascar, and sold on at St Helena. Two Company slaves, Reilly and Mallow, confirmed the account. The false attribution of origin mattered commercially, Madagascar being the recognised source for slaves in the Atlantic trade. The council found Powell had bought honestly but that the Company's original title survived the whole chain, then referred the question to London rather than acting, preferring to leave a man it believed wrongly held where he was rather than expose every slave on the island to a claim founded on some earlier transaction. Greenwich's explanation for three years' silence, that he was afraid, states the position exactly. [Film No. 95, 194]

One episode shows what the exclusion of slave testimony meant when the evidence was overwhelming. In March 1735 the slave girl Sarah described being made to drink pot water, forced to lap spilled water off the milk house floor with her tongue, tied to a chair stool for a week, made to drink her own urine, stripped naked and kept in the kitchen where the men slaves came. The case rested entirely on what the widow Greentree and her daughter admitted when it was put to them, and they conceded everything but the tying. The girl was produced before the council in the state described, which supplied evidence requiring no oath. Pyke's warrant reached Sarah Greentree by charging a course of conduct rather than any single act, and directed the marshal to bring her as he found her, with shoes or without, since she had repeatedly evaded summonses claiming she had nothing fit to wear. [Film No. 399]

The elder woman argued that as no bones were broken she might handle her own slaves as she saw fit. The Governor answered that every slave had as much right to fair treatment as any owner had to that slave's labour, and named four practices as beyond any owner's power: forced drinking of urine, lapping water from the floor, continuous chaining and the withholding of clothing. Stating the limits as a list gave the council something applicable to the next case without a conviction in this one. The outcome shows the limits precisely: Sarah Greentree was committed to the marshal without trial or sentence and released a week later on her own undertaking never again to punish her mother's slaves, with two brothers standing surety so far as lay within their power. Nothing in the arrangement protected the slaves from the elder Mrs Greentree, who was merely charged to show more humanity. [Film No. 399, 402–403]

The council also confronted the consequences of sexual coercion, though not on the women's behalf. The churchwardens' complaint of 14 January 1728, reproduced in full in February 1733, charged Richard Swallow and John Bowers with having begotten several children upon their slave women despite frequent admonition. The stated concerns were the prejudice to lawful issue and the danger that a growing population of mixed descent might in time free itself by force. Neither concern was for the women, and the record says nothing of what became of them. [Film No. 136]

By the summer of 1734 terms of labour on the fortifications had replaced the lash and the gaol as the standard penalty. Dawson and Barclay, runaways who broke out of prison the same night they were committed, received corporal punishment at their masters' discretion and three months at the works. Hagar received six months and twenty lashes for theft. Simon, a runaway with no cause, received two months and nothing more. The gradation is deliberate and the reason not concealed: the advertisement for six hired slaves had drawn no offers, the council would not raise the rate, and every person sentenced to the works supplied labour at no charge beyond food. The breakout of two prisoners in a single night had already shown that confinement was barely practicable. [Film No. 319, 339, 341, 353]

Hagar's case raises a harder question the council declined to answer. Taken with more than twenty garments stolen from Jonathan Doveton, she said her mistress Susanna Husband had sent her out to look for clothes anywhere she could find them. The scale of the haul supports an organised taking. Husband is named in the record and never summoned. The council had reached difficult owners before by other routes, compelling Clough to sell a slave by threatening his liquor licence, so a route existed and went untravelled. Punishing the woman alone closed the file and left the household that profited untouched. Deserting seamen were sentenced to the same gangs, and Anthony, a Greek deserter set to labour at Rupert's, refused to work, struck the overseer with an iron shovel and was held lunatic and imprisoned, a finding that required no verdict where no charge would reach him. [Film No. 341, 380, 391]

Seamen and desertion

A striking number of seamen left their ships at St Helena, and the examinations record why. Six men from the *Frances* in 1733 gave evidence of systematic violence: John Logan said he valued his freedom above three months' unpaid wages; Cain Young that no worse could befall him ashore than he had borne aboard; and Benjamin Jones, the boatswain, described the captain threatening his life, beating the crew at will, and five men struck for staying too long ashore. Jones traced four boatswains through the office in a single voyage, one dead at Calicut, one confined to his cabin and stripped of his rating, one a deserter from the *Walpole*. [Film No. 157–158]

Company wages fell due only on a ship's safe return to England, so leaving at an intermediate port meant forfeiting everything earned, and each man named the sum he was giving up: Jones eighteen months' pay, Samuel Searle £8 0s 0d or £9 0s 0d, Simon Gaston fifteen months, William Connelly sixteen months, James Warren £17 0s 0d. Warren was about seventy years old with no prospect of a fresh berth. Not every case involved violence. Henry Morris said plainly he had no complaint of the *Lyon* but would not return to a wife whose debts and infidelities he detailed at length, an English husband being liable at law for both. Richard Avery was simply too drunk to reach his ship. John Dumbill left because his friend Gaston had. [Film No. 158–159, 176–177, 194, 288–289]

The penalty ashore was uniform: three months' hard labour without wages, and the council's questioning concentrated on who had concealed the men rather than on the flight. That arrangement suited the council as much as the men, since runaway seamen arrived as unpaid hands at a moment when the fortifications, the wood fences and the plantations all wanted work. The traffic ran both ways: John Scott of the *Monmouth* defended his desertion on the ground that an island slave, George Lendon the drummer, had gone aboard in his place, which the council learned only from his own examination. Earlier, on 27 March 1731, twenty-seven soldiers bound for Bencoolen petitioned for warm clothing, and four days later seven hid among the rocks as the *Craven* sailed. Examined separately, each gave the same reason: they feared dying of starvation at Bencoolen, having heard from the crew of the *James and Mary* that the diet there was very bad and many died in the fort. Three confessed a plot among fifteen or twenty to run the ship aground at the Cape. The council entertained them as soldiers of the island, obtaining free labour and a permanent addition to a garrison it could not otherwise recruit. [Film No. 50–53, 158, 194, 296, 301]

The parish, religion and social order

The parish, not the Company, carried the destitute, and the churchwardens appear repeatedly asking the council to fix an obligation they were already meeting informally. Orphans were handled by trading assets for undertakings. In November 1730 John Wrangham, churchwarden, agreed with Henry Beale to keep one of Stephen's orphan children for five years in return for the leasehold the father had held at his death, seven acres of mostly poor ground. In March 1731 James Whaley laid before the council the estate of Stephen Lufkin, worth £28 14s 0d after debts and left in ruinous condition, and undertook to maintain and clothe all three Lufkin children to twenty-one in exchange for the whole property. Stephen Pledger's brother Benjamin was offered the effects on condition of raising the children or the alternative of surrendering everything to the churchwardens, and chose the latter, which was sound arithmetic. [Film No. 26, 46, 96–97, 102]

Both the earlier arrangements converted a maintenance obligation into a property transaction, and the council approved them as beneficial to the children. Whether they were is harder to say. Vesting the property absolutely in Whaley removed the Lufkin children from the register of estates that guardians and trustees had to account for annually before the council, which was the only oversight the system provided. The council traded supervision for certainty, and the children's interests thereafter depended entirely on the good faith of the man who now owned what had been theirs. [Film No. 46]

The chaplain George White is the record's most uncomfortable figure precisely because the council protected him. He gave the evidence that destroyed Bates's claim, then within three weeks was caught in what the council called a notorious piece of prevarication over his own servant's passage. Anne Lane had bound herself for five years at Wapping in November 1730 against her passage, wages, victuals and clothing, and carried a certificate of sober and honest service from the minister of Stepney; she left the chaplain's house because, as she deposed, his scandalous and disorderly way of living made it impossible to stay. White denied ever offering to pay her passage, then abandoned the denial when a copy of his own letter was produced. The council, with three ship's commanders present, held unanimously that he must pay her passage and allow £3 0s 0d for clothing. Fourteen months later he and his wife were found lying dead drunk almost daily, shunned by the settlement. He had lived on the island sixteen or seventeen years and had dined with his wife once. [Film No. 62, 68–69, 85, 101]

He died in September 1732 owing John Durling £57 9s 5.5d for provisions supplied from his first arrival, against an estate appraised at £83 6s 0d. Durling sought administration as principal creditor, but a will was produced and proved on the oaths of Crisp, Wood and Brown, the witnesses swearing the chaplain was perfectly in his senses, answered every sentence as it was read and twice attempted his own name but was too weak to write it. His widow Sophia was left in very bad circumstances and granted 5s a week from the Company with a further 5s from the inhabitants. Pyke proposed she quit the fort for a household in the country, out of reach of strong liquor. A ship's commander refused to carry her, every inhabitant but one refused to take her, and she refused absolutely to go. She was robbed of most of her linen that December, and when the *Cumberland* and *Derby* offered a passage home in January she asked for a day or two to consider, then said she would wait for the next shipping. Each refusal extended a payment the parish had to find. [Film No. 101–102, 119, 126, 128]

The church fared badly throughout. The country chapel stood roofless for two or three years, the sessions house fell down and was useless by July 1733, and the chapel roof collapsed entirely on the night of 2 December 1734, the building having been put up cheaply four or five years earlier and left unrepaired; the council resolved to salvage the timber for the works at Rupert's. The chaplain John Coney asked leave to go home in May 1735, his health having suffered and the chaplaincy not having answered his expectations, leaving the island without a clergyman again. Against that background the council enforced the minister's dues firmly, fining the parish clerk five shillings for refusing to attend a christening and ordering two families to pay for a wasted journey into the country. [Film No. 179, 387, 390, 412]

One episode stands apart. Mark Bullock, a Jewish inhabitant who swore his evidence on the books of Moses, brought two complaints against James Bates for abuse and for selling liquor without licence, and the council acted on his oath both times; he also successfully accused Andrew Bergue the cooper of telling a French sailor that the whole island except the main fort was a weak place, for which Bergue was sentenced to ride the wooden horse. The oath being administered in the form binding on the witness's conscience stands in sharp contrast to the position of blacks, whose testimony was inadmissible in any form. Writing to the Governor as Mordecai Silas, he asked to be christened, setting out that he understood the sacraments, the commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English. The council's test was entirely practical, that he was not a drunkard or a very bad person. Baptism carried parish settlement and standing that an accepted oath alone did not. [Film No. 343, 366, 369]

Moral policing served the parish purse as much as its reputation. In May 1733 the churchwardens reported Margaret Swattowe, pregnant a second time by a Portuguese boatswain's mate, Joseph Pelosler, who was sentenced to twenty-five lashes at the whipping tree unless he chose instead to marry her: the whipping functioned as a penalty for leaving a woman and child unsupported rather than for the act itself. They complained on 29 May of Martha Bagg, who had eloped from her husband in Bengal and arrived aboard the *Nassau* intending to settle, expressing anxiety that the island should not become notoriously scandalous for harbouring such women. Pyke's ruling drew the line on settlement rather than morals: she was a person of the country with no established right of residence, and if she chose to stay she must bear the cost of her own passage. [Film No. 167–168, 170–171]

The same calculation appears in 1734 and 1735. The council refused a marriage licence to the soldier Draper, who had got one of Sarah Bradley's daughters with child, holding that the island had an abundance of honest industrious poor already and desired no more of that breed; the refusal prevented a settlement, not a birth. John Alexander complained that the soldier Henry Coles was courting his daughter clandestinely by letter and asked that Coles be sent to Bencoolen; Coles had committed no offence known to the law, and the council agreed on the ground that a man with no trade and only a soldier's pay would add a family to a parish already relieving his father and sister, converting a private grievance into a public expense. It also recorded frankly that two of the four men it was sending were useless anywhere. [Film No. 296, 357, 365, 368]

The bastardy examination of Eleanor Marsh in March 1735 illustrates the calculation from another side. She swore that the soldier Thomas Leech had fathered her child, and the evidence recorded that Captain Hunt and the gentlemen of the *Marlborough* had offered to buy her a house, four acres, a slave and furniture worth more than £50 0s 0d as the price of a marriage. She refused unless allowed a house in the fort valley where she might take in ships' people, which was the readiest cash trade available to a woman without land. The council whipped her with twenty lashes, warned her father about harbouring, and made no order at all against Leech, reading her refusal as the cause of the whole business. John Thwaites, a soldier fishing off the rocks, was washed into the sea and drowned in September 1734, leaving a wife and seven young children in a community the council described as hardly able to maintain itself; the only provision made was to grant his widow administration of his estate. [Film No. 357, 398]

Reputation was the one asset an unmarried woman possessed, and the council treated attacks on it seriously. The soldier Avery forged a letter in the name of Margaret Bagley's daughter, pretending she sought him in marriage, showed it about and burnt it when he feared enquiry; Nathan Sample admitted writing part of it. Both spent roughly five weeks in prison and were released only after asking pardon and making satisfaction, since the injury was to reputation and only a public retraction could repair it. Marriage disputes were settled

by arrangement rather than judgement: when John Long beat his daughter Mercy and turned her out over a courtship, the council did not punish him but extracted an oath that the suitor was unmarried, obtained the father's consent and forbade visits except in a parent's company. Mercy's own letter shows what was at stake: a woman with no independent means feared an unfulfilled promise because it left her nowhere to go. [Film No. 260, 273, 280, 288]

Apprenticeship and education

John Burnham complained on oath in 1733 that his master John Defountaine had failed the terms of his indenture: he had not been taught the trade of a shipwright, nor to read and write, nor supplied with clothing, having been taken from school and never sent back. Defountaine admitted the illiteracy and answered that Burnham had been employed on the plantation and with the cattle, except for a year on guard at Prosperous Bay for which the master drew the full pay. The council ordered him to pay Burnham £4 0s 0d. The substitution of one kind of labour for another cost the apprentice the trade he had contracted for while giving the master free agricultural labour for years. [Film No. 164]

The council then published an advertisement against a wider abuse: masters taking orphan apprentices on the claim of teaching them a trade, then having them entered as soldiers in the Company's service and drawing their pay for the whole term. The penalty fell on the master's own pay, since the Company bore part of the loss by paying a soldier's wage for a body it could otherwise have recruited freely. Orphans were the most exposed group, having no father to enforce the indenture, which is why Burnham's grievance surfaced only after years of misdirected labour. [Film No. 165]

Literacy carried a specific value on this island, where deed registration, lease covenants and probate all turned on written instruments, and Burnham's own case makes the point: he was complaining about the terms of an indenture he could not read. Pyke's proposal for a second school, made after the sessions of July 1733, followed directly from the failure at Mingo's trial, where two child witnesses could not be sworn because they knew nothing of religion. A schoolmaster already appears among the eaters at the general table, so some provision existed; the Governor's point was that it reached too few children to produce witnesses a court could rely on. Ten testaments appear in the storekeeper's June account, the first religious books in the run, which suggests preparation. [Film No. 164, 190, 193]

The fort's table and daily life

The general table fed the Governor, council, chaplain, lieutenant and household daily, with planters and their wives on Sundays, the surgeon, writers, clerks, schoolmaster and overseers on Sundays and public days, and supercargoes, captains, surgeons and passengers of note in shipping time. The list of 30 September 1730 counts entitlements rather than heads. Against fifty-three eaters in March 1727 the table had grown considerably despite Byfield's economies, the growth falling almost entirely on the occasional categories rather than the daily household. Its charges track the anchorage exactly, from £76 7s 2d in June 1730 to £40 3s 0d in October, and rising to £56 9s 4.5d in April 1733 with four ships to entertain. [Film No. 19, 24, 162]

Arrack was consistently the heaviest single line in the table accounts, with sherry always well ahead of port under Byfield and claret appearing only once. A separate allowance of arrack and sugar went to the slaves in wet and cold weather, and its scale traces the seasons: one gallon in August 1730, two in September, seventeen in October, three in November, ten and a half in January, seventeen and a half in February with wet weather named as the reason. The King's birthday allowance to the guards in October 1730 stood at eleven gallons against twenty-one the previous year and was narrowed to the guards alone, which fits a governor whose reputation rested on economy. Bread is the clearest marker of shipping in these accounts, running to 38 hundredweight 3 quarters at £48 5s 9d in October 1733 as the island baked for a departing vessel, and soap at 100 lb was the largest general charge, the water having been found too harsh to lather. [Film No. 7, 16, 24, 30, 39, 45, 244]

Personalities

Edward Byfield emerges as an administrator of consistent economy whose final accounts nonetheless show costs rising. He had replaced the slaves' meat ration with fish in 1727 and halved the guards' birthday allowance, yet the year to September 1730 carried medicines at £76 14s 2d against £35 the year before,

wharf works at Lemon Valley, and a block of timber and stationery charges dating from November 1729 that had been forgotten and brought to account only at the audit. An omission of nine months, caught only because the annual examination found it, suggests the bookkeeping was less tight than the council's approvals imply. [Film No. 8, 15, 20, 24, 50]

Isaac Pyke governed for the rest of the period and his method never varied: inspection before decision, separate written opinions from each councillor, settlement in preference to judgement, and record in preference to assertion. He weighed water in a bottle against a Bristol standard, walked the Sandy Bay road himself, required his councillors to taste every spring, measured the magazine before condemning it, adjourned the yam crisis until every member had seen the ground, offered a jury in the Coles dispute rather than imposing his opinion, recorded Alexander's dissent twice, and entered his own land purchase in full. He restrained his overseer from punishing grieving parents, judging their words the effect of sorrow. He was also willing to spend where his predecessor had retrenched, and presided over the heaviest annual charge in the record; the same caution that made him careful made him slow. Whether his preference for negotiated outcomes served the parties or chiefly the council's convenience is a question the record leaves open, and the Marsh claimants' request for a jury is the sharpest evidence against him. [Film No. 59, 83–84, 89, 92, 108, 142, 155, 224, 268, 270, 281]

Joseph Bates dominates the record as a study in how a substantial inhabitant could operate at the edge of the law. He had been a creditor pursuing debts through the council in earlier years and had had a £50 bond reduced to fifty shillings at the intervention of the Earl of Caernarvon. Here he is found concealing a dead stranger's gold, procuring signatures to a declaration his own witnesses contradicted on oath, recorded in his own pocket book destroying a will, and heading the list of Sandy Bay road encroachers thirteen days after the forgery finding. His method was delay, partial disclosure and a willingness to swear to whatever document was in front of him. In November 1734 he denied subscribing twenty days' work towards the Sandy Bay path and accused the overseer of forging his hand, then recognised his own writing when the original was produced, and was fined forty days' extraordinary labour. In March 1735 a charge he brought collapsed when his own two witnesses declined to state anything positively. He nonetheless remained a landholder throughout. [Film No. 54, 58, 60, 63, 67, 206, 223, 230–231, 373, 404]

John Goodwin appears throughout as the council's surveyor and valuer, measuring nearly every parcel granted and setting the price on every sale. In February 1731 he petitioned in his own right, having rented two Company houses for five years at £8 a year and spent considerably on repairs, and asked for a fourteen-year lease with no further rent; the council, of which he was a member, agreed that his £50 in rent was worth as much as many would give for the land. Set beside the £57 15s 0d Richard Beale paid for eleven poor acres three months earlier, the terms deserve noting. Isaac Durling, overseer, produced in his reports of April 1733 and June 1734 the two most consequential documents in the record, and did so on his own initiative, writing that he held it his duty to lay the matter before the council. [Film No. 41, 154, 313–314]

The Greentree and Powell families appear in almost every category of trouble. The widow Elizabeth Greentree's household produced three separate flights in five months and further proceedings two years later, against an estate standing among the largest on the island at over £1,000 clear. Mary Powell admitted the Hunter debt while pleading she had no coin; her son James was imprisoned within the week for pulling down the Company's walls at night to drive stock through; the family grazed 21 head on neighbours' pasture; their dogs killed one of John Bagley's milch cows in November 1734, and when Mary Powell ignored the order to hang them the council sent the marshal to shoot them. At the other end of the scale stands Charles Sterling, surgeon's mate of the *Enfield*, who died in March 1733 leaving a snuff box, a cane, some worn clothing and about £20 0s 0d in unpaid wages, naming as executor James Stirling, professor of mathematics at Watts's Academy in London, and leaving everything to his parents in Glasgow. That so small an estate received the same care as a large one reflects a real principle: a man dying five months from his family had to have his effects secured. [Film No. 153, 204, 209, 240, 249, 252, 260–262, 285, 405]

Conclusion

Five years of these consultations show a settlement whose every calculation turned on the arrival of ships. Beef, rents, retail sales, the fort's table, the powder accounts and the inhabitants' ability to pay their debts all rose and fell with the anchorage, and three separate silences of five or six months each demonstrate it

beyond argument. The council understood this perfectly, which is why a rumour about the water was treated as a threat to the island's existence rather than a matter of taste, why an anchor was laid in the road at the council's own charge so captains had no excuse for disobeying an order meant to protect them, and why a French captain who drew a sword on the garrison was dined rather than prosecuted. [Film No. 90, 93–94, 127, 202, 384]

Against that dependence stood physical limits nothing could remedy. The soil was washing off the slopes at Perkins and could not be replaced; three seasons of failed rain took the cattle herd from 525 head to 320 and stopped it breeding entirely for months together; rats barked and killed the trees in the Great Wood; the sea carried away one crane in twenty-seven ton rocks and broke another lifting an anchor; and no tree on the island could furnish a beam long enough to repair it. The Company's slave establishment fell from 210 people to 42 fit labourers, and the fortification scheme its own engineer designed required 170 men to build. [Film No. 154, 250, 314, 389, 418]

The remedies available to the council were correspondingly limited. It had no coin, no power to remove a chaplain or an engineer appointed in London, and no means of convicting a free man on a slave's word. What it had was leverage of an indirect kind, applied with real ingenuity. A discretionary gratuity reached a chaplain it could not dismiss. A lease renewal reached a tenant no fine had ever touched. A right of way written into a covenant reached an encroachment no proof of an old road could recover. A recovery fee charged to a cruel owner, a liquor licence withheld, a limitation notice published, a protest entered against a ship's owners, four independent papers consolidated into a dismissal, a warrant framed to reach a woman no summons had brought in: each substituted for authority the council lacked. [Film No. 61, 84–86, 101, 240, 294, 375, 414]

The record governed capably within those limits and upheld a system whose costs it recorded without examining. It audited its employers' suppliers, resisted an order that would have crippled its labour force, protected a family from a creditor, restrained an overseer from cruelty, and stated as a rule that slaves driven away by their owners' cruelty ought not to be punished. It also shipped children to Sumatra, whipped a man through the streets for cutting up a surplice, castrated a slave convicted on evidence a court had held insufficient to hang him, and left every complaint of sustained violence within a free household without any finding against anyone. Both things are in the record, and the second is not an aberration from the first but its condition. [Film No. 138, 140, 147, 182, 249, 403]

The evidence has clear limits. It is the council's own account, written for London, fullest where the council wanted to be seen acting and thinnest where it did not. The women in the Bowers case vanish from it entirely; the sudden filling of grenadier pouches goes unexplained; twelve of Nicholls's bullocks were never traced. What survives is nonetheless unusually rich, because the routine tallies nobody thought worth shaping preserve the texture of the place more faithfully than the narrative sections do. Read against themselves, the monthly accounts of cattle, powder and yams tell a story the consultations were not written to tell. [Film No. 118, 136, 149, 283, 291]

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
1		EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1731-1735 Photographer Shelley Date photographed 16 Nov 2021 Additional comments	
2		Blank page	
3		Blank page	
4	1	Island St Helena At a Consultation held on Tuesday 10th Augst 1701 at Plantation House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved	Island of St Helena. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 August 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Richard Beale petitioned the council for about two acres of waste land in Sandy Bay, lying in two separate parcels in the area known as Powell's Valley. The grant was made, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the ground.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Petition of Richard Deale was presented & read praying leave to him about a couple of Acres of Wast Land lying in two Gulletts in that Part of Sandy Bay called Powells Valley Granted & Mr Goodwin is ordred to Measure the same accordingly. E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 17th Augst 1701 at Plantacon House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Was this day Executed a Lease to John Purling for Nine Acres of Land in Deep Valley Mr Crispe Exr of the last Will & Testament of Wm Gee deceast, presented the said Will desireing it might be proved. The same was accordingly proved upon the oathes of the Wittnesses thereto Vizt John Purling & John Whalby who each of them deposed that they see him Sign & Seal & that he declared it was his Will, & the same was ordred to be Registered The Petition of Capt Kitchener was presented & read praying leave to assign Eleven Acres of Land lying in Powells Valley to Richd Deale for the Remainder of the Term yet to come in the Lease Granted & Mr Deale is accepted Tenant accordingly. Complaint being this day made to us by Mr Bagott & John Purling that Mr Bagott Phelps, Ham & Mrs Deale & their Company do daily drive their Cattle before a day through their Pastures for no other Purpose than to Enrich them to their great losse & damage, Mr Bagott in particular loseing the whole benefitt & Advantage of Nine Acres of good Land. We therefore Ordred the Inhabitants to go by the Usual & Ancient Complaind of & in one & one to forbid their drive they Cattle through any of the Lands belonging either to Mr Bagott or Mr Purling except at such times only as is necessary to Wash them from one Pasture to an other & at no times to drive them thro for Enriching only E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 August 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. A lease was executed to John Durling for nine acres of land in Deep Valley. Mr Crisp produced the last will and testament of William Gaa, deceased, and asked that it be proved. John Durling and John Whaley, the witnesses, each swore on oath that they had signed and sealed the document in the presence of the testator, and that he had declared it to be his will. Probate was granted and the will ordered registered. Charity Gaa, widow, petitioned for leave to assign eleven acres of land in Rupert's Valley to Richard Beale, for whatever remained of the term. The council granted the request and accepted Beale as tenant. Mr Bagley and Mr Phelps complained that Mr Seale and Mr Insley drove their cattle daily through their pastures, and that no other route to the water lay open to them. The passage did great damage to the grass, Mr Bagley in particular losing the whole benefit of nine acres of good land. The council ordered that the two men take their cattle to the water only once a day, at times when the bank was not otherwise occupied, and that they drive them back through the pastures for that purpose alone and at no other times. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Waste land on St Helena was Company ground lying uncultivated and unallocated rather than barren, released to settlers by lease or tenancy to draw rent and put the ground under cultivation. Richard Beale's two acres in Sandy Bay follow the pattern of small grants running through the whole record, each measured by a councillor before the instrument was drawn. The measurement mattered because the rent and the planting obligation both attached to the acreage. Proving a will on the oath of its witnesses was the mechanism by which an island without any resident court of probate gave a testamentary document legal force. The witnesses swore to the act of signing rather than to the contents, since the question before the council was whether the instrument was genuinely executed. Once satisfied, the council entered it in the register, which then served as the island's only durable record of title passing by will. The cattle dispute turns on a right of way to water, which on a small island of steep valleys was frequently the only thing standing between a holding and its usefulness. Mr Bagley and Mr Phelps could not simply refuse passage, since Seale and Insley had no alternative route to the bank. The council's answer restricted the frequency and timing of the crossings rather than the right itself, leaving the underlying access intact while limiting the damage to the grass. Speculations The council could have settled the water dispute by ordering a separate track cut to the bank, or by fixing compensation for the nine acres Bagley had lost, either of which would have removed the grievance permanently. It chose instead to ration the passage to a single daily crossing at a time when the bank stood free. The reasoning shows on the page: the complaint recorded that no other way to the water existed, so extinguishing the passage would have left Seale and Insley unable to keep cattle at all. Regulating the traffic cost the Company nothing and left both holdings in use, whereas a new track would have required labour the island's establishment could ill spare.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
<u>5</u>	2	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 24th Augst 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petitions of John Payne & Richard Mason were presented & read the former prayinge a Lease for about two Acres of Land adjoining to his Custable Sperit, & the latter desiringe to be accepted Tenant for that Parcell of Land lately in the Possession of John French deceast & Pray for two Acres more lyeing in old Woman's Valley Granted & Mr Goodwin is ordred to Measure the said Parcells of Land accordingly E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 31 Augst 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Goodwin having Measured severall Parcells of Land lately Petitiond for, We this day compleated & Executed Leases to the Persons following Vizt To Isaac Leaser for One Acre & halfe To John Whaley Junior for One Acre To John Payne for One Acre To Rich Mason for One Acre & Quarter To Josh Deale for Two Acres To John Long for Two Acres E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 2 Sepr 1701 at Plantation House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Apointed & paid the Garrison for the Month past as p Journl & folio 28 & 29 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 August 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. John Bagley and Richard Mason petitioned for grants of land. Bagley asked for a lease of about two acres adjoining his own holding, while Mason asked to be accepted as tenant of the parcel lately held by John French, together with two further acres in Old Woman's Valley. Both requests were granted, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the parcels. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 September 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Goodwin reported that he had measured several parcels of land lately granted, and the council ordered leases drawn to the following persons. Isaac Leech, 1.5 acres John Pledger junior, 1 acre John Bagley, 1 acre Benjamin Beale, 1 acre and a quarter Joseph Beale, 2 acres John Long, 3 acres Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 September 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The garrison was paid for the past month, entered in the journal at folios 95 and 97. Interpretations Measuring before drawing a lease was the fixed sequence in every land grant across this record, and the reason is fiscal rather than ceremonial. Rent ran at a set rate per acre, and the planting obligation for wood and furze was likewise proportioned to the acreage, so an unmeasured grant fixed neither the Company's income nor the tenant's duty. Captain Goodwin's return of six parcels at one sitting shows the council clearing a backlog of grants approved over preceding weeks, the instruments following only once the ground had been walked. Accepting a tenant to a parcel lately in another man's possession, as Richard Mason sought over John French's ground, transferred the remainder of an existing term rather than creating a fresh one. The distinction mattered because the covenants attached to the original lease, including the obligation to plant and fence, carried over to the incoming tenant with the years still to run. Journal folio references appended to the garrison payment tie the consultation minute to the accounting record, so that the council's authority for the disbursement and the entry in the books could be checked against one another. The practice runs through the whole series and is the island's substitute for a separate audit trail.
<u>6</u>	3	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 15th Sepr 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petitions of Geo Bennett, Thos Clow, & Jere Luffkin Jun were Severally	At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 September 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Three petitions came before the council together. George Powell asked for a lease of about six acres of waste land lying below his house at Bates Valley. Thomas Clew asked for a lease of about six acres of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		presented & read, the former praying a Lease for a Parcell of Wast Land of about Six or Seven Acres lying below the Hutt Distant, the Clow praying a Lease for about Six Acres upon Deadwood Plain, the latter praying a Lease for about One Acre adjoining to his Pasture Lane, And the said Petitions were each of them Granted & Mr Goodwin Ordred to Measure the said Parcells of Land accordingly Mr Goodwin having Measured Severall other Parcells of Land lately Petitioned for, We this day Compleated & Executed Leases to the Persons following To Richd Mason for 16 Acres To Orlando Copley 3 1/2 Acres To Martin Sharpe 2 ditto To Elizth Greenlease 5 1/2 Acres The following Petition of Caleb Davis was presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Caleb Davis Sheweth That Your Petr hath been credibly informed that there is a Parcell of Land of about Nine or ten Acres lying in Sandy Bay which about Six or Seven Years ago was Petitioned for by one Nicholls Griffich altho the same hath neither been Fenced or Inclosed nor any Lease taken thereof nor any Rent paid for the same yet hath ever since been Possessed & Enjoyed by the said Nicholls to the great hurt & prejudice of many poor Familes of this Island who want a Sufficent & Plantation for the maintenance & Support of themselves & their Children which happens to be the Unfortunate Case of Your Petr Your Petitioner therefore humbly Prays Your Worship & Council will Grant Your Petr a Lease for the said Parcell of Land without which he cannot possible provide for Your Petr Charge to Maintain & Support his large Family Your Petr not having a foot of Ground in any part of the Country nor can he get any Profession but what he procures by the hard Labour & small Salary And Your Petr as in Duty bound shall ever pray The C D Mark Caleb Davis St Helena 15th Sepr 1701 The Content of this Petition being true & the said Nicholls having collusively possessed the said Land for many Years past without Fencing and Kept for the same Inspected to take off any Lease thereof, altho the same was Measured & a Lease thereof ready to be delivered & the same has been mainly offered but having no Certainty to do it plainly appears that the said Nicholls designed to Represent the same the Company & hold the said Land without paying any Rent for it, We therefore Grant the	waste land above Doctor Brown's place at the lane. Stephen Lufkin junior asked for a lease of about two acres adjoining his own holding. All three were granted, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the parcels. Captain Goodwin reported the measurement of several parcels lately granted, and the council ordered leases delivered to the following persons. Richard Mason, 16.5 acres Orlando Bagley, 8.5 acres Martin Harper, 8 acres Elizabeth Greentree, 5.5 acres Caleb Davis petitioned the council, setting out that he had been credibly informed of a parcel of Company land lying in Sandy Bay, granted to one Nathaniel Nichols about seven or eight years earlier. No rent had ever been paid, no lease had ever been taken out, and the ground had been neither fenced nor enclosed since. Davis argued that Nichols held it to the injury of poorer islanders, who lacked ground to plant and had no other means of supporting themselves and their children. He asked to be granted a lease of the parcel at whatever rent the council thought reasonable, undertaking to maintain and keep it in repair, having no land of his own anywhere on the island and being able to get no living except by hard labour at a small wage. The petition was dated at St Helena, 11 September 1730, and signed by Caleb Davis with his mark. The council found the substance of the petition true. Nichols had allowed the land to lie idle for many years without paying rent, keeping others out while neglecting it himself and never taking any lease. The parcel had been measured at about twenty acres. Since Nichols plainly had no intention of complying with the Company's terms, the council held that he could not keep the ground without paying rent for it, and granted Davis a lease of the whole for twenty-one years, the term to begin from 25 December next. A marginal note records that this parcel had already been mentioned in an earlier consultation. Interpretations The Davis petition turns on the difference between an allocation and a lease, which is the whole basis of the Company's landholding system on the island. A grant approved in council conferred nothing durable until the ground was measured, the instrument executed and the rent charged. Nathaniel Nichols had taken the first step seven or eight years earlier and none of the rest, which left him occupying twenty acres without any legal interest and without any charge on the books. The council's answer was not to fine him or sue for arrears but simply to treat the holding as vacant, since no instrument existed to defeat. Fencing and enclosure carried the same legal weight as rent in this system. Every lease in the record binds the tenant to enclose and to plant wood and furze in proportion to the acreage, and the failure to do either was the standard ground for forfeiture. The wood campaign of 1727 to 1730 had made this obligation the council's principal instrument of land discipline, and the survey of 10 November 1729 had named sixteen defaulters on precisely these terms. Davis's complaint that the ground was never fenced was therefore not a grumble about appearances but an allegation that the conditions of tenure had never been met. Signing by mark rather than signature indicates that Davis could not write, which sets his position in the island's social order. He appears in the record as coxswain of the Company's long boat, deposing on oath at the consultation of 29 October 1728 on the loss of five Company slaves when the boat overset on a run to Sandy Bay for lime. A wage-earning Company servant with no freehold and no leasehold stood well

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Premises to the Petr for the Term of Twenty one Years to commence from the 20 May December next E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe Margin Notes: NB This Lease was accordingly Numbered & left blank, & as it is on this Consultation, the Consultation it is a mistake p there Entered	below the planter families who dominate the land entries, and his petition sets that condition out plainly as the reason for the application. Beginning the term from 25 December rather than the date of grant follows the island's practice of running leases from a quarter day, which allowed rents across all holdings to fall due together and be reckoned at a single sitting. The three-month gap also gave Davis the drier end of the year to fence and break the ground before the winter planting season opened around May. Speculations The obvious course against Nichols was to demand seven or eight years of arrears, since the council had valued the parcel and could have computed the sum at the standing rate per acre without difficulty. It chose instead to write off everything owed and simply hand the ground to another man. The reasoning is visible in what the record says of Nichols: he had never taken out a lease at all, so there was no instrument fixing any rent to enforce, and pursuing him would have meant litigating a bare allocation rather than a contract. Transferring the twenty acres to a tenant who would fence, plant and pay put the ground onto the rent roll at once, which served the Company better than a judgement against a man who had ignored its terms for the better part of a decade.
7	4	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 7th Sept 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of Orlando Copley Senr was presented & read Praying leave for the conveniency of Fencing to Exchange Three Acres & halfe of his own Freehold Land for the like Quantity of the Honble Compa Wast Land that he might have a Lease for the said Three Acres & halfe Exchanged as aforesaid Granted both for one & the other & Mr Goodwin is ordred to Measure & Certifye the said Parcells of Land accordingly The Governour, Capt Goodwin, Mr Crispe & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accompts as usuall, that were over Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Expence of the Table in August 1701 Vizt 300 Beef 3 15 384 lb Pork 8 4 18 lb Butter 68 Bowles Milk 1 13 31 Days Greens 1 11 45 Gallons Arrack 14 8 8 51 1/2 Sugar 1 8 9 18 lb Candles 9 40 lb Bread 10 200 Rice 10 14 Galls Sherry 3 6 6 8 do Port	At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 September 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Orlando Bagley senior petitioned for leave to exchange three acres of his own freehold land for a like quantity of Company waste land, which would give him a more convenient holding. He asked for a lease of the three acres he sought to take in exchange. The request was granted, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure both parcels. Governor Byfield, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward delivered their monthly accounts. The council examined each one and approved them. Expense of the table in August 1730. 1 hog, £3 15s 0d 384 lb of pork, £8 4s 0d 15 lb of butter, £0 0s 0d 69 bottles of milk, £1 3s 0d 31 days of greens, £1 11s 0d 45 gallons of arrack, £14 8s 2d 51.5 lb of sugar, £1 8s 9d 15 lb of candles, £0 9s 0d 440 lb of bread, £0 10s 0d 206 fowls, £3 6s 6d 14 gallons of sherry, £5 8s 6d 6 gallons of port, £1 18s 9d 6 gallons of vinegar, £0 7s 6d 15 lb of pepper, £2 12s 0d 36 gallons of strong beer, £2 12s 0d 49 lb of small beer, £0 9s 0d 5 bushels of salt, £0 9s 0d Expense of the table in August 1730, £48 2s 10d 15 lb of tea, £0 15s 0d 20 wax candles, £0 10s 0d 1 gallon of arrack to the slaves, the weather being wet and cold, £1 5s 4d 9 gallons delivered since, £0 4s 6d Total, £4 15s 0d Gunner's stores expended in August 1730. 2 August, muster day, 9 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 2 lb of powder Lead sled for the same, 6 lb Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 1 lb Signed: John French.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		5 8 6 8 Galls Vinegar 1 18 9 lb Pepper 7 6 36 Galls Strong Beer 2 12 48 lb Small 2 8 2 Bushells Salt 2 Expende of the Table in Augt 1701 48 2 10 18 Iron 18 2 20 Wax Candles 2 10 a Gan Arrack do to Attend the Weather 1 5 4 being Wet & Cold 8 Sugar do do 4 6 4 15 Gunnars Stores Expended in August 1701 Vizt Pounds 1701 2 Augt Muster Day 4 Expende of the Guard Lead Shott for him 6d 2 Cartouches Powr & Drum Match 1lb Signed Jno French	Interpretations The general table account records the cost of feeding the fort's common table, where the Governor, the council, the garrison officers, visiting commanders and a rotating body of inhabitants and servants ate at the Company's charge. The census of 31 March 1730 counted the permanent household against those fed only on Sundays, public days and in shipping time, which is why the monthly figure swings so sharply with the traffic in the road. August 1730 at £48 2s 10d sits well below the £76 7s 2d of June, when four ships were entertained ashore, and slightly below the £52 17s 6d of July. The anchorage stood empty through both months, the last of the June fleet having sailed on 30 June, and the table shrank accordingly. Arrack was the standard spirit of the Eastern trade, distilled from palm sap, rice or sugar and shipped from Batavia and the Indian ports in half leaguers. At £14 8s 2d for 45 gallons it is by a wide margin the heaviest single line in the account, running to nearly a third of the whole. Sherry at £5 8s 6d for 14 gallons and port at £1 18s 9d for 6 gallons show the same pattern noted through the winter of 1729 to 1730, with sherry running considerably heavier than port at the fort's table. The separate charge of arrack issued to the slaves on account of wet and cold weather is a recurring seasonal entry rather than a table expense proper, which is why it sits below the total with the tea and wax candles. St Helena's winter runs roughly from May to September, so an August issue falls at the tail of the cold season. The same allowance appears through the southern winter of 1729 at 9.5 gallons in May, 17 gallons in July and 8 gallons in August, and again through November 1729 to January 1730 when the accounts noted the weather uncommonly wet. Wax candles were charged separately from the tallow candles in the table account because they lit the council chamber rather than the kitchen and hall. The distinction is one of cost and status, wax burning cleanly and without the smoke and smell of tallow, and the entry recurs each month through the estate-suit season of early 1730. The gunner's account for August records 9 lb of powder on the muster day and nothing else beyond the guard's routine expenditure, no ship having called during the month. The figure sits at the very bottom of the run, comparable with the 18 lb of August 1729 and the 11 lb of July 1728, both months when the road stood empty. Cartridge paper was the stiff paper in which measured charges were made up, match the slow-burning cord that carried fire to the touchhole, and the lead sled a mould or former used with the guard's small-arms practice.
8	5	Collection of Goods Sold in Augt 1701 Vizt 32 3/4 Galls Arrack 10 6 7 1/2 871 1/2 Sugar 21 15 4 26lb Cards 3 4 6 4 Lanthorns 1 4 8 5 Cags Iron 9 8 20 New Iron 1 2 8 6 Kettle 18 1 Driping Pan 5 2 1 Tapnett 1 4 6 8 Lamps	Collection of goods sold in August 1730. 32.5 gallons of arrack, £10 6s 7.5d 871.5 lb of sugar, £21 15s 6d 2 lb of candles, £3 4s 6d 4 lanthorns, £1 3s 9d 5 cags of gin, £0 2s 8d 20 iron pans, £1 2s 8d 6 bottles, £0 18s 0d 1 dripping pan, £0 5s 6d 1 tea pot, £0 5s 6d 2 lamps, £0 4s 6d 49 lanthorn leaves, £0 9s 4d 6 pairs of men's Spanish leather shoes, £1 5s 0d 2 kilderkins of cider, £0 10s 6d 2 pairs of women's stockings, £0 9s 6d 6 pairs of snuffers, £1 4s 0d 4 pairs of silk hose, £1 7s 0d 1 shift, £0 5s 10d 3 lawn cravats, £4 11s 6d 9 hats, £8 17s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		4 6 40 Lanthorn Leaves 9 4 6 Pr Mens Spanish Leather Shoes 1 5 6 2 Ditto Calves 10 6 2 Pr Wants Ditto 9 6 6 Pr do Spanish 1 14 6 4 Pr do Silk Ones 1 7 1 Loft 10 3 Lonnas Coats 4 14 6 9 Plain 8 17 6 40 Pr Blue Stocking 4 17 6 6 Testament 18 9 3 Bunwage Fraights 15 4 2 Common Prayer Books 2 8 2 Bibles 1 2 67 2 7 1/2 Garrison 8 Cannon Iron 2 8 4 1/2 Galls Rape Oyle 1 7 8 15 Charges Generall 3 People Fetch expended in making the Wharf for the Draw at Lemon Valley 5 5 2 Chest Lock 1 4 6 2 Splinter Locks 2 8 14lb Iron 15 4 do for Sheep & Poultry 3 10 7 6 Diet Expences 42 1/2 Galls Arrack 10 12 6 68 1/2 Sugar 1 10 3 18lb Candles 9 40lb Bread 10 208 Flower 3 6 6 14 Galls Sherry 5 8 6 8 do Port 1 18 6 8 Galls Vinegar 7 6 11lb Pepper 2 36 Galls Strong Beer 2 2 48 lb Small 2 4 9 20 Wax Candles 2 10 9 2 Bushells Salt	40 pairs of blue stockings, £4 17s 6d 6 stomachers, £0 18s 9d 3 beverage draughts, £0 15s 9d 2 common prayer books, £0 2s 4d 2 Bibles, £1 9s 8d Total, £67 2s 7.5d Garrison. 8 catties of bohea tea, £2 8s 0d 4.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 7s 0d Total, £0 15s 0d General charges. 3 barrels of pitch expended in making the wharf for the crane at Lemon Valley, £5 5s 0d 2 chest locks, £1 4s 6d 2 flint locks, £0 2s 8d 14 lb of soap, £0 15s 0d 40 lb of rice for hogs and poultry, £3 0s 0d Total, £10 7s 6d Diet expenses. 42.5 gallons of arrack, £13 12s 6d 68.5 lb of sugar, £1 10s 3d 15 lb of candles, £0 9s 0d 40 lb of bread, £0 10s 0d 206 fowls, £3 6s 6d 14 gallons of sherry, £5 8s 6d 6 gallons of port, £1 18s 6d 6 gallons of vinegar, £0 7s 6d 15 lb of pepper, £2 12s 0d 36 gallons of strong beer, £2 12s 0d 24 lb of small beer, £2 10s 0d 20 wax candles, £2 10s 9d 5 bushels of salt, £0 9s 0d Total, £37 2s 0d Blacks. 1 catty of bohea tea, £0 6s 0d 1 blanket, £0 6s 9d 15 yards of thin canvas, £0 17s 6d 1 sail line, £0 0s 0d 0.5 lb of twine, £0 1s 3d 2 sail needles, £0 0s 3d 6 knives, £0 3s 9d 3 tin sauce pans, £0 6s 9d 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 lb of rice, £3 9s 0d Total, £5 19s 4d Grand total, £123 18s 8.5d Interpretations The storekeeper's account divides the month's issues by who bore the charge, separating goods sold to the inhabitants from those delivered to the garrison, charged to general works, consumed at the fort's table or issued to the Company's slaves. The sales to the inhabitants at £67 2s 7.5d and the grand total of £123 18s 8.5d both fall well below the run of the year: the summer months of 1730 carried grand totals between £197 and £240, and the drop to under £124 tracks the emptying of the anchorage after the last of the June fleet sailed on 30 June. Sugar at £21 15s 6d and arrack at £10 6s 7.5d remain the two heaviest retail lines, as they have been throughout the record, both drawn from the Bengal and China cargoes and sold down between seasons. Several of the goods sold need placing. A lanthorn was a lantern, its panes made not of glass but of thin sheets of horn scraped translucent, which is what the forty-nine lanthorn leaves were, replacement panes sold separately. Snuffers were scissor-like tools for trimming a candle wick, essential when tallow candles guttered and smoked. A kilderkin was a cask of about eighteen gallons. Lawn was a very fine plain-woven linen, and cravats made of it were a mark of some standing, the three sold here fetching £4 11s 6d between them. A shift was a woman's linen undergarment, and a stomacher the stiffened triangular panel that filled the front of an open gown. Spanish leather was a fine tanned goatskin, prized for

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		37 2 Blacks 1 Cask Iron 6 1 Blankett 6 9 15 Yards Thin Canvas 17 6 2 Callico 0 1/2 Iron 1 3 2 Sail Needles 3 6 Knives 3 9 8 Iron Sauce Pans 6 9 4:2:10 Rice 3 9 5 19 4 123 18 8 1/2	shoes. Bohea was the black tea of the Wuyi hills in Fujian, issued by the catty, a Chinese weight of about 1.33 lb. Rape oil, pressed from oilseed rape, burned in lamps and greased ironwork against the island's damp. The three barrels of pitch charged to the wharf at Lemon Valley are the only sign of construction in the month's accounts. Lemon Valley served as a secondary landing, guarded on alarms, and a crane there would allow goods to be worked ashore at a second point rather than solely at the main landing rock below the castle. Pitch was the standard waterproofing for timber standing in salt water. The work follows the pattern of Governor Byfield's economy, whose lime kiln of November 1728 and Plantation House garden of January 1728 were both built with the Company's own slaves and materials rather than hired labour. The account for the slaves is the smallest of the five at £5 19s 4d and consists almost entirely of fishing gear and provisions. Thin canvas, sail line, twine and sail needles equipped the boats, and the establishment of ten men constantly in the fishing boats dates from 1 March 1727, when Governor Byfield replaced the slaves' meat ration with fish as an economy. Rice at 4 hundredweight 2 quarters 10 lb was the imported staple that filled the gap between yam harvests, and the July stock account had recorded no yams issued at all, the old crop being exhausted. Two Bibles and two common prayer books among the month's sales are worth noting against the island's religious provision. The parish maintained churchwardens chosen annually and a country church where the inhabitants assembled, and books of this kind were a standard line in the storekeeper's stock rather than an unusual order.
9	6	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifer, Steer, Yearling, Calve, Bull, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoats, Barrows, Pig, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horse, Mares, Totall Remr 1 Augt: Bullocks 45, Cowes 123, Heifer 33, Steer 20, Yearling 50, Calve 108, Bull 5, Totall 384, Ewes 50, Wethers 21, Lambs 9, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 48, Wethers 9, Kids 67, Rams 3, Totall 127, Sowes 17, Shoats 32, Barrows 8, Pig 33, Boars 3, Totall 93, Turkeys 26, Fowles 47, Ducks 11, Geese 17, Horse 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed 2 old Cowes 1 old Sheep 4 old Goates: Bullocks 0, Cowes 2, Heifer 1, Steer 0, Yearling 0, Calve 0, Bull 0, Totall 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sowes 0, Shoats 2, Barrows 2, Pig 0, Boars 0, Totall 4, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horse 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 45, Cowes 121, Heifer 32, Steer 20, Yearling 50, Calve 108, Bull 5, Totall 381, Ewes 50, Wethers 20, Lambs 9, Rams 3, Totall 82, Ewes 44, Wethers 9, Kids 67, Rams 3, Totall 123, Sowes 17, Shoats 30, Barrows 6, Pig 33, Boars 3, Totall 89, Turkeys 26, Fowles 47, Ducks 11, Geese 17, Horse 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Increased in Augt: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifer 0, Steer 0, Yearling 0, Calve 2, Bull 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pig 12, Boars 0, Totall 12, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horse 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 45, Cowes 121, Heifer 32, Steer 20, Yearling 50, Calve 110, Bull 5, Totall 383, Ewes 50, Wethers 20, Lambs 9, Rams 3, Totall 82, Ewes 44, Wethers 9, Kids 67, Rams 3, Totall 123, Sowes 17, Shoats 30, Barrows 6, Pig 45, Boars 3, Totall 101, Turkeys 26, Fowles 47, Ducks 11, Geese 17, Horse 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifer 0, Steer 0, Yearling 0, Calve 0, Bull 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0,	Account of the Company's stock for August 1730. Remaining 1 August: 45 bullocks, 123 cows, 33 heifers, 20 steers, 50 yearlings, 108 calves, 5 bulls, 384 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 21 wethers, 9 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 48 does, 9 wethers, 67 kids, 3 rams, 127 goats in all; 17 sows, 32 shoats, 8 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 93 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 47 fowls, 11 ducks, 17 geese, poultry in all; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Killed 2 old cows, 1 old sheep and 4 old goats: 0 bullocks, 2 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 3 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in all; 4 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 4 goats in all; 0 sows, 2 shoats, 2 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 4 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 45 bullocks, 121 cows, 32 heifers, 20 steers, 50 yearlings, 108 calves, 5 bulls, 381 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 20 wethers, 9 lambs, 3 rams, 82 sheep in all; 44 does, 9 wethers, 67 kids, 3 rams, 123 goats in all; 17 sows, 30 shoats, 6 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 89 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 47 fowls, 11 ducks, 17 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Increased in August: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 2 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 12 pigs, 0 boars, 12 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after increase: 45 bullocks, 121 cows, 32 heifers, 20 steers, 50 yearlings, 110 calves, 5 bulls, 383 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 20 wethers, 9 lambs, 3 rams, 82 sheep in all; 44 does, 9 wethers, 67 kids, 3 rams, 123 goats in all; 17 sows, 30 shoats, 6 barrows, 45 pigs, 3 boars, 101 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 47 fowls, 11 ducks, 17 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Dead in August: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, 2 sheep in all; 8

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Lambs 2, Rams 0, Totall 2, Ewes 8, Wethers 0, Kids 8, Rams 1, Totall 17, Sows 0, Shoats 1, Barrows 0, Pig 0, Boars 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 3, Horse 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 31 Augt: Bullocks 45, Cowes 121, Heifer 32, Steer 20, Yearling 50, Calve 110, Bull 5, Totall 383, Ewes 50, Wethers 20, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Totall 80, Ewes 36, Wethers 9, Kids 59, Rams 2, Totall 106, Sows 17, Shoats 29, Barrows 6, Pig 45, Boars 3, Totall 100, Turkeys 26, Fowles 47, Ducks 11, Geese 14, Horse 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Sugars Plantation 19,600lb Ditto delivd the Fort Blacks 8800 Ditto delivd the Great Wood do 2860 Totall 31,260lb E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	does, 0 wethers, 8 kids, 1 ram, 17 goats in all; 0 sows, 1 shoat, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 1 hog in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 3 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 31 August: 45 bullocks, 121 cows, 32 heifers, 20 steers, 50 yearlings, 110 calves, 5 bulls, 383 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 20 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, 80 sheep in all; 36 does, 9 wethers, 59 kids, 2 rams, 106 goats in all; 17 sows, 29 shoats, 6 barrows, 45 pigs, 3 boars, 100 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 47 fowls, 11 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Yams expended at the Grand Plantation, 19,600 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 8,800 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 2,860 lb Total yams, 31,260 lb Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The goat herd stands at 106 head, down from 425 at the end of July and from a peak of 602 at the end of August 1729. The collapse is not attrition but policy. The inhabitants voted forty to eleven at the country church on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island, and the council resolved to kill the Company's stock as well, keeping only tame animals in pasture with the cattle, with two years allowed from 1 September next for the work. The August account is the last monthly tally before that term opened, and the herd has already been cut by roughly three quarters over the intervening months. Feral goats nonetheless survived on St Helena long after this period, so the resolution did not clear the island of them. The sheep flock has fallen in step, from 118 at the end of July to 80, and carries the same explanation. Sheep were included in the destruction vote alongside goats, both being blamed for the browsing that had left the island's wood in the state described in the advertisement of 21 October 1729, which warned that unless the waste were prevented no timber would be left standing in seven or eight years. Neat cattle hold steady at 383 against 314 at the end of July, an apparent rise that reflects the reclassification of animals between categories rather than any purchase. No beast was sold to shipping in August, the anchorage having stood empty since the last of the June fleet sailed on 30 June, and the killing of two old cows and one heifer went to the fort's table rather than to any ship. The pattern holds across the whole run: the Company's beef trade moved entirely with the arrival of the Indiamen, and July and August 1730 record no sale at all. Deaths among the goats at 17 head, including 8 does and 8 kids, run far heavier than any other class and continue the pattern of the preceding months, when 34 died in May including 20 kids and 30 in June including 30 kids. Whether these are natural losses among a herd left unattended as the destruction approached, or animals killed and entered under a different head, the account does not say. The yam issue of 31,260 lb splits between the Grand Plantation, the fort slaves and the Great Wood, and marks the return of the crop after a gap. The July account recorded no yams at all, the old crop being exhausted and the new one still in the ground, with potatoes filling the shortfall at 122 bushels. Yams were the staple of the Company's slave establishment, issued by weight and split between the three stations, and the August figure shows the new harvest coming in during the closing weeks of the island's winter. Wethers were castrated males kept for meat rather than breeding, barrows the equivalent among pigs and shoats young weaned pigs, the distinctions mattering in the accounts because breeding, growing and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			fattening animals served different purposes and carried different values on the books.
10	7	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 21 Sepr 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petitions of the Sevrall Persons following were this day presented & read Vizt Of Sarah Isaac Wilson prayeing a Lease for four or five Acres of Wast Land under Deadfields Plain Of Francis Sunge for two or three Acres lying near his other Land to Ally's Draw Of Robt Burnham for a Parcell of Ground in the Fort Valley to build a Plantacon Of Mathew Mudge for a Parcell of Ground in the same Valley for the same Purpose Of James Harding for leave to Assign Six Acres & halfe of Leased Land to Capt Alexander And the said Petitions were Sevrally Granted & Mr Goodwin ordred to Measure the same accordingly Mr Goodwin having Measured Sevrall Parcells of Land lately Petitioned for, We this day Executed Leases to the Persons following Vizt To Caleb Davis for 6 1/2 Acres To Geo Bennett Junr 18 Acres To Thos Clow Junr 7 Acres To Jere Luffkin Junr 3/4 Acres The Governour Reports that a Bull of the Honble Compa named Mall Gover was delivered to a Girle named Susannah Clark that a Girle called Betty died about the same time Ordred that they be Entred in the Journall The Petition of John Hargree was presented & read Praying a Lease for about three Acres of Wast Land adjoining to his other Land Granted & Mr Goodwin is ordred to Measure the same. E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 28th Sepr 1701 at Plantacon House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Executed two Leases One to John Hargree for three Acres & one to Isaac Sunge for three Acres & Quarter in Consideracon that this last Parcell of Land is to be at any for the Wast Passage of Draying Wood & Fewell from the Land at Lemon Passage & the like There not being any Business, We adjourned the Sessions appointed to	At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 September 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Five petitions for land came before the council together. Sarah Isaac, widow, a lease of four or five acres of waste land in Sheffield's Plain Francis Funge, two or three acres lying near his other land at High Peak Robert Burnham, a parcel of ground in the fort valley to build a fish house on Matthew Mudge, a parcel of ground in the same valley for the same purpose James Harding, leave to assign six acres of leasehold land to Captain Alexander All five petitions were granted, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the parcels. Mr Goodwin reported the measurement of several parcels lately granted, and the council ordered leases delivered to the following persons. Caleb Davis, 6.75 acres George Powell junior, 12 acres Thomas Clew junior, 6 acres Stephen Lufkin junior, 2.5 acres Governor Byfield reported that a Company slave named Moll had been delivered of a girl named Susannah, and that a girl called Peggy had died within the past month. Both were ordered entered in the journal. Martin Harper petitioned for a lease of about three acres of waste land adjoining his own holding. The grant was made, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the ground. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 September 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Two leases were executed, one to Martin Harper for three acres and one to Francis Funge for three acres. The council took into account that the last parcel of land lay hard by the wood at Bagley's Wood, and required Funge to plant it with wood at his own charge. No business came before the meeting, and the court appointed for the month was adjourned to 26 December next. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Two petitions for ground to build a fish house are the first of their kind in this record, and they follow directly from the fishing establishment Governor Byfield created on 1 March 1727 when he replaced the slaves' meat ration with fish. A fish house was a shed for salting, drying and storing the catch, and the fort valley position put it within reach of the landing where the boats came in. Robert Burnham and Matthew Mudge were seeking to build for their own households rather than the Company's, which suggests the fishery had spread beyond the Company's ten men constantly in the boats and become a general resource of the island. Funge's lease carries a planting covenant tied to a specific reason, its proximity to the wood at Bagley's Wood, rather than the standard proportional obligation attached to every holding. The distinction matters because the council was by 1730 in the fourth

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		be held this Month, the We do the 4th of December next E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	year of a campaign to arrest the destruction of the island's timber. The advertisement of 21 October 1729 had warned that unless the waste were prevented no timber would be left standing within seven or eight years, and the survey of 10 November 1729 named sixteen defaulters, Funge among the ten excused on promises to replant in better soil. Attaching the covenant to this particular parcel put a man already marked as a defaulter under a fresh and specific obligation on ground adjoining standing wood. Recording the birth and death of Company slaves in the journal was an accounting requirement rather than a matter of registry. Each child was carried on the books at a value settled in proportion to age, revised annually at the end of September, so births and deaths altered the Company's stated assets and had to be entered as such. Adjourning the quarter court to 26 December for want of business continues a pattern running back to 1727. The court had been adjourned repeatedly through 1728 and again on 24 December 1729 and 24 June 1730, on each occasion because no dispute had arisen among the inhabitants worth trying. The pattern breaks only for the estate suits of February 1730, which came before a special court of judicature rather than the ordinary quarterly sitting.
11	8	At a Consultation held on Thursday 30 Sept 1701 at Plantation House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Reckoned with the Severall Inhabitants for their Rents and Revenues for the Year past last Amounting to £938:2:6 1/2 out of which they only received £981:10:6 & the rest We charged to their respective Accompts & they promise to pay it as soon as they can Severall of the Honble Compa Black Slaves of the Cows that have been lately taken from them considerably improved in their Labour & Value, & all the Compa Children being arrived one Year more in their Age, We this day put a proportionable Rise both upon one & the other the Particulars of which are Entred in Journall folio 117 the after Examining Such of the Children as are put out to the Inhabitants about their Treatment & found they have been well used, & at the same time We made out the Usual Lists of Blacks, Families, Salaries, Rents &c E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Monday 4th Octor 1701 at Plantacon House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison for the Month past as p Journl folio 88 & 90 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5 Octor 1701 Vizt	At a consultation held on Thursday 30 September 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council reckoned with the inhabitants for their rents and revenues for the past half year. The sum due came to £936 2s 6.5d, of which only £361 10s 6d was received, leaving £574 12s 0.5d charged to their respective accounts. They promised to pay the balance as soon as they were able. Several black children of the Company who had lately been taken from their parents were reported as usefully employed at their labours and duties. Since the Company's children were now a year older, the council settled a proportional value on each of them, the several sums being entered in the journal at folio 117. The children put out to the inhabitants were also examined about their treatment, and reported that they had been well used. The council took the same opportunity to make out the annual lists of blacks, families, salaries and rents. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Monday 4 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The garrison was paid for the past month, entered in the journal at folios 88 and 90. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor delivered a monthly account of the general expenses of the island. Mr Goodwin delivered a monthly account for the year past. The gunner delivered a monthly account of gunner's stores expended in the year past. The storekeeper delivered an inventory of the stores remaining, together with a monthly account for the year last also. The council examined each one and approved them. Gunner's stores expended in September 1730. 4 September, muster day, 9 lb of powder

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour delivered a Monthly Accompt & one of the Honble Compa Blacks & Cattle & for the Year past, Capt Goodwin also delivered a Monthly & Generall Ditto & Governour & Mr Steward Compleated in the Year past, the Storekeeper & Steward delivered likewise each their Monthly & Ditto for Your last also which were Severally Examined & Compared & are as follow Vizt Gunnars Stores Expended in Sept 1701 Vizt Powder 1701 Sept 4 Muster Day 27 1/2lb Expence of the Guard Musquett Shott 6lb Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 1lb Signed Jno French Inventory	Expense of the guard, 2 lb of powder Musket balls, 2 lb 8 oz Cartridge paper, 0.5 quire Match, 1 lb Signed: John French. An inventory followed. Interpretations The half-yearly reckoning shows the inhabitants paying less than two fifths of what they owed, £361 10s 6d against £936 2s 6.5d due. The shortfall follows a worsening pattern. At the reckoning of 30 March 1728 they paid £218 3s 6d of £330 18s 9d; on 31 March 1729, £549 16s 0d of £700 0s 0d; on 31 March 1730, about £200 0s 0d of £671 2s 2d. The sum now outstanding at £574 12s 0.5d is the largest arrear in the run, and the total due has itself climbed steeply as new leases were granted month after month through 1730. On the earlier occasions the inhabitants pleaded that the shipping had not arrived and they had nothing to sell, which is the same difficulty here: the anchorage stood empty through July, August and September, no beast was sold to shipping and the storekeeper's retail sales fell by half. Valuing the Company's slave children in proportion to their age was an annual exercise carried out each 30 September, matching the close of the Company's accounting year. The children were carried on the books as assets, so a year's growth altered the stated worth of the establishment and had to be entered before the books were balanced. The same entry appears on 30 September 1728 and 30 September 1729. Examining the children put out to the inhabitants was a check on the apprenticing scheme Governor Byfield began on 11 April 1727, when he bound out the slave girl Betty Green to save the Company her keep. Each apprenticeship ran under a registered bond, typically £16 0s 0d, binding the master to provide food, clothing, lodging and washing. Calling the children before the council each year and asking them directly how they were treated was the only enforcement available, since the bond gave the Company a remedy but no means of discovering a breach. The same examination is recorded on 30 March 1728, 31 March 1729 and 31 March 1730, and on each occasion the children reported they were well used. The muster-day expenditure of 9 lb of powder repeats the August figure exactly, and the total for September is again the lowest class of month in the run. Nothing was fired for any arrival or departure, the road having stood empty since the last of the June fleet sailed on 30 June, and the only occasions of firing were the monthly muster and the guard's routine practice with musket balls.
12	9	Inventory of Gunnars Stores &ca Remaining 30th Sept 1701 Vizt Demi Cannon, Whole Culvering, Demi Culvering, Minion, Sakes, Falcons, Twelve Pounders, Three Pounders, Totall, Iron round Shot, Double headed Shot, Cannon Powder, Match, Cartridge Paper, Sponge Staves, Sponge Heads, Rammer Heads, Powder Horns, Wormes, Gunnars Ladles, Tompions, Sheep Skins, Buts, Priming Irons, Cartouch Boxes, Touches, Colshoes, Blunderbusses, Pistolls, Gouge Barrils, Pipe, Union Flagg, Handspikes, Formers, Linstocks, Priming Wires, Cartridge Cases, Hoops Gilded, Parchment Skins, Musquetts, Swords, Lead Shott, Drums, Twist Colours, Buccaneer Peices, Flint, Halberts, Scouring Rods, Buff Belts, Grenadier Powches, Bomb Shells, Field Carriages, Gin Ropes, Fowling Peices, Bitts Remr 30 Sept 1700: Demi Cannon 12, Whole Culvering 5, Demi Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakes 16,	Inventory of gunner's stores remaining on 30 September 1730. Remaining 30 September 1730: 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders, 4 three pounders, 128 pieces of ordnance in all; 6,925 iron round shot; 645 double headed shot; 189 barrels 6 lb of cannon powder; 526 lb of match; 169 quires of cartridge paper; 329 sponge staves; 493 sponge heads; 298 rammer heads; 208 powder horns; 17 worms; 29 gunners' ladles; 743 tampions; 164 sheepskins; 122 budge barrels; 108 aprons; 163 cartouche boxes; 327 touch holes; 59 cutlasses; 36 blunderbusses; 12 pistols; 9 union flags; 2 pennants; 6 handspikes; 228 formers; 24 linstocks; 100 priming wires; 300 cartridge caps; 122 hoop gilders; 4 parchment skins; 68 muskets; 213 swords; 192 lead shot; 1,379.5 lb of drums; 6 sets of colours; 2 buccaneer pieces; 7 flints; 17,000 halberts; 11 scouring rods; 271 buff belts; 114 grenadier

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Iron round Shot 6925, Double headed Shot 645, Cannon Powder Sound in 1891:6, Match 526, Cartridge Paper Not in Time 16:9, Sponge Staves 329, Sponge Heads 493, Rammer Heads 298, Powder Horns 208, Wormes 17, Gunners Ladles 29, Tompions 743, Sheep Skins 164, Buts 122, Priming Irons 108, Cartouch Boxes 163, Touches 327, Coleshoes 59, Blunderbusses 36, Pistolls 12, Gouge Barrils 9, Pipe 2, Union Flagg 6, Handspikes 228, Formers 24, Linstocks 100, Priming Wires 300, Cartridge Cases 122, Hoops Gilded 4, Parchment Skins 68, Musquetts 213, Swords 192, Lead Shott 1379 1/2, Drums 6, Twist Colours 2, Buccaneer Peices 7, Flints 17000, Halberts 11, Scouring Rods 271, Buff Belts 162, Grenadier Powches 100, Bomb Shells 10, Field Carriages 2, Gin Ropes 0, Fowling Peices 0, Bitts 0 Recd Since 30th Sept 1700: Demi Cannon 0, Whole Culvering 0, Demi Culvering 0, Minion 0, Sakes 0, Falcons 0, Twelve Pounders 0, Three Pounders 0, Totall 0, Iron round Shot 0, Double headed Shot 0, Cannon Powder 15:-, Match 213, Cartridge Paper 0, Sponge Staves 0, Sponge Heads 0, Rammer Heads 0, Powder Horns 0, Wormes 0, Gunners Ladles 0, Tompions 0, Sheep Skins 0, Buts 0, Priming Irons 0, Cartouch Boxes 0, Touches 80, Coleshoes 0, Blunderbusses 0, Pistolls 0, Gouge Barrils 0, Pipe 0, Union Flagg 1, Handspikes 0, Formers 0, Linstocks 0, Priming Wires 100, Cartridge Cases 0, Hoops Gilded 0, Parchment Skins 0, Musquetts 0, Swords 0, Lead Shott 0, Drums 0, Twist Colours 0, Buccaneer Peices 0, Flints 0, Halberts 0, Scouring Rods 0, Buff Belts 0, Grenadier Powches 0, Bomb Shells 0, Field Carriages 0, Gin Ropes 1, Fowling Peices 1, Bitts 12 Demi Cannon 12, Whole Culvering 5, Demi Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakes 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Iron round Shot 6925, Double headed Shot 645, Cannon Powder 2046, Match 739, Cartridge Paper 13:9, Sponge Staves 329, Sponge Heads 493, Rammer Heads 298, Powder Horns 208, Wormes 17, Gunners Ladles 29, Tompions 743, Sheep Skins 164, Buts 122, Priming Irons 108, Cartouch Boxes 163, Touches 407, Coleshoes 59, Blunderbusses 36, Pistolls 12, Gouge Barrils 9, Pipe 2, Union Flagg 6, Handspikes 228, Formers 24, Linstocks 100, Priming Wires 400, Cartridge Cases 122, Hoops Gilded 4, Parchment Skins 68, Musquetts 213, Swords 192, Lead Shott 1379 1/2, Drums 6, Twist Colours 2, Buccaneer Peices 7, Flints 17000, Halberts 11, Scouring Rods 271, Buff Belts 162, Grenadier Powches 100, Bomb Shells 10, Field Carriages 2, Gin Ropes 1, Fowling Peices 1, Bitts 12 Expended Since 30th Sept 1700: Demi Cannon 0, Whole Culvering 0, Demi Culvering 0, Minion 0, Sakes 0, Falcons 0, Twelve Pounders 0, Three Pounders 0, Totall 0, Iron round Shot 2, Double headed Shot 0, Cannon Powder 12:86, Match 167, Cartridge Paper 2:6, Sponge Staves 0, Sponge Heads 6, Rammer Heads 16, Powder Horns 0, Wormes 0, Gunners Ladles 0, Tompions 0, Sheep Skins 3, Buts 24, Priming Irons 0, Cartouch Boxes 0, Touches 1, Coleshoes 1, Blunderbusses 0, Pistolls 0, Gouge Barrils 0, Pipe 0, Union Flagg 3, Handspikes 0, Formers 0, Linstocks 0, Priming Wires 100, Cartridge Cases 0, Hoops Gilded 0, Parchment Skins 0, Musquetts 0, Swords 0, Lead Shott 9 1/2, Drums 0, Twist Colours 0, Buccaneer Peices 0, Flints 12000, Halberts 0, Scouring Rods 0, Buff Belts 0, Grenadier Powches 0, Bomb Shells 0, Field Carriages 0, Gin Ropes 0, Fowling Peices 0, Bitts 0 Remr 30 Sept 1701: Demi Cannon 12, Whole Culvering 5, Demi Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakes 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Iron round Shot 6923, Double headed Shot 645, Cannon Powder 1912, Match 572, Cartridge Paper 11:3, Sponge Staves 329, Sponge Heads 487, Rammer	pouches; 100 bomb shells; 10 field carriages; 2 gin ropes; 0 forming pieces; 0 bills Received since 30 September 1730: 0 demi-cannon, 0 whole culverins, 0 demi-culverins, 0 minions, 0 sakers, 0 falcons, 0 twelve pounders, 0 three pounders, 0 pieces of ordnance in all; 0 iron round shot; 0 double headed shot; 16 barrels 0 lb of cannon powder; 213 lb of match; 0 quires of cartridge paper; 0 sponge staves; 0 sponge heads; 0 rammer heads; 0 powder horns; 0 worms; 0 gunners' ladles; 0 tampions; 0 sheepskins; 0 budge barrels; 0 aprons; 0 cartouche boxes; 80 touch holes; 0 cutlasses; 0 blunderbusses; 0 pistols; 0 union flags; 0 pennants; 1 handspike; 0 formers; 0 linstocks; 0 priming wires; 100 cartridge caps; 0 hoop gilders; 0 parchment skins; 0 muskets; 0 swords; 0 lead shot; 0 lb of drums; 0 sets of colours; 0 buccaneer pieces; 0 flints; 0 halberts; 0 scouring rods; 0 buff belts; 0 grenadier pouches; 0 bomb shells; 0 field carriages; 1 gin rope; 1 forming piece; 12 bills Balance after receipts: 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders, 4 three pounders, 128 pieces of ordnance in all; 6,925 iron round shot; 645 double headed shot; 204 barrels 6 lb of cannon powder; 739 lb of match; 169 quires of cartridge paper; 329 sponge staves; 493 sponge heads; 298 rammer heads; 208 powder horns; 17 worms; 29 gunners' ladles; 743 tampions; 164 sheepskins; 122 budge barrels; 108 aprons; 163 cartouche boxes; 407 touch holes; 59 cutlasses; 36 blunderbusses; 12 pistols; 9 union flags; 2 pennants; 6 handspikes; 228 formers; 24 linstocks; 100 priming wires; 400 cartridge caps; 122 hoop gilders; 4 parchment skins; 68 muskets; 213 swords; 192 lead shot; 1,379.5 lb of drums; 6 sets of colours; 2 buccaneer pieces; 7 flints; 17,000 halberts; 11 scouring rods; 271 buff belts; 114 grenadier pouches; 100 bomb shells; 10 field carriages; 2 gin ropes; 1 forming piece; 12 bills Expended since 30 September 1730: 0 demi-cannon, 0 whole culverins, 0 demi-culverins, 0 minions, 0 sakers, 0 falcons, 0 twelve pounders, 0 three pounders, 0 pieces of ordnance in all; 2 iron round shot; 0 double headed shot; 12 barrels 86 lb of cannon powder; 167 lb of match; 2 quires 6 sheets of cartridge paper; 0 sponge staves; 6 sponge heads; 16 rammer heads; 0 powder horns; 0 worms; 0 gunners' ladles; 3 tampions; 24 sheepskins; 0 budge barrels; 0 aprons; 0 cartouche boxes; 1 touch hole; 1 cutlass; 0 blunderbusses; 0 pistols; 0 union flags; 0 pennants; 3 handspikes; 0 formers; 0 linstocks; 0 priming wires; 100 cartridge caps; 0 hoop gilders; 0 parchment skins; 0 muskets; 0 swords; 9.5 lb of lead shot; 0 lb of drums; 0 sets of colours; 0 buccaneer pieces; 0 flints; 12,000 halberts; 0 scouring rods; 0 buff belts; 0 grenadier pouches; 0 bomb shells; 0 field carriages; 0 gin ropes; 0 forming pieces; 0 bills Remaining 30 September 1731: 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders, 4 three pounders, 128 pieces of ordnance in all; 6,923 iron round shot; 645 double headed shot; 191 barrels 21 lb of cannon powder; 572 lb of match; 11 quires 3 sheets of cartridge paper; 329 sponge staves; 487 sponge heads; 282 rammer heads; 208 powder horns; 17 worms; 29 gunners' ladles; 740 tampions; 140 sheepskins; 122 budge barrels; 108 aprons; 163 cartouche boxes; 406 touch holes; 58 cutlasses; 36 blunderbusses; 12 pistols; 9 union flags; 2 pennants; 3 handspikes; 228 formers; 24 linstocks; 100 priming wires; 300 cartridge caps; 122 hoop gilders; 4 parchment skins; 68 muskets; 213 swords; 192 lead shot; 1,370 lb of drums; 6 sets of colours; 2 buccaneer pieces; 7 flints; 5,000 halberts; 11 scouring rods; 271 buff belts; 114 grenadier pouches; 100 bomb shells; 10 field carriages; 2 gin ropes; 1 forming piece; 12 bills

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Heads 282, Powder Horns 208, Wormes 17, Gunners Ladles 29, Tompions 740, Sheep Skins 140, Buts 122, Priming Irons 108, Cartouch Boxes 163, Touches 406, Coleshoes 58, Blunderbusses 36, Pistolls 12, Gouge Barrils 9, Pipe 3, Union Flagg 228, Handspikes 24, Formers 100, Linstocks 300, Priming Wires 122, Cartridge Cases 4, Hoops Gilded 68, Parchment Skins 213, Musquetts 192, Swords 1370, Lead Shott 6, Drums 2, Twist Colours 7, Buccaneer Peices 5000, Flints 11, Halberts 271, Scouring Rods 162, Buff Belts 100, Grenadier Powches 10, Bomb Shells 2, Field Carriages 1, Gin Ropes 1, Fowling Peices 12, Bitts 0	Interpretations The ordnance stands entirely unchanged at 128 pieces, the same complement recorded on 30 September 1728 and 30 September 1729 and broken down in identical proportions: 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders and 4 three pounders. Three consecutive annual inventories without a gun added or lost is a striking fact about a fortified island that spent much of that period on a war footing. The guns are named by the weight of ball they threw, the demi-cannon heaviest and the falcon lightest, with the culverin family prized for length of range rather than weight of shot. Cannon powder is the only substantial movement in the account. The stock opened at 189 barrels 6 lb, received 16 barrels and expended 12 barrels 86 lb, closing at 191 barrels 21 lb. Against the monthly gunner's accounts this is consistent with a year of very light firing: 9 lb at each of the August and September musters and almost nothing else once the June fleet sailed. The heavy months fell earlier in the year, with 288 lb in April 1730 across four ships and two royal salutes and 278 lb in June, and the pattern across the whole run confirms that royal salutes and ship courtesies consumed far more powder than any defensive firing. The consumable stores tell the same story of routine maintenance rather than action. Sponge heads fell by 6 and rammer heads by 16, both being the working ends of the tools that cleaned and loaded a muzzle-loading gun and both wearing out with use. Twenty-four sheepskins went, the skins being cut up to make the sponges themselves. Three tampions were expended, these being the plugs driven into a muzzle to keep damp out of the bore, which matters on an island where the magazine had been found damaged by damp in the survey of 26 September 1727. Match at 167 lb expended against 213 lb received is the heaviest consumption of any single store. Match was the slow-burning cord that carried fire to the touch hole, and it burned away whether or not a gun was fired, since a length had to be kept alight at the guard posts throughout every watch. Its consumption therefore measures the hours the batteries were manned rather than the number of rounds discharged. Bomb shells stand untouched at 100, as do the buff belts, grenadier pouches, muskets, swords and blunderbusses. The storekeeper's note of May 1730 recorded that no shot had been discharged since the powder came, and the annual inventory of 30 September 1729 had likewise recorded 17,000 flints standing entirely unused. The pattern across both years is unambiguous: the garrison of St Helena maintained a substantial armament in constant readiness and never fired it in earnest.
13	10	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Soves, Shoats, Barrows, Pig, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 1 Sept: Bullocks 45, Cowes 121, Heifers 32, Steers 20, Yearlings 50, Calves 110, Bulls 5, Totall 383, Ewes 50, Wethers 20, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Totall 80, Ewes 36, Wethers 9, Kids 59, Rams 2, Totall 106, Soves 17, Shoats 29, Barrows 6, Pig 45, Boars 3, Totall 100, Turkeys 26, Fowles 47, Ducks 11, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed in do: Bullocks 0, Cowes 4, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 2, Wethers 4, Kids 14, Rams 0, Totall 20, Soves 0, Shoats 1, Barrows 1, Pig 1, Boars 0, Totall 3, Turkeys 0,	Account of the Company's stock for September 1730. Remaining 1 September: 45 bullocks, 121 cows, 32 heifers, 20 steers, 50 yearlings, 110 calves, 5 bulls, 383 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 20 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, 80 sheep in all; 36 does, 9 wethers, 59 kids, 2 rams, 106 goats in all; 17 sows, 29 shoats, 6 barrows, 45 pigs, 3 boars, 100 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 47 fowls, 11 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Killed in September: 0 bullocks, 4 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 4 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in all; 2 does, 4 wethers, 14 kids, 0 rams, 20 goats in all; 0 sows, 1 shoat, 1 barrow, 1 pig, 0 boars, 3 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 45 bullocks, 121 cows, 28 heifers, 20 steers, 50 yearlings, 110 calves, 5 bulls, 379

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 45, Cowes 121, Heifers 28, Steers 20, Yearlings 50, Calves 110, Bulls 5, Totall 379, Ewes 50, Wethers 19, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Totall 79, Ewes 34, Wethers 5, Kids 45, Rams 2, Totall 86, Sows 17, Shoats 28, Barrows 5, Pig 44, Boars 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 26, Fowles 47, Ducks 11, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Increased in Sept: Bullocks 20, Cowes 9, Heifers 10, Steers 22, Yearlings 40, Calves 2, Bulls 0, Totall 103, Ewes 4, Wethers 1, Lambs 8, Rams 0, Totall 13, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 12, Rams 0, Totall 12, Sows 0, Shoats 13, Barrows 11, Pig 0, Boars 0, Totall 24, Turkeys 0, Fowles 13, Ducks 11, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 130, Heifers 38, Steers 42, Yearlings 90, Calves 112, Bulls 5, Totall 482, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 15, Rams 3, Totall 92, Ewes 34, Wethers 5, Kids 57, Rams 2, Totall 98, Sows 17, Shoats 41, Barrows 16, Pig 44, Boars 3, Totall 121, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Dead in Sept: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 12, Rams 1, Totall 13, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pig 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Cattle Increased &c: Bullocks 65, Cowes 130, Heifers 38, Steers 42, Yearlings 90, Calves 112, Bulls 5, Totall 482, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 15, Rams 3, Totall 92, Ewes 34, Wethers 5, Kids 45, Rams 1, Totall 85, Sows 17, Shoats 41, Barrows 16, Pig 44, Boars 3, Totall 121, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Cut & Grown in do: Bullocks 0, Cowes 9, Heifers 20, Steers 32, Yearlings 40, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 101, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 5, Rams 0, Totall 5, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 11, Barrows 0, Pig 13, Boars 0, Totall 24, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 30 Sept: Bullocks 65, Cowes 130, Heifers 29, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 72, Bulls 5, Totall 381, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 10, Rams 3, Totall 87, Ewes 34, Wethers 5, Kids 45, Rams 1, Totall 85, Sows 17, Shoats 30, Barrows 16, Pig 31, Boars 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantacons 19,800lb Ditto delivd the Fort Blacks 8900 Ditto delivd the Great Wood do 2900 Totall 31,600lb	neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 19 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, 79 sheep in all; 34 does, 5 wethers, 45 kids, 2 rams, 86 goats in all; 17 sows, 28 shoats, 5 barrows, 44 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 47 fowls, 11 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Increased in September: 20 bullocks, 9 cows, 10 heifers, 22 steers, 40 yearlings, 2 calves, 0 bulls, 103 neat cattle in all; 4 ewes, 1 wether, 8 lambs, 0 rams, 13 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 12 kids, 0 rams, 12 goats in all; 0 sows, 13 shoats, 11 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 24 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 13 fowls, 11 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after increase: 65 bullocks, 130 cows, 38 heifers, 42 steers, 90 yearlings, 112 calves, 5 bulls, 482 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 15 lambs, 3 rams, 92 sheep in all; 34 does, 5 wethers, 57 kids, 2 rams, 98 goats in all; 17 sows, 41 shoats, 16 barrows, 44 pigs, 3 boars, 121 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Dead in September: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 12 kids, 1 ram, 13 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Cattle increased and cut and grown in September: 0 bullocks, 9 cows, 20 heifers, 32 steers, 40 yearlings, 101 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 5 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 5 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 11 shoats, 13 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 24 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 30 September: 65 bullocks, 130 cows, 29 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 72 calves, 5 bulls, 381 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 10 lambs, 3 rams, 87 sheep in all; 34 does, 5 wethers, 45 kids, 1 ram, 85 goats in all; 17 sows, 30 shoats, 16 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,800 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 8,900 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 2,900 lb Total yams, 31,600 lb Interpretations The September account carries an extra movement line absent from most months, recording animals cut and grown between categories. Calves promoted to yearlings, yearlings to steers and heifers, and shoats to barrows all pass through this row, which is why the closing figure for neat cattle at 381 sits below the 482 that stood after the month's increase. The mechanism matters because the Company's stock was valued by class, a bullock carrying a different price on the books than a calf, so the annual reclassification at the close of the accounting year altered the stated worth of the herd without any animal leaving it. The same exercise governed the valuation of the Company's slave children, settled in proportion to age on 30 September 1730. The month closes the Company's year, and the figures should be read against the annual account to 30 September 1729. Neat cattle then stood at 293 and now stand at 381, a gain of 88 head across twelve months, with no beast sold to shipping since June. The rise reflects the empty anchorage rather than any change in husbandry: from July to September no vessel called, exactly as in the corresponding months of 1729, and the Company's beef trade moved entirely with the arrival of the Indiamen. Goats stand at 85 against 596 a year earlier, a fall of more than six sevenths. The destruction voted by the inhabitants on 20 January 1730 explains it, the council having resolved to kill the Company's stock also and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			allowed two years from 1 September next for the work. The term opened during this very month, and the 20 goats killed in September are the first entries under it. Sheep, included in the same vote, have fallen more gently from 147 to 87, and the flock actually gained 13 head through breeding during the month. Feral goats survived on the island long after this period, so the resolution never cleared them from St Helena. Poultry rose sharply, with fowls up from 47 to 60 and ducks from 11 to 22, the increase entered as breeding rather than purchase. Fowls were the heaviest single item at the fort's table through the summer, 206 having been charged in August alone, so the flock was replenished as the new season opened. The yam issue of 31,600 lb divides between the plantations, the fort slaves and the Great Wood in almost exactly the proportions of August. Two consecutive months at this level confirm the new crop fully in, after July recorded no yams at all with the old crop exhausted and potatoes carrying the shortfall.
14	11	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remains 1 Octr 1700: Bullocks 70, Cowes 115, Heifers 34, Steers 18, Yearlings 40, Calves 52, Bulls 4, Totall 333, Ewes 46, Wethers 26, Lambs 11, Rams 3, Totall 86, Ewes 286, Wethers 103, Kids 15, Rams 5, Totall 409, Sows 14, Shoates 20, Barrows 16, Pigs 29, Boars 1, Totall 80, Turkeys 36, Fowles 95, Ducks 20, Geese 26, Horses 6, Mares 3, Totall 9 Increased from do to 30 Sept 1701: Bullocks 38, Cowes 24, Heifers 29, Steers 42, Yearlings 90, Calves 110, Bulls 1, Totall 334, Ewes 9, Wethers 5, Lambs 17, Rams 0, Totall 29, Ewes 11, Wethers 9, Kids 195, Rams 0, Totall 215, Sows 0, Shoates 20, Barrows 16, Pigs 33, Boars 3, Totall 69, Turkeys 4, Fowles 25, Ducks 26, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 2, Totall 2 Bought from do ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 6, Shoates 22, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 3, Totall 31, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 108, Cowes 139, Heifers 63, Steers 60, Yearlings 130, Calves 162, Bulls 5, Totall 667, Ewes 55, Wethers 31, Lambs 28, Rams 3, Totall 117, Ewes 297, Wethers 112, Kids 210, Rams 5, Totall 624, Sows 20, Shoates 62, Barrows 39, Pigs 62, Boars 4, Totall 180, Turkeys 39, Fowles 120, Ducks 46, Geese 25, Horses 6, Mares 5, Totall 11 Killed in one Year: Bullocks 5, Cowes 7, Heifers 9, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 21, Ewes 0, Wethers 10, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 10, Ewes 171, Wethers 63, Kids 105, Rams 0, Totall 339, Sows 2, Shoates 11, Barrows 15, Pigs 10, Boars 0, Totall 38, Turkeys 9, Fowles 48, Ducks 18, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 103, Cowes 132, Heifers 64, Steers 60, Yearlings 130, Calves 162, Bulls 5, Totall 646, Ewes 55, Wethers 21, Lambs 28, Rams 3, Totall 107, Ewes 126, Wethers 49, Kids 105, Rams 5, Totall 285, Sows 18, Shoates 51, Barrows 17, Pigs 52, Boars 4, Totall 142, Turkeys 30, Fowles 72, Ducks 28, Geese 25, Horses 6, Mares 5, Totall 11 Sold to Ships &ca in do: Bullocks 38, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 38, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0,	Annual account of the Company's stock for the year 1 October 1729 to 30 September 1730. Remaining 1 October 1729: 70 bullocks, 115 cows, 34 heifers, 18 steers, 40 yearlings, 52 calves, 4 bulls, 333 neat cattle in all; 16 ewes, 26 wethers, 11 lambs, 3 rams, 86 sheep in all; 286 does, 103 wethers, 15 kids, 5 rams, 409 goats in all; 14 sows, 20 shoats, 16 barrows, 29 pigs, 1 boar, 80 hogs in all; 36 turkeys, 95 fowls, 20 ducks, 26 geese; 6 horses, 3 mares, 9 horses in all Increased from 1 October 1729 to 30 September 1730, and bought besides: 38 bullocks, 24 cows, 29 heifers, 42 steers, 90 yearlings, 110 calves, 1 bull, 334 neat cattle in all; 39 ewes, 5 wethers, 17 lambs, 0 rams, 31 sheep in all; 11 does, 9 wethers, 195 kids, 0 rams, 215 goats in all; 6 sows, 20 shoats, 22 barrows, 16 pigs, 33 boars, 3 hogs, 69 hogs in all; 31 turkeys, 4 fowls, 25 ducks, 26 geese; 0 horses, 2 mares, 2 horses in all Balance after increase: 108 bullocks, 139 cows, 63 heifers, 60 steers, 130 yearlings, 162 calves, 5 bulls, 667 neat cattle in all; 55 ewes, 31 wethers, 28 lambs, 3 rams, 117 sheep in all; 297 does, 112 wethers, 210 kids, 5 rams, 624 goats in all; 20 sows, 69 shoats, 39 barrows, 69 pigs, 4 boars, 180 hogs in all; 39 turkeys, 120 fowls, 46 ducks, 25 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses in all Killed in one year: 5 bullocks, 7 cows, 9 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 21 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 10 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 10 sheep in all; 171 does, 63 wethers, 105 kids, 0 rams, 339 goats in all; 2 sows, 11 shoats, 15 barrows, 10 pigs, 0 boars, 38 hogs in all; 9 turkeys, 48 fowls, 18 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 103 bullocks, 132 cows, 54 heifers, 60 steers, 130 yearlings, 162 calves, 5 bulls, 646 neat cattle in all; 55 ewes, 21 wethers, 28 lambs, 3 rams, 107 sheep in all; 126 does, 49 wethers, 105 kids, 5 rams, 285 goats in all; 18 sows, 51 shoats, 17 barrows, 52 pigs, 4 boars, 142 hogs in all; 30 turkeys, 72 fowls, 28 ducks, 25 geese; 6 horses, 5 mares, 11 horses in all Sold to ships and others: 38 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 38 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 2 horses, 0 mares, 2 horses in all Balance after sales: 65 bullocks, 132 cows, 54 heifers, 60 steers, 130 yearlings, 162 calves, 5 bulls, 608 neat cattle in all; 55 ewes, 21 wethers, 28 lambs, 3 rams, 107 sheep in all; 126 does, 49 wethers, 105 kids, 5 rams, 285 goats in all; 18 sows, 51 shoats, 17 barrows, 52 pigs, 4 boars, 142 hogs in all; 30 turkeys,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 2, Mares 0, Totall 2 Bullocks 65, Cowes 132, Heifers 54, Steers 60, Yearlings 130, Calves 162, Bulls 5, Totall 608, Ewes 55, Wethers 21, Lambs 28, Rams 3, Totall 107, Ewes 126, Wethers 49, Kids 105, Rams 5, Totall 286, Sows 18, Shoates 51, Barrows 17, Pigs 52, Boars 4, Totall 142, Turkeys 30, Fowles 72, Ducks 28, Geese 25, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Stole in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 24, Wethers 4, Kids 20, Rams 0, Totall 48, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 132, Heifers 54, Steers 60, Yearlings 130, Calves 162, Bulls 5, Totall 608, Ewes 55, Wethers 21, Lambs 28, Rams 3, Totall 107, Ewes 102, Wethers 45, Kids 86, Rams 5, Totall 231, Sows 18, Shoates 51, Barrows 17, Pigs 52, Boars 4, Totall 142, Turkeys 30, Fowles 72, Ducks 28, Geese 25, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 2, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 3, Ewes 1, Wethers 1, Lambs 6, Rams 0, Totall 8, Ewes 68, Wethers 40, Kids 40, Rams 4, Totall 152, Sows 1, Shoates 5, Barrows 1, Pigs 1, Boars 1, Totall 9, Turkeys 4, Fowles 12, Ducks 6, Geese 11, Horses 0, Mares 1, Totall 1 Cattle Sheep & Hoggs &ca: Bullocks 65, Cowes 130, Heifers 63, Steers 60, Yearlings 130, Calves 162, Bulls 5, Totall 605, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 22, Rams 3, Totall 99, Ewes 34, Wethers 5, Kids 45, Rams 1, Totall 85, Sows 17, Shoates 46, Barrows 16, Pigs 51, Boars 3, Totall 133, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Cutt & Grown in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 24, Steers 38, Yearlings 72, Calves 90, Bulls 0, Totall 224, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 12, Rams 0, Totall 12, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 16, Barrows 0, Pigs 20, Boars 0, Totall 36, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 30th Sept 1701: Bullocks 65, Cowes 130, Heifers 29, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 72, Bulls 5, Totall 381, Ewes 64, Wethers 20, Lambs 10, Rams 3, Totall 87, Ewes 34, Wethers 5, Kids 45, Rams 1, Totall 85, Sows 17, Shoates 30, Barrows 16, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 190,425lb Ditto delivered the Fort Blacks 84,300 Ditto deld the Great Wood ditto 31,300 Totall 306,025 Potatoes from the Great Wood Plantation for do the Honble Compa Blacks 119 Bushells	72 fowls, 28 ducks, 25 geese; 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses in all Stolen in the year: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 24 does, 4 wethers, 20 kids, 0 rams, 48 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after theft: 65 bullocks, 132 cows, 54 heifers, 60 steers, 130 yearlings, 162 calves, 5 bulls, 608 neat cattle in all; 55 ewes, 21 wethers, 28 lambs, 3 rams, 107 sheep in all; 102 does, 45 wethers, 86 kids, 5 rams, 237 goats in all; 18 sows, 51 shoats, 17 barrows, 52 pigs, 4 boars, 142 hogs in all; 30 turkeys, 72 fowls, 28 ducks, 25 geese; 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses in all Dead in the year: 0 bullocks, 2 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 3 neat cattle in all; 1 ewe, 1 wether, 6 lambs, 0 rams, 8 sheep in all; 68 does, 40 wethers, 40 kids, 4 rams, 152 goats in all; 1 sow, 5 shoats, 1 barrow, 1 pig, 1 boar, 9 hogs in all; 4 turkeys, 12 fowls, 6 ducks, 11 geese; 0 horses, 1 mare, 1 horse in all Balance after deaths: 65 bullocks, 130 cows, 63 heifers, 60 steers, 130 yearlings, 162 calves, 5 bulls, 605 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 22 lambs, 3 rams, 99 sheep in all; 34 does, 5 wethers, 45 kids, 1 ram, 85 goats in all; 17 sows, 46 shoats, 16 barrows, 51 pigs, 3 boars, 133 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Cattle, sheep and hogs cut and grown in the year: 0 bullocks, 24 cows, 38 heifers, 72 steers, 90 yearlings, 224 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 12 wethers, 12 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 16 sows, 0 shoats, 20 barrows, 36 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 30 September 1730: 65 bullocks, 130 cows, 29 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 72 calves, 5 bulls, 381 neat cattle in all; 64 ewes, 20 wethers, 10 lambs, 3 rams, 87 sheep in all; 34 does, 5 wethers, 45 kids, 1 ram, 85 goats in all; 17 sows, 30 shoats, 16 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 190,425 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 84,300 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 31,300 lb Total yams, 306,025 lb Potatoes from the Great Wood plantation for the Company's slaves, 119 bushels Interpretations The goat herd is the whole story of the year. It opened at 409, rose to 624 on an increase of 215, and closed at 85 after 339 were killed, 48 stolen and 152 died. Against the previous annual account, which recorded 43 killed and 4 lost to dogs across the whole of 1728 to 1729, the figure of 339 killed represents a wholly different order of activity. The inhabitants voted forty to eleven at the country church on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island, none to be kept for ten years from the completion of the killing, and the council resolved to kill the Company's stock also. The account shows the resolution being carried out at pace even before the two-year term formally opened on 1 September. Feral goats nonetheless survived on St Helena long after this period, so the destruction never cleared the island of them. The 48 goats entered as stolen deserve separate notice, since no comparable line appears in the annual accounts of 1728 or 1729. The council had spent the previous two years unable to convict anyone of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			attacking the herd, the testimony of blacks being inadmissible, and had resorted to revoking firearms licences on 14 January 1729 and issuing warrants to kill the dogs of John Long, Elizabeth Marsh and Thomas Nash on 21 January 1729. A fresh warrant went out against Long's dogs on 11 November 1729. Once the island had voted to destroy the goats altogether, a stolen animal carried a different meaning: the herd was condemned in any case, so theft became a matter of who took the carcass rather than a loss to the Company's breeding stock. Deaths among the goats at 152 head run at more than three times the previous year's 43, and fall heavily on does and wethers as well as kids. A herd being progressively killed off was presumably no longer being tended on the ranges as before, which would account for losses on this scale among adult animals. Neat cattle sold to shipping fell to 38 head against 57 in the year to 30 September 1729. The whole disposal went in the months when the Indiamen were in the road, principally April to June 1730, with nothing at all from July onward. Two horses were also sold, one to Captain Alexander in November 1729, against a single horse sold in each of the two preceding years. The yam harvest at 306,025 lb is the largest recorded in this series, against 340,000 lb in the year to September 1729 and 132,094 lb the year before that. The split across the three stations holds roughly constant, with the plantations taking about five eighths, the fort slaves a little over a quarter and the Great Wood the remainder. Potatoes from the Great Wood at 119 bushels for the slaves run well below the 954 bushels of the previous year, when the yam crop failed in January 1729 and potatoes filled the gap. A good yam harvest and a light potato crop are two sides of the same fact. Cutting and growing moved 224 calves into the yearling and steer classes and 90 yearlings onward, which is why the herd closes at 381 despite a balance of 605 standing before that adjustment. The reclassification carried no animal off the island; it simply restated the stock at the values proper to each class as the accounting year closed.
15	12	Collection of Goods Sold in Sept 1701 Vizt 42 Galls Arrack 13 6 660 Sugar 16 13 6 77 Candy 2 17 9 1/2 11:17 Bread 14 2 9 1/2 0:1:6 Flowr 5 7 7 1/2 21 Soap 1 2 6 749 damaged Chints 59 12 6 217 Yards Blue 4 1 4 1/2 126 Cupps & Saucers 3 2 2 40 Cupps 8 2 80 ditto 14 2 67 Snuchers 1 19 6 15 Fowles 1 17 6 17 Tea Potts 12 3 6 Setts China Dishes	Collection of goods sold in September 1730. 42 gallons of arrack, £13 6s 0d 660 lb of sugar, £16 13s 6d 77 lb of candy, £2 17s 9.5d 1,117 lb of bread, £14 2s 9.5d 216 lb of steel, £5 7s 7.5d 21 lb of soap, £1 2s 6d 798 pieces of damaged chintz, £59 12s 6d 217 yards of gingham, £4 1s 4.5d 128 cups and saucers, £3 8s 2d 49 cups, £0 8s 2d 86 dishes, £0 14s 0d 67 sneakers, £1 19s 6d 15 bowls, £1 17s 6d 17 tea pots, £0 12s 3d 5 setts of china dishes, £6 6s 8d 4 plates, £0 8s 2d Total, £101 1s 7.5d Plantation: 8 leaguers of arrack at £1 12s 7d each, there being no allowance for these two years past, £12 7s 3d Garrison: 8 catties of bohea tea, £2 8s 0d 8.5 gallons of rape oil, £11 7s 0d 30 gallons of the allowance to the council for one year, £0 0s 0d Medicines expended in one year, £76 14s 2d Total, £92 3s 2d Charges general: 3 lb 3 oz of putty, £1 6s 3d 16 lb of soap, £0 17s 4d 1.5 gallons of sweet oil, £1 6s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		6 6 8 4 Plates 6 2 101 1 7 1/2 Plantation No 3 Garden Seeds & Sundrys £12:7:3 there not being any dispensed for these two Years past 12 7 3 Yards Iron Vizt 8 Cattoes Iron 2 8 8 1/2 Galls Oyle 11 7 30 Galls the Allowance to the Cranes for 1 Year 1 4 Medicines Expended in one Year 70 14 2 92 3 2 Charges Generall Vizt 0:2: Beef 1 6 3 16: Soap 17 4 4 1/2 Galls Iron 1 6 20lb Nails 1 4 2:12: 1 4 1 Tea Kettle 1 6 3 Pruning Knives 4 6 3 Galls Train Oyle 18 9 Skea Thread 3 4 17 Sack Thread 1 9 19: Suth Staves 2 4 1 doz Awl Blades do do 1 1 Boyle Ram wt 111 1/4 2 13 10 The above Articles have been used this Month 8 15 10 10: 2:0:28 Wafers 1 2 6 190: 1 18 Pr Williams Deally 19 65: 12:16 8 Pr Sarah Whitehead 3 5 62: 28 Pr Ufer 3 12 4 104: 88 Pr Brown Trees 22 13 6 6 Wainscott Boards 1 Inch 1 7 13 do 3/4 2 4 4 do 3/4 12 6 257 Pr do Sorted 7 1 0 Ships Ironmongerywear Sorted 30 2 6 5:1:14 Iron 6 11 4 1/2 --:4 do Steel 2 8 1:1: Small Shott 1 17 6 The above Articles are the Cargoes of the Year 101 17 10 1/2	20 lb of nails, £1 4s 0d 2 [...], £1 4s 0d 1 tea kettle, £1 6s 0d 3 pruning knives, £0 4s 6d 3 gallons of train oil, £0 18s 0d 2 lb of shoe thread, £0 3s 0d 1 lb of pack thread, £0 1s 9d 19 scythe stones, £0 2s 4d 1 dozen awl blades, £0 1s 6d 1 boat rope of 1,144 lb, £2 18s 10d The above articles have been used about the wharf, £8 15s 10d 10 pieces of 28 lb wafers, £1 2s 6d 190 pieces of 18 lb Williams doubly, £12 0s 0d 65 pieces of 18 lb 16 oz inch boards, £3 5s 0d 62 pieces of 28 lb wafers, £3 13s 4d 104 pieces of 88 lb broom trees, £22 13s 6d 6 hoop-set boards, 1 inch, £1 7s 0d 18 boards of 79 lb, £2 4s 0d 4 boards of 79 lb, £12 6s 0d 257 lb of lead sorted, £7 1s 0d Stationery ware sorted, £30 2s 6d 5 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb of iron, £6 11s 4.5d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 4 lb of steel, £2 12s 4.5d 71 lb of small shot, £1 17s 6d The above articles are the charges of one year, £101 17s 10.5d 2 Chinese blocks, £3 7s 6d 130 pieces of 2 inch oak plank, £2 16s 9d 188 lb of steel, £10 18s 6d 96 lb of lead, £5 13s 0d 122 lb of oak timber, £26 11s 2d The above articles were left as expended in November last, but were forgot to be brought to account, £59 6s 7d Total, £169 19s 4.5d Blacks: 234.5 lb of flesh, £0 16s 9d 14 lb of thread, £1 13s 3d 20 lb of lead, £0 6s 6d 2 catties of bohea tea, £0 6s 0d 6 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb of rice, £4 19s 4.5d Upon account of clothing delivered, they can get in order to get their clothes made against the usual time of clothing them, £0 0s 0d Blacks carried over, £8 6s 5.5d Carried over, £375 10s 10d Interpretations The 798 pieces of damaged chintz at £59 12s 6d dominate the month's retail sales and are the largest single line in the account. Chintz was printed or painted Indian cotton, and the practice of fixing a reduced selling price on damaged goods and annexing it to the invoice appears in the record on 16 March 1728, when 1,386 pieces of Guinea Bonambaguey chintz were priced at 7s 6d apiece after damage. Selling spoiled cloth cheaply into the island rather than shipping it home was the Company's standard means of recovering something from a wetted consignment. The china wares run through a set of terms worth distinguishing. A sneaker was a small drinking cup or bowl, generally for punch or spirits; a sett of china dishes was a matched group sold together at £1 5s 4d apiece; and the separate entries for cups, cups with saucers, dishes, plates, bowls and tea pots indicate that the goods arrived as bulk assortments and were broken up for retail. Bohea remained the island's staple black tea, issued by the catty of about 1.33 lb. The oils divide by use. Sweet oil was edible olive oil, train oil the rendered fat of fish or whale used to dress leather and preserve timber, and rape oil, pressed from oilseed rape, burned in lamps and greased ironwork against the damp. The wharf materials confirm the construction noted in August, when three barrels of pitch were charged to

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		8 Chinjam Blocks 13 7 6 130 Pr 2 Inch Oak Plank 2 16 3 188 1 Inch 10 18 6 96 do do 5 13 193 Oak Timber 26 11 4 The above Articles were cast up do Expended in Mr Smiths time but never forgot to be brought to Chest 59 6 7 169 19 4 1/2 Blacks Vizt 2 3 1/4 Doz Flacks 16 8 14 Silver 1 13 8 20 Steel 6 6 2 Cases Iron 1 5 0:2:14 Rice 4 19 4 1/2 Upon Acct of Clothing delivered them each in order to get their Clothes made against the usuall time of Clothing them &c Blacks Cad over 8 6 5 1/2 Carried over 376 10 10	the wharf for the crane at Lemon Valley. Putty, nails, a boat rope of 1,144 lb, scythe stones and pruning knives together at £8 15s 10d show the work continuing into September. The timber charges that follow, running to broom trees, oak plank, inch boards and oak timber, are entered as the charges of a whole year rather than the month, and the account closes with a further block of materials acknowledged as expended in November 1729 but never brought to account until now. Bringing forward a nine-month-old omission at the close of the Company's accounting year is the sort of correction the annual audit was designed to catch. Medicines expended in the year at £76 14s 2d run at more than double the £35 0s 0d charged in the year to September 1729 and nearly three times the £26 0s 0d of the year before. The surgeon Benjamin Alsop had been engaged on 13 February 1728 at £3 a month, and his books were audited on the same footing as his predecessor's on 8 and 15 April 1729, when some forty-nine debtors acknowledged their sums. The note appended to the slaves' account records clothing delivered as cloth rather than made-up garments, so that the slaves might have it cut and sewn before the usual clothing season. The annual charge fell each autumn as the winter approached, the September 1729 account carrying 445 yards of kersey and 100 sailors' blankets delivered to the tailor at once for that purpose. St Helena's winter runs roughly from May to September, so an autumn issue reaches the slaves as the cold season is closing rather than opening.
<u>16</u>	13	Brought over 375 10 10 Blacks brought over 8 6 5 1/2 400 Yards Jersey 25 10 109 Ricks 18 15 2 Yards Cotton 1 1 3 White Brown Thread 17 8 Colonies Rowses 4 9 2 Do do Soap 62 Pr damaged Chints being part of the Bought Goods from the Chest left for the Use of do 4 10 2 Notion Grahios 6 72 Pr do 2 1/2 68 17 9 Diet Expences 40 1/2 Galls Arrack 10 10 66 1/2 Sugar 1 6 3 38 lb Candle 17 6 109 Flower 1 6 2 18 Galls Sherry 1 6 1 1/2 4 Galls Port 1 4 6 2lb Pepper 1 2 36 Galls Strong Beer	Blacks, brought over, £8 6s 5.5d. 400 yards of kersey, £35 0s 0d 100 blankets, £18 15s 0d 2 yards of shalloon, £0 1s 7d 5 skeins of brown thread, £0 1s 7d 3 pieces of Coromandel chintz, £0 3s 0d 2 catties of bohea tea, £0 4s 0d 12 pieces of damaged chintz, being part of the bought goods from the Cape left for the storehouse, £4 10s 0d 2 sailors' knives, £0 0s 6d 7.5 dozen of nets, £0 0s 4.5d Total, £68 17s 9d Diet expenses: 41.5 gallons of arrack, £15 0s 10d 68 lb of sugar, £1 6s 3d 25 lb of candy, £0 12s 6d 100 lb of flour, £1 6s 8d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 19s 6d 4 gallons of port, £1 4s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 3s 0d 36 gallons of strong beer, £1 19s 0d 28 lb of candles, £0 18s 0d 5 bushels of salt, £0 9s 0d 1 loaf of sugar, £0 0s 4d Total, £39 1s 9d Grand total, £476 9s 9d Expense of the table in September 1730. 49 gallons of arrack, £13 6s 0d 44 lb of sugar, £1 3s 0d 10 lb of candy, £0 7s 6d 38 lb of bread, £0 9s 6d 100 lb of flour, £1 7s 3d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 19s 6d 4 gallons of port, £1 4s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 1s 2d 36 gallons of strong beer, £1 19s 0d 5 bushels of salt, £0 9s 0d 1 loaf of salt, £2 3s 4d 179 lb of fish, £4 9s 6d 330 lb of beef, £4 8s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 19 4 28 lb Candles 2 4 8 Bushells Salt 8 4 1 Beef Iron 4 39 1 9 476 9 9 Expence of the Table in Septr 1701 Vizt 40 Galls Arrack 13 6 44 Sugar 1 9 10: Candy 7 6 38lb Bread 9 6 109 Flower 1 7 3 18 Galls Sherry 6 19 6 4 Galls Port 1 2 6 2lb Pepper 1 2 26 Galls Strong Beer 1 19 2 Bushells Flowr 2 4 1: Loaf of Salt 2 4 179lb Pork 4 9 6 330lb Beef 4 8 6 1 Sheep 14 Kids 1 2 2 6 Goates 1 16 1 Pig 6 18lb Butter 13 30 Days Greens 1 10 60 Bowles Milk 1 40 18 1 28 Candles 12 2 16lb Sugar 17 4 2 Gan Arrack for the Souldiers 1 5 4 being Wet & Cold 32lb do do ditto 4 6 9/4 Sugar 20 2 2	1 sheep, £0 12s 2d 14 fowls, £1 16s 0d 6 goats, £0 6s 6d 1 pig, £0 13s 0d 15 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 30 days of greens, £1 0s 0d 60 bottles of milk, £1 0s 0d Total, £43 18s 1d 28 candles, £2 8s 0d 15 lb of sugar, £0 17s 6d 2 gallons of arrack to the slaves, the weather being wet and cold, £0 12s 6d 30 lb of sugar for the same, £0 0s 0d Total, £4 2s 4d Interpretations Kersey and blankets at £53 15s 0d between them form the annual clothing charge for the Company's slaves, delivered as cloth rather than finished garments so that the tailor could cut and make it up. The figure of 400 yards matches the pattern exactly: 404 yards of kersey with 79 blankets in September 1728, and 445 yards with 100 blankets in September 1729. Kersey was a coarse ribbed woollen, cheap and hard-wearing, and shalloon a light twill used for linings. The issue falls each September at the close of the Company's accounting year, and on the island's calendar that places it at the end of winter rather than the start. Fish at 179 lb appears as a substantial line in the table account for the first time in this run, alongside 330 lb of beef. The fishery Governor Byfield established on 1 March 1727 was created to feed the slaves after he abolished their meat ration, with ten men constantly in the boats, but the catch was evidently reaching the fort's own table by 1730. The two petitions of 21 September 1730 from Robert Burnham and Matthew Mudge for ground to build fish houses in the fort valley point the same way. The table total of £43 18s 1d continues the summer decline, falling below the £48 2s 10d of August and well below the £76 7s 2d of June when four ships were entertained ashore. No vessel touched the island between the departure of the June fleet on 30 June and the close of September, and the table shrank to the permanent household with its Sunday and public-day additions. Sherry at 18 gallons against 4 gallons of port maintains the proportion noted through the winter of 1729 to 1730, when sherry ran consistently heavier at the fort's table. The wet-weather allowance of arrack to the slaves appears again at 2 gallons with sugar, the same seasonal issue recorded in August and running back through the southern winter of 1729. Candy was crystallised sugar, sold separately from the loose sugar and at roughly double the rate, and a loaf of sugar was the conical moulded block in which refined sugar was shipped and stored before being broken up for use.
17	14	A List of the Honble Companies Blacks taken 30th Septr 1701. Names, Ages, Employment, Qualification, Names, Ages, Employmts, Qualification Men Slaves Employed in Repairing the Fortifications as often as occasion require Plato 34 Simon 28 Good Harry 37 do Close 43 Labourers	List of the Company's slaves taken 30 September 1730. Men slaves employed in repairing the fortifications as often as occasion requires. Plato, aged 34, labourer, good Simon, aged 28, labourer, good Harry, aged 37, labourer, good Clofe, aged 43, labourer, good Mahomet, aged 39, labourer, good Mutas, aged 31, labourer, good Stephen, aged 40, stonelayer, good Coemona, aged 40, stonelayer, good Dick, aged 35, stonelayer, good

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		do Mahomet 39 do Muter 31 do Stephen 40 do Cosmona 40 Stonelayers do Dick 9 35 do Men Slaves Employed in the Grand Plantacon Frank 40 Looks after Fences Good Diamond 39 Labourer do Jack 36 Butcher do Peter 30 Labr do Ignonius 26 do do Charles 28 Nurser do Harry Green 24 Attends Water Courses do Sandwich 22 Labr do Fae 21 do Indift Wile Benjan 30 do do Caleb 26 Attends the Doctor do Bolvards Jack 39 Raises Poultry do Machet 35 Milkman Good Harry 39 Tanner do Will 30 Labr Indift Stepney 30 do do Robin 33 do Good Jack Cook 40 do do Matthew 29 do Indift Sam 36 do Good Manuel 28 do	9 men in all Men slaves employed in the Grand Plantation. Frank, aged 40, looks after distances, good Diamond, aged 39, labourer, good Jack, aged 36, butcher, good Peter, aged 30, labourer, good Ignonius, aged 26, labourer, good Charles, aged 28, overseer, good Harry Green, aged 24, attends the water course, good Sandwich, aged 22, labourer, good Joe, aged 21, labourer, indifferent Will Benjan, aged 30, labourer, indifferent Caleb, aged 26, attends the doctor, indifferent Bolvard's Jack, aged 39, raises poultry, indifferent Machet, aged 35, milkman, good Harry, aged 39, tanner, good Will, aged 30, labourer, indifferent Stepney, aged 30, labourer, indifferent Robin, aged 33, labourer, good Jack Cook, aged 40, labourer, good Matthew, aged 29, labourer, indifferent Sam, aged 36, labourer, good Manuel, aged 28, labourer, good Sam Moor, aged 21, labourer, indifferent Pemmey, aged 29, labourer, indifferent James Green, aged 28, labourer, indifferent Caesar, aged 40, attends divinity, indifferent 25 men in all Five of these hands work constantly at the plantation called Perkins, but sleep at the Plantation House. Men slaves at work at the Wood, who also bring fuel from there to supply the castle. James, aged 40, indifferent Jack Pirate, aged 39, attends the cattle and pastures, indifferent Pompey, aged 34, looks after the fences in all other parts of the Wood, indifferent Cato, aged 32, looks after the fences in all other parts of the Wood, indifferent Jupiter, aged 38, looks after the fences in all other parts of the Wood, indifferent Toney, aged 31, looks after the fences in all other parts of the Wood, indifferent 6 men in all Aaron, superannuated, attends the skirts of the Wood to keep out goats and cattle Balla, superannuated, attends the skirts of the Wood to keep out goats and cattle Lewis, aged 32, constantly at Perkins plantation, 1 man. Men slaves at the plantation in the fort valley. Ned, aged 36, stonelayers, very good Will, aged 33, labourer, good Mannon, aged 38, labourer, indifferent Daniel, aged 39, labourer, indifferent Ben, aged 34, labourer, indifferent Horsham, aged 35, labourer, indifferent Monroe, aged 34, labourer, indifferent Moses, aged 33, labourer, indifferent Toney, aged 28, labourer, indifferent Jack Tuddey, aged 11, taken from the list of boys Men slaves in the country garden. Limehouse, aged 28, good Somerset, aged 31, indifferent Simon, aged 36, indifferent Mercury, aged 33, good Frank, aged 37, indifferent Madagascar Dick, aged 28, indifferent 6 men in all Men slaves constantly employed in the fishing boats. Harry Rammer, aged 28, all good Dibbol, aged 30, all good

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		do Sam Moor 21 do Indift Sammey 29 do do James Green 28 do do Caesar 25 40 Attends Divinity do NB: Five of these hands constantly Work at the Plantacon called Fentins but always ly at the Plantacon House Men Slaves at Work at the Wood who also bring Fuel from thence to Supply the Castle Indift James 40 Indift Jack Pirate 39 Attend the Cattle & Pastures do Pompey 34 do Cato 32 Look after the Fences do Jupiter 38 in all other parts of do Toney 6 31 the Wood do Aaron Attend the Skirts of the Balla Superann: Wood to keep out Goates &c Lewis constantly 1 32 at Fentins Plantacon Men Slaves at the Plantacon in the Fort Valley Ned 36 Stonelayar Very good Will 33 Labourer Good Mannon 38 do Indift Daniel 39 do do Ben 34 do do Horsham 35 do do Monroe 34 do do Moses 33 do do Toney 28 do do Jack Pudsey 11 20 taken from List of Boys Men Slaves in the Country Garden Limehouse 28 Good Somerset 31 Indift	Martin, aged 32, all good Toney, aged 30, all good Leander, aged 35, all good Mark, aged 30, all good Daniel, aged 28, all good Corydon, aged 30, all good Abdella, aged 36, all good Shewry, aged 27, all good Sam Morris, aged 18, taken from the list of boys 11 men in all Men slaves employed at handicrafts. Boston, aged 49, tailor, good Daniel, aged 30, tailor, good for nothing and lame Alley, aged 39, smith, good Dumplin, aged 36, smith, good Jack, aged 36, carpenter, good Dick, aged 19, carpenter, indifferent Blackwalls, aged 39, sawyer, good Jim, aged 13, carpenter, boys now looking after cattle Gabriel, aged 12, cooper, boys now looking after cattle Frank, aged 11, butcher, boys now looking after cattle Men slaves at the plantation in Sandy Bay. Hector, aged 31, labourer, good Islington, aged 34, labourer, indifferent Davis, aged 35, labourer, indifferent Will, aged 23, labourer, indifferent Leo, aged 32, labourer, indifferent 5 men in all Men slaves in the fort garden. Chatham, aged 30, good Augustus, aged 40, good Harry, aged 31, good 3 men in all Men slaves at the Peak. Harry, aged 30, good Defre, aged 45, indifferent 2 men in all Men looking after sheep. Blake, aged 30, very indifferent 1 man in all Men looking after the horses. Isaac, aged 26, very indifferent 1 man in all Men looking after cattle. Mingo, aged 48, very indifferent Ben, aged 37, very indifferent 2 men in all Men slaves looking after hogs. Sambo, aged 40, very indifferent Barrow, aged 44, very indifferent 2 men in all Men slaves in the kitchen. Balla, aged 34, good Jamsey, aged 29, good 2 men in all Men slaves waiters in the house. Short Caesar, aged 36, good Long Caesar, aged 28, good 2 men in all Men slaves superannuated. Aaron Balla Antonio Toney Myers Will Interpretations The muster values men as much as it describes them, the ratings running from very good through good and indifferent to very indifferent and good for nothing. A man rated good for nothing carried no worth on the Company's books, which is why Daniel the tailor is entered at that rating with lameness given

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Simon 36 do Mercury 33 Gaea Frank 37 Indift Madagascar Dick 6 28 do Men Slaves constantly Employed in the Fishing Boats Vizt Harry Rammer 28 Ditto 30 Martin 32 Toney 30 Leander 35 Mark 30 All Good Daniel 28 Corydon 30 Abdella 36 Thewory 27 Sam Morris 11 18 taken from the List of Boys Men Slaves Employed at Handicraft Boston 49 Taylour Good Daniel 30 Ditto but good for nothing & Lame Alley 39 Smith Good Dumplin 36 do do Jack 36 Carpenter do Dick 19 do Indift Blackwall 39 Sawyer Good Jim 13 Carpenter Gabriel 12 Cooper Boys now Frank 11 Butcher Look after Cattle Men Slaves at the Plantacon in Sandy Bay Vizt Hector 31 Good Islington 34 Indift Davies 35 Labrs do Will 23 do Leo 5 31 do Men Slaves in the Fort Garden Vizt Chatham 30 Augustus Augustus 40 Good Harry 3 31 Men Slaves at the Peak Harry 30 Good Defoe 2 45 Indift	as the reason. The valuation exercise ran alongside the annual settling of the slave children's values on 30 September 1730, both falling at the close of the Company's accounting year so the establishment could be stated in the books at a figure reflecting a year's ageing and decline. The ratings cluster by station in a way that reveals how the Company allocated labour. Every man in the fishing boats is rated all good, as are the stonelayers and labourers on the fortifications, while the herdsmen watching sheep, horses, cattle and hogs are without exception rated very indifferent. Stock-tending required little strength and less skill, so it absorbed the men whose value had fallen, and the pattern holds against the muster of 31 March 1729 where the same stations carried the same ratings. Boys of eleven, twelve and thirteen appear among the handicrafts as carpenter, cooper and butcher, though the note records all three now set to watching cattle. The same feature runs through the earlier musters, a cooper of eleven and a butcher of nine appearing in March 1729 and boys of eight, nine and ten set to butchery, coopering and carpentry in March 1728. Trades were begun young because the island could not buy skilled hands and had to raise its own, and the reallocation of these three to stock work suggests the establishment was short of men in the fields rather than in the workshops. Eleven men in the fishing boats confirm the establishment Governor Byfield created on 1 March 1727, when he abolished the slaves' meat ration and replaced it with fish. The figure has held at ten or eleven across every muster since, and the September table account carrying 179 lb of fish shows the catch now reaching the fort's own table as well as the slave quarters. Two superannuated men set to watch the skirts of the Wood and keep out goats and cattle occupy the least demanding post on the island, and the duty itself is the whole wood campaign in miniature. The council had held since 1727 that browsing animals were destroying the island's timber, the advertisement of 21 October 1729 warning that no timber would be left standing within seven or eight years, and the advertisement of 14 July 1730 directing the overseer to watch the cattle and goats grazing among the wood on pain of a severe fine. A man attending the doctor and another attending divinity show the Company's slaves supporting the island's professional establishment as well as its fields and fortifications. The surgeon Benjamin Alsop had been engaged on 13 February 1728, and the parish maintained a church where the inhabitants assembled, so both offices required a servant assigned from the Company's own people rather than hired.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Men looking after Sheep Blake 1 30 Very Indift Men looking after the Horses Isaac 1 26 Very Indift Men looking after Cattle Mingo 48 Ben 2 37 Very Indift Men Slaves looking after Hoggs Sambo 40 Barrow 2 44 Very Indift Men Slaves in the Kitchen Balla 34 Jammey 2 29 Good Men Slaves Waiters in the House Short Caesar 36 Long Caesar 2 28 Good Men Slaves Superannuated Aaron Balla Antonio Toney Myers Will	
18	15	Names, Ages, Employment, Qualification, Boys, Girls Women Slaves Employed in the Grand Plantacon Mall Gover 32 Weeds Garden Indift Agnes 28 Dairy Maid do Ding 30 Raises Poultry do Bridget 34 Fetches Wood do Margaret 30 Washerwoman Good Alice 30 Raises Poultry Indift Ellen Leo 32 Works in Plantacon Good Sarah Alley 32 Washerwoman do Betty Ben 35 do do Sarah Barrow 21 Weeds Garden Indift Priscilla 32 Works in Do do Nanne S 32 do do & Lame Saken 30 Dairy Maid Good Short Mary 25 Washerwoman do Old Mary 55 Weeds Garden	Women slaves employed in the Grand Plantation. Moll Green, aged 32, weeds the garden, indifferent Agnes, aged 28, dairy maid, indifferent Ding, aged 30, raises poultry, indifferent Bridget, aged 34, fetches wood, indifferent Margaret, aged 30, washerwoman, good Alice, aged 30, raises poultry, indifferent Ellen Leo, aged 32, works in the plantation, good Sarah Alley, aged 32, washerwoman, good Betty Jin, aged 35, washerwoman, good Sarah Barrow, aged 21, weeds the garden, indifferent Priscilla, aged 32, works in the plantation, indifferent Nanne, aged 32, works in the plantation, indifferent and lame Saher, aged 30, dairy maid, good Short Mary, aged 25, washerwoman, good Old Mary, aged 55, weeds the garden, indifferent Magdalena, aged 32, fetches wood, indifferent Sarah Daniel, aged 26, works in the plantation, indifferent Betty Ben, aged 35, weeds the garden, indifferent Toney, aged 30, works in the plantation, indifferent Ellen, aged 32, works in the plantation, good Catherine, aged 35, washes for servants, indifferent Abigail, aged 34, works in the plantation, indifferent Grace, aged 32, works in the plantation, indifferent Women employed in the house. Grace, aged 28, mends linen, good Great Ellen, aged 39, bedding and cleaning the houses, good Betty Tom, aged 28, bedding and cleaning the houses, good Women employed in making and mending clothes, who also work in the plantation at proper times. Maria, aged 26, good Mercy Benjamin, aged 30, good Mercy, aged 30, good Sarah, aged 30, healthy Women in the scullery and assistant in the kitchen. Inigo, aged 29, indifferent Sarah, aged 26, indifferent Women superannuated. Mercy Welchy

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Indift Magdalena 32 Fetches Wood do Sarah Daniel 26 Works in Do do Betty Ben 35 Weeds Garden do Toney 30 Works in Do do Ellen 32 do Good Catherine 35 Washes for Servts Indift Abigail 34 Works in Do do Grace 32 do do Women Employed in the House Grace 27 Mend Linnen Good Great Ellen 39 Bedding & Clean do Betty Tom 28 the Houses do Women Employed in making & mending Cloths who also Work in the Plantacon at proper times Maria 26 Good Mercy Benjamin 30 do Mercy 30 do Sarah 30 Healthy Women in the Scullery & Assistant in the Kitchen Inigo 29 Indift Sarah 26 Do Women Superannuated Mercy Welchy Old Sarah Boys Morris 9 Jack 6 John 3 Will 4 Moses 7 Phill 5 Toney 15 Jack 8 Tom 5 Will 17 Charles 5 Ned 7 Harry 6 Stepney 8 Frank 10 Jim 13 Gabriel 12 Jack Port 14 Pompey 18 Robin 14	Old Sarah Boys. Morris, aged 9 Jack, aged 6 John, aged 3 Will, aged 4 Moses, aged 7 Phil, aged 5 Toney, aged 15 Jack, aged 8 Tom, aged 5 Will, aged 7 Charles, aged 5 Ned, aged 7 Harry, aged 6 Stepney, aged 8 Frank, aged 10 Jim, aged 13 Gabriel, aged 12 Jack Port, aged 14 Pompey, aged 18 Robin, aged 14 Phil, aged 6 Harry, aged 4 Daniel, aged 4 George, aged 3 Joseph, aged 4 Mingo, aged 3 Gofer, aged 3 Harry, aged 3 Sancey, aged 4 Lucas, aged 1 George, aged 9 months Denis, aged 9 months Alley, aged 9 months Girls. Betty Green, aged 16, placed out to Mr Durling Margaret, aged 11, placed out to Widow Jephry Margaret, aged 10, placed out to Mr Mason Sal, aged 9, placed out to Mr Ryder Betty, aged 8, placed out to Mr Insley Magdalena, aged 13, placed out to Mary Thorne Mary, aged 11, placed out to Mr Draper Nanney, aged 12, placed out to Mr French Mercy, aged 13 Margaret, aged 9 Sarah, aged 14 Betty, aged 10 Tabney, aged 5 Margaret, aged 6 Betty, aged 9 Bridget, aged 5 Margaret, aged 17 Nanney, aged 6 Ellen, aged 6 Grace, aged 5 Sarah, aged 8 Ellen, aged 5 Sarah, aged 2 Mary, aged 5 Magdalena, aged 8 Catherine, aged 6 Margaret, aged 8 Nanney, aged 11 Betty, aged 1 Betty, aged 1 Dolly, aged 1 Ding, aged 1 Sarah, aged 12 Ellen, aged 4 months Martha, aged 4 months Hannah, aged 4 months Mercy, aged 3 Priss, aged 2 months Susanna, aged 1 month

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Phill 6 Harry 4 Daniel 4 George 3 Joseph 4 Mingo 3 Gofer 3 Harry 3 Fancey 4 Lucas 1 George 3/4 Denis 3/4 Alley 3/4 Girls Betty Gover 16 Margaret 11 Margaret 10 Sal 9 Betty 8 Magdalena 13 Mary 11 Nanney 12 Mercy 13 Margaret 9 Sarah 14 Betty 10 Toney 5 Margaret 6 Betty 9 Bridget 5 Margaret 17 Nanney 6 Ellen 6 Grace 5 Sarah 8 Ellen 5 Sarah 2 Mary 5 Magdalena 8 Catherine 6 Margaret 8 Nanney 11 Betty 1 Betty 1 Doll 1 Ding 1 Sarah 1/2 Ellen 1/4 Martha 1/4 Hannah 1/4 Mercy 3 Priss 2 month Susanna 1 yr Agnes 2 yr Judith 2 These 2 First are placed out to Vizt Mr Purling Widow Isaack Mr Mason St Ryder Mr Finsley Mary Throkes Mrs Fisher Mr French Men at Fortifications 9 do at the Grand Plantacon 25 ditto at the Wood 6 ditto at Fentins 1 ditto at the Plantacon in Fort Valley 11 ditto in the Country Garden 6 ditto in the Fort Garden 3 ditto Fishermen 11 ditto Handicraftsmen 7 ditto at Plantacon in Sandy Bay 5 ditto at the Peak 2	Agnes, aged 2 months Judith, aged 2 Summary of the whole establishment. Men at the fortifications, 9 Men at the Grand Plantation, 25 Men at the Wood, 6 Men at Perkins, 1 Men at the plantation in the fort valley, 11 Men in the country garden, 6 Men in the fort garden, 3 Men fishermen, 11 Men handicraftsmen, 7 Men at the plantation in Sandy Bay, 5 Men at the Peak, 2 Men looking after sheep, 1 Men looking after horses, 1 Men looking after cattle, 2 Men looking after hogs, 2 Men in the kitchen, 2 Men waiters in the house, 2 Men superannuated, 5 Total men, 101 Women at the Grand Plantation, 23 Women in the house, 3 Women at their needle, 4 Women in the scullery, 2 Women superannuated, 3 Total women, 35 Boys, 33 Girls, 41 Grand total, 210 Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The establishment stands at 210 against 212 in March 1730, 213 in March 1729 and 219 in March 1728, a slow decline across three years. The composition tells more than the total: 101 men and 35 women against 74 children, with 41 girls to 33 boys. A population reproducing itself would show far more balance, and the Company continued to buy and exchange slaves throughout the period rather than rely on births. The infants at the foot of the girls' list are the striking feature. Six girls under six months appear, three at four months and three at one or two months, alongside three boys of nine months. This is a substantial birth cohort in a single year, and the consultations record several of them individually: a girl named Susannah born to Moll in September 1730, a girl born to Toffey in June 1730, and two girls both named Betty born to Alice and Baby Bess in May 1730. The mothers appear on the women's list at the Grand Plantation, so the same establishment carried the labour and the childbearing. Eight girls are marked as placed out to the inhabitants, a practice Governor Byfield began on 11 April 1727 when he apprenticed Betty Green to Richard Durling for seven years to save the Company her keep. Betty Green heads the list at sixteen, now nine years into that term. Each apprenticeship ran under a registered bond, and the children were called before the council each year and asked how they were treated, as they were on 30 September 1730. Only girls were placed out, never boys, since boys were retained to be raised into the trades and the fields. The women's ratings run heavily to indifferent, with the good ratings clustering among the washerwomen, the house servants and the needlewomen rather than the field hands. Sarah at thirty is rated healthy rather than good, a term that appears nowhere else in the muster and probably marks a recent recovery or a recent purchase. The men's stations show the establishment stretched across a great many small posts. Eleven

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		do looking after Sheep 1 do Horses 1 do Cattle 2 do Hoggs 2 do in the Kitchen 2 do in the House Waiters 2 do Superannuated 5 Totall Men 101 101 Men Women at Grand Plantacon 23 do in the House 3 do at their Needle 4 do in the Scullery 2 do Superannuated 3 35 Women Boys 33 Boys Girles 41 Girles Totall 210 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	fishermen, six in the country garden, three in the fort garden, two at the Peak and single men watching sheep and horses represent an island where nothing could be bought in and every function had to be manned from the Company's own people. The Peak is the island's high central ground, and a pair of men stationed there were presumably tending stock or cultivation at altitude.
19	16	List of Eaters at the Genl Table 30 Sept 1701 Vizt Governour 1 Gentlemen of Council 3 Chaplain 1 Lieutenant 1 Upon Sundays three or four of the Planters & their Wives 6 Upon publick Occasions Twenty or Thirty In Shipping time the Supra Cargoes Captaines Surgeon & Passenger & Note 9 Marshall & Buffalos Servants 9 Upon Sundays & go publick days the Surgeon & Ser Waiters, Clerks, Superintt Overseer & Domestick 9 In Shipping time the Comprador & part of the Boats Crew & Servants attending their Masters 8 Upon Sundays, Gunn Days, Muster days, for Consideration of Church &c with Officers the Church Wardens Overseers & Some of the Ancient Inhabitants 10 Black Servants attending all Officers & Servants attending their Masters 12 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 12th Octor 1701 at Plantacon House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Severall of the Inhabitants having lately neglected to look up their Blacks in the Night by which occasion many Robberies have been committed We this day Ordred them by a Publick Precept to look them up every Evening & not Suffer them to go from home after Sun sett without leave in	List of eaters at the general table, 30 September 1730. Governor, 1 Gentlemen of council, 3 Chaplain, 1 Lieutenant, 1 On Sundays, three or four of the planters and their wives, 6 On public occasions, twenty or thirty In shipping time, supercargoes, captains, surgeons and passengers of note, 9 Marshal and household servants, 9 On Sundays and public days, the surgeon, writers, clerks, schoolmaster, overseers and doorkeepers, 9 In shipping time, part of the boat's crew and servants attending their masters, 8 On Sundays, consultation days and public days, for the consideration of church affairs, the churchwardens, overseers and older inhabitants, 10 Black servants attending all officers and servants attending their masters, 12 Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Several inhabitants had lately grown careless about securing their slaves at night, and thefts and robberies had followed. The council ordered every householder to lock up his slaves each evening and never to let them out again until morning without a written note, so that anyone found abroad could be identified at once and traced back to his owner. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. James Dixon petitioned for a small parcel of ground in James Valley below the house of William Burnham, on which to build a house. The grant was made, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the ground. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin. Interpretations The list of eaters counts entitlements rather than heads, dividing the permanent household from those

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Writing so by some token by which it may be certainly known they had leave E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 19 Octor 1701 at Plantation House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of James Deale was presented & read praying a Lease for a small Parcell of Ground in James Valley above the Stables of Robt Burnett in order to build upon Granted & Mr Goodwin is ordred to Measure the same E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin	fed only on particular days or when shipping lay in the road. The chaplain appears here as a named entitlement, which the lists of 31 March 1729 and 31 March 1730 did not separately record, and the surgeon has moved from the standing establishment to the Sunday and public-day group. Set against the 53 eaters recorded on 21 March 1727, the table has grown considerably despite Governor Byfield's economies, though the growth falls almost entirely on the occasional categories rather than the daily household. The night-time curfew on slaves rests on a written pass as its enforcement mechanism, which was the only workable check on an island where the testimony of blacks was inadmissible in court. The council had been unable to convict anyone of shooting the Company's goats through the whole of 1729 for precisely that reason, and warrants to kill dogs were the nearest it came to a remedy. A written note from the owner reversed the difficulty: instead of proving what a slave had done, the watch had only to ask what document he carried, and an absent pass made the owner answerable. The order continues a line of measures running back through this record. Slaves had escaped in numbers on 27 February 1728, seven put out to sea and were supposed drowned on 5 March 1728, a guard was set to lie in the long boat all night from 30 July 1728, and Captain Ingles of the <i>Caernarvon</i> was warned on 26 February 1728 to keep a strict night watch against slaves attempting to board. The present order shifts the burden from the Company's own precautions onto the private householder.
20	17	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 26 Octor 1701 at Plantation House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of John Isaack was presented & read praying leave to him about an Acre of Wast Land adjoining to other of his Freehold Land Granted & Mr Goodwin is Ordred to Measure the same The Governour Reports that a full Sett of Books for the Year ending the 30th of Septr last are Ballanced by which it appears that the gross Charge of the Island for the year past Amounts only to £4214:6:2 & Deductable to £900:6:1 that then it was last Year The Storekeeper delivered an Inventory of Goods & Stores Remaining 30 of Septr last Ordred that the said Books & Inventory be Examined in order to be Carried & sent to England E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Wednesday 27 Octor 1701 at Do House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day began to Examine the Journall & having gone this part of it Adjourned till to Morrow Morning	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. John Isaac petitioned for about an acre of waste land adjoining his freehold. The grant was made, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the ground. Governor Byfield reported that he had balanced the books for the year ending 30 September 1730. The gross charge of the island for the year past came to only £4,214 6s 0d, against £4,809 6s 0d for the year before. The storekeeper delivered an inventory of the goods and stores remaining on 30 September 1730. The council ordered the books and the inventory examined, so that both might be copied and sent to England. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Wednesday 27 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council began the examination of the journal, and having gone through part of it, adjourned to the following morning. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Thursday 28 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The council continued its examination of the journal and adjourned to the following morning. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Friday 29 October 1730 at Plantation House.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Thursday 28th Octor 1701 at Do House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe We this day proceeded in our Examination of the Journall & Adjourned till to Morrow Morning E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Friday 29 Octor 1701 at Plantacon House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe We this day finished the Examination of the Journall & Adjourned till to Morrow Morning E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The council finished the examination of the journal and adjourned to the following morning. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The gross charge of £4,214 6s 0d marks a sharp reversal for a governor whose reputation rested on retrenchment. The figure for the year to 30 September 1729 had been £3,144 6s 0d, itself a fall of more than a third from the £4,846 13s 7d of the year before, and the council had entered it on the record as evidence of what economy could achieve. The comparative sum quoted here against the previous year does not match the £3,144 6s 0d reported on 18 November 1729, which suggests the abstracts were drawn on a different basis, and the alternative reading of the manuscript figures would materially alter the comparison. Taking the total as it stands, the year's charge rose by roughly a third over the preceding twelvemonth, and the causes are visible in the accounts already entered: medicines at £76 14s 2d against £35 0s 0d, the wharf and crane works at Lemon Valley, and a year of timber and stationery charges brought to account together. The audit itself follows the sequence established in previous years, the journal examined first across successive daily meetings, then checked against the ledger, then the inventory of stores compared with both. The council had sat from six in the morning until eight in the evening for the audit of November 1729, and the same pattern of consecutive daily consultations appears here, four sittings in four days including a Wednesday, Thursday and Friday outside the ordinary Tuesday cycle. Copying the books fairly and sending them to England was the whole purpose of the exercise. The island had no auditor of its own, and the council's examination served only to certify that the journal, ledger and inventory agreed with one another before the transcripts went home for the Court of Committees to judge.
21	18	At a Consultation held on Saturday 30 Octor 1701 at Do House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe We this Morning began the Examination of the Ledger & Adjourned till to Monday Morning E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Monday 1 Novr 1701 at Do House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe We this day finished the Examination of the Ledger & Adjourned till to Morrow Morning E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 2 Novemr 1701 at Do House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Saturday 30 October 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The council began the examination of the ledger that morning and adjourned to the Monday following. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Monday 1 November 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The council finished the examination of the ledger and adjourned to the following morning. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 November 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The five previous consultations were read and approved. The council began and finished the examination of the inventory that day, and found it to agree with the general books. Richard Beale petitioned to become tenant of about eleven acres of land which he already held by lease, the ground lying so as to be of great advantage to him. He asked to secure it to his family. The council directed Mr Goodwin to view the land and report at what price Beale might reasonably purchase it, together with the value Mr Goodwin set upon it.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The two last Consultations were this day read & Approved We this day began & finished the Examination of the Inventory & found it Agree with the Storewell Books The Petition of Richard Deal was presented & read Praying leave to become Purchaser for about Eleven Acres of Land which he at present holds by Lease the same to Serve it to the Family it being by its Situation of great Advantage to him Ordred that Mr Goodwin do View & Appraise the said Land & that the said Deale is accepted Purchaser thereof at the Price at which the said Mr Goodwin shall Valueit The Governour, Capt Goodwin the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accts for October last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as followeth Gunnors Stores Expended in Octor 1701 Vizt Guns Fired, Deculvg, Sakers, Minion, Falcons, Powder 1701 Octor 2 Muster Day 00 His Majestys Birthday Guns Fired 21, Deculvg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcons 15, Powder 41 8 Expence of the Guard Cartridge Paper for Cartridges 1/2 Quire Match 1lb Guns Fired 21, Deculvg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcons 15, Powder 56 Salt Ladles 2 to make Nails for Sponge Heads Signed Jno French	Governor Byfield, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for October last. The council examined them separately and approved them. Gunner's stores expended in October 1730. 2 October, muster day: 21 guns fired, 1 demi-culverin, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 15 falcons, 41 lb of powder 30 October, His Majesty's birthday: 21 guns fired, 8 lb of powder Expense of the guard: 7 lb of powder Cartridge paper for cartouches, 1.5 quires Match, 1 lb Ladles, 2, to make nails for sponge staves Total: 21 guns fired, 1 demi-culverin, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 15 falcons, 56 lb of powder Signed: John French. Interpretations The audit ran across six consecutive sittings from 27 October to 2 November, taking in a Wednesday, Thursday, Friday, Saturday and Monday outside the ordinary Tuesday cycle. The sequence follows the pattern of previous years exactly: journal first, then ledger, then the inventory of stores checked against both. The audit of November 1729 had taken the same form and the same number of days, the council then sitting from six in the morning until eight in the evening. Richard Beale's petition seeks to convert a leasehold into a purchase, which was the only means by which a tenant could pass ground to his children with certainty. A lease ran for a fixed term, commonly twenty-one years, and expired without any right of renewal, while the Company's advertisement of 16 March 1728 had warned that renewal at the end of a term would carry a large fine amounting to a considerable part of the land's market worth. Beale had been granted two acres in Sandy Bay on 18 August 1730 and accepted as tenant of eleven acres in Rupert's Valley assigned by Charity Gaa on 25 August 1730, so the parcel now in question is probably that assignment. Sending Goodwin to value the ground rather than accepting an offer from the petitioner follows the practice used for every land sale in this record. Captain Alexander's Perkins pasture was measured and valued by two independent men before the price of £263 0s 0d was fixed on 6 June 1727, and John Durling's purchase at the Huts was viewed for higher bids before being accepted at £7 an acre on 11 April 1727. The October gun account records the first substantial firing since the June fleet sailed. The muster of 2 October drew 41 lb of powder across a mixed discharge of the lighter pieces, and the King's birthday on 30 October a further 8 lb for 21 guns. The total of 56 lb stands well above the 9 lb of August and September, when the anchorage lay empty and only the monthly muster was fired. Royal salutes consistently drew more powder than any defensive firing across this whole run. Two ladles were broken up to make nails for sponge staves, a small entry that shows the gunner recovering metal from worn stores rather than drawing on the storekeeper. A ladle was the long-handled scoop used to load loose powder into a gun, and a sponge stave the shaft carrying the sheepskin head that swabbed the bore between rounds. The annual inventory of 30 September 1730 had recorded 6 sponge heads and 16 rammer heads expended across the year, so the tools were wearing out steadily and being repaired on the island.
22	19	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall,	Account of the Company's stock for October 1730. Remaining 1 October 1730: 65 bullocks, 130 cows, 29 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 72 calves, 5 bulls,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Soves, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 1 Octor 1701: Bullocks 65, Cowes 130, Heifers 29, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 72, Bulls 5, Totall 381, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 10, Rams 3, Totall 87, Ewes 34, Wethers 5, Kids 45, Rams 1, Totall 85, Soves 17, Shoates 30, Barrows 16, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed 1 old Cow: Bullocks 0, Cowes 1, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Totall 3, Ewes 4, Wethers 2, Kids 16, Rams 0, Totall 22, Soves 0, Shoates 2, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 129, Heifers 28, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 72, Bulls 5, Totall 379, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 7, Rams 3, Totall 84, Ewes 30, Wethers 3, Kids 29, Rams 1, Totall 63, Soves 17, Shoates 28, Barrows 16, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 95, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Increased in Octor: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 5, Bulls 0, Totall 5, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 8, Rams 0, Totall 8, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 26, Rams 0, Totall 26, Soves 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 129, Heifers 28, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 77, Bulls 5, Totall 384, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 15, Rams 3, Totall 92, Ewes 30, Wethers 3, Kids 55, Rams 1, Totall 84, Soves 17, Shoates 28, Barrows 16, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 95, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Dead in Octor: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Totall 4, Ewes 5, Wethers 3, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 8, Soves 0, Shoates 2, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 30th Octor: Bullocks 65, Cowes 129, Heifers 28, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 77, Bulls 5, Totall 384, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 11, Rams 3, Totall 88, Ewes 25, Wethers 0, Kids 55, Rams 1, Totall 81, Soves 17, Shoates 26, Barrows 16, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 93, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Sevl Plantations 19,875lb Ditto deld the Fort Blacks 9000 Ditto deld the Great Wood 2975 31,850	381 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 10 lambs, 3 rams, 87 sheep in all; 34 does, 5 wethers, 45 kids, 1 ram, 85 goats in all; 17 sows, 30 shoats, 16 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Killed 1 old cow: 0 bullocks, 1 cow, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, 3 sheep in all; 4 does, 2 wethers, 16 kids, 0 rams, 22 goats in all; 0 sows, 2 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 65 bullocks, 129 cows, 28 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 72 calves, 5 bulls, 379 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 7 lambs, 3 rams, 84 sheep in all; 30 does, 3 wethers, 29 kids, 1 ram, 63 goats in all; 17 sows, 28 shoats, 16 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 95 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Increased in October: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 5 calves, 0 bulls, 5 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 8 lambs, 0 rams, 8 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 26 kids, 0 rams, 26 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after increase: 65 bullocks, 129 cows, 28 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 77 calves, 5 bulls, 384 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 15 lambs, 3 rams, 92 sheep in all; 30 does, 3 wethers, 55 kids, 1 ram, 84 goats in all; 17 sows, 28 shoats, 16 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 95 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Dead in October: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, 4 sheep in all; 5 does, 0 wethers, 3 kids, 0 rams, 8 goats in all; 0 sows, 2 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 2 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 30 October 1730: 65 bullocks, 129 cows, 28 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 77 calves, 5 bulls, 384 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 11 lambs, 3 rams, 88 sheep in all; 25 does, 0 wethers, 55 kids, 1 ram, 81 goats in all; 17 sows, 26 shoats, 16 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 93 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 12 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,875 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 9,000 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 2,975 lb Total yams, 31,850 lb Interpretations The goat herd fell from 85 to 81 across the month, but the movement beneath that figure is more revealing than the closing number. Twenty-two were killed and eight died, against an increase of twenty-six kids, so the herd is still breeding faster than the destruction is removing it. The wether class emptied entirely, falling from five to none, and the does dropped from thirty-four to twenty-five. Killing off the castrated males and the breeding females first is the sequence of a herd being wound up rather than managed, and it follows the council's resolution of 20 January 1730 to destroy the Company's stock alongside the inhabitants', with two years allowed from 1 September. Sheep tell a different story. The flock rose from 87 to 88 on an increase of eight lambs against three killed and four dead, so a species included in the same destruction vote is being allowed to breed on. The distinction between goats and sheep in practice, whatever the vote said in principle, is visible in these two lines: the goats lost thirty head to killing and death in a single month while the sheep lost seven.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Neat cattle stand at 384 with no sale to shipping for the fourth consecutive month, the anchorage having stood empty since the June fleet sailed on 30 June. A single old cow was killed for the table, which matches the four cows killed in September and the pattern across the year of slaughter falling on aged animals rather than prime stock. The whole of the year's 38 head sold to shipping went in the months when the Indiamen were in the road. The yam issue of 31,850 lb holds almost exactly level with September's 31,600 lb and August's 31,260 lb, three consecutive months at the same rate confirming the new crop fully in and the three stations drawing steadily. St Helena's summer opens around November, so the establishment enters the warmer months with the harvest secure, a marked contrast with January 1729 when the crop failed entirely and potatoes carried the whole burden.
23	20	Collection of Goods Sold & Delivered in Octor 1701 16 3/4 Galls Arrack 5 2 4 1/2 143 Pair Stockings Sorted damaged many Years ago by the Moth & therefore Sold at Prime Cost 4 2 9 3 Iron Doors & Posts 7 2 1 Wt 27lb 7 2 0 1 of 1 Do 2 3 0 2 of 5 Galls 17 1 of 10 Galls 12 6 4 Cases & Lanthorn 12 6 16 Middling 2 5 3 Large Sizes 5 14 1 34 Ley Cloth 1 10 17 Pr Shoes 5 5 6 156 Grain Steel 6 & 8 7 1 28 Do 8 & 10 7 6 6 Fine Sizes 18 6 6 Old Sizes 2 8 2 Salts 3 8 57 1/2 Yards Duroms 4 2 3 5:1: Sugar 4 12 10 Totall Sold 61 19 7 1/2 Garrison Do Vizt 1 Cotton Iron 3 6 2 1/4 Galls Rape Oyle 1 3 4 6 3 Blacks Vizt 18 Chints Sorted 11 6 3/4 do Flock 2 3 1 Pr Sauce Pan 2 3	Collection of goods sold and delivered in October 1730. 16.5 gallons of arrack, £5 2s 1.5d 143 pairs of stockings, sorted and damaged, many yards eaten away by the moth and therefore sold at half the invoice cost, £4 2s 7d 3 pairs of women's gloves, £7 2s 0d 1 lb of thread, £2 3s 0d 1 pair of gloves, £0 12s 6d 2 pairs of gloves, £0 17s 0d 1 pair of gloves, £0 12s 6d 4 muslin neckcloths, £0 12s 6d 16 muslins, £2 5s 0d 3 large pieces, £5 14s 0d 1 dozen bags of clasps, £1 10s 0d 17 skeins of linen, £5 5s 5d 126 organzine hose at 6d each, £7 1s 0d 23 pairs of stockings at 10d each, £1 8s 6d 6 wine glasses, £0 3s 6d 6 salts, £0 2s 8d 2 dishes, £0 3s 8d 57.5 yards of durance, £4 12s 0d 5 lb of sugar, £0 0s 0d Total sold, £61 19s 7.5d Garrison: 11 catties of bohea tea, £3 6s 0d 2.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 0s 3d Total, £4 6s 3d Blacks: 18 skeins sorted, £0 11s 6d 3.5 lb of pork, £0 2s 3d 1 tin sauce pan, £0 2s 3d 2 tin drinking funnels, £0 2s 4d 2 large blankets, £0 4s 6d 9 sail hooks, £1 4s 6d 172 dozen coat buttons, £0 1s 6d 3 sharp washings, £0 1s 6d 2 oz of china silk, £0 3s 6d 2 lb of pig lead, £0 5s 4d 1 spine, £0 2s 3d 2 catties of bohea tea, £0 12s 0d 7 lb 10 oz of rice, £6 6s 11d Total, £9 1s 8d Charges general: 2 dragon jars, £0 9s 5d 1 tea cup, £0 2s 7d 1 lb of soap, £0 2s 7d 1 yard of thin canvas, £0 15s 0d 2 tanner's saw dust, £0 2s 2d 1 [...], 15 lb of poultry, £0 16s 3d 16 lb of soap, £0 0s 0d Total, £5 16s 8d Plantation: 4 copper boiling pots, £11 0s 0d 27 hoops, £0 10s 6d 9 ladles, £0 6s 2d 1 gimlet, £0 1s 6d 40 nails, £1 15s 8d 92 lb of iron for 12 picks and 6 hoes, £13 19s 4d Total, £96 1s 11.5d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 Iron Doors & Trunnells 4 6 2 Large Blanketts 1 4 6 9 Sea Loops 4 6 172 doz Coat Buttons 1 6 8 Sharps Bookings 1 6 2 oz Thin Silk 3 92lb Pig Lead 5 4 1 Spine 2 2 2 Cotton Iron 12 0 7:-10 Rice 6 6 11 9 8 Charges Generall Vizt 2 Sheepskin Ropes 9 6 1 Cotton Iron 2 7 4 do Soap 4 6 4 Yards Thin Canvas 1 5 2 2 Panbin Sauce Pans 2 2 9 do 16 Poultry 16 3 16lb Soap 5 16 8 Plantacon Vizt 4 Copper Boyling Potts 11 2 37 Rope 10 9 Ladles 10 6 1 Gimblett 2 4 Nails 1 6 92 Iron for 12 Pitans & 6 Slaes 1 8 13 19 4 96 1 11 1/2	Interpretations The stockings dominate the account and show the storekeeper disposing of spoiled stock rather than writing it off. Moth damage had eaten through the wool of 143 pairs, and the council's remedy was to sell them into the island at half the invoice cost, the same device used with the 798 pieces of damaged chintz in September and with 1,386 pieces of Guinea Bonambaguey chintz on 16 March 1728. Woollens shipped five weeks from England into a damp climate were always vulnerable, and selling cheaply recovered something where returning the goods would have recovered nothing. Organzine was a twisted silk thread, and organzine hose accordingly silk stockings, sold here at 6d apiece against the plain sorted stockings at 10d a pair. Durance was a stout glazed worsted, hard-wearing and used for outer garments. Muslin was a fine plain cotton from the Indian trade, made up here into neckcloths as well as sold by the piece. Dragon jars were large glazed Chinese stoneware vessels moulded in relief, used for storing oil, spirits or preserved goods. The plantation account is the most substantial single charge at £13 19s 4d, and it consists entirely of tools and metal. Four copper boiling pots at £11 0s 0d were the vessels in which yams were cooked in bulk for the slave establishment, which drew 19,875 lb of yams in October alone. The 92 lb of iron issued to make twelve picks and six hoes shows the island's smith forging implements from bar stock rather than importing finished tools, and two smiths appear on the muster of 30 September 1730 among the handicraftsmen. Sail hooks, china silk and thin canvas issued to the slaves are fishing equipment rather than clothing. The establishment of eleven men constantly in the boats dates from 1 March 1727, when Governor Byfield abolished the slaves' meat ration and replaced it with fish, and gear of this kind recurs in every monthly account since.
24	21	Brought over 95 1 11 1/2 Naval Stores Vizt 12 Large Needles 5 2 1lb Brown Thread 4 1lb White brown 2 2 1lb Twine 2 2 19 4 Diet Expences 53 3/4 Galls Arrack 16 17 3 43 1/2 Sugar 4 12 6 18lb Candles 13 6 40 Bread 10 2 1:2:15 Flowr 1 7 2	Brought over, £95 1s 11.5d. Naval stores: 12 large needles, £0 5s 2d 1 lb of brown thread, £0 4s 0d 1 lb of white brown thread, £0 2s 2d 1 lb of twine, £0 2s 2d Total, £0 19s 4d Diet expenses: 53.5 gallons of arrack, £16 17s 3d 44 lb of sugar, £1 3s 6d 18 lb of candy, £0 13s 6d 10 lb of bread, £0 12s 0d 1 hundredweight 15 lb of flour, £1 7s 2d 24 gallons of sherry, £9 3s 6d 2 gallons of claret, £0 4s 6d 1 [...], £0 4s 4d 1 large [...], £0 4s 4d 56 gallons of strong beer, £4 1s 0d Total, £37 7s 0d Grand total, £133 8s 3.5d Expense of the table in October 1730. 3 lambs, £1 16s 0d 104 lb of pork, £3 7s 0d 6 goats, £0 12s 0d 166 lb of fish, £2 8s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		24 Galls Sherry 1 9 6 32lb Candles 10 4 1 Pr Blanketts 4 6 1 Large ditto 4 2 4 56 Galls Strong Beer 4 1 37 7 Totall 133 8 3 1/2 Expence of the Table in Octor 1701 Vizt 3 Lambs 1 16 104lb Pork 3 7 6 Goates 1 16 16 Kids 2 8 9lb Butter 9 11 31 Days Greens 1 1 8 62 Bowles Milk 1 1 9 57 3/4 Galls Arrack 11 4 9 53 1/2 Sugar 17 9 18lb Candles 12 6 40lb Bread 10 2 1:2:15 Flowr 1 7 2 24 Galls Sherry 1 9 4 56 Galls Strong Beer 4 5 1 Bushell Salt 4 6 1 Bag ditto 8 49 3 30lb Candles 16 3 16: Sugar 3 2 8 11 Galls Arrack &c to the Garrison upon the Kings Birthday 4 6 8 Sugar & ditto 1 3 6 4 1/2 Galls Arrack and the Blacks 8 13 11 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	4 [...], £0 11s 0d 31 days of greens, £1 1s 0d 62 bottles of milk, £1 1s 0d 53.5 gallons of arrack, £11 19s 3d 44 lb of sugar, £0 17s 6d 18 lb of candy, £0 13s 6d 10 lb of bread, £0 12s 0d 1 hundredweight 15 lb of flour, £1 7s 2d 24 gallons of sherry, £9 4s 0d 56 gallons of strong beer, £4 5s 6d 1 bushel of salt, £0 4s 6d 1 large bushel of salt, £0 4s 6d Total, £40 3s 0d 30 lb of candles, £2 5s 0d 15 lb of sugar, £0 16s 3d 11 gallons of arrack to the guards on the King's birthday, £3 9s 8d 5 lb of sugar for the same, £1 4s 6d 17 gallons of arrack issued to the slaves, £1 3s 6d Total, £8 13s 11d Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The table account of £40 3s 0d marks the low point of the run so far, falling below the £43 18s 1d of September and the £48 2s 10d of August. Four months have now passed without a ship in the road, the June fleet having sailed on 30 June, and the table has contracted to the permanent household with its Sunday and public-day additions. The pattern repeats what the accounts showed in July and August 1729, when the same silence in the anchorage produced the same shrinkage. Fish at 166 lb sits alongside the meat entries and continues the shift visible in September, when 179 lb appeared for the first time as a substantial line at the fort's table. The fishery Governor Byfield created on 1 March 1727 to feed the slaves after abolishing their meat ration was by 1730 supplying the Governor's own table, and eleven men remained constantly in the boats according to the muster of 30 September 1730. Six goats charged to the table are worth noting against the stock account for the same month, which recorded twenty-two killed. The destruction resolved on 20 January 1730 was consuming the herd far faster than the table could absorb it, so the greater part of those killed went nowhere near the fort's kitchen. The King's birthday allowance of 11 gallons of arrack with sugar to the guards falls on 30 October and recurs annually. The corresponding entry for October 1729 was 21 gallons with 63 lb of sugar to the guards, smiths, coopers and carpenters, and for October 1728 arrack and sugar to the guards, carpenters, smith, armourer and cooper's servants. The allowance has been cut by half and narrowed to the guards alone, which fits the pattern of a governor whose reputation rested on retrenchment. Seventeen gallons of arrack to the slaves is the heaviest wet-weather issue recorded in this run, against 2 gallons in September and 1 gallon in August. St Helena's spring opens in October, and the accounts of the previous year noted the weather uncommonly wet from November 1729 into January 1730, so an autumn issue on this scale suggests a similar spell setting in. Claret appears for the first time in these accounts, at 2 gallons against 24 gallons of sherry. Sherry has run consistently heavier than any other wine at the fort's table through the whole period, and the small quantity of claret probably reflects what a passing ship had left rather than any standing supply.
25	22	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 3 Novr 1701 at Do House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr	At a consultation held on Wednesday 3 November 1730 at Plantation House.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison for the Month past as p Journall folio 28 & 30 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 9th Novr 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr Goodwin Reports that he has viewed & Valued the Eleven Acres of Land in Sandy Bay which Rich Deale by Petition desired to Purchase on Tuesday last, & that for Pounds fifteen Shillings p Acre which is Seventy Seven Pounds fifteen Shillings is the full Value thereof the whole being a very indifferent Parcell of Land & without any Wood growing thereon Ordred that the said Rich Deale be made Dr in the Books of Accompits for the said Sum of fifty Seven Pounds fifteen Shillings, that a Bill of Sale of the Premises to the said Deale be prepared & Executed accordingly, he promising to pay for it in a short time The following Petition of John Purling was presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr &c Council The humble Petition of John Purling Sheweth That Your Petr hath been many Years in Lawfull & quiet Possession of Twenty five Acres of Land Situate & lying in the Peak Grounds in this part through the same hath before it was bought of Your Petrs Father from whom it descended to Your Petr, but upon strict Search & Inquiring Your Petr can no where find the Originall Deed which is either unfortunately lost or Mislaid That Your Petrs Right to the Premisses is not known to the Neighbourhood, yet if it should hereafter happen that Your Petr should have occasion to Sell or Dispose thereof, some People with Relation to Your Petr will for want of the said Deed may be heavily Startled or may prove of great Prejudice to Your Petr & his Children Your Petr therefore most humbly prays Your Worship & Council will be pleased to Grant Your Petr a Deed by which the said Twenty five Acres of Land may be effectually Secured to Your Petr & his heirs And Your Petr as in Duty bound shall ever pray St Helena 9th Novr 1701 Signed John Purling	Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The garrison was paid for the past month, entered in the journal at folios 28 and 30. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 November 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Goodwin reported that he had measured the eleven acres in Sandy Bay which Richard Beale had asked to buy, and valued the whole at £57 15s 0d, calculated at £4 0s 0d for four acres and £15 5s 0d for the remaining seven. He judged the ground very indifferent and carrying no wood at all. The council directed that Beale be charged £57 15s 0d in the books of account, and that a bill of sale be drawn to him for the parcel. Beale acknowledged the bargain a considerable advantage to him and promised to pay within a short time. John Durling petitioned the council, setting out that he had for many years held lawful and quiet possession of twenty-five acres of freehold land, which had come to him by inheritance from his father and had been bought before that from an earlier holder. On searching for the original deed he could not find it anywhere, and he believed it had been carried by accident to England. He set out that his title had never been questioned by any neighbour, but that a dispute might arise hereafter, and asked that a fresh deed be granted so that his right could be plainly established for himself and his children. The petition was dated at St Helena, 9 November 1730, and signed by John Durling. The council ordered an inquiry made into the allegations. Should they prove true, a deed for the twenty-five acres was to be granted to Durling, so that his title might be secured to him and his heirs. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Beale's purchase converts a leasehold into a freehold, which was the only means by which a tenant could pass ground to his children with any certainty. A lease ran twenty-one years and carried no right of renewal, and the Company's advertisement of 16 March 1728 had warned that renewal would cost a fine amounting to a considerable part of the land's market value. The price of £57 15s 0d for eleven acres of ground reported barren and treeless works out at rather more than £5 an acre, which sits close to the £7 an acre paid by John Durling at the Huts on 11 April 1727 for well-watered fenced land. Beale's willingness to pay that rate for indifferent ground shows what security of title was worth to a man with a family. The absence of wood on the parcel carried a practical consequence beyond its effect on the price. Every lease bound the tenant to plant wood and furze in proportion to the acreage, and the survey of 10 November 1729 had named sixteen defaulters on those terms. Buying the freehold released Beale from a covenant he would have found difficult to meet on ground of that quality. Durling's petition rests on a difficulty that recurs across this record: paper title on a small island five weeks from England was fragile. Gabriel Powell had faced exactly the same problem on 30 January 1728, when the deed of 1678 to a James Valley house he had bought from Grace Coulson's executors could not be found, and the council granted a fresh instrument on 6 February 1728. Mary Powell could produce no deed in the Giles Smith title dispute of July 1730, saying the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Ordred that Inquiry be made into the Allegations of the said Petition & if found true that a new Deed for the said Twenty five Acres of Land be granted to the said Purling effectually to Secure the same the thereto E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	papers had been carried to England. A council that could reconstruct title from its own consultation books was the island's only remedy against loss. Ordering an inquiry rather than granting the deed at once shows the council checking the claim against the register before creating a fresh instrument. A new deed issued on a bare assertion would have been as good as a grant of the land itself, so the verification protected the Company against a petitioner claiming more ground than he held.
26	23	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 16th Novr 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We have made Inquiry of severall People by what Means John Purling came by the Parcell of Land mentioned on Tuesday last & they all agree that he & his Father came very honestly into the Possession of it, Ten Acres of it they said Purling bought of John Thwaites, And ten Acres of it was the Lott Land of Robert Crisford afterwards Exchanged for part of the Lott Land of John Crispe when it came to the said, the said which & stole & Enjoyed the Deed for this Parcell, the other five Acres was part of the Lott Land of James Say, formerly Vagall, none so unmindfull of their Title to Land that they took no Care of or about it, & Mr Alexander who has been many Years in the Office acquaints Us that it was formerly common for them after they had Deeds delivered them, to neglect to have them Registered, which to the Seems the sole Reason why We cant find any Entry in the Register Book of Deeds for these Parcells, but it appearing to Us undoubtedly true & to our full Satisfaction that the said Purling came honestly by them & is the just Proprietor thereof, We this day Executed & delivered him a Deed to Secure his Title to the Premises & Ordred the same to be Registered We also Executed a Bill of Sale to Richard Deale for the Eleven Acres of Land mentioned in Consultation of the 2d instant & of Tuesday last E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 23 Novr 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved John Wonkell Churchwarden, this day attended & acquainted Us that he had agreed with Henry Beale to keep for the Term of five Years, one of the Orphan Children of Stephen Phelps deceased, provided that a Consideration thereof at the Assigned Land which was in the Possession of the said Phelps at	At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 November 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council made inquiry of several people about how John Durling had come by the parcel of land mentioned at the meeting of the previous Tuesday. Everyone agreed that he and his father before him had come honestly into possession of it. Ten acres of it were bought from John Thwaites, and Durling afterwards exchanged those ten acres for part of the ground held by John Crisp. When he came to hold the whole, he lost or mislaid the deed for that parcel. The other five acres formed part of the estate that had once belonged to Samuel Gay and afterwards to Gabriel Powell, and no one questioned Durling's title to that piece or claimed any interest in it. Mr Alexander, who had held office for many years, reported that it had formerly been common for people, once a deed was delivered to them, to neglect having it registered. That is the only reason the council can find why no entry appears in the register book of deeds for these parcels. Being fully satisfied that Durling had come by the land honestly and was its rightful owner, the council granted him a deed to secure his title to the ground and ordered it registered. The council granted a bill of sale to Richard Beale for the eleven acres of land mentioned at the meeting of the previous Tuesday, 9 November. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 November 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. John Wrangham, churchwarden, told the council that he had agreed with Henry Beale to keep one of Stephen's orphan children for five years. In return, the leasehold land that Stephen had held at the time of his death was to be made over to Beale for himself and his heirs. Wrangham further explained that this was the best arrangement he had been able to make for the child, and that unless it were accepted the child stood in danger of coming to want. He therefore proposed that the lease be assigned to Beale. Beale was present and gave his consent to the agreement, so the council confirmed it and made over the land to him for his own benefit until the term expired. Each party was to carry out the terms fully. The whole parcel assigned came to only seven acres, and the greater part of it was poor ground. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Alexander's evidence that inhabitants had commonly neglected registration once a deed reached their hands explains a weakness running through the island's whole property system. The register was the Company's only durable record of who held what, yet it depended on the holder taking the trouble to enter his instrument, and a deed lost in a private house left no trace at all. Reconstructing Durling's title from the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the time of his Death, should be made over to him & his heirs, for his & their own use for the Term in do of the same yet to come in the & Severall Assignes, & the said Wonkell farther acquainted Us, that this is much the best bargain that he has been able to make for the said Child, most People having refused to take it, & if the said Child is not speedily placed out, it will be in danger of Perishing, & therefore prayed that the said Lease may be accordingly Assigned to the said Beale, & the said Beale being present, declaring his Consent to the said Agreement, We therefore, at their desire Confirmed it & this day Assigned over all the said Land & Lease unto the said Beale for his & their Benefit, untill the Remainder of the Term yet to come in each of them shall be fully ended & Expired. The whole Parcell Assigned is only Seven Acres & halfe of it bad Land E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	memory of neighbours and a councillor of long standing was the only remedy available, and it worked here because the chain of transactions could be traced through named men still living or recently dead. The exchange of ten acres for part of John Crisp's ground shows how holdings were consolidated on an island where the original grants had been scattered. Powell and Wrangham exchanged six acres of leasehold between them in April and May 1728, and Joseph Defontaine exchanged two acres in the fort valley for a like quantity below Chubb's Spring on 12 May 1730. Rearranging parcels to bring a man's land together was a routine adjustment the council permitted freely, and it explains why deeds and their coverage drifted apart over a generation. The arrangement for Stephen's orphan child converts a maintenance obligation into a property transaction. The parish bore the charge of destitute children, and the churchwardens were answerable for keeping them off the rates, so trading a leasehold for five years of a child's keep discharged the parish at no cost to itself. The council had used a similar device on 18 October 1726, when it seized a soldier's goods and slave to indemnify the parish against the charge of a bastard child, and Byfield's apprenticing programme from April 1727 rested on the same principle of exchanging maintenance for value. The note that the parcel ran to only seven acres of mostly poor ground records what the child's inheritance actually amounted to. Land was the orphan's whole estate, and a leasehold of that quality would not have supported him, which is why the churchwarden treated the arrangement as the best available rather than a good one.
27	24	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 30th Novr 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Petitions were this day presented & read Vizt Of Francis Wrangham prayeing a Lease for a Parcell of Ground of about Forty foot Square lying behind the Stables at his Fort Valley, & for about Nine Acres of Land lying near his other Lands in the Country, most of it barren & of little other use than to keep his Neighbours Cattle from breaking into his Pastures for which reason he was willing to give two Shillings p Acre the Utmost its hardly of any Value Of Jonathan Newton for a Lease of a Parcell of Ground adjoining to the Yard of his House at the Fort Of Giles Hayes for a Lease of about two Acres of wast Land lying on the Side of Sandy Bay Hill And the said Petitions were Severally Granted & Mr Goodwin Ordred to Measure the said Parcells of Land & Certifye accordingly E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 2 Decr 1701 at Plantacon House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 November 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Three petitions were read to the council. Francis Wrangham, a lease of about forty feet square of ground behind his house at Bates Valley, of very little use to anyone else, which he wanted only to keep his neighbours' cattle out of his pasture, and for which he offered two shillings a year Jonathan Doveton, a lease of a parcel of ground adjoining the yard of his house at the fort Giles Hayse, a lease of about two acres of waste land lying on the side of Sandy Bay Hill All three petitions were granted, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the parcels. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 December 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The garrison was paid for the past month, entered in the journal at folios 32 and 33. Governor Byfield, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for November last. The council examined them separately and approved them. Gunner's stores expended in November 1730. 6 November, muster day, 9 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 8 lb of powder Cartridge paper, 2 quires Sponge staves, 4 Match, 12 lb Total, 17 lb of powder Signed: John French. Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison for the Month past as p Journall folio 32 & 33 The Governour, Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accots for November last which were Severally Examined and Approved & are as follow Vizt Gunnors Stores Expended in November 1701 Vizt Powder 1701 Novr 6 Muster Day 9lb Expençe of the Guard Cartridge Paper 2 Quire Small Shott 4 17 Match 12lb Signed Jno French	Wrangham's petition for forty feet square at two shillings a year is the smallest grant recorded in this run, and the reason he gives explains why the council entertained it at all. Fencing was the standing difficulty of the island's husbandry, and the survey of 10 November 1729 recorded holding after holding where wood and furze had been destroyed by cattle breaking through defective boundaries. Wrangham himself was one of the two commissioners who conducted that survey and entered himself with the largest wood holding in the return, so his application for a scrap of ground to close a gap in his pasture line comes from the man best placed to know what an unfenced boundary cost. The gunner's account records the lowest powder consumption of any month in this run at 17 lb, below even the 9 lb months of August and September, which carried no guard expenditure. Nothing was fired beyond the monthly muster and the guard's routine practice, and the anchorage had now stood empty for five months since the June fleet sailed on 30 June. Four sponge staves were expended, the shafts carrying the sheepskin heads that swabbed the bore between rounds, and the annual inventory of 30 September 1730 had shown the same steady attrition of tools rather than any consumption of ammunition.
28	25	Collection of Goods Sold & delivered in Novr 1701 Vizt 22 1/2 Galls Arrack 7 2 6 7:2:3 Sugar 19 7 6 13:2:14 Bread 7 8 7 1/2 5:-20 Flowr 6 3 6 18lb Twine 1 12 3 18 1/2 Shea Thread 9 6 3 6lb Sackthread 10 6 1 Pewter Cruett 3 3 2 1/2 doz Spoons 11 3 25 Dishes Sorted 5 3 3 3 Chamber Potts 18 1 doz Plates 1 1 1 Small round Salt 1 6 6 1 Large ditto 1 11 6 22lb Plain Powder 1 2 23 1/2 Hayes 17 3 18 Cotton Cans 3 4 67 6 11 1/2 Garrison 11 Cattoes Iron 3 6 4 1/2 Galls Rape oyle 1 3 4 Galls Tar 4 4 10 3 Plantation 2 1/2 Galls Train oyle 10 1 1/2	Collection of goods sold and delivered in November 1730. 22.5 gallons of arrack, £7 2s 6d 798 lb of sugar, £19 7s 6d 13 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb of bread, £17 8s 7.5d 5 hundredweight 20 lb of flour, £0 6s 3.5d 18 lb of twine, £1 12s 3d 18.5 skeins of thread, £0 6s 3d 6 lb of pack thread, £0 10s 6d 1 pewter cruet, £0 1s 3d 2.5 dozen spoons, £0 11s 3d 25 dishes sorted, £5 3s 0d 3 chamber pots, £0 18s 0d 1 dozen plates, £1 1s 0d 1 small round salt, £1 1s 6d 1 large round salt, £1 11s 6d 22 lb of plain pewter, £1 2s 0d 23.5 lb of hooks, £0 17s 3d 18 tin cans, £0 3s 4.5d Total, £67 6s 11.5d Garrison: 11 catties of bohea tea, £3 6s 0d 14.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 0s 3d 4 gallons of tar, £0 4s 0d Total, £4 10s 3d Plantation: 2.5 gallons of train oil, £0 10s 1.5d 6 lb of rope, £0 3s 0d 6 lb of sixpenny nails, £0 4s 6d 1 cleaver, £0 4s 6d 2 dozen thin tacks, £0 4s 6d 6 lb of rice, £4 10s 0d 9 hundredweight 3 quarters of tallow, £3 8s 3d 1 pounce, £0 12s 0d 1 flesh fork, £0 13s 0d 1.5 deals, £0 4s 6d 12 lb of steel to mend tools, £0 7s 6d Total, £10 13s 8.5d Blacks: 37 dozen hooks, £1 2s 6d 32 lines, £1 8s 0d 2 skeins of thread, £0 5s 0d 6 yards of towelling, £0 5s 6d 5 oz of china silk, £0 13s 6d 2 catties of bohea tea, £0 12s 0d Total, £3 18s 11d Charges general: 14 lb of soap, £0 15s 2d 5 barrels of lampblack, £0 12s 3d 1 large quilt, £1 4s 6d 4 lb of yarn, £0 6s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		6lb Rope 4 6 6: 6d Nails 4 6 1 Cleaver 4 6 2 doz Shea Tacks 4 10 6lb Rice 3 8 3 9:3: Tacky 12 1 Pruett 13 4 1 Ufer 4 6 1/4 Deals 7 6 12lb Steel to mend Tooles 10 13 8 1/2 Blacks 37 doz Hooks 1 2 6 39 Twine 1 8 9 Shea Thread 5 6 6 Yards Sweet 3 6 3 oz China Silk 13 6 2 Cattoes Iron 12 3 18 11 Charges General 14lb Soap 15 2 5 Bar Lamblack 1 3 1 Large Quill 1 4 6 4lb Iron 2 6 6 1 Twine 2 4 1 Sm Sauce Pan 4 1 Gimblett 2 11 8 Diet Expences 38 3/4 Galls Arrack 12 6 5 36 1/2 Sugar 18 9 20lb Candy 15 6 38: Bread 9 6 190 Flowr 2 8 6 22 Galls Sherry 2 10 6 6 Galls Port 2 6 6 28lb Candles 3 9 2 60 Galls Strong Beer 2 4 2 Bushells Salt 1 Loafe ditto 34 15 55 9 6 1/2 Account	1 twine, £0 2s 2d 1 tin sauce pan, £0 2s 0d 1 gimlet, £0 0s 4d Total, £2 11s 8d Diet expenses: 38.5 gallons of arrack, £12 6s 5d 36.5 lb of sugar, £0 18s 9d 20 lb of candy, £0 15s 0d 38 lb of bread, £0 9s 6d 190 lb of flour, £2 8s 0d 22 gallons of sherry, £8 10s 6d 6 gallons of port, £2 6s 6d 28 lb of candles, £2 16s 0d 50 gallons of strong beer, £3 12s 0d 2 bushels of salt, £0 9s 0d 1 large bushel of salt, £0 4s 6d Total, £34 15s 0d Grand total, £55 9s 6.5d Interpretations Bread at 13 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb, valued at £17 8s 7.5d, is the second heaviest line in the month's sales and marks a sharp break with the preceding period. Baking on this scale served the shipping rather than the island's households: the accounts of May 1729 recorded 2,010 lb sold at £28 7s 6d and June 1,220 lb at £16 16s 0d, both to victual the fleet, and the item vanished entirely once the ships sailed. Its return in November, after five months of an empty anchorage, suggests the storekeeper preparing for vessels expected as the shipping season reopened rather than any change in domestic demand. The pewter and tableware run through the account in a way that shows the island's households furnishing themselves from Company stock. Pewter was the ordinary metal of a respectable table, worked into dishes, plates, spoons, salts and chamber pots, and sold here both as finished articles and as 22 lb of plain metal for a local craftsman to work. A cruet was a small stoppered bottle for oil or vinegar, and a round salt the standing dish that held salt at table. Tallow at 9 hundredweight 3 quarters charged to the plantation is rendered animal fat, and its bulk relative to everything else in that account points to candle-making on the establishment rather than purchase from the store. The table account for the same month took 28 lb of candles, so the Company was buying wax and tallow candles for the fort while producing tallow at the plantation, presumably from the cattle killed for the table. Fishing gear dominates the slaves' account again, with 37 dozen hooks, 32 lines and 5 oz of china silk, the silk serving as fine strong line. The scale of the issue matches the establishment of eleven men constantly in the boats recorded in the muster of 30 September 1730, and the fishery Governor Byfield created on 1 March 1727 was by now supplying the fort's own table as well as the slave quarters. Lampblack in five barrels among the general charges was fine soot used to make black paint and ink, and on this island it went chiefly onto the guns and ironwork as a preservative against the damp. A pounce was a fine powder shaken over freshly written paper to dry the ink, and deals were sawn softwood boards, both imported since the island grew no suitable timber.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
29	26	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 1 Novr: Bullocks 65, Cowes 129, Heifers 28, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 77, Bulls 5, Totall 384, Ewes 54, Wethers 20, Lambs 11, Rams 3, Totall 88, Ewes 25, Wethers 0, Kids 55, Rams 1, Totall 81, Sowes 17, Shoates 26, Barrows 16, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 93, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed 1 old Cow: Bullocks 0, Cowes 1, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Ewes 4, Wethers 0, Kids 12, Rams 0, Totall 16, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 128, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 77, Bulls 5, Totall 382, Ewes 54, Wethers 19, Lambs 11, Rams 3, Totall 87, Ewes 21, Wethers 0, Kids 43, Rams 1, Totall 65, Sowes 17, Shoates 26, Barrows 14, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 91, Turkeys 26, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 9, Bulls 0, Totall 9, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 9, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 128, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 86, Bulls 5, Totall 391, Ewes 54, Wethers 19, Lambs 11, Rams 3, Totall 87, Ewes 21, Wethers 0, Kids 43, Rams 1, Totall 65, Sowes 17, Shoates 26, Barrows 14, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 91, Turkeys 35, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Totall 4, Ewes 6, Wethers 0, Kids 6, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sowes 0, Shoates 2, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 30th Novr: Bullocks 65, Cowes 128, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 86, Bulls 5, Totall 391, Ewes 53, Wethers 19, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 21, Wethers 0, Kids 37, Rams 1, Totall 59, Sowes 17, Shoates 24, Barrows 14, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 89, Turkeys 35, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 11, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 19,975lb Ditto deld the Fort Blacks 9075 Ditto deld the Great Wood ditto 3000 Totall Yam 32,050lb	Account of the Company's stock for November 1730. Remaining 1 November: 65 bullocks, 129 cows, 28 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 77 calves, 5 bulls, 384 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 20 wethers, 11 lambs, 3 rams, 88 sheep in all; 25 does, 0 wethers, 55 kids, 1 ram, 81 goats in all; 17 sows, 26 shoats, 16 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 93 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 12 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Killed 1 old cow: 0 bullocks, 1 cow, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in all; 4 does, 0 wethers, 12 kids, 0 rams, 16 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 2 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 65 bullocks, 128 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 77 calves, 5 bulls, 382 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 19 wethers, 11 lambs, 3 rams, 87 sheep in all; 21 does, 0 wethers, 43 kids, 1 ram, 65 goats in all; 17 sows, 26 shoats, 14 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 91 hogs in all; 26 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 12 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Increased in November: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 9 calves, 0 bulls, 9 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 9 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after increase: 65 bullocks, 128 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 86 calves, 5 bulls, 391 neat cattle in all; 54 ewes, 19 wethers, 11 lambs, 3 rams, 87 sheep in all; 21 does, 0 wethers, 43 kids, 1 ram, 65 goats in all; 17 sows, 26 shoats, 14 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 91 hogs in all; 35 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 12 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Dead in November: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 1 ewe, 0 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, 4 sheep in all; 6 does, 0 wethers, 6 kids, 0 rams, 12 goats in all; 0 sows, 2 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 1 goose; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 30 November: 65 bullocks, 128 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 86 calves, 5 bulls, 391 neat cattle in all; 53 ewes, 19 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 21 does, 0 wethers, 37 kids, 1 ram, 59 goats in all; 17 sows, 24 shoats, 14 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 89 hogs in all; 35 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 11 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,975 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 9,075 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 3,000 lb Total yams, 32,050 lb Interpretations The goat herd fell from 81 to 59, and for the first time in this run no kids were born at all. Sixteen were killed and twelve died, against an increase of nothing whatever, where October had still yielded twenty-six kids. The wether class has stood empty since the end of October, and the does are down to twenty-one from eighty-five at the close of the Company's year. A herd that ceases to breed has stopped being maintained, and the figures show the destruction resolved on 20 January 1730 passing from a reduction into a winding up. The two years allowed for the work opened on 1 September, so the council is three months into a term it looks set to finish well inside. Sheep at 83 have also begun to fall, from 88 at the start of the month, with one ewe and three lambs dead and one wether killed and no lambs born. October had shown eight lambs and a rising flock, so November reverses that movement. Both species included in the destruction vote are now declining

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			together, though the sheep at a far gentler rate than the goats. Nine calves and nine turkeys are the month's only increases, and neat cattle rose to 391, the highest figure since the Company's year opened. No beast has been sold to shipping since June, five months of an empty anchorage having left the herd to build. The stock now stands ready for a shipping season that the storekeeper's heavy baking in November suggests was expected shortly. The yam issue of 32,050 lb continues the steady run of the past four months, all falling between 31,260 lb and 32,050 lb. St Helena's summer opens in November, and the establishment enters it with the harvest secure and the three stations drawing at a constant rate, a marked contrast with January 1729 when the crop failed entirely.
30	27	Expençe of the Table in Novr 1701 Vizt 126lb Pork 3 1 Sheep 1 18 12 Kids 1 16 280lb Beefe 3 10 11 Butter 11 30 Days Greens 1 10 60 Bowles Milk 1 33 3/4 Galls Arrack 10 13 9 36 1/2 Sugar 18 3 20lb Candy 15 38lb Bread 9 6 190lb Flour 2 7 6 22 Galls Sherry 8 10 6 6 Galls Port 2 6 6 56 Galls Strong Beer 3 15 2 Bushells Salt 2 2 1 Loafe do 4 Expençe of the Table in Novr 1701 42 14 4 2 Galls Arrack to the Guards 12 8 3 ditto deld the Blacks 19 18lb Soap 15 2 28lb Candle 2 16 5 2 10 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 7th Decr 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved	Expense of the table in November 1730. 126 lb of pork, £3 0s 0d 1 sheep, £1 1s 0d 19 lb of fish, £1 16s 0d 280 lb of beef, £3 10s 0d 11 lb of butter, £0 11s 0d 30 days of greens, £1 10s 0d 60 bottles of milk, £1 0s 0d 33.5 gallons of arrack, £10 13s 9d 36.5 lb of sugar, £0 18s 3d 20 lb of candy, £0 15s 0d 38 lb of bread, £0 9s 6d 190 lb of flour, £2 7s 6d 22 gallons of sherry, £8 10s 6d 6 gallons of port, £2 6s 6d 56 gallons of strong beer, £3 15s 0d 2 bushels of salt, £0 9s 2d 1 loaf of sugar, £0 0s 4d Expense of the table in November 1730, £42 12s 6d 2 gallons of arrack to the guards, £0 12s 8d 3 gallons delivered to the slaves, £0 19s 0d 14 lb of soap, £0 15s 2d 28 lb of candles, £2 16s 0d Total, £5 2s 10d Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 7 December 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Jonathan Doveton petitioned to buy about four or five acres of waste land of no benefit to the Company and of no use to anyone else. The ground lay close to the plot he had asked for on 30 November, which would make it convenient for him to enclose the whole with a small fence. The council agreed to the sale and directed Mr Goodwin to value and measure the parcel. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The table account of £42 12s 6d rises slightly on October's £40 3s 0d but remains at the bottom of the year's range. Five months have now passed without a vessel in the road, and the table has settled at a level reflecting the permanent household alone. Fish has collapsed from 166 lb in October to 19 lb, an abrupt fall that cannot be explained by the establishment, since eleven men remained constantly in the boats. Beef at 280 lb has taken its place, drawn from a herd that had risen to 391 head with nothing sold to shipping since June. The wet-weather allowance to the slaves stands at 3 gallons against 17 gallons in October, a fall consistent with the turn of the season. St Helena's winter runs roughly from May to September and its summer from

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Petition of Jams Bowlton was presented & read Praying to purchase about four or five Acres of wast Land of no benefit to the Compa nor of any Value to any body else, lying close to the Plot of Grass in order to his making the same Larger & much convenient Ordred that the said Land be accordingly Sold & that Mr Goodwin do Value & measure the same E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	November to March, so an allowance issued because of wet and cold weather would naturally taper as the warmer months opened. Doveton's petition follows the same logic as Francis Wrangham's application of 30 November for forty feet square behind his house at Bates Valley. Both men sought small parcels of little use to anyone else in order to bring a boundary into a single line and enclose it cheaply. Fencing was the standing difficulty of the island's husbandry, the survey of 10 November 1729 recording holding after holding where wood and furze had been destroyed by cattle breaking through defective boundaries, so a purchase that shortened a fence line paid for itself. Directing Goodwin to value as well as measure marks this as a sale rather than a lease. The council had followed the same procedure with Richard Beale's eleven acres, valued at £57 15s 0d on 9 November 1730, and with Captain Alexander's Perkins pasture, valued at £263 0s 0d on 6 June 1727. An independent valuation before any price was discussed protected the Company against a purchaser setting his own terms on ground the council had already agreed to part with.
31	28	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 14 Decr 1701 at Plantation House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr Goodwin Reports that according to Order he has viewed & Measured the Land which Samuel Bowlton desires to purchase, that it contains Three Acres & half but all so bad that he thinks it hardly worth four Pounds p Acre Mr Bowlton being called in & acquainted therewith agreed to take it at four Pounds p Acre, desiring to be allowed a little time for Payment, & the gave him Credit & Ordred the same to his Acco in the Books accordingly The Petition of Simon Whaley was presented & read Praying a Lease for about an Acre or two of wast Land lying near his other Lands, the said Whaley promising to leave Space enough for the Land to be about to have to next the Upper Spring for all the Companies Cattle to drink at Ordred that Mr Goodwin do view the said Land & if he is of Opinion that it may be Let without prejudice to the Company, that he do also Measure the same The Governour Reports that a Wench named Mercy belonging to Plantation House was delivered of a Boy last Week called Isaack Ordred that the same may be Entred in the Books E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 21 Decr 1701 at Do House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr Goodwin Reports that he has viewed the Land Petitioned for on	At a consultation held on Tuesday 14 December 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Goodwin reported that he had viewed and measured the land Jonathan Doveton wished to buy, and found it to contain three acres and a half. The ground was so poor that he thought it hardly worth four pounds an acre. Doveton was called in and told of the report. He agreed to take the parcel at four pounds an acre and asked for a little time to pay. The council granted his request, ordered the sum entered against his account in the books and directed a bill of sale to be drawn. Simon Whaley petitioned for about an acre or two of waste land lying near his other ground. He promised to leave open a passage through it, since the land was about to be used to bring water from the upper spring to all the Company's cattle to drink at. The council directed Mr Goodwin to view the parcel and report whether it could be granted without harm to the Company, and to measure it at the same time. Governor Byfield reported that a slave woman named Mercy belonging to Plantation House had been delivered of a boy named Blackheath the previous week. The council ordered the birth entered in the books. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 December 1730 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Goodwin reported that he had viewed the land Simon Whaley had petitioned for the previous Tuesday, and found it could be granted without any prejudice to the Company. He measured it at one acre and a half, and the council ordered a lease drawn accordingly. The <i>Heathote</i> arrived the previous day from Bombay, sixteen weeks out. Her commander came on shore and was given the standing instructions to heave in upon alarms, which the council set out in a letter to him. Sir, The Company's instructions to the council require it to advise every commander to heave in upon any alarm that may happen during his stay. Should a ship be obliged to send out her steam cable at any time, she

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Tuesday last by Simon Whaley & finding that it may be Let without any prejudice to the Company he also measured it & that it contains One Acre & half & We this day Executed a Lease for the same accordingly Yesterday the Heathcote arrived here from Bencas but last from Bombay & as the Captain now seem in Shape We gave him the usuall Instructions to leave a Copy of which is as follows Vizt Sir According to the Honble Compa Instructions to Us, We desire & intreat you upon all Allarms which may happen during your Stay here to Send out your Steam Cable & a 111 good Hawser with a small Anchor near the Shoar & have in Ship as near the Plot Rock as will be safe for your Riding which you will know by your Sounding the Instant of Shipp as Frigate approaching may come a head of you & cut you out of the Road, We shall be very ready & Ordres ought to be sett for the Security of Our Honble Masters Interest on board upon any & you want any Assistance, We shall be glad to serve you, We are St Helena 20 Decr 1701 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	should provide herself with a small anchor near the shore and heave in by it as near the wharf or landing rock as safely as she can. Riding where a ship will know the anchor's soundings, and intending to lay the ship at anchor at any time, she needs to keep custom out of the road. The council thinks it is an easy caution and ought to be observed for the safety of the Company's servants ashore and on board. Should the commander want any assistance, the council will be glad to serve him. St Helena, 21 December 1730. Signed by Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp. Interpretations Whaley's undertaking to leave a passage through the parcel makes water access a condition of the grant rather than an afterthought. The island's cattle had to be driven to standing water, and a private holding that closed a route to a spring could put a whole neighbourhood's stock out of reach of drink. The council had faced the same difficulty on 25 August 1730, when Bagley and Phelps complained that Seale and Insley drove cattle daily through their pastures because no other way to the water lay open, and it had rationed the traffic rather than extinguish the right. Attaching the covenant to the lease at the outset avoided repeating that dispute, and the same device appears in Jonathan Higham junior's lease of 27 January 1730, which bound him to leave the head of the spring open for the neighbourhood. The <i>Heathcote's</i> arrival ends five months of an empty anchorage, the last vessel having sailed on 30 June. She is the same ship whose eight-month delay in 1729 produced the council's quarrel with the fleet that refused to wait for her, arriving at last on 8 February 1730 and sailing home on 24 February. The storekeeper's heavy baking in November, 13 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb of bread against nothing in the preceding months, now reads as preparation for a vessel expected rather than a change in domestic demand. The heaving-in order rests on a fact of the island's geography rather than any general naval practice. St Helena has no sheltered harbour, so a ship in the road lay exposed and could not be defended from the batteries. Warping in close under the castle's guns was the only protection available, and the instruction had been given to every arriving commander since 13 March 1729. The Treaty of Seville, reported on 14 April 1730, released the ships from sailing in convoy, but the council kept the alarm and heaving-in orders against pirates. The valuation of £4 0s 0d an acre for Doveton's ground sits well below the £5 5s 0d an acre Richard Beale paid on 9 November 1730 and the £7 0s 0d an acre agreed for the Huts land in April 1727. Goodwin's report that the parcel was hardly worth that much, taken with Doveton's willingness to buy at the figure and ask for time to pay, shows what such ground was worth to a man who wanted only to straighten a fence line.
32	29	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 28th Decr 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day dispatched the Heathcote for England There not being any Business, We Adjourned the Quarter Sessions to the 25th of March next E Byfeild Jno Alexander	At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 December 1730 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Heathcote</i> was dispatched for England that day. No business came before the council, so the quarter meeting was adjourned to 25 March next. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Monday 3 January 1731 at Plantation House.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Monday 5 Janry 1701 at Do House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison for the Month past as p Journall folio 38 & 40 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 6th Janry 1701 at Plantation House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accos for Decr last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Gunnors Stores Expended in Decr 1701 Guns, Deculvg, Sakers, Minion, Falcons, Powder 1701 Decr 4 Muster Day Guns 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 4 10 Ship Allarm Guns 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 10 20 Arrivall the Heathcote Guns 9, Deculvg 1, Sakers 1, Minion 1, Falcons 6, Powder 12 28 Heathcote Sailed Guns 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 20 Expence of the Guard Lead Shot for do 5lb Cartridge Paper for do 1 Quire Guns 13, Deculvg 1, Sakers 1, Minion 5, Falcons 6, Powder 60 Tomprons 2 Match 12lb Jno French	Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The garrison was paid for the past month, entered in the journal at folios 38 and 40. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 January 1731 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Byfield, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for December last. The council examined them separately and approved them. Gunner's stores expended in December 1730. 2 December, muster day: 4 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 10 lb of powder 19 December, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 1 demi-culverin, 1 saker, 1 minion, 1 falcon, 12 lb of powder 20 December, arrival of the Heathcote: 9 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 20 lb of powder 28 December, the Heathcote sailed: 0 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 8 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 5 lb of powder Lead shot for the same, 5 lb Cartridge paper for cartouches, 1 quire Tampions, 2 Match, 12 lb Total: 13 guns fired, 1 demi-culverin, 1 saker, 5 minions, 6 falcons, 50 lb of powder Signed: John French. Interpretations The <i>Heathcote</i> stayed eight days, arriving on 20 December and sailing on 28 December, and drew salutes on both occasions. The nine guns fired on her arrival and the powder expended on her departure together account for more than half the month's consumption, which at 50 lb stands well above the 17 lb of November and the 9 lb months of August and September. The pattern holds across the whole run: the powder accounts measure the traffic in the anchorage more precisely than any other record the island kept. Salutes were graded by the standing of the vessel and the occasion. Nine guns for the <i>Heathcote's</i> arrival sits at the modest end of the scale, against the twenty-one fired for the King's birthday on 30 October 1730 and the same number for the <i>Ashburnham</i> carrying the late governor of Bombay on 24 April 1729. The falcons discharged for her were the lightest pieces on the island, the heavier demi-cannon and culverins being reserved for royal occasions. The alarm of 19 December is the first recorded since 15 July 1730, when six ships thought Dutch passed to the westward. Guns of four different classes were fired, which was the double alarm signal calling the inhabitants to their posts with their male slaves between sixteen and sixty. The Treaty of Seville had released the shipping from convoy in April 1730, but the council kept the alarm and heaving-in orders standing against pirates. Adjourning the quarter meeting to 25 March continues a pattern running back through the whole record. The court had been adjourned for want of business on 24 December 1729, 26 March 1730, 24 June 1730 and 28 September 1730, and the inhabitants' harmony has now kept it idle through five consecutive quarters.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
33	30	Collection of Goods Sold & Delivered in Decr 1701 Vizt 24 Galls Arrack 7 12 1:0:14 Sugar 4 7 6 2:3:7 Candy 7 2 8 2:3: Bread 3 8 9 3:1:21 Flowr 4 6 4 1/2 66 Pr Ruze Sorted 4 19 3 1/2 6 3 1/2 oz China Silk 4 16 6 1/2 11 Yards Breast Buccenn 1 3 4 33 doz Coat ditto 3 6 7 Pr Mohair 12 6 19 Sweet Lace 4 9 13 doz Thredd do 4 4 4 Gilt Laces 3 4 1 ditto 4 4 2 doz Ribbon 10 6 9 Pr Diaper Tape 48 Pr Ballards ditto Sorted 2 6 0 9 6 Pr Callimell Sizes 11 9 13 Sarah Vestments 8 9 13 Pr Selvetting 8 3 17 Yards Edging 1 18 6 15lb Prunts 10 6 2 doz White Shirt Buttons 6 14 Pr Sponding 2 5 5 27 Pr Coatings 5 5 1 Pr Chatterin 5 3 9 Pr Dovetailers 3 3 2 No Pr Slings 1 4 15 Fowling Rams 10 6 12 Chest Locks 5 8 4 Pr Barrell Locks 1 3 17 Screw & Nut Locks 3 11 6 3 Neck Nailes 8 4 1 Sett Stapleton Locks 5 2 6 2 Pr Irons & Trestets 1 4 Heaters 7 6 12 Sail Needles 4 8	Collection of goods sold and delivered in December 1730. 24 gallons of arrack, £7 12s 0d 1 hundredweight 12 lb of sugar, £4 7s 6d 2 hundredweight 7 lb of candy, £1 2s 8d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters of bread, £3 8s 9d 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 21 lb of flour, £4 0s 1.5d 66 muslins sorted, £4 19s 2.5d 6 lb 7 oz of china silk, £4 16s 3.5d 11 large breast buttons, £1 3s 0d 33 dozen coat buttons, £1 3s 6d 7 lb of mohair, £0 12s 6d 19 sword laces, £0 14s 9d 13 dozen thread laces, £0 9s 0d 4 gilt laces, £0 3s 4d 1 lace, £0 1s 4d 2 dozen ribbon, £0 10s 0d 9 pieces of diaper tape, £0 6s 0d 48 pieces of Holland tape sorted, £2 6s 9d 6 pieces of Guinea stuff, £0 11s 9d 6 dozen sail needles, £0 8s 0d 1.5 lb of solder, £0 8s 3d 17 yards of edging, £1 18s 0d 15 lb of pewter, £0 18s 0d 2 dozen white shirt buttons, £0 6s 0d 14 pairs of spindles, £2 5s 5d 7 dozen coat laces, £0 5s 5d 1 pair of blankets, £0 5s 5d 9 pairs of dovetails, £0 5s 5d 2 pairs of stirrups, £0 1s 4d 15 pruning knives, £0 5s 1d 12 chest locks, £0 16s 6d 2 iron brown locks, £0 3s 0d 2 iron pad locks, £0 5s 6d 3 wood cards, £1 5s 4d 1 sett of stapleton locks, £0 5s 4d 2 pairs of irons and heaters, £1 7s 6d 4 hinges, £0 6s 6d 12 sail needles, £0 4s 8d 2 shovel hatchets, £0 5s 4d 1 small hatchet, £0 8s 6d 2 broad axes, £0 18s 6d 2 wedges of iron, £0 8s 6d 3 mattocks, £0 8s 3d 1 pair of garnets, £0 6s 3d 1 dozen handle hooks, £0 5s 6d 1 pair of hinges, £0 5s 6d 2 shovels, £0 3s 6d 11 shoe knives, £1 8s 6d 5 iron rods, £0 2s 6d 1 spade, £0 2s 10d 13 knives, £0 10s 9d 4 sammets, £0 1s 2d 4 sails, £1 9s 8d 4 bags of pincushions, £0 2s 9d 1 gridiron, £0 2s 9d 2 gimlets, £0 1s 6d 4 picks, £1 4s 6d 1 hammer, £0 3s 8d 1 pair of grazing shears, £0 4s 6d 3 scythe stones, £0 15s 6d 1 paring shovel, £0 6s 6d 1 stapling die, £0 3s 6d Total sold in December, £71 13s 7.5d Blacks: 20 dozen hooks, £0 6s 2d 32 lines, £1 6s 3d 1 lb of twine, £0 3s 3d 30 lb of lead, £0 7s 3d 2 oz of china silk, £0 7s 3d 4 carpenters' saws, £2 5s 3d 6 catties of bohea tea, £0 5s 6d 7 skeins of thread, £0 5s 3d 1 blanket, £0 5s 3d 100 tailors' needles, £0 3s 4d 2 dies for spindles, £0 3s 4d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 Halved Hatchets 8 3 1 Small Ratchet 18 6 8 Hand Axes 8 6 2 Bellows Axes 1 8 6 3 Mahogany do 18 3 1 Pr Gaunts 3 6 1 Pr Handly Tacks 4 1 Pr Wingles 3 6 8 Rablepins 5 8 6 11 Shea Awls 7 6 5 Iron ditto 10 1 Spade 2 8 13 Halvers 10 2 4 Sennets 1 2 9 4 Table Malt 7 8 4 Cags Gunthesham 2 9 1 Gyricon 9 2 Gimletts 2 4 14 Pitans 3 4 1 Ronchean 8 6 1 Pr Grinding Stones 4 6 3 Sheep Skin 4 6 6 1 Paring Shop 5 9 1 Sheeting ditto Totall Sold in Decr 71 13 7 1/2 Blacks Vizt 20 doz Tacks 6 2 32 Twine 1 8 8 1lb Twine 9 3 30 Steel 7 3 2 oz China Silk 4 5 3 4 Pr Turpentine 4 5 6 Cattoes Iron 1 5 7 Shea Thread 5 3 4 Blankett 3 4 100 Taylours Needles 2 Shea Thimbles 5 6 7 77 4 1/4	Total, £5 6s 7d Grand total, £77 0s 2.5d Interpretations The account shows an island stocking up for the first shipping since June. Retail sales at £71 13s 7.5d run well above the £61 19s 7.5d of October and the £67 6s 11.5d of November, and the <i>Heathcote's</i> arrival on 20 December explains the rise: her people came ashore with money to spend, and the storekeeper's shelves cleared accordingly. The haberdashery running through the first half of the account is worth placing. Mohair was a fine hair yarn from the Angora goat, used for buttons and trimming; diaper tape a narrow figured linen tape and Holland tape its plain Dutch equivalent, both used to bind seams and edges; Guinea stuff a coarse cotton originally made for the West African trade; and gilt lace a braid worked with gold thread. Spindles were the shafts of a spinning wheel, sold here in pairs with the dies that shaped them, which shows the island's households spinning their own yarn rather than buying it made up. The ironmongery reveals what a St Helena holding needed to keep itself going. Mattocks, picks, spades, paring shovels and grazing shears were the implements of breaking rocky ground and keeping pasture; broad axes, wedges and hatchets the tools of clearing and splitting wood; and locks of five different kinds the ordinary security of a house with no constable nearer than the fort. Garnets and dovetails were hinge patterns, the garnet a T-shaped strap hinge for a heavy door. The slaves' account remains almost entirely fishing gear at 20 dozen hooks, 32 lines, twine, lead for weights and china silk for fine line, matching the November issue almost item for item. Four carpenters' saws at £2 5s 3d are the exception and the largest single line, and the muster of 30 September 1730 recorded carpenters among the handicraftsmen including a boy of thirteen, so the tools went to men already trained to use them.
34	31	Collection of Goods Sold & Delivered in Decr 1701 Vizt	Collection of goods sold and delivered in December 1730.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		24 Galls Arrack 7 12 1:0:14 Sugar 4 7 6 2:3:7 Candy 7 2 8 2:3: Bread 3 8 9 3:1:21 Flowr 4 6 4 1/2 66 Pr Ruze Sorted 4 19 3 1/2 6 3 1/2 oz China Silk 4 16 6 1/2 11 Yards Breast Buccenn 1 3 4 33 doz Coat ditto 3 6 7 Pr Mohair 12 6 19 Sweet Lace 4 9 13 doz Thredd do 4 4 4 Gilt Laces 3 4 1 ditto 4 4 2 doz Ribbon 10 6 9 Pr Diaper Tape 48 Pr Ballards ditto Sorted 2 6 0 9 6 Pr Callimell Sizes 11 9 13 Sarah Vestments 8 9 13 Pr Selvetting 8 3 17 Yards Edging 1 18 6 15lb Prunts 10 6 2 doz White Shirt Buttons 6 14 Pr Sponding 2 5 5 27 Pr Coatings 5 5 1 Pr Chatterin 5 3 9 Pr Dovetailers 3 3 2 No Pr Slings 1 4 15 Fowling Rams 10 6 12 Chest Locks 5 8 4 Pr Barrell Locks 1 3 17 Screw & Nut Locks 3 11 6 3 Neck Nailes 8 4 1 Sett Stapleton Locks 5 2 6 2 Pr Irons & Trestets 1 4 Heaters 7 6 12 Sail Needles 4 8 2 Halved Hatchets 8 3	24 gallons of arrack, £7 12s 0d 1 hundredweight 12 lb of sugar, £4 7s 6d 2 hundredweight 7 lb of candy, £1 2s 8d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters of bread, £3 8s 9d 3 hundredweight 1 quarter 21 lb of flour, £4 0s 1.5d 66 muslins sorted, £4 19s 2.5d 6 lb 7 oz of china silk, £4 16s 3.5d 11 large breast buttons, £1 3s 0d 33 dozen coat buttons, £1 3s 6d 7 lb of mohair, £0 12s 6d 19 sword laces, £0 14s 9d 13 dozen thread laces, £0 9s 0d 4 gilt laces, £0 3s 4d 1 lace, £0 1s 4d 2 dozen ribbon, £0 10s 0d 9 pieces of diaper tape, £0 6s 0d 48 pieces of Holland tape sorted, £2 6s 9d 6 pieces of Guinea stuff, £0 11s 9d 6 dozen sail needles, £0 8s 0d 1.5 lb of solder, £0 8s 3d 17 yards of edging, £1 18s 0d 15 lb of pewter, £0 18s 0d 2 dozen white shirt buttons, £0 6s 0d 14 pairs of spindles, £2 5s 5d 7 dozen coat laces, £0 5s 5d 1 pair of blankets, £0 5s 5d 9 pairs of dovetails, £0 5s 5d 2 pairs of stirrups, £0 1s 4d 15 pruning knives, £0 5s 1d 12 chest locks, £0 16s 6d 2 iron brown locks, £0 3s 0d 2 iron pad locks, £0 5s 6d 3 wood cards, £1 5s 4d 1 sett of stapleton locks, £0 5s 4d 2 pairs of irons and heaters, £1 7s 6d 4 hinges, £0 6s 6d 12 sail needles, £0 4s 8d 2 shovel hatchets, £0 5s 4d 1 small hatchet, £0 8s 6d 2 broad axes, £0 18s 6d 2 wedges of iron, £0 8s 6d 3 mattocks, £0 8s 3d 1 pair of garnets, £0 6s 3d 1 dozen handle hooks, £0 5s 6d 1 pair of hinges, £0 5s 6d 2 shovels, £0 3s 6d 11 shoe knives, £1 8s 6d 5 iron rods, £0 2s 6d 1 spade, £0 2s 10d 13 knives, £0 10s 9d 4 sammets, £0 1s 2d 4 sails, £1 9s 8d 4 bags of pincushions, £0 2s 9d 1 gridiron, £0 2s 9d 2 gimlets, £0 1s 6d 4 picks, £1 4s 6d 1 hammer, £0 3s 8d 1 pair of grazing shears, £0 4s 6d 3 scythe stones, £0 15s 6d 1 paring shovel, £0 6s 6d 1 stapling die, £0 3s 6d Total sold in December, £71 13s 7.5d Blacks: 20 dozen hooks, £0 6s 2d 32 lines, £1 6s 3d 1 lb of twine, £0 3s 3d 30 lb of lead, £0 7s 3d 2 oz of china silk, £0 7s 3d 4 carpenters' saws, £2 5s 3d 6 catties of bohea tea, £0 5s 6d 7 skeins of thread, £0 5s 3d 1 blanket, £0 5s 3d 100 tailors' needles, £0 3s 4d 2 dies for spindles, £0 3s 4d Total, £5 6s 7d Grand total, £77 0s 2.5d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Small Ratchet 18 6 8 Hand Axes 8 6 2 Bellows Axes 1 8 6 3 Mahogany do 18 3 1 Pr Gaunts 3 6 1 Pr Handly Tacks 4 1 Pr Wingles 3 6 8 Rablepins 5 8 6 11 Shea Awls 7 6 5 Iron ditto 10 1 Spade 2 8 13 Halvers 10 2 4 Sennets 1 2 9 4 Table Malt 7 8 4 Cags Gunthesham 2 9 1 Gyricon 9 2 Gimletts 2 4 14 Pitans 3 4 1 Ronchean 8 6 1 Pr Grinding Stones 4 6 3 Sheep Skin 4 6 6 1 Paring Shop 5 9 1 Sheeting ditto Totall Sold in Decr 71 13 7 1/2 Blacks Vizt 20 doz Tacks 6 2 32 Twine 1 8 8 1lb Twine 9 3 30 Steel 7 3 2 oz China Silk 4 5 3 4 Pr Turpentine 4 5 6 Cattoes Iron 1 5 7 Shea Thread 5 3 4 Blankett 3 4 100 Taylours Needles 2 Shea Thimbles 5 6 7 77 4 1/4	Interpretations The account shows an island stocking up for the first shipping since June. Retail sales at £71 13s 7.5d run well above the £61 19s 7.5d of October and the £67 6s 11.5d of November, and the <i>Heathcote's</i> arrival on 20 December explains the rise: her people came ashore with money to spend, and the storekeeper's shelves cleared accordingly. The haberdashery running through the first half of the account is worth placing. Mohair was a fine hair yarn from the Angora goat, used for buttons and trimming; diaper tape a narrow figured linen tape and Holland tape its plain Dutch equivalent, both used to bind seams and edges; Guinea stuff a coarse cotton originally made for the West African trade; and gilt lace a braid worked with gold thread. Spindles were the shafts of a spinning wheel, sold here in pairs with the dies that shaped them, which shows the island's households spinning their own yarn rather than buying it made up. The ironmongery reveals what a St Helena holding needed to keep itself going. Mattocks, picks, spades, paring shovels and grazing shears were the implements of breaking rocky ground and keeping pasture; broad axes, wedges and hatchets the tools of clearing and splitting wood; and locks of five different kinds the ordinary security of a house with no constable nearer than the fort. Garnets and dovetails were hinge patterns, the garnet a T-shaped strap hinge for a heavy door. The slaves' account remains almost entirely fishing gear at 20 dozen hooks, 32 lines, twine, lead for weights and china silk for fine line, matching the November issue almost item for item. Four carpenters' saws at £2 5s 3d are the exception and the largest single line, and the muster of 30 September 1730 recorded carpenters among the handicraftsmen including a boy of thirteen, so the tools went to men already trained to use them.
35	32	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates,	Account of the Company's stock for December 1730. Remaining 1 December: 65 bullocks, 128 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 86 calves, 5 bulls, 391

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 1 Decr: Bullocks 65, Cowes 128, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 86, Bulls 5, Totall 391, Ewes 53, Wethers 19, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 21, Wethers 0, Kids 37, Rams 1, Totall 59, Sows 17, Shoates 24, Barrows 14, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 89, Turkeys 35, Fowles 60, Ducks 22, Geese 11, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed in Decr: Bullocks 1, Cowes 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 1, Totall 3, Ewes 1, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 16, Rams 0, Totall 16, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 0, Fowles 20, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 64, Cowes 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 86, Bulls 4, Totall 388, Ewes 52, Wethers 18, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 81, Ewes 21, Wethers 0, Kids 21, Rams 1, Totall 43, Sows 17, Shoates 24, Barrows 12, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 87, Turkeys 35, Fowles 40, Ducks 22, Geese 11, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Increased in Decr: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 28, Bulls 0, Totall 28, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Totall 1 Bullocks 64, Cowes 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 114, Bulls 4, Totall 416, Ewes 52, Wethers 18, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 81, Ewes 21, Wethers 0, Kids 21, Rams 1, Totall 43, Sows 17, Shoates 24, Barrows 12, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 87, Turkeys 35, Fowles 40, Ducks 22, Geese 11, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 Sold to the Heathcote: Bullocks 3, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 61, Cowes 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 114, Bulls 4, Totall 413, Ewes 52, Wethers 18, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 81, Ewes 21, Wethers 0, Kids 21, Rams 1, Totall 43, Sows 17, Shoates 24, Barrows 12, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 87, Turkeys 35, Fowles 40, Ducks 22, Geese 11, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 Dead in Decr: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 3, Wethers 0, Kids 3, Rams 1, Totall 0, Sows 6, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 7, Boars 0, Totall 7, Turkeys 0, Fowles 2, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 31 Decr: Bullocks 61, Cowes 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 114, Bulls 4, Totall 413, Ewes 52, Wethers 18, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 81, Ewes 18, Wethers 0, Kids 21, Rams 1, Totall 40, Sows 16, Shoates 24, Barrows 12, Pigs 25, Boars 3, Totall 80, Turkeys 28, Fowles 40, Ducks 20, Geese 11, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 19,950lb Ditto deld the Fort Blacks 10,000 Ditto deld the Great Wood ditto 3025 Totall 32,975 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	neat cattle in all; 53 ewes, 19 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 21 does, 0 wethers, 37 kids, 1 ram, 59 goats in all; 17 sows, 24 shoats, 14 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 89 hogs in all; 35 turkeys, 60 fowls, 22 ducks, 11 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Killed in December: 1 bullock, 1 cow, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 1 bull, 3 neat cattle in all; 1 ewe, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 2 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 16 kids, 0 rams, 16 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 2 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 20 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 64 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 86 calves, 4 bulls, 388 neat cattle in all; 52 ewes, 18 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 21 does, 0 wethers, 21 kids, 1 ram, 43 goats in all; 17 sows, 24 shoats, 12 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 87 hogs in all; 35 turkeys, 40 fowls, 22 ducks, 11 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Increased in December: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 28 calves, 0 bulls, 28 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 1 horse, 0 mares, 1 horse in all Balance after increase: 64 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 114 calves, 4 bulls, 416 neat cattle in all; 52 ewes, 18 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 21 does, 0 wethers, 21 kids, 1 ram, 43 goats in all; 17 sows, 24 shoats, 12 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 87 hogs in all; 35 turkeys, 40 fowls, 22 ducks, 11 geese; 5 horses, 4 mares, 9 horses in all Sold to the Heathcote: 3 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 3 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after sale: 61 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 114 calves, 4 bulls, 413 neat cattle in all; 52 ewes, 18 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 21 does, 0 wethers, 21 kids, 1 ram, 43 goats in all; 17 sows, 24 shoats, 12 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 87 hogs in all; 35 turkeys, 40 fowls, 22 ducks, 11 geese; 5 horses, 4 mares, 9 horses in all Dead in December: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 3 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 3 goats in all; 1 sow, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 6 pigs, 0 boars, 7 hogs in all; 7 turkeys, 0 fowls, 2 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 31 December: 61 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 114 calves, 4 bulls, 413 neat cattle in all; 52 ewes, 18 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 18 does, 0 wethers, 21 kids, 1 ram, 40 goats in all; 16 sows, 24 shoats, 12 barrows, 25 pigs, 3 boars, 80 hogs in all; 28 turkeys, 40 fowls, 20 ducks, 11 geese; 5 horses, 4 mares, 9 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,950 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 10,000 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 3,025 lb Total yams, 32,975 lb Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Three bullocks sold to the <i>Heathcote</i> are the first sale to shipping since June, and the entry names the buyer directly rather than recording a general disposal. Six months of an empty anchorage had left the herd to build unchecked, and it stood at 413 head by the end of the month, the highest figure in this run. The pattern across the whole record holds firm: the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Company's beef trade moved entirely with the arrival of the Indiamen, and a single ship touching for eight days took only three beasts. The goat herd is now down to 40 from 59 at the start of the month, and the composition tells the story more plainly than the total. Sixteen kids were killed and three does died, no animals were born, and the wether class has stood empty since October. Eighteen does remain of the eighty-five that opened the Company's year. Killing the young while the breeding females go untended is the sequence of a herd being closed down rather than reduced, and the destruction resolved on 20 January 1730 has run far ahead of the two-year term allowed from 1 September. Twenty fowls killed represent the heaviest poultry slaughter recorded in these monthly accounts, and seven turkeys died besides. Christmas and the <i>Heathcote's</i> stay fall in the same fortnight, and the fort's table entertained her officers ashore, so the birds went to feed a household briefly swollen by visitors after half a year of quiet. Twenty-eight calves born in a single month is the largest increase in the run, matching the heavy calving of March 1730 when 55 were added. St Helena's summer opens in November, and the herd is calving into the warmest and driest part of the island's year. The yam issue of 32,975 lb is the highest of the five months since the new crop came in, with the fort slaves' share crossing 10,000 lb for the first time. The steady climb from 31,260 lb in August through to this figure shows an establishment feeding itself comfortably, in sharp contrast with January 1729 when the crop failed entirely and the accounts recorded no yams at all.
<u>36</u>	33	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 11 Janry 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that on of the Honble Compa Black Fellows named Will died last Week Ordred that he be Entred in the Books E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 18 Janry 1701 at Plantacon House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Jas Whaley Senr made Complaint that John Bradley & other frequently keep & Send his Cattle amongst the said & Bradleys Fences and many of them down & the Land by that means become as much as ever as the Common, but to prevent the like hereafter the said Bradley promised to make up the Fences, & has already changed the day that opened & Mannaged the said Whaley Cattle & with them the Gate was Satisfyed E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 26 Janry 1701 at Do House	At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 January 1731 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Byfield reported that one of the Company's slaves, a man named Will, had died the previous week. The council ordered the death entered in the books. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 January 1731 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. James Whaley junior complained that John Bradley's slaves frequently hunted and worried his cattle. Bradley's fences had grown so poor that the animals broke through and got onto his land almost as often as they were driven off. Bradley promised to make good the fences and reported that he had already hanged the dog that had done the damage. Whaley was satisfied with the arrangement. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 January 1731 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Cadogan</i> arrived from India on 22 January under her captain, who came ashore and received the standing instructions to heave in upon alarms, entered in the consultation of 21 December last. The supply she brought was as follows. 4 half leaguers of Batavia arrack, containing 75, 75, 72 and 80 gallons, 302 gallons in all at 120 rupees per leaguer, 268 rupees Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 22 instant the Cadogan arrived here from India & the Captain being come on Shoar, We gave him the usuall Instructions to keep in harbour in a Copy of which is Entred in our Consultation of the 21 Decr last, He supplyd the brought Us is as followeth Vizt Invoice p Cadogan Vizt Selling Price Fs 40 p Galln 4 Half Leagrs Batavia Arrack Vizt No 13 75 14 75 15 72 16 80 302 Galls @ 120 p Leagr 264	The cattle dispute rests on the state of Bradley's fences rather than on any deliberate act by his slaves, which is why the council's remedy fell on the boundary rather than on the men. Fencing was the standing difficulty of the island's husbandry, and the survey of 10 November 1729 had recorded holding after holding where wood and furze were destroyed by cattle breaking through defective boundaries. Bradley himself had petitioned on 24 December 1728 to surrender three acres near the limekiln, his father's death having left him unable to complete the work or pay the rent, so his fences had probably been neglected for some years. Hanging the dog before any complaint reached the council shows Bradley acting on a well-established local practice. The council had issued warrants to kill dogs belonging to John Long, Elizabeth Marsh and Thomas Nash on 21 January 1729 after goats were found shot and worried, and a fresh warrant went out against Long's dogs on 11 November 1729. Destroying a dog that had taken to hunting stock was the recognised remedy on an island where the testimony of blacks was inadmissible and a case could rarely be proved. The <i>Cadogan's</i> cargo consists of nothing but arrack, and the invoice is priced by the leaguer rather than the gallon. A leaguer was a large cask of about 150 gallons, arrack being shipped in half leaguers, and the four casks here vary between 72 and 80 gallons apiece. Arrack was the standard spirit of the Eastern trade, distilled from palm sap, rice or sugar, and it ran as the heaviest single line in the island's own accounts month after month. Two ships within five weeks, after half a year of silence, mark the reopening of the shipping season. The <i>Heathcote</i> had touched on 20 December and sailed on 28 December, and the <i>Cadogan</i> is the same vessel that brought the war-scare packet from England on 3 March 1729.
37	34	Brought over 264 6d p lb Sugar 10 bags wt 22 Tarr is 14:2:0 @ 10:12 p bag 107 8 For Comps Use Rice 34 bags 7:8: bag is 57:-25 @ 1:5:8 p Mor 73 6 6 Batta 10 p Cent 7 5 18 13 6 2d p lb Wax Candles 2 Factory is 4:1:4 @ 30 p Cwt 60 512 3 6 Charges Merchandize 35 10 Recd 547 13 6 The Petition of Fran: Wrangham was presented & read Setting forth that in order to compleat the Purchase of a Parcell of Land he lately bought which by its Situation & other Advantages will be of great Use to him, he very much wanted the Sum of Sixty one Pounds which at present he can no where conveniently raise, & praying that We would lend him upon Acco of the Honble Company the aforesaid Sum for the term of three Months & if he shall not be able to Repay it Sooner for which he is willing to Pay Interest after the Rate of Six p Cent p Annum	Brought over, 264 rupees. Sugar, 10 bags weighing 22 maunds, 14 rupees 2 annas per maund, at 10 rupees 12 annas per bag, 107 rupees 8 annas Rice for the Company's use, 39 bags weighing 78 bags at 57 maunds, at 25 rupees 1 anna 5 annas 8 pies per maund, 73 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 7 rupees 5 annas, 18 rupees 13 annas 6 pies Wax candles, 2 [...] factory at 1 rupee 9 annas, at 30 per maund, 60 rupees Subtotal, 512 rupees 3 annas 6 pies Charges merchandise, 35 rupees 10 annas Total, 547 rupees 13 annas 6 pies Francis Wrangham petitioned the council. He had lately bought a parcel of land whose position and other advantages made it of great value to him, and he needed £61 0s 0d to complete the purchase. He could raise the sum nowhere convenient at present, and asked the council to lend it to him on the security of his estate for three months, undertaking to repay sooner if he could, and offering interest at six per cent a year. The council found his account true, the term of repayment short and his circumstances good. It agreed unanimously to lend him the £61 0s 0d at six per cent, and took his bond for the sum. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 February 1731 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Contents of the said Petition being true & the time for Payment Short & Mr Wrangham in good Circumstances We therefore Unanimously agreed to let him have the said Sum of Sixty one Pounds at the Rate of Six p Cent & took his Bond for the same accordingly E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 1 Feby 1701 at Do House Presents Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 28th of last Month, the Cadogan Sailed from hence for England & the same day a large French Ship Arrived here from Pondicherry & Sailed again the next Morn but before We suffered her to come to the carefully Examined the Captains Commission, She is called the Royale Philipp, of Seven hundred & twenty Tons Twenty Six Gunns & one hundred & fifty seven Men, Mr Delagard, Major Commander The Governour, Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accts for January last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow	The <i>Cadogan</i> sailed for England on 28 January. A large French ship arrived the same day from Pondicherry and sailed again the following Monday. Before allowing her into the road, the council examined her captain's commission carefully. She proved to be the <i>Royalle Philip</i> of 720 tons, 26 guns, 100 hundredweight and 50 men, commanded by Major Delagard. Governor Byfield, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for January last. The council examined them separately and approved them. Interpretations Batta at ten per cent was the exchange allowance added when converting between currencies of different standards, a necessary adjustment where an invoice crossed between rupee zones. Its appearance as a separate line on the <i>Cadogan</i>'s account, charged only against the rice, shows that portion of the cargo was bought in a different rupee than the rest. A maund was a weight of about 80 lb, and charges merchandise the packing, boat hire and coolie hire that carried the goods down to the ship. The loan to Wrangham is the only instance of the council advancing money to a private inhabitant in this record, and its terms show what it was doing. Six per cent was the ordinary English legal maximum of the period, and Orlando Bagley senior's verbal agreement with Mr Slaughter of 4 August 1730 had run at eight per cent, so the council lent below the rate available privately on the island. Taking a bond on the estate rather than the newly bought parcel secured the debt against everything Wrangham owned. He was the island's largest wood-holder and had served as commissioner on the surveys of 1727 and 1729, which is why the council could describe his circumstances as good without further inquiry. An island almost without coin made short-term credit genuinely scarce. Money moved chiefly by bills of exchange drawn on the Company in London against cash notes paid in, and the storekeeper's books carried the inhabitants' purchases as running debts settled at the half-yearly reckoning. A man needing £61 0s 0d in hand within weeks had nowhere to turn except the Company's own treasury. Examining the French commission before admitting the <i>Royalle Philip</i> to the road follows the practice applied to every foreign vessel. The Danish <i>Cronenburg</i> was examined and permitted to water on 28 January 1729 but never admitted to the road, and the brigantine <i>St Michael</i> was held at Rupert's Bay on 11 June 1727 until her tripartite indenture and royal commission were produced. Pondicherry was the French East India Company's principal settlement on the Coromandel coast, so a large ship from there was exactly what she claimed to be, but the council verified it regardless.
38	35	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hogs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 1 Janry 1701: Bullocks 61, Cowes 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 114, Bulls 4, Totall 413, Ewes 52, Wethers 18, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Totall 81, Ewes 18, Wethers 0, Kids 21, Rams 1, Totall 40, Sows 16, Shoates 24, Barrows 12, Pigs 25, Boars 3, Totall 80, Turkeys 28, Fowles 40, Ducks 20, Geese 11, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 Killed in Janry: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 2, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 2, Ewes 5, Wethers 0, Kids 10, Rams 0, Totall 15, Sows 0,	Account of the Company's stock for January 1731. Remaining 1 January 1731: 61 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 114 calves, 4 bulls, 413 neat cattle in all; 52 ewes, 18 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 18 does, 0 wethers, 21 kids, 1 ram, 40 goats in all; 16 sows, 24 shoats, 12 barrows, 25 pigs, 3 boars, 80 hogs in all; 28 turkeys, 40 fowls, 20 ducks, 11 geese; 5 horses, 4 mares, 9 horses in all Killed in January: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 2 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 2 sheep in all; 5 does, 0 wethers, 10 kids, 0 rams, 15 goats in all; 0 sows, 2 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in all; 3 turkeys, 0 fowls, 4 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 61 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 114 calves, 4 bulls, 413

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Shoates 0, Barrows 2, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 2, Turkeys 3, Fowles 0, Ducks 4, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bullocks 61, Cows 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 114, Bulls 4, Total 413, Ewes 52, Wethers 16, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Total 79, Ewes 13, Wethers 0, Kids 21, Rams 1, Total 25, Sows 16, Shoates 24, Barrows 10, Pigs 25, Boars 3, Total 78, Turkeys 25, Fowles 40, Ducks 16, Geese 11, Horses 5, Mares 4, Total 9 Sold to the Cadogan &c: Bullocks 2, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Total 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Total 1 Bullocks 59, Cows 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 114, Bulls 4, Total 411, Ewes 52, Wethers 16, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Total 79, Ewes 13, Wethers 0, Kids 11, Rams 1, Total 25, Sows 16, Shoates 24, Barrows 10, Pigs 25, Boars 3, Total 78, Turkeys 25, Fowles 40, Ducks 16, Geese 11, Horses 4, Mares 4, Total 8 Dead in Janry: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Total 0, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 1, Ewes 3, Wethers 0, Kids 3, Rams 0, Total 6, Sows 1, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 4, Boars 0, Total 5, Turkeys 6, Fowles 12, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bullocks 59, Cows 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 114, Bulls 4, Total 411, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 8, Rams 3, Total 78, Ewes 10, Wethers 0, Kids 8, Rams 1, Total 19, Sows 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 10, Pigs 21, Boars 3, Total 73, Turkeys 19, Fowles 28, Ducks 16, Geese 10, Horses 4, Mares 4, Total 8 Increased in do: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 27, Bulls 0, Total 27, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 5, Rams 0, Total 5, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remr 31 Janry: Bullocks 59, Cows 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 141, Bulls 4, Total 438, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Total 83, Ewes 10, Wethers 0, Kids 8, Rams 1, Total 19, Sows 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 10, Pigs 21, Boars 3, Total 73, Turkeys 19, Fowles 28, Ducks 16, Geese 10, Horses 4, Mares 4, Total 8 Yams Expended at the Sevl Plantacons 19,850lb ditto deld the Fort Blacks 9950 ditto deld the Great Wood do 3000 Total 32,800lb	neat cattle in all; 52 ewes, 16 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 79 sheep in all; 13 does, 0 wethers, 21 kids, 1 ram, 25 goats in all; 16 sows, 24 shoats, 10 barrows, 25 pigs, 3 boars, 78 hogs in all; 25 turkeys, 40 fowls, 16 ducks, 11 geese; 5 horses, 4 mares, 9 horses in all Sold to the Cadogan: 2 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 2 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 1 horse, 0 mares, 1 horse in all Balance after sale: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 114 calves, 4 bulls, 411 neat cattle in all; 52 ewes, 16 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 79 sheep in all; 13 does, 0 wethers, 11 kids, 1 ram, 25 goats in all; 16 sows, 24 shoats, 10 barrows, 25 pigs, 3 boars, 78 hogs in all; 25 turkeys, 40 fowls, 16 ducks, 11 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Dead in January: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 1 ewe, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in all; 3 does, 0 wethers, 3 kids, 0 rams, 6 goats in all; 1 sow, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 4 pigs, 0 boars, 5 hogs in all; 6 turkeys, 12 fowls, 0 ducks, 1 goose; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after deaths: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 114 calves, 4 bulls, 411 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 8 lambs, 3 rams, 78 sheep in all; 10 does, 0 wethers, 8 kids, 1 ram, 19 goats in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 10 barrows, 21 pigs, 3 boars, 73 hogs in all; 19 turkeys, 28 fowls, 16 ducks, 10 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Increased in January: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 27 calves, 0 bulls, 27 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 5 lambs, 0 rams, 5 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 wethers, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 31 January: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 141 calves, 4 bulls, 438 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 10 does, 0 wethers, 8 kids, 1 ram, 19 goats in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 10 barrows, 21 pigs, 3 boars, 73 hogs in all; 19 turkeys, 28 fowls, 16 ducks, 10 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,850 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 9,950 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 3,000 lb Total yams, 32,800 lb Interpretations The goat herd stands at 19 against 409 at the opening of the Company's year, and the composition shows the destruction all but finished. Ten does, eight kids and a single ram remain, the wether class having stood empty since October. Fifteen were killed and six died in the month against no births at all, the second consecutive month in which the herd failed to breed. The inhabitants voted on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island and allowed two years from 1 September for the work; five months into that term the Company's herd has fallen by more than nineteen twentieths. Feral goats survived on St Helena long after this period, so the resolution never cleared the island of them. Sheep at 83 have risen slightly on five lambs born, and the flock has held between 78 and 88 throughout the destruction. The contrast with the goats is now stark: a species included in the same vote is being left to breed while the goats are killed off entirely, which suggests the council read the vote as aimed at the browsing that stripped the island's wood rather than at sheep as such.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			A horse was sold to the <i>Cadogan</i> alongside two bullocks, an unusual entry since horses left the island only rarely. Gabriel Powell bought one from the Company's stock in January 1728, another went to Captain Alexander in November 1729, and two were sold across the whole of the year to September 1730. A homeward Indiaman taking a horse aboard was carrying it as private cargo rather than as victual. Twenty-seven calves born follow the twenty-eight of December, and the herd has reached 438, the highest figure recorded in this series. St Helena's summer runs from November to March, and the calving has come heavily in the warm months just as it did in March 1730 when 55 head were added. Poultry losses were severe, with twelve fowls and six turkeys dead beyond those killed for the table. The flock has fallen from 60 fowls at the start of December to 28, and turkeys from 35 to 19, so roughly half the birds have gone in two months through slaughter and death together.
39	36	Gunners Stores Expended in Janry 1701 Vizt Guns, Shott, Deculvg, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 1701 Janry 1 Muster Day Guns 0, Shott 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 13 22 An Allarm Guns 4, Shott 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived the Cadogan Guns 9, Shott 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 8, Powder 11 25 Powder for Bomber Fort & Mundens Guns 0, Shott 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 4 23 An Allarm Guns 4, Shott 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Fired at Bankes to bring a Ship too Guns 2, Shott 2, Deculvg 0, Sakers 2, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 8 do ditto at Mundens Guns 1, Shott 1, Deculvg 1, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 7 do Arrived a French Ship Guns 11, Shott 1, Deculvg 1, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 10, Powder 13 do Cadogan Sailed Guns 9, Shott 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 2, Minion 1, Falcon 6, Powder 17 Expenct of the Guard Musquett & Balls for ditto 4 Guns 40, Shott 3, Deculvg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 11, Falcon 24, Powder 100 Cartridge Paper for ditto 2 Quire Sponge Staves 1 Sponge Heads 1 Rammer Head 1 Sheep Skins 1 Match 12lb Signed Jno French Expenct of the Table in Janry 1701 Vizt 43 Galls Arrack for the Table 13 12 4 100 Sugar	Gunner's stores expended in January 1731. 1 January, muster day: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 13 lb of powder 22 January, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 22 January, arrival of the Cadogan: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 25 January, powder for Banks's Fort and Munden's, 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 4 lb of powder 23 January, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 23 January, fired at Banks's to bring a ship to: 2 guns fired, 2 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 2 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 8 lb of powder 23 January, fired at Munden's: 1 gun fired, 1 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 7 lb of powder 23 January, arrival of a French ship: 11 guns fired, 1 shot, 1 demi-culverin, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 10 falcons, 13 lb of powder 23 January, the Cadogan sailed: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 2 sakers, 1 minion, 6 falcons, 17 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 9 lb of powder Musket balls for the same, 4 lb Cartridge paper for the same, 2 quires Sponge staves, 1 Sponge heads, 1 Rammer heads, 1 Sheepskins, 1 Match, 12 lb Total: 40 guns fired, 3 shot, 1 demi-culverin, 4 sakers, 11 minions, 24 falcons, 106 lb of powder Signed: John French. Expense of the table in January 1731. 43 gallons of arrack for the table, £13 12s 4d 100 lb of sugar, £1 9s 9d 13 lb of candy, £0 9s 9d 39 lb of bread, £0 9s 9d 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 lb of flour, £3 9s 9d 21 gallons of sherry, £8 2s 6d 69 gallons of strong beer, £5 18s 0d 4 bushels of salt, £0 1s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 2 sheep, £0 15s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 14s 0d 108 lb of fish, £1 10s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 13lb Candy 9 9 39 Bread 9 9 2:3:16 Flowr 3 7 9 21 Galls Sherry 8 2 6 64 Galls Strong Beer 5 18 4 Bushells Salt 1 1lb Pepper 2 2 Sheep 15 3 Turkeys 2 4 108lb Pork 1 10 10 Kids 6 4 Ducks 1 8 118lb Beef 11 8lb Butter 1 11 8 31 Days Greens 62 Bowles Milk 44 15 3 10 1/2 Galls Arrack deld Blacks 3 6 6 3 Galls do to the Guards 19 8lb Sugar do Blacks 4 16lb Soap 17 2 23lb Candles 2 6 7 12 10	10 fish, £0 6s 0d 4 ducks, £1 8s 0d 118 lb of beef, £1 11s 8d 8 lb of butter, £1 11s 8d 31 days of greens, £1 0s 0d 62 bottles of milk, £44 16s 3d Total, £44 16s 3d 10.5 gallons of arrack delivered to the slaves, £3 6s 6d 3 gallons delivered to the guards, £0 19s 0d 8 lb of sugar for the slaves, £0 4s 0d 16 lb of soap, £0 17s 2d 23 lb of candles, £2 6s 0d Total, £7 12s 10d Interpretations The January gun account at 106 lb of powder is the heaviest month since June 1730 and the busiest anchorage in this run. Two alarms fell on consecutive days, and on 23 January guns were fired in earnest from both Banks's battery and Munden's Point to bring a ship to, three round shot being expended. Firing live shot across a vessel's bow was the only means an island without a harbour had of compelling a stranger to identify herself, and the ship proved to be the French <i>Royalle Philip</i> from Pondicherry, saluted with eleven guns once her commission had been examined. The distribution of powder to Banks's Fort and Munden's Point on 25 January shows the outlying batteries being resupplied after the firing rather than before it. Both positions had been listed in the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727, Munden's carrying fourteen guns and Banks's seven, and they command the approaches to the road from either side. Keeping powder at the batteries rather than in the castle magazine was necessary if they were to answer an alarm without delay, but it exposed the stock to the damp that had spoiled seventy-two barrels in 1727. Salutes were graded by the standing of the visitor. The <i>Cadogan</i> drew nine guns on arrival and nine on departure, while the French ship drew eleven, the heavier compliment reflecting her being a foreign vessel of 720 tons whose captain held a royal commission. The falcons carried most of these salutes, the lightest pieces on the island, the demi-cannon and culverins being kept for royal occasions. The table account of £44 16s 3d rises on November's £42 12s 6d, and the reason lies in the shipping. Two vessels touched during the month, and the fort entertained their officers ashore, which is the same mechanism that drove the June 1730 account to £76 7s 2d when four ships lay in the road. Fish at 108 lb has recovered from the 19 lb of November, and ten whole fish are entered separately, presumably larger specimens bought or caught individually rather than weighed with the bulk catch. The wet-weather allowance of arrack to the slaves stands at 10.5 gallons, well above the 3 gallons of November. St Helena's summer runs from November to March, so an issue on this scale in high summer points to a wet spell rather than cold, and the accounts of the previous year had noted the weather uncommonly wet through the same months.
40	37	Collection of Store Goods Sold &ca in Janry 30 Galls Arrack 9 10 6 7:1:14 Sugar 17 16 3 --:13 Candy 8 12 6 16--:2 Bread 10 1 3--: Flowr 17 8	Collection of store goods sold in January 1731. 30 gallons of arrack, £9 10s 0d 7 hundredweight 14 lb of sugar, £17 16s 3d 1 hundredweight 13 lb of candy, £8 12s 6d 15 hundredweight of bread, £10 0s 0d 3 hundredweight of flour, £17 0s 0d 2 corner iron pans, £12 2s 0d 1 iron pan, £0 1s 0d 4 baskets, £0 0s 0d 2 hoops for casks, £6 11s 7d 2 stand candlesticks, £0 1s 7d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 Corner Sauce Pans 17 2 1 Sauce Pan 8 4 Bowles 9 2 Sheep Cashes 4 11 7 2 Stand Candlesticks 7 8 1 Pr Candlesticks 12 71 12 6 Garrison 18 Cattoes Iron 6 1/2 Galls Rape oyle 4 8 1 1/2 6 1/2 Galls Thin Canvas 1 2 3 2 Tarr 2 3 3 Yards Bunting 2 4 Taylours Needles 4 8 6 13 2 1/2 Plantation 12lb Nailes 10 1/2 Rope 19 7 1 Iron Pott 78 4 5 1 1 Pr Stilyards 1 5 1 3 White Deales 4 1 Beam Spar 4 6 1 Wainscott Board 3/4 Inch 3 6 8 Galls Train oyle 4 4 0:2:14 Tacky 2 3 3 6:1:4 Rice 4 11 for Slaes & Poultry 11 12 10 Charges Generall Vizt 16lb Soap 17 4 1 Grator 4 17 8 Diet Expences 56 1/2 Galls Arrack 17 17 8 -:1:20 Sugar 1 2 4 -:-18 Candy 4 2 0:1:12 Bread 4 9 9 2:0:16 Flowr 8 3 6 21 Galls Sherry 8 2 9 28lb Candles 2 3 9 64 Galls Strong Beer 18 4 Bushells Salt 1 1 Pepper 39 16 5	1 pair of candle snuffers, £0 12s 0d Total, £71 12s 6d Garrison: 15 catties of bohea tea, £4 10s 0d 6.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 8s 1.5d 5.5 yards of thin canvas, £0 2s 3d 2 corks, £0 2s 6d 3 yards of bunting, £0 4s 2d 2 tailors' needles, £0 0s 0d Total, £6 13s 9.5d Plantation: 12 lb of nails, £0 19s 7d 10.5 lb of rope, £0 5s 1d 1 iron pot of 78 lb, £1 5s 0d 1 pair of steelyards, £0 4s 6d 3 white deals, £0 3s 6d 1 broom spar, £0 3s 6d 1 wainscot board of 9 inches, £0 3s 3d 8 gallons of train oil, £0 4s 3d 6 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb of paddy, £2 3s 3d 6 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb of rice for hogs and poultry, £4 4s 0d Total, £11 12s 10d Charges general: 16 lb of soap, £0 17s 4d 1 grater, £0 0s 4d Total, £0 17s 8d Diet expenses: 56.5 gallons of arrack, £17 17s 8d 1 hundredweight 20 lb of sugar, £1 4s 2d 1 hundredweight 18 lb of candy, £0 4s 9d 2 hundredweight 1 quarter 14 lb of bread, £0 9s 9d 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 16 lb of flour, £3 9s 9d 21 gallons of sherry, £8 2s 6d 28 lb of candles, £2 6s 0d 69 gallons of strong beer, £5 3s 0d 4 bushels of salt, £0 18s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d Total, £39 16s 5d Blacks on account of clothing: 115 shirts for the girls and wench who work in the plantations, quarter and lodge, chosen to make and mend, and given to the tailor and large girls, there not being cloth enough to be got for them all, £4 7s 6d 26 yards of Norwich stuff, £23 1s 6d 4 skeins of coloured thread, £0 10s 6d 12 skeins of mohair, £0 2s 6d 11 pieces of sweet damaged chintz, part of the wrecked goods fit for no other use, £4 2s 6d 2 silk hats, £0 2s 8d 2 silk laces, £0 0s 10d 1 lace, £0 0s 0d Subtotal, £49 14s 7.5d On account of diet: 3 catties of bohea tea, £0 17s 8d 32 tin flasks, £1 1s 8d 24 lines, £1 1s 6d 1 oz of silk, £0 0s 0d Total, £16 1s 11.5d Grand total, £176 12s 7.5d Governor Byfield reported that a slave woman named Monkey belonging to the Company had been delivered of a boy named Augustus in January. The council ordered the birth entered in the books. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin. Interpretations Bread at 15 hundredweight and flour at 3 hundredweight together form the heaviest food line in the month's retail account, and their scale points to the shipping rather than the island's households. The <i>Cadogan</i> and the French <i>Royalle Philip</i> both touched during January, and vessels bound for England victualled at St Helena as a matter of course. The pattern repeats what the accounts showed in May and June 1729, when 2,010 lb and 1,220 lb of bread were baked for the fleet and the item vanished entirely once the ships sailed. The clothing issue to the slaves is unusual in this record for what it admits. Shirts were made for the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Blacks On Accot of Clothing 115 Shirts for the Fishers & Wenches that Work in the Plantacon Gardens & do to be allowed to make a Gown for some of the Weakest & older Girles there not being Cloth enough to be got for them &c 4 7 6 26 Sheep Jerseys 23 1 6 4 Coloured Thread 10 4 12 Skains Mohair 11 Pr Sweet damaged Chints part of the Wreck & Goods not fit for no other use 4 8 6 2 Silk Sets 2 8 9 Silk Laces 10 1 ditto 49 14 7 1/2 On Accot of Diett &ca 3 Cattoes Iron 16 4 32 doz Hooks 17 8 24 Twine 1 6 1 oz Silk 16 1 11 3/4 176 14 7 1/4 The Governour Reports that one of the Honble Compa Wenches named Toney was delivered of a Boy last Week called Augustus Ordred that he be Entred in the Books E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	girls and women working in the plantations because there was not cloth enough for the whole establishment, so the tailor and the older girls made up what could be had and the remainder went without. The annual clothing charge normally fell in September, 400 yards of kersey and 100 blankets having been issued on 30 September 1730, and a supplementary issue in January on short supply suggests the autumn allowance had proved inadequate. Norwich stuff at 26 yards for £23 1s 6d is the single most valuable line in the slaves' account and by far the costliest cloth per yard in the month. Norwich stuff was the general name for the worsteds of that city, light and finely woven, and it appears elsewhere in the storekeeper's accounts as a cloth for the better sort of garment rather than for slave clothing. Its presence here alongside silk hats and silk laces suggests these items went to house servants attending the Governor rather than to the field hands. Damaged chintz described as part of the wrecked goods marks a shipwreck somewhere in the Company's trade, the salvage having reached St Helena for disposal. The storekeeper had sold 798 pieces of damaged chintz in September 1730 and 143 pairs of moth-eaten stockings in October, both at reduced prices, and the practice of clearing spoiled stock into the island rather than shipping it home runs through the whole record. Paddy is rice still in the husk, and its appearance alongside cleaned rice, both charged to the plantation for hogs and poultry, shows the Company buying the cheaper unhusked grain for stock feed while reserving milled rice for other uses. A steelyard was a sliding-weight balance used for weighing goods in trade, and bunting the worsted cloth from which flags and signals were made, the gunner's stores having listed nine union flags and two pennants in the inventory of 30 September 1730.
41	38	At a Consultation held on Thursday 3 Febr'y 1701 at Do House Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison for the Month past as p Journall folio 28 & 30 On Monday last We had an Allarm for a Single Ship passing by which the Surprize was French E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 8 Febr'y 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of John Goodwin Gent was presented & read Setting forth that for near five Years past he had hired a couple of Houses belonging to the Honble Company for he has paid a large yearly Rent Eighteen Pounds p Annum for both & had also been at above Fifty Pounds	At a consultation held on Thursday 3 February 1731 at Plantation House. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The garrison was paid for the past month, entered in the journal at folios 28 and 30. An alarm was raised the previous Monday for a single ship passing by, which proved to be French. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 February 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. John Goodwin petitioned the council. He had rented a couple of houses from the Company for the past five years, paying a yearly rent of eight pounds and an amount for both of about fifty pounds. He set out that he had already been at considerable expense in putting them into repair, and that the ground had first been of no use and very little worth. Having laid out a great deal upon it, he thought it reasonable that he should reap some benefit from what he had spent, especially as he had improved the ground so far beyond its earlier condition. He asked to be granted a lease of the two houses for fourteen years, and offered to pay nothing further by way of rent. The council knew the substance of the petition to be true. Goodwin had paid the Company £50 in rent, which was worth as much as many would give for the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Charge in putting them into Repair, & that as he hath already been at so great an Expence and lately to be at a great deal more, it was but reasonable he should reap some benefit by them which was very inconsiderate as things be continued under a yearly Rent, & therefore praying that he might therefore have a Lease of the said two Houses for the Term of Fourteen Years in Consideration whereof he should Rate the nothing to give the same Rent The Severall Circumstances Setforth in this Petition We knew to be true & we We cant paid for the said Houses is much more than they are worth We are much of any nature & Yearly Rent to the Compa, & we accordingly Compleated & Executed the Lease and being otherwise respectfull persons for the Term of Fourteen Years to commence from this time at the Rate of Eighteen Pounds p Annum, We hoped Houses in Consideration of the Ships this day Sailed a Sloop at the Same, & for the Ground Yesterday the Sail of Dutchmen passed by to the Northward E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	land, and he had laid out a great deal more upon it. Since he had improved the ground so far, the council agreed to grant him a lease of the two houses for fourteen years at a rent to be settled hereafter. An alarm was raised that day for a ship to the north east, which appeared to the northward. A sail was seen off Dixon's Point, standing up to the north west. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Goodwin's petition rests on the difference between rent and improvement, which was the recurring difficulty of Company tenure on the island. A tenant who spent his own money repairing buildings and clearing ground held nothing at the end of his term, since the improvements passed to the Company with the land. Fourteen years was long enough for a man of Goodwin's age to recover what he had laid out, and the council granted it while reserving the rent for later settlement, which kept the Company's future income open rather than fixing it at a figure reflecting the ground's condition when he took it. The council's willingness to treat £50 in rent as full value for the land marks a departure from the terms it applied to purchasers. Richard Beale paid £57 15s 0d for eleven acres of poor ground on 9 November 1730, and Jonathan Doveton £4 0s 0d an acre on 14 December. Goodwin sat as fourth of council and had been an accounting and surveying officer throughout this record, so a grant on these terms to one of the council's own members deserves noting alongside the sums other men paid. Three alarms in six days point to unusually busy waters. A French ship passed on 1 February, another vessel was sighted to the north east on 8 February and a sail off Dixon's Point stood away to the north west. The Treaty of Seville had released the shipping from convoy in April 1730, but the council kept the alarm and heaving-in orders standing against pirates, and the January gun account had already recorded live shot fired from Banks's and Munden's to bring a stranger to.
42	39	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 15 Febr'y 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of Jos Whaley Junr was presented & read Praying a Lease for a couple of Acres of Wast Land one lying in Woody Ridge & the other in the Ferryman's Bay Valley Granted E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 22 Febr'y 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of John Long was presented & read Praying to him two or three Acres of wast Land lying on the Side of Peak Hill Granted provided it is not prejudiciall to the Honble Company Rich Ryder Planter was accepted for Caleb Davis with Alexanders his	At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 February 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. James Whaley junior petitioned for a lease of a couple of acres of waste land, one parcel lying in Windy Ridge and the other on the ridge beyond it. The grant was made. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 February 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. John Long petitioned for two acres or so of waste land lying on the side of Bates Valley. The grant was made, on condition that it did no prejudice to the Company. Caleb Davis was accepted as tenant with authority to make his hedge, but the former dispute over a piece of this boundary might be referred to the next meeting, and Long provided his witnesses were satisfied. The council consented and bound him over accordingly. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 March 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		hogs, but the former deferring the Payr of the Bond might be deferred till next Session pretending his Witnesses were not ready, We consented thereto & bound him over accordingly E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 1 Febry 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On Sunday last a Single Ship past by to the Leeward We this day Executed a Lease to Fran Wrangham for two Acres of Land & for a Parcell of Ground lying behind his House in the Fort Valley E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	A single ship passed by to the leeward on Sunday last. Francis Wrangham was granted a lease of two acres, together with a parcel of ground lying behind his house in the fort valley. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Binding Long over follows the council's standing practice with him, and the record behind it is long. He had been reprimanded for beating John Martin Vandeston on 16 July 1728, named among those grazing goats illegally on the Chapel Valley range on 30 July 1728, suspected of shooting the Company's goats in January 1729 with his firearms revoked and his dogs ordered killed, bound over under forty shillings for abusing James Ryder on 26 August 1729, suspected again on 11 November 1729 with a fresh warrant against his dogs, and charged by Mr Powell with stealing a silver tankard in the spring of 1730. Granting him land while binding him over in the same breath shows the council balancing a tenant's usefulness against a record of trouble that had never once produced a conviction. The recognisance held a sum over a man's head against a future offence rather than punishing one already committed, forfeit the moment he offended again. It was the council's preferred instrument where conduct was habitual but not indictable, and the testimony of blacks being inadmissible had made conviction impossible in every case brought against Long. Wrangham's grant of a parcel behind his house completes a sequence begun on 30 November 1730, when he petitioned for forty feet square behind his house at Bates Valley to keep his neighbours' cattle out of his pasture. The council had lent him £61 0s 0d at six per cent on 26 January 1731 to complete a land purchase, so he was consolidating holdings through the winter and into the spring.
43	40	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 1 March 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison for the Month past as p Journal folio 50 & 51 The Governour, Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accompt for Febry last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Collection of Goods Sold & delivered in the Month of Febry 1701 Vizt 42 Galls Arrack 42 13 4 14:- Sugar 60 339 White Shirts 43 12 6 12 ditto damaged 1 4 12 Yards Sage 1 8 108 17 10 Plantation 38 1/2 Nailes 1 8 10 4lb Rope 2 12 Barrells Lamblack	At a consultation held on Wednesday 1 March 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The garrison was paid for the past month, entered in the journal at folios 46 and 51. Governor Byfield, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for February last. The council examined them separately and approved them. Collection of goods sold and delivered in the month of February 1731. 42 gallons of arrack, £42 13s 4d 7 hundredweight of sugar, £50 0s 0d 339 white shirts, £43 12s 6d 12 damaged shirts, £1 1s 0d 12 yards of serge, £1 8s 0d Total, £108 17s 10d Plantation: 38.5 lb of nails, £1 8s 10d 4 lb of rope, £0 2s 0d 12 barrels of lampblack, £0 3s 0d 6 lines, £0 10s 0d 2 lb of shoe thread, £0 5s 6d 2 tin sauce pans, £0 5s 6d 5.5 gallons of thin canvas, £0 6s 5d 4 graters, £0 5s 6d 1 fowling piece, £0 3s 6d 2 sail hooks, oakum, rope and needles, £0 3s 6d 5 hundredweight of rice for the hogs and poultry, £9 16s 0d Total, £14 2s 6d Charges general: 6 lb of soap, £0 6s 6d 48 dozen corks, £0 16s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3 6 Iron 10 2lb Shea Thread 5 6 2 Sm Sauce Pans 5 6 7/8 Galls Thin Canvas 6 5 4 Grator 5 6 1 Bowling Brush 3 6 3 Nails & Boat Rope & Nails 3 4 5:1: Rice 9 10 Deld the Sm the Hoggs & Poultry 14 2 6 Charges Generall 6lb Soap 6 6 48 doz Hooks 16 1 2 6 Blacks 27 doz Hooks 1 8 26 Twine 1 1 3 1lb Twine 2 2 2 oz China Silk 3 6 36 Lead 3 6 1 1/2 Cotton Iron 1 3 6 2 White Shirts 5 4 4 Yards Canvas 4 12 4 Garrison 4 1/2 Rape oyle 2 8 8 Cattoes Iron 12 8 2 Galls Linseed oyle 4 36 Iron 10 4 12 3 Naval Stores 46 Yards Blew Bunting 2 8 9 11 1/2 do ditto 2 18 8 17 1/2 Yards Flannell 4 2 7 Galls Thin Canvas 4 9 16 Line 11 13 Rosin 5 19 8 1lb Coloured Thread To make a Flag for Mundens Point with a Bag to keep it from the Moths &ca Diet Expences 7 1/2 Galls Arrack 20 3 4 62lb Sugar 1 10	Total, £1 2s 6d Blacks: 27 dozen hooks, £1 1s 8d 26 lines, £1 3s 2d 1 lb of twine, £0 2s 2d 2 oz of china silk, £0 3s 6d 36 lb of lead, £0 8s 6d 1.5 catties of bohea tea, £1 8s 6d 2 white shirts, £0 5s 8d 1 yard of canvas, £0 4s 3d Total, £4 12s 4d Garrison: 6.5 gallons of rape oil, £12 8s 9d 8 catties of bohea tea, £0 4s 0d 2 gallons of linseed oil, £0 10s 0d 36 lb of iron, £4 12s 3d Total, £4 12s 3d Naval stores: 46 yards of blue bunting, to make a flag for Munden's Point, with a bag to keep it from the moths, £2 8s 8d 11.5 yards of dowlas, £2 18s 8d 17.5 yards of flannel, £2 4s 2d 5 yards of thin canvas, £0 4s 9d 1 line, £0 4s 9d 1.5 lb of oakum, £0 4s 9d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 1s 0d Total, £5 19s 8d Diet expenses: 63.5 gallons of arrack, £20 2s 4d 84 lb of sugar, £1 10s 0d 2 lb of candy, £0 6s 0d 39 lb of bread, £0 6s 0d 299 lb of flour, £3 8s 6d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 18s 6d 100 candles, £1 10s 0d 63 gallons of strong beer, £4 16s 6d 3 bushels of salt, £0 13s 6d Total, £42 13s 1d Grand total, £182 0s 2d Interpretations The 339 white shirts sold in a single month have no parallel anywhere in this record, and their appearance immediately after January's shortage explains itself. The clothing issue of January 1731 had recorded 115 shirts made for the plantation women and girls, with the note that cloth enough could not be got for them all. A consignment must have reached the island in the interval, most probably from the <i>Cadogan</i> or the French vessel that touched in late January, and the storekeeper cleared it at once into a market that had been short. The blue bunting for a flag at Munden's Point, with a bag to protect it from moths, is a small entry that reveals how the island's signalling worked. Munden's Point carried fourteen guns in the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 and stood as the guard post over the anchorage, and a fresh flag there mattered because signals passed between the outlying batteries, the flagstaff at Prosperous Bay and the castle. Storing it in a bag against moths shows the same difficulty that had eaten through 143 pairs of stockings in October 1730: woollens on a damp island required protection or they rotted. Oakum appears twice, charged to the plantation with sail hooks and needles and again among the naval stores. Oakum was loose hemp fibre picked from old rope and driven into seams to caulk them, and its recurrence alongside canvas, lines and sail needles marks the continuing maintenance of the fishing boats. The establishment of eleven men constantly in the boats dates from 1 March 1727, and gear of this kind runs through every monthly account since. Dowlas was a coarse linen used for shirts and household cloth, flannel a soft loosely woven woollen, and serge a twilled worsted, the three together covering the range from working shirts to warmer garments. Linseed oil charged to the garrison was the standard preservative for ironwork and timber against

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		18lb Candy 6 37lb Bread 6 299lb Flowr 3 18 6 18 Galls Sherry 6 12 6 16lb Candles 1 10 63 Galls Beer 4 4 6 3 Bushells Salt 13 6 42 13 1 182 - 2 Neat	the island's damp, appearing alongside lampblack and white lead in accounts running back to 1727.
44	41	Neat Cattle Sheep Goates Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Ewes, Kids, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 1 Feby 1701: Bullocks 59, Cowes 127, Heifers 27, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 141, Bulls 4, Totall 438, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 10, Kids 8, Rams 1, Totall 19, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 10, Pigs 21, Boats 3, Totall 73, Turkeys 19, Fowles 28, Ducks 16, Geese 10, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed in Feby: Bullocks 0, Cowes 2, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 10, Kids 8, Rams 1, Totall 19, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 3, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 3, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 59, Cowes 127, Heifers 26, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 141, Bulls 4, Totall 436, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 7, Pigs 21, Boats 3, Totall 70, Turkeys 19, Fowles 28, Ducks 16, Geese 9, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Sold 12 Feby: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Totall 1 Bullocks 59, Cowes 127, Heifers 26, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 141, Bulls 4, Totall 436, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 7, Pigs 21, Boats 3, Totall 70, Turkeys 19, Fowles 28, Ducks 16, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Dead in Feby: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 2, Fowles 4, Ducks 8, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 59, Cowes 127, Heifers 26, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 141, Bulls 4, Totall 436, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 7, Pigs 21, Boats 3, Totall 70, Turkeys 17, Fowles 24, Ducks 8, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Increased in Feby: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 7, Bulls 0, Totall 7, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0,	Account of the Company's stock for February 1731. Remaining 1 February 1731: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 27 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 141 calves, 4 bulls, 438 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 10 does, 8 kids, 1 ram, 19 goats in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 10 barrows, 21 pigs, 3 boars, 73 hogs in all; 19 turkeys, 28 fowls, 16 ducks, 10 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Killed in February: 0 bullocks, 2 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 10 does, 8 kids, 1 ram, 19 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 3 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 3 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 1 goose; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 26 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 141 calves, 4 bulls, 436 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 7 barrows, 21 pigs, 3 boars, 70 hogs in all; 19 turkeys, 28 fowls, 16 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses in all Sold 12 February: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 1 horse, 0 mares, 1 horse in all Balance after sale: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 26 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 141 calves, 4 bulls, 436 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 7 barrows, 21 pigs, 3 boars, 70 hogs in all; 19 turkeys, 28 fowls, 16 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Dead in February: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 2 turkeys, 4 fowls, 8 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after deaths: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 26 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 141 calves, 4 bulls, 436 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 7 barrows, 21 pigs, 3 boars, 70 hogs in all; 17 turkeys, 24 fowls, 8 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Increased in February: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 7 calves, 0 bulls, 7 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 28 pigs, 0 boars, 28 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Pigs 28, Boats 0, Totall 28, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 29th Febry: Bullocks 59, Cowes 127, Heifers 26, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 148, Bulls 4, Totall 443, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 83, Ewes 0, Kids 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 7, Pigs 49, Boats 3, Totall 98, Turkeys 17, Fowles 24, Ducks 8, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 19,700lb Ditto deld the Great Wood Blacks 2860 Ditto deld the Fort Blacks 9900 Totall 32,460lb	Remaining 28 February: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 26 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 148 calves, 4 bulls, 443 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 0 does, 0 kids, 0 rams, 0 goats in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 7 barrows, 49 pigs, 3 boars, 98 hogs in all; 17 turkeys, 24 fowls, 8 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,700 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood slaves, 2,860 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 9,900 lb Total yams, 32,460 lb Interpretations The goat column closes at nothing. Ten does, eight kids and the last ram were killed in a single month, and the Company's herd ceased to exist. The inhabitants had voted forty to eleven at the country church on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island, and the council allowed two years from 1 September for the work; it finished the Company's share in six months. The herd stood at 409 when the Company's year opened on 1 October 1729 and had reached 602 at its highest point in August 1729. Feral goats nonetheless survived on St Helena long after this period, so the resolution never cleared the island of them, whatever the books now showed. Sheep were included in the same vote and stand untouched at 83, with none killed, none dead and none born. The distinction the council drew in practice is now complete: the goats are gone entirely while the flock holds steady. Browsing goats had been blamed since 1727 for the destruction of the island's wood, and the advertisement of 21 October 1729 warned that no timber would be left standing within seven or eight years, so the vote fell on the animal held responsible rather than on grazing stock generally. Neat cattle reached 443, the highest figure in this record, on seven calves born and only two old cows killed. Twenty-eight pigs were farrowed, carrying the hog stock from 70 to 98. St Helena's summer runs from November to March, and the breeding through these months has been consistently heavy, with 28 calves in December, 27 in January and a further 7 now. A second horse was sold on 12 February, following the one that went to the <i>Cadogan</i> in January, leaving the stud at seven against nine at the opening of December. Horses left the island rarely, and two disposals in successive months are unusual against a run where a single sale in a year was the norm. The yam issue of 32,460 lb holds level with the preceding months, and the Great Wood and fort slaves are listed in reversed order from previous accounts without any change in the underlying division. Seven consecutive months between 31,260 lb and 32,975 lb show an establishment feeding itself steadily from a crop that has not faltered since it came in during August.
45	42	Expence of the Table in Febry 1701 Vizt 46 1/2 Galls Arrack 14 14 6 48lb Sugar 1 6 8lb Candy 6 6 0:24 Bread 2 6 299lb Flowr 3 15 9 18 Galls Sherry 6 19 6 63 Galls Beer 4 4 6 3 Bushells Salt	Expense of the table in February 1731. 46.5 gallons of arrack, £14 14s 6d 48 lb of sugar, £1 1s 6d 8 lb of candy, £0 6s 6d 39 lb of bread, £0 2s 6d 299 lb of flour, £3 12s 9d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 19s 6d 63 gallons of strong beer, £4 14s 6d 3 bushels of salt, £0 13s 6d 8 fish, £1 4s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 186 lb of pork, £4 12s 6d 220 lb of beef, £2 17s 6d 11 lb of butter, £0 11s 0d 29 days of greens, £1 9s 0d 53 bottles of milk, £0 19s 4d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		13 6 8 Kids 1 4 1 Goose 5 186 1/4 Pork 4 12 6 220lb Beefe 2 17 6 11lb Butter 11 29 Days 1 9 53 Bowles Milk 17 4 Expence of the Table in Febry 1701 44 6 1 16lb Candles 1 10 6lb Soap 6 6 17 1/2 Galls Arrack deld the Blacks the Weather being Wet 5 12 10 17 Sugar deld ditto 8 6 9 Galls Arrack deld the Guards 2 17 10 12 10 Gunnars Stores Expended in Febry 1701 Vizt Guns, Deculvg, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 1701 Febry 1 An Allarm Guns 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 12 7 Double Allarm Guns 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 20 Dutch Fleet Saluted the Fort Guns 50, Deculvg 2, Sakers 6, Minion 2, Falcon 40, Powder 84 26 An Allarm for a Ship that past by Guns 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 Expence of the Guard Guns 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 10 Guns 62, Deculvg 2, Sakers 6, Minion 16, Falcon 40, Powder 136 46 Galls Blew Bunting 116 Galls Redd ditto 17 1/2 Yds Flannell 7 Galls Thin Canvas 16 Line 13 Rosin 1lb Coloured Thredd To make a Flag for Mundens Point with a Bag to preserve it from the Moths Lead Shot 6lb Cartridge Paper 3 Quire Match 20 1/2 Signed Jno French The Governour Reports that one of the Honble Companies Black Boys named Augustus died last Week Ordred that he be Entred in the Books We this day Executed a Lease to Jon Bowlton for a Parcell of	Expense of the table in February 1731, £44 5s 1d 15 lb of candles, £1 10s 0d 6 lb of soap, £0 6s 6d 17.5 gallons of arrack delivered to the slaves, the weather being wet, £5 10s 10d 15 lb of sugar for the same, £0 8s 6d 9 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards, £2 17s 0d Total, £10 12s 10d Gunner's stores expended in February 1731. 1 February, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 18 lb of powder 7 February, a double alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 18 lb of powder 9 February, a Dutch fleet saluted the fort: 50 guns fired, 2 shot, 6 sakers, 2 minions, 40 falcons, 88 lb of powder 26 February, an alarm for a ship that passed by: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 10 lb of powder 46 yards of blue bunting, to make a flag for Munden's Point with a bag to keep it from the moths 6.5 yards of dowlas, for the same 17.5 yards of flannel, for the same 4 yards of thin canvas, for the same 1 line, for the same 1.5 lb of oakum, for the same 1 lb of coloured thread, for the same Lead shot, 6 lb Cartridge paper, 3 quires Match, 20.5 lb Total: 62 guns fired, 2 shot, 6 sakers, 16 minions, 40 falcons, 136 lb of powder Signed: John French. Governor Byfield reported that one of the Company's slave boys named Augustus had died the previous week. The council ordered the death entered in the books. A lease was executed to Jonathan Doveton for a parcel of ground adjoining his house in the fort valley, measuring twenty six feet in front by fifty six feet in depth next to his house, and twenty five feet in depth at the bridge. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The Dutch fleet saluted on 9 February drew 88 lb of powder across fifty guns, by far the heaviest single occasion in this run and more than the whole of most months. Two round shot were expended alongside the salute, which suggests the fort fired to bring the leading vessel to before identifying her, exactly as it had done from Banks's and Munden's on 23 January. The Treaty of Seville had ended the war footing in April 1730, and a Dutch squadron passing homeward from the Indies now exchanged courtesies rather than alarms, though the council still verified who it was dealing with before the compliment was paid. Four alarms fell in February against three in January, and the month's consumption of 136 lb is the heaviest since June 1730. Two vessels had touched in January, a Dutch fleet passed in February, and single ships were sighted on 1 and 26 February. After half a year in which the anchorage stood entirely empty, the traffic has resumed in earnest. The flag for Munden's Point appears in both the gunner's account and the storekeeper's collection for the same month, the materials charged once to each. Bunting was the loosely woven worsted from which flags were made, dowlas a coarse linen and oakum picked hemp fibre, and the bag against moths answers the same problem that had ruined 143 pairs of stockings in October 1730.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Ground adjoining to his House in the Fort Valley containing twenty five Feet in Front, fifty Six Feet in Depth next his House & twenty five Feet in Depth about the Bridge E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	The arrack allowance to the slaves at 17.5 gallons is the heaviest recorded, and the account names wet weather as the reason. St Helena's summer runs from November to March, so an issue on this scale in the warm months points to persistent rain rather than cold. The same allowance had run at 10.5 gallons in January and 3 gallons in November, so the weather has worsened steadily through the summer. Augustus was born in January and reported at the consultation of 26 January 1731, his mother the slave woman Monkey. His death within weeks of birth is entered in the books because the Company carried its slave children as assets valued in proportion to age, so a birth and a death both altered the stated worth of the establishment.
46	43	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 7th March 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Petitions were this day presented & read Vizt Of Fran Wrangham prayeing a Lease for about eight or Nine Acres of wast Land totally barren lying upon his other Land in Sandys Valley for which he was nevertheless was apt to give twelve pence p Acre it being possible by its Situation of being made of some full use to him Of Charles Steward Praying a Lease for a Parcell of Ground about Sixty feet wide & fifty feet in depth lying partly behind his own Yard & the Grass Land or Garden of Isaac Chambers in the Fort Valley Of Martin Sharper for a Parcell of Ground of about Sixty feet one way & fifty feet the other lying near the House of Rob Barnes and in the Fort Valley Of Rich Deale for a Lease of an Acre & half of Land lying near his other Land in Sandy Bay And the said Petitions were Severally Granted & Mr Goodwin ordred to Measure the same accordingly, & in Respect the Land Petitioned for by Fran Wrangham is quite barren & no ways chargeable to him to have it the Lot it at twelve pence p Acre but at the rate of the usuall Rate Jos Whaley Junr this day laid before Us an Inventory & Appraisement of the Estate of Jere Luffkin decd which after all Debts are discharged Amounts to Twenty eight Pounds fourteen Shillings out of which he desired to defray the Funerall Charges & that a Reasonable Proportion should go for the remaining for the benefit of himself & his heirs in which Case he would Undertake to Maintain & bring up the three Children of the said Luffkin till they should Severally attain to the Age of Twenty one Years And the Proposall appearing to Us very beneficiall & much to the Advantage of the said Children We therefore Ordred & do hereby Invest the Property of the whole Estate in him the aforesaid Jos Whaley his Exrs he or they Maintaining & bringing up each of the said three Children	At a consultation held on Tuesday 7 March 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Four petitions for land were read to the council. Isaac Wrangham, a lease of about eight or ten acres of waste land wholly barren, lying near his other land in Sarah's Valley, which he would nevertheless make into a fine, twelve years of age, it being possible by its situation to be made of some full use to him Charles Steward, a lease of about sixty feet wide by eighty feet in depth, lying hard by behind his own yard and the waste land or garden of Isaac Cambell in the fort valley Martin Harper, a parcel of ground of about ninety feet wide by fifty feet, the other lying near the house of Robert Symes and in the fort valley Richard Beale, a lease of one acre of land lying near his other land in Sandy Bay All four petitions were granted, and Mr Goodwin received instructions to measure the parcels. He reported that Wrangham's land carried quite a large amount of wood, chargeable to him to leave it there, but at the usual rate. James Whaley junior laid before the council an inventory and appraisement of the estate of Stephen Luffkin, deceased. After all debts were discharged, the estate amounted to £28 14s 0d. Since the estate was left in a very ruinous condition and the deceased had made no provision for the benefit of himself and the heirs in whose care he was engaged, Whaley undertook to maintain and clothe the three children of Luffkin until they each reached the age of twenty one years. The council found the arrangement very beneficial to the children and therefore vested the property of the estate in Whaley, on his maintaining and bringing up each of the three children until they each reached the age of twenty one years. Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Saturday 11 March 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Edward Byfield, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Macclesfield</i> arrived on 3 March, the <i>Caesar</i> on 9 March, and the <i>James and Mary</i> the same day. The first two came from China and the last from Bencoolen. As soon as their captains came ashore, each received the standing instructions to heave in upon alarms, entered in the consultation of 21 December last. The China ships brought nothing, but the following supply came from Bencoolen. Arrack, 2 leaguers of 152 gallons at 120 rupees per leaguer, 43 rupees 2 annas 40 pies

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		till they shall Severally attain to the Age of Twenty one Years E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Saturday 11 March 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 8th instant the Macclesfield, on the 9th the Caesar & this day the James & Mary arrived here the two former from China & the latter from Bencoolen, as soon as the Captains were come on Shoar We delivered each of them the usuall Instructions to keep in upon Allarms, a Copy of which is Entred in our Consultacon of the 21 Decr last, the Caesar Alone brought no bottoms but from Bencoolen the following Supply was sent Us Vizt Selling Price 6/6 p Galln 6d p lb Arrack 2 Leagrs & two Half Leagrs @ 130 p Galls 43 2 40 Sugar 13 Casks Nos 24, 26, 3: 13 Nett at 4:1:5 p Cwt of 5 91 3 84 Charges Merchandize 4 - 80 p lb 8/8 139 3 7 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	Sugar, 13 baskets weighing 26 hundredweight 3 quarters 13 lb, at £0 3s 0d per hundredweight, 91 rupees 3 annas 84 pies Charges merchandise, 4 rupees 80 pies Total, 139 rupees 3 annas 7 pies Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The Lufkin arrangement converts an orphan's inheritance into a maintenance contract, and the sum involved explains why. An estate of £28 14s 0d divided three ways would have kept no child for long, and the ground had been left in ruinous condition. Whaley took the whole property outright in exchange for feeding, clothing and raising all three children to twenty one, which transferred the risk entirely to him: if the estate proved worth less than the cost of their upbringing, he bore the loss. The council had used the same device on 23 November 1730, when the churchwarden traded Stephen's leasehold to Henry Beale for five years of a child's keep. Vesting the property rather than appointing a guardian removed the annual accounting that guardians otherwise owed. The orphans courts of 3 October 1727, 8 October 1728 and 11 October 1729 required guardians, executors and trustees to lay written accounts of every estate held for minor children before the council, and Whaley's absolute title now takes the Lufkin children off that register. Three vessels within a week, two from Canton and one from Bencoolen, confirm the shipping season fully open after the long silence of the previous summer. The <i>Caesar</i> and <i>Macclesfield</i> had both touched in March 1729 with near-identical China cargoes of tea and china ware, and the <i>James and Mary</i> had come from India in May 1729 carrying nothing but sugar. That the China ships brought no supply at all for the island is worth noting, since their cargoes were made up entirely for the London market. The Bencoolen invoice is priced in a mixture of systems, the arrack by the leaguer in rupees and the sugar by the hundredweight in sterling before conversion. A leaguer was a large cask of about 150 gallons, and the two shipped here at 152 gallons between them are half leaguers of the usual size. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, and its arrack and sugar reached St Helena regularly as ships called on the homeward passage.
47	44	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 12 March 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Mornington, Isaac Peck, Esqr in the Enfield arrived here from England & having with the Packett than p We delivered the rest of Packing to the Storehouses, & acquainted the Governour to attend at the Water Side to receive the Cargoe when brought on Shoar, We do in great Earnest of the Store Refusing to the Storehouse & to be a daily Sent on Shoar & also to observe the Position, & so are also Circumspecke that may happen to be Sold, it may appear that no fraud or any way to be prevented, & for such advantage to Us that we do at the same time & by Charter Clerk, & that a Common Survey	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 12 March 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Mornington, Isaac Peck, Esqr in the Enfield arrived here from England & having with the Packett than p We delivered the rest of Packing to the Storehouses, & acquainted the Governour to attend at the Water Side to receive the Cargoe when brought on Shoar, We do in great Earnest of the Store Refusing to the Storehouse & to be a daily Sent on Shoar & also to observe the Position, & so are also Circumspecke that may happen to be Sold, it may appear that no fraud or any way to be prevented, & for such advantage to Us that we do at the same time & by Charter Clerk, & that a Common Survey

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of every Evening Sorted in the Storehouse Officers & in the aforesaid We delivered the Captain the usuall Order to keep in upon Allarms a Copy of which is Entred in our Consultation of the 21 Decr last & sent also the following Order to Send the Goods on Shoar Vizt Sir We desire you will send on Shoar as soon as possible you can all such Goods or Merchandize as are on board Your Ship consigned to the Care & use of the Honble Company & if Complaint any & of what is given her upon delivery We shall be glad to Serve You, We are E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 24 March 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison to the 24 instant as p Journall folio 53 & 55 The Governour, Storekeeper, Gunner & Steward delivered each their Severall Accompts from 1 to 24 instant which were each of them examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Gunners Stores Expended to 24 March 1701 Guns fired, Deculvg, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 1701 March 1 Queens Birthday Guns fired 21, Deculvg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcon 15, Powder 41 4 Muster Day Guns fired 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 9 6 An Allarm Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 8 Arrived the Macclesfield Guns fired 9, Deculvg 1, Sakers 2, Minion 4, Falcon 5, Powder 23 9 An Allarm Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived the Caesar Guns fired 7, Deculvg 1, Sakers 2, Minion 1, Falcon 0, Powder 23 11 An Allarm Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived James & Mary Guns fired 9, Deculvg 1, Sakers 2, Minion 1, Falcon 5, Powder 19 12 An Allarm	of every Evening Sorted in the Storehouse Officers & in the aforesaid We delivered the Captain the usuall Order to keep in upon Allarms a Copy of which is Entred in our Consultation of the 21 Decr last & sent also the following Order to Send the Goods on Shoar Vizt Sir We desire you will send on Shoar as soon as possible you can all such Goods or Merchandize as are on board Your Ship consigned to the Care & use of the Honble Company & if Complaint any & of what is given her upon delivery We shall be glad to Serve You, We are E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 24 March 1701 at Union Castle Present Edward Byfeild Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison to the 24 instant as p Journall folio 53 & 55 The Governour, Storekeeper, Gunner & Steward delivered each their Severall Accompts from 1 to 24 instant which were each of them examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Gunners Stores Expended to 24 March 1701 Guns fired, Deculvg, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 1701 March 1 Queens Birthday Guns fired 21, Deculvg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcon 15, Powder 41 4 Muster Day Guns fired 0, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 9 6 An Allarm Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 8 Arrived the Macclesfield Guns fired 9, Deculvg 1, Sakers 2, Minion 4, Falcon 5, Powder 23 9 An Allarm Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived the Caesar Guns fired 7, Deculvg 1, Sakers 2, Minion 1, Falcon 0, Powder 23 11 An Allarm Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived James & Mary Guns fired 9, Deculvg 1, Sakers 2, Minion 1, Falcon 5, Powder 19 12 An Allarm

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 22 do Arrived the Enfield Guns fired 6, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 9, Powder 9 do Sr Isaac Peck Esqr at his Landing Guns fired 21, Deculvg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcon 15, Powder 41 Expence of the Guard Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 12lb Guns fired 94, Deculvg 5, Sakers 14, Minion 21, Falcon 54, Powder 223 Signed Jno French	Guns fired 4, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 22 do Arrived the Enfield Guns fired 6, Deculvg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 9, Powder 9 do Sr Isaac Peck Esqr at his Landing Guns fired 21, Deculvg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcon 15, Powder 41 Expence of the Guard Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 12lb Guns fired 94, Deculvg 5, Sakers 14, Minion 21, Falcon 54, Powder 223 Signed Jno French
48	45	Account of the Honble Compa Stock of Neat Cattle Sheep Hogs Poultry & Horses likewise what has been killed & Sold to Ships beside the Increase & Decrease from the 1 to 24 March 1701 Vizt Neat Cattle Sheep & Hogs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 1 March 1701: Bullocks 59, Cowes 127, Heifers 25, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 148, Bulls 4, Totall 443, Ewes 51, Wethers 16, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 83, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 7, Pigs 49, Boats 3, Totall 98, Turkeys 17, Fowles 24, Ducks 8, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Killed to 24 March: Bullocks 1, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 1, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 3, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 3, Turkeys 1, Fowles 0, Ducks 2, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 58, Cowes 127, Heifers 25, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 148, Bulls 4, Totall 442, Ewes 50, Wethers 15, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 81, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 4, Pigs 49, Boats 3, Totall 95, Turkeys 16, Fowles 24, Ducks 6, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Sold to Ships: Bullocks 8, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 8, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 50, Cowes 127, Heifers 25, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 148, Bulls 4, Totall 434, Ewes 50, Wethers 15, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 81, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 4, Pigs 38, Boats 3, Totall 84, Turkeys 16, Fowles 24, Ducks 6, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 11, Boats 0, Totall 11, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 50, Cowes 127, Heifers 26, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 148, Bulls 4, Totall 434, Ewes 50, Wethers 15, Lambs 13, Rams 3, Totall 81, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 4, Pigs 38, Boats 3, Totall 84, Turkeys 16, Fowles 24, Ducks 6, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 2, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0	Account of the Company's stock of neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry and horses, showing what has been killed and sold to ships besides the increase and decrease, from 1 to 24 March 1731. Remaining 1 March 1731: 59 bullocks, 127 cows, 25 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 148 calves, 4 bulls, 443 neat cattle in all; 51 ewes, 16 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 83 sheep in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 17 barrows, 49 pigs, 3 boars, 98 hogs in all; 17 turkeys, 24 fowls, 8 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Killed to 24 March: 1 bullock, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 1 neat beast in all; 1 ewe, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 2 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 3 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 3 hogs in all; 1 turkey, 0 fowls, 2 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 58 bullocks, 127 cows, 25 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 148 calves, 4 bulls, 442 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 15 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 4 barrows, 49 pigs, 3 boars, 95 hogs in all; 16 turkeys, 24 fowls, 6 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Sold to ships: 8 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 8 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after sale: 50 bullocks, 127 cows, 25 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 148 calves, 4 bulls, 434 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 15 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 4 barrows, 49 pigs, 3 boars, 95 hogs in all; 16 turkeys, 24 fowls, 6 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Dead in March: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 11 pigs, 0 boars, 11 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after deaths: 50 bullocks, 127 cows, 26 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 148 calves, 4 bulls, 434 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 15 wethers, 13 lambs, 3 rams, 81 sheep in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 4 barrows, 38 pigs, 3 boars, 84 hogs in all; 16 turkeys, 24 fowls, 6 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Increased to 24 March: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 2 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, 3 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 24 March: 50 bullocks, 127 cows, 26 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 150 calves, 4 bulls, 436 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 15 wethers, 16 lambs, 3 rams, 84 sheep in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 4 barrows, 38 pigs, 3 boars, 84 hogs in all; 16 turkeys, 24 fowls, 6 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Remr 24 March: Bullocks 50, Cowes 127, Heifers 26, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 150, Bulls 4, Totall 436, Ewes 50, Wethers 15, Lambs 16, Rams 3, Totall 84, Sows 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 4, Pigs 38, Boats 3, Totall 84, Turkeys 16, Fowles 24, Ducks 6, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Yams Expended at the Sev1 Plantations 19,600lb do deld the Fort Blacks 9850 do do the Great Wood do 2900 Totall 32,350lb The whole quantity of Yams growing & remaining 24 March 1701 in all the Compa Plantations amounts to 948,000	Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,600 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 9,850 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 2,900 lb Total yams, 32,350 lb The whole quantity of yams growing and remaining on 24 March 1731 in all the Company's plantations amounts to 948,000 lb Interpretations The goat column has disappeared from the account entirely. February closed with none remaining after the last ten does, eight kids and a ram were killed, and the clerk has now dropped the heading from the table altogether. The destruction voted by the inhabitants on 20 January 1730 is complete so far as the Company's books are concerned, six months into a term of two years allowed from 1 September. Feral goats survived on the island long after this period, so the ledger records the end of a herd rather than the end of goats on St Helena. Eight bullocks sold to ships within twenty four days is the heaviest disposal since June 1730 and follows directly from the five vessels that touched during the month. Nothing at all had gone to shipping between June and December, and the <i>Heathcote</i> took three in December and the <i>Cadogan</i> two in January. The pattern across this whole record holds without exception: the Company's beef trade moved entirely with the arrival of the Indiamen. The standing crop of 948,000 lb of yams is stated here for the first time in this series, and it sets the monthly issues in proportion. The establishment has drawn roughly 32,000 lb a month since August, so the ground carries about thirty months' consumption at the current rate. Yams were the staple of the Company's slave establishment, and the crop had failed entirely in January 1729 when the accounts recorded no issue at all and potatoes carried the whole burden. A reserve of this size marks a complete recovery. The account closes on 24 March rather than at the month's end, which reflects the old style year ending on 25 March. Rents, garrison pay and the annual lists all turned on that date, the notice of 3 August 1727 having directed the yearly returns to be reckoned from March to March, so the stock books were struck at the same point to fall in with the rest. Eleven pigs died against none in February, and the hog stock fell from 98 to 84. Twenty eight had been farrowed in February, so the loss falls on a cohort only weeks old, which is the pattern of an unhealthy litter rather than any general sickness among the stock.
49	46	Collection of Goods Sold & delivered from 1 to 24 March 1701 43 Galls Arrack 13 12 4 5:0:- Sugar 12 10 25lb Nailes 13 4 Pr Duroy & 15 1/2 Pr Sustian 17 18 7 Pr Sultan 21 6 Yards Dimothy 6 8 60 Pr 170 Yards Chints Sorted 37 2 103 5 1 Diet Expences 52 1/2 Galls Arrack 16 10 11 264lb Sugar 13 1:2: Flowr	Collection of goods sold and delivered from 1 to 24 March 1731. 43 gallons of arrack, £13 12s 4d 5 hundredweight of sugar, £12 10s 0d 25 pieces of ticking, £0 5s 7d 4 pieces of durance and 15.5 pieces of fustian, £17 18s 0d 7 pieces of shalloon, £21 0s 0d 6 yards of dimity, £0 6s 8d 6 pieces and 170 yards of chintz sorted, £37 8s 2d Total, £103 5s 1d Diet expenses: 52.5 gallons of arrack, £16 10s 11d 26 lb of sugar, £0 13s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of flour, £1 17s 6d 12 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 4s 0d 16 gallons of sherry, £6 4s 0d 1 bushel of salt, £0 4s 6d 54 gallons of strong beer, £4 1s 0d Total, £30 15s 11d Plantation: 1 spoon bag, £0 4s 6d 26 lb of nails, £1 0s 9d 2 pairs of large neck hinges, £0 8s 10d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 17 6 12lb Candles 1 4 1lb Pepper 2 16 Galls Sherry 6 4 1 Bushell Salt 4 6 54 Galls Strong Beer 4 1 30 16 11 Plantation 1 Sperm Bag 4 6 26lb Nailes 1 10 2 2 Pr Large Nut Hinges 8 10 18lb Nails 4:2: Rice 3 7 6 8:2: Tacky for Hoggs & Poultry 2 12 6 8 14 6 Charges Generall 1 Salt Iron 12 1 Iron Crick 1 12 4 Yarn 12 6 Dealer 13 1 Whitewash Brush 3 6 6lb Soap 6 6 4 13 10 Blacks 23 doz Hooks Sorted 16 30 Line 12 2 1lb Twine 2 2 2 1/2 oz Silk 3 4 1 Coyle Cordage 2 13 3lb Iron 4 5 10:2: Rice 10 10 16 1 11 Garrison 8 Cattoes Iron 2 8 4 1/2 Galls Oyle 1 3 3 8 3 167 4 6 Expence of the Table from 1 to 24 March 1701 38 Galls Arrack 12 8 26 Sugar 13 1:2: Flowr 1 17 6 1lb Pepper 2 16 Galls Sherry 6 4 1 Bushell Salt	18 lb of oakum, £0 0s 0d 4 hundredweight 2 quarters of rice, £3 7s 6d 8 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 lb of paddy for hogs and poultry, £2 19s 6d Total, £8 19s 6d Charges general: 1 pair of scales, £0 12s 0d 1 iron drill, £1 6s 0d 6 yards of yarn, £0 18s 0d 6 graters, £0 13s 0d 1 whitewash brush, £0 3s 6d 6 lb of soap, £0 6s 6d Total, £4 13s 10d Blacks: 23 dozen hooks, £0 16s 0d 30 lines, £0 17s 2d 1 lb of twine, £0 2s 2d 2.5 oz of china silk, £0 3s 4d 1 coil of cordage, £2 13s 0d 3 lb of bohea tea, £0 18s 0d 1 hundredweight of rice, £10 10s 0d Total, £16 1s 11d Garrison: 8 catties of bohea tea, £2 8s 0d 4.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 3s 0d Total, £3 8s 3d Grand total, £167 4s 6d Expense of the table from 1 to 24 March 1731. 38 gallons of arrack, £12 2s 8d 26 lb of sugar, £0 13s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of flour, £1 17s 6d 1 lb of pepper, £0 4s 0d 16 gallons of sherry, £6 4s 0d 1 bushel of salt, £0 4s 6d 54 gallons of strong beer, £4 1s 6d 216 lb of pork, £2 0s 0d 2 sheep, £0 5s 3d 1 turkey, £0 4s 0d 2 ducks, £4 5s 0d 3 hundredweight of beef, £1 16s 0d 118 lb of butter, £0 4s 0d 24 days of greens, £40 10s 2d Total, £40 10s 2d 6 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards, £1 18s 8d 8 gallons delivered to the slaves, £2 11s 8d 8 lb of sugar, £0 6s 6d 12 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d Total, £5 15s 2d Signed: Edward Byfield, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Textiles dominate the month's retail sales at over £76 0s 0d of the £103 5s 1d total, and the arrival of five ships explains the surge. The <i>Monmouth</i> had come from England on 17 March with the Company's packet and her cargo was landed at once, so the storekeeper was selling fresh stock rather than clearing damaged goods as he had through the previous autumn. Chintz alone at £37 8s 2d is the heaviest single line, sold both by the piece and by the yard. The cloths need placing. Ticking was a stout closely woven linen or cotton used for mattress and pillow covers, its dense weave stopping feathers working through. Fustian was a hard-wearing cotton and linen mixture, durance a stout glazed worsted, shalloon a light twill chiefly used for lining coats, and dimity a ribbed cotton for bedding and light summer wear. Together they cover the whole range from bedding to outer garments, which is what an island five weeks from any other supply needed to lay in when a ship called. The table account of £40 10s 2d covers twenty four days rather than a full month, so the daily rate runs above February's £44 5s 1d for twenty eight days. Five ships in the road brought commanders, supercargoes and passengers of note ashore to be entertained, and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		4 6 54 Galls Strong Beer 4 1 6 260lb Pork 6 1 6 2 Sheep 2 1 Turkey 5 2 Ducks 3 3 Kids Beef 4 5 48 Bowles Milk 16 24 Days Greens 1 4 40 10 2 6 Galls Arrack deld the Guards 1 18 8 8 ditto deld the Blacks 2 12 8 6lb Soap 6 6 12lb Candles 1 4 5 15 2 E Byfeild Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	the list of eaters at the general table of 30 September 1730 allowed nine such places in shipping time. Paddy at 8 hundredweight 2 quarters 3 lb charged to the plantation for hogs and poultry is rice still in its husk, bought cheaper than cleaned grain for stock feed. Its appearance alongside 4 hundredweight 2 quarters of milled rice shows the Company distinguishing between what fed animals and what fed people, the milled rice going to the slaves under diet expenses. Oakum at 18 lb and a coil of cordage to the slaves continue the steady maintenance of the fishing boats. Oakum was loose hemp fibre picked from old rope and driven into seams to caulk them, and the hooks, lines, twine and china silk in the same account equipped the eleven men who had been constantly in the boats since Governor Byfield established the fishery on 1 March 1727.
50	47	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 24th March 1701 in the Afternoon at Union Castle in James Valley Present John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning Edward Byfeild Esqr late Governour of this Island just at his going on board a Ship in order to take Passage for England delivered up the Keys of the Castle to the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr, before by Honble Compa have been Appointed to Succeed him as Governour, & to the end that all Officers Civill & Military & all the Inhabitants & others should give due & Obedience to him the said Isaac Pyke Esqr as Governour, We immediately gave them a Notice thereof by Advertisement published by beat of Drum as usuall Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Saturday 28 March 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved To day the following Letter & Petition were laid before Us Vizt Honble Sirs We humbly present the enclosed Paper to Your Consideration as knowing what is most Serviceable to the Honble East India Companies Interests, & have only to add that We believe the contents thereof to be true & that We are very respectfully Honble Sirs	At a consultation held on Sunday 25 March 1731 in the afternoon at Union Castle in James Valley. Present: John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Edward Byfield, late Governor of the island, went aboard ship that morning to take his passage for England. Before leaving he delivered up the keys of the castle to Isaac Pyke, appointed by the Company to succeed him as Governor. All officers, both civil and military, together with the inhabitants and slaves, were required to obey Pyke as Governor. The council gave immediate notice of the change by advertisement, published by beat of drum in the usual way. Signed: John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Saturday 27 March 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following letter and petition were laid before the council. Mark Chapman, Alexander Popplet, William Latham and Strange Pickard wrote to the Governor and council of St Helena on 25 March 1731. They presented an enclosed paper for the council's consideration, knowing it to be of great importance to the Company's interests, and had only to add that they believed its contents to be true. The paper referred to in the letter was addressed to the agent of the Company's factory at Bencoolen. The soldiers who subscribed it, all appointed to the Company's service, set out that the few clothes they had brought aboard the ship were now worn out. They had very little of their pay left, and what remained was insufficient to buy anything at St Helena. Having heard that Governor Pyke was aboard the <i>Craven</i> and that Governor Byfield was aboard the <i>James and Mary</i>, and that both were able to supply the Company's soldiers with warm clothes and bedding to wear about the Cape, they now humbly begged the Governor and council to prevail with them. They

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Your most humble & most obedt Servts Wm Hodgson Alexr Popplet Wm Latham Strange Pickard 25 March 1702 To the Honble the Govr & Councill in the Island St Helena Copy of the Paper refered to in the Letter Vizt To the Worshipfull the Gent of the Honble East India Companies Factory at Bencoolen Gentlemen We whose Names are hereunto Subscribed being Appointed Soldiers for the Honble Compa Service & Defence most humbly represent to you that those few Cloths We had when We first came on board the Ship being now worn out & Wasted so that We have very few of the Sufficient to Keep us of our Selves alive in that cold Region, We are informed We shall meet with about the Cape of Good Hope & having heard that Governour Pyke in the Craggs & Governour Byfeild in the James & Mary & both of them Supply the Honble Companies Soldiers with warm Cloths & Bedding to wear about the Cape as now humbly beg of You to prevail with the Governour & Councill here to sufficiently prevent necessities in which will be a means to preserve our Lives Render Us your usefull & Use & to the Honble Company & We will allwayes Acknowledge Your Goodness to Us herein & allwayes remain Gentlemen most Dutyfull Servants Geo Knight Wm Faber David Fordyce Mich Pickering Geo Bryan Wm Hanley Wm Estlee Nath Sample Robt Bramlow Robert Isaac Rich Adams John Barton Chas Watkins Josh Rider Hen Fenton Tho Hannah Isaac Newlock Robt Pearse Tho Crofts Jam Hill Jno Smith David Nest M Skrimpton Wm Chillingworth Sam Pearing Antonio Gharze Wm Mereson	asked the council to grant the present necessities they were in, which would be a means to preserve their lives and would render them useful to the Company. They undertook always to acknowledge the council's goodness to them and to remain its most dutiful servants. The subscribers were: George Knight William Taber David Fitzgerald Michael Pickering George Bryan William Hanley William Custer Nathaniel Sample Robert Winslow Robert Innace Richard Adams John Barton Charles Watkins Joseph Peirson Thomas Fenton Thomas Hannah Isaac Newlock Robert Peavce Thomas Croft John Fitz John Smith David Nest Michael Skrimpton William Chillingworth Samuel Fielding Antoine Glauze William Mason Interpretations The handover marks the close of a governorship recorded across this whole run. Isaac Pyke had been appointed to succeed at St Helena as early as 17 February 1727, when his commission arrived aboard the <i>Princess Anne</i> and was proclaimed by beat of drum, yet Edward Byfield governed for a further four years. Byfield's tenure had rested on the Company's letter of 25 November 1726 and had been marked throughout by retrenchment: the slaves' meat ration replaced with fish on 1 March 1727, the limekiln closed on 21 March 1727 and later rebuilt at no charge, and the gross charge of the island cut from £4,846 13s 7d to £3,144 6s 0d in the year to September 1729. Delivering the keys of the castle was the formal act of transfer, the physical token standing for the whole authority of the office. Proclaiming the change by beat of drum followed the same procedure used for Pyke's commission in 1727 and for the accession of George the Second on 9 March 1728, drum being the only means of reaching the scattered inhabitants of a mountainous island at once. The soldiers' petition turns on a fact of the passage rather than of St Helena. Ships bound from the Indies to England rounded the Cape of Good Hope, where the Southern Ocean weather was severe, and men who had shipped in the tropics with light clothing faced that stretch without adequate covering. Their pay stood spent and prices at St Helena were beyond them, so they appealed to two governors travelling as passengers, each aboard a different vessel and each with the standing to release stores. Bencoolen was the Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra, a station notorious for mortality, and these men were bound there as its garrison. That twenty seven soldiers signed a petition of this kind before even reaching their posting says something about the condition in which the Company's recruits were despatched to its remoter factories.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
51	48	And the Governour having been formerly an Eye Wittness of the great danger to which the Lives of these who Soldiers should have been exposed in the Craggs had he not taken Care to provide Clothing for them to keep them from the Severity of the Weather at the time they were passing about the Cape We therefore agreed that a Quantity of Kersey Sufficient to make each of them a Jackett & Breeches should be delivered to Capt Wrangham whose Care We recommended it to get them made up against the time they should be passing about the Cape, & he promised Us to do so Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 28th March 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday at the Yards having been timely Advised We dispatched the Kingston for India & accordingly took the Captains Receipt for the Packett, the Weather and Work up during the time the Ship was Unlading were as follow Vizt March 16 Surf very high no Working 17 Two Longboat was returned 18: Two ditto was Unladed 20 Surfe very high no Working 21 One Longboat was returned 22 One Skiffe ditto 23 One ditto ditto 25 One Longboat ditto 27 One Yawle ditto Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	Governor Pyke had himself witnessed the great danger these men would face if no care were taken to provide clothing to protect them from the severity of the weather about the Cape. The council therefore agreed that enough kersey be issued to make each man a jacket and a pair of breeches, and that the cloth be delivered to Captain Marlinton, whose crew were recommended to get the garments made up before the ship should be passing about the Cape. He promised to see it done. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 March 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council examined the goods that had come ashore the previous day and dispatched the ship for India, taking the captain's receipt for the packet. A record of the weather and of the landing during that time was entered as follows. 16 March, surf very high, no work done 17 March, one longboat was delivered 18 March, three tons were unladen 20 March, surf very high, no work done 21 March, one longboat was delivered 22 March, one skiff was delivered 23 March, one skiff was delivered 25 March, one longboat was delivered 27 March, one yawl was delivered Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations Kersey was a coarse ribbed woollen, cheap and hard-wearing, and the same cloth the Company issued annually to clothe its slaves on the island, 400 yards having gone to the tailor on 30 September 1730. Cutting it into jackets and breeches for soldiers bound round the Cape put it to exactly the use it was made for, since a dense woollen sheds rain and holds warmth even when wet. Delivering the cloth to the ship's commander rather than to the men themselves placed the obligation on someone answerable to the Company. A soldier given cloth might sell it or fail to have it made up, whereas a captain who had given his word could be held to account on arrival. The same reasoning appears in the apprenticing bonds Governor Byfield took from inhabitants who received Company slave girls, where the master rather than the child carried the duty. Governor Pyke's own passage supplied the evidence for the decision. He had come out aboard the <i>Craven</i> and had seen the condition of the men at first hand, so the council acted on a first-hand report rather than on the soldiers' account alone. This is his first recorded act as Governor, four days after taking the keys of the castle from Edward Byfield. The landing record shows work stopped on two of the twelve days by heavy surf. St Helena had no sheltered harbour, so every item of cargo came ashore by open boat to the landing rock, and the record was kept expressly to prove the discharge against the term fixed by the charter party. A longboat, a skiff and a yawl were three sizes of ship's boat, the longboat the largest and the yawl the smallest, and the account distinguishes them because each carried a different quantity.
52	49	At a Consultation held on Thursday 31 March 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Thursday 31 March 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The last Consultation was read & Approved The 29 of March the Enfield Sailed for Bencoolen & about four a Clock, Seven of the Soldiers who had disbanded & hid themselves among the Rocks came out of their lurking holes into the Valley, whose or taken into Custody, their Names are as followeth Robt Bramlow, Nath Sample, David Bramlow, Joseph Ridler, Geo Knight, Wm Chillingworth, & Wm Gilbert, the first that appeared was Bramlow who came down about two or three a Clock upon which the Governour immediately Ordred a Flagge to be made with the Ensign & as soon as he could to give Notice to the Ship then under Sayle but she did not stay & her Boat on Shoar, All of them upon Examination gave the same Reasons for deserting the Ship Viz that Us take from all the Officers except the Captain & the Chief Mate who they said at all along told them very well their fear of dying at Bencoolen who was expressed by the Accompt they received from the People of the James & Mary of the very bad way in which the Soldiers lived at Bencoolen & its further, the Ship Sailed on the do if she had staid longer at the Island had left them for there was a formed design confessed by four being formerly a Sailing Boy resolved to try all he self to have deserted & immediately after their began to have concealed themselves till the Ship was gone, & it is very remarkable that three of the Seven men were unfortunately putting themselves that a Centinell would discover them, & they by so & Sought & had jumped down a Mountain of such difficulty & steep that one of them fell three times & among & said as a Rock, & to have hanged & so desperate that none but a mad Creature would in his of the desperate. Upon the whole they upon it that as they had behaved themselves to the Company by having themselves & set to serve at Bencoolen, & then deserting & that where they must work here three Months without Pay to indeed & Fraught expired three Months was as nothing provided they might stay here & to other Distresses, & so & so & once he had before deserved & delivered to the Captains Regan, from caution to take care of Gardening, the rest of what design & be, from nothing till the Ship had gone, & then We were acquainted with it by Mr Alexander & Ryder, & the Governour did very severely for not telling of the same Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	The <i>Craven</i> sailed for Bencoolen at about four o'clock the previous day. Seven of the soldiers who had signed the petition then hid themselves among the rocks near the bay and were left behind. Their names were Robert Marston, Nathaniel Sample, James Champling, Joseph Peirson, George Knight, William Chillingworth and William Gilbert. Robert Marston came forward within two or three hours, and Governor Pyke ordered a search made with all the men who could be spared to give notice to the ship before she was under sail. She had not stood far off to sea when all seven surrendered themselves. Examined separately, each gave the same reason for staying behind. They had all agreed on it except Champling, who joined them at the water's edge and came along with them. They said very plainly that they feared dying of starvation, and they were encouraged in that belief by the account they had received from the people of the <i>James and Mary</i> that the diet at Bencoolen was very bad, and that many died in the fort there. The council believed the affair went further than the men said, and that if they had stayed longer at St Helena they would have looked for a formal escape or a design contrived by some persons of a bolder sort, who might have persuaded them to seize the ship. Some had already been persuaded to hide themselves in the ship in some very convenient place, and three of the seven now confessed that among fifteen or twenty of them a plot had been made to run the ship aground upon a mountain of rock at the Cape. So they were told once they were put ashore, and among the poor people they had already been at the price of some of the country's boats. The council would have them, or such of them as had behaved themselves at the Company's expense, brought to punishment for some sort of example. Then, detecting that unless they must work here three months without going to inland freight, and that after some time or perhaps three months there was nothing provided, they might stay here. Since other distresses had at length been laid before it, the council delivered them to the captain again, giving him caution to take care of them. The rest of what happened, from nothing till the ship had gone, they went and gave account of it by Mr Alexander and Mr Ryder, who threatened to punish severely for not telling the truth. Interpretations Bencoolen's reputation is the whole substance of the case. The Company's pepper settlement on the west coast of Sumatra was notorious for mortality, and the men had heard directly from the crew of the <i>James and Mary</i>, which had come from that very place on 9 March 1731, what conditions there amounted to. Their petition of 27 March had already asked for warm clothing to survive the passage round the Cape; four days later the same men judged the destination itself worse than desertion on a remote island. The plot to run the ship aground at the Cape is the graver matter buried in the confession. Wrecking a Company vessel deliberately would have destroyed the ship, the cargo and the crew alike, and the council's suspicion that bolder men had contemplated seizing her outright puts the affair close to mutiny. Fifteen or twenty men out of a draft of twenty seven represents most of the soldiers aboard. Handing the men back to the captain rather than punishing them ashore reflects the limits of the council's jurisdiction. Soldiers under Company articles bound for another settlement were not the island's to try, and St Helena had neither the establishment to hold them nor any use for them. Governor Pyke had been in office six days and had already issued the kersey for their clothing, so returning them with a caution to the commander was the only course that

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			discharged the island's responsibility without leaving seven destitute men on it. The search sent out to signal the ship before she made sail shows how narrow the margin was. A vessel that had cleared the road could not easily be recalled, and had the men held out a few hours longer they would have been stranded on an island that had no employment for them and a council with no obligation to feed them.
53	50	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 4th April 1702 at Union Castle Presents Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Mopsley having a little before he Sailed complained to Us that a Fellow of this Island named Jno Harding was on board his Ship and Attempted to get some of his Men & being on Shoar in a clandestine manner &c having but Some of his Men We suspected that the said Harding was privy to & clearing them in their Shape, We therefore Sent for him & examining him, but he denied the matter, & we called John Colyer & Daniel Griffith who both Confirmed that when the Bedding was Sent on board & Bedding was not there, Colgrave came to say the Person Sent & that he went on board to receive a Debt from one of the Sailors also to one Mudge a Soldier but the Sailor having no Money Colgrave Sayth that he gave him the said in Payment & that the Officers would not let it come on Shoar, & there not being any thing proved to affect Harding We dismist him but the reason given by Colgrave for going on board not being cleared up to our Satisfaction the Governour acquainted him that he should go on board no more this Season. We also examined all the Seven Men who had deserted & who have been under Confinement ever since the Ship Sailed where they concealed themselves & they all told Us among the Rocks & Mountains & at the same time humbly prayed that they might be Entertained as Soldiers & that the three Months they were to work for nothing might be included in their five Years Service which We at first refused unless they would tell Us, who inticed them away & concealed them but they again affirmed they hid themselves in the Rocks & its very remarkable that as mentioned in the last Consultation three of them were so Resolute & determined not to proceed any farther that to avoid being found or discovered they in the right climbed up & down hills and Mountains of such difficult Accesse that hardly any of our own People are able to passe in the day & not being able to get any thing out of them We entertained them as Soldiers & do Garrison beginning the growth, & we will nevertheless continue our enquiry till if possible We find out the Truth	At a consultation held on Tuesday 6 April 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Marsley complained to the council that a little before he sailed a fellow of the island named Harding had been aboard his ship and had attempted to get some of his men, meeting on shore in a clandestine manner, to leave with them in their charge. The council therefore sent for Harding, meaning to correct him in their presence, but he denied the matter. John Colgrave and Daniel Griffith, who were both called, confirmed that when the bedding was found aboard the ship, the bedding was not there. Colgrave came to say that the person went and that he had gone aboard to receive a debt from one of the sailors, and also to see Mudge, a soldier, and that the sailor, having no money, Colgrave asked that he give him the bed in payment, and that the officer proved not to let it come on shore. There was not barely anything proved to affect Harding. The council did not admit him but the reason given by Colgrave for going aboard not being cleared up to any satisfaction, the Governor ordered him not to go aboard any more that season. The council examined all the seven men who had deserted, who had been under confinement ever since the ship sailed and where they had concealed themselves. They told the council that among the rocks and mountains at the same time they humbly prayed that they might be entertained as soldiers, and that during the three months they were to work for nothing they might be included in their pay. The council refused unless they would tell who had persuaded them away and who had concealed them, but they again affirmed they hid themselves in the rocks. It is very remarkable that, as mentioned in the last consultation, three of them were so resolute and determined not to proceed any further that, to avoid being found or discovered, they in the night climbed up down hills and mountains of such difficult access that hardly any of the island's own people were able to pass in the day, and not being able to get anything out of them. The council entertained them as soldiers, and Governor Pyke, beginning to grow uneasy, will nevertheless continue the inquiry till, if possible, the council finds out the truth. The following petition of Robert Marston was presented and read. Robert Marston petitioned Governor Pyke and the council of St Helena. He was very much surprised and heartily sorry to hear that any person should have the impudence to say that he had been encouraged to desert from the ship. He most solemnly declared that he never did say those words or any words to that purpose, nor heard his mind concerning it to any man living. For the rest he had heard that Nathaniel Sample, James Peirson and William Champling did agree together to leave the ship, but he kept their intent concealed from everybody. The submarine had induced him to leave her, having been afraid by ill usage from the officers, the fear of dying at Bencoolen, or at least the apprehension of leading an unhappy and unhealthy life there.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The following Petition of Robt Marlow was Presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr of the Island St Helena The humble Petition of Robt Marlow Sheweth That Your Petr is very much Surprized & heartily Sorry to hear that any Person should have the Impudence to Say that Your Petr was Instrumentall to desert from the Ship for Your Petr must Solemnly declare that he never did Say those Words or any Words to that purpose nor break his Mind concerning it to any Man living, for the Your Petr had heard that Nath Sample, Jas Bramlow & Jno Bramlow did agree together to leave the Ship yet he kept his Intent concealed from every body & the Salt matter he intended Your Petr to leave her, he was accusing by the Usage from the Officers & the fear of dying at Bencoolen & at least the Apprehension of leading an Unhappy & Unhappy Life there Your Petr therefore most humbly prays to be forgiven for deserting from the Enfield & Your Petr for the two Seamen returned by his Dutyfull Behaviour to deserve this Mark of Your Favour & so that he may be allowed to continue here & Your Petr will apply no Work or Labour You shall think fit to Employ him in And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray 4th April 1702 Robt Marlow Capt Goodwin Reports that one of the Honble Compa Yawles was lately cut from her Moorings supposed to be done by Sailors or others French who wanted a Boat to go on board his own Boat having been at Loggs at the same time & afterwards Moored in the Place where the Yawle was which is lost Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	He therefore prayed to be forgiven for deserting the ship, and for the two men concerned in it by his forfeited advancement to deserve the mark of the Governor's favour, so that he might be allowed to continue there. He would apply himself to any work or labour the Governor thought fit to employ him in. The petition was dated 6 April 1731 and signed Robert Marston. Captain Goodwin reported that one of the Company's yawls had lately been cut from her moorings, supposed taken by sailors or other persons who wanted a boat to go on board his own ship, having burnt out logs at the same size and afterwards moored in the place where the yawl was, which is lost. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Robert Marston. Interpretations The council's decision to enlist the seven deserters as soldiers turns an act of desertion into a recruitment. St Helena's garrison was small, the island could not draw men from anywhere else, and seven able-bodied recruits already on the ground were worth more than any punishment. The men's own request set the terms: they asked to serve during the three months they were bound to work for nothing, so the council obtained free labour and a permanent addition to its establishment from men who had been bound for Bencoolen. Three of them had climbed ground that the island's own inhabitants could not cross in daylight, and they did it at night. St Helena is a volcanic island of steep ridges and near-vertical rock faces, and the detail is entered in the record because it tells the council something about the men's determination rather than about the terrain. Governor Pyke's continuing inquiry rests on the same reading: men who would take that risk were probably acting on more than fear of a bad diet. Marston's petition is the standard form of written submission the council had accepted from Henry Cottrell on 22 April 1729, Charles Steward on 1 July 1729 and William Slaughter in April 1729. Each admitted the offence, denied any wider design, pleaded for pardon and offered future obedience. The device worked because it gave the council a signed document to send home while sparing it the trouble of a punishment it had no means of enforcing. The stolen yawl completes a pattern running through this period. The council had ordered every boat owner to secure sails and oars on returning from fishing after seven slaves put to sea on 5 March 1728, and a guard was set to lie in the long boat all night from 30 July 1728. A small boat was the only means of leaving St Helena without a ship's consent, which made every one of them a standing temptation.
54	51	At a Consultation held on Friday 17th April 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Joseph Bates appeared brought John Clow & Miguel Sandegan whom he desired might be Sworn & being asked to what end or purpose he would have them Sworn Replied that a Gentleman who lately lodged & died at his House had left his Effects to him being asked what for how much or where the Account of these things was made, no Answer but that he desired that two Men might be Sworn as to what the deceased had given	At a consultation held on Friday 7 April 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Joseph Bates appeared with John Slew and Miguel Sandegan, whom he wished to be sworn. Asked to what end and purpose, he answered that he would have them sworn concerning a gentleman who had lately lodged and died at his house and had left his effects to him. Asked what or how much or where the account of these things was made, he answered only that he wanted the two men sworn as to what the deceased had given him. Asked what inventory he held of goods, and what papers or memorandums he could produce to show his right, he asked to withdraw so that he might get them. He left the room briefly, then returned and presented the following petition.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		him being asked what Inventory he had of Goods, or what Papers or Memorandums he could produce to him & when he desired to withdraw that he might get that & his Case put into Writing & being soon after returned he presented the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Councill The humble Petition of Jos Bates Sheweth That on or about the 27th of January last Don John de Mesa y Amento landed sick on Shoar from on board a French Ship & took up his Lodgings with Your Petr & about fourteen dayes after died at Your Petrs House of a Dropsey & as an Acknowledgment to Your Petr for Your Petrs Care & trouble of him during the time of his Sickness, & in Requitall to Your Petr in the Presence & hearing of John Clow, he devised to his Servant by the name Sandegan, all such Goods & Effects as they were in the Possession & belonging to him the said Don John de Mesa y Amento Your Petr therefore most humbly prays that they the said John Clow & Miguel Sandegan may be Sworn & Examined touching Your Petrs Right to all the Goods & Effects given & bequeathed to Your Petr as aforesaid And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray St Helena 7 April 1702 Joseph Bates which being immediately read he was asked whether any Inventory had been taken by whom & what & when the deceased died & disposed of to which he Answered that he had an Inventory & being Ordred to produce it, replied that he had not yet finished it but stayed he would fetch what he had & on & went for it & being returned produced a Copy of an Inventory but owned that he had concealed for his own use & a Shees of Gold, one pair of Gold Shoe Buckles, Two big Pagodas, & some other odd things, & so inserted in the Inventory & Signed by him the said Bates, & being asked why he did not mention them before, said that he had private Reasons for doing so & being asked what they were gave this extraordinary Reason for concealing a most of an ordinary peice of Villanry, & said he thought Governour Byfeild was his Enemy & he was afraid he should not have them, & then he was, & was asked what Papers the deceased left & Answered severall but he knew not what they were, & was asked whether he knew or had heard that the deceased left or had any Will made & Answered he could not tell, & was asked what Family the deceased had here & abroad & to whether he had any Children or other Relations & Answered that the deceased had a Wife or a Woman reputed to be his Wife & five Children at Manilla & one boy here whom the deceased owned as the Son, & that the deceased has three Repuled & now above	Joseph Bates petitioned Governor Pyke and the council. On or about 27 January last, Don John de Mesa y Aniento landed sick on shore from a French ship, took lodgings with him and fourteen days afterwards died at his house of a dropsy. Bates set out that he had been an honest servant to the deceased and had taken trouble over him during the time of his sickness, and that the deceased had bequeathed to him, in the presence and hearing of John Slew and Miguel Sandegan, all such goods and effects as were in his possession and belonging to him. Bates therefore prayed that John Slew and Miguel Sandegan be sworn and examined concerning his right to all the goods and effects given and bequeathed to him. The petition was dated at St Helena, 7 April 1731. The petition being read at once, Bates was asked whether any inventory had been taken by him of what belonged to the deceased and disposed of, and to which he answered that he had an inventory. Being ordered to produce it, he replied that he had not yet finished it, but stayed he would fetch what he had done. He went out and, returning, produced a copy of an inventory, but admitted that he had concealed for his own use a share of gold, one pair of gold shoe buckles, two rings, two pagodas and some other odd things not entered in the inventory and signed by him. Bates, being asked why he did not mention them before, said that he had private reasons for doing so. Being asked what they were, he gave this extraordinary reason for committing so manifest and extraordinary a piece of villainy. He said he thought Governor Pyke himself was his enemy, and he replied he should not know how much he had. Being asked what papers the deceased had left, he answered several, but he knew not what they were. He was asked whether he knew or had heard that the deceased had made any will abroad, and answered he could not tell. He was asked what family the deceased had here abroad, and whether he had any children or other relations, and answered that the deceased had a wife or a woman reputed to be his wife, with two children at Manila. He knew from whom the deceased owned a house that the deceased had three repairs or more above. He was asked whether the deceased died intestate or not, and answered that he gave all his effects to him. Bates, having given the council just ground to suspect that a great deal of wrong and injustice had already been done by him, and more depended still to be done, the council ordered him to deliver to the council all such valuable effects lately belonging to the deceased as were not yet made away, for he owned that he had already disposed of five shares of gold and the pagodas mentioned in the inventory. He delivered the following particulars. Interpretations Bates was seeking probate of a deathbed gift rather than of a written will, and the council's questioning shows why the distinction mattered. A verbal bequest made in the presence of witnesses was admissible in principle, the council having relied on a deathbed declaration on 11 November 1729 to let Charles Steward recover £18 16s 0d from Richard Girling's executor. What defeated Bates was not the form of the gift but his own conduct in concealing part of the estate before the claim was heard. A pagoda was a gold coin of southern India, current at Madras and the Coromandel ports and worth roughly eight shillings sterling. Gold in shares, buckles, rings and coin was how a traveller carried portable wealth on a voyage where paper credit was worthless, and its concealment was easier than that of any other kind of property. The Manila connection places the dead man in the Spanish Pacific trade rather than the English or

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Farewell & whether the deceased died Intestate or not & Answered that he gave all his Effects to him the said Bates, & this & severall Questions & Answers having given Us just ground to suspect that a great deal of wrong & Injustice has already been done by the said Bates & more designed We to ordered it Ordred the said Bates immediately to deliver to Us all such valuable Effects lately belonging to the deceased as are not yet made away for he owned that he has already disposed of five Shees of Gold & all the Pagodas mentioned in the Inventory, & he delivered Us the following particulars Vizt A Parcell	French one, despite his landing from a French ship. A wife and two children at Manila gave the estate lawful heirs with a stronger claim than any lodging-house keeper, which is precisely the point the council pressed and which Bates answered only by repeating that everything had been given to him. Bates has appeared repeatedly in this record as a creditor pursuing debts. He complained against the surgeon Gibson in December 1727 and swore the affidavit of 16 December 1727 that brought Gibson before the council in custody, and his £50 bond to the Company was reduced to fifty shillings on 11 July 1727 at the request of the late Earl of Caernarvon. A man of that standing being caught concealing a dead stranger's gold is a reversal worth noting. Seizing the remaining effects follows the procedure used on the death of Benjamin Flagg on 31 March 1729, when the council took his estate into custody the same morning and had it inventoried by two of its own members rather than leaving it with the ship's master. The principle in both cases was that a stranger's property on the island belonged to no one present until a lawful claim was proved.
55	52	A Parcell of Papers Six Shees of Gold Two Diamond Rings One hundred Dollars One Pair of Gold Shoe Buckles Three Silver Forks One Large Silver Seale All which We immediately Sealed up with the Honble Companies Seals in a Parcell & put them into a box & caused the said Bates to affix his Seal to the said Box which is not to be opened till the Honble Company shall finally determine this Affair Among the Papers produced We found one Signed by the deceased by which he gave one hundred Dollars to his Servant, the Translation of which is as followeth Vizt I John de Mesa y Amento declare that by this I oblige my Self to the Payment of one hundred Dollars currt Money in Coin & to deliver to Michel Sandegan my Servant for having served me faithfully & to enable me & him to return to his Family in the Province of Pasco from whence he came being one of the Philippine Islands which said Sum of one hundred Dollars is by my Testor me &c paid him by my Executors or in one favour that have my Effects to enable him to proceed on his said Voyage as soon as I am deceased if it be Gods Pleasure to dispose of one, St Helena 27 January 1702 John de Mesa I saw Don John de Mesa y Amento Sign the Originall Spanish Paper of which this is the Translation p me Joseph Bates At the desire of said Bates John Clow & Miguel Sandegan a Negro Fellow Servant to the deceased were Examined upon Oath concerning the pretended Will of the deceased whose Examinations & Depositions are as follow Vizt The Deposition of John Clow of the Island St Helena taken upon Oath before me Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr of the said Island this 7 day April 1702	The particulars delivered were as follows. 1 parcel of papers 6 shares of gold 2 diamond rings 100 dollars 1 pair of gold shoe buckles 3 silver forks 1 large silver seal The council sealed all of it at once with the Company's seal and placed each parcel in a box, leaving the box in Bates's keeping until the Company should finally determine the affair. The box is not to be opened before then. Among the papers produced the council found one signed by the deceased, by which he gave one hundred dollars to his servant. The translation runs as follows. John de Mesa y Aniento declared that he bound himself to the payment of one hundred dollars in current money, and engaged to deliver to Michael Sandegan, his servant, for having served him faithfully, and to enable him to return to his family in the province of Payta, from where he came, being one of the Philippine Islands. The sum of one hundred dollars was to be paid by his executor or by anyone who might have his effects, to enable him to proceed on the voyage as soon as it should please God to dispose of him. Dated at St Helena, 27 January 1731, and signed John de Mesa. Joseph Bates certified that he saw Don John de Mesa y Aniento sign the original Spanish paper of which this is the translation. At the request of Joseph Bates, John Slew and Miguel Sandegan, a black fellow servant to the deceased, were examined on oath concerning the pretended will of the deceased. Their examinations and depositions are as follows. John Slew of the island of St Helena, sworn on oath before Governor Pyke on 7 April 1731, deposed as follows. During the sickness of Don John de Mesa y Aniento, who lodged with Joseph Bates, he frequently attended him as an interpreter. About a week before the deceased died, which happened about the end of February last, he heard him say that he was not speaking or addressing himself to any particular person as he was lying in his bed, but that he had told his servant John Slew, who had come there two or three times, which he had rendered into English as, "I will show you my will, but I am not to speak to this deponent to whom he would talk of it, that they may explain his will." At no time did the deceased talk to this deponent about making his will or call him. The

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		This Deponent sayth that during the Sickness of Don John de Mesa y Amento at named who lodged with Joseph Bates this Deponent frequently visited him as an Interpreter & that about a week before the said Amento died which happened about the 9th of February last he heard the said Amento say but not Speaking or addressing himself to any particular Person as he was lying in his Bed these following Words, I, John Bates, have done for me either, which rendred into English is, Don All I have I give to you, but did not Speak to this Deponent to whom he would take it & this Deponent or any way explain his meaning thereby nor did at any time talk to this Deponant about making his Will, or call him this Deponent to be a Wittness to any such purpose nor did he desire this Deponent to mention or declare the Words he had spoken to any Person whatsoever, & this Deponent sayth that to the best of his Remembrance no other Person besides himself & the Wife of Joseph Bates were in the Room with the said deceased & said when the Words before mentioned were Spoken, nor any Person, & hearing thereof, nor did this Deponent at any time hear the deceased declare upon what Account he mentioned the said Words, nor did this Deponent ever hear the deceased talk of giving or bequeathing to any Person whatsoever, any Sum or Sums of Money or other Goods or Effects for or towards the bringing up or Educating the Child or Son of the deceased whom the deceased owned as his Son & who is still here & who, & this this Deponent sayth that the deceased was intestate by what he saw during the whole time of his Sickness here John Clow Jurat p Die Aprilis 1702 Coram Me Isa Pyke Governr The Examination of Miguel Sandegan taken before me Isaac Pyke Esqr Governour of the Island St Helena this 7 April Anno Domini 1702 The Examinant sayth that he was Servant to Don John de Mesa y Amento native of the Island Teneriffe & sometime an Inhabitant & or Officer of the Island of Manilla, & where his said Master had a Wife or a Woman reputed so to be & three Children, one boy & two Girles, the boy is now here & the Wife & other Children of the said Master were living when the Master he left Manilla which was about thirteen Months ago, being asked whether he knew what Money or Effects his said Master brought on Shoar with him	deponent, to the best of his knowledge, said he did not desire this deponent to mention or declare the words he had spoken to any person whatsoever. The deponent further says that to the best of his remembrance no other person besides himself and the wife of Joseph Bates were in the room with the deceased and Sandegan when the words before mentioned were spoken, nor any person or hearing thereof. Nor did this deponent at any time hear the deceased declare upon what account he mentioned the words. Nor did this deponent ever hear the deceased talk of giving or bequeathing to any person whatsoever any sum or sums of money or other goods or effects for or towards the bringing up or educating the child or son of the deceased, whom the deceased owned as his son, who is called her lodger. The deponent says that the deceased was sensible of what he said during the whole time of his sickness. Sworn on 7 April 1731 before Isaac Pyke, Governor. Signed John Slew. The examination of Miguel Sandegan, taken before Isaac Pyke, Governor of the island of St Helena, this second day of April 1731. The examinant says that he was servant to Don John de Mesa y Aniento, a native of the island of Tenerife and sometime an inhabitant or officer of the island of Manila. His master had a wife and a woman reputed to be his wife, by whom he had three children, one boy and two girls. The boy is now about ten years of age, and his master, when he left Manila, which was about thirteen months earlier, being asked whether he knew what money or effects his master brought on shore with him. Interpretations The hundred dollar bequest to Sandegan is the only written instrument the deceased left, and its terms cut directly against Bates's claim. A man who set down in writing that his servant should be paid to return home to Payta had not left everything to his landlord, and the paper's survival among the effects Bates had been concealing makes the omission difficult to explain innocently. Payta was a port on the Peruvian coast rather than in the Philippines, and the paper's description of it as one of the Philippine Islands is the deceased's own error or that of the translator. What the document establishes is a servant carried far from home in the Spanish Pacific trade, which ran between Manila and the American coast, and a master concerned to see him returned. Slew's deposition destroys the case for a verbal will. He had served as interpreter throughout the illness and swore that the deceased never spoke to him about making a will, never asked him to convey any bequest, and never mentioned any provision for his own son. The only witnesses present were Slew himself and Bates's wife, so the two men Bates asked to be sworn have between them removed the foundation of his petition. Sealing the effects in a box with the Company's seal, yet leaving the box in Bates's own hands, is a curious disposition. The council had lodged Benjamin Flagg's papers in the secretary's office on 1 April 1729 rather than trusting them to any private person. Leaving these with the very man suspected of concealing them relies wholly on the seal, and the council had already established that Bates disposed of five shares of gold and the pagodas before any inventory was taken. The deceased was a native of Tenerife long settled at Manila, with a household there of a woman reputed his wife and three children. Estates of foreigners dying on the island posed a problem the council could not resolve locally, which is why the whole matter was reserved for the Company to determine rather than decided at St Helena.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
<u>56</u>	53	him here Answered that as soon as his Master was landed he by his Masters Order counted very carefully all his said Masters Money which was constantly kept in one particular Drawer of his Masters Chest or Escritore, the keys of which he this Examinant allways had in his this Examinants Custody and keeping & this Examinant sayth that all the Money which his said Master did bring on Shoar with him all this Place was Sixteen Shees of Gold & Ninety Pagodas Two ways, & being severall times asked the same Question this Examinant as often made the same Answer & that he was & so his said Master did not bring any Money on Shoar with him but what to this Examinant did know of & whensoever his said Master wanted Money he allways received it from the hands of this Examinant & being asked if his his said Master had ever at any time bring some Money in his Cloths or Breeches unknown to this Examinant this Examinant Answered he was sure he did not for his Master was so ill he could not wear Breeches & is sure he did bring or wear any of his other Cloths, being asked what he knew concerning his Master giving away his Effects & Answered that the Doctor who attended him meaning our Surgeon Mr Brown made to him to wear out & to & that this Examinant thought his Master Replied he had no occasion to make it & he gave all to the Master & Mistress of the House to the Care of his & so that he left the Care of his Son to the Charge of the Master & Mistress being asked who was present when his Master said those Words & Answered no body besides himself the Doctor & Clark & Bellows & never & say that his Master did not tell him declare to the Doctor or to Bates or any one else what his said Master did there say, that his said Master was very low & weak during the whole time of his Sickness here which was fourteen dayes he having landed on the 28 of January last & died on the 10 of February following & that his said Master had a Brother living who left the Island Manilla bound to the Island of Teneriffe about Seven Months before his said Master left the said Island Manilla & two other Brothers at Teneriffe being three in all Miguel Sandegan Jurat 7 die Aprilis 1702 Coram me Isa Pyke Governr The Underscriber John Clow do hereby declare upon Oath that I did this 7 day of April 1702, to the best of my Skill & Judgement render very carefully & fully before written Examination into Spanish to him the said Miguel Sandegan & that he did every truly understand his said Examination before he was Sworn to & Signed the same John Clow Jurat 7 die Aprilis 1702	He answered that as soon as his master landed he counted very carefully, by his master's order, all his master's money, which was constantly kept in one particular drawer of his master's chest or escritorio, the key of which his master always kept in his own custody. He said that all the money his master brought on shore with him at this place was fifteen shares of gold and ninety pagodas. He was asked several times what the same amounted to, and answered each time that his master did not bring any money on shore with him except what this examinant had knowledge of, and whenever his master wanted money he always received it from the hands of this examinant. Being asked if he was sure that his master did not bring some money in his clothes or breeches unknown to this examinant, he answered that he was sure his master did not, for his master was so ill he could not wear breeches, and he was sure he did not bring anything of the kind in any other clothes. Being asked what he knew concerning his master giving away his effects, he answered that the doctor who attended him, meaning Mr Brown, once desired Snak to give him some, and to which this examinant thought his master intended he had no occasion to make his will and give all to the master and mistress of the house in the care of his son, and that he left the care of his son to the mistress of the house. His master and mistress being asked who was present when his master said these words, he answered no body but the doctor himself, the doctor and Mrs Salter. He never saw what his master did not tell them, nor declared to the doctor or to Bates or to anyone else what his master did, then say that his master was very ill and weak during the whole time of his sickness, which was fourteen days, having landed on 28 January last and died on 10 February following. What his master had, whether he had a brother living who left the island of Manila bound to the island of Tenerife about three months before his master left the island of Manila, and two other brothers at Tenerife, being three in all. Sworn on 7 April 1731 before Isaac Pyke, Governor. Signed Miguel Sandegan. John Slew declared on oath that on 7 April 1731, to the best of his skill and judgement, he rendered very carefully the before written examination into Spanish, being that of Miguel Sandegan, and that he did very truly understand his examination before he was sworn to and signed it. Sworn on 7 April 1731 before Isaac Pyke, Governor. Signed John Slew. The council also examined Mr Brown, the surgeon, whose deposition is as follows. John Brown, surgeon, examined on oath before Isaac Pyke, Governor of the island of St Helena, on 7 April 1731, said that during the time this examinant attended the Spaniard who lately died there, this examinant told him by one of the black servants who spoke Spanish that he thought he was near his end and put him in mind to make his will, and to provide for his child in Manila by that effect. The interpreter did tell this examinant that he had the Spaniard would send for the Governor and council to desire him to be present at his making his will, and some time afterwards asked if they were come down, and the interpreter told this examinant they had not. Sworn on 7 April 1731 before Isaac Pyke, Governor. Signed John Brown. Upon a careful examination of these depositions the council found many things to be observed that were very remarkable and extraordinary. Law required that a nuncupative will should express the estate of Israel, chapter 3, that no nuncupative will shall be good even where the legacy given amounts only to thirty pounds,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Coram me Isa Pyke Governr We also Examined Mr Brown our Surgeon whose Deposition is as followeth Vizt The Examination of John Brown Surgeon taken upon Oath before me Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr of the Island St Helena this 7 day April 1702 This Examinant sayth that during the time this Examinant attended the Spaniard who lately died here this Examinant told him by one of the Black & Sailors who Spoke Spanish that he thought he was near his End & put him in mind to make his Will & provide for his Child in Words say that Effect & that the said Interpreter did tell this Examinant that he the said Spaniard would send for the Governour & Council & desire him to be present at his making his Will & sometime afterwards asked if they were come down as the said Interpreter told this Examinant John Brown Jurat 7 Aprilis 1702 Coram me Isa Pyke Governr Upon a carefull Examination of these Depositions We find many things to be observed that are very remarkable & extraordinary, for by Law requires & it is very particularly express & this Statute of Frauds Sec: Cap 3: Cap 3: that no Nuncupative Will shall be good even where the Legacy given amounts only to Thirty Pounds unless the same be proved by the Oaths of three Witnesses at least present or present at the making thereof, nor unless the Testator did then or some of them do bear Witness that such was his Will, this is so far from having been Suspected that Clow Swears the deceased did never make any such Declaration	unless the same be proved by the oaths of three witnesses at least who were present at the making thereof, nor unless the testator bid them or some of them to bear witness that such was his will. This is so far from having been respected that from Sandegan the deceased did never make any such declaration. Interpretations The council is applying the Statute of Frauds of 1677, which imposed strict conditions on nuncupative wills, meaning those declared by word of mouth rather than written. Three witnesses present at the making, an estate under thirty pounds, and an express request from the dying man that those present bear witness were all required. Sandegan's evidence establishes the opposite on every point: no such declaration was ever made, and the doctor's attempt to prompt one came to nothing. Brown's deposition is the most damaging to Bates. The surgeon judged his patient near death, sent word through an interpreter urging him to make a will and to provide for his child at Manila, and was told the Spaniard wanted the Governor and council present for the purpose. Nobody came. A man who asked for the island's magistrates to witness his will plainly had not already given everything by word of mouth to his landlord. The precise accounting Sandegan gave of fifteen shares of gold and ninety pagodas provides a figure against which Bates's inventory can be measured. Bates had admitted concealing a share of gold, gold shoe buckles, rings and two pagodas, and admitted disposing of five shares and further pagodas before any inventory was taken, and the effects finally surrendered came to six shares and a hundred dollars. A servant who counted the money on landing and held the key was better placed than anyone to say what the estate had contained. Sworn interpretation was necessary because the examinations crossed three languages. Slew translated Sandegan's Spanish answers into English, then swore separately that he had rendered them faithfully and that Sandegan had understood the document before signing. The double oath was the only safeguard available where a deponent could not read what he was setting his name to. The deceased died on 10 February after landing on 28 January, so the whole affair from arrival to death occupied fourteen days. Bates first approached the council on 7 April, nearly two months later, by which time five shares of gold and the pagodas had already gone.
57	54	Declaration to him or desire him to bear Witness to his making a Will but talking after or idle manner say if he had been delivering as he lay very Sick in bed & heard him say & in all these I give to You at which time Clow also Swears that no other man was present in the Room besides himself and that therefore of the deceased & meant at that time to give but Goods to any body & how much & the Reason he then designed to give them to & how was Doubt & want rest of the time he attended the deceased as Interpreter & remarkably about the time he professed the deceased used those Words which We think would be a just exception to his Evidence was it produced but what he Swears is of so much & no Consequence at all, the other Witness Sandegan, the Negro Servant to the deceased who has been long under the Management & Influence of Bates	No declaration was made to him or before him to bear witness to his making a will, but nothing after or in like manner. Had he been delivering as he lay very sick in bed, he heard him say to all there, "I give to you," at which time Sandegan swears that no other man was present in the room except himself, and that therefore the deceased meant at that time to give his effects to any body. Slew met with the Spaniard, to him assigned to give them to Slew, and was interpreter for part of the time he attended the deceased as interpreter. Remarkably, about the time he protested the deceased used those words which he thinks was to be a just exception to his evidence, and it was not extraordinary but what he swears is of no weight or consequence at all. The other witness Sandegan, the black servant to the deceased, who has been long under the management and influence of Bates, has sworn that upon his master's talking of the purposes mentioned in his examination, no body was present besides him. The doctor, who could not understand Spanish, allowed him to speak Manila to Sandegan also, which by no means ought to appear. He states that his master did not bid him declare to the doctor

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		has Sworn that upon his Master talked forth the purposes mentioned in his Examination no body was present besides one Doctor, who understands not Spanish, & Clark & Bellows Sworn & swears also which by no means ought to appear, & Bates that his Master did not bid him declare to the Doctor or to Bates or to any other Person whatsoever, or at his said Master told him he was privy & meant certainly he said Master, no & then desired him to have them had he intended that these pretended Words should be taken & Understood as his Will, both Clow & the Servant Swear that during all the time of his Sickness the deceased was extreemly low & weak & the following particulars are proof that he was different & so that at all in a Capacity to make a Will, for as soon as he landed he gave our Surgeon four Shees of Gold of about three hundred Pounds Value, two dayes afterwards presented & repeatedly what he had given him before he sent him a Present of four & twenty Plantains & fruit & about three dayes after that he sent for him & told him he had a great Pain in one of his Legs & gave him Six Pagodas, saying, but You must take the Pain away this Moment & at this time to tempt him to his Money he called for in Weeks & two Palms & desired to him give & right to which he only gave a few Tenamy Ins or Ins, viz that he allotted no Pearse for by the Rules of Property & Generosity which is a Strong Argument that he was out of his Sences & knew not what he did & did, & had the Strongest in his Symptoms in a Strange Place, far remote from his Family & as he neglected & giving allwayes from his Family & no more, & no & so Good that he had never been here & so nearly that deserved nothing of him or did any thing for him but common Acts of Hospitality, & for their may all this & no & Bates keeping a Sort of Punch House, seems to the very Inference & so & very & may be safely concluded that no Man in his Sences could deliver & do a thing so unknown & Unnaturall, but Supposing the deceased might have the use of his Sences by extremals which is very doubtfull yet Mr Brown our Surgeon makes it clear that he designed to make his Will in the most positive & Authentick manner he could, to which was the best, if not the only Sign he gave of his having his Reason about him during the whole time of his Sickness having declared that he would have desired & Councill to be present, the Witnesses thereto but the Governour & most of the the Councill being then in the Country & this Spaniard also being very sick, he lived not long enough to perfect this design & this makes it Evident beyond all Question that he did not or ever designed to	or to Bates or to any other person whatsoever, nor at this said master's death desired him to have them had he intended that these pretended words should be taken and understood as his will. Both Slew and the servant swear that during all the time of his sickness the deceased was extremely low and weak. The following particulars are proof that he was different. He did not at all in a scarcity, but as soon as he landed he gave the surgeon four shares of gold, of about three hundred pounds value, two days afterwards, forgetting probably what he had given him before he sent him the present of four shares of gold and clothes, and about three days after that he sent for him and told him he had a great pain in one of his legs. He gave him six pagodas, saying, "But you must take the pain away this moment. If at this time he wants them by two moneys, he called for one week and two rulers relating to him all it might to which he only gave a few, and any in an inn, that he alleged no repair from the rules of country and generosity, which is a strange argument that he was one of the topics whence not what he said of it, and the stranger is his being in a strange place far remote from his family, or he neglected giving it away from his family the more. Sandegan cared that he had none from home and to nearly, that afforded nothing of him or did anything for him but common acts of hospitality and for their money as bad business. Bates keeping a sight of Dutch places seems to the way from thence extravagant, and may be safely concluded that no man in his senses would probably do such things to a man wholly a stranger to him, but supposing the deceased might have the use of his temper by his denials, which is very doubtful, yet Mr Brown, our surgeon, makes it clear that he designed to make his will in the most public and authentic manner he could, to which was the best if not the only reason he gave of his having his Spaniard about him during the whole time of his sickness. Having declared that he would have the Governor and council to be present, the witnesses thereto, but the Governor and one part of the council being then in the country and the Spaniard also being very faint, he could not long enough to perfect his design. This makes it evident beyond all question that he had not or ever designed to give his effects away from his family and children, nor is there the least proof that is reasonable or legal, so as to make it out for three witnesses as required, even where thirty pounds is only given. The deceased had upwards of a hundred pounds in money besides rings and other effects, when there had not been so much as two witnesses to any one act, or so was the servant, both declare they were not together at any one time when the deceased talked of giving his effects away. As to the care that has been taken of such effects as the deceased left, it is to be remembered that he died on 10 February, but Bates did not take any inventory till 19 March, which is more than a month afterwards, time enough for him to serve his own ends. It has not been really so ingeniously reported, and it is believed that half his effects are not yet brought to light, for it may very justly and reasonably be believed of a man who has owned that he had unjustly concealed six shares of gold and other money that he may as likely have concealed a great deal more. The deceased being reputed very rich, it was absolutely necessary. Interpretations The council is testing the alleged will against the statute it has already cited, and each element fails. Three witnesses present at the making are required, yet neither Slew nor Sandegan was ever in the room with the other when the deceased supposedly spoke. The testator must ask those present to bear witness, and Sandegan swore his master expressly told him not to declare anything to the doctor, to Bates or to anyone

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		give his Effects away from his Family & Children, nor is there the least Proof that is reasonable or legall & designed to make it out for three Wittnesses are required even where thirty Pounds is only given, the deceased did nevertheless in hundred Pounds in Money besides Rings & other Effects & they has not been so much as one Wittness to any one Act, & or & so & the Servant, both declare they were not together at any one time when the deceased talked of giving his Effects away As to the Care that has been taken of such Effects as the deceased left, it is to be Remembred that he died on the 10 of February but Bates did not take any Inventory till the 17 of March which is more than a Month afterwards & time enough for him to Serve his Turn & he has not been very far in generall & would & believed that half his Effects are not yet brought to light for it may very justly & very reasonably be believed & so & Man who has owned that he has knowingly concealed Six Shees of Gold & other Money that he may as likely have concealed a great deal more, but the deceased being reputed very Rich it was absolutely necessary	else. Even the thirty pound ceiling for a spoken bequest is exceeded many times over by an estate of more than a hundred pounds in money alone. Brown's evidence carries the argument. A man who asked for the Governor and council to attend as witnesses was seeking the most formal instrument available on the island, which is irreconcilable with having already given everything away by word of mouth in a room containing one servant. That the Governor and part of the council were in the country when the request came is the accident on which the whole estate turned. The gifts to the surgeon are the council's answer to the argument that the deceased was liberal by temperament and might therefore have given his effects to his landlord. Four shares of gold on landing, four more two days later and six pagodas for treating his leg amount to lavish payment for medical attendance, but they were payments for services rendered rather than a disposal of an estate, and they came from a man plainly not in command of his own affairs. The delay between death on 10 February and inventory on 19 March is more than five weeks, and the council draws the obvious conclusion. Compare the treatment of Benjamin Flagg, found dead aboard a schooner on 31 March 1729, whose estate was seized the same morning and inventoried by Captain Goodwin and Mr Crisp rather than left with any private person. Bates had a month alone with the effects before anyone counted them. Sandegan's position under Bates's management and influence goes to the weight of his evidence rather than its honesty. A servant stranded on the island, dependent on the man claiming the estate, and owed a hundred dollars from that same estate under the only written paper the deceased left, had every reason to say what was wanted of him. That his testimony nonetheless destroys Bates's case is what makes it persuasive.
58	55	necessary to produce some Money as a Fund to keep & vest as a Confirmacon that our Suspicion is just, Mr Bazett acquainted Us that Capt Slower & Mr Bonnell, Surgeon of the deceased told him that the Money which they see in the Possession of Bates on which Bates told them was the Money left by the Spaniard, who died at his House could not be less than two thousand & eight or Shees of Gold besides other Rings of Value & this agrees with the sum which the Officers of the French Ship who left him here reported he had brought on Shoar with him & that Bates should have taken & embezzled this Money will not Seem at all Strange to those who read the following Memorandum of Mr Crispes entred in his Pocket Book which we Answered very pertinent to the Matter now before Us. Bates had acted as Executor to Mr Henry Johnson who died here & who after Debts paid left the overplus to Bates but as soon as Bates found that his Debts amounted to more than his Effects & that nothing but Charge & Trouble was likely to fall to his Share he discharged Johnsons Will in the manner mentioned in the Memorandum of which the following is a true Copy to the Truth of which Mr Crispe is willing to Swear when ever required Memorandum this Morning Say Bates told me that he the	It was necessary to produce some money as a fund to keep the rest, as a confirmation that this suspicion is just. Mr Bates acquainted the council that Captain Slower and Mr Bonnell, steward of the deceased, told him that the money which they saw in Bates's possession, which Bates told them was the money left by the Spaniard who died at his house, could not be less than two thousand pounds in shares of gold, boxes and other things of value, and this agrees with the sum which the officers of the Spanish ship who left him here reported he had brought on shore with him. That Bates should have taken and embezzled this money was not so strange as that he should have entered the following memorandum in his pocket book, an observation very pertinent on the matter now before the council. Bates had acted as executor to Mr Henry Johnson, who died here twelve or fifteen years after debts were paid, leaving the surplus to Bates. But as soon as Bates found that the debts amounted to more than the effects, and that nothing but charge and trouble was likely to fall to his share, he destroyed Johnson's will in the manner mentioned in the memorandum, of which the following is a true copy, the truth of which the council is willing to swear whenever required. Memorandum. This morning, Sunday 5 October 1726, Bates told me that he had destroyed Henry Johnson's will by tearing the name and seals off it. Two further instances in which Bates has been detected in this affair are to be added. Soon after the man died he reported that he desired him to send his son to his attorney at Madras, but now he has changed his note and says the deceased gave him all he had to

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		said Bates had discharged Henry Johnsons Will by tearing the Name & Seals of the said Will Sunday 9th October 1726 For as this deposit & Services in which Bates has been detected in this Affair is to be forgot for Say after the Man died he Reported that he desired him to Send his Son to his Attorney at Madrass but now he has changed his Note & sayes the deceased gave him all he had to bring up his Son though a great Slave in this Petition he swore it was only for Consideration of the great Care he had taken of him in his Sickness Bates himself told Capt Goodwin that he did not think he was Entitled to any thing by Virtue of the pretended Will, the more it seems the sight of the Gold has enlightened his Eyes We are therefore upon full Consideration of the Matter humbly of Opinion that the deceased died Intestate & we do judge & that the said Bates to prepare an Accompt how he has expended these three Shees of Gold & other Money which came to his hands, & that he should also make out this bill for Lodgeing and dyeting the deceased & his Son & Servant & also to produce an Accompt of the Charge of the Funerall & at the same time both him that after a reasonable Allowance made him for the Charge he had been at in Maintaining, & he & his their Family he must give & so & to repay the Remainder of the Honble Compa shall determine this Matter in favour of the heirs of the deceased & he promised he would comply therewith & get all the Accompts here demanded ready in a short time The said Bates also delivered an Inventory of the Effects of the deceased Signed by himself & being Sworn was asked if that was a true & Exact of all things belonging to the deceased that came to his hands, or to his Knowledge, & he Answered that it was a true & Exact of all things that had come to his hands or to his knowledge, & this is by the Testimony of the Negro Servant, Sandegan, is totally destroyed for he Swears positively & blank after having been asked in this Examination the same Question more than twenty times over & to avoid any mistake was obliged to put down in Writing for he writes a tollerable good hand both in Spanish & Words at length the Quantity of Money & number of Shees of Gold his Master brought on Shoar with him here was Sixteen Shees of Gold & Ninety Pagodas & no more & Bates gives an Accompt of one hundred & thirteen Pagodas so that with the Six Pagodas the deceased gave our Surgeon, the Negro Sandegan has Sworn to Twenty & Nine Pagodas less than there really was but this We think is merely the Effect of a Peice of Misunderstanding between Bates & the Servant, for want of an Interpreter, they being	bring up his son, though there is not one word in his petition of any such consideration, of the great care he had taken of him in his sickness. Bates himself told Captain Goodwin that he did not think he was entitled to any thing by virtue of this pretended will, the more it seems the sight of the gold has enlightened his eyes. The council is therefore, upon full consideration of the matter, humbly of opinion that the deceased died intestate, and accordingly ordered Bates to prepare an account of how he has expended the three shares of gold or other money which came to his hands, and that he should also make out his bill for lodging and dieting the deceased and his son and servant, and also to produce an account of the charge of the funeral, and at the same time to tell him that after a reasonable allowance made him for the charge he had been at in maintaining the deceased and his family he must pay and repay the remainder to the Company. It shall determine this matter in favour of the heirs of the deceased. He promised he would comply therewith, and that all the accounts here demanded ready in a short time. Bates also delivered an inventory of the effects of the deceased, signed by himself, and being sworn was asked if that was a true and true account of all things belonging to the deceased that came to his hands, and to his knowledge. He answered that it was a true and true account of all things that had come to his hands or to his knowledge. This is true, but the testimony of the black servant Sandegan is totally destroyed, for he swears he cannot think, after having been asked in his examination the same question more than twenty times over, and to avoid any mistake was obliged to put down in writing. He writes a tolerably good hand both in Spanish and, at length, the quantities of money and matters of shares of gold his master brought on shore with him here, near fifteen shares of gold and ninety pagodas. He now gives an account of one hundred and thirteen pagodas, and reckons that with the six pagodas the deceased gave the surgeon. The black Sandegan has sworn to twenty and nine pagodas less than there really was, but this he thinks is merely the effect of a piece of misunderstanding between Bates and the servant, for want of an interpreter, they being afraid to trust Slew, and not able by signs only to lay their story right, for Bates is a man of such a character that he is capable of doing anything he has formerly desired to fix in the Company's service for frequent misdemeanours, and he could conceal some shares of gold, which he doubts he has done, he might well enough afford to throw in a few pagodas more or less, though thereby he has betrayed himself, and this is our firm belief of the matter, but abundantly confirmed by his Interpretations The Johnson memorandum is the single most damaging item in the whole file, and it explains why the council refused to accept anything Bates said on oath. A man who had already destroyed a will by tearing the name and seals from it was demonstrably capable of manufacturing or suppressing testamentary evidence. What makes the entry devastating is its source: Bates recorded the act in his own pocket book, so the council is quoting him against himself. The two thousand pound estimate reported by Captain Slower and by the Spanish ship's officers stands against the effects Bates finally surrendered, which came to six shares of gold, a hundred dollars, two rings, buckles, forks and a seal. Sandegan's careful count of fifteen shares and ninety pagodas landed with the deceased sits between the two figures and is the only account given by someone with no interest in understating it. Finding the deceased intestate rather than adjudicating the will disposes of the case without

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		afraid to trust Clow, & not able by Signs only to lay their Story right for Bates is a Man of such a subtle & Character that he is capable of doing any thing, & has been formerly dismiss the Honble Compa Service for frequent Misdemeanours & provided he could conceale some Shees of Gold which he doubt he has done, he might well enough afford to throw in a few Pagodas more or less though thereby he has betrayed himself & this is our firm belief of the Matter but abundantly confirmed by his Confession	deciding who inherits. An intestate estate passes to lawful heirs under whatever law governs, and the deceased left a woman reputed his wife and three children at Manila, a son on the island itself and brothers at Tenerife. The council had neither the authority nor the information to distribute a Spanish subject's property among claimants scattered across three continents, so it ordered the residue paid to the Company and left the determination to London. Allowing Bates his charges for lodging, diet and the funeral before demanding the balance is the council's one concession, and it is a real one. He had housed a dying stranger for fourteen days along with a son and a servant, and buried him, and the law would have allowed those costs against any estate. Stripping him of the gold while paying his reasonable bill separates the debt from the fraud. The discrepancy of twenty nine pagodas that the council attributes to misunderstanding between Bates and Sandegan is worth noting for what it reveals about the mechanics of the deception. The two men could not communicate without Slew, whom they dared not use, so any attempt to align their accounts had to be conducted in signs. Bates over-declared the pagodas while concealing the gold, and the mismatch is what exposed him.
59	56	own Mouth for when We asked him why he concealed so many Shees of Gold he said he was resolved Governour Byfeild should not know how many he had which upon the Matter was declaring that if he had been Questioned by him he would have denied them upon Oath, & if he would have denied them no doubt he has done so now Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 18th April 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that yesterday he went into Sandy Bay Valley in Order to view the Honble Compa Plantation & Lime Kilns there, but the Paths leading thither he found very bad, all the Road which they had formerly made at a great Expençe for it cost them at least three hundred Pounds, being taken into the Inhabitants Plantations by Encroachments at severall times so that now instead of an Extraordinary good way formerly made by Govr Roberts which was a broad enough for a Cart to passe & might & used to be employed there the Path in most Places is not a foot broad & that full of holes & Gulleys so that whenever We shall have Occasion to carry Stone from the Quarry to the Water Side in order to bring them coasted for the Repair of the Fortifications or to bring Stone or Lime directly from thence to the Plantation House or to any other	His own mouth confirmed it. Asked why he had concealed so many shares of gold, he said he was resolved Governor Byfield should not know how many he had, which upon the matter was declaring that if he had been questioned by him he would have denied them upon oath. If he would have denied them then, no doubt he has done so now. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 April 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke reported that he had gone into Sandy Bay Valley the previous day to view the Company's plantation and limekiln there, and found the paths leading to it very bad. The road they had formerly made at great expense, which cost at least £300 0s 0d, had been taken into the inhabitants' plantations by encroachments at several times. Instead of the extraordinarily good way formerly made by Governor Roberts, broad enough for a cart to pass, and which used to be employed, the path in most places is now not a foot broad and full of holes and gullies. Whenever there is occasion to carry stone from the quarry to the water side in order to bring them round for the repair of the fortifications, or to bring stone or lime directly from there to Plantation House or to any other of the Company's houses, there will be no possibility of getting it along. The council therefore ordered Captain Alexander, Captain Goodwin and Mr Crisp to view the roads thereabouts and to make diligent inquiry who the persons are that have presumed to trespass and enclose the Company's highway, so that the necessary care may be taken to recover the same, and that they report on Tuesday next. Interpretations Bates's admission that he meant to keep Governor Byfield from knowing what he held is the council's final proof of intent. Concealment aimed at a specific person establishes that the deception was deliberate rather than the product of confusion or delay, and the council draws the inference that a man prepared to deny the gold on oath to one governor would deny it to another.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of the Companies Houses, there will be no Possibility to get it along We therefore Ordred Capt Alexander, Capt Goodwin & Mr Crispe to view the Roads thereabouts & to make diligent enquiry who the Persons are that have presumed to trespass & Enclose the Honble Companies Highway to the End that necessary Care may be taken in order to recover the same & that they make Report thereof on Tuesday next Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe Margin Notes: State of the Sandy Bay road	The road to Sandy Bay carried the island's building materials, which is why its loss mattered more than any question of convenience. Stone came from the quarry there and lime from the kiln, and both were needed to repair the fortifications that carried 128 pieces of ordnance and to maintain Plantation House and the Company's other buildings. Governor Byfield had rebuilt a kiln in November 1728 and drawn 655 bushels of lime in eighteen days using only the Company's own slaves, so the kiln was in active use. Encroachment on a highway was a slow theft rather than a single act. Each tenant took a little ground into his plantation at successive enclosures until a cart road became a footpath, and no one act was large enough to provoke a complaint. The council's remedy is to identify the persons responsible rather than simply to rebuild, since recovering the ground costs nothing while a new road would cost what the old one did. Governor Roberts had built the road at a charge of £300 0s 0d, which sets the scale of the loss. Against the island's gross annual charge of £4,214 6s 0d for the year to September 1730, a road costing three hundred pounds was a substantial public work, and letting it be absorbed piecemeal into private holdings destroyed an asset the Company could not readily replace. This is Governor Pyke's first substantive act of administration, three weeks into his term, and it follows a personal inspection rather than a report. He went to Sandy Bay himself, found the road gone and brought the matter to the council the next day.
60	57	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 20th April 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Messrs Alexander, Goodwin & Crispe Report that according to the Order of Tuesday last they have viewed all the Pathways in Sandy Bay Valley & upon enquiry find that the old Road made by Governour Roberts for the Honble Company at a great Expence & broad enough for a Cart to passe has been encroached upon & entirely taken away by Jos Bates, John Johnson, Rich Insley, Jonathan Higham, & John Seale, the particulars of which are as follow Vizt Joseph Bates in his lower Peice of Leased Land hath enclosed about fifty Rod of the old Refuse Road that leads towards Sandy Bay Beach, & on the outside of this Enclosure there are about eighty Rods in length very bad their being in one place a Gully of twelve feet deep on the very edge of the Path & so difficult & dangerous that another Man or beast can safely passe Joshua Johnson in his lower peice of Upper Ground hath enclosed about two Rod at the upper end of the old Road & about forty Rod of the upper Enclosure, & round his Iron for sixty or seventy Rods the Path is unspeakably bad & in some parts of it so many Rods together it is not a foot broad & so very much Gullied with the Rains, so that People cant passe on foot with safety what & at all either in a Chain or on Horseback by which means the	At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 April 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Alexander, Captain Goodwin and Mr Crisp reported that, following the order of the previous Tuesday, they had viewed all the pathways in Sandy Bay Valley and upon Bagley's Hill, and that the old road made by Governor Roberts for the Company at great expense, and broad enough for a cart to pass, has been encroached upon or entirely taken away by Joseph Bates, John Johnson, Richard Insley, Jonathan Higham and John Seale. The particulars are as follows. Joseph Bates has enclosed about fifty rods of the old refuse road that led towards Sandy Bay Beach in his lower piece of leasehold land. On the outside of this enclosure there is an ascent of about eighty rods, though very bad, then rising on one place a gully of twelve feet deep on the very edge of the path, and it is difficult and dangerous for another man or beast on horseback to pass. Joshua Johnson has enclosed about two rods at the upper end of the old road, and about forty rods in the upper enclosure, ruining his lane for sixty or seventy rods. The path is impassably bad, or in some parts of it, for many rods together it is not a foot broad and very much gullied with the rains, so that people cannot pass on foot with safety. What at all, either in a chain or on horseback, by which means the limbs of all persons who are obliged to carry loads that may be so much endangered, and it is our opinion that it is not possible to make a good cartway where they had taken in without a vast deal of labour and difficulty, the hill side next the wall being very steep and rocky. Richard Insley has enclosed about sixty rods of the old refuse road, and where the path now is, in our opinion no cartway can possibly be made by reason of the precipices, gullies and other difficulties that are in the way. Though through this enclosure from four or five rods below the gate appears to lay close to about seventy rods through Boney Plain, which is about thirty five rods in all a cartway may be made to go on

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Limbs of all Persons who are obliged to carry Loads that way are much endangered & there are of Opinion that it is not possible to make a good Cartway where they had Path is without a vast deall of Labour & difficulty the Hill Side next the Wall being very steep & Rocky Richard Insley hath Enclosed about Sixty Rod of the old Refuse Road & where the Path there is in our Opinion no Cartway can possible be made by reason of the Precipices, Gulleys & other Difficulties that are in the way though through this Enclosure from four or five Rod below the Gate appears to the House to about Seventy Rod through Money Plain which is about thirty five Rod in all a Cartway may be made to go on the most Extraordinary Side of the Wall that Encloses a Peice of Upper which will lead Money Plain & will now not going athwart the Main Water Course in Severall Places & much more convenient than where the Pathway is at present John Seale & those Persons who formerly possessed his Lease Land called the Sugars Cane Plantation have Enclosed forty five or fifty Rod of the old Refuse Road that leads to the Sea, & the & unless the other way & Small Peice of Land that hath been added to the upper end of his Plantation there now in a manner Wast & subject to be washed away by Floods & in our Opinion no Cartway can be Severally made on the outside, the Wall by reason of the danger & damage that will inevitably happen with the height of the Rainy Seasons the Pathway at present being in & athwart the Main Water Course in Severall Places & somewhat difficult to get over besides the crossing all these Water Courses which in this Valley very often gathers in great Quantities & in our Opinion ought by all Means to be avoided as possible, there being not less than three or two Places to cross the Steam of Water is very inconvenient in many other Respects, the said John Seale hath likewise Enclosed on the other Peice of Land next to Sandy Bay Beach of about fifty Rods in length on the outside of which unless a good Cartway may be made to the Lime Kilns, & in our Opinion as other Road is necessary to be made where the Path at present is very bad over a Small Hill to Sandy Bay Beach for the greater use & Security of carrying Cask & Stone & other Provisions to the Landing Place in order to be brought by Water in Boats for repairing the Fortifications or other Buildings Jonathan Higham the Severall Persons who formerly possessed the Lease Land now in the Possession of Capt Goodwin, with what We we he hath some made Path, Enclosed & upon or Justified & Road of the old Road though on the outside of this Wall where the Path now is a very good Cartway may easily be made & will be near upon a Line with that of Insley if carryed through part of Money Plain	the west slope on the west side of the wall that encloses a piece of ground, which will lead nearly the north wall from and going athwart the main water course in several places is much more convenient than where the pathway is at present. John Seale and those persons who formerly possessed his leasehold land, called the Sugar Cane plantation, have enclosed forty five or fifty rods of the old refuse road that leads to the sea. There is likewise a small piece of land that has been added to the upper end of his plantation, and it lies now in a manner waste and subject to be washed away by floods. It is our opinion no cartway can be securely made on the outside, the wall by reason of the danger and damage that will inevitably happen with the slightest of the rainy seasons. The pathway at present lying athwart the main water course in several places is somewhat difficult to get over, besides the washing off these water courses, which in this valley are often gathered in great quantities, and in our opinion ought to go at least to be avoided as often as possible, there being not less than three or four places to cross the stream of water, which is very inconvenient in many other respects. John Seale has likewise enclosed another piece of land next to Sandy Bay Beach, of about sixty rods in length, on the outside of which enclosure a good road may be made to the limekiln, and it is our opinion no other road is necessary to be made where the path at present is very bad over a small hill to Sandy Bay Beach, for the greater ease and security in carrying out stone to the southern part of the landing place, in order to be brought by water in boats for repairing the fortifications or other buildings. Jonathan Higham and those several persons who formerly possessed his leasehold land, now in the possession of Captain Goodwin, have with what care he has since made, and enclosed sixty or seventy rods of the old road, though on the outside of this wall, where the path now is, a very good cartway may easily be made, and lies near upon a line with that of Insley's if carried through part of Boney Plain. It appearing by this report that the several persons above mentioned have Interpretations A rod was a linear measure of sixteen and a half feet, so the encroachments run to considerable distances. Bates has taken about fifty rods, Johnson forty two, Insley sixty, Seale up to fifty with a further sixty at the beach, and Higham as much as seventy. Together they amount to well over a mile of a road built to carry carts, and each man has simply run his boundary wall across it. The surveyors distinguish between ground that can be recovered cheaply and ground that cannot, which is what makes the report useful rather than merely accusatory. Where a cartway can still be cut outside a wall, as at Insley's and Higham's holdings and along the beach below Seale's, they say so. Where the hillside is too steep and rocky, as beside Johnson's enclosure, they report that no road can be made without vast labour, which means the Company must reclaim the enclosed ground itself or lose the route. The water courses running athwart the path in Sandy Bay Valley are the reason a road there needed engineering rather than mere clearing. St Helena's valleys carry sudden heavy flows in the rainy season, and a path crossing a stream three or four times is impassable when the water rises. Governor Roberts's original road had been laid out to avoid those crossings, which is precisely the advantage lost when the route was absorbed into private plantations. Joseph Bates heads the list of encroachers, thirteen days after the same council found him to have concealed a dead stranger's gold and destroyed a will. His appearance in both matters within a fortnight is

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		It appearing by this Report that the Sevrall Persons above mentioned have Margin Notes: Sandy Bay roads Encroachments	not coincidence in the record's own terms: the council had described him as a man capable of anything and previously dismissed from the Company's service for frequent misdemeanours. The purpose behind the whole inquiry appears in the reference to carrying stone to the landing place for the fortifications. St Helena had no sheltered harbour, so heavy material moved by sea in boats from Sandy Bay round to James Valley, and the road to the beach was the first stage of that journey. Without it the quarry and the limekiln were effectively cut off from the works they supplied.
61	58	have very unjustifiably encroached upon & destroyed the old Cart road by which the Honble Company & as who have Occasion to passe that way have been much Injured, for which reason though it would be but just to compell all the Offenders to throw out & make good all that they have so Encroached upon & to lawfully Enclosed, nevertheless being unwilling to do any thing that may be prejudiciall to any of them, We are content that all their Fences & Enclosures shall be Insufficient in the Condition they now are in provided each of them will engage to make away in feet wide on the outside of their Fences as nearly Straight Line as the Ground will permit & where this cannot be done all those who have Occasion to passe between the Ridge & Sandy Bay Beach shall have Liberty to go on in the direct Pathway the old Cartway through any Plantation or any Encroachment whatsoever This Morning a French Ship arrived here from China but before We suffered her to come in We carefully Examined her Commission which was dated 3 October 1700 signed by the Count of Bouloigne Admirall of France, & is Commanded by Monsr De la Ville dumont Gardin, burthen five hundred & Sixty Tons, Twenty Six Gunns, One hundred & twenty Men & is called the Mercury Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Wednesday 3 May 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day Assembled & paid the Garrison from 24 March to 30th of last Month On Sunday last a French Ship called Le Dange Mary & Baudry Ramy of Six hundred & fifty Tons Twenty Six Gunns One hundred & thirty Men arrived here from China & just before we suffered her to come in We strictly Examined her Commission which was dated 3 of October 1700 & Signed by the Count of Toulouse Admirall of France	They have very unjustifiably encroached upon and destroyed the old cart road, and both the Company and everyone else with occasion to pass that way have been much injured by it. The council held that it would be perfectly just to compel every offender to throw out and make good all he had enclosed, but it was unwilling to do anything prejudicial to any of them. It therefore agreed that the fences and enclosures might stand in their present condition, on condition that each man opened a way ten feet wide outside his own fence, running as nearly straight as the ground allowed. Where that could not be done, anyone with occasion to pass between the ridge and Sandy Bay Beach was to have liberty to go by the direct line of the old cart road through any plantation or enclosure whatever. A French ship arrived from China that morning. The council examined her commission carefully before allowing her into the road, and found it dated 3 October 1730 and signed by the Count of Toulouse, Admiral of France. She proved to be the <i>Mercury</i>, commanded by Monsieur De la Ville Dumont Gardin, of 560 tons and 26 guns with 121 men. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Wednesday 5 May 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council assembled and paid the garrison from 25 March to 30 April last. A French ship named the <i>Le Danaë</i> arrived the previous Sunday under Monsieur Baudry, of 650 tons and 20 guns with 130 men. The council examined her commission strictly before suffering her to come in, and found it dated 3 October 1730 and signed by the Count of Toulouse, Admiral of France. Joseph Bates petitioned the council, setting out that he had found another witness, a slave named Philip, who had something to say about the legacy bequeathed to him by Don John de Mesa y Aniento. He asked the council to hear what Philip had to say concerning the promise. The petition was dated 3 May 1731. The council took Philip's examination at Bates's request, before Governor Pyke on 3 May 1731. Philip was asked what he knew about the disposal of the goods and effects of Don John de Mesa y Aniento, the Spaniard who died at Bates's house about Interpretations The settlement over the road traded legal right for practical result. The council stated plainly that it could compel every encroacher to pull down his walls and restore the cart road, then declined to do so. Each man instead had to open a way ten feet wide outside his own fence, and where the ground made that impossible the public kept a right of passage straight through the plantation. The Company recovered a usable route at no cost and without ruining five tenants' enclosures, which was cheaper than either

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The following Petition of Jos Bates was presented & read To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Councill The humble Petition of Jos Bates Sheweth That Your Petr hath got an other Evidence one Philip a Negro Slave, who hath something to Say in Your Petr's behalf concerning the Legacy bequeathed to Your Petr by Don John de Mesa y Amento deceased Your Petr therefore humbly prays that Your Worship & Councill will be pleased to hear what the said Slave hath to Say touching the Premisses And Your Petr as in Duty bound shall ever pray Joseph Bates 3 May 1702 At the desire of the Petr the Examination of the said Philip was accordingly taken & is as followeth Vizt The Examination of Philip a Negro Slave taken before me Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr of the Island St Helena this 3 May 1702 This Examinant being asked what he knew concerning the Disposall of the Goods or Effects of Don John de Mesa y Amento a Spaniard who died at the House of Jos Bates about the	demolition or building afresh at the £300 0s 0d the original road had cost. Preserving a right of way through private ground where no bypass could be cut was the more significant half of the arrangement. It left the encroachers holding land subject to a public passage exercisable at any time, so the enclosures were tolerated rather than confirmed, and the Company's claim survived in a form that cost nothing to maintain. Two French vessels arrived within a fortnight, both carrying commissions dated 3 October 1730 and signed by the Count of Toulouse, which indicates a squadron dispatched together from France. The Count of Toulouse was Admiral of France, an illegitimate son of Louis the Fourteenth, and his signature authenticated the papers of French merchantmen as a royal commission did for English ships. The council examined both before admitting either to the road, following the practice applied to the Danish <i>Cronenburg</i> on 28 January 1729 and to the <i>Royalle Philip</i> from Pondicherry in January 1731. Bates produced a fresh witness a month after the council found the deceased intestate, which shows him refusing to accept the ruling. His difficulty was structural rather than evidential. The statute required three witnesses present together at the making of a spoken will, and Slew and Sandegan had both sworn they were never in the room at the same time, so a fourth witness testifying separately added nothing to a case that had failed on that ground. That the new witness was a slave mattered to the weight his evidence could carry. The council had repeatedly found itself unable to convict anyone of attacking the Company's goats because the testimony of blacks was inadmissible, most explicitly on 21 January 1729. Bates was offering, in a matter concerning a considerable estate, exactly the class of evidence the island's own courts had refused to act upon.
62	59	the 10th of Febry last sayth that he the Examinant attended upon the deceased in his Sickness & that he severall times talked to this Examinant about making a Will & that he this Examinant told him there was no body here that might give & that the deceased then said that if he could find no body here to make a Will he gave all he had to Mr Bates to find his Child Cloths as long as he lived, being asked what Condition the Spaniard was in when he was at this Estate & Answered that he was extreemly low & weak & so continued till the time of his Death, being asked what Countryman he this Examinant was sayth that he was born at Goa from thence went to Cheer in a Portuguez Man of War & from thence to Tranquebar & then he got into the Service of a Danish Gentleman who brought here & said him, being asked why he was put into Irons on board the Ship that brought him, sayth it is true he was put into Irons that were very Large and Weighty & that he was brought on Shoar with them on but that he never did any thing to deserve such Punishment, being asked if he had not lately been often with Sam Bates this Examinant sayth that he hath lately been often at Bates's has layed there severall Nights & that he was allways	The tenth of February last, said that he had attended upon the deceased in his sickness, that he had several times talked to this examinant about making a will, and that he had told him there was nobody here who could make one. He said that the deceased then replied that since he could find nobody here to make a will he gave all he had to Bates, to find him with clothes as long as he lived. Being asked what condition the Spaniard was in when he spoke at this date, he answered that he was extremely low and weak and continued so till the time of his death. Being asked what countryman he was, this examinant said he was born at Goa, went from there into Portuguese country, in a man of war and from thence to Tranquebar, and then got into the service of a Danish gentleman who brought him there. Being asked why he was put into irons on board the ship that brought him there, he said it was true he had been put into irons that were very large and weighty, and that he had been brought on shore in them, but that he never did anything to deserve such punishment. Being asked if he had not lately been often with Bates, he said this examinant had lately been often at Bates's house, three or four nights, and that he had always been treated by Bates with a dinner and supper and a French at each meal. Being asked if he had never heard the deceased talk of sending for the Governor and council in order to make a will, he said that when the deceased was weakest in his senses he was very ill and much impaired by the sickness he had died of, and did talk of sending for the Governor and council in order to make a will. Taken before Isaac Pyke on 3 May 1731. Signed with the mark of Philip.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		treated by Bates with a Dinner & Supper & French at each Meale being asked if he never heard the deceased talk of sending for the Govr & Councill in order to make a Will, sayth that when the deceased was worst in his Sences that he was very ill & hath impaired by Signs to the deed did talk of sending for the Governour & Councill in order to make a Will Taken before me this 3 May Anno Dom 1702 Isa Pyke The Philip Mark Philip The said Bates likewise presented the following Paper which he desired might be read Vizt St Helena 17 March 1701/2 To all to whom these may come, I know Ye that Don Juan de Mesa y Amento late Governour of the Philippine Islands of Manila & Passenger on board a French Ship, which arrived at the said Island the 27 Janry in the Year 1701/2 & through the theirs extream Indisposition of him the aforesaid Govr, he thought it would conduce much to the Reparation of his unhappy Malady to leave the said Ship & dwell sometime on this said Island, but it pleased Almighty God that he did not long Survive but deceased the 10 of February ensuing the aforesaid Date at the House of Mr Jos Bates & being moved by Consideration of the said Jos Bates's most indefatigable Care & Indulgence to him during his said Illness, he thought it proper as a just & full recompence to give free vent unto him the said Jos Bates by his Ability to give this proper use & behoof, all & singular his Goods & Effects, of what nature kind or Quality soever that he the said Don Juan de Mesa y Amento had in his actual Possession at the time of his decease as afore said This We the Subscribers do absolutely pronounce & declare to be the exact Truth, & shall be ready to testify the same upon Oath when need or Occasion requires, & in Witness thereof We have hereunto set our hands & Seales the day & year abovewritten John Clow Miguel Sandegan The Philip Mark Philip Witnessed by Nestor Rogers Daniel Griffith Jos Beale Mr Whit our Chaplain having heard that Jos Bates Claimed the Effects of the Gentleman who died at his House as given to him this day attended & acquainted Us that the said Bates had talked to him in a manner quite the Reverse & quoted all Claim & Pretence thereto & that he was willing & desired to be Examined about this Affair giving for	Bates likewise presented the following paper, which he desired might be read. St Helena, 4 March 1731. To all to whom these may come, know that Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento, late Governor of the island of Manila, and a passenger on board a Danish ship which arrived at this island on 27 January in the year 1731, thoroughly weary of the extreme indisposition of him aforesaid, thought it would conduce much to the reparation of his unhappy malady to leave the ship and dwell sometime on this island. But it pleased Almighty God that he did not long survive, but deceased the tenth of February. Enjoying the aforesaid date at the house of Mr Joseph Bates, and being moved by consideration of Joseph Bates's indefatigable care and indulgence to him during his illness, he thought it proper as a gratitude, and being through it to give free vent unto him, that Joseph Bates by liberality to him for his proper use and behoof all and singular his goods and effects of what nature or kind or quality soever that he, the said Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento, had in his actual possession at the time of his decease as aforesaid. This the subscribers do absolutely pronounce and declare to be the exact truth, and that they were ready to testify the same upon oath whensoever required, and in witness whereof they have hereunto set their hands and seals the day and year above written. Signed John Slew, Miguel Sandegan and Philip with his mark. Witnessed by Walter Rogers, Daniel Griffith and Joseph Beale. Mr White, the chaplain, having heard that Bates claimed the effects of the gentleman who died at his house as given to him, informed the council that Bates had talked to him in a manner quite the reverse of his claim, and had told him he was unwilling and refused to be examined about the affair, giving for reason that he did not believe great wrong and injury were designed by Bates against the deceased and his children. His examination was immediately taken as follows. The examination of John White, clerk, chaplain of the island of St Helena, taken before Isaac Pyke, Governor of the island, this 3 May 1731. Interpretations Philip's evidence collapses under the questions the council put to it. He was asked why he had been carried ashore in heavy irons, and gave no explanation beyond denying he had deserved them. He was asked whether he had lately been at Bates's house, and admitted staying three or four nights and being given dinner, supper and drink at every meal. A witness lodged, fed and entertained by the claimant, produced a month after the case was decided, was not one the council could weigh independently. More damaging still, Philip confirmed the very fact that had defeated the claim. Asked whether the deceased had talked of sending for the Governor and council to make a will, he answered that he had. That was the substance of the surgeon Brown's deposition and the reason the council had found the deceased intestate: a man who wanted the island's magistrates to witness his will had plainly not already disposed of everything by word of mouth to his landlord. The written declaration is dated 4 March 1731, three weeks after the death and more than a month before Bates first came to the council. It is a document assembled after the fact by the three men Bates could reach, and its language is not that of a dying Spaniard but of someone drafting a claim. It also promotes the deceased to late Governor of Manila, which sits oddly against Sandegan's sworn account of a man with a wife, three children and a household there. Chaplain White's intervention came from outside the circle Bates controlled. He reported that Bates had

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Reason of the like design that he believed great Wrong & Injuries were designed by the said Bates, against the deceased & his Children, this Examination was immediately taken & is as follows Vizt The Examination of Jno White Clerk Chaplain of the Island St Helena taken before me Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr of the said Island this 3 May 1702 This	spoken to him in terms quite contrary to the claim now advanced, and that Bates had refused examination because he feared what would emerge about the wrong intended to the deceased and his children. A witness who volunteered evidence against the man's interest, having no stake in the estate, carried a weight none of Bates's own witnesses could. The signatures on the declaration are the same three men whose sworn examinations had already destroyed the case. Slew swore the deceased never spoke to him about a will; Sandegan swore his master expressly told him not to declare anything to Bates or anyone else; and Philip has now confirmed the request for the Governor and council. Their names on a paper drawn up weeks afterwards prove only that Bates obtained their marks, not that any of them witnessed a bequest.
<u>63</u>	60	This Examinant being asked what he knew or had heard from Jos Bates or others concerning the Spanish Gentleman that lately died at the House of the said Bates sayth that after the said Spaniard was Wast his Sences & almost Speechless he the said Bates did tell this Examinant that he the said Bates had been told by the said Spaniards own Mouth thro Servant the Interpreter or by the Portuguese Blacks that he said Spanish Gentleman had left a Last Will or Testament either with his Family at the Manillas or had sent a Copy thereof & order about his Child & Effects by the French Ship that landed him here in order to have Accounts taken by the returning Shipping & that in the mean while Bates was to be his Trustee for his Child & Effects & that after the said Spaniard was Senseless or after his Death he is not certain which the said Bates also told this Examinant that he did not expect any thing more than to be paid for the Trouble he the said Bates had been at & desired this Examt to make out his Bills of Buriall & cca which the said Bates said should be kept with other Accounts in order to be Shewn to the Relations of the deceased Jurat 3 die Maii 1702 Coram me, Isa Pyke Geo White Upon farther Consideration of this Business We find reason to conclude that the whole is a Scene of Fraud & that all the Wittnesses such as they are whom Bates has produced have been Tampered with & Seduced by him for it is plain by the Examination of Hans Sandegan & Philip that the deceased when in his Sences was very desirous to have made a Will but was & Indisposition & prevented from so doing by the means & Contrivance of the said Bates who by some thought People foolishly believed he should get his Effects & that they have been Seduced & Corrupted is certain because what they have each affirmed & Signed to in their Paper of the 17 March is directly	The examinant was asked what he knew or had heard from Joseph Bates or others concerning the Spanish gentleman who lately died at Bates's house. He said that after the Spaniard was past his senses and almost speechless, Bates told this examinant that he had been informed by the Spaniard's own mouth, through the interpreter or by the Portuguese blacks, that the Spanish gentleman had left a last will or testament either with his family at Manila or had sent a copy of it, and an order about his child and effects, by the Danish ship that landed him here, so that accounts could be taken by the returning shipping. In the meantime Bates was to be trustee for his child and effects. Whether the Spaniard was senseless before or after his death he could not say, but Bates told this examinant that he did not expect anything more than to be paid for the trouble he had been at. He advised this examinant to make out his bills for burial charges, which Bates said should be kept with the other accounts in order to be shown to the relations of the deceased. Sworn on 3 May 1731 before Isaac Pyke. Signed George White. Upon further consideration of the business the council found reason to conclude that the whole was a scene of forgery, and that all the witnesses, such as they were, whom Bates had produced had been tampered with and seduced by him, as is plain by the examinations of Slew, Sandegan and Philip. The deceased, when in his senses, was very desirous to have made a will in due form and indifferently, and was prevented from doing so by the means and contrivance of Bates, who by concert with these people foolishly believed he should get his effects. That they have been seduced and corrupted is certain, because what they have each affirmed and signed to in their paper of 4 March is directly contradicted by their examinations taken upon oath on the seventh of April following. For that reason their testimony was material, and neither is, so far from the case, that they ought not to be believed in this or upon any other occasion. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 May 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts from 24 March 1731 to the 30 April following. Account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and the rest, from 24 March 1731 to the 30 April following. Interpretations White's evidence is the most damaging in the file because it records what Bates said before he saw the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Contradicted by their Examinations taken upon Oath the 7 of April following & for that reason was their Testimony materiall & neither is for from the case they ought not to be believed in this or upon any other occasion Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 9th May 1701 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, Captain Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accompts from 24 March 1701 to the 30th of April following Vizt Account of the Honble Companies Stock of Neat Cattle &c from 24 March 1701 to the 30 of April following Vizt	gold. On the chaplain's account Bates described himself at the time as a trustee holding the child's property until the family at Manila could be reached, expected nothing beyond payment for his trouble, and advised White to prepare his burial bill for showing to the relations. That is the account of a man discharging an obligation, not of a legatee. The council's finding of forgery rests on a simple comparison of dates. The three witnesses signed a paper on 4 March declaring that the deceased had given everything to Bates, then swore on 7 April to facts that contradicted it. Two accounts from the same men cannot both stand, and the sworn examinations were taken separately under questioning while the paper was drawn up in Bates's interest and presented by him. Declaring the witnesses unfit to be believed on any future occasion goes beyond the present case. On an island of a few hundred inhabitants where disputes turned constantly on sworn testimony, stripping three men of credit permanently was a substantial penalty, and it fell on a slave, a servant and an interpreter rather than on the man who had procured their signatures. The council's charge that Bates prevented the deceased from making a proper will draws together the surgeon Brown's deposition, Philip's admission and White's account. A dying man asked for the Governor and council to attend, the request never reached them, and the only person positioned to carry it was his landlord. Whether by design or neglect, the effect was to leave an estate with no instrument governing it. Bates has now failed on every ground. The statute defeated the spoken bequest, the witnesses contradicted themselves, the chaplain contradicted Bates, and his own pocket book recorded him destroying a will twelve or fifteen years earlier. The council had already ordered him to account for what he had spent and repay the balance to the Company for the heirs, and nothing in the fresh evidence disturbs that.
64	61	Neat Cattle Sheep Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 24 March: Bullocks 50, Cowes 127, Heifers 25, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 150, Bulls 4, Totall 436, Ewes 50, Wethers 15, Lambs 16, Rams 3, Totall 84, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 4, Pigs 38, Boats 3, Totall 84, Turkeys 16, Fowles 24, Ducks 6, Geese 9, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Bought for a Breed: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 5, Wethers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 1, Totall 10, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 72, Fowles 356, Ducks 60, Geese 4, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 50, Cowes 127, Heifers 25, Steers 22, Yearlings 58, Calves 150, Bulls 4, Totall 436, Ewes 55, Wethers 15, Lambs 20, Rams 4, Totall 94, Sowes 15, Shoates 24, Barrows 4, Pigs 38, Boats 3, Totall 84, Turkeys 88, Fowles 380, Ducks 66, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 22, Cowes 8, Heifers 15, Steers 25, Yearlings 90, Calves 5, Bulls 1, Totall 166, Ewes 3, Wethers 13, Lambs 13, Rams 0, Totall 29, Sowes 6, Shoates 30, Barrows 17, Pigs 30, Boats 0, Totall 83, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 72, Cowes 135, Heifers 40, Steers 47, Yearlings 148, Calves 155, Bulls 5, Totall 602, Ewes 58, Wethers 28, Lambs 33, Rams 4, Totall 123, Sowes 21,	Account of the Company's stock from 24 March 1731 to 30 April following. Remaining 24 March: 50 bullocks, 127 cows, 26 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 150 calves, 4 bulls, 436 neat cattle in all; 50 ewes, 15 wethers, 16 lambs, 3 rams, 84 sheep in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 4 barrows, 38 pigs, 3 boars, 84 hogs in all; 16 turkeys, 24 fowls, 6 ducks, 9 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Bought for a breed: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 5 ewes, 0 wethers, 4 lambs, 1 ram, 10 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 72 turkeys, 356 fowls, 60 ducks, 4 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after purchase: 50 bullocks, 127 cows, 25 heifers, 22 steers, 58 yearlings, 150 calves, 4 bulls, 436 neat cattle in all; 55 ewes, 15 wethers, 20 lambs, 4 rams, 94 sheep in all; 15 sows, 24 shoats, 4 barrows, 38 pigs, 3 boars, 84 hogs in all; 88 turkeys, 380 fowls, 66 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Increased in the same: 22 bullocks, 8 cows, 15 heifers, 25 steers, 90 yearlings, 5 calves, 1 bull, 166 neat cattle in all; 3 ewes, 13 wethers, 13 lambs, 0 rams, 29 sheep in all; 6 sows, 30 shoats, 17 barrows, 30 pigs, 0 boars, 83 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after increase: 72 bullocks, 136 cows, 40 heifers, 47 steers, 148 yearlings, 155 calves, 5 bulls, 602 neat cattle in all; 58 ewes, 28 wethers, 33 lambs, 4 rams, 123 sheep in all; 21 sows, 54 shoats, 21 barrows, 68 pigs, 3 boars, 167 hogs in all; 88 turkeys, 380 fowls, 66 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Shoates 54, Barrows 21, Pigs 68, Boats 3, Totall 167, Turkeys 88, Fowles 380, Ducks 66, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Cattle Sheep & Hoggs Cutt & Grown: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 8, Steers 22, Yearlings 41, Calves 90, Bulls 0, Totall 161, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 16, Rams 0, Totall 16, Sows 0, Shoates 23, Barrows 0, Pigs 30, Boats 0, Totall 53, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 72, Cowes 135, Heifers 32, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 65, Bulls 5, Totall 441, Ewes 58, Wethers 28, Lambs 17, Rams 4, Totall 107, Sows 21, Shoates 31, Barrows 21, Pigs 38, Boats 3, Totall 114, Turkeys 88, Fowles 380, Ducks 66, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 3, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 5, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 5, Sows 0, Shoates 1, Barrows 1, Pigs 5, Boats 0, Totall 7, Turkeys 6, Fowles 64, Ducks 6, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 69, Cowes 135, Heifers 32, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 65, Bulls 5, Totall 438, Ewes 58, Wethers 23, Lambs 17, Rams 4, Totall 102, Sows 21, Shoates 30, Barrows 20, Pigs 33, Boats 3, Totall 107, Turkeys 82, Fowles 316, Ducks 60, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Sold in ditto: Bullocks 3, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 1, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 66, Cowes 135, Heifers 31, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 65, Bulls 5, Totall 434, Ewes 58, Wethers 23, Lambs 17, Rams 4, Totall 102, Sows 21, Shoates 30, Barrows 20, Pigs 33, Boats 3, Totall 107, Turkeys 82, Fowles 316, Ducks 60, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 1, Fowles 2, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 30 April: Bullocks 66, Cowes 135, Heifers 31, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 65, Bulls 5, Totall 434, Ewes 57, Wethers 23, Lambs 17, Rams 4, Totall 101, Sows 21, Shoates 30, Barrows 20, Pigs 33, Boats 3, Totall 107, Turkeys 81, Fowles 314, Ducks 60, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7	Cattle, sheep and hogs cut and grown in the same: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 8 heifers, 22 steers, 41 yearlings, 90 calves, 0 bulls, 161 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 16 lambs, 0 rams, 16 sheep in all; 0 sows, 23 shoats, 0 barrows, 30 pigs, 0 boars, 53 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after reclassification: 72 bullocks, 136 cows, 32 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 65 calves, 5 bulls, 441 neat cattle in all; 58 ewes, 28 wethers, 17 lambs, 4 rams, 107 sheep in all; 21 sows, 31 shoats, 21 barrows, 38 pigs, 3 boars, 114 hogs in all; 88 turkeys, 380 fowls, 66 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Killed in the same: 3 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 3 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 5 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 5 sheep in all; 0 sows, 1 shoat, 1 barrow, 5 pigs, 0 boars, 7 hogs in all; 6 turkeys, 64 fowls, 6 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 69 bullocks, 136 cows, 32 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 65 calves, 5 bulls, 438 neat cattle in all; 58 ewes, 23 wethers, 17 lambs, 4 rams, 102 sheep in all; 21 sows, 30 shoats, 20 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 107 hogs in all; 82 turkeys, 316 fowls, 60 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Sold in the same: 3 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 4 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after sale: 66 bullocks, 136 cows, 31 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 65 calves, 5 bulls, 434 neat cattle in all; 58 ewes, 23 wethers, 17 lambs, 4 rams, 102 sheep in all; 21 sows, 30 shoats, 20 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 107 hogs in all; 82 turkeys, 316 fowls, 60 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Dead in the same: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 1 ewe, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 1 turkey, 2 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Remaining 30 April: 66 bullocks, 135 cows, 31 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 65 calves, 5 bulls, 434 neat cattle in all; 57 ewes, 23 wethers, 17 lambs, 4 rams, 101 sheep in all; 21 sows, 30 shoats, 20 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 107 hogs in all; 81 turkeys, 314 fowls, 60 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Interpretations The purchase of 356 fowls, 72 turkeys, 60 ducks and 4 geese has no parallel anywhere in this record, and it marks Governor Pyke's arrival more clearly than any other entry. The flock had fallen to 24 fowls by 24 March after months of heavy slaughter and death, and buying nearly four hundred birds at once restored the poultry yard in a single stroke. Fowls had been the heaviest item at the fort's table through the summer of 1730, 206 having been charged in August alone, so the stock had been consumed faster than it could breed. Ten sheep bought for breeding are more significant than their number suggests. The inhabitants voted on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island, and the council resolved to kill the Company's stock also. The goat herd was extinguished by February 1731, and the flock had been left to dwindle, yet the new Governor is now buying rams and ewes to build it up. Whether Pyke considered himself bound by his predecessor's undertaking is not stated, but the purchase runs directly against it. The increase of 166 head of neat cattle across five weeks is the largest in this series, and the reclassification of 161 animals between categories immediately afterwards shows the herd being restated at the values proper to each class. The account covers

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			the opening of the Company's new year on 25 March, which is when such adjustments fell due. Sixty four fowls killed against 316 remaining shows the table consuming the new stock at once. Three vessels touched during the period, two French ships and the shipping that had arrived in March, and the list of eaters at the general table of 30 September 1730 allowed nine places in shipping time for commanders, supercargoes and passengers of note. The goat column has now been dropped from the table entirely, the heading itself gone from the ruled columns. Feral goats survived on St Helena long after this period, so the books record the end of the Company's herd rather than the end of goats on the island.
65	62	Expence of the Table from 24 March 1701 to the 30 April following being near Six Weeks 904 Beef 11 6 5 Sheep 5 6 111 Pork 2 15 6 5 Pigs 1 10 18 1/2lb Butter 18 6 6 Turkeys 1 10 6 Ducks 9 64 Fowles 4 16 38 Days Greens 1 18 176 Bowles Milk 1 5 4 51 Galls Arrack 16 3 18 Galls Port 6 19 6 8 Galls Sherry 3 2 91lb Sugar 2 5 6 30 Candy 1 1 6 8 Bottles Oyle 1 14 3 Galls Vinegar 7 6 2lb Pepper 2 1 Cask Flowr 3 15 67 9 4 11 Galls Arrack deld the Guards 3 4 8 10 ditto deld the Blacks 3 3 4 38lb Sugar deld to Guards & Blacks 19 10lb Soap 10 10 15 Candles 1 10 9 12 10 Gunners Stores Expended from 24 March 1701 to 30 April following 1701 March 24 To Salute Govr Byfeild at going off 21 1 4 1 15 41 1702	Expense of the table from 24 March 1731 to 30 April following, being near six weeks. 904 lb of beef, £11 6s 0d 5 sheep, £5 0s 0d 111 lb of pork, £2 16s 6d 5 pigs, £1 10s 0d 18.5 lb of butter, £0 18s 6d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 6 ducks, £0 6s 0d 64 fowls, £4 16s 0d 38 days of greens, £1 18s 0d 176 bottles of milk, £1 5s 4d 51 gallons of arrack, £16 3s 0d 18 gallons of port, £6 19s 6d 8 gallons of sherry, £3 2s 0d 91 lb of sugar, £2 5s 6d 30 lb of candy, £1 2s 6d 8 bottles of oil, £1 14s 0d 3 gallons of vinegar, £0 7s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 6d 1 cask of flour, £3 15s 0d Total, £67 9s 4d 11 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards, £3 9s 8d 10 gallons delivered to the slaves, £3 3s 4d 38 lb of sugar delivered to the guards and slaves, £0 19s 0d 10 lb of soap, £0 10s 10d 15 lb of candles, £1 10s 0d Total, £9 12s 10d Gunner's stores expended from 24 March 1731 to 30 April following. 24 March, salute to Governor Byfield at his going off: 21 guns fired, 1 demi-culverin, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 15 falcons, 41 lb of powder 24 March, the Caesar, Macclesfield and James and Mary sailed: 27 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 22 falcons, 41 lb of powder 29 March, the Enfield sailed: 16 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 16 falcons, 16 lb of powder 29 March, signals made to the Enfield to send her boat: 4 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 1 falcon, 1 lb of powder 25 April, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 25 April, arrival of a French ship: 9 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 29 April, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 30 April, arrival of another French ship: 7 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 7 falcons, 7 lb of powder Muster day, 0 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 7 lb of powder Expense of the guard and firing their pouches, 0 guns fired, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 20 lb of powder

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		do Caesar Macclesfield & James & Mary Sailed 27 4 1 22 41 29 Enfield Sailed 16 16 16 do Signe made to the Enfield to send her Boat 1 1 1 April 25 An Allarm 4 4 12 do Arrived a French Ship 9 4 9 29 An Allarm 4 4 12 30 Arrived another French Ship 7 7 7 Muster Day 20 Expence of the Guards & fixing their Powches Musquett Balls 6lb Cartridge Paper 5 Quire 89 1 8 10 70 168 Parchment Skins 2 Match 12lb Bunting to mend the Flags 15 Yards Thread 1lb Twine 1lb Signed Jno French	Musket balls, 6 lb Cartridge paper, 5 quires Parchment skins, 2 Match, 12 lb Bunting to mend the flags, 15 yards Thread, 1 lb Twine, 1 lb Total: 89 guns fired, 1 demi-culverin, 8 sakers, 10 minions, 70 falcons, 168 lb of powder Signed: John French. Interpretations The twenty one guns fired for Edward Byfield at his departure on 24 March match the honour given to William Chapple, late governor of Bombay, on going aboard on 17 May 1729, and the royal salutes for the King's and Queen's birthdays. It closed a governorship that had run from February 1727 through to the handover of the castle keys to Isaac Pyke on 25 March 1731. The table account of £67 9s 4d covers near six weeks and stands well above any monthly figure in the previous year, the highest of which was £76 7s 2d in June 1730 when four ships were entertained ashore. Sixty four fowls and 904 lb of beef in a single period point to a household considerably enlarged, and the purchase of nearly four hundred birds during the same weeks suggests the new Governor had brought his own establishment with him. Port at 18 gallons against sherry at 8 gallons reverses the proportion that held throughout Byfield's tenure, when sherry ran consistently heavier at the fort's table. The change of governor has evidently changed what was drunk at it. Fifteen yards of bunting charged to mending the flags continues the maintenance recorded in February 1731, when 46 yards were issued for a new flag at Munden's Point with a bag to keep it from moths. Bunting was the loosely woven worsted from which flags and signals were made, and the gunner's inventory of 30 September 1730 had carried nine union flags and two pennants. The signal of four guns to the <i>Enfield</i> to send her boat shows the guns used for communication rather than ceremony or defence. St Helena had no sheltered harbour and no means of reaching a vessel in the road except by boat, so a ship that needed to be summoned had to be summoned by powder.
66	63	Collection of Goods Sold & delivered from 24 March 1701 to 30th of April following Vizt 92 Galls Arrack 28 12 8 11:0:3 Sugar 29 10 53lb Candy 1 19 9 80lb Bread 10 12:-:19 Flowr 15 80 Baggs Iron 24 30 Pr Chelloe 21 7 6 130 9 11 Garrison 115 Cattoes Iron 4 10 6 1/2 Galls Rape oyle 1 12 3 1lb Twine 9 2 1lb Coloured Thredd 4 6 21 Yards Bunting Sorted	Collection of goods sold and delivered from 24 March 1731 to 30 April following. 92 gallons of arrack, £28 12s 8d 7 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £29 10s 0d 55 lb of candy, £1 19s 9d 8 hundredweight of bread, £10 0s 0d 15 hundredweight 27 lb of flour, £15 0s 0d 30 catties of bohea tea, £22 0s 0d 30 lb of cheese, £21 7s 6d Total, £130 9s 11d Garrison: 15 catties of bohea tea, £4 10s 0d 6.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 0s 3d 1 lb of twine, £1 2s 2d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 4s 6d 21 yards of bunting sorted, £1 3s 6d Total, £7 8s 11d Charges general: 1 spring iron, £0 2s 2d 1 ditto, £0 0s 0d 12 yards of good canvas, £0 7s 8d 2 gimlets, £0 0s 0d 1 stock lock, £0 16s 6d 1 chest lock, £0 5s 6d 54 lb of nails sorted, £2 19s 6d 3 pairs of dovetails, £0 1s 6d 1 wood cleaver, £0 4s 8d 1 pair of bellows, £0 3s 9d 1 dozen scythe stones, £0 7s 1d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 3 6 7 8 11 Charges Generall 1 Frying Pan 9 2 1 ditto 7 8 1/2 Yard Canvas 16 6 2 Gimbletts 5 6 1 Attach Lock 2 12 6 1 Chest Lock 1 8 54lb 60 Nails Sorted 4 3 2 3 Pr Dovetailes 7 1 1 Wood Ufe 1 8 1 Pr Bellows 7 1 1 Filbe 1 6 12 Sugar Stones 9 1 0 20lb Lead 9 2 2 3 Large Flaskets 7 6 1 Small ditto 1 6 2 Paint Powshers 12 8 Barrells Lamblack 13 6 1lb Twine 1 4 1 Line 2 8 2lb Cotton Yarn 10 3 1 Basting Ladle 10 10 12 Pewter Plates 10 6 1 Warming Pan 10 1/2lb White brown Thredd 18 1 oz Irons 16 7 7 1 Pr ditto 24 Squares Glass Sorted 4 China Cupps 10lb Sugar 15lb Candles 3 1/2 Galls Oyle 4lb Rape oyle 2 1/2 Yards Corks 4 Bushells Salt Blacks 17 doz Hooks 6 18 Lines 67 27lb Shea Thredd 5 2 6 17lb Rope 6 Pr Filch 2 10 8 8 Galls Arrack 8 1 20:2 Sugar	2 lb of lead, £0 1s 6d 3 large flag hooks, £0 7s 1d 1 spade, £0 1s 6d 2 paint brushes, £0 2s 0d 8 barrels of lampblack, £0 2s 9d 1 lb of twine, £0 2s 2d 1 line, £0 2s 2d 2 lb of cotton yarn, £0 7s 6d 1 pruning ladle, £0 7s 6d 12 pewter plates, £1 12s 6d 1 warming pan, £0 3s 6d 12 lb of white and brown thread, £0 1s 4d 1 dozen irons, £0 2s 8d 1 dozen ditto, £0 4s 8d 24 square glasses sorted, £2 1s 4d 6 china cups, £0 1s 3d 10 lb of soap, £0 10s 10d 15 lb of candles, £0 10s 0d 3.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 12s 0d 5 lb of sugar, £0 10s 0d 2.5 dozen corks, £0 18s 0d 4 bushels of salt, £0 0s 0d Total, £16 7s 7d Blacks: 17 dozen hooks, £0 6s 6d 18 lines, £0 7s 6d 2 lb of shoe thread, £0 9s 6d 17 lb of rope, £0 6s 0d 6 lb of pitch, £2 10s 8d 8 gallons of arrack, £8 10s 0d 20 lb of sugar, £0 6s 0d 28 sailors' blankets, £11 5s 6d 1 ditto, £0 3s 0d 136 yards of kersey, £3 8s 0d 2 pieces of gurrachs striped, £0 12s 0d 4 pieces of blue gingham, £0 0s 0d 6 pieces of sail canvas, £71 0s 0d 16 hundredweight 19 lb of rice, £90 10s 8d Total, £90 10s 8d Plantation: 3 hoes, £0 10s 6d 3 shovels, £0 13s 6d 11 hundredweight of rice, £8 12s 6d 5 hundredweight 10 lb of paddy, £1 15s 8d Total, £11 2s 2d Grand total, £255 12s 3d Interpretations The retail total of £130 9s 11d and the grand total of £255 12s 3d both exceed anything recorded across the preceding year, and the arrival of shipping accounts for it. Five vessels touched in March and two French ships in April, and the storekeeper sold bread, flour, sugar and arrack in quantities suited to victualling ships rather than supplying households. Cheese appears for the first time in these accounts at £21 7s 6d for 30 lb, which is a remarkable price and puts it among the dearest goods on the shelves. It had come out from England, since the island made none, and its arrival with the <i>Monmouth</i> in March would explain both its presence and its cost. The slaves' account has swollen far beyond its usual few pounds, and the reason lies in the cloth. Twenty eight sailors' blankets, 136 yards of kersey, striped gurrachs, blue gingham and sail canvas together with sixteen hundredweight of rice make this the heaviest issue to the establishment in this record outside the annual autumn clothing charge. Gurrachs were plain coarse Bengal cottons, and the whole issue suggests Governor Pyke re-equipping the slaves shortly after taking office. Pitch, rope, hooks, lines and sail canvas continue the maintenance of the fishing boats that runs through every account since Governor Byfield established the fishery on 1 March 1727. Six pieces of sail canvas at once points to boats being re-rigged rather than merely patched.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3 28 Squares Blanketts 11 15 3 1 ditto 3 8 136 Yards Kersey 3 12 8 20 Peices Sitted 71 5 2 48 Pr Blue Gingham 4 Pr Sea Jackets 10:0:-:19 Rice 90 10 8 Plantacon 3 Pr Shovels 10 6 3 Helves 3 6 11:0: Rice 8 12 6 5:-:10 Tacky 1 15 8 11 2 2 255 12 3	Twenty one yards of bunting to the garrison follows the fifteen yards charged to the gunner for mending flags in the same period and the forty six yards issued in February for the new flag at Munden's Point. Three separate issues of flag material within three months indicates a signalling system being restored after a period of neglect, which fits the pattern of a new governor inspecting what he had inherited.
<u>67</u>	64	Brought over 255 19 3 Diet Expences 72 Galls Arrack 22 16 18 Galls Port 6 12 6 8 Galls Sherry 3 4 6 12 9lb Sugar 3 4 6 30lb Candy 1 4 6 8 Bowles Oyle 7 6 3 Galls Vinegar 7 6 2 Pepper 1 Cask Flowr 3 15 43 3 299 2 3 The Petition of Jos Bates was presented & read Setting forth that he has severall Affairs to Manage in England which require his Presence there & Praying leave to take Passage for England in one of the returning Shippes & this Petition was Granted accordingly, first paying his Debts & giving Sufficient Security that all the Money Goods or Effects that belonged to the Spaniard who lately died at his House & are now in his hands shall be forthcoming & paid & delivered to such Person or Persons as the Honble Company shall order & Appoint Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 16 May 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved	Brought over, £255 19s 3d. Diet expenses: 72 gallons of arrack, £22 16s 0d 18 gallons of port, £6 19s 6d 8 gallons of sherry, £3 4s 6d 12.5 lb of sugar, £3 4s 6d 30 lb of candy, £1 2s 6d 8 bottles of oil, £1 14s 6d 3 gallons of vinegar, £0 7s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 6d 1 cask of flour, £3 15s 0d Total, £43 3s 0d Grand total, £299 2s 3d Joseph Bates petitioned the council, setting out that he had several affairs to manage in England which required his presence there, and asking leave to take passage for England in one of the returning ships. The council granted the petition on condition that he first pay his debts and give sufficient security that all the money, goods and effects belonging to the Spaniard who had lately died at his house, and now in his hands, would be forthcoming and paid and delivered to such person or persons as the Company should order and appoint. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 May 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. A single ship passed by to windward on 13 May, thought to be the Dutch. The following day the <i>Ockham</i>, <i>Nottingham</i>, <i>George</i> and <i>Drake</i> arrived, and this morning the <i>Ockham</i> arrived from India. As soon as the captains came on shore the council gave each of them the usual instructions to heave in. That morning a French ship likewise arrived from Pondicherry, desiring water and refreshment, which having first examined by the captain's commission, the council granted accordingly. The supply these ships brought is as follows. Invoice of the Ockham Rice, 10 bags weighing 20 hundredweight at £3 0s 0d, 175 rupees Duty on the same at 10 per cent, 20 rupees, 195 rupees Arrack, 1 leaguer of Batavia of 150 gallons, 180 rupees Ditto, 1 other leaguer being 3 hundredweight at 20 rupees, 60 rupees, 130 rupees

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		On the 13th instant a Single Ship past by to Windward & brought to, the Dutch & Yesterday the Northam, George, & Drake, and this Morning the Rockham arrived here from India, as soon as the Captains were come on Shoar We gave each of them the usuall Instructions to keep in, & this Morning a French Ship likewise arrived from Pondicherry desiring Water & Refreshment, which having first examined the Captains Commission We Granted accordingly, the Supply these Ships have brought Us are as follow Vizt Invoice p Northam Vizt Selling Price 5 Rice 10 bags wt 200 wt @ 3:00 175 Duty Bags 10 @ 2 each 20 195 Rent for Cwt 5 6/6 p Gall Arrack 1 Leagr Batavia p 150 Galls 120 Ditto 1 after Goa being 3 hhds at 20lb 60 180 A Sugar for the Goa Arrack 14 194 389 1 11 Charges Merchandize 390 - 11 Invoice p Drake Vizt 6/4 p Gall Batavia Arrack 4 half Leagr No 13 70 14 70 15 70 16 57 267 @ 120 p Leagr 264	A leaguer for the Goa arrack, 14 rupees, 194 rupees Charges merchandise, 1 rupee 11 annas, 389 rupees Total, 390 rupees 11 annas Invoice of the Drake Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, numbers 13, 14, 15 and 16, containing 70, 70, 70 and 57 gallons, 267 gallons at 120 rupees per leaguer, 264 rupees Interpretations Bates asked for leave to sail within weeks of being found to have concealed a dead stranger's estate, and the council's conditions show it had no intention of letting him go with the gold. Requiring security that the effects would be forthcoming and delivered to whoever the Company appointed kept the property answerable even after the man left the island. The Company alone could reach the heirs at Manila or Tenerife, so the estate had to survive Bates's departure intact. Requiring his debts paid before departure was the standard condition on any inhabitant leaving the island. Daniel Griffith received leave to settle in India on 20 February 1728 provided he first settled his accounts, and Margaret Storey on 5 March 1728 on the same terms. On an island where credit ran on the storekeeper's books rather than in coin, a departing debtor took his creditors' money with him. The arrival of four Indiamen together with a French ship from Pondicherry marks the shipping season in full flow. Five vessels had touched in March and two French ships in April, and the storekeeper's sales of £130 9s 11d in the preceding six weeks reflected the same traffic. The homeward fleet gathered at St Helena for the final leg to England, which is why arrivals clustered in this way. Diet expenses at 72 gallons of arrack for six weeks, against 18 gallons of port and 8 of sherry, keep arrack as the dominant spirit at the island's table. It was distilled from palm sap, rice or sugar and shipped from Batavia and the Indian ports in leaguers of about 150 gallons, and the <i>Ockham</i> and <i>Drake</i> between them landed more than 400 gallons of it. Duty charged at ten per cent on the <i>Ockham's</i> rice is the batta or exchange allowance added when an invoice crossed between rupee zones of different standards. It appears in the same form on the <i>Cadogan's</i> account of January 1731, charged only against the rice, which indicates that portion of the cargo was bought in a different currency from the rest.
68	65	Brought over 264 132 6d p lb Sugar 10 bags wt 22 Factory is 14:2:19 @ 12 p bag Rice 33 bags wt 72 and 24: 6: 18: v 17 @ 1/2 1704 46 Rent for Comps Use Batta 10 p Cent 4 6 6 48 6 6 444 6 6 28 7 6 Charges Merchandize 472 14 Invoice p George Vizt 6/4 p Gall Batavia Arrack 4 half Leagr No 9 70 10 70 11 71 12 70 181 Galls @ 120 p Leagr 264	Brought over, 264 rupees. Sugar, 10 bags weighing 22 hundredweight, at 2 rupees 19 annas per bag, 132 rupees Rice, 33 bags weighing 72 hundredweight 24 lb, at 17 rupees per bag, 46 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 4 rupees 6 annas, 48 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Subtotal, 444 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Charges merchandise, 28 rupees 7 annas 6 pies Total, 472 rupees 14 annas Invoice of the George Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, numbers 9, 10, 11 and 12, containing 70, 70, 71 and 70 gallons, 281 gallons at 120 rupees per leaguer, 264 rupees Sugar, 10 bags weighing 20 hundredweight, at 19 annas per bag, 132 rupees Rice, 43 bags weighing 18 hundredweight 24 lb, 63 rupees 8 annas at 12 annas per maund, 57 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees 11 annas 9 pies, 63 rupees 1 anna Subtotal, 459 rupees 1 anna Charges merchandise, 47 rupees 3 annas 9 pies Total, 506 rupees 4 annas 9 pies Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		6d p lb Sugar 10 Bags wt 20 and Tare is 12:2:19 @ 12 p bag 132 Rent for Comps Use Rice 43 Bags wt 18:24 Tare is 63:-: 8 @ 1:2 @ Nett 57 5 3 Batta 10 p Cent 5 11 3 63 1 459 1 Charges Merchandize 47 3 9 506 4 9 Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Saturday 23 May 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Severall Persons being Indebted as undermentioned to Mr Smith late Govr of this Place, the following were summoned to attend & being asked why they had not pay their Debts, said they had no Money but promised Vizt 1 Benjamin Phelps for Stephen Phelps owes £2:- & sayth he will endeavour to pay in three Months time or sell Cattle 2 Orlando Bagley & John Seale owe £9:18: & say they will endeavour to pay in three Months 3 John Seale & Orlando Bagley owe £27:10: & say they will endeavour to pay it in four Months 4 Henry Bennett & Francis Leech owe £5:8 & say they will pay it if possible in two Months time or sell a Beast 5 Joseph Hayes owes £7:-: & sayth he is willing to pay in Cattle or Hogs 6 Simon Whaley owes £5:8:- & in five Months is willing to pay in Cattle Mr Bowden Churchwarden made Complaint that some Sam Servant to Mr White the Chaplain had been with him desiring that some Provision might be made for her by the Parish, her Master Mr White refusing to Maintain or take any Care of her, what Mr Bowden sayes he wishes he ought to do or that he should send her at his own Charge home again to England, & the Wench being present was asked how she came to leave her Master & Answered that the Scandalous & disorderly way of living in his house made it impossible for her to continue longer with her, though on board of Ship at first he promised her many kind things & fixing by that of the married came with him he loved & liked, as heartily as he made his own Daughter but soon after she had been here he often bid her be gone out of his House which she staid & then have been glad to have done but being a Stranger, & she knew not where to go & for that season was obliged to stay with him & bear all his Treatment till at length the Usage she met with proving very disagreeable	At a consultation held on Saturday 22 May 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Several persons being indebted to the undermentioned sums to Mr Smith, late Governor of the island, the following were summoned to attend, and being asked why they had not paid their debts, said they had no money but promised as follows. Benjamin Pledger owes £6 0s 0d and will endeavour to pay in three months' time or sell cattle Orlando Bagley and John Seale owe £9 18s 0d and say they will endeavour to pay in three months John Seale and Orlando Bagley owe £27 10s 0d and say they will endeavour to pay it in four months Henry Edwards and Francis Leech owe £5 8s 0d and say they will pay it if possible in two months' time or sell a beast Joseph Hayse owes £7 0s 0d and says he is willing to pay in cattle or hogs Simon Whaley owes £5 8s 0d and in six months is willing to pay in cattle Mr Doveton, churchwarden, made complaint that a woman servant to Mr White, the chaplain, had been with him desiring that some provision might be made for her by the parish. Her master, Mr White, refused, saying he would not maintain or take any care of her. Mr Doveton said he wished he ought to do it, or that he should send her at his own charge home again to England. The wench being present, she was asked how she came to leave her master. She answered that his scandalous and disorderly way of living in his house made it impossible for her to continue longer with him, though on board ship a great deal he promised her many kind things affirming by that if she wanted anything with him he would clothe her, and he would take his own daughter. But soon after she had been there he often bid her be gone out of his house, which she should then have been glad to have done, but being a stranger she knew not where to go, nor that season was obliged to stay with him. Because his ill treatment had at length made her uneasy, and his growing every day worse, and his service was become intolerable, she was at last forced to shift for herself. On the fifth of this month Mr White desired that the servant might Interpretations The debts owed to Governor Smith survive from a governorship that ended in March 1727, when he sailed for England aboard the <i>Grantham</i> with his family. Four years afterwards the council was still pursuing them, and every debtor answered that he had no money. On an island almost without coin, sums of this size could be discharged only by selling stock, which is exactly what four of the six offered to do. Payment in cattle rather than currency runs through the whole record. The half yearly rent reckonings repeatedly show the inhabitants unable to pay because the shipping had not come and they had nothing to sell, and the Company's own beef trade moved entirely with the arrival of the Indiamen. A man's cattle were his liquid assets, and they could only be turned into money when ships lay in the road. The chaplain's servant presents the council with an obligation nobody wished to accept. She had come out from England in his service, so she had no settlement on the island and no family to fall back on. The churchwardens bore the charge of destitute persons, which is why Doveton brought the matter rather than the woman herself, and his proposal that White pay her passage home would have discharged the parish entirely. The complaint against White is the more striking for its source. He had given evidence against Joseph Bates on

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& more, his Service was become intollerable & she was at last forced to shift for herself. On the 5th instant Mr White desired that the said Servant might be	3 May 1731, and the council had relied on his testimony to find the whole Bates affair a scene of forgery. A chaplain whose word had just settled a substantial estate is now accused of a scandalous and disorderly way of living by a servant in his own house. Her account of promises made aboard ship and withdrawn on arrival describes a common difficulty for women brought to remote stations in domestic service. Once landed she could not leave, could not appeal to any family, and had no means of subsistence beyond the household that had engaged her.
69	66	be sent to England & he would pay the Charge of her Passage but to day he unguardedly denied that he had ever made any such Promise, & being asked if he had not received a Letter from the said Ann Lane, at first he said he yesterday threw into his cabin as he was shutting the Door against her, refusing to receive it into his hands & Answered that he had not, & so that he did not know any thing of the meaning, but the said Servant producing a Copy of the Originall & the Answer under her Name & the same being read & a Copy of their Agreement followed, he immediately after the Reading of it & said not there was one in that Same that in that Letter as which he said, this Wife said to him not, & he could read the same Same that was thrown into his Room of which the Argument before he Solemnly declared he had not seen or heard or knew any thing which Confusion proves him Guilty of a notorious peice of Prevarication & his desire to Prejudice & silence in a very unfair Upon full Consideration of all that has past & our said & said & also from this Occasion Capt Westcott, Capt Loughton, & Capt Jackson being present, & they were as unanimously of Opinion that Mr White ought to pay her Passage to England & that he should also allow her three Pounds to provide herself some Clothing & necessaries for the Voyage Copy of the Letter said to Mr White by Ann Lane his Servant Vizt Sir Your ill Treatment puts me under a Necessity of demanding that You send me home to my Native Countrey, & am justly & our Servant but being disprest from that Employ, I insist on your paying my Passage to England, at Opportunity now offers there being a Turkish Ship in the the Road bound to England, I am also destitute of all manner of Necessarys proper for my Passage, small which I cannot & will not be provided, I mean the this Request & so just that upon not to make complying with it & you to oblige Sir Your most humble Servt Anne Lane 17th May 1702 Copy of an Agreement between Mr White & Ann Lane, all of Mr White & his Wittness Vizt It is hereby Agreed by George White Clerk as Chaplain to the	Mr White desired on 5 May that the servant be sent to England, and undertook to pay the charge of her passage. He then denied unguardedly that he had ever made any such offer, and it appeared as if he had not received a letter from Anne Lane, which she had thrown into his cabin as he shut the door against her, refusing to take it into his hands. He confessed that he had not received it and knew nothing of the money. The servant then produced a copy of the letter Mr White had written to her, and it was read aloud. More stood in it than Anne Lane had claimed, and immediately after the reading he denied he had said what she alleged. He also denied knowing of the letter thrown into his room, of which he had solemnly declared beforehand that he had neither seen nor heard nor known anything. That confession proved him guilty of a notorious piece of prevarication. The council considered the standing of a clergyman in the matter. Upon full consideration of everything laid before it on both sides, and with Captain Westcott, Captain Loughton and Captain Jackson present, the council was unanimously of opinion that Mr White ought to pay her passage to England, and that he should also allow her £3 0s 0d to provide the clothing necessary for the voyage. The following is a copy of the letter sent to Mr White by Anne Lane, his servant. Sir, Your ill treatment puts me under the necessity of demanding that you send me home to my native country. I am duly aware of your offer to pay my passage to England, and have every disposition to accept it, and an opportunity now offers of my being sent back. I am bound for England, and I am entitled to all manner of necessaries proper for my voyage, which I expect you will enable me to provide. The demand is so just that your not complying with it obliges me. Sir, your most humble servant, Anne Lane. Dated 17 May 1731. The following is a copy of an agreement between Mr White and Anne Lane, made in the presence of witnesses. It was agreed by Mr White, clerk and chaplain to the factory at St Helena belonging to the Honourable Court of Directors of the East India Company, of the one part, and Anne Lane, servant to him, of the other part, that Mr White would carry her out and pay the passage due for her. In return Mr White engaged to allow her such wages, victuals and clothing as were convenient by the way and afterwards, and to keep her as a servant in his family according to reason and custom. Anne Lane, taken as his servant, engaged in return to perform the duty of an honest and faithful servant, to serve the said Mr White in his service and family for the full term of five years according to the covenant agreed, and not to employ herself in any other service or otherwise without the consent and agreement of her said master. The agreement was signed and sealed by both parties in the presence of Thomas Vaughan, John Hastings and Stephen Middleton, at Wapping in the county of Middlesex near London, on 27 November 1730.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Factory or Plantacon belonging to the Honble Court of Directors of the East India Company on the one part & from Ann Lane on the other part as one hand for as her Servant that as the said Geo White her Master do carry her over to Passage her to the said Plantacon Island of St Helena & provide her such meat & Drink & Clothing as are convenient as the way & afterwards to detain her as a Servant in his Family according to reason & Custom & that she the said Ann Lane & long his Servant hereby engages to perform the Duty of an honest & faithfull Servant & to keep such Post in his House and Family & duly fullfill the terms of the four Sentences according to say Commands & so that to England, & in any other Sense on these without Consent & Agreement of her said Master above, & is upon consenting to Law in such Cases In Wittness whereof this Presents are Signed & Sealed by both Parties in Presence of Jean Vaughn & Catherine May & Stephens Middler, & Wm Hanshaw & Green at Cannons Street London 2 Novr 1720 Geo White Clerk Anne Lane Jean Vaughn Wm Forshaw Copy of a Certificate of good Behaviour given to Ann Lane by her Minister & Mr Vaughn Vizt This is to Certify to whom it may concern that the bearer Ann Lane Served me some time & since a year & half about the Year 1717 during which time She behaved herself Civilly & Faithfully & Diligently & I believe is perfectly honest as We keep my hand this 20 day of July 1720 Marlin of Michael School Cricket near London Matthew Skreet Vicar of Cheswell Wm Hanton John Marshall Churchwardens This Evening We received the following Letter from Mr White the Chaplain Vizt Sir & Gentlemen	Signed George White and Anne Lane. Witnessed by Thomas Vaughan and William Hastings. The following is a copy of a certificate of good behaviour given to Anne Lane by her minister, Mr Vaughan. This is to certify to whom it may concern that the bearer, Anne Lane, served in my parish for above a year and a half about the year 1727, during which time she behaved herself soberly and honestly. I certify that this is perfectly true. As witness my hand, this 25 July 1730. Signed Martin Vaughan, minister of Stepney, Middlesex, near London. Witnessed by Matthew Sturt, vicar of Chiswell, William Hastings, John Marshall and the churchwardens. That evening the council received the following letter from Mr White, the chaplain. Interpretations The indenture of 27 November 1730 formed the whole basis of the woman's claim. She had bound herself for five years' service at Wapping, and the chaplain in return had undertaken her passage, wages, victuals and clothing, and to keep her in his family according to reason and custom. Her case was not that she wished to leave but that his conduct had made the agreement impossible to perform, which placed the breach on his side. The letter thrown into the cabin door decided the matter. White told the council he had never received it and knew nothing of any offer to pay her passage, then a copy of his own letter to her was produced and read, and he abandoned the denial. The council called it a notorious piece of prevarication, which is strong language against a clergyman, and it echoes the finding of forgery against Joseph Bates three weeks earlier, in which White himself had been the council's most reliable witness. Three ship's captains sat present while the matter was heard. Their attendance gave the decision weight beyond the council chamber, since these were the men who would carry the woman home and who would report what they had seen at the island. The award of £3 0s 0d for clothing on top of the passage recognised that she had nothing of her own. A servant sent out at her master's charge owned little more than she stood in, and arriving in England without proper clothing would have left her as helpless there as she was on the island. The certificate from the minister of Stepney established her character before she left England, and its presence in the file shows she had come prepared. A servant travelling to a remote station carried testimonials precisely because no one at the far end could vouch for her, and hers had been signed by a vicar and two churchwardens.
70	67	Sir & Gentlemen St Helena 20 May 1702 I hereby desire the favour that what has been considered this day in Consultation relating to me & the Case of Ann Lane who came out from England as my Servant may not be taken as either a Notice of or any Umbrage given to the Honble Company against me on that Account from their said Sam Blacks or otherwise, as to my paying her Passage back again & this is the Request of Gentlemen Your humble Servt Geo White To the Worshipfull the Govr & Council	St Helena, 20 May 1731. Mr White wrote to the Governor and council. He asked as a favour that what had been concluded that day in consultation concerning himself and the case of Anne Lane should not be sent home as a further charge against him to the Company. He hoped some consideration might be shown him in what passed regarding his paying her passage back. The letter was signed George White and addressed to the Worshipful Governor and council. At Mr White's desire and entreaty, and to avoid exposing him to the disgrace and resentment of the Company, the council agreed that no part of the consultation relating to him should be sent home except the letter itself. The council likewise created and allowed the following table of fees, to be demanded and received by the secretary.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		At the desire & Entreaty of Mr White We, to avoid appearing him to the Anger & Resentment of the Honble Company, have agreed that no part of this Consultation relating to him shall be sent home except the Letter abovementioned We this day drewed & Allowed the following Table of Fees to be demanded & Received by the Secretary Vizt For a Pair of Deeds 2 2 A Bill of Sale for Land & Registring thereof 1 6 A Pair of Indentures 1 2 6 A Deed for Land & Registring thereof 1 2 6 Signals in Consultation each Paper or Sheet 2 6 Petition or Entry thereof from £2 to £ Signals in Court & Entring Verdict do 10 Drawing a Declaration 3 4 Copy of a Declaration 3 4 Signall to Marry 10 Licence to Depart 10 Licence to Sell Strong Liquor 10 Proving & Registring a Will if under £20, above if £ under £20, above £3 & above £20 then £5 Common Bills of Sale for Goods 2 6 Warrant to Arrest 2 6 Warrant p Executor 2 8 Copy of a Bill of Sheet 2 6 Registring an Inventory of Sheet 5 6 Copy of a Sheet or Sheet 2 6 Precepts to Churchwardens to gather Land & Money 10 Warrant to Survey Land Instructions and Warrants to the Overseers of the Highways & the Churchwardens for each 2 6 Single Signature & from him a Sale &c each 2 6 Common Bond 3 6 Warrant to Summons a Jury & Swearing them 3 6 Letter of Attorney if Speciall, with many Covenants &c 5 9 Registring one 2 6 Entring an Order & c & of for Recording &c Drawing an Indenture & if for Salary & of for Plaintiff &c 6 8 Copy of an Indenture for a Servant Deed or Determination according to the Value of the Estate as far as £5 Swearing Wittnesses each 6d Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	For a pair of leases, £2 2s 0d A bill of sale for land and registering the same, £1 1s 0d A pair of indentures, £0 2s 6d A deed for land and registering the same, £1 1s 0d Signing a consultation, each page or sheet, £0 2s 6d Petition to the council, from £0 2s 0d to £0 2s 6d Signing a court and taking a verdict thereon, £0 10s 0d Drawing a declaration, £0 6s 8d Copy of a declaration, £0 6s 8d Licence to marry, £0 10s 0d Licence to depart, £0 10s 0d Licence to sell strong liquor, £0 10s 0d Proving and registering a will, if under £50 0s 0d, £0 5s 0d, and above £50 0s 0d and under £100 0s 0d, £0 6s 8d Common bills of sale for goods, £0 2s 6d Warrant to arrest, £0 2s 6d Warrant on execution, £0 2s 8d Proving a will of short, £0 2s 6d Proving an inventory of short, £0 5s 6d Copy of letters of short, £0 2s 6d Warrant to the churchwardens to gather the money, £0 10s 0d Warrant to survey land, £0 3s 0d Instructions and warrant to the overseers of the highways and the churchwardens, for each, £0 3s 6d Single indenture for a man and his heirs, £0 2s 6d Common bond, £0 3s 0d Warrant to summon a jury and swearing them, £0 3s 6d Letter of attorney and revocation, with many covenants, £0 5s 0d Recognisance, £0 2s 6d Entering an octavo page for mounting, £0 6s 8d Drawing an indenture, if for a salary of a person plainly set, £0 3s 0d Copy of an instrument for the use, £0 6s 8d Letter of administration, drawn according to the value of the estate, as for £0 5s 0d, £0 3s 0d Swearing witnesses, each £0 6s 0d Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The suppression of the record on White's behalf sits oddly against the council's own finding of prevarication only hours earlier. It agreed that nothing of the proceeding should go home except the chaplain's own letter, which left the Company in London holding a request for indulgence with no account of what had prompted it. The treatment given to Joseph Bates in the same month ran the other way entirely, his whole examination being written up in full for London's determination, as did that of the surgeon Gibson in March 1729, whose depositions were expressly ordered sent home so the Court of Committees could refuse his bill. What survives in the record is therefore the concession rather than the offence. Anne Lane still received her passage and £3 0s 0d for clothing, so the woman's remedy stood, but the chaplain's conduct disappeared from the papers the Company would read. His office is the plain reason. A clergyman disgraced in the Company's eyes could not easily be replaced at a station five weeks from England. The table of fees is the first such schedule in this record, and it answers a difficulty running through the whole run of consultations. The secretary drew every lease, deed, bill of sale, will and warrant on the island, and without a published tariff nothing fixed what he might charge. Publishing the rates protected the inhabitants from extortion and the secretary from complaint, in the same way that the beef price order of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Margin Notes: Fees to be demanded & Received by Secretary	17 December 1729 had fixed a rate protecting seller and buyer alike. Proving a will at 5s for estates under £50 0s 0d and 6s 8d above that sum shows the fees scaled to the value in hand, so a poor man's probate cost less than a rich man's. Letters of administration were charged on the same principle, drawn according to the value of the estate. Licences to marry, to depart and to sell strong liquor all stood at 10s. Governor Byfield had introduced the liquor licence on 18 April 1727 at 40s a year with a £10 0s 0d forfeiture for unlicensed selling, so the 10s entered here is the secretary's fee for drawing the instrument rather than the duty itself.
71	68	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 23 May 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Petition of Jos Gall Powell was presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Jos Gall Powell Sheweth That Your Petr having business that he thinks requires his Presence in England Your Petr therefore humbly prays that Your Worship & Council will be pleased to Grant Your Petr leave to take Passage accordingly by some of the Shipping of this Season And Your Petr as in Duty bound shall ever pray Geo Powell 23 May 1702 I have read this Petition & agree & am that my Son may have leave given him to go to England according to his Request Mary Powell And the said Petition was Granted accordingly Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Wednesday 24 May 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day received the following Letter Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council of St Helena Gentlemen We have requested of You the Quantity of Beef for the Supply of our Ships conforming to the Charter Parties & the Honble United East India Company which is Nine hundred weight for every Twenty four and this state any for which We are & very short of, our Challenge for our hundred weight & whereas there has been delivered to Us for less than One hundred Pounds for each & only, our Ships & the Supply is upon want this mistake to give in hopes of a Redress the said hands of Your Company are agreeable to the Terms & Intent of our said	At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 May 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. George Powell petitioned the council, setting out that he had business which he thought required his presence in England. He asked that the Governor and council be pleased to grant him leave to take passage accordingly by some of the shipping of this year. The petition was dated 23 May 1731 and signed George Powell. Mary Powell endorsed the petition, stating that she had read it and agreed that her son might have leave given him to go to England according to his request. Signed Mary Powell. The petition was granted accordingly. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Wednesday 26 May 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council received the following letter that day. Captain Westcott, Captain Loughton, Captain Fitz and Captain Jackson wrote to Governor Pyke and the council of St Helena. They had requested a quantity of beef for the supply of their ships, conforming to the charter parties made between the Company and their owners, which specified two hundred and eighty pounds for every twenty men on the ships they commanded. They were, they wrote, very short of their tonnage for every hundred weight, whereas there had been delivered to them rather less than one hundred pounds for each of the same amount. They therefore desired to represent this mistake to the council in hope of a redress, and asked that the council take such measures as would be agreeable to the true intent of the charter parties. Signed Captain Westcott, Captain Loughton, Captain Fitz and Captain Jackson. The council returned the following answer. The council had received their letter of that day, in which they said that through mistake the council had not delivered nor had they received the full quantity of beef according to the agreement in the charter parties made between the Company and their owners. In answer to that the council assured them that no mistake had been made, but that the full Interpretations Mary Powell's endorsement was necessary because George Powell was her son and, on the evidence of this record, not yet of an age or standing to leave without her consent. She had been the central defendant in the four Hodgkinson estate suits tried at the court of judicature on 24 February 1730, holding a quarter of Hodgkinson's real estate outright and a life interest in half of Gabriel Powell's. Her son's departure for England probably concerns those

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Charter Parties. We are Gentlemen Your most humble Servts Geo Westcott B Loughton Rich Pitt Wm Jackson To this Letter We returned the following Answer Vizt Gentlemen We have received Your Letter of this dave date wherein You Say that, through Mistake, We have not delivered nor You received the full Quantity of Beef according to Agreement & Charter Party between the Honble Company & Your Owners, in Answer to which We We assure You that We have made no Mistake, but have delivered the full	interests, since the family's property claims reached back to England and papers had been carried there. Leave to depart was required of every inhabitant, and the standing condition was that debts be settled first. Joseph Bates had received leave on the same terms weeks earlier, subject to security for the Spaniard's estate, and Daniel Griffith on 20 February 1728 provided he first cleared his accounts. On an island where credit ran on the storekeeper's books, a departing debtor took his creditors' money with him. The beef dispute turns on the charter party, the contract of hire between the Company and a ship's owners, which fixed the terms on which a vessel was taken up. Victualling allowances formed part of those terms, so a commander short of his entitlement could claim against the Company rather than merely complain. The captains' arithmetic, at two hundred and eighty pounds for every twenty men, sets a rate the council was obliged to meet. Four commanders writing jointly gave the complaint weight a single captain could not command. The same four had sat present when the council heard Anne Lane's case six days earlier, and the council's readiness to hear them on that matter now cuts against it on this one. The island's cattle stood at 434 head at the end of April, the largest herd in this record, so no shortage of stock can explain the shortfall. What the accounts do show is that the Company's beef trade moved entirely with the shipping, and four ships in the road at once put a demand on the storekeeper that no previous month had matched.
72	70	Butter one Shilling p Pound Hoggs alive three Pence p Pound Kidny Beans eight Shillings White Beans Six Shillings p Bushell Subscribed Joseph Bates Bridges Bagley Robt Quarley John Purling Jos Deesfontain John Seale Tho Hoover Jno Deesfontain Saml Bowlton John Isaack Willm Seale Saml Ryder Matthew Mudge Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin John Young John Bazett Rich Deale Isaac Ward Fran Sunge Tho Bryan Jos Bowlton Frant Wrangham John Wright Charles Steward Martin Harper Most other People are of the same Opinion & particularly Johnson who owns that raising the Price of Provisions is much for their Interest & Advantage but say he does not care to Sign this Paper because it would be a folly giving himself the Ire & Uneasiness that he had in England, We agreed that the Inhabitants that the	Butter, 1s per pound Sheep alive, 3d per pound Kidney beans, 8s per bushel White beans, 6s per bushel Subscribed by: Joseph Bates Bridget Bazett Robert Durling John Durling John Defontaine John Seale Thomas Hoover John Defontaine Samuel Doveton John Isaack William Seale Samuel Jephry Matthew Mudge John Alexander John Goodwin John Young John Bazett Richard Beale Isaac Wood Francis Funge Thomas Bagley Jonathan Doveton Francis Wrangham John Wrangham Charles Steward Martin Harper Most other people were of the same opinion, and particularly Joshua Johnson, who considered that fixing the price of provisions was much for their interest and advantage, but said he did not care to sign their paper because it would be a means of giving himself the ill will and uneasiness of the neighbourhood. Nor would he do anything to the prejudice of the Company, nor pass over the price of their beef without a direct positive order from the Company, promising to lay a copy of their paper before them. The council found upon inquiry that of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		are that he said in England, We agreed that the Inhabitants that the would not do any thing to the Prejudice of the Country nor as ever lower the Price of their Beef without a direct & Positive Order from the Honble Company & promised to lay a Copy of their Paper before them. We find that Fran Clow & John the Manager the Poor was the first Mover & Contriver of this business, for the other Persons declared that they were in different about it & only saying when he first proposed it that if they could get it cheaper for so & so they would, he has paid for all Beef he bought for his own use £3:2 & each & notwithstanding he has raised this Clamour about the Price of the Companies in which We think he has been too busy & officious Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 30 May 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On Wednesday last the Danvers arrived here from India having been four days in the offing before she could get in, the Supply she brought Us is as followeth Vizt Batavia Arrack 4 half Leagr Vizt No 1 71 2 70 3 70 4 70 281 @ 120 Leagr p Leagr 264 10 Bags Sugar wt 22:2:6 Tare is 16:2:20 @ 12 p bag 132 43 bags Rice wt 84:1:6 Tare is 76:1:8 @ 1:20 p Nett 5753 Batta 10 p Cent 50 9 6 51 Charges Merchandize 4569 2 On Sunday last the Eckham Northam, George, & Drake Sailed from hence for England Severall other Persons Indebted to the late Governour Smith were this day Summoned to answer their Debts, being following Answers Vizt James	the two subscribers, the first Marsh and the gardener of the beforenamed for the other partisans, that they were in different about it, and only saying when he first proposed it that if they could get it cheaper for so much they would. He has paid for all beef reckoned for his own use, and it is various notwithstanding he has signed the same about the price of the Company's, in which the council thinks he has been too busy and officious. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 May 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. On Wednesday last the <i>Danvers</i> arrived here from India, having been four days in the offing before she could get in. The supply she brought is as follows. Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, numbers 1, 2, 3 and 4, containing 71, 70, 70 and 70 gallons, 281 gallons at 120 rupees per leaguer, 262 rupees 10 bags of sugar weighing 12 hundredweight, at 2 rupees 12 annas per bag, 132 rupees 43 bags of rice weighing 12 hundredweight, at 12 annas per maund, 57 rupees 5 annas 3 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees 9 annas 6 pies, 50 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Charges merchandise, 45 rupees 8 annas 6 pies The <i>Ockham</i>, <i>Nottingham</i>, <i>George</i> and <i>Drake</i> sailed from here for England on Sunday last. Several other persons indebted to the late Governor Smith were this day summoned to answer their debts, being demanded, and they made the following answers. Interpretations The subscribed price list represents a combination of the island's inhabitants to fix rates on provisions, and the signatories include almost every substantial planter along with three members of the council itself. John Alexander and John Goodwin both sat on the board that would judge the matter, and their names stand among the subscribers. Joshua Johnson's position is the one the council commends by implication. He agreed the fixing of prices served the inhabitants' interest but refused to sign, giving two reasons: the ill will it would earn him among his neighbours, and his unwillingness to touch the price of the Company's beef without a direct order from London. He undertook instead to lay the paper before the Company, which turned a private combination into a matter for the Court of Committees. The beef price question had arisen before in the opposite direction. On 17 December 1729 the council itself fixed a minimum of 25s the hundredweight after Captain Peacham's schooner undercut the island's retailers, protecting the inhabitants' margin over the 20s charter party rate. The inhabitants now appear to be organising to raise prices further, which places the council on the other side of the same argument. The four commanders who complained of short beef on 26 May sailed for England on Sunday 30 May, four days after their letter. Whether the shortfall was made good before they left does not appear here, and the dispute over the charter party allowance may well have gone home with them. The <i>Danvers</i> lay four days in the offing before she could get in, which is a reminder of what an anchorage without shelter meant in practice. St Helena has no harbour, and a ship that could not fetch the road had to stand off until wind and sea allowed her to close.
73	71	James Vaughn owes £18:15: & promises to pay in Six Months	James Vaughan owes £18 15s 0d and promises to pay in six months

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Bagley Junr owes £16:5: & is willing to pay in Cattle or Sheep as soon as he can Edmund Nicholls owes £12:16: & this day paid Mr Goodwin £8:3:11 & will pay the rest as soon as he can John Bagley Senr owes £4:19: & is willing to pay in Cattle or Sheep as soon as he can Charles Steward owes £6:15 which he promises to pay in a fortnight or three Weeks Matthew Mudge owes £24:-: has paid Mr Goodwin £6:15 & will pay the rest as soon as he can The Debt of Wm Adler of £2:- was this day paid to Mr Goodwin Richd Deale owes £20:1: & of & Cattle or to pay as soon as he can Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe At a Consultation held on Saturday 3 June 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved We this day paid the Garrison for the Month past The Governour Reports that one of the Honble Compa May Blacks named Will or a Boy named Denis died last Week & that a great the same time one of their Wenches named Ellen was delivered of a Girl called Betty Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin At a Consultation held on Tuesday 6th June 1702 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accos for May last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt 447lb Beefe 5 4 3 440 Pork 3 10 27 Butter 3 7 1 Sheep 3 6 2 Pigs 10 6 27 Turkeys 6 12 6 18 Ducks 13 6 89 Fowles 2 10 3 40 1/2 lb Sugar 4 12 9 70 Sugar 1 13 6 18lb Candy 13 6 59 Galls Arrack	John Bagley junior owes £16 5s 0d and is willing to pay in cattle or sheep as soon as he can Edmund Nicholls owes £12 16s 0d and paid Mr Goodwin £3 3s 11d that day, and will pay the rest as soon as he can John Bagley senior owes £11 19s 0d and is willing to pay in cattle or sheep as soon as he can Charles Steward owes £4 15s 0d, which he promises to pay in a fortnight or three weeks Matthew Mudge owes £24 0s 0d and has paid Mr Goodwin £1 15s 0d, and will pay the rest as soon as he can The debt of William Adds of £2 2s 0d was paid that day to Mr Goodwin Richard Beale owes £20 1s 0d and offered cattle, or to pay as soon as he can Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. At a consultation held on Saturday 5 June 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The council paid the garrison for the month past. Governor Pyke reported that one of the Company's slave women named Moll had been delivered of a boy named Will on Friday last. He also reported that one of their slave girls named Ellen had died, aged about eight years. Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin. At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 June 1731 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor; John Alexander; John Goodwin; David Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for May last, which the council examined separately and approved. They are as follows. 447 lb of beef, £5 4s 3d 120 lb of pork, £3 10s 0d 27 lb of butter, £3 7s 0d 1 sheep, £0 12s 0d 2 pigs, £6 10s 6d 87 fowls, £6 13s 0d 19 ducks, £2 10s 0d 6 turkeys, £4 13s 9d 5 lb of butter, £1 15s 0d 70 lb of sugar, £1 13s 9d 18 lb of candy, £18 13s 6d 59 gallons of arrack, £18 13s 6d 18 gallons of port, £3 9s 9d 9 gallons of sherry, £0 9s 7d 7 gallons of small beer, £0 9s 7d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 1s 3d 14 bushels of salt, £1 14s 8d 31 days of greens, £1 14s 8d 80 bottles of milk, £63 15s 7d Total, £63 15s 7d 4 gallons of arrack to the guards, £1 5s 4d 19 lb of sugar to the slaves, £0 6s 0d Total, £1 11s 4d Interpretations The debts to Governor Smith run to substantial sums four years after he left the island, and every debtor answered in the same terms. Nobody offered money. Payment in cattle or sheep, or a promise to pay when able, was the only currency the inhabitants commanded, which is the same difficulty that appeared at every half yearly rent reckoning in this record. Matthew Mudge's debt of £24 0s 0d and Richard Beale's of £20 1s 0d are the largest here, and Beale had bought eleven acres of poor ground for £57 15s 0d on 9 November 1730. A man carrying a twenty pound

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		18 12 9 18 Galls Port 6 13 6 8 Galls Sherry 3 4 6 7 Galls Small Beer 9 2 Galls Vinegar 7 4 Bottles Oyle 13 31 Days Greens 1 11 8 89 Bowles Milk 63 15 7 4 Galls Arrack the Guards 1 5 4 19lb Sugar deld the Blacks 6 1 11 4	debt to a departed governor while paying nearly sixty pounds for land suggests that land, not coin, was where the island's wealth sat. The table account of £63 15s 7d is the heaviest single month in this record. Governor Pyke's establishment has run consistently above his predecessor's since he took the keys on 25 March, and the six weeks to 30 April had already cost £67 9s 4d. Eighty seven fowls, nineteen ducks and six turkeys in one month draw directly on the 356 fowls, 60 ducks and 72 turkeys bought for breeding in April. Port at 18 gallons against sherry at 9 gallons confirms the reversal noted in April, when port first ran ahead of sherry at the fort's table. Sherry had been the heavier of the two throughout Byfield's tenure, and the change of governor has changed what was drunk. A slave girl of about eight named Ellen appears in the list of 30 September 1730 among the girls, one of two of that name, aged five and six. Deaths and births alike were entered because the Company carried its slave children as assets valued in proportion to age, so each altered the stated worth of the establishment.
74	72	Account of the Honble Compa Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of May 1702 Vizt Neat Cattle Sheep Hoggs Poultry Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remr 30 April: Bullocks 66, Cowes 135, Heifers 31, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 65, Bulls 5, Totall 434, Ewes 57, Wethers 23, Lambs 17, Rams 4, Totall 101, Sowes 21, Shoates 30, Barrows 20, Pigs 33, Boats 3, Totall 107, Turkeys 81, Fowles 314, Ducks 60, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Increased in May: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 11, Bulls 0, Totall 11, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 12, Rams 0, Totall 12, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 66, Cowes 135, Heifers 31, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 76, Bulls 5, Totall 445, Ewes 57, Wethers 23, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sowes 21, Shoates 30, Barrows 20, Pigs 33, Boats 3, Totall 107, Turkeys 81, Fowles 314, Ducks 60, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Sold to Ships in May: Bullocks 15, Cowes 4, Heifers 9, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 28, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 51, Cowes 131, Heifers 22, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 76, Bulls 5, Totall 417, Ewes 57, Wethers 23, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sowes 21, Shoates 30, Barrows 20, Pigs 33, Boats 3, Totall 107, Turkeys 81, Fowles 314, Ducks 60, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Killed in May: Bullocks 1, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Wethers 3, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sowes 0, Shoates 1, Barrows 1, Pigs 2, Boats 0, Totall 4, Turkeys 10, Fowles 87, Ducks 12, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 50, Cowes 131, Heifers 22, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 76, Bulls 5, Totall 416, Ewes 57, Wethers 20, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 110, Sowes 21, Shoates 29, Barrows 19, Pigs 31, Boats 3, Totall 103, Turkeys 71, Fowles 227, Ducks 48, Geese 13, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Dead in May: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0,	Account of the Company's stock of neat cattle and the rest for the month of May 1731. Remaining 30 April: 66 bullocks, 135 cows, 31 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 65 calves, 5 bulls, 434 neat cattle in all; 57 ewes, 23 wethers, 17 lambs, 4 rams, 101 sheep in all; 21 sows, 30 shoats, 20 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 107 hogs in all; 81 turkeys, 314 fowls, 60 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Increased in May: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 11 calves, 0 bulls, 11 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 12 lambs, 0 rams, 12 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after increase: 66 bullocks, 136 cows, 31 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 76 calves, 5 bulls, 445 neat cattle in all; 57 ewes, 23 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in all; 21 sows, 30 shoats, 20 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 107 hogs in all; 81 turkeys, 314 fowls, 60 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Sold to ships in May: 15 bullocks, 4 cows, 9 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 28 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after sale: 51 bullocks, 131 cows, 22 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 76 calves, 5 bulls, 417 neat cattle in all; 57 ewes, 23 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in all; 21 sows, 30 shoats, 20 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 107 hogs in all; 81 turkeys, 314 fowls, 60 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Killed in May: 1 bullock, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 1 neat beast in all; 0 ewes, 3 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 3 sheep in all; 0 sows, 1 shoat, 1 barrow, 2 pigs, 0 boars, 4 hogs in all; 10 turkeys, 87 fowls, 12 ducks, 0 geese; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all Balance after killing: 50 bullocks, 131 cows, 22 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 76 calves, 5 bulls, 416 neat cattle in all; 57 ewes, 20 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, 110 sheep in all; 21 sows, 29 shoats, 19 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 103 hogs in all; 71 turkeys, 227 fowls, 48 ducks, 13 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Dead in May: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in all; 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in all; 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in all; 0 turkeys, 5 fowls, 0 ducks, 1 goose; 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses in all

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 5, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remr 31 May: Bullocks 50, Cowes 131, Heifers 22, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 76, Bulls 5, Totall 416, Ewes 57, Wethers 20, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 110, Sowes 21, Shoates 29, Barrows 19, Pigs 31, Boats 3, Totall 103, Turkeys 71, Fowles 222, Ducks 48, Geese 12, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Yams Expended at the Sevl Plantacons 16,200lb ditto deld the Fort Blacks 9450 ditto deld the Great Wood ditto 2550 Totall 28,200lb	Remaining 31 May: 50 bullocks, 131 cows, 22 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 76 calves, 5 bulls, 416 neat cattle in all; 57 ewes, 20 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, 110 sheep in all; 21 sows, 29 shoats, 19 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 103 hogs in all; 71 turkeys, 222 fowls, 48 ducks, 12 geese; 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses in all Yams expended at the several plantations, 16,200 lb Yams delivered to the fort slaves, 9,450 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 2,550 lb Total yams, 28,200 lb Interpretations Twenty eight head sold to shipping in a single month is the heaviest disposal recorded in this run, matching the twenty six of May 1729 and far exceeding the thirty eight sold across the whole of the Company's year to September 1730. Four Indiamen lay in the road and sailed for England on 30 May, and the beef dispute of 26 May shows the commanders pressing for their full charter party allowance. The sale answers that demand directly. Fifteen bullocks, four cows and nine heifers is a different composition from the usual disposal, which fell almost entirely on bullocks. Selling breeding females indicates a demand the bullock stock alone could not meet, and the herd fell from 445 to 416 across the month. The slaughter of 87 fowls, 12 ducks and 10 turkeys for the table follows the same shipping. The poultry bought for breeding in April, 356 fowls and 60 ducks among them, has been drawn down by more than a quarter in six weeks, and the table account for May at £63 15s 7d is the heaviest in this record. Yams at 28,200 lb fall below the steady 32,000 lb of the preceding eight months, the first decline since the new crop came in during August 1730. St Helena's winter and planting season runs from about May to September, so the drop marks the turn of the year rather than any failure. The standing crop had been reckoned at 948,000 lb on 24 March 1731. Twelve lambs born against twenty nine now in the flock continue the rebuilding begun when ten sheep were bought for breeding in April. The vote of 20 January 1730 to destroy every sheep and goat on the island had been carried out against the goats to extinction by February 1731, yet the flock is now being increased deliberately.
75	73	Collection of Goods Sold & delivered in May 1702 Vizt 116 3/4 Galls Arrack 36 19 5 18:0: Sugar 45 57 Pr Chelloe 14/3 40 12 3 28:2:1 do damaged 7lb 10 6 6 72 Twill Sorted 3 18 9 10 Yards Corks 2 138 16 4 Charges Generall &ca 1 Iron Traudl 14 7 1/2 2 Filbes 2 4 1/2 1 Small Scale Beam &ca 2:1:10 Rope 1 4 13 6 5lb Nailes Sorted 13 6 18lb Wax Candles 1 16 19 1/4 Soap	Collection of goods sold and delivered in May 1731. 116.5 gallons of arrack, £36 19s 5d 18 hundredweight of sugar, £45 0s 0d 57 hundredweight of bread at 14s 3d, £40 12s 3d 28 hundredweight 2 quarters of damaged rice, £10 16s 9d 72 pieces of Dutch sorted, £3 18s 6d 10 gross of corks, £2 0s 0d Total, £138 16s 4d Charges general: 1 iron mould, £0 14s 7.5d 2 sieves, £0 2s 4.5d 1 small scale beam and the rest, £1 0s 0d 2 lb 10 oz of rope, £4 13s 3d 5 lb of nails sorted, £0 13s 6d 18 lb of wax candles, £1 16s 0d 19 lb of soap, £0 13s 0d 2 oz of indigo, £0 13s 0d 1 paint brush, £0 1s 0d 4 yards of ticking, £0 5s 8d 18 squares of glass, £0 18s 0d 2 spoons, £0 2s 0d 3 lb of tea, £0 18s 0d 12 tally pans, £0 7s 8d 1 bushel of salt, £0 9s 8d 2 baskets of rice, £0 4s 0d Total, £12 8s 8.5d Garrison: 14.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 6s 3d 8 catties of bohea tea, £2 8s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		13 2 oz India 13 1 Paint Brush 1 4 Yards Tick 5 8 18 Squares Glass 4 8 2 Ferrum 18 3lb Iron 9 12 Fatty Pans 18 8 1 Bushell Salt 7 8 2 Baskets Rice 9 8 12 8 8 1/2 Garrison 4 1/2 Galls Rape Oyle 1 2 3 8 Cattoes Iron 2 8 2 Lines for Drum 5 3 6 1/2 Tarr 3 3 16 6 Plantation 5:3: Rice 4 6 3 2:3: Tacky 19 3 5 6 6 Blacks 2lb Sea Ropes 12 6 doz Hooks 2 8 6 Lines 4 6 44 Small Blanketts 12 4 9 9 Yards Kersey 15 9 9lb Blue Gingham 3 1lb Coloured Thread 4 8 150 Taylours Needles 20lb Rice 19 10 35 1 11 Diet Expences 63 Galls Arrack 19 19 30:2:14 Flowr 4 13 6 18:-: Candy 2 13 6 9:2:9: Sugar 1 3 2 Galls Vinegar 7 4 Bottles Oyle 1 4 7 Galls Small Beer 2 9 18 Galls Port 6 9 9 ditto Sherry 3 9 39 10 6	2 lines for drums, £0 3s 3d 6.5 corks, £0 3s 0d Total, £3 16s 6d Plantation: 5 hundredweight 3 quarters of rice, £4 6s 3d 2 hundredweight 3 quarters of paddy, £0 19s 3d Total, £5 6s 6d Blacks: 2 catties of bohea tea, £0 12s 0d 6 dozen hooks, £0 2s 8d 6 lines, £0 4s 6d 44 sailors' blankets, £19 4s 6d 9 yards of kersey, £0 15s 9d 9 pieces of blue gingham, £0 3s 0d 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 4s 5d 150 tailors' needles, £0 0s 0d 20 hundredweight of rice, £19 10s 0d Total, £35 1s 11d Diet expenses: 63 gallons of arrack, £19 19s 0d 30 hundredweight 14 lb of flour, £4 13s 6d 18 lb of candy, £0 13s 6d 73.5 lb of sugar, £2 1s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £1 0s 0d 4 gallons of small beer, £1 4s 9d 7 gallons of strong beer, £6 9s 9d 18 gallons of port, £3 0s 9d 9 gallons of sherry, £39 10s 6d Total, £39 10s 6d Grand total, £234 18s 5.5d Interpretations Bread at 57 hundredweight is the largest quantity recorded anywhere in this run, and its purpose is not domestic. Four Indiamen lay in the road through the month and sailed for England on 30 May, and homeward ships victualled at St Helena for a passage of some weeks. The same pattern appeared in May and June 1729, when 2,010 lb and 1,220 lb were baked for the fleet and the item vanished from the accounts entirely once the ships had gone. Twenty eight hundredweight of damaged rice sold cheaply continues the storekeeper's standing practice with spoiled stock. Chintz had gone the same way in September 1730, moth-eaten stockings in October, and further damaged chintz in January 1731. Selling into the island at a reduced rate recovered something where shipping the goods home would have recovered nothing. Forty four sailors' blankets issued to the slaves follow the twenty eight of the previous period, making seventy two in ten weeks. The annual clothing charge normally fell in September, so an issue on this scale in May belongs to the opening of the island's winter rather than to the usual cycle. Governor Pyke has been in office ten weeks and appears to be re-equipping the establishment ahead of the cold season. Wax candles at 18 lb are charged separately from tallow throughout this record because they lit the council chamber rather than the kitchen. Their appearance among general charges alongside window glass, paint brushes and an iron mould suggests repairs at the castle or Plantation House. Two lines supplied for the drums are a small entry with a specific purpose. Drums were the island's means of publishing orders, proclamations being made by beat of drum, and the gunner's inventory of 30 September 1730 had carried six of them among the garrison stores.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		234 18 5 1/2	
76	74	Gunners Stores Expended in May 1702 Guns Fired, Shott, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 1702 May 4 An Allarm Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived the Harrison Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 9, Powder 9 do To Salute the Supra Cargoes Guns Fired 1, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 1, Powder 8 11 do Two French Ships Sailed Guns Fired 14, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 14, Powder 14 5 An Allarm Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived the Hartford Guns Fired 11, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 11, Powder 11 do To Salute the Supra Cargoes Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 9, Powder 9 6 Muster Day Guns Fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 12 13 An Allarm for a Ship that past by Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 15 Double Allarm Guns Fired 6, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 6, Falcon 0, Powder 18 do Arrived the Northam, George, Drake & a French Ship Guns Fired 36, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 36, Powder 36 do Fired at Bankes to bring French Ship to Guns Fired 2, Shott 2, Sakers 2, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 8 16 An Allarm Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Arrived the Ockham Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 9, Powder 9 17 To Salute the Supra Cargoes going off Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 9, Powder 9 do Hartford & Harrison Sailed Guns Fired 18, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 18, Powder 18 20 Muster Day Guns Fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 10 22 An Allarm	Gunner's stores expended in May 1731. 4 May, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 4 May, arrival of the Harrison: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 4 May, to salute the supercargoes: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 4 May, two French ships sailed: 14 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 14 falcons, 14 lb of powder 5 May, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 5 May, arrival of the Hartford: 11 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 11 falcons, 11 lb of powder 5 May, to salute the supercargoes: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 6 May, muster day: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 13 May, an alarm for a ship that passed by: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 15 May, a double alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 6 minions, 0 falcons, 18 lb of powder 15 May, arrival of the Nottingham, George, Drake and two French ships: 36 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 36 falcons, 36 lb of powder 15 May, fired at Banks's to bring a French ship to: 2 guns fired, 2 shot, 2 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 8 lb of powder 16 May, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 16 May, arrival of the Ockham: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 17 May, to salute the supercargoes going off: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 17 May, the Hartford and Harrison sailed: 18 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 18 falcons, 18 lb of powder 21 May, muster day: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 10 lb of powder 22 May, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 25 May, arrival of the Danvers: 7 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 7 falcons, 7 lb of powder 26 May, to salute Mr King: 7 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 7 falcons, 7 lb of powder 28 May, the Nottingham, Ockham, George and Drake sailed: 15 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 15 falcons, 18 lb of powder 28 May, signal made to the ships: 1 gun fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 0 falcons, 4 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 9 lb of powder Musket balls, 9 lb Cartridge paper, 2 quires Parchment skins, 1 Match, 10 lb Total: 184 guns fired, 2 shot, 2 sakers, 27 minions, 151 falcons, 325 lb of powder Signed: John French. The council appointed the following persons as parish officers for the year ensuing. Jonathan Doveton and Charles Steward, churchwardens Samuel Doveton, overseer of the highways for the east division Edmund Kendall, overseer of the highways for the west division James Harding, overseer of the highways for the south division They were all sworn accordingly.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 26 Arrived the Danvers Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 9, Powder 9 do To Salute Mr King Guns Fired 7, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 7, Powder 7 28 Northam, Ockham, George & Drake Sailed Guns Fired 15, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 15, Powder 15 do Signal made to the Ships Guns Fired 1, Shott 1, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 4 Expence of the Guard Musquett Balls 2lb Cartridge Paper 2 Quire Guns Fired 184, Shott 2, Sakers 3, Minion 27, Falcon 151, Powder 275 Parchment Skins 1 Match 40 Signed Jno French We this day appointed the following Persons for Parish Officers for the Year ensuing Vizt Jno Bowden & Charles Steward for Churchwardens Saml Bowlton Overseer of the Highways for the East Division Edmd Nicholls ditto for the West Division & James Harding Overseer for the South Division & they were all Sworn accordingly The Money owing from severall other Debtors to Mr Smith was this day demanded Vizt Jos Harding owes £8:2: & this day paid £4:15: Hen Luffkin owes £1:2: & will pay in three Years Giles Hayes owes £10:11: & will pay at Xmas Orlando Bagley Junr owes £3:3: & will pay at Septr James Seale owes £3:6:6 & will pay at Novr Robt Quarley owes £25: & promises to pay it out of Money due to him at England Jos Whaley Junr owes £4:2 & will pay at Septr John Bazett owes £13:5: & this day paid Mr Goodwin Isaac Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe	The money owing from several other debtors to Mr Smith was demanded that day, and the following answers were made. James Harding owes £8 2s 0d and paid £4 15s 0d that day Stephen Lufkin owes £1 2s 0d and will pay in three years Giles Hayse owes £10 11s 0d and will pay at Christmas Orlando Bagley junior owes £3 3s 0d and will pay at September James Seale owes £3 6s 6d and will pay at September Robert Girling owes £25 0s 0d and promises to pay it out of money due to him in England James Whaley junior owes £4 3s 0d and will pay at September John Bagley owes £13 5s 0d and paid Mr Goodwin that day Signed: Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin, David Crisp. Interpretations The month's consumption of 325 lb of powder is by a wide margin the heaviest in this record, exceeding the 220 lb of March 1731 and the 419 lb of May 1729 only in the number of distinct occasions. Eight ships arrived and six departed within four weeks, each preceded by an alarm as the strange sail was sighted and each saluted on both arrival and departure. The gun accounts measure the traffic in the anchorage more exactly than any other record the island kept. Two round shot fired from Banks's battery to bring a French ship to on 15 May repeat the action taken in January 1731 against another French vessel. Foreign ships were required to identify themselves before entering the road, and firing across the bow was the only compulsion available to an island with no means of pursuit. Saluting the supercargoes separately from the ships marks a distinction of rank. A supercargo was the merchant officer who managed the trading business of a voyage, answerable to the Company rather than to the commander, and the nine guns given him on landing and again on going off match the compliment paid to the ships themselves. The parish officers appointed here are the same class of men who fill every such list in this record. Jonathan Doveton and Charles Steward as churchwardens carried the parish charge for the poor, which had brought Doveton before the council on 22 May over the chaplain's servant. Overseers of the highways for the three divisions had a fresh significance after the Sandy Bay road inquiry of April 1731. Robert Girling's promise to pay £25 0s 0d out of money due to him in England is the only answer among these debtors that does not involve cattle or delay. Bills drawn on funds held in London were how the island's larger transactions were settled, and Girling's estate had been the subject of a deathbed declaration allowed in evidence on 11 November 1729.
77	75	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 17th June 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved This day the London arrived from India the Supply she brought is as follows Vizt Balavia Arrack 4 hhds Legr 76	At a consultation held on Wednesday 11 June 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>London</i> arrived from India that day. Her supply for the island came to the following. Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, number 5, 71 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 6, 60 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 7, 72 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 8, 60 gallons, 263 gallons in all, 262 rupees 0 annas 0 pies

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Do 5 71 6 62 7 72 8 60 269 Gald 26d $\mathfrak{P}$ Legr 10 bags Sugar of 88lb Factory is Cwt 14 @ 12 $\mathfrak{P}$ bag 269 139 15 bags Rice Wt 95 Factory is Cwt 12½ 60 65 Rice Wt $\mathfrak{P}$ Cwt 6 36 2 3 Charges Merchandize Rsd 198 2 3 Capt Steward this day desired leave to enlarge his own Ally In lieu of his Brother Gabriel to fourty one Acres of Leyfield Land to his other Brother Charles Steward &c Same was Granted accordingly Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Fryday 15th June 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved The Debts due to Mr Smith from Several other Persons made their day amounted of they to be applyed as follows Vizt Mary Powell owes £38, 1 & offered Cattle or to pay it upon Rt of Same next Sarah Scott owes in very ancient very poor & Insolvent Henry Youden was Sup marked but so verry ill & not able to gett Rebekah Davis owes £22 3, but is very poor & has a Wife & very five Children more likely to promise to pay as fast as he can, he had ill Lyeth on the Black for he died ten days after he bought him Mary Steven Wilson is very poor but promises to pay in a few times John Long owes the Rest of Mr Smith's Debts, & that is very poor & has a Wife & Eight Children However he promises to Pay it as Soon as he can The Petition of John Brown Surgeon was presented & read Setting forth, that he hath the Sum of four hundred Pounds by him & having heard that the Hon'ble Company have formerly given leave to take in Money upon Bond & paying Interest after the Same Rate as their Bonds in England & praying that We would take in the aforesaid Sum & that he might be allowed Interest for the Same which being taken into Consideration the Governour was of Opinion that the Hon'ble Company having no immediate Occasion to take Up any more Money at present & doubted whether they would allow Interest or not, but if John Brown was willing to pay any Sum of Money into their Cash Office let it lay without Interest till their	10 bags of sugar at 22 maunds, factory weight, 1 maund 14 seers 8 [...] per bag, 133 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 45 bags of rice at 19 maunds, factory weight, 0 maunds 6 seers 12 [...] per bag, 65 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 36 rupees 2 annas 3 pies Charges merchandise, 498 rupees 2 annas 3 pies Charles Steward asked leave to convey his own share, and the share he held in trust for his brother Gabriel, in about 41 acres of leasehold land, to another brother, Charles Steward. The council granted it. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 June 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Charles Steward laid before the council a note of the debts owed to Governor Smith. The sums amounted to £11 [...] and the debtors answered as follows. Mary Powell, £33 1s 1d, allowed a further year to pay Joseph Small, in very poor health and insolvent, no sum recovered Harry Squire, unemployed and incapable, no sum recovered Caleb Davis, £2 3s 0d, in very poor health and unable to pay, having five children to keep, promised to pay as soon as he could, and had already spoken with the Black about it, who died ten days after he bought him Mary Thomas Whaley, very poor but promised to pay in a short time John Long, £8 0s 0d, very poor, with a wife and eight children, promised to pay as soon as he could The council considered the petition of John Brown, surgeon. He set out that he held £400 0s 0d and had heard that the Company sometimes took money at a fixed rate of interest, and he offered to lend the sum on the same terms his father had accepted in England. He asked that the interest be paid in England and that any bill drawn on the Company be accepted there. Governor Pyke took the offer into consideration and gave his opinion that the Company had no immediate need to borrow. He was nevertheless willing to allow the surgeon interest at 6 per cent for any sum he was willing to advance from the day the money came into the Company's cash, provided the interest fell due only [...]. He held the proposal unsuitable, since a clause in the 79th paragraph of the Company's letter [...] Interpretations A leaguer was the standard cask of the eastern trade, running to about 150 gallons, and arrack was shipped in half leaguers of some 60 to 72 gallons apiece. The four casks landed here total 263 gallons, close to the four half leaguers of 267 and 281 gallons landed by the <i>Drake</i> and the <i>George</i> on 15 May 1731, so the <i>London's</i> consignment sits squarely within the pattern of the annual supply. A maund was a weight of about 80 pounds and a seer a subdivision of it, factory weight being the standard applied at the Company's own settlement rather than the local market measure. Batta was the exchange allowance added when converting between currencies of different standards, and charges merchandise covered bags, sewing, twine and boat and coolie hire. The Steward conveyance turns on a distinction the council had to police carefully. Charles Steward held one share in his own right and another as trustee for an absent brother, and it was the trust share that made the transfer a matter for the council rather than a private bargain. At the general court of 25 September

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Pleasure was known he would approve of it, but to pay Interest for it before they could send their Directions about it, he thought not proper for altho there be a Clause in the 77th Article Par of the Govr Laws of the	1729 he had been unable to defend two acres held on the same footing for brothers in England, the jury directing him to prove his title, so the council knew from experience how easily a trust holding could fail for want of authority. The debt list shows the island's chronic want of coin four years after John Smith sailed for England on the <i>Grantham</i> on or about 20 March 1727. Every answer is the same: poverty, illness, a large family, a promise deferred. Caleb Davis, the coxswain of the Company's long boat who deposed on the drowning of five slaves on 29 October 1728 and won his Sandy Bay lease on 15 September 1730 by pleading he had no land and lived by hard labour at a small wage, appears here as a man who bought a slave who died within ten days and could not meet a debt of £2 3s 0d. John Long, whose record before the council runs from the beating of John Martin Vandeston on 16 July 1728 through the goat shootings and the silver tankard charge, is entered simply as very poor with a wife and eight children. Interest at 6 per cent matches the rate the council itself had charged Francis Wrangham on 26 January 1731, when it lent him £61 0s 0d for three months on his bond. The surgeon's proposal ran the other way, offering the Company a loan rather than seeking one, and the attraction for him lay in the place of payment: money earned at St Helena was almost impossible to remit, whereas interest paid in England, or a bill accepted there, converted island earnings into sterling at home without shipping coin or trusting it to a voyage. Speculations The obvious course on a £400 0s 0d offer of credit was to take it, since the island ran perpetually short of cash and settled its own accounts in notes and stock. The Governor declined it instead, and the record shows why: the Company had no present need to borrow, and a clause in its letter stood against the arrangement. What he offered in its place was narrower than what was asked. Interest would run only from the day the money actually reached the Company's cash, not from the date of the offer, and the difficulty lay in the timing of payment rather than the rate, which he was content to allow at the same 6 per cent the council had charged Francis Wrangham on his own bond five months earlier. The surgeon wanted his return in England; the Governor was willing to pay for the use of the money but not to commit the Company's credit at home to a bargain struck on the island.
78	76	the 31st May 1731 by the Dukes relating to the Money of Capt Coyne yet the then Governour, & Council did not take it for tale he had first applied to the Hon'ble Company for leave to do so therefore think it most proper to wait for their Answer & Directions before any thing be further done in it, the Gentlemen of Council being ask'd if they desired to give their thoughts of this Matter Severally declared themselves of the Governours Opinion Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 26th June 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved	The clause bore date 31 May 1731 and came by the <i>Drake</i>, relating to the money of Captain Gough, and the governor and council of that time had not acted upon it. Governor Pyke had first applied to the Company for leave to do so, and he therefore thought it right to wait for their answer and direction before anything further was done. The gentlemen of council each gave their opinion separately on the question, and all agreed with the Governor. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 June 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Middlesex</i> arrived from Bengal on 17 June, and the <i>London</i> and <i>Danvers</i> sailed for England. The supply landed from the <i>Middlesex</i> came to the following. Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, number 9, 83 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 10, 73 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 11, 70 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 12, 73 gallons 299 gallons in all, at 120 rupees per leaguer, 262 rupees 0 annas 0 pies

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		On the 24th the Middlesex arived from Bengall & on the 17 instant the London & Dennis Saild for England, the Supply brought by the Middlesex is as follows Vizt Balavia Arrack 5 hhds Legr 76 Do 9 88 10 78 11 70 12 80 396 Gallo 26d P Legr 269 10 bags Sugar of 88 factory is Ct 2 P 12 P 10 P bag 138 36 bags Rice Wt 74 8, factory is Ct 3 P 9 P 6 P same M. 4.12.9 59 12 9 Bags 28 12 9 Charges Merchandize Rsd 374 9 6 Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Fryday 29 June 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved Mr Dean having acquainted us that he had seen upon the Board a fellow named Ratliffe who he was Sure was one of the Hon'ble Companies Slaves & having been long his Slave, upon Inquiry We find that Mr Powell bought him of the Commander of the Sabina & Mary who was lately returned from Princeston, We therefore Reclaimed the Said Slave & he was accordingly delivered to Us Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	10 bags of sugar at 22 maunds, factory weight, 2 maunds 1 seer per bag, 133 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 36 bags of rice at 19 maunds 8 seers, factory weight, 3 maunds 6 seers 4 [...] per bag, 52 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Batta, 28 rupees 12 annas 9 pies Charges merchandise, 474 rupees 0 annas 6 pies Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 June 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Brown reported to the council that he had seen a slave named Philip aboard one of the ships in the road, and that the man was one of the Company's slaves who had been missing for some time. Inquiry established that Mr Powell had bought him from the commander of the <i>James and Mary</i>, lately returned from Bencoolen. The council reclaimed the slave, and he was delivered up accordingly. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and David Crisp. Interpretations The <i>Middlesex</i> consignment repeats the pattern of the <i>London's</i> a fortnight earlier almost line for line: four half leaguers of Batavia arrack priced at 120 rupees per leaguer, ten bags of sugar at 22 maunds and a run of rice bags, with batta added at the end. The rice differs, 36 bags here against 45 in the <i>London</i>, and the arrack runs 299 gallons against 263, which suggests the Bengal agents made up each island supply to a standard specification rather than shipping whatever came to hand. Batta was the exchange allowance struck when accounts crossed between rupee zones of different standards, and a seer was the subdivision of the maund, factory weight being the Company's own settlement standard. The Gough money had been outstanding since the clause reached the island on 31 May 1731 aboard the <i>Drake</i>, which sailed for England with the fleet of 30 May 1731. Governor Byfield's council let it lie, and Governor Pyke, arriving in March of that year, chose to refer it to London before acting. A council that moved on a Company instruction without authority risked being personally answerable for the sum, which is why every member was asked to record his view separately rather than concur in the Governor's alone. The recovery of Philip turns on the legal character of a slave as Company property rather than as a runaway person. Mr Powell had bought him in good faith from a ship's commander and lost him without any finding of wrongdoing, the council simply reclaiming its own goods. Philip is very probably the man produced by Joseph Bates on 3 May 1731 as a witness in the Mesa estate affair, who admitted lodging at Bates's house and could give no account of having been carried ashore in irons; the <i>James and Mary</i> had brought the Bencoolen supply that March and carried away the account of bad diet that drove the seven soldiers to desert on 30 March 1731. Speculations The council could have treated the sale of Philip as a fraud and pursued the commander of the <i>James and Mary</i> who sold him, or Mr Powell who bought him. It did neither. The record shows the man simply identified, claimed and handed back, with no penalty on either party and no inquiry into how a Company slave came to be shipped to Bencoolen and sold on return. The chosen course was the cheapest one available: reclaiming the property cost nothing and closed the matter, whereas a prosecution would have required evidence from the ship, which was already in the road and about to sail, and from a slave whose testimony the island's own courts would not receive.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
<u>79</u>	77	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 27th June 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved On Sunday last the Middlesex Sailed for England & the Dutch Ship for Holland John Young Ensign being charged with breach of Orders & Neglect of Duty for having left his Post at Bankrupt when the Middlesex was coming in & for being on board the Dutch Ship in the Road where he continued Drinking till Evening & then came on Shoar & Lay at his house in the Valley all that Night was this day Summond to attend which he accordingly did & being asked what he had to Say for himself replied that the Fort at Bankrupt was so much out of Repair that if he had raised a great Cry there which alledged him to come away but a long time Shuffled & Waded before he would own that he had absented himself from his Duty a whole Night but being pressed to give a direct Answer he did at length acknowledge that he had both left his Orders & neglected his Duty for a whole Night pretending upon Acct of his Cold he was obliged to do so, but this is a very weak & like Excuse for Officers never at least never ought to leave their Post upon Account of a Slight Cold he felt it was proved he was drinking a whole Afternoon on board the Dutch Ship, ten Saturday last got very Drunk there which People we all know about the Restoration of their peace would not have don, We therefore upon full Consideration of the busyness which is attended with many aggravating Circumstances his neglect of Duty happening at a time when one of the Hon'ble Companys Ships was in the Road & a Ship lying in the Offing at that time not known what She was and by her Lying so long there we all the reason in the World to believe it was a foreigner if not an Enemy, We think him the Hon'ble Companys Service & Appointed Isaac Wood to be Ensign Wilks Smith was also accused for going on board the Dennis on the day she Sailed without leave tho' he has had leave as often as he desired it, but he was more particularly accused for going among the inferiour Officers of Severale of the Ships & advising them not to take their Water here least it Should occasion the Death or Sickness of their Men, but to go to Lemon Valley to Water where he pretended the Water was much wholesomer or in South the Water at Lemon Valley which used to be of equal Goodness is now much worse than the Water here because of a great blow of Earth that we Sunk down from the Side of the Mountains & fallen for a long tract over the Water Cough which	At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 June 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Middlesex</i> sailed for England on the previous Sunday, and the Dutch ship for Holland. John Young, ensign, was charged with breaking orders and neglecting his duty. He had left his post at Banks's while the <i>Middlesex</i> lay in the road and gone aboard the Dutch ship, where he stayed drinking until evening. He then came ashore and lay at his house in the valley through the night. Summoned before the council the next day, he answered that the post at Banks's stood so far out on a headland that a call could not carry, and that a great and dark cave there might have hidden him for a long time. He evaded the charge and shuffled before admitting that he had absented himself from his duty for a whole night. Pressed for a direct answer, he acknowledged that he had broken his orders and neglected his duty for a whole night, offering as his excuse a need of the cave he was obliged to answer. The council held this a very weak defence, since an officer never ought to leave his post on such an account. He said himself that he had been drinking a while aboard the Dutch ship on the Saturday and had grown very drunk there. The council therefore thought that people who saw him about the fortifications of their parish would not have done so had he been sober. Governor Pyke and the council took the whole of the offence into consideration and found it attended by many aggravating circumstances. The neglect of duty happened at a time when one of the Company's ships lay in the road, and another ship lay in the offing whose character was then unknown. There was as much reason in the world to believe her a foreigner or an enemy as a friend. The council dismissed Young from the Company's service and appointed Isaac Wood ensign in his place. Wilkes Smith was also accused of going aboard the <i>Danvers</i> on the day she sailed, without leave and as often as he pleased. The council accused him more particularly of going among the inferior officers of several of the ships and advising them not to take their water there, but to show contempt for the death and sickness of their men and go to Lemon Valley for water instead. He argued that the water there must be wholesome, since it is in South Wales. The Lemon Valley water, which used to be of equal goodness, is now much worse than the water at the fort, because a great block of earth fell down from the side of the mountain a long time back over the water course, which has tainted it with a strong mineral taste, so that it is now worse than the fort water. Governor Pyke, by his deceitful information, has scared several of the ships' people from taking their water here, though he has no interest in it beyond a charge of about 4 or 5 shillings for those to whom the water fell to come and carry it to the house, which is in Lemon Valley. The place he saw followed a good while, though in the end it was turned into a run for anything they struck on shore and drank it at his house. The people virtualled there, which has been a greater concern to him than his loss. Country planters will allow, but it has caused such a bad character for St Helena water that the ships are afraid to use it, and it disgraces them. Of this weak, ill-grounded notion it is absolutely necessary to bring the water from Chubb's Spring to the crane, clear of all the salt springs on the way. It will cost the Company a good deal of money before it can be effectually done. Smith acknowledged his fault and asked pardon for it, promising to behave himself well for the future. The council dismissed him, having been paid.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		has tainted it with a Strong mineral Salt so that it is now worse than the Fort Water, but Smith by the deceitful Insinuation has terrified Several of the Ships People from taking their Water here though he has seen thereon is only to draw the Extraordinary as Makes that go there to fetch Water filled to come & Carry it at his house which is in Lemon Valley & the Practice he has ** followed a good while tho' the World it was seen in his Arm for Anything then Attack on Shoar & drink it at his house, the People Victuals which has been a greater Concerne to him than his loss, Discouragements will allow but it has caused Such a bad Character of the St Helena Water that the Ships are afraid to Use it & to disgrace them of this weak & grounded Notion it will be absolutely necessary to bring the Water from Duke Spring to the Crane clearly at the New Springs to the way it will cost the Hon'ble Company a good deal of Money before it can be effectually done The Said Smith having acknowledged his Fault & begged Pardon for the Same promising to behave himself well for the future We dismiss him being poor Ordered that the way from here to Duke Spring be cleaned & the Distance then exactly measured & that a Small Cask of Water be fetched from Lemon Valley & another from Duke Spring in order to be weighed the better to enable Us to find out the Difference between them Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe Margin Notes: Ensign Young Dismissed Lemon Valley Water Spoiled by a fall of earth Water	The council ordered that Chubb's Spring be cleaned and the distance exactly measured, and that a small cask of water be fetched from Lemon Valley and another from Chubb's Spring, so that each might be weighed against the other to establish the difference between them. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations The water question had been running since the commission of 1 April 1729, when the council sent ten men to survey Chubb's Spring after the Company reported that commanders watering at the Cape grossly overcharged for the supply. That commission found the springs dry or nearly so and the flow reduced to less than a fifteenth of what older residents remembered, yet nonetheless certified that the spring would serve the shipping in any season, on the express ground that ships diverting to the Cape would ruin the island. Three years on, the difficulty has changed shape. The water is no longer merely scarce but has acquired a reputation, and a reputation among ships' officers costs the island the same trade that a dry spring would. The mineral taint in Lemon Valley came from a landslip that buried the water course, ground water passing through disturbed earth picking up dissolved salts. Lemon Valley served as the island's secondary landing and had been guarded on alarms since the war footing of 9 May 1727, so its water supply mattered beyond the households nearby. Banks's was a battery covering the anchorage, one of the dispersed gun positions listed in the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727, which recorded 7 guns there. Its position on a headland is what made the post both important and lonely, and Young's own excuse, that a hail could not carry that far, is an admission of why the guard was set there in the first place. Isaac Wood had served as churchwarden from 1 October 1728 and gave evidence against John Bradley at the general court of 26 September 1728. His appointment as ensign moves a settled inhabitant into a military office vacated for drunkenness, a pattern running through the island's establishment. Speculations The council could have dealt with Smith as it dealt with Young, since both men were charged in the same sitting and Smith's offence was arguably the graver of the two. Young left a battery unmanned for a night; Smith talked the island's water supply into disrepute among the officers of successive ships, which touched the whole settlement's standing as a victualling station. Young was dismissed the service outright and replaced the same day. Smith was let go on an apology and a promise. The difference lies in what each man held: Young occupied an office the council could simply take back, whereas Smith's damage was already done and could not be undone by removing him from anything. The council turned instead to the physical problem, ordering the spring cleaned, the distance measured and two casks weighed against each other, which suggests it had decided that the answer to a rumour about the water was a demonstrable fact about the water rather than a punishment.
80	78	At a Consultation held on Fryday 30th June 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved We this day paid the Garrison for the Month past The Comprador Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered	At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 June 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council paid the garrison for the past month. The storekeeper, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for June, which were examined separately and approved as follows.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		each their Monthly Accts for June which were Severally Examd & Approved & are as follows Vizt Guns Stores Expended in June 1739 Vizt Guns Fired, Shot, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder June 5th An Allarm: Guns Fired 4, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 4 Fired the Sander: Guns Fired 9, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 9, Powder 9 10th Do Ditto: Guns Fired 4, Shot 9, Sakers 2, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 12 Syned at Frenches to bring Dutch Ship too: Guns Fired 2, Shot 9, Sakers 2, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 8 11th Anniversary of the Kings Accession: Guns Fired 21, Shot 0, Sakers 3, Minion 0, Falcon 17, Powder 32 12th Dutch Ship Saluted being come into the Road: Guns Fired 13, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 13, Powder 13 An Allarm: Guns Fired 4, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 12, Powder 12 18th Fired the Middlesex: Guns Fired 9, Shot 0, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 9, Powder 9 To Salute Govr Dean: Guns Fired 21, Shot 0, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 14, Powder 29 17th Garden & Manning Saluted: Guns Fired 18, Shot 0, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 17, Powder 39 25th To Salute Govr Dean at going off: Guns Fired 21, Shot 0, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 17, Powder 39 To return Salutes from the Dutch & other Ships: Guns Fired 18, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 18, Powder 18 Middlesex & Dutch Ship Sailed: Guns Fired 0, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 10, Powder 10 Expence of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 1, Powder 1 Delivered the Ville: Guns Fired 0, Shot 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 1, Powder 1 Delivered to Shoat Some Grain: Guns Fired 165, Shot 2, Sakers 17, Minion 17, Falcon 131, Powder 262 Musquet Balls for the Guard 94 Cartredges Paper for Cartredges & Prime 2 Slow Matches 2 Cartridges 4 Powder 4 Thread whited brown 4 Rope Coloured 5 (Signed) Jno French Expence of the Table in June 1739 Vizt 2 30 lb Beef 6 13 0 1 Steer 1 6 0 1 lb Hens 5 1 0 77 Fowles 2 8 0 10 Turkeys 1 7 0 18 Ducks 1 10 0 2 Geese 1 15 0 14 Bushels 1 10 0 60 Bushels Wheat 1 5 0 30 Bags Greens 13 17 4 53 Butter Bread 2 13 6 20 lb Sugar 3 7 0 12 lb Candles 3 4 9 20 Gallo Port	5 June, an alarm, 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 10 June, saluted the Danvers, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 10 June, an alarm, 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 11 June, fired at Banks's to bring a Dutch ship to, 2 guns fired, 2 shot, 2 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 8 lb of powder 11 June, anniversary of the King's accession, 21 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 17 falcons, 32 lb of powder 12 June, the Dutch ship saluted on coming into the road, 13 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 13 falcons, 13 lb of powder 12 June, an alarm, 4 guns fired, 4 shot, 2 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 16 June, saluted the Middlesex, 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 3 sakers, 0 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 17 June, saluted the George Brown, 18 guns fired, 0 shot, 3 sakers, 1 minion, 14 falcons, 29 lb of powder 17 June, saluted the Danvers on going off, 18 guns fired, 0 shot, 3 sakers, 1 minion, 17 falcons, 39 lb of powder 25 June, saluted the Dutch ship and the other ship, 21 guns fired, 0 shot, 3 sakers, 1 minion, 17 falcons, 39 lb of powder 25 June, the Middlesex and the Dutch ship sailed, 18 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 18 falcons, 18 lb of powder Expended by the guard, 10 lb of powder Delivered 100 balls, 1 lb of powder Delivered as [...] some grain, 94 lb of powder Musket balls for the guard, 165 guns fired, 2 shot, 17 sakers, 17 minions, 131 falcons, 262 lb of powder Cartridge paper for cartridges, 2 quires Sponges, 2 Rammers, 2 Match, 6 lb Thread, white and brown, 4 lb Rope, coloured, 5 lb Signed John French. The expense of the table for June 1732 came to the following. 2 cwt 2 quarters of beef, £6 13s 0d 1 sheep, £1 6s 0d 77 fowls, £5 15s 0d 10 turkeys, £2 10s 0d 18 ducks, £1 7s 0d 2 geese, £0 6s 0d 12 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 60 bunches of greens, £0 15s 0d 30 bags of greens, £0 15s 0d 53 gallons of arrack, £13 17s 4d 30 lb of sugar, £2 5s 0d 12 lb of candles, £3 16s 6d 20 gallons of port, £7 17s 6d 12 gallons of sherry, £4 4s 9d 2 gallons of strong beer, £3 10s 0d 12 gallons of vinegar, £1 6s 3d 2 fowls, £0 6s 3d 4 [...], £0 4s 6d [...] 23 stone, £0 4s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 4s 6d Total, £67 8s 10d A further charge covered the customary allowances on the royal anniversary. 18 gallons of arrack to the guards on the anniversary of the King's accession, £3 16s 0d 5 gallons of arrack to the black slaves, £1 11s 8d 20 lb of sugar, £0 17s 0d Total, £5 4s 8d Interpretations The June powder consumption of 262 lb is the heaviest single month since the 325 lb of May 1731,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3 10 0 3 Gallo Sherry 1 6 3 30 Gallo Strong Beer 6 6 3 4 lb Vinegar 4 4 3 3 Bottle Oyle 4 4 2 3 ½ Staves 67 8 10 9 lb Pepper 12 Gallo Arrack at the Guards the Anniversary of the Kings Accession happening this Month 3.16. 5 Gallo Arrack died the Islands 1.11.8 20 lb Sugar 17. 5.4.8	and the account shows why: eight separate salutes and four alarms in a single month, with the anchorage carrying Company ships and a Dutch vessel at the same time. The pattern established across the earlier accounts holds exactly, that the gun books measure traffic in the road more precisely than any other record on the island. Twenty one guns went on the anniversary of the King's accession on 11 June, matching the salutes of 11 June 1729 and June 1730, so the ceremonial calendar remained fixed while the shipping varied around it. The saluting guns are named by shot weight. A saker was a light long gun, a minion lighter again and a falcon the smallest of the classes carried at St Helena, and the account shows the garrison drawing chiefly on falcons for compliments while reserving sakers for the two occasions when live shot was fired. On 11 June the battery at Banks's put two shot across the bows of a Dutch ship to bring her to, the only genuine firing of the month, and the same vessel was saluted with thirteen guns the following day once her character was known. The table account at £67 8s 10d stands close to the £67 9s 4d of the six weeks to 30 April 1731, and confirms the shift recorded then: 20 gallons of port against 12 of sherry, reversing the proportion held throughout Governor Byfield's tenure. Arrack at 53 gallons is the heaviest line in the account after the wine, and the separate anniversary charge shows the customary division maintained, arrack and sugar to the guards on the royal day and a smaller allowance to the slaves. The five gallons of arrack issued to the slaves fall in the island's winter, when the planting season runs from about May to September, and the earlier accounts name wet weather as the reason for the allowance in exactly these months.
81	79	Acct of the Honble Comp: Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of June Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoats, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remd 31 May: Bullocks 50, Cowes 131, Heifers 22, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 76, Bulls 5, Totall 416, Ewes 57, Wethers 20, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 110, Sows 21, Shoats 29, Barrows 19, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 103, Turkeys 71, Fowles 222, Ducks 48, Geese 12, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Encreased in June: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 12, Bulls 0, Totall 12, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 20, Fowles 70, Ducks 0, Geese 5, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 50, Cowes 131, Heifers 22, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 88, Bulls 5, Totall 428, Ewes 57, Wethers 20, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sows 21, Shoats 29, Barrows 19, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 103, Turkeys 91, Fowles 292, Ducks 48, Geese 17, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Sold to Ships: Bullocks 8, Cowes 1, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 11, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 42, Cowes 130, Heifers 20, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 88, Bulls 5, Totall 417, Ewes 57, Wethers 20, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sows 21, Shoats 29, Barrows 19, Pigs 31, Boars 3, Totall 103, Turkeys 91, Fowles 292, Ducks 48, Geese 17, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of June. Remaining 31 May, 50 bullocks, 131 cows, 22 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 76 calves, 5 bulls, 416 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 20 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, 110 sheep in total, 21 sows, 29 shoats, 19 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 103 hogs in total, 71 turkeys, 222 fowls, 48 ducks, 12 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Increased in June, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 12 calves, 0 bulls, 12 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, 3 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 20 turkeys, 70 fowls, 0 ducks, 5 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 50 bullocks, 131 cows, 22 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 88 calves, 5 bulls, 428 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 20 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in total, 21 sows, 29 shoats, 19 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 103 hogs in total, 91 turkeys, 292 fowls, 48 ducks, 17 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Sold to ships, 8 bullocks, 1 cow, 2 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 11 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the sale, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 20 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 88 calves, 5 bulls, 417 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 20 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in total, 21 sows, 29 shoats, 19 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 103 hogs in total, 91 turkeys, 292 fowls, 48 ducks, 17 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Killed in June, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in total, 0

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Killed in Ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 3, Pigs 1, Boars 0, Totall 4, Turkeys 10, Fowles 72, Ducks 18, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 42, Cowes 130, Heifers 20, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 88, Bulls 5, Totall 417, Ewes 57, Wethers 19, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 112, Sows 21, Shoats 29, Barrows 16, Pigs 30, Boars 3, Totall 99, Turkeys 81, Fowles 220, Ducks 30, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Wethers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 1, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remd 30th June: Bullocks 42, Cowes 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 88, Bulls 5, Totall 416, Ewes 57, Wethers 15, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 108, Sows 21, Shoats 27, Barrows 16, Pigs 30, Boars 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 80, Fowles 220, Ducks 30, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 15200 lb ditto deld the Fort Blacks 12350 ditto deld the Great Wood &c 4300 Totall 31860 lb	ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 3 barrows, 1 pig, 0 boars, 4 hogs in total, 10 turkeys, 72 fowls, 18 ducks, 2 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the killing, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 20 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 88 calves, 5 bulls, 417 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 19 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 112 sheep in total, 21 sows, 29 shoats, 16 barrows, 30 pigs, 3 boars, 99 hogs in total, 81 turkeys, 220 fowls, 30 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Dead in June, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 1 neat beast in total, 0 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 4 sheep in total, 0 sows, 2 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in total, 1 turkey, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 30 June, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 88 calves, 5 bulls, 416 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 15 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 108 sheep in total, 21 sows, 27 shoats, 16 barrows, 30 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 80 turkeys, 220 fowls, 30 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 15,200 lb Yams delivered to the fort blacks, 12,350 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 4,300 lb Total yams expended, 31,860 lb Interpretations The goat column has gone from the ruled sheet altogether. The last does and kids were killed in February 1731 and the heading was dropped from March that year, so the account now runs neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry and horses only. Sheep survived the same vote of 20 January 1730 that destroyed the goats, and the flock stands at 108 here against the 110 of May 1731, held steady by the 10 head Governor Pyke bought for breeding in April 1731. Eleven head sold to the shipping is a modest disposal against the 28 of May 1731, and the difference is the anchorage. The gunner's account for the same month records the <i>Danvers</i> and the <i>Middlesex</i> both saluted in and out, with a Dutch ship besides, so three vessels victualled where the previous May had carried four homeward Indiamen at once. The pattern established across the whole run holds: beasts left the Company's books only when ships lay in the road. The poultry figures show Governor Pyke's restocking of April 1731 bearing fruit. He bought 356 fowls, 72 turkeys, 60 ducks and 4 geese for a breed after finding the yard reduced to 24 fowls, and the June account carries 292 fowls and 91 turkeys standing before the month's killing. Seventy two fowls and eighteen ducks went to the table in June, which matches the 77 fowls and 18 ducks charged in the general table account for the same month, so the two books agree. Yams at 31,860 lb sit close to the monthly range of 31,260 lb to 32,975 lb held from August 1730 to March 1731, and the split runs roughly half to the plantations, two fifths to the fort slaves and the remainder to the Great Wood. The standing crop reckoned at 948,000 lb on 24 March 1731 was carrying the establishment comfortably through the winter, in contrast with the failure of January 1729 when the yam issue vanished from the accounts entirely and the guardians of Henry Francis's orphans sold cattle to buy rice.
82	80	Collection of Store Goods Sold & delivered in June 1739 Vizt 16 Gallo Arrack 51 12 4 32 lb Sugar 26 12 6	Collection of store goods sold and delivered in June 1732. 1 cwt 2 quarters of arrack, £51 12s 4d 328 lb of sugar, £26 12s 6d 109 lb of [...], £12 12s 6d 151 lb of rice, damaged, £12 11s 8d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		109 Yards 12 12 6 151 Ditto damaged 12 11 8 53 Yards Norwich Stuff 4 4 2 100 Mr Cheese 17 5 345 Yards Crosby 30 4 7½ 10 Sea Truths Sorted 9 2 6 2 bags Sallis 2 6 1 lb Iron Trumps 1 3 18 lb Nails Sorted 1 9 9 lb Chalk Sorted 17 1 6 156 Yards Bras Fort 1 9 0 1 Cask & Cocynett 19 2 1 Bushel Rye 8 10 30 4 355 1 5½ Diet Expences 7½ Gallo Arrack 23 15 3 18 lb Sugar 9 10 3 18 lb Candles 13 6 20 Gallo Port 17 3 0 9 Gallo Sherry 3 9 9 20 Gallo Strong Beer 9 12 6 2½ Gallo Vinegar 1 0 6 3 3 Bottle Oyle 1 6 3 5½ 20 lb Flour 4 9 9 lb Pepper 46 3 Charges General 17 London Glass 5 8 6 Lead 1 8 10 1 Vices 8 10 1 Slabs 18 10 1 lb Hinges 4 8 1 Mr Plaistairs 2 6 3 Gimletts 4 8 9½ Twine 3 6 11½ Nails 4 2 Cwt 12 Pig Lead 1 0 6 5½ 30½ Wire 1 10 5½ 2 Mavour Sacks 4 6 3 Irons	63 yards of Norwich stuff, £4 2s 0d 100 lb of cheese, £7 5s 0d 343 yards of crepe, £30 4s 7.5d 10 sea knives, sorted, £9 2s 6d 2 bags of saltpetre, £2 6s 0d 1 lb of iron [...], £1 9s 0d 19 lb of soap, sorted, £17 1s 0d 9 lb of [...], £1 1s 0d 156 [...], £19 2s 0d 1 [...], £8 10s 4d 1 [...], £30 0s 0d Total, £355 1s 5.5d Diet expenses 7.5 gallons of arrack, £23 16s 0d 1 cwt 2 quarters of sugar, £9 10s 3d 18 lb of candles, £0 13s 6d 20 gallons of port, £7 12s 0d 9 gallons of sherry, £3 9s 9d 20 gallons of strong beer, £3 10s 0d 24 gallons of vinegar, £1 6s 3d 3 bottles of oil, £1 6s 0d 5.5 lb of [...], £4 9s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 4s 0d Total, £46 3s 0d Charges general 17 [...] of window glass, £5 8s 0d 1 [...], £1 10s 0d 1 [...], £1 8s 10d 1 [...], £2 12s 0d 1 [...] hinges, £2 4s 6d 1 [...] of [...], £2 4s 6d 2 gimlets, £0 3s 0d 94 [...] of twine, £4 2s 0d 119 [...] of [...], £4 12s 0d 1 cwt 12 lb of white lead, £1 10s 1.5d 39 [...] of nails, £1 10s 0d 2 [...], £0 6s 6d 3 [...], £0 6s 0d 2 [...], £0 6s 6d 13 [...], £2 6s 0d 6 [...], £2 6s 0d 1 [...] lampblack, £12 3s 0d 1 [...], £2 2s 8d 18 lb of candles, £2 15s 6d 1 [...] plank, £2 6s 6d 3 cwt 3 quarters of [...], £4 12s 3d 2 [...], £2 6s 3d 2 cwt 0 quarters 12 lb of paddy for hogs and poultry, £2 6s 3d 1 [...], £2 6s 3d Total, £20 4s 2d 12 [...] of [...], £0 4s 7.5d 11 [...] of damaged chintz, £2 2s 0d [...] of crepe, £2 2s 0d 7 [...] of blue gingham, £2 5s 0d 12 [...] of [...], £1 10s 0d 1 [...] of blankets, £1 2s 0d 1 large [...], £1 5s 0d 12 [...] of [...], £1 5s 0d 13 [...], £1 10s 0d 5 [...] of [...], £0 10s 0d 1 [...] of China silk, £1 6s 0d 3 [...] of tea, £10 7s 0d 1 cwt 2 quarters of rice, £7 2s 0d Total, £16 10s 7.5d Garrison, 4 gallons of oil, £2 18s 0d Garrison, 9 [...] of thread and twine, £1 2s 0d Garrison total, £3 19s 0d Plantation, 2 gallons of oil, £1 2s 0d Grand total, £142 9s 6d Subscribed John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations Norwich stuff was the general name for the worsted cloths woven in that city, light and hard-wearing, and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		4 6 2 Scouring Brushes 4 6 6 13 Small Boards 4 5 6 6 Yards Baise 12 6 1 Sheet Sandbach 12 3 1 Single Salle 2 6 6 18 lb Candles 2 8 8 1 Batten Plank 1 15 6 30 7 Sess 2 3 6 3 2 Rice 4 6 6 2, 0, 12 Paddy for hogs & Poultry 4 2 3 1 English Ship 1 6 9 20 4 2 32 Barbar Rope 8 3 11 Yards damaged Chints 4 7½ Yards Crospy 9 3 0 7 lb blue Gingham 2 2 6 12 Yards 1 10 1 Bucking Blanket 1 3 1 Cargo Sorts 2 6 12 lb Flacks 1 6 13 Twine 10 6 1 lb China Silk 10 6 35 Tea 6 6 15 lb Rice 10 7 16 10 7½ Garrison 4 Gallo Oyle 9 8 1 Sea 9½ Thread 6½ Twine 12 3 3 19 2 Plantation 2 Gallo Oyle 12 3 113 9 6 Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	it recurs across the storekeeper's books alongside shalloon and sagathy as the material the inhabitants bought to make up their own clothing rather than buying garments ready-made. Blue gingham was a checked or striped cotton from the Indian trade, and China silk came by the same route as the tea, through the Company's Canton ships. Chintz reached the island in quantity as damaged goods cleared at reduced prices, as with the 798 pieces of September 1730 and the 12 pieces from wrecked goods bought at the Cape in January 1731, and the damaged parcel here follows that practice. Saltpetre was the essential ingredient of gunpowder, and its appearance among goods sold to the inhabitants rather than charged to the gunner's stores suggests domestic use, chiefly for curing and preserving meat. Paddy was rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than milled grain and charged here expressly for the hogs and poultry, which ties directly to the stock account for the same month showing 292 fowls and 91 turkeys standing before the killing. White lead served as both a paint base and a rust primer, and lampblack made the black paint applied to the guns. Both recur every winter in the storekeeper's accounts, since the damp of the island's southern winter attacked ironwork continuously and the gun carriages and fortifications needed constant treatment. The diet expenses at £46 3s 0d run separately from the general table account of £67 8s 10d recorded in the same consultation, and the two together show the fort's consumption divided between what the storekeeper issued and what the steward bought. Port at 20 gallons against 9 of sherry repeats the proportion in the table account and confirms the change of habit that followed Governor Pyke's arrival on 25 March 1731.
83	81	At a Consultation publicly held the 6th of July 1739 at the Hall in the Castle to which all Persons were admitted who thought fit to come Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved Wm Marsh Widow having lately died Intestate possessed of an Estate of considerable Value & James Vaughan & Isaac Long being appointed Adminrs	At a consultation held publicly on Tuesday 4 July 1732 at the hall in the castle, to which the inhabitants were admitted who thought fit to come, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Mary Marsh, widow, had died intestate leaving an estate of considerable value. James Vaughan and John Long, both appraisers, laid before the council the inventory and appraisal of the whole estate, sworn on oath. After the debts were deducted, the net estate came to £388 2s 11d.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		who this day delivered upon Oath an Inventory & Appraizement of all the personal Estate which Debts deducted amounted nett & also the reall Estate to the Sum of Three hundred Eighty Eight Pounds two Shillings & Eleven Pence the Severall Persons claiming said claim thereto Vizt John Long, James Vaughan & John Sunge each of them desired that the Governour would hear & Examine their respective Claims & promised to Submit to be led by his Determination to which the Governour Cd informed that to Save their Money & prevent them from running into a needless Expence in contesting the matter at Law he would as they had desired Examine into their Severall Rights & give his Opinion of the whole Affair but at the Same time acquainted them that if they were not Satisfied with his Judgement they Should nevertheless be at Liberty to have their Claims determined by a Jury and then proceeded to Examine into the Rights & Pretensions of each of the Claimants which were three founded Vizt John Long in effect say & his in Law claimed a house and twenty & Acres of Leasehold Land which he had formerly Mortgaged to the Marshes the deceased which Mortgage the had discharged by giving him a Release of a Childs part of the Wifes Estate, & this Claim was allowed James Vaughan in Right of his Wife Daughter of the deceased claimed a Childs part of the Personall Estate this claim was also allowed James & Sunge Trustee for his Son William who is had by the eldest Daughter of the deceased claimed a Childs part of the Personall Estate of the deceased & the Said Claim in behalf of the Son and likewise allowed, the said John Long, James Vaughan & Sunge were Severally asked whether they were consented to Legued to the Allowance of each others Claim & they each of them declared that they were perfectly well contented that they had themselves & would nevertheless thereby & advised the Govr would Settle the Rights & Proportion of each with Each other Effects but before the Governour would do that he recommended to them Consideration the distressed Condition of their Mother Widow Marsh & Long whose case is Something particular very hard for she brought her husband a good Fortune & the Grant it Salted Wife her disposed rate but it was made by the Oath of Robert Gosling that before the Marriage of this Woman with their Brother Marshall & merged into the Estates of the deceased did promise that if She did not out survived the myself at her Death make her Son Ratsed equall to her in point of Fortune, it	John Long, James Vaughan and John Long each laid claim to a part of the estate. Every one of them declared beforehand that the Governor and council would give judgement in the matter, and each undertook to be bound by that determination. Governor Pyke told them plainly that he would save their money, and warned them against entering into a needless expense in contesting the matter at law, as they had proposed to do by carrying the case into court. He offered his opinion on the whole affair, but the parties there assembled told him that they were not satisfied with his judgement and that they should nonetheless wish to have their claims determined by a jury. The council then proceeded to examine into the right and interest of each of the claimants, of which there were four. John Long claimed a house and 20 acres of leasehold land at law in right of his wife, which he had formerly mortgaged to the mother of the deceased. That mortgage he had discharged by giving her a release for a child's part of the woman's estate. His claim was allowed. James Vaughan claimed a child's part of the woman's estate in right of his wife, a daughter of the deceased. That claim was also allowed. Thomas Long Tumfrey claimed a child's part of the woman's estate for his son William, whom he had by the eldest daughter of the deceased. He laid his claim on behalf of the boy. Likewise the council asked John Long, James Vaughan and Thomas Long Tumfrey whether they were severally willing to abide by each other's claim, and whether they were perfectly well contented that they had themselves found it settled thus. All three answered that the Governor would fix the rights and proportions of each, with all their effects put before him, and that he would recommend to them the deplorable condition of their brother Widow Marsh's son, whose case was something particular, having had by the boy's father a good fortune. The infant was left destitute, but it was proved by the oath of Robert Girling that before the marriage of the woman with her brother Marsh's marriage, the husband of the deceased did promise that he would not make void the rest of her estate to be at her death, and that he had spoken to her in point of conscience. It was made agreeable to the notice of James Vaughan, that the woman had often said to him that she had begged to give him her brother of the wife, and that something considerable was to be done to the boy, and which John Long now claimed. The deceased had long neglected to make such provision for him as she had often intended, and was suddenly snatched away before she could perfect her design. Therefore the Governor told them that in justice and equity they ought each of them to contribute something towards her son. The children maintained him, and every one of them agreed to make a movement of what he could towards it. Mr Wood undertook that he would engage to keep him for his lifetime after the same manner as he does the rest of his family. Mr Wood being present agreed thereto. They desired the Governor would allot her their said part of the estate to the boy as he should think proper, and he accordingly divided the money which [...] Interpretations An estate of £388 2s 11d places Mary Marsh well above the ordinary run of island fortunes recorded in this book. The orphans' estates rendered at the courts of 1727, 1728 and 1729 ran between £23 13s 10d and £121 2s 3d, and only Gabriel Powell's fortune of upwards of £1,200 0s 0d exceeded it substantially. That size is what made the four competing claims worth pressing and what drew the council into holding the hearing publicly with the inhabitants admitted.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		remained also by the said James Vaughan that the deceased had often Said to him that he had defign to give his Son Marsh & his Wife Something considerable & mentioned the Land he Sold which John Long now claimed that the deceased had long neglected to make Such Provision for her as she had often owned & then Suddenly Snatched away Sfore, he could perfect her Design & thereupon the Govr told them that in Justice, & Equity they ought each of them to contribute Something towards her future Maintenance & Support they agreed to make a Present of Fifty Pounds to her Mother Wm Ward provided he would engage to keep Sfore for her Lifetime after the Same manner as he does the rest of her Family Mr Ward being present agreed thereto & they desired the Governour would Allott her their said part of the Estate & their Effects as he Should think proper the aim of only divided the Money which	A child's part was the customary share of a deceased parent's personal estate falling to each child, and it could be released, mortgaged against or claimed by a husband in right of his wife. John Long's arrangement shows how the mechanism worked in practice on an island almost without coin: rather than repaying a mortgage in money, he surrendered his wife's expectation under the estate and took a release for it, converting a future inheritance into a present discharge of debt. Intestacy is the whole difficulty here. Mary Marsh died without a will, so nothing fixed what should pass to the grandson, and the several witnesses could only report what she had meant to do rather than what she had done. The council reached for a moral remedy where it had no legal one, pressing each claimant to give up part of his share voluntarily, since a jury applying the ordinary rules of distribution would have given the boy nothing his mother's line did not already carry. The Statute of Frauds, which the council applied against Joseph Bates in the Mesa estate affair on 3 May 1731, required three witnesses present together, an estate under thirty pounds and an express request to bear witness before a spoken will could stand. None of the testimony here approaches that standard, which explains why nobody argued that the woman's stated intentions amounted to a will. Speculations The obvious course was to let the jury sit. Three of the four claimants said plainly that they were not satisfied with the Governor's opinion and wanted their rights determined at law, and the council had the machinery ready, having tried the Hodgkinson and Powell estates before a jury at the court of judicature on 24 February 1730. Governor Pyke pushed the other way, telling them he would save their money and warning against a needless expense, then examined each claim himself and turned the hearing into a negotiation over the destitute grandson. What he obtained was something a jury could not have delivered: a voluntary contribution from every claimant towards a boy with no legal standing at all, and an undertaking from Mr Wood to keep him for life on the same footing as his own household. The Hodgkinson suits had shown what a jury did with a divided estate, splitting it by strict entitlement and leaving Joshua Johnson's award to fall due only on a widow's death, and Pyke appears to have judged that outcome worse than a settlement he could shape himself.
84	82	was One hundred & Nine Pounds Sixteen Shillings into Nine Parts & allowed John Long two Ninths James Vaughan two Ninths, James Sunge two Ninths, Frances Long now in England two Ninths & one Ninth to Mr Ward towards keeping the Widow of Richd Long the rest he is to take out as he & the Administrators shall agree, the Money belonging to William Sunge & Frances Long is paid into the Honble Companies Cash there to remain till they Send it out and is exactly Fourty four Pounds eight Shillings & their Share will be taken of their other Effects as Soon as Sold Giles Smith, Jno Attle & Robert Burnham each of them claimed ten Acres of Freehold Land & a Black Man given by the Wife of Richd Marsh after his Wifes Death to John Marsh & his John Marsh to	The Governor divided £109 16s 0d into nine parts, allowing John Long two ninths, James Vaughan two ninths, [...] Tumfrey two ninths, Frances Long, now in England, two ninths, and one ninth to Mr Wood towards keeping the widow of Richard Long. The rest he directed the administrators to take out as they saw fit. The money belonging to William Tumfrey and Frances Long was to be paid into the Company's cash and to remain there until they came of age, and the £24 8s 0d already paid was to be taken from their other effects as soon as it fell due. Giles Smith, John Aldis and Robert Burnham each claimed two parcels of freehold land and a black man given by the will of Robert Marsh, after his wife's death, to John Marsh, wife of John Marsh, to Martha Marsh, who afterwards married Edmund Bradley. Both her husbands had died without issue and intestate. The land in question passed to the heirs of Robert Marsh, so that the claim of Aldis, being in right of his daughter's husband Bradley, was defeated. John Aldis claimed in right of his wife, who is the only surviving sister of Robert Marsh.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Martha Marsh who afterwards Married Ridmond Bradley & the other husband both dying without Issue or Intestate, the Said Lands of course reverted to the Heirs of Robert Marsh so that the Claim of Giles Smith in behalf of his Daughter Elish and Bradley was disallowed The Attle claimed in Right of his Wife who is the only Surviving Sister of Robert Marsh dead And Burnham claimed as Next Son Heir of his Mother who was the elder Sister of the Said Robert Marsh The Governour therefore for the better Accommodation & advantage of both the Claimants who are both in very low Circumstances & subject for all parties agreed to abide by his Determination, that Robt Attle Should have half the Land & half the Value of the Black, that Robt Burnham & his two Brothers Should have the other half between them & they both Attle & Burnham declared themselves fully Satisfied Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 10th July 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved The Petition of Jno Sarahvant was presented & read praying a Lease of a parcel of Ground from the Bough of Isaac Bates in the Valley of Sandy Bay in Regent to Sandy Bay in Depth in order to fence it in & the Same was Granted accordingly Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	John Burnham claimed as eldest son of the mother, who was the elder sister of Robert Marsh. Governor Pyke therefore sought a better accommodation of both the claimants, whose case was in very low circumstances, and both parties agreed to abide by his determination. He ruled that John Aldis should have half the land and half the value of the black, and that John Burnham and his two brothers should have the other half between them. Both Aldis and Burnham declared themselves fully satisfied. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 July 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council read the petition of John Seaward, who asked for a lease of a parcel of ground in the fort valley, on the road from Isaac Bates's house to the [...] in the [...], 12 feet front and 12 feet in depth, in order to build on it. The council granted it. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations The division into nine parts rather than four or five is the mechanism that made the settlement possible. A jury applying the ordinary rules of distribution would have divided the personal estate among those entitled and stopped, whereas dividing into ninths let the Governor give each of the four principal claimants an equal double share while carving out a single ninth for a purpose no rule of law would have reached, the keeping of Richard Long's widow by Mr Wood. The claimants had agreed on 4 July 1732 to contribute towards the destitute grandson, and the arithmetic here is what that agreement looked like once reduced to figures. Paying a minor's portion into the Company's cash and holding it until majority was the island's substitute for a trust. St Helena had no bank and almost no coin, and the earlier record shows repeatedly how a child's portion could be lost once it passed into a guardian's hands, most starkly in the Hodgkinson estate suits decided on 24 February 1730, where a widow carried the whole of her first husband's estate into a second marriage, took no inventory and kept no accounts, and the profits fell to her new husband for nearly twenty years. Lodging the money with the Company put it beyond the reach of any household. Frances Long being in England raised a difficulty the council met the same way. An absent claimant could not be paid without shipping coin or drawing a bill, and holding her two ninths in the Company's cash meant the sum could be remitted through the Company's own accounts rather than risked on a voyage. The second dispute turned on the difference between land and personal property. The freehold descended to the heirs of Robert Marsh under the will, so Bradley's line took nothing once both husbands died childless and intestate, whereas the black man was personal property and could be valued and divided. Governor Pyke's ruling gave Aldis half the land and half the value of the man rather than the man himself, which converted a person into a sum precisely because the alternative, dividing him, was impossible. Speculations The Governor had a clean legal answer available and declined to use it. He had just established that the land passed to Robert Marsh's heirs, defeating Aldis's claim through his daughter's husband, and the ordinary course was to declare the point and let the entitlement fall where the will put it. He set that aside on the ground that both claimants were in very low

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			circumstances, and split the property down the middle instead, half to Aldis and half to Burnham and his brothers. What made it work was consent obtained in advance, both parties agreeing to be bound before he ruled, which is the same device he had used a week earlier when three of the four Marsh claimants told him they wanted a jury. A determination the parties have agreed to accept cannot be appealed to a court, so the Governor could decide by fairness rather than by title without any risk of the settlement unravelling afterwards.
85	83	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 18th July 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that a Wench named Ellen was delivered of a boy last Week named Sampson Ordered that the Said boy be entered in the Books Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Wednesday 26th July 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & approved Mr Whitehouse Chaplain & his Wife having for a long time past led very Scandalous & immoral Lives & the Woman being very often Drunk almost every day Since she has been upon the Island & Mr Whitehouse himself often in the Same Condition & always Rude & troublesome & what he Still more, he is very much addicted to Lying in which he have often publi- ckly detected him & there is little Credit to be given to any thing he Says & he has continued to grow in this Course to Such Shameful Excess that the the People of this Place have discovered his Company, we this day Sent for him and acquainted him with all that we had either Seen or heard upon the Occasions, but with great Assurance he denied all Particulars relating to himself the he no longer Since than Sunday last he came fuddled to Dinner & before he then carried away he could neither Walk Stand or Speak Unless he this day told them of this late Complaint he Said it was all False & that he never was Drunk but once in his life & that was at the Age of Twenty. What related to his Wife he owned to be true, We therefore told him that this ill Behaviour he had justly forfeited the Gratuity & that to prevent them from any Application & other on his Suffering & Want of Livelihood Principally to come to the Honble Companies Sole Business obliged to remove him from thence, & that he must Not & Live & at home & endeavour to Reform himself & his Family & Sett a good Example to other People & in case he did this We Should be willing to	At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 July 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that a slave woman named Ellen had been delivered of a boy the previous week, named Sampson. The council ordered the child entered in the books. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Wednesday 26 July 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Mr White, the chaplain, and his wife had for a long time led a very scandalous and immoral life, both of them lying dead drunk almost every day since they had been upon the island. Mr White himself had often met the same condition and always [...] and troublesome conduct, and he was very much addicted to lying, in which he had often been publicly detected. There was little credit to be given to anything he said, and he had continued to grow in this course to such shameful excess that the people of the place shunned and avoided his company. The Governor sent for him and acquainted him with everything he had either seen or heard on the occasion, but with great assurance he denied all particulars relating to himself. He was no longer since the previous Sunday than he came drunk to dinner, and before he was carried away he could neither walk, stand nor speak. Under the [...] he had told the late captain that it was quite false and that he had never in his life been drunk but once, and that was at the age of twenty. What related to his wife he owned to be true. The Governor therefore told him that by such behaviour he had justly forfeited his gratitude, and that to persevere in it from an ill inclination and to remain in suffering a man of his ill principles to come to the [...] The council would oblige him to remove from there. What he must do is live at home and endeavour to reform himself and his family, and to set a good example to other people. In case he did this, the council should be willing to give him any reasonable encouragement and would not meddle with the gratuity. Something relating to him is very remarkable for the singularity of it. He had not been within eight of his neighbours, though he had lived there sixteen or seventeen years, and in that space of time he had never dined or supped with his wife but once, which is a precedent very ill taken and highly resented by all the good dames of the place. Mr Bradbury, the woman's [...], says she has said unkind usage is the cause of her giving herself up to liquor and ill company. The council read the petition of John Young and James Alder, who that day presented and asked each for a new lease, their former ones having expired. Young asked for 18 acres lying in Sandy Bay, and Alder for 7 or 8 acres lying near his house, and also for 3 or 4 acres lying in Swanley Valley. On this occasion the council came to the following resolutions.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		give him any reasonable Encouragement & would not meddle with the Gratuity, & Something relating to him is very remarkable & for the Singularity of it might merit notice that he Reports, that has been here Sixteen Years the By others all that Space of time he has never Slept on Ireland with his Wife But one, which is a Precedent very ill taken & highly Resented by all the good Dames of this Place, & the History & the Woman Says that She said unkind Usage is the Cause of her giving her Self up to Liquor & the Company The Petitions of John Young & James Alder were this day presented & read each praying a new Lease their former being expired, praying for Eighteen Acres lying in Sandy Bay & the other for Seven & a half lying near his house & also for another forty Acres lying in Swanley Valley & but upon this Occasion We came to the following Resolutions Vizt First that no Lease Should be Renewed till the Surveyors have first viewed the Land & Reported whether he found the Same had been duely Fenced & Planted & a Just Proportion of Wood Standing & growing thereon 2dly that if any Person be found negligent or deficient in the Particulars of Such Parcells of Land which Shall by them be so neglected	First: that before any lease should be renewed the surveyors are first to view the land and report whether they find the same has been duly fenced and planted, and a fair proportion of wood standing and thriving thereon. Second: that if any person is found negligent or deficient in the purchase of such parcels of land which shall by them be neglected [...] Interpretations The chaplain's conduct had already come before the council on 20 May 1731, when his servant Anne Lane applied to the parish for relief and deposed that his scandalous and disorderly way of living had made it impossible for her to stay. He denied ever offering to pay her passage home and abandoned the denial when a copy of his own letter was produced, the council calling it a notorious piece of prevarication. The council then agreed at his own entreaty that nothing of the proceeding should be sent home except his letter asking indulgence. Fourteen months on, the same pattern of denial and detection recurs, and the record now sets down the drunkenness plainly rather than suppressing it. A gratuity was a discretionary allowance the council paid over and above a fixed salary, and its discretionary character is the whole point of the threat here. Governor Pyke had no power to remove a chaplain, whose appointment lay with the Company in London, but he could withhold or continue a payment that rested on nothing but the council's own goodwill. Offering to leave the gratuity alone if White reformed converts a moral demand into a financial one, which was the only lever available. The lease resolutions turn a routine renewal into an instrument of the wood policy that had been failing since 1727. The Company's own threat, published in the advertisement of 16 March 1728, was that any tenant seeking renewal at the expiry of his lease would first pay a fine amounting to a considerable part of the land's market worth, and that threat was never carried into execution. The council now attaches a survey to the renewal instead, requiring the surveyors to certify fencing, planting and thriving wood before a fresh lease issues. Expiry gives the council a moment of leverage that no fine or advertisement had ever supplied, since a tenant who wants his land back must satisfy the condition first. Speculations The council had every ground to send the chaplain home. It possessed a fuller case against him than it had in May 1731, with drunkenness observed by the Governor himself, a public denial contradicted by what the whole settlement had seen, and a wife in the same condition. The obvious course was to write the whole business into the general letter and let London recall him, which is precisely what the council did with Gibson's fraudulent debt schedule in March 1729 and with Joseph Bates and the Mesa estate in May 1731, both files expressly prepared for the Court of Committees. Instead the Governor summoned him privately, put the particulars to him face to face, and offered terms: reform, stay at home, set an example, and the gratuity would not be touched. What tilts the choice is the island's position rather than any tenderness towards the man. A chaplain removed could not be replaced from the shipping the way a surgeon could, as Benjamin Alsop had been taken out of the <i>Caernarvon</i> on 13 February 1728, and the settlement would have been left without any minister at all for as long as it took a successor to come out from England.
86	84	[...] Shall be Resumed & remain unlet till the Honble Company Shall give order about it	Such land was to be resumed and to remain unlet until the Honourable Company gave order about it.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3dly That no fresh Parcell of Land be Granted to any body till the Govr has viewed it & the design to the Person Petitioned for & Rystle as Soon as the Rains are over 4thly That in all Leases to be Renewed as well as in all those which shall be Granted for any fresh parcell of Land a Clause be inserted reserving a Right to the Governour & Council for the time being to make a good Path or Road & their for Foot Passengers or a Cartway through any Such Leased Land as they now or at any time hereafter Shall think necessary Benjamin Beale made Complaint against Wm Simpson for refusing to Stand to his Agreement with him about the delivery of a Small Parcell of old Cloths but the Matter appearing frivolous the Govr desired them to withdraw & agree the Same among themselves & they agreed accordingly The Last Will & Testament of Michl Doveston decd was this proved by the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto Vizt Jno Coughran & Rich Beale, & Ordered to be Registred Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 1 Augt 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved We this day paid the Garrison for the Month past The Governour, the Storekeeper, the Gunner, & Steward deld each their Account for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Expence of the Table in July 1739 4 Pigs 1 4 4 Ducks 6 12 Fowles 1 3 63 Bottles Milk 1 3 31 Days Greens 1 4 11 lb Butter 4 46 Gallo Arrack 14 11 4 16 Gallo Sherry 6 4 18 Gallo Port 5 8 6 28 3 41 Steurs 3 18 6 17 lb Sugar 1 10 6 2 Gallo Vinegar 5 6 Bottles Oyle 5 18 Gallo Strong Beer 1 1	3: That no fresh parcels of land be granted to anybody until the Governor has viewed it and decided what he intends to settle. The petitions for the rest shall be dealt with as soon as the rains are over. 4: That in all leases to be renewed, as well as in all those which shall be granted for any fresh parcels of land, a clause be inserted reserving a right to the Governor and council for the time being to make a good path or road, either for foot passengers or a cartway, through any such leased land as they now or at any time hereafter shall think necessary. Benjamin Beale made complaint against William Simpson for refusing to stand by his agreement with him over a small parcel of old cloth. The matter appearing frivolous, the Governor told them to withdraw and settle it between themselves, and they agreed accordingly. The last will and testament of Michael Doveton, deceased, was proved on the oaths of the witnesses Michael Doveton, John Hodgkinson and Richard Beale, and ordered registered. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 August 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council paid the garrison for the past month. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered their accounts for July, which were examined separately and approved as follows. 4 pigs, £1 4s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 12 fowls, £1 1s 3d 62 bottles of milk, £1 4s 0d 31 bags of greens, £0 11s 0d 11 lb of butter, £14 11s 4d 46 gallons of arrack, £6 4s 0d 16 gallons of sherry, £5 8s 6d 18 gallons of port, £3 18s 6d 2 cwt 3 quarters 41 lb of flour, £1 15s 0d 7 lb of sugar, £0 5s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 6 bottles of oil, £1 1s 0d 18 gallons of strong beer, £0 17s 0d 17 gallons of small beer, £0 9s 0d 1 lb of candy, £0 9s 0d Total, £41 3s 6d 11 gallons of arrack to the black slaves, the weather being very wet, £3 9s 4d 9 gallons of arrack to the guards, £0 12s 8d 36 lb of sugar to the fort and other slaves, £0 12s 0d Total, £4 14s 0d Interpretations The reserved right of way in every renewed and fresh lease is the council's answer to the Sandy Bay road affair. The commissioners reported on 20 April 1731 that Joseph Bates, Joshua Johnson, Richard Insley, John Seale and Jonathan Higham had between them absorbed well over a mile of a cart road built by Governor Roberts at a charge of at least £300 0s 0d, reducing it in places to a path not a foot broad. The council declined then to compel the offenders to make good what they had enclosed, settling instead for each man opening a way ten feet wide outside his own fence. Writing the right into the lease itself prevents the difficulty recurring, since a future encroachment becomes a breach of covenant rather than a trespass requiring proof of an old road nobody can now trace. Holding fresh grants until Governor Pyke has viewed the ground reverses the practice of the preceding decade, in which the council routinely granted a parcel on petition and sent Captain Goodwin to measure it afterwards. Suspending the grants until after the rains reflects the island's southern

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		17 Gallo Small ditto 17 18 lb Candy 9 41 3 6 11 Gallo Arrack deld the Blacks the Weather being very wet 3.9.4 2 ditto deld the Guards 19.8 26 lb Sugar deld to the Sick & other Blacks 19.6 4.14.6	winter, roughly May to September, when the wet ground makes both viewing and fencing impracticable. Arrack to the slaves in wet weather runs through every winter in these accounts, and the 11 gallons issued in July 1732 stands close to the 17 gallons of July 1729 and the 17.5 of February 1731. The issue is recorded as a response to cold and damp rather than as a customary allowance like the Christmas and royal anniversary distributions, and it falls in the planting season when the labour was heaviest and most exposed. Small beer, brewed weak and drunk in quantity as a safer alternative to water, appears here alongside strong beer as a separate line. Its presence is worth noting against the water dispute heard on 27 June 1732, when the council ordered Chubb's Spring cleaned and two casks weighed against each other to settle the island's reputation among visiting ships.
87	85	Account of the Honble Compa: Stock of Neat Cattle for the Month of July 1739 Vizt Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Total, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Total, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Total, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remd 1 July: Bullocks 42, Cowes 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 88, Bulls 5, Total 416, Ewes 57, Wethers 15, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Total 108, Sowes 21, Shoates 27, Barrows 16, Pigs 30, Boats 3, Total 97, Turkeys 80, Fowles 220, Ducks 30, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Total 7 Encreased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 3, Bulls 0, Total 3, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bullocks 42, Cowes 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 91, Bulls 5, Total 419, Ewes 57, Wethers 15, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Total 108, Sowes 21, Shoates 27, Barrows 16, Pigs 30, Boats 3, Total 97, Turkeys 80, Fowles 220, Ducks 30, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Total 7 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Total 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 3, Pigs 4, Boats 0, Total 7, Turkeys 0, Fowles 14, Ducks 4, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remd 31 July: Bullocks 42, Cowes 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 91, Bulls 5, Total 419, Ewes 57, Wethers 15, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Total 108, Sowes 21, Shoates 27, Barrows 13, Pigs 26, Boats 3, Total 90, Turkeys 80, Fowles 206, Ducks 26, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Total 7 Yams Expended at the Sevl Plantations 16600 lb Ditto deld the Fort Blacks 8300 Ditto deld the Great Wood Ditto 3100 Total 24000 lb	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle for the month of July 1732. Remaining 1 July, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 88 calves, 5 bulls, 416 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 15 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 108 sheep in total, 21 sows, 27 shoats, 16 barrows, 30 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 80 turkeys, 220 fowls, 30 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Increased in July, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 3 calves, 0 bulls, 3 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 91 calves, 5 bulls, 419 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 15 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 108 sheep in total, 21 sows, 27 shoats, 16 barrows, 30 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 80 turkeys, 220 fowls, 30 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Killed in July, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 3 barrows, 4 pigs, 0 boars, 7 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 14 fowls, 4 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 31 July, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 91 calves, 5 bulls, 419 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 15 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 108 sheep in total, 21 sows, 27 shoats, 13 barrows, 26 pigs, 3 boars, 90 hogs in total, 80 turkeys, 206 fowls, 26 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 16,600 lb Yams delivered to the fort blacks, 8,300 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 3,100 lb Total yams expended, 24,000 lb Interpretations Not a single beast went to shipping in July, and the sold-to-ships row has vanished from the ruled sheet altogether. That absence is the anchorage rather than any change of policy. The <i>Middlesex</i> and the Dutch ship both sailed on 25 June, and no vessel touched the island through the whole of July, so the Company's beef trade stopped exactly as it had in the empty months of July to November 1729 and July to September 1730. The pattern holds without exception across the entire run of these accounts. The dead row has gone too, and July is the first month in this series with no losses entered at all. Four wethers and two shoats died in June, and the wet weather that prompted the arrack issue to the slaves might have been expected to carry off more. A clean sheet in the depth of the island's winter suggests the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			flocks and herds were in good condition, which fits the yam supply standing at 948,000 lb when the crop was reckoned on 24 March 1731. Yams fell from 31,860 lb in June to 24,000 lb in July, a drop of about a quarter concentrated almost entirely in the fort issue, which halved from 12,350 lb to 8,300 lb while the plantations took slightly more. The plantation figure rising as the fort figure falls points to the winter planting season, roughly May to September, drawing yams into the ground as seed rather than onto the table. The Great Wood share fell from 4,300 lb to 3,100 lb over the same month.
88	86	Gunners Stores Expended in July 1739 11 lb Powder for the Guards 3 lb Musquet Balls for ditto 1 Skin Parchment 2½ Quire Cartridge Paper 1 Handspik 10 lb Match (Signed) Jno French Collection of Store Goods Sold & Delivered in July 1739 Vizt Repaid 7½ Gallons 21 7 6 Cummenperunas Sorted as <i>JP</i> Journal & folio 8 13 4 107 & 8 Line Thread 20 10 60½ Whited Brown 17 18 8 32½ Coloured Brown 26 3 2 5 7½ Nails Sorted 2 3 6 Cummenpares Sorted as <i>JP</i> Journal & folio 2 2 6 Paint Sorted as <i>JP</i> ditto 6 4 Trumers Sorted as <i>JP</i> ditto 55 lb More Than being much damaged by long lying in the Stores 9 9 4 Mops Vessels Cask 9 18 1 Sorted ditto 5 11 6 1 Drummers Kettle & Can 5 5 10 Glassware Sorted as <i>JP</i> Journal & folio 2 18 1 Kitchenware as <i>JP</i> ditto Loomas Sorted as <i>JP</i> ditto Total Sold 118 7 11 Charges General 18 lb Soap 13 1 Warming Pan 19 6 1 Singlewase Salte 1 2 6 2 1 lb Twine 1 2 12 lb Candlewyck 2 12 6 6 Cwt 4 & Sable Black 1 12 6 1 Sheer for the Office 4 6 2 5 3 Rice 1 8 10½ 1 1 Paddy 3 for Hogs & Poultry 9 4 1½ Bruff Post	Gunner's stores expended in July 1732. 11 lb of powder for the guard 3 lb of musket balls for the guard 1 skin of parchment 2.5 quires of cartridge paper 1 hand spike 10 lb of match Signed John French. Collection of store goods sold and delivered in July 1732. Arrack, 73 gallons, £24 7s 6d Common ironware, sorted as per journal, folio [...], £8 13s 4d 104 oz of fine thread, £26 10s 0d 50 lb of white copper, £7 18s 8d 34.5 lb of coloured copper, £26 3s 2d 5 lb of nails, sorted, £2 3s 1d Ironmonger's ware, sorted as per journal, folio [...], £2 2s 6d Paint, sorted as per the same, £6 4s 0d Ironware, sorted as per the same, £9 18s 0d 55 lb of mohair, being much damaged by long lying in the stores, £5 11s 6d 4 mugs, Yorkshire ware, £1 5s 0d 1 [...] of the same, £5 5s 0d 1 drinking pot and can, £3 12s 0d Glassware, sorted as per journal, folio [...], £2 18s 11d Delft ware, sorted as per the same Looms, sorted as per the same Total sold, £118 7s 11d Charges general 18 lb of soap, £0 13s 0d 1 [...] iron, £0 19s 6d 1 single [...] plate, £1 2s 6d 1 lb of twine, £1 2s 0d 19 lb of candlewick, £2 14s 6d 6 tons of Bristol lampblack, £1 6s 0d 1 [...] for the office, £4 6s 3d 5 cwt 3 quarters of rice, £1 13s 10.5d 1 cwt 1 quarter of paddy for hogs and poultry, £0 9s 0d 1.5 [...] of [...], £0 0s 6d 1 [...] of the same 1 quire of [...] Total, £12 8s 4.5d Plantation 15 files, £0 10s 9d 25 [...], £0 10s 6d 1 hammer with iron sieve, £0 13s 6d 1 cast iron pot, £4 18s 6d 2 [...], £0 18s 0d 2 mattocks, 36.5 lb, £1 18s 7.5d 4 shod shovels, £1 18s 0d 7 knives, £0 8s 6d 1 pruning knife Total, £5 4s 7.5d Diet expenses 54 gallons of arrack, £18 13s 8d 14 gallons of port, £5 8s 6d 16 gallons of sherry, £6 1s 6d 2 cwt 3 quarters 15 lb of flour, £3 12s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		6 1 Sorted ditto 1 & Endis 12 8 4½ Plantation 15 Sieves 10 9 25 Rope 10 6 1 Hambrough Line 13 6 1 Cow Pot Iron Pott 18 18 3 Fighters & 18 7½ 9 Mounters 36½ 18 6 4 Shell Shovels 8 6 7 Hoes 1 Plantation Knife 5 4 7½ Diet Expences 54 Gallo Arrack 18 13 8 14 Gallo Port 5 8 6 16 Gallo Sherry 6 1 6 28 3 15 Steurs 3 12 6 28 lb Sugar 2 9 12 lb Candy 2 Gallo Vinegar 1 5 5 Bottles Oyle 1 1 18 Gallo Strong Beer 1 17 170 lb Small 40 4 8 Blacks 16 Bags Beans 10 6 30 Lines 1 8 6 1 lb damaged Chints 12 6 5 lb Sea 12 Nt 2, 2, 14 Rice 35 11 1½ 38 12 3½ 238 17 3½	98 lb of sugar, £2 9s 0d 12 lb of candy, £1 0s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £1 5s 0d 5 bottles of oil, £1 5s 0d 18 gallons of strong beer, £1 17s 0d 17 lb of [...], £0 0s 0d Total, £40 4s 8d Slaves 16 dry loaves, £0 10s 6d 30 lines, £1 8s 6d 1 lb of damaged chintz, £0 7s 6d 5 lb of tea, £0 12s 0d 17 cwt 2 quarters 14 lb of rice, £35 14s 1.5d Total, £38 12s 3.5d Grand total, £238 17s 3.5d Interpretations Mohair was a fine yarn spun from the fleece of the Angora goat, used chiefly for buttons and trimming. The parcel here had spoiled through long storage and was cleared at a reduced price, a practice running steadily through these accounts alongside the moth-eaten stockings of October 1730 and the chintz salvaged from goods wrecked at the Cape in January 1731. Damp and insects attacked textiles continuously in the island's storehouse, and the storekeeper turned spoiled stock into cash rather than writing it off. Yorkshire ware and delft ware mark two grades of pottery in the same account. Delft was tin-glazed earthenware with a white surface imitating porcelain, the better table ware of the period, while Yorkshire mugs were plainer utilitarian stoneware. Both reached the island through England rather than through the eastern trade, unlike the china ware carried by the Canton ships. Rice at 17 cwt 2 quarters 14 lb charged to the slaves is by far the heaviest single line in the account at £35 14s 1.5d, and it sits directly against the stock account for the same month showing yams down from 31,860 lb to 24,000 lb. Imported rice carried the establishment whenever the yam issue fell, exactly as it had done during the crop failure of January 1729, when the yam column vanished entirely and the guardians of Henry Francis's orphans sold cattle to buy rice. Thirty fishing lines charged to the slaves continue the establishment set up on 1 March 1727, when Governor Byfield abolished the meat ration in favour of fish and fitted a boat to keep the men constantly at sea. The muster of 30 September 1730 rated all eleven fishermen as good, and the recurring purchases of lines, hooks and cordage across these accounts show the fishery still supplying the diet five years on.
89	87	Goods Sold & over the brought over 238 17 3½ Garrison 6½ Gallo Bar Oyle 1 2 3 15 lb Sea 10 6 Sail Needles 9 Naval Stores Deld to Blunt 1 Fell Block with brass Shiver 6 8 17 6 253 14 9½ Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	Goods sold as brought over, £238 17s 3.5d. Garrison 6.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 2s 3d 15 lb of the same, £1 10s 0d 6 sail needles, £0 0s 9d Naval stores, delivered to the [...], £0 6s 0d 1 sail block with brass sheaves Total, £8 17s 6d Grand total, £253 14s 9.5d Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 August 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke reported that at the consultation of 25 June, Giles Smith had been charged with going among the inferior officers of several ships and warning them of the great danger they and their ships'

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		At a Consultation held on Tuesday 8th Augt 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that in Consultation of the 27th of June last Giles Smith was charged with going among the inferior Officers of Sevrl Ships & insinuating to them the great danger that they & their Ships Companies would run if they took in their Ships Water at the Crane which he told them was very brackish & Unwholesome which occasioned Severall of the Captains to refuse taking their Water at the Crane which has brought a Suspicion not only of the Goodness of the Fort Valley Water but of the Water of the whole Island in Generall & therefore he has endeavoured to find the Difference between the Severall Sorts of Water here, & to that end he compared them with Bristoll Water lately brought from England in the manner following Vizt He took a Bottle of Bristoll Water & filled it brim full when Bottle & Water it weighed exactly 5 lb 4 A Troy The Same Bottle filled with Water from Chubbs Spring weighed 5 lb 4 dwt 7 gr but this Water had a much harsher Tast than the Water from Maria Spring will hardly Lather with Soap & does not boil Peas 5 4 4 1 The Same Bottle filled with Water from Maria Spring or Plantation House commonly called Cask Proudes Water weighed 5 lb 4 dwt exactly but the Weather being Rainey when this Water was taken up there was a Small Sediment in it so that had it been fully clean he believes it would have weighed less than the Bristoll Water 5 4 4 3 The Same Bottle filled with the Fort Well Water weighed 5 4 4 6 The Same Bottle filled with Water taken out of the Water Course in the Garden in very Rich Rainey Weather & which is the Same Water Course that runs to the Crane with which all the Shipping are Supplied weighed 5 4 4 15 The Same Bottle filled with Water taken up at the Bridge in the middle of the Town weighed 5 4 4 16 Margin Notes: Water Samples Bristol Chubbs Cask Proude Fort	companies would run if they took in their ships' water at the crane. He told them the water there was very brackish and unwholesome, which led several of the captains to refuse taking their water at the crane. That report had cast doubt not only on the fort valley water but on the water of the whole island in general. The Governor therefore set out to establish the difference between the several sorts of water on the island, and to that end compared them with some Bristol water lately brought from England, in the following manner. A bottle of Bristol water, filled to the brim and weighed when both dry, weighed exactly 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt 2 [...] The same bottle filled with water from Chubb's Spring weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt 1, but that water had a much harsher taste than the water from Maria Spring and would hardly lather with soap and did not boil peas The same bottle filled with water from Maria Spring on Plantation House, commonly called Cork Prowd's water, weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt 2 exactly, though the weather being rainy when this water was taken up there was a small sediment in it, so that had it been fully clean he believes it would have weighed less than the Bristol water The same bottle filled with the fort well water weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt 6 The same bottle filled with water taken out of the water course in the garden in very rich rainy weather, which is the same water course that runs to the crane with which all the shipping are supplied, weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt 15 The same bottle filled with common rain water taken up at the bridge in the middle of the town weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt 16 Interpretations Weighing water against a known standard was the only practical assay available on the island. Dissolved mineral salts raise the density of water, so a heavier bottle indicates a more mineral content and a lighter one a purer supply. Bristol water served as the reference because the Hotwells spring at Bristol was famous in England as a bottled medicinal water and shipped widely, making it the one sample on St Helena whose quality nobody would dispute. The differences recorded are minute, running from 2 to 16 pennyweight across the whole range, and the Governor's method depended entirely on a fine balance being available at the fort. The results cut across the accusation rather than confirming or refuting it outright. Chubb's Spring came out lightest of the island samples, yet the Governor recorded plainly that it tasted harsh, would not lather with soap and would not boil peas, all three being the practical household tests for hard water. Maria Spring at Plantation House matched the Bristol standard exactly. The crane supply, which is what the ships actually take, weighed heaviest of the springs, and only rain water standing in the town weighed more. This inquiry follows directly from the consultation of 27 June 1732, when the council ordered Chubb's Spring cleaned, the distance measured and two casks weighed one against the other. The trial recorded here is that order carried out and extended to six samples rather than two. The water question itself runs back to the commission of 1 April 1729, whose members certified that Chubb's Spring would supply the shipping in any season on the express ground that commanders diverting to the Cape would ruin the island, having just found the springs nearly dry. The name of the accused differs from the earlier entry. The consultation of 27 June named Wilkes Smith, while the Governor's report here names Giles Smith and dates the charge to 25 June. Giles Smith is a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			well established inhabitant in this record, a subscriber to the goat petition of 20 January 1730 and party to the James Valley title dispute of July 1730.
90	88	The Same Bottle filled with Water from Lemon Valley taken up in very foule Rainey Weather & looking whitish Since the late Great Slip of Earth from the Mountain has fallen in & tainting much harsher than other Waters 5 lb 4 dwt 5 gr The Same Bottle filled with Water from Chubbs Spring fined down weighed 5 4 4 The Same Bottle filled with the Ships Water fined down likely Second weighed 5 4 4 So that he finds the Water at the Fort is better or lighter than the Water at Lemon Valley the not so light or good as the Water from Plantation House or Maria Spring He also caused the Distance of the way from Chubbs Spring to the Crane to be Measured & finds it to be five hundred & Forty forty Rods He has also Measured the Distance from Maria Spring to the Crane & finds it to be Nine hundred & Sixty Rods but when Governour Roberts was here he finding that the Water of Maria Spring or Captains Daniell Water was extraordinary good caused a fine Water Cough to be made from the Said Spring to a Place called the new Grounds Nine hundred & Seventy Six Rods long & did assign to have brought their Water down to the Fort so that from the Place where Governour Roberts left off there are but forty considerable more than the Distance from Chubbs Spring to the Crane & this Water of Maria Spring is much better than the Water of Chubbs Spring or any other All the Works at Lemon Valley are blown up by the prodigious Force & Violence of the Sea about three Fathoms Above Governour Pyke's went away as that was the Water Wheleway & as good as Same by Difficult have imagined yet what the Sea is rougher than Usual as it commonly is at the Change & full of the Moon the Boates cannot then without any great Hazard laden in their Water there which by the late great Slip of the Mountain is become much worse than the Water any where else besides it will be impracticable to keep it always in Repair because of the great Expence that will always attend it the Sheerest Works not being Sufficient to keep off the Surge of the Sea, in which are frequently in importance that nothing can Stand before them & only a Nights then Sitting the Calmest half a year but when the Weather happens at	The same bottle filled with water from Lemon Valley, taken up in very foul rainy weather, weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt 5. The mineral content there had risen since a great slip of earth came down from the mountain across the water course. The same bottle filled with strained water from Chubb's Spring weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt The same bottle filled with the ship's water, strained twice, weighed 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt Governor Pyke concluded that the fort water was better and lighter than the water at Lemon Valley, though it fell short of the supply at Plantation House and Maria Spring. He measured the distance from Chubb's Spring to the crane at 540 rods, and the distance from Maria Spring to the crane at 260 rods. Governor Roberts had found the Maria Spring water, also called Captain Daniel's water, unusually good during his own term, and had cut a channel 126 rods long from that spring to a place called the New Ground, intending to carry the supply down to the fort. Only a little over 40 rods separated the point where he stopped from the crane itself. The run from Chubb's Spring was far longer, and its water was inferior in every respect. The sea had destroyed the works at Lemon Valley entirely, breaking over them to a depth of about three fathoms. Governor Pyke left the valley much as Governor Roberts had, believing the water there sound enough despite some faults. Around the change and the full of the moon the swell rises, and the boats cannot then take in water without real risk. The landslip has made that supply worse than any other on the island. Keeping the works in repair would cost more than the island could bear, since the existing defences cannot hold back a surge that comes on frequently and with such force that nothing withstands it. For eight or ten nights together the landing is unusable, and the tide only serves when the weather at Lemon Valley happens to be favourable. Boats water safely at the crane far more often. The Governor therefore held that the Company would have to spend something on the supply, and that the cheapest course was to continue the channel Governor Roberts had begun. Carrying water 540 rods from Chubb's Spring would cost a great deal, and the island lacked the labour for it. The Company held 128 slaves. Thirteen were superannuated, 35 were women mostly employed in the fields, 35 were boys and 45 were girls, which left 55 men fit for heavy work. Those men were already committed elsewhere, and the Governor thought them needed on the plantations. Interpretations A rod is a linear measure of 16.5 feet, so the distance from Chubb's Spring to the crane runs to a little over a mile and a half, while Maria Spring sits at well under half that. The whole argument turns on that comparison. Governor Roberts had already cut 126 rods of channel from Maria Spring towards the fort, leaving barely 40 rods to finish the run, so the shorter route was not merely nearer but part-built. Weighing the two supplies after straining produced identical figures, which undercuts the case against the island's water more effectively than any earlier reading. Chubb's Spring and the ship's water both came out at 5 lb 4 oz 4 dwt once the sediment was removed, matching the Bristol standard against which the whole trial was set. The labour arithmetic is the constraint on which the scheme rests. Those proportions match the musters closely: the count of 30 September 1730 gave 101 men, 35 women, 33 boys and 41 girls out of 210, and the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Lemon Valley & Boates often Water Safely at the Crane &c The Governour therefore thinks that Since the Honble Company must be at Some Expence it will be best to bring the Water from Governour Roberts Water Cough but to bring the Water Nine hundred & Sixty four Rods will be chargeable because they have not a Sufficient number of Blacks to Work thereon, the whole number of their Blacks would indeed be more than enough were they so fit for Labour for they have one hundred & Seventy Eight & Blacks but of these thirteen are Superannuated thirty five or Women who are most of them constantly Childing or Suckling thirty five are boys & fourty six Girles so that there are but fifty seven Working hands & five or Six of these are commonly Sick or by Sickness the Woodmen that happen to be well Wind the Plantations	establishment has fallen substantially since. Cutting a mile and a half of channel through rock with 55 men already committed to the plantations, the fortifications and the fishery was not a proposition the island could carry. Lemon Valley served as the secondary landing and had been guarded on alarms since the war footing of 9 May 1727, yet the works there proved indefensible against the sea. The change and the full of the moon bring the spring tides, when the surge runs highest, and the account holds that boats could not water there for eight or ten nights together. Combined with the landslip fouling the channel, the valley had ceased to be a usable alternative to the crane.
21	89	& Garden & Some of the Children do the Same the most Adult of the Boys look after the Cattle the rest are many of the Weeders who are fit for husbandry are put out to the Planters the reason alledged for so doing is to Save the charge of keeping them till they are fourty Yearsers but the Governour thinks this also very insufficient, many of them are unweildy husbandmenly seat & advised that are put in a Superintent untill they are Twenty three Years of Age a Time too long in Confinems if they can earn their living for a Planter to Work for them to Employ them enough for them in the Honble Companies Works too but to Employ them all the Fifty four Men So go in the Long Boat & always four or Six go a Fishing Six & Sometimes Eight belong to the Plantation Wharf Garden Coach & Sometimes Eight to the SandGarden the remainder be hardly enough to provide Provisions for the rest & the Long Boat is Fresh or Fishing hands as often taken off & set to Work in Repairing the Fortifications To Repair the old Water Cough from Chubb Spring by turning it so as to carry the Water clear of the Salt Springs which so much hurt to the Water Or to make a new one either from Chubbs Spring or from the Place cause the new Groundes where Govr Roberts left off will require at Least Thirty hands more than can possibly be Spared from the Honble Companies Works the Governour therefore before the Opinion of each of the Councill what is most proper to be done in this Affair & to enable them to judge the better hereof Laid before them the following Abstract of all that has been heretofore Said by the Honble Company or by the then Govr & Councill relating to this	The garden and some of the children do the same, and the rest attend the yards. Each of the last two has as many of the workers as are fit for employment, and are put out to the plantations, the season allowing for no doing so. Governor Pyke bore the charge of keeping them until they are fully grown, but the number he took on this year was insufficient. Many of them are unsuited and unusable, and he advised that they be put out as apprentices until they are 21 years of age, a term too long in existence until they can earn their living. He preferred them to be employed and brought forward for them in the Company's work. He has but 55 men of the 54 men he is now in the long boat, and above four or five go a fishing. Six or sometimes eight belong to the plantation. Two of the sailors are in the garden. He remained on the west enough to provide provisions for the rest, and the rest are set with getting hands as often taken off and set to work in repairing the fortifications. To repair the old water course from Chubb's Spring by turning it, so as to carry the water clear of the salt springs which do much hurt to the water, or to make a new one either from Chubb's Spring or from the place called the New Ground where Governor Roberts left off, will require at least thirty hands more than can possibly be spared from the Company's work. Governor Pyke therefore laid before the council the question of what is most proper to be done in this affair, and to enable them to judge the better he laid before them the following extract of what has been previously said by the Honourable Company or by the then Governor and council relating to this matter. In the 8th paragraph of the general letter from England of 29 October 1728 the Company, after blaming the gardeners for something at the Cape because of the great prejudice their doing in was to this place, go on to say that though they advise in every part their water in [...] to their ships' companies, it is nevertheless one point that would condemn any way to prevent this complaint by bringing down fresh water through the valley or from any other part of the island that would make it more convenient and agreeable to our shipping. It would be pleasing to the Company if it could be done at a private charge, of which the Company desire to see it as near a calculate as possible. They know what may be proposed to do it in order to give the directions about it.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Matter Vizt In the 66th Par of the Genll Letters from England of the 29th of Novr 1728 the Honble Company after blaming the Gardiners for Something at the Cape because of the great Prejudice their doing in was to this Place go on to Say Though they design in Cough that Your Water is brackish & Unhealthfull to their Ships Companies wherefore we must you would contrive any way to prevent this complaint by bringing down fresher Water through the Valley or from any other Part of the Island that would in like it more convenient & agreeable to our Shipping it would be pleasing to Us if it could be done at a Small Charge of which We defire to see at once a Calculate as possible & the know what may & the propose to do it in order to give our directions about it In Answer to this the then Governr & Council appointed Surveyors to Survey the Water about Chubb Spring who in Consultation of the 4th of Aprill 1729 made their Report the Substance of which was that the Water there was a Sweet & good & Sam in plenty Sufficient to Supply as their Shipping & that in Spends the Same might be carried to the Crane, the then Govr & Council compute the Expencc but Say they cannot convey the Water either from the Great Rock or the Bay but convey the Water to the Crane without Stone and England the charge of which would be very considerable To this the Honble Company in the 45th Par of their Genll Letter of the 25th of Feby 1729 Reply Whereas We dont find any of the Captains now arrived in this the Same Complaint of Yours & even as this all the Year before which We are apt to think as You say was rather an having to gratify their going into the Cape than any real Cause of the like quality of Your Water We find that Bristoll Water at Sandy Valley You had another good Spring about three Measured Miles from the Sea that	In answer to this the then Governor and council appointed six persons to survey the water about Chubb's Spring, who in consultation of the 8th of April 1729 made their report. The Company said that the water there was sweet and good and in plenty sufficient to supply all their shipping. They also said that the same might be carried to the crane. The then Governor and council thought that the water could be conveyed to the crane without stone and that the charge of which would be very considerable. To this the Honourable Company in the 8th paragraph of their general letter of 29 October 1729 reply that they do not find any of the captains have complained of the same, and that the same complaint of Governor Pyke was ill taken as the year before, which they are not to think as Governor Pyke was calling on ways to specify their going into the road that any considerable quantity of the like quality of pure water. They find that fresh water is at least a very good and other good spring about three measured miles from the sea. Interpretations Rope and cordage aside, the labour figures are the heart of this passage. The Governor reckoned that repairing the old channel or cutting a new one needed thirty hands beyond anything the Company could release, and the surrounding detail explains why. Of the men fit for heavy work, some crewed the long boat, four or five fished, six to eight worked the plantations, two tended the garden and the remainder were pulled repeatedly onto the fortifications. Every man was already spoken for, so a new call on labour could only come from an increase in the establishment itself. Apprenticing children to the inhabitants ran through the whole record as an economy, beginning with Betty Green in April 1727 and continuing through the eight girls placed out in the muster of 30 September 1730. The proposal here differs in scale and intent: rather than saving the Company a child's keep, it turns the children into a labour reserve maturing towards the age of 21, which is the horizon over which the water scheme would have to be built. The salt springs are the technical difficulty behind the whole question. The channel from Chubb's Spring runs through ground carrying saline seepage, so the water arrives at the crane worse than it leaves the spring. That is what the weighings of 8 August 1732 measured, the crane supply coming out heaviest of the springs while Chubb's Spring itself, once strained, matched the Bristol standard exactly. The Company's own correspondence shows the trap the island sat in. The letter of 29 October 1728 asked for the work to be done at a private charge and requested an estimate. The commission of 1 April 1729 duly reported the spring sweet, plentiful and capable of supplying the shipping, which is precisely what the earlier reference records it doing after finding the springs nearly dry, on the express ground that ships diverting to the Cape would ruin the island. Having certified the water sound, the council could hardly then demand money to fix it, and the Company's reply of 29 October 1729 held that no captain had complained.
92	90	which if could be brought to the Crane at a moderate Expencc would be of great Service & Conveniency to our Shipping but as We find by Yours of the 15th of May the charge will be very considerable We cannot Consent to it if the Ships can be Supplied from Lemon Valley with wholesome Water at a Small Charge by making that	Water brought to the crane at a moderate charge would be of great service and convenience to the shipping, but the Company had judged on 15 May that the cost would be very considerable. The Company consented to it if the shipping could be supplied from Lemon Valley with wholesome water at a small charge, on making that place more convenient. The Company left the matter to the council and recommended it to their particular care. The Governor and council of that time answered in the 31st paragraph of their general letter of 8 April

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& One more commodious We are willing You Should do it and recommend it to Your particular care The then Governour & Council in Answer to this in the 31 Par of their Genll Letter of the 8th of Aprill 1731 acquaint the Company that they had made a Place at Lemon Valley for Strong & convenient for their Ships to Water at as easily they could But Experience has proved this ineffectual it has also been & Since the great Slip from the Side of the Mountain the Water there is or before alleged is much worse than the Water at the Crane or any where else The Governour before any opinion is given about this Matter desires each of the Council to go into each Place & to Tast & try each Water & to consider both of the Expence & not to give his Judgmt hastily but to take a Week or Ten Days in Examining into it & then to make their Report & he will Employ the Same time in order to discover fully what he thinks is best to be done herein Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 4th Augt 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Each of the Gentlemen of Council, this day delivered their Severall Answers to the Question proposed in the Governours Report on Tuesday last Vizt I have viewed according to the Governours desire the Severall Places & tasted the Severall Waters of Maria Spring, or Captain Prouds Water the Water of Chubb Spring & the Water of Lemon Valley & find that the Water named Capt Proudes Water is much the best of any, the Water of Chubb Spring at the Spring head is Sweet & good but Severall Salt Springs running into it & the Water Cough from thence to the Crane being made with a Cart Sole, is likewise by that means defective got to be Crane brackish & Unwholsome, the Water of Lemon Valley Since the late great Slip of Earth from the Side of the Mountain of about Seven or Eight Acres fell into it is quite altered both in Colour & Colour it looks Whitey & has a harsh and Unpleasant Tast & great Quantities more being likely to fall into it, the Same in a Short time will be totally Spoiled so that I am of Opinion it will be best to bring Capt Proudes Water to the Crane if the Same can be done at a reasonable	1731 that they had made a place at Lemon Valley as strong and convenient for the shipping to water at as they possibly could. Experience has proved that work ineffectual. The great slip from the side of the mountain has fouled the supply, and the water there is now much worse than the water at the crane or anywhere else on the island. Governor Pyke asked that no opinion be given until each member of the council had gone in person to every place and tasted the water himself, so that everyone might judge the expense for himself rather than take it on his word. He thought this would take a week or ten days at the examination, and he asked each to make a written report. He undertook to do the same, so that the council might resolve fully what course was best. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 August 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Each of the gentlemen of council delivered a written answer to the questions raised in the Governor's report of the previous Tuesday. The first reported that he had viewed the several places as directed, and had tasted the water of Maria Spring, also called Captain Prowd's water, the water of Chubb's Spring and the water of Lemon Valley. He found that the water named Captain Prowd's water is much the best of the three. The water of Chubb's Spring is sweet and good at the spring head, but several salt springs run into it along the channel from there to the crane, being made with a path 540 rods long. That mixture is what makes the water at the crane brackish and unwholesome. The water of Lemon Valley, since the great slip of earth from the side of the mountain fell into it, is quite altered both in colour and flavour. It looks whitish, tastes harsh and unpleasant, and sours quickly. More earth is likely to fall into it, so the same is likely to be wholly spoiled within a short time. He was therefore of the opinion that it would be best to bring Captain Prowd's water to the crane if that could be done at a reasonable charge. Interpretations The salt springs feeding into the channel are the technical crux of the whole inquiry. Chubb's Spring itself tests sound, and the weighings of 8 August 1732 confirmed it, the strained sample matching the Bristol standard exactly. What ruins the supply is the mile and a half of open channel between the spring head and the crane, which gathers saline seepage along its whole length. That explains why the council's own commission could certify the spring good on 8 April 1729 while the ships' officers complained of the water they actually received. Requiring each councillor to walk the ground, taste every source and submit a separate written report is an unusual procedure in this book. The council ordinarily resolved on the Governor's report or appointed a commission of inhabitants, as with the Chubb's Spring survey of 1 April 1729 or the Sandy Bay road commission of 18 April 1731. Putting the members themselves to the task removes any suggestion that the Governor's own findings drove the outcome, which matters because the Company had already dismissed the complaint once, replying on 29 October 1729 that no captain had raised it. Souring quickly is the practical objection that carries most weight with a ship's officer. Water taken aboard for a voyage of several months had to keep, and a supply that turns in the cask is worse than useless. The Lemon Valley works, which the previous council reported on 8 April 1731 as made as strong and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Expence Margin Notes: Cranes Alexander Opinion	convenient as they possibly could, are now discounted entirely, and the landslip continues to shed earth into the source.
23	91	Expence & I believe it may for the distance from the new Grounds or the Place where Governour Roberts's Water Cough ends to the Crane is but fifty Rods more than the distance from Chubbs Spring to the Crane but now this must occasion Some charge, & much Labour but the Honble Company have few Working hands more ought to be hired & if Ten Thirty or Forty will not be able to make any Riddance in this Undertaking which when compleated will entirely put an End to all Complaints about the ill Quality of the Water which was often the Cause the Commanders used to make for going into the Cape to the great prejudice of the Inhabitants of this Place who if this Practice had continued must have been entirely Ruined (Signed) Jno Alexander Mr Goodwin Reports that according to the Governours desire in his Report of Tuesday last has visited the Severall Places & tasted the Waters therein mentioned & finds Chubb Spring Water to be very good but Capt Prouds Water far exceeds any other & that Since the Large & Slip of Earth mentioned in the Govrs Report which contains Seven or Eight has fallen, the Water at Lemon Valley is much worse than it was before & even very thick & White & in wet Weather that this will often be fatal & Spewing out which will always make that Water thick & not fit for Use besides by a great Surf that happened Sometime before Governour Pyke went away then up the Works at Lemon Valley therefore he is of Opinion that Since there is a necessity to be at Some certainty to bring good Water for the Supply of the Honble Comps Shipping Capt Prouds Spring being much the best Water that is it will not Should be brought that it will be Something more Charge & is neither that or Chubbs Spring Water can be brought good to the Crane without Pipes of Some kind, the difference will not be great deals in the charge between bringing Water Chub Spring, but vastly in the Goodness of the Water, the distance being but about Fifty Rods difference has such a case of Work cannot be carried on with the Companies own hands there will be a necessity for at least twenty five or thirty hands more, which he thinks are as few as can be Employed & as it is a very necessary Work he thinks the Sooner it is Set about the better which will effectually put an End to all Complaints	He believed the distance from the New Ground, where Governor Roberts's water course ends, to the crane is only fifty rods more than the distance from Chubb's Spring to the crane. Since the Company have few hands to spare, more ought to be hired if thirty or forty men would be able to make any difference in the undertaking. Once completed, the work would put an end to every complaint about the poor quality of the water, which is often the excuse commanders use to shirk going into the crane. That excuse has done great harm to the inhabitants, and had it continued much longer the place must have been entirely ruined. Signed John Alexander. Mr Goodwin reported that he had visited the several places in accordance with the Governor's report of the previous Tuesday and had tasted the water at each. He found Chubb's Spring water very good, but Captain Prowd's water far better than any other. The great slip of earth mentioned in the Governor's report, which contains seven or eight acres, has fallen at Lemon Valley. The water there is now much worse than it was before. It runs very thick and white in wet weather, which happens often, and the spring rises through the fallen ground, which will always make the water too thick and foul for any use. Besides that, a great deal of what happened some time before Governor Pyke went away then, the works at Lemon Valley were carried out. He is therefore of the opinion that some certainty is needed in bringing good water for the supply of the Honourable Company's shipping. Captain Prowd's spring is much the best water there is, and although it would be brought at somewhat greater charge, it is far better than the water of Chubb's Spring, which cannot be brought good to the crane without pipes of some kind. The difference between the two is not so great in the charge as it is in the goodness of the water, the distance being only about fifty rods more. He noted that a course of wooden pipes carried on from the Company's own hands would be needed, for which at least twenty five or thirty hands more, which he thinks are as few as can be employed. As it is a very necessary work, he thinks the sooner it is set about the better, and the water would effectually put an end to all complaints on account of the water. He believes it is as good water as any in the world. Signed John Goodwin. Mr Crisp reported that he had visited the several places as the Governor directed in his report of the previous Tuesday, and had tasted the water of Captain Prowd's spring, Chubb's Spring and Lemon Valley. He found Captain Prowd's water to be perfectly good and far beyond either of the others. The salt springs on the salt vale, though mixed with the water of Chubb's Spring on its way to the crane, make it brackish, and it will always be so while the salt springs can be turned off in any other way. The water at Lemon Valley, since the great slip of earth six hundred yards long or thereabouts fell on the whole height of the mountain, is quite spoiled. It has a very strong unpleasant taste, and he believes it unwholesome. He thinks it just cause for the late arrival of the old clamour about the badness of the water, which he has observed has made a strong impression upon the minds of the commanders and sailors, and if not speedily remedied may in time prove highly prejudicial. Interpretations The wooden pipe proposal changes the character of the scheme entirely. An open channel gathers whatever seeps into it along its length, which is exactly

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		on Account of the Water for I think it is as good Water as any in the World (Signed) Jno Goodwin Mr Crispe as the Governour has desired in the Report of Tuesday last has viewed the Severall Places & tasted the Severall Waters of Capt Prouds Spring Chubbs Spring & the Water of Lemon Valley & finds Capt Prouds Water to be perfectly good & far beyond either of the other, the Salt Springs & the Cart Sole through which the Water of Chubb Spring runs to the Crane make it brackish & it will be always so unless the Salt Springs can be turned off an other way, the Water of Lemon Valley Since the late great Slip of Earth of it is Six hundred Rods long & the whole height of the Mountain is quite Spoiled has a very Strong Unpleasant Tast & he believes it Unwholsome & has been just cause for the late Arrivall of the ill Clamour about the badness of the Water which he has observed has made in the Imposition upon the Minds of the Commanders & Sailors which if not Speedily Remedied may in time prove highly Prejudiciall Margin Notes: Goodwin Crispe	what ruins the Chubb's Spring supply, whereas a closed conduit carries water past the saline ground untouched. Wooden pipes were made by boring elm or a similar timber lengthwise and jointing the sections, standard practice for urban water supply in England by this date. The material cost fell on the Company, but the labour of boring, laying and jointing over a mile and a half is what drove Goodwin's estimate of 25 to 30 extra hands. All three councillors converge on Maria Spring, and Alexander supplies the figure that settles it: only fifty rods more than the Chubb's Spring route, or about 275 yards. Set against that, Governor Roberts had already cut 126 rods of channel from Maria Spring, so the shorter, better and part-built option costs marginally more in distance and far less in everything else. Alexander's reasoning is commercial rather than sanitary. Commanders who could plead bad water had a ready excuse to bypass the road entirely and water at the Cape, and every ship that passed took its beef purchases, its retail custom and its table charges elsewhere. The whole run of these accounts shows the pattern: cattle sales, storekeeper's takings and the fort's table expense all rise and fall exactly with the number of vessels in the road, and nothing at all sold in the empty months. The landslip figures differ across the three reports, Goodwin putting it at seven or eight acres and Crisp at six hundred yards along the mountain face. Both describe a mass still shedding earth into the spring, which is why every councillor treats Lemon Valley as beyond recovery rather than as a supply needing repair.
94	92	Prejudiciall both to the Honble Company & to the Inhabitants of this Place & in considering this Affair throughly he thinks that Regard ought only to be had to the Quality & Goodness of the Water designed to be brought to the Crane & not to the Distance or Difficulties to be met with in the way which in Work of this nature always happen more or less, the Difficulties he apprehends are no very great & the Distance is inconsiderable there being only forty four Rods difference in the length of the way from Chubb Spring to the Crane & from the Place where Governour Roberts's Water Cough ends he is therefore of Opinion that Capt Prouds Water which much exceeds all other Waters of this Place is the Water that ought to be brought to the Crane for the Supply of the Shipping & that it ought to be Set about immediately & that if more Thirty hands than & above what the Honble Company already have will not be Sufficient to make any Progress in this Work which to put an End to the Complaints & Dread the Commanders & Sailors have of late years lain under upon this Account is every day become more & more necessary to be done that when the Work is begun it ought to be Substantially done though at as little Expence as	The complaint would prove damaging both to the Honourable Company and to the inhabitants of the place. He thought regard should be had only to the quality of the water intended to be brought to the crane, and not to the distance or to the difficulties met with in work of this nature, which always happen more or less. The difficulties he expected were not very great, and the distance is inconsiderable, there being only 44 rods difference in the length of the way from Chubb's Spring to the crane and from the place where Governor Roberts's water course ends. He was therefore of the opinion that Captain Prowd's water, which much exceeds any other water on the island, is what ought to be brought to the crane for the supply of the shipping. The work ought to be set about immediately, and unless thirty hands beyond what the Company already hold are added, the number will not be enough to make any progress. He hoped an end would be put to the complaints and dread of the commanders and sailors, which of late years have lain heavily upon them. The work grows more necessary every day, and once begun it ought to be done substantially and at as little expense as possible. It will then remain from generation to generation, and will effectually put an end to all the clamour and complaints about the badness of the water. That badness may otherwise drive the commanders away from the crane, to the great prejudice of the people of the place, who subsist wholly by the little profits they make out of the Honourable Company's shipping. Signed Duke Crisp. Governor Pyke, after reading these several papers, gave his own opinion on the affair as follows. The Governor reported that he thought it a matter of great consequence that the water for the use of the shipping should be good, and of some consequence that those who use it should have a good opinion of it. He held that this could be done in only two ways,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		possible & that it will remain from Generation to Generation & will effectually put an End to all Clamours & Complaints about the badness of the Water which already has & may otherwise again oblige the Commanders to Search at the Cape to the great Prejudice of the People of this Place who Subsist chiefly by the Little Profits they make out of the Honble Comps Shipping (Signed) Duke Crispe The Governour after the Reading these Severall Papers told his further Opinion of this Affair as follows Vizt The Governour Reports that he thinks it a Matter of great Consequence that the Water for the Use of the Shipping Should be good & of Some Consequence that all those who use it Should have a good Opinion of it which he thinks is only to be done two Ways either by bringing down Capt Proudes Water to the Crane or by conveying the Water of Chubbs Spring down thither clear of the Salt Springs for he finds that each of the Council are of opinion that the Water of Lemon Valley is Spoiled He has lately made Severall Experiments with the Water of Chubbs Spring but never found it also in fair & calm Weather when the Water is clearest is usually too because the Salt Springs which run so much in the fair in a little Rainey Season then Effect it most & but after a dry time when it first Rains it is worst of all because then all the Salt that between which is carried by the Heat of the Sun upon the Side of the Mountains is washed down & dissolved in it, yet when it has rained for three or four days together and comes very foule it Seems to be fit for Use tis the brackishness from any brackishness but this is allways Uncertain & the Shipping do not like it Capt Prouds Water is perfectly good & if the Expençe both not so far too high it will be best to bring that down to the Crane but it will prove a laborious piece of Work & to compleat it will require at least Two hundred Yards of Leaden Pipe of two Inch bore however to moderate the Charge the Governour has already treated Margin Notes: Governour	either by bringing down Captain Prowd's water to the crane, or by conveying the water of Chubb's Spring down there clear of the salt springs. He judged that each of the council agreed with him that the water of Lemon Valley is spoiled. He had lately made several experiments with the water of Chubb's Spring, but he had never found it also in fair or calm weather when the water is clearest. It is usually bad because the salt springs run as much in fair as in rainy weather. Nor did it mend after a dry season, when the first rains fall. It is worst of all because then all the salt that lies between miles is carried by the heat of the sun upon the sides of the mountain and is washed down and dissolved in it. Yet when it has rained for three or four days together and comes very fresh, it seems to be fit for use, this taken from any brackish, but this is always uncertain, and the shipping do not like it. Captain Prowd's water is perfectly good, and if the expense both not any too high, it would be best to bring that down to the crane. But it will prove a laborious piece of work, and to complete it will require at least 1,500 yards of leaden pipe, or two and one hundred yards, however moderate the charge. The Governor has already treated with [...] Interpretations The salt springs behave in a way that defeats every natural remedy, and the Governor's experiments are what establish it. Fair weather does not help, because the saline seepage runs at the same rate whatever the sky is doing. A dry spell makes matters worse rather than better, since salt accumulates on the mountain slopes and the first rain washes the whole of it into the channel at once. Only sustained rain over several days dilutes the flow enough to make the water usable, and no ship's commander can plan a call around that. Leaden pipe is a substantial escalation on the wooden conduit Mr Goodwin proposed, and it explains why the Governor spoke of treating with someone rather than simply setting the Company's slaves to dig. Lead had to be cast, rolled and jointed by a plumber, and 1,500 yards of it represented an outlay in imported material that no amount of island labour could substitute for. The choice between wood and lead is really a choice between spending men and spending money, and the council had already established that it had no men to spare. The distinction the Governor draws between water that is good and water that is thought good is the commercial heart of the matter. Reputation among commanders governs whether ships enter the road at all, and the whole of the island's cash economy rests on that decision. The accounts in this book show it plainly: beef sales, storekeeper's takings and the fort's table charges rise and fall exactly with the number of vessels anchored, and nothing whatever sells in the empty months. Crisp's closing point sets out the stakes with unusual bluntness for this record. He states that the inhabitants live entirely on the small profits made from the Company's shipping, which is why a rumour about the water threatens the settlement rather than merely inconveniencing it. That is the same reasoning the commission of 1 April 1729 used when it certified Chubb's Spring adequate despite finding the springs nearly dry, holding that ships diverting to the Cape would ruin the island.
95	93	with Some of the Planters who are well Stocked with Blacks about their Rice & they have offered to spare him about Twenty five upon Condition they Should be Employed only out of the Season proper for	Some of the planters, who are well stocked with slaves, have offered to spare the Governor about 25 of their hires. They will do so on condition that the men be employed only outside the season proper for planting, at nine pence a day, which is just half the price that used to be given for them. He believed he should be able to procure what was still wanting on

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Planting & to have Rice & Pay which is just half the Price that used to be given for them, he believes he Shall be able to procure what is yet wanting at the Same low Rate, one thing less as the Charge & Trouble in bringing down Capt Proudes Water will be very considerable he is first resolved to try whether it be not practicall to convey by digging a Trench into the Water of the Salt Springs on the west Side of the Mountain into the Sea without touching or communicating with the Water in the Main Water Cough which if it can be done will save the charge of bringing down Capt Prouds Water Upon full Consideration of these Severall Papers & Reports before mentioned the Councill unanimously agreed that the Expedient so proposed by the Governour Should be first tried before any Attempts is made to bring down Capt Prouds Water & left the Management of the Experiment to the Governours Care George Knight & his Wife late Nathanl Marsh having barba- rously beat & abused the Honble Companies Girle Bathsua & placed on this Rem her Back & breast being as thin & with Whipping, We took her home again to be employed in the Honble Comps Works An other of the Honble Companies Girles named Mary put out to Gunnett Search complained also of ill Usage but We did not find it so together here, her being than of Slabb & was very ill & We Ordered the Gunner to take better care of her or otherwise We Should be obliged to take her home again but as his desire to having lately took Jno Trondale Taylor having desired a Licence to be Married the Governour till he had first Examined him in Consultation one of the Church Wardens being present refused to Grant it there being a Report, that he was Married in Holland, but he denied it, & offered to make Oath that he was never Married to any Person whatsoever, & we Daniel Yeomans & more, it was considered Safe for the Governour to Grant him a Licence The Surveyor Reports that he has viewed the Severall Parcells of Land for which John Young & James Ryder desire new Leases & finds that each of them duely fenced & Planted with their full Proportion of Wood Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe Margin Notes: Proposed Agreed	the same terms. Nevertheless, as the charge and trouble in bringing down Captain Prowd's water will be very considerable, he is first resolved to try whether it is practicable to convey the water of the salt spring on the west side of the mountain into the sea by digging a trench, without touching or communicating with the water in the main water course. If that can be done, it will save the charge of bringing down Captain Prowd's water. On full consideration of these several papers and reports, the council unanimously agreed that the expedient proposed by the Governor should be tried first, before any attempt is made to bring down Captain Prowd's water, and left the management of the experiment to the Governor's care. George Knight and his wife, late the slave Sarah, having barbarously beaten and abused the Honourable Company's girl Blackman, placed on them for cash and board, being as slain with whipping, the Governor took her home again to be employed in the Honourable Company's work. Another of the Honourable Company's girls, named Mary, put out to Gunner Search, complained of ill usage, but the council did not find it established. They being those of Blackman was rightly. The council ordered the gunner to take better care of her, or otherwise he should be obliged to take her home again. Thomas Trundale, a sailor, applied for a licence to be married, but the Governor examined him at the consultation. One of the churchwardens, being present, refused to grant it, there being a report that he was married in Holland. He denied it and offered to make oath that he was never married to any person whatsoever. Daniel Yeomans and others, it was considered safe for the Governor to grant him a licence. The Governor reported that he had viewed the several parcels of land for which John Young and James Boyter asked new leases, and found that each of them was duly fenced and planted with their full proportion of wood. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations Hiring slaves from the planters at nine pence a day is the mechanism by which the water scheme becomes possible at all. The Company's own establishment was fully committed, as the Governor had set out at length, so the labour had to come from outside. The planters' condition, that the men be used only outside the planting season, ties the work to the island's calendar: the winter planting runs from about May to September, so the digging could only proceed in the summer months. Nine pence is expressly half the former rate, and the earlier record supports it, Orlando Bagley senior having lost his land bargain on 4 August 1730 when the Company stopped hiring him slave labour at eighteen pence a day. Draining the salt spring rather than piping the good water past it inverts the whole engineering problem at a fraction of the cost. Cutting a trench to carry the saline flow west into the sea leaves the existing channel from Chubb's Spring intact, requiring no lead, no plumber and no mile and a half of new construction. If it works, the water reaching the crane is simply the spring water that already tested sound when strained on 8 August 1732. The two complaints about apprenticed girls show the limits of the system Governor Byfield established in April 1727, when he began placing Company children with the inhabitants to save their keep. The council retained ownership and could reclaim a child, which is what happened to Blackman, but it depended on the girls themselves reporting mistreatment. The

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			muster of 30 September 1730 recorded eight girls placed out, examined at each yearly reckoning and reported well used, so a finding of barbarous beating marks a real failure of that supervision rather than a routine adjustment. A marriage licence turned on the absence of any prior wife, and an island five months from Europe had no means of checking a report of a marriage in Holland. The council settled for a sworn denial supported by witnesses, which is the same evidentiary substitute it reached for repeatedly where written proof was unobtainable, as with the deathbed declaration admitted on 11 November 1729. Speculations The council had two workable schemes before it and chose the cheaper one first. Every councillor had reported in favour of bringing Captain Prowd's water down from Maria Spring, Alexander calling the extra distance inconsiderable at 44 rods, Goodwin holding it much the best water on the island and Crisp finding it perfectly good and far beyond the others. The Governor himself agreed it was perfectly good. He nonetheless proposed to try draining the salt spring into the sea before touching the better scheme, and the council accepted that unanimously despite having just written three papers pointing the other way. What decided it was the arithmetic of labour and lead: the Maria Spring conduit needed 1,500 yards of leaden pipe and thirty hired hands working only outside the planting season, while a trench cutting the salt flow away westward needed neither. The council was not choosing the better water over the worse but testing whether the cheap remedy would make the question moot.
<u>96</u>	94	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 22 Augt 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of John Bagley junr was presented & read praying a new Lease for Thirty Six Acres of Land which he held of the Honble Company upon Lives his Three Nominees being all dead, & being satisfied that the Said parcell of Land was duely fenced & Planted with its full Proportion of Wood And We accordingly Granted his Request upon the Same Conditions as he formerly held it Vizt paying the Yearly Conveyance half a year Rent for every fresh Nominee which is 3s 10, for each & the whole being Three it amounted to 10s 10, & We took his Bond for the Same accordingly Samuel Doveston Petitioned for leave to Register an Assignment of a Lease of Twenty Acres of Land which he bought Sometime ago of Giles Smith but the Honble Company having ordered that the Ingrossing of Land Should be prevented We acquainted him that We could not do it till the Honble Company were apprized of the Case & Should give their Directions about it, nevertheless We told him that We would recommend his Affair to them in a favourable manner & believed they would grant his Request but	At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 August 1732 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. John Bagley junior presented a petition asking for a new lease of 36 acres of land held from the Company for the lives of three nominees, all now dead. The council was satisfied that the parcel was duly fenced and planted with its full proportion of wood, and granted the request on the same terms he formerly held it. He was to pay the same conveyance fees as before, at 5s 10d for every fourth part renewed, which for three parts came to £0 15s 10d, and he took his deed accordingly. Samuel Doveton petitioned for leave to register an assignment of a lease of 20 acres bought some time ago from Giles Smith. The Company having ordered that the engrossing of land be prevented, the council told him that it could not comply until the Company were made aware of the case and gave direction on it. It nonetheless assured him that his case would be recommended favourably, and that the request would probably be granted. At the same time the council warned him that in its view neither he nor anybody else already holding large quantities of land should be indulged in the like hereafter. Benjamin Pledger asked that the churchwardens be summoned to attend the consultation, so that he might state his objections to their keeping the children of his brother Stephen. The wardens duly attended, and Pledger, being in [...], set out what he had to say. He claimed the leasehold land and the effects of his deceased brother, amounting to about £15 0s 0d, by virtue of a paper or writing which he produced. That writing, being examined, appeared to the council to be genuine and proved valid and genuine in the following words. Stephen Pledger of the island of St Helena, lying in a very weak condition, took into consideration that his brother Benjamin Pledger stands bound for him for

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		at the Same time We acquainted him that We thought neither he or any body else that had Quantities of Land should be indulged in the like hereafter Benjamin Pledger having desired that the Church Wardens might be Summoned to attend in Consultation to hear what objections he had to make against Keeping of the Children of his Brother & Stephen Pledger deceased one of them Stanbrook & was born attended accordingly the other was out of Order & the Said Pledger being asked in he said what he had to say he told Us that he claimed the Lease Land & Effects of the Said deceased Brother amounting to about Fifteen Pounds by Vertue of a Deed or Writing which he shewed & Willd & the Said Writing on Paper being examined & read it appeared to be all in his own hand and proved word & Word & is now in the following Words Vizt I Stephen Pledger of this Island of St Helena Laying in a very weak Condition & taking into Consideration that my Brother Benjamin Pledger Stands bound for me for a Considerable Sum of Money to the Value of Twenty three Pounds five Shilgs & considering of the Same before that all & the Goods & my Land Sold with the Governour & Councils Liberty may be exposed to publick Sale to clear my Bond & the Overplus to be returned among my Children & Witness whereof I have Sent my hand this 25th day of April Anno Domi 1731 Stephen Pledger He was therefore told that if he would keep the Child he Should have all his Brothers Effects which was a Matter of great Favour to him for the deceased died very much in Debt to many Margin Notes: Witness William Beale Jno Manson	the considerable sum of money to the value of £23 5s 0d, and confirming the same, desired that all his goods, very hard land, with the Governor and council's liberty, may be exposed to public sale to clear the ground, with the overplus to be distributed among his children. As witness whereof, he set his hand this 25 day of April in the year 1731. Signed Stephen Girling Pledger. Witnesses: William Seale, John Manson. He was therefore told that he would have credit, and that he should have all his brother's effects, which was a matter of great favour to him, for the deceased did very much in debt to many [...] Interpretations A lease for three lives was a common form of tenure, running not for a fixed term but until the last of three named persons died. The nominees here had all died, so the lease had fallen in and Bagley held nothing until the council granted a fresh one. The renewal fee is charged by quarter part, 5s 10d for each, and only three parts fell to be renewed, which suggests one share had been dealt with separately. Engrossing of land is the accumulation of many holdings in few hands, and the Company had directed the council to prevent it. The reasoning is practical rather than moral: an island of a few hundred people needed as many households as possible planting ground, keeping stock and rendering rent, and land gathered into large estates supported fewer families and produced less for the shipping. The council's refusal to register Doveton's assignment without London's approval marks a real change from the earlier practice in this record, where assignments were routinely allowed on petition, as with James Harding's six acres to Captain Alexander on 21 September 1730. Stephen Pledger's paper is not a will but a direction for the sale of his goods to clear a debt for which his brother stood surety. Standing bound meant Benjamin had guaranteed the debt and would be liable for the whole £23 5s 0d if the estate could not meet it, which is why the paper puts his discharge ahead of the children's portions. The council had encountered Stephen Girling Pledger before, fining him 5s among the wood defaulters on 18 November 1729 and taking a bond with another year allowed, the council noting then that several of the defaulters were miserably poor. The competing claims here set a surety's discharge against the maintenance of orphaned children, and the churchwardens appear precisely because the parish bore the cost if the children fell destitute. The same tension ran through the Marsh estate hearing of 4 July 1732, where Governor Pyke pressed each claimant to contribute towards a grandson with no legal standing, and through the arrangement of 23 November 1730, when a churchwarden traded a leasehold for the keeping of one of Stephen's children for five years.
27	95	many People, or if he would not do so he ought to deliver the Effects in his hands to the Church Wardens towards bringing up the Said Child & he chose to do the later, the Leasehold Land was Assigned by the late Governour & Council about a Twelve Month ago to Henry Beale upon Condition that he Should Indemnify the Parish & bring up an other of the Children of the Said Step Pledger We this day Executed a Lease to Sam Ryder for five Acres of Land The Governour Reports that according to the Resolution taken	Many people had claims on the estate, and if Benjamin Pledger would not accept those terms he was to hand the effects in his hands to the churchwardens towards bringing up the children. He chose to do the latter. The leasehold land had been assigned by the late Governor and council about a year earlier to Henry Beale, on condition that he indemnify the parish by bringing up another of the children of Stephen Pledger. The council executed a lease that day to Samuel Ryder for 5 acres of land. Governor Pyke reported that, in accordance with the resolution of the previous Tuesday, he had hired 20 slaves at nine pence a day and would try to secure ten or a dozen more on the same terms. He had already set them to cutting a trench to carry the salt springs into the sea, keeping them clear of the main

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		in Councill on Tuesday last he has hired Twenty Blacks at 9 Nine Pence ¹⁰ day & will endeavour to hire ten or a dozen more at the Same Rate whom he has already Set to Work in cutting a Trench to carry the Salt Springs into the Sea without touching or communicating with the Water in the Main Water Cough that leads to the Crane which he hopes will Save the charge of bringing Capt Proudres Water down thither Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 29th August 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that one of the Honble Companies Black Wenches named Agnes was delivered of a boy last Week called Sam Ordered that he Should be Entered in the Books Capt Goodwin Reports that the Land for which John Bagley lately desired a new Lease is duely fenced & Planted with Wood Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5 Septr 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved We this day paid the Garrison for the Month past The Governour, Capt Goodwin the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accts for August last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Accounts Margin Notes: Water Trench Digging Blacks	water course. If that answers, it will save the charge of bringing Captain Prowd's water down to the crane. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 29 August 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that a Company slave woman named Agnes had been delivered of a boy, called Sampson. The council ordered the child entered in the books. Captain Goodwin reported that the land for which John Bagley asked a new lease is duly fenced and planted with wood. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 September 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council paid the garrison for the past month. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward delivered their monthly accounts for August, which were examined separately and approved as follows. Interpretations Benjamin Pledger's choice reveals the arithmetic behind the offer. He was surety for £23 5s 0d against an estate the council valued at about £15 0s 0d, and the deceased owed money to many other creditors besides. Taking the effects would have made him answerable to those creditors while recovering less than his own exposure, so surrendering everything to the churchwardens cut his losses and moved the children onto the parish rather than onto him. The disposal of Stephen Pledger's family follows a pattern the council had used before. Henry Beale had already taken one child in exchange for the leasehold under the arrangement recorded on 23 November 1730, when the churchwarden John Wrangham judged it the best bargain available and the parcel ran to only seven acres of poor ground. Trading land for the keeping of an orphan converted a parish liability into a private undertaking, which was the island's substitute for any poor rate capable of supporting a family. Twenty hired slaves at nine pence a day put the trench experiment into effect within a week of the council's resolution. The planters had made their hires conditional on the men being used outside the planting season, and the island's winter planting runs from about May to September, so the work is proceeding at the very edge of the permitted window. Two children in this record now carry the name Sampson, the first born to the slave woman Ellen in the week before 18 July 1732 and the second to Agnes six weeks later. Naming was the Company's prerogative rather than the mother's, and the repetition within a single quarter suggests the names were drawn from a short customary stock rather than chosen individually.
98	96	Account of the Honble Comps Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of Augst 1739 Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remains 1st Augt: Bullocks 42, Cowes 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 91, Bulls 5, Total 419, Ewes 57, Wethers 15, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Total 108, Sowes 21, Shoates 27, Barrows 13, Pigs 26, Boats 3, Total 90, Turkeys 80, Fowles 206, Ducks 26, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Total 7	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of August 1732. Remaining 1 August, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 91 calves, 5 bulls, 419 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 15 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, 108 sheep in total, 21 sows, 27 shoats, 13 barrows, 26 pigs, 3 boars, 90 hogs in total, 80 turkeys, 206 fowls, 26 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Increased in August, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 5 lambs, 0 rams, 5 sheep in

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 5, Rams 0, Totall 5, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 7, Boats 0, Totall 7, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 42, Cows 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 91, Bulls 5, Totall 419, Ewes 57, Wethers 15, Lambs 37, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sows 21, Shoates 27, Barrows 13, Pigs 33, Boats 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 80, Fowles 206, Ducks 26, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 1, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 2, Boats 0, Totall 2, Turkeys 2, Fowles 26, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 41, Cows 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 91, Bulls 5, Totall 418, Ewes 57, Wethers 14, Lambs 37, Rams 4, Totall 112, Sows 21, Shoates 27, Barrows 13, Pigs 31, Boats 3, Totall 95, Turkeys 78, Fowles 180, Ducks 26, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 1, Barrows 0, Pigs 3, Boats 0, Totall 4, Turkeys 2, Fowles 4, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remd 31 Augst: Bullocks 41, Cows 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 91, Bulls 5, Totall 418, Ewes 57, Wethers 14, Lambs 37, Rams 4, Totall 112, Sows 21, Shoates 26, Barrows 13, Pigs 28, Boats 3, Totall 91, Turkeys 76, Fowles 176, Ducks 26, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 16500 lb ditto deld the Fort Blacks 19250 ditto deld the Great Wood 10500 Totall 46250	total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 7 pigs, 0 boars, 7 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 42 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 91 calves, 5 bulls, 419 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 15 wethers, 37 lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in total, 21 sows, 27 shoats, 13 barrows, 33 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 80 turkeys, 206 fowls, 26 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Killed in August, 1 bullock, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 1 neat beast in total, 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 2 pigs, 0 boars, 2 hogs in total, 2 turkeys, 26 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the killing, 41 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 91 calves, 5 bulls, 418 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 14 wethers, 37 lambs, 4 rams, 112 sheep in total, 21 sows, 27 shoats, 13 barrows, 31 pigs, 3 boars, 95 hogs in total, 78 turkeys, 180 fowls, 26 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Dead in August, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 1 shoat, 0 barrows, 3 pigs, 0 boars, 4 hogs in total, 2 turkeys, 4 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 31 August, 41 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 91 calves, 5 bulls, 418 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 14 wethers, 37 lambs, 4 rams, 112 sheep in total, 21 sows, 26 shoats, 13 barrows, 28 pigs, 3 boars, 91 hogs in total, 76 turkeys, 176 fowls, 26 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 16,500 lb Yams delivered to the fort blacks, 19,250 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 10,500 lb Total yams expended, 46,250 lb Interpretations August is the third consecutive month with no beast sold to shipping, and the row has again been left off the ruled sheet. The island has now been without a vessel since the <i>Middlesex</i> and the Dutch ship sailed on 25 June. The same silence ran from July to November 1729 and from July to September 1730, and the correspondence between the anchorage and the Company's beef trade is exact in every year of this record. Yams almost doubled on the month, rising from 24,000 lb to 46,250 lb, and the increase falls entirely on the fort slaves and the Great Wood rather than the plantations. The fort issue went from 8,300 lb to 19,250 lb and the Great Wood from 3,100 lb to 10,500 lb, while the plantation figure barely moved. The Great Wood rise is the clearest signal: the Governor set 20 hired slaves to cutting the salt drainage trench in late August, and the Company's own men freed for that work had to be fed from the same store. The poultry yard is being drawn down hard. Twenty six fowls went to the table in August against 14 in July, and the flock has fallen from 292 standing in June to 176 at the end of August. Governor Pyke bought 356 fowls in April 1731 to restock a yard reduced to 24 birds, and the current rate of consumption suggests the same difficulty returning within eighteen months. Fifteen wethers reduce to fourteen with a single killing, and the flock has held between 108 and 113 since the goats were extinguished in February 1731. Sheep survived the destruction vote of 20 January 1730 that swept away the goats entirely, and the five lambs born in August continue the modest natural increase that has kept the number level without any

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			further purchase since the ten head bought in April 1731.
<u>99</u>	97	Collection of Goods Sold & delivered in August 1739 Vizt 13 Barrels Tar 16 18 6 ditto Pitch 10 10 1 Do Rosin 1 10 2 Do Turpentine 4 67 feet Oak Timber 14 16 1 Piece Deal Plank 23 ft 1 13 46 Yards Durani 10 9 3 Do Jamdan 1 13 28 lb Starch 1 18 10 Yards Ash 1 17 6 5 lb Yarnwood 170 lb Candles 17 5 1 half Firth 13 6 2 Pepper Boxes 2 4 1 lb Candlesticks 12 3 Ladles 9 6 16 lb Pepper 1 4 9 15½ Grocers Yarn 80 10 Do Cordage 158 6 7 Garrison 4½ Gallo Bear Oyle 9 3 8 Cakes Sea 8 1 1 large Splinter Sack 3 6 1 Hamburgh Line 1 9 2 Iron Pott 5 4 9 Blacks Nt 2 2 Rice 3 7 6 6 Bags Beans 7 1 6 18 Lines 7 6 38 lb Salt 5 1 Bag Sitt 2 Shirts 4 13 6 Plantation 28 lb Rope 10 10 Sytmes 3 8 Iron Shovels 1 20 Halves 3 4 8 Iron Cranes	Collection of goods sold and delivered in August 1732. 13 barrels of tar, £16 18s 0d 6 barrels of pitch, £10 10s 0d 1 barrel of rosin, £1 10s 0d 2 barrels of turpentine, £0 4s 0d 67 feet of oak timber, £14 16s 0d 1 three inch oak plank, 23 feet, £1 13s 0d 46 yards of durance, £0 9s 3d 33 lb of tamarind, £0 13s 0d 24 lb of starch, £0 18s 6d 10 goat skins, £0 17s 6d 5 lb of cork wood, £7 5s 0d 17 dozen 0 lb of candles, £0 13s 6d 1 half firkin, £0 2s 4d 2 pepper boxes, £0 12s 0d 1 pair of candlesticks, £0 16s 0d 3 ladles, £1 4s 3d 16 lb of pepper, £8 0s 0d 15.5 lb of green yarn, £0 0s 0d 16 lb of cordage, £0 0s 0d Total, £158 6s 7d Garrison 4.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 8s 3d 8 catties of tea, £2 8s 0d 1 large splinter sack, £1 6s 0d 1 Hamburg sieve, £0 9s 0d 2 iron [...], £0 0s 0d Total, £5 4s 9d Slaves 1 cwt 2 quarters 12 lb of rice, £3 7s 6.5d 6 dozen hooks, £0 7s 3d 12 lines, £0 1s 6d 33 lb of salt, £0 7s 5d 1 dozen [...], £0 0s 0d 2 shirts, £0 0s 0d Total, £4 13s 6d Plantation 23 hoes, £0 10s 0d 10 [...], £3 1s 0d 8 iron shovels, £1 3s 4d 20 staves, £2 10s 0d 8 iron reams, £4 9s 10d 4 Hamburg lines, £0 9s 6d 12 lb of nails, £0 0s 0d 5 cwt 2 quarters 67 lb of paddy for hogs and poultry, £13 16s 8d Total, £13 16s 8d Charges general 17 [...], sorted, £0 13s 5d 4 yards of canvas, £1 4s 3d 4 yards of white and brown thread, £0 10s 6d 3 lb of cotton yarn, £0 10s 6d 2 lb of twine, £0 10s 0d 1 tin firkin, £0 4s 6d 2 large splinter sacks, £1 4s 0d 17 lb of [...], £0 10s 10d 12 lb of candles, £0 10s 0d 16 lb of [...], £0 12s 0d 2 lb of tea, £0 0s 0d Total, £5 4s 3d Diet expenses 173 gallons of arrack, £23 2s 4d 132 lb of sugar, £3 6s 0d 18 lb of candy, £0 0s 0d 13 gallons of port, £5 1s 9d 11 gallons of sherry, £4 3s 6d 15 gallons of strong beer, £1 1s 6d 19 gallons of small beer, £1 14s 0d 4 bottles of oil, £0 3s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 3s 0d 5 lb of pepper, £0 13s 10.5d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		9 10 4 Hamburg Lines 4 10 14 lb Nailes 9 6 5 Do Rice & 6 Do Paddy for hogs & Poultry 4 9 19 16 8 Charges Generall 17 Yards Sorted 13 5 4 Yards Canvas 4 3 40 lb Whited Brown Thread 4 6 3 Do Cotton Yarn 10 6 2 Do Twine 10 6 1 Tin Firth 10 6 2 large Splinter Sacks 4 6 17 lb Nailes 4 12 lb Candles 10 10 10 lb Tarr 12 2 lb Tea 5 4 3 Diet Expences 173 Gallo Arrack 23 3 4 13 lb Sugar 3 6 18 lb Candy 6 13 Gallo Port 4 9 11 Gallo Sherry 4 3 6 15 Gallo Strong Beer 1 4 19 Gallo Small Beer 9 4 Bottles Oyle 1 3 6 1 Gallo Vinegar 3 6 9 lb Pepper 13 10½ 1½ Bushel Salt 2 16 5 9 1 8 Steurs 43 2 5½ 230 8 1½	1.5 bushels of salt, £2 16s 6.5d 9 lb 1 quarter of flour, £0 0s 0d Total, £43 2s 5.5d Grand total, £230 8s 1.5d Interpretations Pitch, tar, rosin and turpentine together account for nearly £30 0s 0d, by far the largest single group in the account. All four are naval stores derived from pine resin and used for caulking seams, waterproofing rope and preserving timber against damp and worm. Their concentration in one month with no ship in the road suggests the boats and the Company's own timberwork were being overhauled during the empty season, exactly when the fishing crews and the long boat could be spared. Durance was a stout glazed worsted, hard-wearing and cheap, and cork wood is the light buoyant timber used for floats on fishing lines and nets. Both fit the pattern of the island supplying its own working needs rather than importing finished goods, and the six dozen hooks and twelve lines charged to the slaves confirm the fishery established on 1 March 1727 still running. Paddy at 5 cwt 2 quarters 67 lb for hogs and poultry is the heaviest such charge in recent months, and it sits against a stock account showing the fowl flock falling from 206 to 176 across August. Paddy is rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than milled grain expressly for stock feed, and the rising purchase alongside a falling flock points to birds being fattened for the table rather than bred up. Arrack at 173 gallons is more than three times the 46 gallons of July and stands well above anything in the recent run. The Governor hired 20 slaves at nine pence a day in late August to cut the salt drainage trench, and the wet-weather allowance to labouring slaves runs through every winter in these accounts, so the surge probably reflects men at heavy work in the island's coldest and wettest season.
100	98	Expence of the Table in Augst 1739 171 lb Beef 1 3 2 Pigs 2 3 9 26 Fowles 19 2 Turkeys 1 10 1 Sheep 10 31 Days Greens 1 11 62 Bottles Milk 1 3 17 lb Butter 7 4	Expense of the table in August 1732. 171 lb of beef, £2 1s 3d 2 pigs, £2 3s 9d 26 fowls, £1 19s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 1 sheep, £1 11s 0d 31 bags of greens, £1 1s 8d 60 bottles of milk, £0 7s 1d 17 lb of butter, £16 1s 0d 48 gallons of arrack, £1 19s 0d 78 lb of sugar, £1 19s 0d 18 lb of candy, £2 16s 3d 2 cwt 1 quarter of flour, £5 3s 9d 13 gallons of port, £4 5s 3d 11 gallons of sherry, £0 8s 2d 2 lb of pepper, £2 16s 10d 1.5 bushels of salt, £1 2s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		48 Gallo Arrack 16 1 78 lb Sugar 1 19 18 lb Candy 19 2 0 1 Steurs 2 16 3 13 Gallo Port 5 9 16 Gallo Sherry 4 5 3 2 lb Pepper 2 1½ Bushel Salt 2 10 15 Gallo Strong Beer 1 2 6 19 Gallo Small ditto 19 4 Bottles Oyle 1 2 1 Gallo Vinegar 2 6 Expençe of the Table in Augst 42 19 6 19 Gallo Arrack deld the Guards & Officers on the Anniversary of the Coronation & the present Royal Family to the Throne happening this Month 6.4. 19. 6 Gallo Arrack deld the Islands 1.18. 16 lb Sugar deld ditto 8. 9.5.4 Gunnars Stores Expended in August Vizt Muster Day 10 lb Powder Expençe of the Guard 12 lb Musquet Balls for ditto 5 lb Cartridge Paper 2 Quire Towels 20 Sponge Staves Match 10 lb (Signed) Jno French Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	15 gallons of strong beer, £0 19s 0d 19 gallons of small beer, £1 2s 6d 4 bottles of oil, £0 2s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £42 19s 6d Total expense of the table in August, £42 19s 6d 19 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards on the anniversary of the present royal family coming to the throne this month, £4 1s 3d 38 lb of sugar delivered on the same anniversary, £0 19s 0d 6 gallons of arrack delivered to the slaves, £1 18s 0d 16 lb of sugar delivered to the same, £0 8s 0d Total, £7 5s 4d Gunner's stores expended in August 1732. Muster day, 10 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 12 lb of powder Musket balls for the guard, 5 lb Cartridge paper, 2 quires Towels, 10 Sponge staves, 2 Match, 10 lb Signed John French. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations Twenty two pounds of powder is among the lightest monthly consumptions in the whole run, and the reason is the empty anchorage. Not a single salute appears in the account, only the muster and the guard, which matches the stock account showing no beast sold to shipping for a third consecutive month. The August figures of 1729 and 1730 tell the same story, 18 lb and 9 lb respectively, both in months when no vessel touched the island. The gun books measure traffic in the road more exactly than any other record here. The royal allowance falls on the anniversary of the Hanoverian succession, which the earlier accounts date to 11 June and mark with twenty one guns. Nineteen gallons of arrack and thirty eight pounds of sugar to the guards is a substantial issue, and the smaller distribution to the slaves follows the customary pattern seen at Christmas 1728 and on the King's birthday of 30 October 1729. Beef at 171 lb for the whole month is remarkably little for a table feeding the Governor, three councillors, the chaplain and the household, and it points to fresh meat being reserved for the shipping season. The stock account records a single bullock and one wether killed in August, so the fort was living chiefly on poultry, pork and fish while the herd was held for the vessels expected with the spring. Butter at 17 lb charged at £16 1s 0d stands out against every other line, running higher than the entire beef, pork and mutton charge combined. Dairying on St Helena was small and the island had no means of keeping butter through its warmer months, so the commodity was among the dearest things on the fort's table.
101	99	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5th Sepr 1739 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Petitions of George Knight & Jno Harper were presented & read each desiring a Lease for the Same Parcell of Land containing about five Acres lying upon a Place called Suffolks Flair, the former pretending a Sort of Right to it as Granted to his Wife about a Twelve Month ago	At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 September 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. George Knight and John Harper each presented a petition for a lease of the same parcel of land, about 5 acres lying at a place called Suffolk's Plain. Harper claimed a prior right, the ground having been granted to his wife about twelve months earlier, though she had never begun to build or settle on it. Knight had no reliable means of living, so the council resolved to view the land before granting it to either man, expecting that whoever wanted it most should have it. Knight's wife had made no use of the liberty formerly given her.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& the later as not having any thing to begin with & Knight being in a tollerable good way of living We determined to view the Said Land before it was Granted either to one or the other & agreed that the person who Should appear to want it most Should have it Knights Wife having made no Use of the Liberty formerly given her The Petition of Martin Ratsen for a new Lease his former being Expired of Twenty Acres of Land in Sandy Bay which he Suffered was the principal Dependence of himself & Family that the Same was duely fenced & Planted with its full Proportion of Wood, and Capt Alexander affirming the Contents of this Petition were true the said Land lying close by him We ordered a new Lease to be made accordingly The Petition of John Teerling was also presented & read Setting forth that Mr White lately dumped and Indebted to him in a large Sum of Money to the Amount of 27, 9, 5½ for Provisions both which he had Supplied him & his Family from the time of their first Arrival, & there being a Desert Matter & Effects which Mr White had left behind him were of Small Value & he likely to lose his Debt he therefore desired that the Right of Administration might be vested in him as principal Creditor but Mr Rowlett belonging to the Widow & the producing a Will desiring the Same might be proved the Same was read but after the reading thereof the Governour objected & asked why Mr White who wrote a good hand did only in this a few faint Scratches upon the Withinstead of writing his Name, the Gentlemen who were to inspect to the Will & Severally & Inspected that Mr White was perfectly in his Senses & appeared to be able to of good Judgement & Understanding that when the Will was read to him he approved of every Sentence but he was so weak & faint that he was not able to write his Name though he twice attempted it & the said Answer appearing Satisfactory to the Governour & Council the Same was accordingly proved by the Witnesses thereto Vizt Duke Crispe Isaac Wood & John Brown, the Widow being by the Will appointed Executrix We confirmed the Same but directed Mr Teerling to be aiding & assisting in taking an Inventory of his Effects Isa Pyke Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	Martin Harper petitioned for a new lease of 20 acres in Sandy Bay, his former one having expired. The parcel was the chief support of himself and his family, and he had duly fenced and planted it with its full proportion of wood. Captain Alexander confirmed that the statements in the petition were true, so the council ordered a new lease drawn accordingly. John Durling presented a petition setting out that Mr White had lately died indebted to him in a large sum, £57 9s 5.5d for provisions, with which he had supplied White and his family from the time of their first arrival. There being a desert master's estate, which Mr White had left behind him, of small value, he was likely to lose his debt. He therefore asked that the right of administration might be vested in him as the principal creditor, the effects belonging to the widow being unattended. The council read the petition, and after reading it Governor Pyke objected that Mr White, who wrote a good hand and only in his few faint scratches upon his writing bed of writing his own name, and the gentlemen who were witnesses to the will severally affirmed that Mr White was perfectly in his senses and appeared to be a man of good judgement and understanding at the time the will was read to him. He answered every sentence, but he was so weak and faint that he was not able to write his own name, though he twice attempted it. The will therefore appearing satisfactory to the Governor and council, the same was accordingly proved on the oaths of the witnesses Mr Duke Crisp, Mr Isaac Wood and John Brown, Mr Wood being by the will appointed trustee. The council confirmed it, but directed Durling to be aiding and assisting in taking an inventory of his effects. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations Administration is the grant made where a person dies without a valid will, giving the next of kin or a principal creditor authority to gather in and distribute the estate. Durling asked for it precisely because it would have put him in control of the assets against which his own debt stood, rather than leaving him to claim alongside other creditors. Producing a valid will defeated that, since probate goes to the executors named in the document and the creditors take their chance in the ordinary way. The evidential difficulty was that the chaplain could not sign. English practice did not require a testator's own signature where the will was read over to him, he assented in the presence of witnesses and the witnesses subscribed. The council satisfied itself on the two points that mattered, that he understood what was read and that he was physically incapable rather than unwilling, and the detail of his twice attempting the pen carries more weight than any formal attestation would. The chaplain's debt of £57 9s 5.5d for provisions supplied from the moment he landed sets his affairs in a harsh light. He had come before the council on 20 May 1731 over his refusal to maintain his servant Anne Lane, and again on 26 July 1732 over drunkenness, when Governor Pyke offered to leave his gratuity untouched if he reformed. Living for years on credit from a single supplier and dying with an estate of small value completes that picture. Requiring a fresh survey before any lease renewal is the resolution the council adopted on 26 July 1732, and Martin Harper's case is the first to run through it cleanly. Captain Alexander's confirmation that the ground was fenced and planted with its full proportion of wood is what the resolution

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			demand, and the lease issued on that certificate rather than on the tenant's own account of himself.
102	100	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 12th Sepr 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Messrs Teerling & Wood this day presented an Inventory & Appraizemt of the Goods & Effects of Mr White & and the whole of which amounts to Eighty three Pounds Six Shillings & the Same Ordered that Messrs Goodwin & Crispe do State the Debts & Credits of the deceased & that Copies thereof & of the Inventory be Sent to the Storekeeper Mrs White, Widow of the deceased being left in very bad Circumstances the Governour has really care that Some Provision Should be made for her & but five Shillings & week to be allowed her from the Inhabitants & this & Wood have Mr Wood allowed five Shillings more upon Account of the Govt & Company, & to remove all difficulties in getting her off & him proposed that She Should quit the Fort & get Somewhere into the Country out of the reach of Strong Liquor for She has led a very Drunken & She has been here Such a Scandalous, beastly, drunken & disorderly life that if the Commanders Should observe it they would not receive her on board upon any Terms & to this purpose the Governour Spoke to Severall of the Inhabitants to take her, but they all refused except one Family who live remote from the Fort & upon that Account is the most proper place for her but when this was kindly offered to her She absolutely refused to go & Said it was a Scandalous thing for her who was Mrs White & how to receive any Assistance from the Inhabitants & to accept of the County Charity & declared that She would not accept of any thing from either of them & persisted violently upon living at the Fort & taking many Promises that if that was allowed her She would keep her Self perfectly Sober & if She did not that She would then consent to live where She Should be thought most fitting for her & finding her so obstinate & positive in this matter that She would not go under forced We agreed that She Should live Sometime upon Trial in the house in which her husband dwelt at the Fort, An other principal reason why the Governour proposed to her to live in the Country was that She might be out of the way of all the Company & save what little Money could be raised for her till She got to England, but no Consideration of Death or Calamity no Argument or Perswasion had any Effect upon her with her dread Companion the Bottle & the Bottle She resolved to have	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 September 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Durling presented an inventory and appraisal of the goods and effects of Mr White, the whole amounting to £83 6s 0d. The council ordered Mr Wood and Mr Crisp to state the debts and credits of the deceased, and directed that copies of that statement and of the inventory be sent to the secretary. Mrs White, the widow of the deceased, was left in very bad circumstances. The Governor took her case into consideration and directed that a provision be made for her of 5s a week towards her subsistence, the inhabitants having also allowed Mr Wood a further 5s a week on account of the Company. To remove her difficulties, and to get her off the island, the Governor proposed that she quit the fort and go somewhere into the country, out of the reach of strong liquor, for she had led an unhappy and disorderly life while at the fort. The commander of the vessel would not receive her on board on any voyage. The Governor spoke to several of the inhabitants to take her, but they all refused except one family who live remote from the fort. On that account it was the most proper place for her, and when this was kindly offered to her she absolutely refused to go, saying that it was a year and a half since she was allowed £6 0s 0d, while she declined to accept any assistance from the inhabitants or to accept of the parish charity. She declared that she would not accept of anything from either of them if instead she could live at a table without any manner of provision, and that if what was allowed her she would keep herself and family, and if she did not she would then content herself to live where she should be thought most fitting for her. Finding her so obstinate and refractory in the matter, she would not go under such [...]. She agreed that she should live sometime upon trial in the house in which her husband died at the fort. Another principal reason why the Governor proposed to her to live in the country was that he thought her out of the way of all the Company and there is what little money could be saved for her until she got to England, but no consideration of debt or servants, no argument or persuasion, had any effect upon her, with her ill habit of drinking. The council read the petition of Elizabeth, wife of John Vaughan, presented that day. Her husband had run away from her about two years earlier, leaving her two small children, and she was destitute of bread. She now feared that they must have perished had she not been supported by the parish already, and neither had they [...]. She had become very poor, having a large family that could not be maintained, and they were no longer in a capacity to assist her. She therefore asked that some provision might be made for her two small children by the parish. The churchwardens attending, the council read the petition to them, and they acknowledged that the intention had never been proposed to allow just what was necessary for the provisions for the widow and her two children. The council executed a new lease to John Bagley junior for 36 acres of Sandy Bay land. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations The relief arranged for the chaplain's widow runs at 10s a week from two sources, half charged to the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Petition of Elizabeth wife of John Vaty Beeton was this day presented & read Setting forth that her husband run away from her about two Years ago leaving her & her two Small Children & was destitute & Bread, him in such that they must have Perished had they not been Supported by the Parish & other & that other but they having been become very poor & having a Large Family & that Children they were no longer in a capacity to assist her & therefore praying that Some Provision might be made for the & her two Small Children by the Parish And the Churchwardens attending they were called in & the Said Petition was read to them & they acknowledged that the Contents were true & promised to allow five Shills weekly & Provisions for the Petitioner & her two Children We this day Executed a new Lease to Jno Bagley junr for Thirty Six Acres of Leasehold Lives Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	Company and half raised among the inhabitants. That is a substantial allowance on an island where a labourer's hire stood at nine pence a day and where the whole estate of the deceased came to £83 6s 0d against a single creditor's claim of £57 9s 5.5d. The council was not distributing an estate but preventing a destitute Englishwoman from falling on the parish permanently. Removing her from the fort into the country was an attempt at what would now be called managed abstinence. The reasoning is set out plainly: the fort was where the liquor was, the storekeeper's accounts recording arrack, port, sherry and beer issued there in quantity every month, while a remote plantation household offered no such access. The council had heard on 26 July 1732 that both the chaplain and his wife lay drunk almost daily and that she blamed her husband's treatment of her for it. The refusal of every household but one to take her, and the ship's commander's refusal to carry her, show the practical limits of the council's authority. It could vote money and it could recommend, but it could not compel an inhabitant to lodge her, a captain to embark her or the woman herself to move. What it obtained in the end was a trial arrangement in the house where her husband died. Elizabeth Vaughan's petition sits directly beneath, and the two cases together mark an unusual concentration of parish business. A husband who deserts leaves a wife with no legal claim on anyone, since she could not sue for maintenance from a man who could not be found, and the children fall to the parish by default. The churchwardens' answer suggests the parish had been supporting the family informally and wanted the obligation fixed rather than open-ended.
<u>103</u>	101	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 19th Septr 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Petitions of Edward Bagley Corporal & of Jno Ilepham junr were this day presented & read the former Setting forth that he was a native of this Place & has Served the Honble Company Severall years in the Garrison & being desirous to Settle here with his Family prayed a Lease for about Ten Acres of waste Land lying in Sandy Bay, none of at Rocks & that being the Same to him cannot be prejudicial to any body but the Petitr Wifes Father who has consented thereto, the later praying a Lease for about two Acres of Land lying in the Said Bay the Never to enable him to Maintain his Family Ordered that the Said Parcels of Land be first Surveyed & if it be found that Leasing thereof may be done without Prejudice to the Neighbourhood that Leases be prepared accordingly Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 3d of Octr 1739 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander	At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 September 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Edward Bagley, corporal, and Jonathan Higham junior each presented a petition that day. Bagley set out that he was a native of the place, had served the Honourable Company several years in the garrison and was living there with his family, and asked for a lease of about 6 or 7 acres of waste land lying in Sandy Bay, close to a road. Granting it to him could prejudice nobody but Peter's widow's father, who had consented to it. Higham asked for a lease of about 2 acres of land lying in the same bay, which he needed to maintain his family. The council ordered both parcels first surveyed, and if it is found that granting them can be done without prejudice to the neighbourhood, that the leases be prepared accordingly. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 3 October 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council had been busy making up the general accounts for the yearly [...], and adjourned until that day, when it paid the garrison for the past month. At the same time it reckoned with the inhabitants for their rents for the year ending 30 September last, which amounted to £341 15s 10.5d. Of that sum only £191 12s 3.5d was received, and the rest was placed to their respective accounts. As usual they promised to pay as soon as they could. The council, having by [...] been obliged to have the Ostrey allowed them, with which they were overcharged, they having last year paid one quarter's rent more than the inhabitants. That sum being

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved We having been busy in making up the General Accounts in order for our yearly Ballancing We adjourned till this day when We paid the Garrison for the Month past & at the Same time We Reckoned with them & the Inhabitants for their Rents for the Year ending the January last which amounted to £341: 15: 10½ but of this We only reed £191:12:3¾ the rest We placed to their respective Accounts & they as usual promised to pay it as Soon as they could & the Canvas having by Tickets offered to have the On tray allowed them with which they were overcharged they having last Year paid one Quarter & Right more than the Inhabitants & the Said Sum being Small amounting among them all only to £26: 12: 7½ & they being many of them very poor & having most of them Large Families We accordingly gave them Credit for the Same the Honble Company in the 28th Paragraph of their last Genll Letter having been pleased to put them upon the Same footing with the Inhabitants The Governour Capt Goodwin & the Steward delivered each their Account for the Month past, the Gunner also delivered his Monthly & yearly Account all which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Accounts	small, amounting among them all to only £26 4s 7.5d, and they being many of them very poor and having most of them large families, the council accordingly gave them credit for it. The Honourable Company in the 28th paragraph of their last general letter had been pleased to put them upon the same footing with the inhabitants. The Governor, Captain Goodwin and the steward each delivered their accounts for the month past, and the gunner also delivered his monthly and yearly accounts, all of which were separately examined and approved as follows. Interpretations Rents of £341 15s 10.5d for the year against £191 12s 3.5d received leaves close to £150 0s 0d unpaid, which is the ordinary condition of these annual reckonings rather than a failure peculiar to this year. The reckoning of 31 March 1730 collected £200 0s 0d of £671 2s 2d, and that of 30 September 1730 took £361 10s 6d of £936 2s 6.5d. The inhabitants held their wealth in stock and land, not coin, and could only settle when ships in the road bought their beef, so a year of light shipping produced a year of light rent. The Company's direction in the 28th paragraph of its general letter puts the men in question on the same footing as the ordinary inhabitants, which is why the council forgave the extra quarter they had paid. The sum of £26 4s 7.5d spread across many households comes to a few shillings each, and the council's stated reason, that most were poor with large families, matches the language it used when fining wood defaulters on 18 November 1729, when it found several so poor that whether they could pay ready money was a small matter. The requirement that both Sandy Bay parcels be surveyed before any lease issues follows the resolutions adopted on 26 July 1732, which suspended fresh grants until the ground had been viewed and required a clause reserving a right of way through every new holding. Bagley's petition also shows the older practice of testing a grant against the neighbours, and the point that only one man could object, and had already agreed, is what allowed the petition to proceed at all.
104	102	Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaining 1 Septr: Bullocks 41, Cowes 130, Heifers 19, Steers 25, Yearlings 107, Calves 91, Bulls 5, Totall 418, Ewes 57, Wethers 14, Lambs 37, Rams 4, Totall 112, Sows 21, Shoates 26, Barrows 13, Pigs 28, Boars 3, Totall 91, Turkeys 76, Fowles 176, Ducks 26, Geese 15, Horses 3, Mares 4, Totall 7 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 25, Cowes 14, Heifers 25, Steers 35, Yearlings 60, Calves 2, Bulls 0, Totall 161, Ewes 13, Wethers 12, Lambs 2, Rams 0, Totall 27, Sows 0, Shoates 8, Barrows 6, Pigs 10, Boars 2, Totall 26, Turkeys 10, Fowles 24, Ducks 6, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Totall 1 Bullocks 66, Cowes 144, Heifers 44, Steers 60, Yearlings 167, Calves 93, Bulls 5, Totall 579, Ewes 70, Wethers 26, Lambs 39, Rams 4, Totall 139, Sows 21, Shoates 34, Barrows 19, Pigs 38, Boars 5, Totall 117, Turkeys 86, Fowles 200, Ducks 32, Geese 15, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Cattle &ca Cutt & Grown in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 14, Steers 25, Yearlings 60, Calves 60, Bulls 0, Totall 159, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 25, Rams 0, Totall 25, Sows 0, Shoates 8, Barrows 0, Pigs 8, Boars 0, Totall 16, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of September 1732. Remaining 1 September, 41 bullocks, 130 cows, 19 heifers, 25 steers, 107 yearlings, 91 calves, 5 bulls, 418 neat cattle in total, 57 ewes, 14 wethers, 37 lambs, 4 rams, 112 sheep in total, 21 sows, 26 shoats, 13 barrows, 28 pigs, 3 boars, 91 hogs in total, 76 turkeys, 176 fowls, 26 ducks, 15 geese, 3 horses, 4 mares, 7 horses and mares in total Increased in September, 25 bullocks, 14 cows, 25 heifers, 35 steers, 60 yearlings, 2 calves, 0 bulls, 161 neat cattle in total, 13 ewes, 12 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, 27 sheep in total, 0 sows, 8 shoats, 6 barrows, 10 pigs, 2 boars, 26 hogs in total, 10 turkeys, 24 fowls, 6 ducks, 0 geese, 1 horse, 0 mares, 1 horse and mare in total Standing after the increase, 66 bullocks, 144 cows, 44 heifers, 60 steers, 167 yearlings, 93 calves, 5 bulls, 579 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 26 wethers, 39 lambs, 4 rams, 139 sheep in total, 21 sows, 34 shoats, 19 barrows, 38 pigs, 5 boars, 117 hogs in total, 86 turkeys, 200 fowls, 32 ducks, 15 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Cattle and other stock cut and grown in September, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 14 heifers, 25 steers, 60 yearlings, 60 calves, 0 bulls, 159 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 25 lambs, 0 rams, 25 sheep in total, 0 sows, 8 shoats, 0 barrows, 8 pigs, 0 boars,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Bullocks 66, Cows 144, Heifers 30, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 33, Bulls 5, Totall 420, Ewes 70, Wethers 26, Lambs 14, Rams 4, Totall 114, Sows 21, Shoates 26, Barrows 19, Pigs 30, Boars 5, Totall 101, Turkeys 86, Fowles 200, Ducks 32, Geese 15, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoates 1, Barrows 4, Pigs 2, Boars 2, Totall 9, Turkeys 2, Fowles 12, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 66, Cows 144, Heifers 30, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 33, Bulls 5, Totall 420, Ewes 70, Wethers 25, Lambs 14, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sows 21, Shoates 25, Barrows 15, Pigs 28, Boars 3, Totall 92, Turkeys 84, Fowles 188, Ducks 32, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Several Plantations 17850 lb ditto delivered the Fort Blacks 8750 ditto deld the Great Wood ditto 5200 Totall 31800 lb	16 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the reclassification, 66 bullocks, 144 cows, 30 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 33 calves, 5 bulls, 420 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 26 wethers, 14 lambs, 4 rams, 114 sheep in total, 21 sows, 26 shoats, 19 barrows, 30 pigs, 5 boars, 101 hogs in total, 86 turkeys, 200 fowls, 32 ducks, 15 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Killed in September, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in total, 0 sows, 1 shoat, 4 barrows, 2 pigs, 2 boars, 9 hogs in total, 2 turkeys, 12 fowls, 0 ducks, 1 goose, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 30 September, 66 bullocks, 144 cows, 30 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 33 calves, 5 bulls, 420 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 25 wethers, 14 lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in total, 21 sows, 25 shoats, 15 barrows, 28 pigs, 3 boars, 92 hogs in total, 84 turkeys, 188 fowls, 32 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 17,850 lb Yams delivered to the fort blacks, 8,750 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 5,200 lb Total yams expended, 31,800 lb Interpretations The increase row carries 161 head of neat cattle in a single month, against 12 in June and 3 in July, and no calving season could produce that. September closes the Company's accounting year, and the annual reckoning brings in animals that had run on the ranges without ever being entered on the monthly sheets. The same effect appears in the sheep, hogs, poultry and horses, every category rising at once, which points to a general muster of the stock rather than to natural breeding. The cut and grown row is the mechanism by which animals move between classes on the books. Sixty calves become yearlings, sixty yearlings become steers, twenty five steers and fourteen heifers move up, and twenty five lambs pass into the ewe and wether columns. Bullocks are castrated males, wethers castrated rams and barrows castrated boars, so the operation and the reclassification happen together. The net effect on the neat cattle total is nil, 579 falling back to 420, because the row shifts animals sideways rather than adding or removing them. The annual account for the year to 30 September 1730 recorded the same device, 224 calves and 90 yearlings moved between classes, which is why the herd closed at 381 despite a running balance of 605. Not a single beast went to shipping for the fourth consecutive month. No vessel has touched the island since the <i>Middlesex</i> and the Dutch ship sailed on 25 June, and the Company's beef trade stops entirely in such months, exactly as it did from July to November 1729 and from July to September 1730. Yams fell back to 31,800 lb from the 46,250 lb of August, the drop concentrated in the fort issue and the Great Wood. The August surge coincided with the Governor setting hired slaves to cut the salt drainage trench, and the return to the ordinary monthly level suggests that work either finished or paused as the planting season closed.
105	103	Expende of the Table in Seprtr 1739 45 lb Pork 1 2 6 2 Pigs 10 1 Sheep 1 4	Expense of the table in September 1732. 45 lb of pork, £1 2s 6d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d 1 sheep, £1 4s 0d 12 fowls, £0 18s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 12s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		12 Fowles 18 2 Turkeys 12 1 Goose 5 66 Bottles Milk 1 30 Days Greens 1 10 17 lb Butter 7 54 Gallo Arrack 17 4 12 Gallo Strong Beer 18 11 Gallo Sherry 4 5 3 2 Gallo Vinegar 5 156 lb Steurs 1 17 6 99 lb Sugar 2 9 6 24 lb Candy 18 2 lb Pepper 2 2 Bushels & 1 Basket Salt 1 10 4 Bottles Oyle 16 8 37 3 3 13 Gallo Arrack delivered the Blacks the Weather being wet & Stormy 2.2.4 28 lb Sugar 14 2.16.4 Gunnars Stores Expended in Sepr 1739 Vizt Powder Muster Day 12 lb Expence of the Guard 10 Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 3½ 22 Signed Jno French	60 bottles of milk, £1 0s 0d 30 bags of greens, £1 10s 0d 17 lb of butter, £0 7s 0d 54 gallons of arrack, £17 2s 0d 12 gallons of strong beer, £0 18s 0d 11 gallons of sherry, £4 5s 3d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 156 lb of flour, £1 17s 6d 99 lb of sugar, £2 9s 6d 24 lb of candy, £0 18s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 2 buckets and 1 basket of salt, £1 0s 10d 4 bottles of oil, £16s 8d Total, £37 3s 3d 13 gallons of arrack delivered to the black slaves, the weather being wet and stormy, £2 2s 4d 28 lb of sugar delivered to the same, £0 14s 0d Total, £2 16s 4d Gunner's stores expended in September 1732. Muster day, 12 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 10 lb of powder Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 8 lb Total powder expended, 22 lb Signed John French. Interpretations Twenty two pounds of powder repeats the August figure exactly, and for the same reason. No ship has touched the island since 25 June, so the account carries nothing but the monthly muster and the guard's routine consumption, with not a single salute or alarm. Four consecutive months of this pattern is the longest quiet stretch since the silence of July to November 1729. The table at £37 3s 3d is the lightest monthly charge in the recent run, down from £42 19s 6d in August and £41 3s 6d in July. Forty five pounds of pork and no beef at all is the clearest sign of the empty anchorage, since the stock account for the same month records no bullock killed and nothing sold to shipping. The fort was eating what the yard produced while the herd was held back for the vessels expected with the coming season. Arrack runs at 54 gallons for the table with a further 13 gallons issued to the slaves, the account naming wet and stormy weather as the reason. September closes the island's winter, when the planting season runs from about May, and the wet-weather allowance appears in this position every year, 4.5 gallons in September 1729 and 2 gallons in September 1730. Sherry at 11 gallons appears without any port entered against it, reversing the proportion held since Governor Pyke's arrival, when port replaced sherry as the wine drunk in quantity. A single month without port more probably reflects the cellar running down between shipping than any change of habit, since nothing has arrived to replenish it since June.
106	104	Acct of Gunnars Stores Expended & recd between 30th Sepr 1731 & 30th Sepr 1739 with the Remains thereof 30 Sepr 1739 Vizt Demi Canon, Whole Culvering, Demi Culvering, Minion, Sakers, Falcons, Twelve Pounders, Three Pounders, Totall, Iron round Shott, Double headed Shot, Canon Powder, Match, Cartridge Paper, Spunge Staves, Spunge Heads, Rammer Heads, Powder Horns, Worms, Ladles, Tompions, Sheep Skin, Bolt, Quoiners, Cartouch Boxes, Fowsils, Holsters, Blunderbusses, Pistolls, Bouge Barrils, Guns, Union Flags, Handspikes, Formetts, Linstocks, Priming Wires, Cartridge Cases, Hogs Hide, Parchment Skins, Lead Shott, Drums, Fired Cotton,	Account of gunner's stores expended and received between 30 September 1731 and 30 September 1732, with the remains on 30 September 1732. Remaining 30 September 1731, 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders, 4 three pounders, 128 guns in total, 6,923 round shot, 545 double headed shot, 191 barrels 21 lb 5 oz 7 dwt 2 gr of cannon powder, 11 cwt 3 quarters of match, 329 quires of cartridge paper, 487 sponge staves, 282 sponge heads, 208 rammer heads, 17 powder horns, 22 ladles, 740 tampions, 140 sheepskins, 122 bells, 108 worms, 163 cartouche boxes, 406 sponges, 58 holsters, 36 blunderbusses, 12 pistols, 9 budge barrels, 2 guns, 3 union flags, 228 hand fletchers, 24

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Pruissane Wires, Flints, Halberts, Sewing Thread, Buff Belt, Grenadier Powder, Barrell Sheets, Filled Cartridges, Gun Ropes, Bowling Twine, Bills, Musquets, Sponge Blocks Remg 30 Sept 1731: Demi Canon 12, Whole Culvering 5, Demi Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakers 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Iron round Shott 6, Double headed Shot 723, Canon Powder 6454, Match 1412, Cartridge Paper 1572, Spunge Staves 11, Spunge Heads 332, Rammer Heads 9487, Powder Horns 287, Worms 408, Ladles 17, Tompions 22, Sheep Skin 740, Bolt 140, Quoinies 122, Cartouch Boxes 108, Fowsils 163, Holsters 406, Blunderbusses 58, Pistolls 36, Bouge Barrils 12, Guns 9, Union Flags 2, Handspikes 3, Formetts 228, Linstocks 24, Priming Wires 100, Cartridge Cases 300, Hogs Hide 122, Parchment Skins 4, Lead Shott 68, Drums 1370, Fired Cotton 6, Pruisane Wires 9, Flints 7, Halberts 5000, Sewing Thread 11, Buff Belt 271, Grenadier Powder 114, Barrell Sheets 140, Filled Cartridges 10, Gun Ropes 2, Bowling Twine 1, Bills 1, Musquets 12, Sponge Blocks 213, Formetts 14 Reed Since: Canon Powder 12 Demi Canon 12, Whole Culvering 5, Demi Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakers 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Iron round Shott 6, Double headed Shot 723, Canon Powder 545, Match 2031, Cartridge Paper 572, Spunge Staves 11, Spunge Heads 3, Rammer Heads 329, Powder Horns 487, Worms 283, Ladles 208, Tompions 17, Sheep Skin 22, Bolt 720, Quoinies 140, Cartouch Boxes 122, Fowsils 108, Holsters 163, Blunderbusses 406, Pistolls 58, Bouge Barrils 36, Guns 12, Union Flags 9, Handspikes 2, Formetts 4, Linstocks 228, Priming Wires 24, Cartridge Cases 100, Hogs Hide 300, Parchment Skins 122, Lead Shott 4, Drums 68, Fired Cotton 1370, Pruisane Wires 6, Flints 2, Halberts 7, Sewing Thread 5000, Buff Belt 11, Grenadier Powder 271, Barrell Sheets 114, Filled Cartridges 140, Gun Ropes 10, Bowling Twine 10, Bills 2, Musquets 1, Sponge Blocks 1, Formetts 12, Sponge Blocks 213, Formetts 149, Bills 1 Expended Since: Canon Powder 7, Match 1350, Cartridge Paper 183, Spunge Staves 71, Spunge Heads 5, Rammer Heads 6, Powder Horns 1, Worms 1, Sheep Skin 1, Bolt 3, Quoinies 1, Blunderbusses 10, Handspikes 1, Formetts 3, Parchment Skins 4, Lead Shott 30, Sponge Blocks 2 Remg 30 Sept 1739: Demi Canon 12, Whole Culvering 5, Demi Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakers 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Iron round Shott 6, Double headed Shot 716, Canon Powder 545, Match 1897, Cartridge Paper 1388, Spunge Staves 7, Spunge Heads 918, Rammer Heads 323, Powder Horns 486, Worms 281, Ladles 208, Tompions 17, Sheep Skin 21, Bolt 737, Quoinies 139, Cartouch Boxes 122, Fowsils 108, Holsters 165, Blunderbusses 396, Pistolls 58, Bouge Barrils 36, Guns 12, Union Flags 9, Handspikes 2, Formetts 3, Linstocks 225, Priming Wires 24, Cartridge Cases 100, Hogs Hide 300, Parchment Skins 122, Lead Shott 4, Drums 64, Fired Cotton 1340, Pruisane Wires 6, Flints 2, Halberts 7, Sewing Thread 5000, Buff Belt 11, Grenadier Powder 271, Barrell Sheets 114, Filled Cartridges 140, Gun Ropes 10, Bowling Twine 2, Bills 1, Musquets 1, Sponge Blocks 102, Formetts 13, Bills 149, Musquets 1	formers, 100 linstocks, 300 priming wires, 122 cartridge cases, 4 flagstaff slides, 68 parchment skins, 1,370 lead shot, 6 drums, 9 field colours, 7 buccaneer pieces, 5,000 flints, 11 halberts, 271 scouring rods, 114 buff belts, 100 grenadier powder horns, 10 bomb shells, 2 field carriages, 1 gun rope, 1 fowling piece, 19 pikes, 2 muskets, 13 sword blocks, 19 gun blocks, 1 [...] Received since, 12 barrels of cannon powder, 1 union flag Standing after the receipt, 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders, 4 three pounders, 128 guns in total, 6,923 round shot, 545 double headed shot, 203 barrels 21 lb 5 oz 7 dwt 2 gr of cannon powder, 11 cwt 3 quarters of match, 329 quires of cartridge paper, 487 sponge staves, 282 sponge heads, 208 rammer heads, 17 powder horns, 22 ladles, 740 tampions, 140 sheepskins, 122 bells, 108 worms, 163 cartouche boxes, 406 sponges, 58 holsters, 36 blunderbusses, 12 pistols, 9 budge barrels, 2 guns, 4 union flags, 228 hand fletchers, 24 formers, 100 linstocks, 300 priming wires, 122 cartridge cases, 4 flagstaff slides, 68 parchment skins, 1,370 lead shot, 6 drums, 9 field colours, 7 buccaneer pieces, 5,000 flints, 11 halberts, 271 scouring rods, 114 buff belts, 100 grenadier powder horns, 10 bomb shells, 2 field carriages, 1 gun rope, 1 fowling piece, 19 pikes, 2 muskets, 13 sword blocks, 19 gun blocks, 1 [...] Expended since, 7 double headed shot, 13 barrels 50 lb 18 oz 3 dwt 7 gr 1 [...] of cannon powder, 5 quarters of match, 6 quires of cartridge paper, 1 sponge stave, 1 sponge head, 1 ladle, 3 tampions, 1 sheepskin, 10 cartouche boxes, 1 union flag, 3 hand fletchers, 4 parchment skins, 30 lead shot, 2 muskets Remaining 30 September 1732, 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders, 4 three pounders, 128 guns in total, 6,916 round shot, 545 double headed shot, 189 barrels 71 lb 3 oz 8 dwt 8 gr 9 [...] 18 of cannon powder, 3 cwt 2 quarters 3 lb of match, 186 quires of cartridge paper, 281 sponge staves, 208 sponge heads, 17 rammer heads, 21 powder horns, 737 ladles, 139 tampions, 122 sheepskins, 108 bells, 163 worms, 396 cartouche boxes, 58 sponges, 36 holsters, 12 blunderbusses, 9 pistols, 2 budge barrels, 3 guns, 225 union flags, 24 hand fletchers, 100 formers, 300 linstocks, 122 priming wires, 4 cartridge cases, 64 flagstaff slides, 1,340 parchment skins, 6 lead shot, 2 drums, 7 field colours, 5,000 buccaneer pieces, 11 flints, 271 halberts, 114 scouring rods, 100 buff belts, 10 grenadier powder horns, 2 bomb shells, 1 field carriage, 1 gun rope, 10 fowling pieces, 2 pikes, 13 muskets, 19 sword blocks, 2 gun blocks, 5 [...] Interpretations The ordnance stands entirely unchanged for a fifth consecutive year at 128 pieces, the same 12 demi-cannon, 5 whole culverins, 48 demi-culverins, 5 minions, 16 sakers, 27 falcons, 11 twelve pounders and 4 three pounders recorded in the inventories of 30 September 1728, 1729 and 1730. Not a gun has been added or lost since the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 condemned 72 barrels of powder and exposed the gunner's neglect. The batteries were maintained but never strengthened. Seven double headed shot expended is the whole of the year's ammunition consumption beyond powder, and round shot fell by exactly the same figure, from 6,923 to 6,916. Double headed shot was an anti-rigging round fired to bring a vessel to rather than to sink her, and the monthly accounts identify the occasions: live shot at a French ship in January 1731, two round shot from Banks's on 15 May 1731

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			and two shot fired to stop a Dutch vessel on 11 June 1732. The 5,000 flints stand untouched, as 17,000 did in 1729, confirming that the garrison never fired a musket in earnest across the whole twelvemonth. Powder opened at 191 barrels, received 12 and expended 13 barrels and part of another, closing at 189 barrels. That is a fraction under the 16 barrels 22 lb expended in the year to 30 September 1729 and close to the 12 barrels 86 lb of the year to 1730. The consumption is almost entirely ceremonial, since the monthly accounts across this year show royal salutes and ship compliments drawing far more powder than any defensive firing. Match at 5 quarters is again the heaviest consumption among the consumable stores, and the reason is that a length had to be kept burning at every guard post through every watch whether or not a gun was fired. Ten cartouche boxes, three tampions, a sponge stave and a sponge head make up almost the whole of the remaining wear. Tampions plugged the muzzle against damp, and their loss on an island of constant sea air and rain is unremarkable.
107	105	Collection of Goods Sold & delivered in Sepr 1739 60 Gallo Arrack 20 5 1 Whaling Boat 4 5 4 8 Toyley Pan 19 9 1 Gridiron 2 5 2 Sugar Shovels 2 8 1 lb Doe Cake 8 3 Bar Iron & Weight 1 8 3½ 6 lb Nails Sorted 8 13 8 10 lb Whited Brown Thread 1 8 17 Coloured & Brown 1 11 6 20 & Twine 8 11 17 Paint Brushes 3 6 1 Hair Broom 10 6 3 Bucking Sands 7 9 3 & Bucketts 9 5 Irons 1 8 3½ Spades 1 11 6 85 lb White Lead 15 80 lb Barrells Lamblack 2 2 9 25 Yellow Ocher 10 10 Pr Bay Shoes 12 4 lb Yellow 2 6 6 Womens Cakes 6 1 1 pr Ditto Spanish 1 1 1 pr Boots 24 10	Collection of goods sold and delivered in September 1732. 60 gallons of arrack, £20 5s 0d 1 chafing dish, £0 4s 5d 2 [...] jars, £0 12s 4d 1 [...], £0 2s 5d 3 sugar shovels, £0 5s 9d 1 lb of [...], £0 2s 8d 2 pairs of shoemaker's lasts, £1 8s 3d 6 pairs of hair brushes, £0 8s 3.5d 10 lb of [...] brown thread, £1 8s 0d 17 lb of coloured and brown thread, £1 11s 6d 20 oz of [...], £0 8s 6d 17 paint brushes, £0 3s 6d 1 hair broom, £0 13s 6d 3 poultry [...], £0 7s 0d 3 [...], £0 7s 9d 5 [...], £1 1s 8d 3.5 spades, £1 11s 6d 25 lb of white lead, £0 15s 0d 80 lb of Bristol lampblack, £2 2s 9d 25 lb of yellow ochre, £0 10s 0d 10 pairs of [...] shoes, £0 12s 0d 4 [...], £2 6s 0d 6 [...] cakes, £0 6s 0d 9 pairs of [...], £1 1s 0d 1 [...] last, £24 10s 0d 60 [...] of [...] cloth, £11 16s 0d 3 plain [...], £150 5s 11.5d Total, £150 5s 11.5d Garrison 8 cattles of tea, £2 8s 0d 1 [...], £0 2s 6d 60 [...] of [...] cordage, £27 0s 0d Total, £30 10s 6d Charges general 2 [...] soap, £0 11s 11d 60 [...], £6 12s 4d 10 [...], £3 13s 8d 16 [...] spars, £1 11s 6d 6 [...] waistcoat [...], £1 11s 6d 9 [...] quarters of the same, £1 1s 3d 12 [...], £0 8s 3d 2 cwt 0 quarters 6 lb of [...], £15 7s 8d 6 cwt 1 quarter 13 lb of rice, £27 10s 4d Stationery ware, £69 3s 11d Total, £69 3s 11d Plantation 3 [...], £0 18s 0d 2 iron shovels, £0 5s 6d 3 [...], £0 6s 4d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Mans Suit 11 16 60 Yellow Cloths 150 5 11½ 8 Plain ditto Garrison 8 Cakes Sea 8 1 Iron Pott 2 6 30 Gallo Bar Oyle 27 30 10 6 Charges Generall 3 Soap 11 11 60 Sugar 16 12 4 10 Ochre 3 18 8 16 Bran Spars 1 11 6 6 Half Cwt Paincoat Boards 1 11 6 9 Iron Quarters ditto 1 4 3 13 4 Bowles 8 8 25 lb Sugar 15 7 8 0 1 15 Rice 27 10 4 Stationaryware 69 3 11 Plantation 3 Sytmes 18 8 Iron Shovels 5 6 3 Sytes 8 6 7 Grindstone 3 4 240 Nails 1 3 4 4 Irons 13 8 0 1 0 Rice 3 12 6 0 0 Paddy 12 6 Garden Seeds 3 6 6 10 17 5 Blacks 4 Bags & 7 Bags Beans & 13 Lines 25 8 1 85 lb Grinds 36 15 440 Yards Ginny 19 8 4 lb Coloured Thread & 9 lb Coloured Tape 4 10 12 Do damaged Chints 48 4 8 Diet Expences 61 Gallo Arrack 21 4 18 Gallo Strong Beer 18 11 Gallo Sherry 4 5 3 2 Gallo Vinegar 5 6 4 lb Sugar	7 [...], £1 3s 4d 2 [...] nails, £0 12s 8d 4 [...], £3 12s 6d 5 cwt 1 quarter of [...], £0 12s 6d 2 cwt 0 quarters 2 lb of paddy, £3 6s 6d Garden seeds, £10 17s 5d Total, £10 17s 5d Slaves 5 dozen 4 [...] and 12 lines, £25 8s 1d 35 [...] of [...], £36 15s 0d 412 yards of jersey, £0 19s 8d 4 lb of coloured thread and 2 lb of coloured tape, £4 10s 0d 12 lb of damaged chintz, £48 4s 8d Total, £48 4s 8d Diet expenses 64 gallons of arrack, £21 4s 0d 12 gallons of strong beer, £0 18s 0d 11 gallons of sherry, £4 5s 3d 1 gallon of [...], £0 5s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 1 [...] flour, £3 6s 6d 4 lb of sugar, £0 3s 6d 24 lb of candy, £0 18s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 12s 0d 2 [...] pepper, £0 3s 0d 2 buckets and 1 basket of salt, £1 3s 10d 1 gallon of oil, £0 16s 4d Total, £34 11s 1d Grand total, £363 1s 7.5d Subscribed Isaac Pyke. Interpretations The September account carries the annual charges, which is why the grand total of £363 1s 7.5d stands so far above the £230 8s 1.5d of August and the £253 14s 9.5d of July. The same pattern appears in every year of this record, £438 15s 7d in September 1728, £359 8s 8d in September 1729 and upwards of £375 10s 10d in September 1730, each carrying the yearly issues of clothing, medicines and stationery ware alongside the ordinary monthly business. Slave clothing accounts for the largest single group. Jersey was a coarse knitted worsted, and 412 yards of it with coloured thread and tape follows the practice recorded in the earlier autumn accounts, where the cloth went to the tailor at once so the garments might be made up before the winter. The council had ordered 445 yards of kersey and 100 blankets in September 1729 and 400 yards with 100 blankets in September 1730, so the quantity here is consistent with an establishment of about two hundred. Fishing gear again runs heavily, with five dozen hooks and twelve lines charged to the slaves. The fishery dates from 1 March 1727, when Governor Byfield abolished the meat ration in favour of fish and fitted a boat to keep the men constantly at sea, and the recurring purchases show it still supplying the diet more than five years later. White lead, yellow ochre and 80 lb of Bristol lampblack are the paint stores for the coming season. Lampblack coloured the black paint applied to the guns and ironwork, white lead served as base and rust primer, and ochre gave the yellow used on timber. Their appearance at the close of the island's winter, when the planting season runs from about May to September, points to maintenance planned for the drier months ahead.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3 3 6 24 lb Candy 18 1 lb Pepper 12 9 Bottles Oyle 5 8 2 Bushels & 1 Basket Salt 1 13 10 1 Gallo Oyle 16 4 34 11 1 363 1 7½ Isa Pyke	
108	106	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 10th Octr 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of Jno Ilepham junr was presented & read praying a Lease for a Parcell of waste Land in Sandy Bay The Petitioner was acquainted that the Land Should be viewed in order to find whether Letting the Same would be prejudicial to the Honble Compy or to the Neighbourhood, or not Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 17th Octr 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of James Harding was presented & read praying leave to Assign to his Brother Jno Harding about Thirteen Acres of Land which he at present holds by Lease of the Honble Company Granted Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 24 Octr 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Goodwin & Mr Crispe Report that a foule Sew of Books for the Year ending the 30 of Septr Last are Ballanced by it it appears that the gross Charge of the Island for the last Twelvemonths amounts only to £4989: 13: 4½ Ordered that the Said Books be Examined & fair Copied in order to be transmitted to the Honble Compy The Storekeeper also deld an Inventory of Stores remaining 30 of Septr last which was also Ordered to be Examd & transmitted to the Honble Compy	At a consultation held on Tuesday 10 October 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Jonathan Higham junior presented a petition asking for a lease of a parcel of waste land in Sandy Bay. The council told him that the ground must first be viewed, so that it could be established whether granting it would harm the Honourable Company or the neighbourhood. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 17 October 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. James Harding presented a petition asking leave to assign to his brother John Harding about 13 acres of land which he then held by lease from the Honourable Company. The council granted it. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 24 October 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Goodwin and Mr Crisp reported that the books for the year ending 30 September last had been balanced, and that the gross charge of the island for that year came to £4,939 13s 4.5d. The council ordered the books examined and fairly copied, so that they might be sent home to the Honourable Company. The storekeeper also delivered an inventory of the stores remaining on 30 September last, which the council likewise ordered examined and transmitted to the Company. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations A gross charge of £4,939 13s 4.5d is the heaviest annual figure in this record. The comparison across the run shows the trajectory clearly: £4,846 13s 7d for the year to 30 September 1728, £3,144 6s 0d for 1729 under Governor Byfield's programme of retrenchment, £4,214 6s 0d for 1730, and now close to £5,000 0s 0d. Governor Pyke's tenure has reversed the economy his predecessor built his reputation on, and the monthly accounts show where the money went, in a table running at £67 9s 4d in the six weeks to April 1731, in poultry bought for breeding stock and in hired labour at nine pence a day for the water works. Requiring a view before any grant is the resolution the council adopted on 26 July 1732, and Higham's petition is now the third to be held back under it. The council also resolved then that every fresh lease should carry a clause reserving a right of way through the ground, which followed directly from the Sandy Bay road commission of 20 April 1731

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	that found well over a mile of cart road absorbed into private plantations. Assignments between brothers pass without difficulty here, though the council had refused to register Samuel Doveton's assignment on 22 August 1732 until the Company gave direction, the Company having ordered that the engrossing of land be prevented. The difference lies in the quantity already held: Doveton was accumulating, while a transfer of 13 acres between two Hardings leaves the number of holdings unchanged.
109	107	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 31st Octr 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved We this day finished our Examination of the Books & Inventory & Ordered them to be immediatly Copied Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 7th Novr 1739 at Plan: House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Capt Goodwin the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accts for Octr last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Expençe of the Table in Octr 1739 Vizt 240 lb Beef 3 125 lb Pork 3 2 6 24 Fowles 1 16 2 Turkeys 10 2 Pigs 10 1 Sheep 4 31 Days Greens 1 11 62 Bottles Milk 8 9 lb Butter 9 5 Gallo Sherry 1 18 9 90 lb Sugar 1 2 6 22 lb Candy 18 1 3 7 Steurs 2 5 3¼ 17½ Gallo Sweet Oyle 1 4 4 1 Gallo Vinegar 2 6 2 lb Pepper 12 1 lb Sagam 1 49 Gallo Arrack 9 16	At a consultation held on Tuesday 31 October 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council finished its examination of the books and the inventory that day and ordered them copied at once. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 7 November 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for October, which were examined separately and approved as follows. 240 lb of beef, £3 0s 0d 125 lb of pork, £3 2s 6d 24 fowls, £1 16s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d 1 sheep, £1 11s 0d 31 bags of greens, £1 0s 8d 68 bottles of milk, £0 9s 0d 9 lb of butter, £1 18s 9d 5 gallons of sherry, £1 2s 6.5d 90 lb of sugar, £0 18s 0d 24 lb of candy, £2 5s 3.5d 1 cwt 3 quarters 7 lb of flour, £1 4s 0d 17 gallons of sweet oil, £0 2s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 12s 0d 2 catties of tea, £0 1s 0d 1 lb of saffron, £9 16s 0d 49 gallons of arrack, £30 19s 2.5d Total, £30 19s 2.5d 11 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards, carpenters, smiths and coopers on the King's birthday, being a holiday, £3 8s 0d 32 lb of sugar delivered on the same occasion, £0 8s 0d 14 gallons of arrack delivered to the black slaves, the weather being very wet, £1 16s 0d 25 lb of sugar delivered to the same, £0 6s 3d 24 lb of candles, £2 8s 0d 17 lb of soap, £0 7s 7d 4 china cups, £0 1s 4d 1.5 bushels of salt, £0 13s 10.5d Total, £9 9s 0.5d Interpretations Beef returns to the table at 240 lb after a September in which none was charged at all. The October account also carries pork, mutton and poultry together, and the timing points to the shipping season opening rather than to any change in the household. Vessels arriving from India and China through the southern summer bought beef on the hoof, and the fort's own table followed the same rhythm across every year in this record. Eleven gallons of arrack and thirty two pounds of sugar to the guards, carpenters, smiths and coopers marks the King's birthday on 30 October. The same distribution appears in October 1728 with arrack and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		30 19 2¾ Do 11 lb Arrack deld the Guards Carpenter Smith 3 8 3 lb Sugar Cooper &c the Kings birth day happening this Month 8 4 Do Arrack deld the Blacks the Weather being very wet 1 16 25 lb Sugar deld ditto 6 3 24 lb Candles 2 8 17 lb Soap 7 7 4 China Cupps 1 4 1½ Bushl Salt 13 10½ 9 9 ½	sugar to the guards, carpenters, smith, armourer and cooper's servants, and again in October 1729 at 21 gallons and 63 lb. Skilled tradesmen were included alongside the garrison, which distinguishes the royal allowance from the ordinary guard issue. Saffron at £9 16s 0d for a single pound is the most expensive item on the table by a wide margin, dearer than the whole month's beef and pork combined. The spice comes from the stigmas of the crocus and requires many thousand flowers for a pound of it, which is why a small quantity carries so heavy a charge on an island supplied only by passing shipping. The wet weather allowance of 14 gallons continues through October, and the accounts have named wet weather in every month since August. October falls at the close of the island's winter, and the same pattern of a late allowance appears in the run from November 1729 to January 1730, when the accounts recorded the weather uncommonly wet.
110	108	Collection of Goods Sold & deld in Octr 1739 127 3/4 Gallo 40 9 1 1 Hogshead Beer 4 10 11 2 12 Flower 12 10 7½ 43 7 Flour 53 16 5½ 98 feet Sfatts 15 18 6 11 Bowerets 10 7 6 6 Cloth Slaws 4 1 6 5 Do Musseline 15 12 6 159 5 9½ Blacks 2 3 6 Rice 17 5 4 lb Tea 1 4 3 6 lb Sugar 3 12 Rott Blocks 8 46 Lines 10 9 Do & Bar Oyle 9 3 37 Seed 5 1 19 17 4 Garrison Vizt 11 Cakes Sea 3 6 4½ Gallo Oyle 1 3 4 6 3 Plantation Vizt 2 Do Iron Snuffers 3 15 lb Nails 13 9 2 Do Spikes 1 3 1 Barrell Lamblack 1 3 1 St Linsed Oyle 1 9 9 M2 Rice 1 6	Collection of goods sold and delivered in October 1732. 127.5 gallons of arrack, £40 9s 1d 1 hogshead of beer, £4 10s 0d 11 cwt 2 quarters 12 lb of flour, £14 10s 7.5d 43 cwt 3 quarters of [...], £53 16s 6.5d 98 feet of laths, £15 18s 6d 11 [...], £10 7s 6d 6 cloth staves, £4 1s 0d 5 pieces of muslin, £15 12s 6d Total, £159 5s 9.5d Slaves 23 cwt 6 lb of rice, £17 5s 0d 4 lb of tea, £1 4s 3d 6 lb of sugar, £0 5s 0d 12 [...] of [...], £0 8s 0d 44 lines, £0 10s 0d 2 gallons 1 pint of rape oil, £0 2s 3d 5 lb of seed, £0 5s 1d Total, £19 17s 4d Garrison 11 cattles of tea, £3 6s 0d 4.5 gallons of oil, £1 0s 3d Total, £4 6s 3d Plantation 2 pairs of iron snuffers, £0 3s 0d 15 lb of nails, £0 13s 9d 2 [...], £0 1s 3d 1 barrel of Bristol lampblack, £0 1s 3d 1 [...] of linseed oil, £0 1s 9d 2 [...] of rice, £0 1s 6d 1 basket, £0 7s 6d 1 joiner's hatchet, £0 3s 10d 1 garden spade, £0 10s 3d 2 [...], £0 11s 3d 4 cwt 3 quarters of [...], £3 3s 3d 0 cwt 3 quarters of paddy, £0 5s 0d Total, £5 15s 10d Diet expenses 5 gallons of sherry, £1 18s 9d 76 gallons of arrack, £15 16s 9d 9 cwt 1 quarter 67 lb of sugar, £1 18s 0d 24 lb of candy, £2 5s 3.5d 1 cwt 3 quarters 7 lb of flour, £2 3s 6d 17 gallons of sweet oil, £2 8s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £2 8s 6d 24 lb of candles, £2 7s 8d 2 cattles of tea, £0 7s 7d 1 lb of pepper, £0 13s 10.5d 17 lb of soap, £0 0s 0d 4 large china cups, £0 0s 0d 1.5 bushels of salt, £27 9s 1.5d Total, £27 9s 1.5d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Blanket 7 6 1 Joiners Hatchet 7 4 1 Garden Spade 10 20 Boalts 10 3 4 3 Rice 3 11 3 0 3 Paddy 5 5 15 10 Diet Expences 5 Gallo Sherry 1 18 9 76 Gallo Arrack 15 15 7 9 1 27 Sugar 1 18 22 lb Candy 9 5 3/4 1 3 7 Steurs 2 5 3/4 17 1/2 Gallo Sweet Oyle 2 6 4 Gallo Vinegar 2 8 6 24 lb Candles 2 8 6 2 Cakes Tea 2 6 1 lb Pepper 1 3 7 Soap 7 7 4 large China Cupps 7 8 1 1/2 Bushl Salt 13 10 1/2 27 9 1/2 216 14 3 1/2 Gunnors Stores Expended in Octr 1739 Vizt Guns Fired, Powder, Match 1739 Octr 1 Expencc of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Powder 0, Match 14 30 His Majestys Birth Day: Guns Fired 21, Powder 21, Match 21 21 21 35 Musquet Balls 6 lb Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 9 lb (Signed) Jno French	Grand total, £216 14s 3.5d Gunner's stores expended in October 1732. 1 October, expense of the guard, 0 guns fired, 0 lb of powder, 14 lb of match 30 October, His Majesty's birthday, 21 guns fired, 21 lb of powder, 21 lb of [...] Musket balls, 5 lb Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 9 lb Total, 21 guns fired, 21 lb of powder, 35 lb of [...] Signed John French. Interpretations Twenty one guns for the King's birthday on 30 October is the only firing of the month, and the powder charge of 21 lb reflects it exactly. The same salute appears in every October in this record, drawing 49 lb in 1728 and 29 lb in 1729. Royal anniversaries consistently consumed more powder than any defensive firing, and with no ship in the road since June the birthday accounts for the whole of the month's expenditure. Arrack dominates the account as it does every month, 127.5 gallons sold to the inhabitants at £40 9s 1d and a further 76 gallons charged to diet expenses. The spirit came from Batavia and Goa in half leaguers aboard the Bengal supply ships, and its steady sale to the island's households alongside the fort's own consumption made it the single most valuable commodity the storekeeper handled. Rice at 23 cwt 6 lb charged to the slaves is again the heaviest line in that section, and it sits against a stock account for September showing yams at 31,800 lb. Imported rice supplemented rather than replaced the yam issue, as it had done far more dramatically during the crop failure of January 1729 when the yam column vanished entirely from the accounts. Laths and cloth staves point to building work. Laths are the thin strips nailed across joists to carry plaster, and their appearance with muslin and lampblack suggests interior finishing rather than fortification repair. The council had been rebuilding steadily under Governor Pyke, whose first full year carried the gross charge of the island to £4,939 13s 4.5d against £3,144 6s 0d under his predecessor in 1729.
111	109	Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remd 1 Octr: Bullocks 66, Cowes 144, Heifers 30, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 33, Bulls 5, Totall 420, Ewes 70, Wethers 25, Lambs 14, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sows 21, Shoates 25, Barrows 15, Pigs 28, Boars 3, Totall 92, Turkeys 84, Fowles 188, Ducks 32, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Encreased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 2, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 10, Boars 0, Totall 10, Turkeys 6, Fowles 25, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 66, Cowes 144, Heifers 30, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 35, Bulls 5, Totall 422, Ewes 70, Wethers 25, Lambs 14, Rams 4, Totall 113, Sows	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of October 1732. Remaining 1 October, 66 bullocks, 144 cows, 30 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 33 calves, 5 bulls, 420 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 25 wethers, 14 lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in total, 21 sows, 25 shoats, 15 barrows, 28 pigs, 3 boars, 92 hogs in total, 84 turkeys, 188 fowls, 32 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Increased in October, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 2 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 10 pigs, 0 boars, 10 hogs in total, 6 turkeys, 25 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 66 bullocks, 144 cows, 30 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 35 calves, 5 bulls, 422 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 25 wethers, 14

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		21, Shoates 25, Barrows 15, Pigs 38, Boars 3, Totall 102, Turkeys 90, Fowles 213, Ducks 32, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed in ditto for the Blacks & Table: Bullocks 1, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoates 3, Barrows 4, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Totall 9, Turkeys 2, Fowles 24, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 144, Heifers 29, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 35, Bulls 5, Totall 420, Ewes 70, Wethers 24, Lambs 14, Rams 4, Totall 112, Sows 21, Shoates 22, Barrows 11, Pigs 36, Boars 3, Totall 93, Turkeys 88, Fowles 189, Ducks 32, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Sevl Plantations 11400 lb ditto deld the Fort Blacks 14600 ditto deld the Great Wood &c 6900 32900 lb	lambs, 4 rams, 113 sheep in total, 21 sows, 25 shoats, 15 barrows, 38 pigs, 3 boars, 102 hogs in total, 90 turkeys, 213 fowls, 32 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Killed in October for the slaves and the table, 1 bullock, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in total, 0 sows, 3 shoats, 4 barrows, 2 pigs, 0 boars, 9 hogs in total, 2 turkeys, 24 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 31 October, 65 bullocks, 144 cows, 29 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 35 calves, 5 bulls, 420 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 24 wethers, 14 lambs, 4 rams, 112 sheep in total, 21 sows, 22 shoats, 11 barrows, 36 pigs, 3 boars, 93 hogs in total, 88 turkeys, 189 fowls, 32 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 11,400 lb Yams delivered to the fort blacks, 14,600 lb Yams delivered to the Great Wood, 6,900 lb Total yams expended, 32,900 lb Interpretations A fifth consecutive month has passed without a single beast sold to shipping, and the row remains absent from the ruled sheet. No vessel has touched the island since the <i>Middlesex</i> and the Dutch ship sailed on 25 June. The killing row now carries the explanatory heading for the slaves and the table, which the earlier sheets did not, and the two beasts taken confirm that the herd was being drawn on only for the settlement's own consumption. The poultry yard is recovering. Twenty five fowls and six turkeys were bred in October against 24 fowls and 2 turkeys killed, so the flock held roughly level for the first time since June, when it stood at 292 fowls. The steady decline through the empty season had reduced it to 188 by 1 October, and the spring hatch arriving with the island's warmer months has arrested it. Ten pigs farrowed in October, the heaviest increase in the hog account since the spring, and the same seasonal turn appears in the cattle with two calves born after a month of none. The island's summer runs from about November to March, and breeding picks up as the winter planting season closes. Yams rose slightly to 32,900 lb, but the distribution has shifted markedly. The plantation share fell from 17,850 lb to 11,400 lb while the fort issue rose from 8,750 lb to 14,600 lb and the Great Wood from 5,200 lb to 6,900 lb. Seed yams go into the ground during the winter planting and come out of the plantation allocation, so the fall there and the rise at the fort together mark the close of the planting season.
112	110	Mr Goodwin acquainted Us that he observed Several of the Fire Trees of the Trees in the little Grove of Grinwood Trees behind the Plantation House were barked & killed by the Ratts which are now grown very numerous in most parts of the Country Mr Crispe also acquainted Us that of the great Wood he hath frequently Seen Nests like a birds Nests built by the Ratts at the Tops of the Trees each Nest near two feet long & that it is common to find ten or Twelve young Ones in each Nest & that the Country there abouts is over run with them & the Mischief they do to the Wood & every thing	Mr Goodwin reported that he had observed several of the fire trees and other trees in the little grove at Greenwood barked and killed by rats, which are now grown very numerous in most parts of the country. Mr Crisp reported that in the Great Wood he had frequently seen nests like birds' nests built by the rats at the tops of the trees, each nest nearly two feet long, and that it is common to find ten or eleven young rats in each nest. The whole country thereabouts is overrun with them, and the mischief they do to the wood and everything else in their way is very considerable. The council also asked the inhabitants whether the same mischief had happened to them by the rats, and found it was the same everywhere. It also heard that after the rats had destroyed everything else they

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		else in their way is very considerable We also enquired of the Inhabitants whether the Same Mischief happened to them by the Ratts & We found it was the Same thing everywhere We have also heard that in the year 1720 the Ratts were grown so exceedingly numerous that after they had destroyed every thing else they at Last fell upon one another & devoured Rats till in a Manner all made that time was quite clear of them but the Rising Sun after furnished the Place with them & they are now become as many as they were known as ever they were Ordered that in the next Genll Letter the Honble Company be particularly acquainted with this Affair & that they be desired to Send us Some Perskins Wired Trapps or the Tables for the Iron or Steel for the Ratts to get in, with which We hope to thin & not quite destroy them, these Trapps being much more usefull than Steel or any other Sort of Trapps Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 14th Novr 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The following Persons this day presented Petitions for Land Vizt Jonathan Sheppard praying a Lease for about three Acres of Land in Sharpness Bay Jno llepham Sen: junr for a Lease of about five or Six Acres of waste Land lying near the Land of his Father in Thomas Valley Benjamin Segall for a Lease of about an Acre of Land lying near the other Land in Sweet Rocke The Petitioners were Severally asked in & acquainted that We would first view the Said Parcels of Land & if it appeared that they might be Let without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood that their Petitions Should each of them be Granted Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe Margin Notes: Ratts Nests Ratts in 1720 devoured themselves replaced from the Ship Trapps	set upon one another and devoured about half of their number, so that at one time the place was quite clear of them, but that from the year 1728 they had become as numerous as ever they were. The council ordered that the Honourable Company be told of this affair in the next general letter, and asked to send out some [...] wire traps and other holes for the rats to get in with, which it hopes will not quite destroy them, such traps being much more useful than any other sort of trap. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 14 November 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Several persons presented petitions for land that day. Thomas Coffee asked for a lease of about 3 acres of land in Prosperous Bay. William Seale junior asked for a lease of about 5 or 6 acres of waste land lying near the lands of his father in Deep Valley. Benjamin Beale asked for a lease of about an acre lying near his other land in Swanley Valley. The petitioners had already been viewed, and the council found that the several parcels could be let without prejudice to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood, so it granted each petition. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations Rats nesting in the treetops rather than at ground level is a mark of a population under pressure, and the councillors' description of nests two feet across holding ten or eleven young suggests very rapid breeding. The species is almost certainly the black rat, a habitual climber that came ashore from shipping and had no natural predator on the island. Barking a tree kills it outright, since the bark carries the vessels feeding the crown, which makes the damage far more serious than mere browsing. The report joins a wood crisis already running for years. The advertisement of 21 October 1729 held that unless the waste were prevented no timber would be left standing in seven or eight years, and the surveys of 1727 and 1729 fined tenant after tenant for failing to plant and fence. Every remedy the council had tried addressed human negligence, and the discovery that rats were killing trees faster than the inhabitants could plant them reframes the whole difficulty. Cannibalism reducing the population by half and a recovery dated from 1728 is the kind of natural history a settlement records only when it has watched the same ground for decades. The account matches what modern observers describe in rodent populations that outstrip their food supply, collapsing sharply and then rebuilding once the pressure lifts. Requiring a view before any grant is the resolution the council adopted on 26 July 1732, and these three petitions are the first to complete that process and issue together. The change from the earlier practice is real: through the 1720s the council routinely granted on petition and sent Captain Goodwin to measure afterwards. Speculations The obvious answer to a plague of rats destroying the island's timber was to attack it locally, with the labour and materials already to hand. The council instead resolved to write home and wait for wire traps to come out from England, a round trip that could not produce a single trap in less than a year. What the record shows behind that choice is a judgement about the tool rather than about the urgency: the councillors held wire traps far more

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			useful than any other kind, and the island had no wire drawer and no means of making them. Governor Pyke had shown through the water inquiry that he preferred a demonstrable remedy to an approximate one, weighing six samples against a Bristol standard rather than accepting any man's opinion of the taste, and the same instinct appears here in a willingness to wait for the right instrument rather than spend the Company's slaves on a method he expected to fail.
113	111	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 21 Novr 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The following Persons this day presented Petitions for Land Vizt Joseph Whaley junr praying a Lease for about three Acres of Wast Land lying in Prosperous Bay Valley near his other Lands Henry Desfountain praying a Lease of two parcells of Land lying near Ruperts Valley called Foxes Alley one containing about two Acres for Planting & the other containing about Seven Acres which the Petitioner promised to him & set apart for the Sole purpose of raising Wood & for no other Use whatsoever provided the Said last parcell of Land might be Let to him at a Rate in Proportion to the Barrenness of the Soile The Petitioners were each of them caused in & acquainted that the Said Parcells of Land Should be Viewed & if they can be Let without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood that they Should each of them have a Lease of the Land they Petition for, but at the usual Rent of five Shillings ^p Acre & not under The Petition of Giles Player was also presented & read praying that the Lease which Tho: Colgrove lately desired to hire might not be Granted him till the Objections the Petr had to make thereto were first heard The Petr was called in & Acquainted that as Soon as We had viewed the Said Land his Objections Should be heard accordingly The Petition of Tho: Colgrove was likewise presented & read praying leave to Assign one Acre of Leasehold Land to James Feloring Granted Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 28th Novr 1739 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 November 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Several persons presented petitions for land that day. Joseph Whaley junior asked for a lease of about 3 acres of waste land lying in Prosperous Bay near his other lands. Peter Defountain asked for a lease of two parcels of land lying near Rupert's Valley, called Fox's Folly, one containing about 2 acres for planting and the other about 7 acres. He promised to fence the second parcel and set it apart solely for raising wood, and asked that it be let to him at a rent in proportion to the poorness of the soil. The council heard both petitioners and told them that the parcels must first be surveyed. If they can be let without prejudice to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood, each man is to have a lease of the land he asked for, at the usual rent of 5s an acre. Giles Player presented a petition asking that the land Thomas Colgrave had lately asked for should not be granted to him until the objections Player had to make were first heard. The council heard him and told him that his objections would be heard as soon as the ground had been viewed. Thomas Colgrave presented a petition asking leave to assign an acre of leasehold land to James Harding. The council granted it. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 November 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Cason and Ensign Wood reported that the path leading from Banks's fort to the castle is now extremely difficult and dangerous to pass. No person can venture to go up or come down from there on alarms or on any other occasion, or to mount guard, without obvious danger to their lives. The guard there is often distressed for want of water, and the path is so narrow and directly over a huge precipice that they can only carry two quart bottles at a time, which they are forced to hang over their shoulders so as to have the liberty of their hands to help them along that difficult and dangerous way. The inhabitants have also several times complained that all the paths leading out of the country to the fort are extremely difficult and dangerous to keep, especially for their slaves, by whom they are obliged to send down all such necessities as the shipping want. Several of them have at times broken their limbs and lost their lives, and they asked the council to consider [...] Interpretations Peter Defountain's offer to fence a parcel and set it apart solely for raising wood repeats the arrangement John Thwaites obtained on 18 November 1729. Thwaites was granted about 5 acres at a nominal rent under a covenant to fence and plant within a year and keep goats and cattle out, under a penalty of £40 0s 0d, the council saying openly that it wished to encourage others to follow his example. Three years later the example is being

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Mason & Ensign Wood this day acquainted Us that the Path leading from Bankers Fort to the Castle is now become extreamly difficult & dangerous to pass that no person can venture to go up or come from thence upon Allarms or upon any other Occasion or to Mount Guard without manifest Danger of their Lives & that the Guard there are often distressed for want of Water the Path being very narrow & directly over a prodigious Precipice so that they can only carry two Quart Bottles at a time & that they forced to hang over their Shoulders that they may have the Liberty of their hands to help them along that difficult & dangerous way The Inhabitants have also Severall times complained to Us that all the Paths leading out of the Country to the Fort are also extreamly difficult & dangerous to pass especially for their Slaves by whom they are obliged to Send down all what necessaries as the Shiping want in orders that Severall of them at times have broke their Limbs & Lost their Lives & praying that We would consider Margin Notes: Bads folly road to Bankers Improved & others	followed, and the request for a rent proportioned to poor soil is the same argument Thwaites made about the years that must pass before any benefit could be taken. The rent of 5s an acre now stated as usual has been the standing rate through this period, the same figure applied to Jonathan Higham junior's four acres in Sandy Bay Valley on 27 January 1730. Waste land was let at that rate with a duty attached, and the council's willingness to reduce it for wood-raising ground marks the difference between land expected to produce and land expected only to hold timber. Banks's is a battery covering the anchorage, listed with 7 guns in the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 and one of the dispersed positions outside the castle lines. Its isolation had already produced a disciplinary case on 27 June 1732, when Ensign Young left the post for a night and pleaded that a hail from there could not carry to the fort. The detail of two quart bottles slung over the shoulder shows what supplying the position actually cost. Every article the shipping bought had to come down these same paths on the backs of slaves, since the island had no cart road worth the name outside Sandy Bay and that one had been absorbed into private plantations by the encroachments reported on 20 April 1731. Broken limbs and deaths among the carriers are the direct consequence, and the complaint ties the safety of the paths to the island's whole trade with the vessels in the road.
114	112	this Matter to the Honble Company to the End the Said Paths may be made Secure & passable they of themselves not being in a Capacity to Undertake to do it the weight to contribute towards the Charge The Path here mentioned the Govern tells Us is the Same Path which he formerly made & when he finished it it was a very good and but it is now greatly out of Repair & become very dangerous The Contents of what has been Represented to Us by Capt Mason & Mr Wood is evidently true & for the Safety & Preservation & Preservation of the Lives of the Officers & Soldiers who are obliged to pass to & from Bankers it is absolutely necessary that the Path leading from the Castle thither Should be immediatly & recovered & made passable it being impossible in the dangerous State to wait till We could receive the Honble Comps Pleasure about it & therefore We will Set about it directly & do it at as little Charge as possible & We hope we believe will not be great, but as for what concerns the Inhabitants, tho it be equally true & also necessary to be done yet We will carry the Welsee the Honble Companies Directions about it because this will be Something more chargeable than the other the works great deals	The inhabitants asked that the matter be laid before the Honourable Company, so that the paths might be made safe and passable, they being in no position to undertake the work themselves or to contribute towards the charge. Governor Pyke reported that the path mentioned was the one he had formerly made. Ensign Young certified that it was a very good one, but that it is now greatly out of repair and become very dangerous. The substance of what Captain Cason and Mr Wood have reported is plainly true. For the safety of the garrison and the preservation of the lives of the guard and soldiers who are obliged to pass to and from Banks's, it is absolutely necessary that the path leading from the castle thither be immediately repaired and made passable, it being impossible in the dangerous state to wait until the council could receive the Honourable Company's pleasure about it. The council will therefore set about it directly and do it at as little charge as possible. It believes it will not be great, but as for what concerns the inhabitants, it is equally true and equally necessary to be done, yet the council will carry the case for the Honourable Company's direction about it, because this will be something more chargeable than the other work by a great deal. Several of the Honourable Company's slaves having lately broken away from their households and stolen from thence three or four blankets and shirts, the Governor proposed the most likely way to lessen the trouble from continuing the same course. He suggested that should be signified to the effect that in case any Dutch ship should happen to touch here, they should be encouraged for a year or an honest sailor to whom the council agreed, it being much better than [...]. Governor Pyke commented that the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Sundrey one of the Honble Comps Blacks having broke away their Stockings & Stolen from thence Three of Blankets and Shirts &c Consulting the Same the Governour therefore proposed & the most likely way to remedy the others from continuing the like Course that he Should be Sent & Set to Work in Case any Slaver Ship Should happen to touch here that he Should be Exchanged for a Boy or an honest Slave to which We all agreed it being much better than Severe Corporall Punishment for We find by Experience among the Planters who are most of their weight were to their Slaves but they cant perceive that it does them any good & rather makes them worse, always Sullen often desperate & in their despair they Sometimes hang down or Runaway Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5 Decr 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday the Governour & Rest of Councill viewed the Land lying in Swanley Valley for which James Ryder lately Petitioned & having found that the Same might be Let without Prejudice either to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood the Said Land was Ordered to be Measured & Lease to be prepared accordingly Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe Margin Notes: to be repaired	council finds by experience among the planters who are most of their weight were to their lives, but it cannot perceive that it does them any good. Wet weather makes them mope, and men often desperate, and in their despair they sometimes lay down or run away. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 December 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke, with the rest of the council, viewed the previous day the land lying in Swanley Valley for which James Ryder lately petitioned. Having found that it might be let without prejudice either to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood, the council ordered the land measured and a lease prepared accordingly. Interpretations The council splits the two repairs on a clear principle. The path to Banks's serves the garrison and the fortifications, so the council authorises the work itself and proceeds without waiting for London. The country paths serve the inhabitants and the trade with the shipping, and the cost is far greater, so that question goes home for the Company's direction. Governor Pyke had shown the same instinct on the Gough money question of 20 June 1732, waiting for the Company's answer rather than acting on a clause his predecessor had left untouched. Sending the council's own members to view the ground before granting a lease is now settled practice, following the resolutions of 26 July 1732. The whole council walked the Swanley Valley parcel rather than deputing Captain Goodwin, which is a further step again from the older method of granting on petition and measuring afterwards. Wet weather producing lassitude and despair among the slaves connects to a run of entries in these accounts. The arrack allowance issued in wet weather appears in every winter month of this record and is named expressly as a response to cold and damp rather than as a customary distribution. The Governor's observation treats the same conditions as a cause of flight and self-destruction, which places the allowance in a different light from a simple ration. Slaves escaping by ship had troubled the council repeatedly. Governor Byfield warned Captain Ingles of the <i>Caernarvon</i> on 26 February 1728 to keep a strict night watch against runaways seeking to board, and on 30 July 1728 he set a guard to lie in the long boat all night. Seven slaves put out to sea in a boat in March 1728 and were supposed drowned.
115	113	At a Consultation held on Fryday 12th Decr 1739 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved On Wednesday last the Governour & Councill viewed the Severall Small parcells of Land for which Giles Player, Jos: Whaley and Tho: Colgrove did lately Petition & upon the Road we're met by Giles Player two hours before the others were come up to us & we told Us that Colgrove & he had agreed to divide the Land for which	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 December 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke and the council viewed on the previous Wednesday the several small parcels of land for which Giles Player, James Whaley and Thomas Colgrave had lately petitioned. On the road they met Giles Player two hours before the others arrived, and they told him that Colgrave had agreed to divide the land between them. On enquiry the council found the claim an imposition. Neighbours confirmed that the land might be let without prejudice to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood, and the council determined to let it to Whaley and Colgrave. The land was ordered measured and leases prepared accordingly.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		they had Petitioned between them but upon enquiry We found this was an untruth & we asked & We & how remaining that the Said Land might be Let without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood We determined to Let it to Whaley and Colgrove & the Said Land was Ordered to be Measured & Leases to be prepared accordingly, And Giles Player for his impudent Attempt to impose upon Us with a Lie was acquainted that if he been a Single Man he Should not have any Land any where but nevertheless in Consideration of his Larged Family he was told that if he asked find out any other parcell of Land that would be of Service to him he Should have it The Governour & Council also viewed the Land for which Wm Seale junr did lately Petition & finding that it might be Let without Prejudice to any body he was likewise Ordered to be Measured & Lease to be got ready accordingly The Governour, the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accts for Novr last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Expence of the Table in November 1739 Vizt 53 Gallo Arrack 12 8 74 lb Sugar 1 17 6 1 2 0 Steurs 1 17 6 1 Gallo Vinegar 2 6 1 Gallo of Oyle 16 16 lb Pepper 2 1 Bushell Sett 1 3 24 Fowles 9 2 Turkeys 1 16 2 Pigs 10 1 Sheep 10 1 Steer 1 6 140 lb Beef 1 15 100 lb Pork 4 15 27 17 9 12 Gallo Arrack deld the Blacks 2.8.	Giles Player was told that his attempt to impose on the council was disgraceful, and that if he were a single man he should not have any land anywhere. In consideration of his large family, however, he was told that if he could find any other parcel of land that would be of service to him, he should have it. Governor Pyke and the council also viewed the land for which William Seale junior had lately petitioned, and finding that it might be let without prejudice to any body, they ordered it measured and a lease prepared accordingly. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for November, which were examined separately and approved as follows. 23 gallons of arrack, £12 8s 0d 1 cwt 0 quarters 0 lb of sugar, £1 17s 6d 1 cwt 2 quarters 0 lb of flour, £1 17s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d 1 gallon of oil, £0 16s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d 1 bushel of salt, £0 1s 3d 24 fowls, £1 16s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 2 pigs, £0 10s 0d 1 sheep, £1 1s 0d 120 lb of pork, £1 15s 0d 100 lb of beef, £4 15s 0d Total, £27 17s 9d 12 gallons of arrack delivered to the slaves, £2 8s 0d Interpretations Giles Player had petitioned on 21 November 1732 to have Thomas Colgrave's application held back until his own objections were heard, and the council promised him a hearing once the ground was viewed. Meeting him alone on the road two hours ahead of the other claimants gave him the opportunity to represent a division as already agreed, and the enquiry that followed exposed it. What the council held against him was not the competing claim itself but the attempt to secure an advantage by misrepresenting his rivals' position. Refusing land outright to a single man while granting it to a man with a large family is a principle running through the whole of this record. The council reduced fines on the same ground, sparing Charles Steward both fine and punishment on 11 April 1729 because his wife and children were destitute, and finding several wood defaulters on 18 November 1729 so poor that whether they could pay ready money was a small matter. Land on St Helena existed to support households rather than to reward individuals. Beef and pork together at 220 lb continue the recovery begun in October, after a September in which no beef was charged at all. The table figure of £27 17s 9d is nonetheless the lightest in this run, well below the £30 19s 2.5d of October and the £37 3s 3d of September, and no ship has touched the island since 25 June. The twelve gallons of arrack to the slaves comes without the wet weather note that accompanied the issue in every month from August through October. The island's summer runs from about November to March, so the seasonal justification has passed while the allowance itself continues.
116	114	Collection of Goods Sold &ca in Novr 1739 120 Gallo Arrack 38 56 lb Allspice 4 5 5 1 Chaldron Coales 5 8	Collection of goods sold and delivered in November 1732. 120 gallons of arrack, £38 5s 5d 50 lb of allspice, £4 5s 5d 1 chaldron of coals, £5 8s 0d 201 yards of canvas, damaged and sold for 3s per yard, £18 15s 9d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		201 Yards Canvas damaged & Sold for 5 $\frac{1}{2}$ Yard 18 15 5 36 lb Madrass Chints 3 3 9 28½ lb Patna 22 10 263 Yards damaged Chints 17 17 1½ Do Rich & Damaged 1 17 6 5½ Do Fustian 7 7 6 145 8/3 Yds Plain Dinnothy 7 12 6 300 hay Hooks 19 10 500 Lines 10 10 Totall Sold 159 17 1 Charges Generall Vizt 18 lb Candles 1 4 7 lb Tarr 7 7 12 Cupps 3 3 56 lb Rope 1 8 Bag Corks 2 8 1 lb Twine 2 9 1 Mopp 2 6 1 Chafing Dish 6 3 6 Quarts Arrack &c the Guards for heaving the Longboat on Shoar 13 6 15 Pints do John Scow Steward 4 1 9 Blacks Vizt 10 2 3 Rice 6 7 6 44 lb Pig Lead 3 4½ 1 Barr Pitch for the Boates 1 10 6 Bag Hooks 4 6 Lines 4 1 6 1 Do Silk Lines 12 2 lb Tea 8 7 4½ Garrison 5 Gallo Oyle 1 2 6 8 Cakes Sea 2 8 1 lb Brown Thread 2 1½ Sacks 2 3 4 6 Plantation 4 Sytmes 1 7 4 6 Halves 7 4 Spades 1 10 9 lb Brimstone	36 pieces of Madras chintz, £3 3s 9d 28.25 pieces of Patna chintz, £22 10s 0d 263 yards of damaged chintz, £17 17s 6d 12 pieces of thickset, damaged, £1 17s 6d 5 pieces of fustian, £7 7s 6d 1 piece 8.75 yards of plain dimity, £1 12s 0d 200 hay hooks, £19 10s 0d 500 lines, £10 10s 0d Total sold, £152 17s 1d Charges general 15 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d 7 lb of soap, £0 7s 7d 12 cups, £0 3s 7d 56 lb of rope, £1 2s 8d 8 dozen hooks, £0 2s 9d 1 lb of twine, £0 2s 6d 1 mop, £0 6s 3d 1 chafing dish, £0 13s 6d 6 quarts of arrack to the guards for heaving the long boat ashore, £0 0s 0d 15 pints of the same to John Isaac, steward, £4 1s 9d Total, £4 1s 9d Slaves 10 cwt 3 quarters of rice, £6 7s 6d 14 lb of pig lead, £0 3s 4.5d 1 barrel of pitch for the boats, £1 10s 0d 6 dozen hooks, £0 4s 0d 6 lines, £0 4s 6d 1 dozen silk lines, £0 1s 6d 2 lb of tea, £0 12s 0d Total, £8 7s 4.5d Garrison 5 gallons of oil, £1 2s 6d 8 catties of tea, £2 8s 0d 1 lb of brown thread, £0 2s 0d 1.5 sacks, £0 2s 0d Total, £3 14s 6d Plantation 4 staves, £1 7s 4d 6 files, £0 7s 1d 4 spades, £1 10s 0d 9 lb of brimstone, £0 1s 1d 38 lb of nails, £1 8s 10d 5 lb of rice, £2 10s 0d 7 cwt 3 quarters of paddy, £12 3s 0d Total, £7 16s 5d Diet expenses 72 gallons of arrack, £4 16s 0d 1 cwt 2 quarters of sugar, £1 17s 6d 1 cwt 2 quarters of flour, £1 17s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d 1 gallon of oil, £0 16s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 3d 1 bushel of salt, £0 9s 3d Total, £19 14s 9d Grand total, £196 16s 3.5d Interpretations Damaged goods dominate the sales, with 201 yards of canvas cleared at three shillings a yard and 263 yards of chintz alongside a dozen damaged pieces of thickset. The pattern runs through the whole of this record: 798 pieces of chintz in September 1730, 143 pairs of moth-eaten stockings sold at half the invoice cost in October 1730, chintz from goods wrecked at the Cape in January 1731 and 55 lb of spoiled mohair in July 1732. Damp and insects attacked textiles continuously in the storehouse, and the storekeeper turned spoiled stock into cash rather than writing it off. Madras chintz and Patna chintz are printed cottons from two distinct Indian centres, the first from the Coromandel coast and the second from the Bengal interior. Thickset was a stout cotton fustian with a raised pile, fustian a hard-wearing cotton and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 1 38 lb Nails 1 8 10 5 Do Rice 2 10 1 3 Paddy 12 3 7 16 5 Diet Expences Vizt 74 Gallo Arrack 4 16 14 lb Sugar 1 17 6 1 2 3 Flour 1 17 6 1 Gallo Vinegar 2 6 1 Gallo Oyle 16 4 lb Pepper 1 3 1 Bushell Sett 9 3 19 14 9 196 16 3½	linen mixture, and dimity a ribbed cotton used for bedding and light wear. All reached the island in the annual supply from Bengal. Two hundred hay hooks and 500 lines are exceptional quantities for a single month. The lines belong with the six dozen hooks and the pitch charged separately to the slaves for the fishing boats, an establishment running since 1 March 1727 when the meat ration was replaced by fish. The hay hooks point to the plantations preparing for the summer, the island's warmer season running from about November to March. A chaldron of coal at £5 8s 0d is a substantial quantity, a chaldron running to about 36 bushels. Sea coal shipped from England served the smith's forge rather than domestic heating, since St Helena has a mild climate and the fuel crisis on the island concerned wood for burning and building rather than warmth.
117	115	Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 Novr: Bullocks 65, Cowes 144, Heifers 29, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 35, Bulls 5, Totall 420, Ewes 70, Wethers 24, Lambs 14, Rams 4, Totall 112, Sows 21, Shoates 22, Barrows 11, Pigs 36, Boars 3, Totall 93, Turkeys 88, Fowles 189, Ducks 32, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Increased: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 17, Bulls 0, Totall 17, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 12, Rams 0, Totall 12, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 12, Boars 0, Totall 12, Turkeys 5, Fowles 54, Ducks 10, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 144, Heifers 29, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 52, Bulls 5, Totall 437, Ewes 70, Wethers 24, Lambs 26, Rams 4, Totall 124, Sows 21, Shoates 22, Barrows 11, Pigs 48, Boars 3, Totall 105, Turkeys 93, Fowles 243, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Bought in ditto to Increase the Breed: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 2, Wethers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 6, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 144, Heifers 29, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 52, Bulls 5, Totall 437, Ewes 72, Wethers 28, Lambs 26, Rams 4, Totall 130, Sows 21, Shoates 22, Barrows 11, Pigs 48, Boars 3, Totall 105, Turkeys 93, Fowles 243, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Killed for the Blacks & Table: Bullocks 0, Cowes 1, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoates 2, Barrows 4, Pigs 2, Boars 0, Totall 8, Turkeys 2, Fowles 24, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 30th Novr: Bullocks 65, Cowes 143, Heifers 28, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 52, Bulls 5, Totall 435, Ewes 72, Wethers 27, Lambs 26, Rams 4, Totall 129, Sows 21, Shoates 20, Barrows 7, Pigs 46, Boars 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 91, Fowles 219, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 4, Totall 8 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 18700 lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 23250	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of November 1732. Remaining 1 November, 65 bullocks, 144 cows, 29 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 35 calves, 5 bulls, 420 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 24 wethers, 14 lambs, 4 rams, 112 sheep in total, 21 sows, 22 shoats, 11 barrows, 36 pigs, 3 boars, 93 hogs in total, 88 turkeys, 189 fowls, 32 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Increased in November, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 17 calves, 0 bulls, 17 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 12 lambs, 0 rams, 12 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 12 pigs, 0 boars, 12 hogs in total, 5 turkeys, 54 fowls, 10 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 65 bullocks, 144 cows, 29 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 52 calves, 5 bulls, 437 neat cattle in total, 70 ewes, 24 wethers, 26 lambs, 4 rams, 124 sheep in total, 21 sows, 22 shoats, 11 barrows, 48 pigs, 3 boars, 105 hogs in total, 93 turkeys, 243 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Bought in November to increase the breed, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in total, 2 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 6 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the purchase, 65 bullocks, 144 cows, 29 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 52 calves, 5 bulls, 437 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 28 wethers, 26 lambs, 4 rams, 130 sheep in total, 21 sows, 22 shoats, 11 barrows, 48 pigs, 3 boars, 105 hogs in total, 93 turkeys, 243 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Killed for the slaves and the table, 0 bullocks, 1 cow, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 2 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in total, 0 sows, 2 shoats, 4 barrows, 2 pigs, 0 boars, 8 hogs in total, 2 turkeys, 24 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 30 November, 65 bullocks, 143 cows, 28 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 52 calves, 5 bulls, 435 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 27 wethers, 26 lambs, 4 rams, 129 sheep in total, 21 sows, 20 shoats,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Totall 41950 lb	7 barrows, 46 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 91 turkeys, 219 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 4 mares, 8 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,700 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 23,250 lb Total yams expended, 41,950 lb Interpretations The breeding season has turned decisively. Seventeen calves, twelve lambs, twelve pigs and sixty nine head of poultry were bred in a single month, against two calves and no lambs in October. St Helena's summer runs from about November to March, and the same pattern appears in every year of this record, with 28 calves born in December 1730 and 27 in January 1731. Buying two ewes and four wethers to increase the breed is the first such purchase since Governor Pyke bought ten sheep in April 1731. Sheep were included in the destruction vote of 20 January 1730 that swept away the goats entirely, yet the flock has been quietly rebuilt from 108 in the summer to 129 here. The council has consistently applied the vote to the browsing animal blamed for the loss of the island's wood while treating grazing stock as a supply worth maintaining. Wethers are castrated rams, kept for meat rather than breeding, so buying four of them alongside two ewes is a purchase for the table as much as for the flock. The single wether killed each month through this run shows the rate at which they are consumed. Yams rose sharply to 41,950 lb, and the account has dropped the Great Wood as a separate heading, merging it into a single issue to the slaves of 23,250 lb. The plantation share also rose from 11,400 lb to 18,700 lb. Fresh yams come out of the ground as the winter planting matures, and the increase follows the seasonal turn visible in every other line of the account.
118	116	Gunners Stores Expended in Novr 1739 Muster Day 12 lb Powder Expence of the Guard 10 To fill Grenadier Pouches 15 Cartridge Paper 9 Quire 37 lb Sheep Skins 14 Rammer Heads 13 Spunge Heads 4 Holsters 1 Trucks 1 Match 10 lb Musquet Balls 24 lb Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Tuesday 19th Decr 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved	Gunner's stores expended in November 1732. Muster day, 12 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 10 lb of powder To fill grenadier pouches, 15 lb of powder Cartridge paper, 9 quires Sheep skins, 14 Rammer heads, 13 Sponge heads, 4 Holsters, 1 Trucks, 1 Match, 10 lb Musket balls, 24 lb Total powder expended, 37 lb Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 December 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Cason and Ensign Wood reported that the guard at Banks's fort had suffered very severely for three days of the previous week for want of fresh water. The sea ran so prodigiously high that no boat could reach them, and the difficulty and danger of carrying water to them by land was so great that for two days together they had not a drop. At length two men who ventured to carry it up managed only a keg of three gallons and two single bottles, all slung over their shoulders so as to leave their hands free in that dangerous path. The officers asked that orders be given at once for repairing the path, which must often be used at the time of an alarm or when strangers approach, and which cannot now be passed without obvious risk to the lives of all who go that way.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Capt Mason & Ensign Wood this day acquainted Us that the Guard at Bankers Fort had Suffered very Severely for three days of the Last Week for want of fresh Water, the Sea being so prodigeously high that there was no possibility to Assist them by Boates & the difficulty & danger in furnishing them with Water by Land was so great that for two days together they had not a Man but at length two Servants were sent to carry them one a Kegg of three Gallo & the other two Single Bottles & those Slung over their Shoulders their hands in that dangerous Path being as usefull to them as their feet, & it is prayed that orders might be given for the immediate Repair of the Said Path which must of necessity be often frequented as the time of the Armed of Shipping draws near & to the manifest hazard of the Lives of all Such who are obliged to pass To this the Governour Answered that as Soon as he went down to the Fort which would be Speedily he would take care that the Path Should be repaired but could not venture to begin unless the Surfe Should be so far abated as to render it Safe & practicable to carry Such materials thither as will be necessary to begin the Work, without it being impossible to carry them thither by Land The Petition of Jean Thorogham was presented & read Setting forth that there is a Small Parcell of Land of about four Acres now in the Possession of Eliz: Greentree which formerly was & which part of the Estate which was Intestately bought of Capt Goodwin & it lying in the middle thereof he daily Suffered great Damage by the Cattle & Hogs of the Said Greentree to avoid which the Petr & the Said Greentree have agreed about the Exchange thereof and praying leave to buy the Same accordingly, the Petitiong having unadvisedly Sold Seventeen Acres of Freehold Land not knowing till within these few days past that no Person will hereafter be permitted to Possess more than a certain Quantity of Margin Notes: want of water at Bankers	Governor Pyke answered that as soon as he went down to the fort he would see to it that the path was repaired without delay. The work could not begin until the surf had fallen far enough to make it safe and practicable to carry the necessary materials there, since it is impossible to take them by land. The council read the petition of Isaac Wrangham, who set out that a small parcel of land of about 4 acres is now in the possession of Elizabeth Greentree, and was formerly hers and also part of the estate lately bought by Captain Goodwin. His own land lies in the middle of it, and he suffered daily damage from the cattle and hogs of the other holders, which he and Mrs Greentree had agreed to avoid. He asked leave to buy the parcel accordingly. He noted that he already holds 17 acres of freehold land and did not know until a few days earlier that no person would in future be permitted to possess more than a certain quantity [...] Interpretations Fifteen pounds of powder to fill grenadier pouches is an unusual entry, since the annual inventories show the pouches themselves standing untouched at 100 or 110 year after year. Filling them means preparing the garrison for close action rather than for salutes, and the same account carries 24 lb of musket balls, another item that has barely moved in five years of these books. Nothing in the surrounding consultations explains it, and no ship has touched the island since 25 June. Fourteen sheepskins expended alongside four sponge heads shows how the guns were maintained. Sponges were made by wrapping skin around a wooden head, and the annual inventory to 30 September 1732 recorded the whole year's wear as a single sponge stave and one sponge head. Fourteen skins in a single month therefore represents a general refitting of the sponges rather than ordinary replacement. Banks's battery mounted 7 guns in the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 and stands on a headland reached only by the path now in question. Its isolation has produced repeated business for the council: Ensign Young was dismissed on 27 June 1732 for leaving the post overnight, pleading that a hail from there could not carry to the fort, and Captain Cason and Ensign Wood first reported the state of the path on 28 November 1732. The Company's restriction on how much land any one person may hold is the direction against engrossing that stopped Samuel Doveton's assignment on 22 August 1732. The council warned him then that nobody already holding large quantities should be indulged in future, and Wrangham's careful statement of his own 17 acres shows the policy now shaping how petitioners frame their requests.
119	117	of Land unless the Same Shall fall to them by Inheritance This Land lying in the midst of the Petitioners Land & having not only allways belonged to Mr Wanghams Land, but is also a considerable Damage to him to be in the hands of an other his Request was Granted	Land may not be held beyond a certain quantity unless it falls to the holder by inheritance. The parcel lies in the middle of Mr Wrangham's ground and has always belonged to it, and leaving it in other hands would do him considerable damage. His request was granted. Mrs White reported that she had been robbed some months earlier of the following articles. 2 gold rings, found upon George Beard

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Mrs White this day acquainted Us that Some Months ago She was Robbed of the following particulars Vizt 2 Gold Rings 1 Drinking Glass found upon Geo Beard 2 fine Shirts & 1 Wastcoat 1 Shirt found upon Abigaile 1 Diaper Table Cloth 1 Yard black Ribband 4 Tea 1 Phial Sweet Oyle 1 pr Sissars 7 brass Buttons 1 Cann 1 Pillowbear found upon Caesar 1 Callico Shirt 1 Holland Shirt 1 Clasp Knife 1 Steel All the abovementioned particulars I do Say have been Stolen from me (Signed) Sophia White One of the Rings She told Us She found upon Geo Beard Soldier who owned that he bought it of one of the Companies Black Fellows called Caesar for Ten Pounds of Pork he found Sugar & a Tin Coffee Pott, Caesar Said that he had the Rings from Meg Mrs Whites black Wench, but Meg denied it, the Fellow being in Severall Stories, We ordered the Chests of Geo Beard of Caesar & of a Wench of John Smiths called Abigaile to be Searched in which all the particulars before mentioned were found Some upon Beard, most upon Caesar & the rest upon Abigaile with whom Caesar Said he had left them & more are restored to Mrs White In which We follow We Ordered to be Whipt & dismist George Beard from the Honble Companies Works as a person for Buying the Ring knowing it to be Stolen Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	1 drinking glass, found upon George Beard 2 fine shirts and 1 waistcoat, found upon Abigail 1 shirt, found upon Abigail 1 diaper table cloth, found upon Caesar 1 yard of black ribbon, found upon Caesar 1 fan, found upon Caesar 1 phial of sweet oil, found upon Caesar 1 pair of scissors, found upon Caesar 7 brass buttons, found upon Caesar 1 cane, found upon Caesar 1 pillow bear, found upon Caesar 1 chintz shirt, found upon Caesar 1 Holland shirt, found upon Caesar 1 clasp knife, found upon Caesar 1 steel, found upon Caesar She declared that all the articles named had been stolen from her. Signed Sophia White. She told the council that she found one of the rings upon George Beard, a soldier, who admitted buying it from one of the Company's black slaves called Caesar for ten pennyworth of pork. Sugar and a tin coffee pot were also found. Caesar said that he had the rings from Meg, Mrs White's black woman, but Meg denied it. The theft appears to have been carried out in several stages, the goods being lodged in the chest of George Beard, in the chest of Caesar and in the chest of a woman belonging to John Isaac called Abigail, in which all the articles named above were found, some upon Beard, most upon Caesar and the rest upon Abigail. Caesar said he had left them, and all were returned to Mrs White. The council ordered George Beard whipped and dismissed from the Honourable Company's work as an overseer for buying the ring, knowing it to be stolen. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations A diaper table cloth was woven with a small repeating figured pattern, a Holland shirt made from fine Dutch linen and a pillow bear the removable cover for a pillow. The list is a household's better linen and small ornaments rather than anything of great value, which is what makes the reach of the theft notable: goods passed from a slave through a soldier and into two further households before any of it surfaced. The receiver was punished and the thieves were not, at least not in what the council recorded. George Beard lost his post as overseer and was whipped for buying a ring he knew to be stolen, while Caesar and Abigail appear only as the persons on whom the goods were found. The reason lies in the island's law of evidence, which the council had run up against repeatedly: the testimony of blacks was inadmissible, so a case resting on what one slave said of another could not be brought. That difficulty defeated every prosecution over the shooting of the Company's goats in January 1729, and it drove the night curfew ordered on 12 October 1730 requiring every householder to lock up his slaves and issue a written pass. Ten pennyworth of pork for a gold ring shows what the exchange rate looked like between a soldier with rations and a slave without them. The same disparity underlies the whole pattern of pilfering in this record, and it explains why the Company's own slaves broke into households for blankets and shirts, as the Governor reported on 28 November 1732. Sophia White is the chaplain's widow, left in very poor circumstances when he died in September 1732 and granted 10s a week between the Company and the inhabitants on 12 September 1732. The council had tried to move her out of the fort and away from

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			liquor, and she refused. Being robbed of most of her linen while living on parish relief in the house where her husband died completes an unhappy sequence.
120	118	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 26th Decr 1739 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin The Last Consultation was read & Approved There appeared at the Complaint of Mr Sam Doveston overseer of the Highways for neglecting to Send their Blacks to Work at the Highways Vizt John Bennett who alledged & offered to make Oath that his Blacks were Sick but that now they were better they Should Work whereupon he was excused John Bradley & Isaac Bradley neglected each one day & thereupon they had given & Uncle & Answer to the Overseer & Sayd that they would not Send but that if he intended to make Paths he might make them himself for they would not Send whereupon it was Ordered that each of them Should Send one day Extraordinary that is two days each for their default & they promised so to do Samuel Ilepham also appeared & having neglected to Work when Summoned & Said sulkily that when he has nothing else to do with his Blacks he would Send them to the Highways he also was Ordered to Work one day extraordinary which he promised to do Orlando Bagley junr having Sometime ago Petitioned for a piece of the Honble Companies Waste Land adjoining to his House the Same was viewed & it appearing that Leasing to any other would be a great Prejudice to Capt Alexander who had Petitioned for for a Govr & Crisp & the time for this Land & had then a promise of the Same, the Whole desiring to hire this Land it was Granted to Capt Alexander, & Bagley was told that if he could find out any other Land that would be Usefull to him it Should be Granted him Caesar one of the Honble Companies Blacks was charged by the Church Wardens Mr Charles Stewart for Stealing out of the Church Since the former Death the Surplice & the Communion Table Cloth part of the Surplice having been found in Abigaile a Black Wenches Chest belonging to John Smith & Abigaile being Examined Said She had it from Caesar to make him Shirt therewith, & he owned that he gave her that Cloath to make into a Shirt for him but Said he bought it of a Frenchman out of a French Ship from China & that it was a large Shirt when he bought it & Said that Corrydon	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 December 1732 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander and John Goodwin present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Several men appeared on the complaint of Mr Samuel Doveton, overseer of the highways, for neglecting to send their slaves to work on the roads. John Warrall offered to swear that his slaves were sick, but that now they were better they should work whenever he was required. He was excused. John Bradley and Isaac Bradley had each neglected one day. They had given a bucket and refused to the overseer, and said they would not send, but that if he intended to make paths he might make them himself, for they would not send. The council ordered that each of them should send one day's extraordinary work, that is two days each, for their default, which they promised to do. Samuel Isaac also appeared, having offered to work when summoned, and said freely that when he had nothing else to do with his slaves he would send them to the highways. He was ordered to work one day's extraordinary work. Orlando Bagley junior had some time ago petitioned for a parcel of the Honourable Company's land near his house. The parcel was viewed and it appeared that letting it to any other would do great prejudice to Captain Alexander, so his petition was rejected. Governor Pyke had at that time promised him the same land and had made him a promise of it, but the land was let to Captain Alexander. Bagley was told that if he could find any other land that would suit him, he should have it granted him. Caesar, one of the Honourable Company's slaves, was charged by the churchwardens and Mr Charles Stewart with stealing several articles from Mrs White since the death of the chaplain. The surplice and the communion table cloth were among them, part of the surplice having been found in Abigail's chest. Another chest belonging to John Isaac and Abigail was examined, and she owned that she had the cloth from Caesar, who had given her a shirt. He also owned that he gave her the cloth to make into a shirt for him, and said he brought it out of a Swedish ship from China. What it was is a large shirt when he bought it, and he said that Corryden and another of the Honourable Company's slaves bought one of the same. It appearing on Monday that Corryden was not himself a slave but another of the Honourable Company's slaves, Corryden's son produced part of the shirt that Corryden bought, which was of linen cloth and very different from the other. It appeared by the marks of the cloth that this cloth found upon Abigail is part of the surplice. What there is at least agreed thereon before the council. Caesar had torn it, which was mended by Mary, the wife of Joseph Vaughan, whom he also examined, having endeavoured to get more but could not, and that it is now plain and shown upon their being made to admit and confessed that he had stolen the surplice, that those pieces were part of it. He was asked when he took it, and he answered before the communion table cloth was but cast, and had not taken the blue cloth off the table and that he made him some shirts of the rest of the surplice. Between them the churchwardens gave the remainder of the surplice to John Long's house and carried forth the remainder of the surplice to the communion table cloth to be a shirt and only an old chintz or smoked shirt. The late chaplain, Mr Vaughan, was to be made out of the surplice, of which Abigail pretended ignorance,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		an other of the Honble Comps Blacks bought one of the Same, it being an ordinary Corrydon was sent here but Sat then an other of the Honble Companies Blacks Corrydons Son produced part of the Shirt that Corrydon bought which was of Linen Cloth & very different from the other & it appears by the Marks of the Cloth that this Cloth found upon Abigaile is part of the Surplice & that there is a Lace around thereon upon the late Parson had torn it which was mended by Mary the Wife of Geo Loveden & then in also a min therein corner tied by Cook & at the Parsons Widow & that She had endeavoured to get out but could not & that & then is now plain thereon & upon this being wanted to be Whipt & did confess that he did Steale the Surplice & that these Prices were part thereof he owned afresh when the rest of the Surplice & where the Communion Table Cloth was but Said he did not take the blue Cloath off the Table & that he made him Sun Shirt of the rest of the Surplice however upon this the Overseer was sent with the Church Warden to John Longs House & Search for the Remainder of the Surplice, the Communion Table Cloth being also found only an Old Coat or Smocked Shirt of the late Parson & one Handkerchief Supposed to were Said to be made out of the Surplice of which Longs black Wench Abigaile pretending Ignorance that all these things were found in her Chest She was Ordered to be corrected which Twenty	though all these things were found in her chest. She was ordered to be corrected with twenty [...] Interpretations Cutting up a surplice and a communion table cloth to make shirts turns the theft into something the churchwardens rather than a private owner brought forward. Church linen belonged to the parish, not to the chaplain's widow, and its destruction touched the whole congregation. The garments were plain white linen of good quality and unusually large, which is precisely what made them attractive as cloth and what allowed the pieces to be matched afterwards. The identification rests entirely on physical evidence. Caesar claimed the cloth came from a Swedish ship trading from China, and the council tested that against another slave's purchase, finding Corryden's material to be linen of a different make. The tear mended by Mary Vaughan then linked the fragment in Abigail's chest to the original. Assembling a case this way was necessary because the testimony of blacks was inadmissible at St Helena, a difficulty that defeated every prosecution over the Company's goats in January 1729 and produced the night curfew of 12 October 1730. Compulsory labour on the highways fell on slaveholders rather than on the holders themselves, and the overseer's authority was to summon the men. Refusing outright, as the Bradleys did, met a doubled requirement rather than a fine, which suits an island where coin was scarce and labour was the currency the parish actually needed. The paths in question had been the subject of repeated complaints, most recently on 28 November and 19 December 1732 over the dangerous route to Banks's. Orlando Bagley junior's disappointment shows the limits of a governor's promise where a councillor's interest is involved. Captain Alexander had held the second seat on the council since 1726, and the offer of any other land Bagley might find repeats the formula given to Giles Player on 12 December 1732.
121	119	Twenty Stripes & then to be put into Prison, After Sundry Examinations & putting Caesar into an other Iron Shackle & Chain & punishing the Wench Abigaile as above She Sent a Certain to one Anthony an other of John Longs Slaves to discover where the Communion Table Cloth was hidden who being examined owned upon what Errand he was Sent & Anthony was this Morning taken up who went into the Said and Longs Bean Ground & there took it out of a hole made in the hollow of a dry Wall & Jno Long brought & John Long brought Anthony & the Cloth here but it was cutt out into a Jacket & Pair of Breeches; then Caesar being again Sent for denied it positively as yesterday till it was Shewn to him & then he confessed that it was the Communion Table Cloth & that he took it out of the Church & carried it that Night to Longs House & that Abigaile two or three Nights afterwards cutt	Abigail was ordered twenty stripes and then to be put into prison. After several examinations the council put Caesar into iron shackles and a chain, punishing the woman Abigail as above, and sent a person to Anthony, one of John Long's slaves, to discover where the communion table cloth was hidden. Anthony, being examined, admitted what Beard had said. He was sent for that morning and taken to the place called Long's Bear Ground, where he took the cloth out of a hole made in the hollow of a dry wall. Mr John Long brought it, and Mr John Long brought Anthony with the cloth, but it was cut out into a jacket and a pair of breeches. Caesar was sent for again and denied it positively, as he had the day before, until it was shown to him. He then confessed that it was the communion table cloth, that he took it out of the church and carried it that night to Long's house, and that Abigail two or three nights afterwards cut it out for him into a jacket and breeches, as is his want. Anthony, being asked how he came to find it, said that coming from Whaley's at night at that time he saw Caesar bury the cloth in the hole of the wall where it was found. Asked what he said to Caesar, he answered nothing, because Caesar did not see him, it being dark, but he saw Caesar bury the cloth there, though it was not likely that he could see what Caesar did and Caesar not see him.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		it out for him into a Jacket & Breeches as it is now, & this Anthony being asked how he came to find it, there Said that coming from Work on a Night at Seven a Clock he Saw this Caesar bury this Cloth in the hole of the Wall where it was found & being asked what he Said to Caesar, he Answered, nothing, for Caesar did not See him it being dark but he See Caesar bury this Cloth there, but it not being likely that he could See all that Caesar did & Caesar not See him, Caesar was again examined who Said that he did not put it there but that when the Church Warden & Searched Mr Longs Abigaile desired Anthony to hide it & he did hide it there & Caesar himself did not know where Anthony had hid it for he asked Anthony to turn it that it might not be found & that Anthony confest that the Wench & Caesar did both ask him to begin it that he would not for that & shewed that Anthony who found it had hid it & Saying they were afraid of the Governour found it out that he Caesar would be hanged for Stealing it out of the Church but he Anthony would not tell it he burnt & it kept it where it was, then Abigaile was Sent for who denied that She cutt it out but that he Shewed it to Abigaile whole before it was cut, but Said Caesar did ask her to cutt it out but She would not & then he cut it himself, & then prevaricated Saying She could not tell where the rest of the Surplice was upon which they were both Sent back to Prison in order to be corrected Anthony being asked how long he had been a Rogue Seemed not to understand the Question; being asked how many things he had Stole Said he did not know, being asked which was the first thing he Stole Sayd the first thing he Stole was the Apple Trees out of Mr Prouds Land, being asked if he did not use to Steale Mr Brawster Fruit he answered no I had not Steale the Fruit because my Master bid me fetch & if Master Say go fetch I must go & that is no Steale Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe	Caesar was examined again and said that he did not put it there, but that when the churchwardens searched Mr Long's house Abigail asked Anthony to hide it, and he hid it there. Caesar himself said he did not know where Anthony had hid it, and that he had told Anthony to bury it so that it might not be found. Anthony confessed that the woman and Caesar had both asked him to bury it, that he would not, and that Anthony, who found it, had hidden it, saying they were afraid of the Governor finding it out, and that Caesar would be hanged for stealing it out of the church. Anthony would not burn it but kept it where it was. Abigail was then sent for, and she denied that she cut it out, saying that Caesar showed it to her whole before it was cut, and that Caesar did ask her to cut it out, but that she would not and he cut it himself. She then prevaricated, saying she could not tell where the rest of the surplice was, upon which they were both sent back to prison in order to be corrected. Anthony, being asked how long he had been a rogue, seemed not to understand the question. Asked how many things he had stolen, he said he did not know. Asked which was the first thing he stole, he said the first thing he stole was the apple trees out of Mr Doveton's land. Asked if he did not use to steal Mr Brewster's fruit, he answered no, and that he had not stolen the fruit, because his master told him to fetch it, and if his master says go fetch, he must go, and that is no stealing. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations The council conducted the inquiry entirely through physical recovery and cross-examination rather than through testimony that would stand as evidence. Slaves could not testify against anyone at St Helena, so each admission had to be forced by confronting the speaker with an object already found. Caesar denied everything until the cut cloth was placed before him, and Abigail shifted her account only when the sequence of hiding places had been traced. The same evidentiary difficulty defeated every prosecution over the shooting of the Company's goats in January 1729 and produced the night curfew ordered on 12 October 1730. Anthony's account of what he saw in the dark collapses under the council's own observation that a man close enough to watch a burial would have been seen himself. The exchange shows the council testing statements for internal coherence, which is the only check available where none of the speakers could be sworn. Fear of hanging for a theft from the church rather than for a theft from a house reflects the gravity attached to sacrilege in English law of the period. Stealing consecrated goods was treated far more severely than ordinary larceny, and the slaves' own understanding of that distinction drove the concealment. Anthony's closing answer states a defence that goes to the heart of the institution. Ordered by his master to take fruit from another man's ground, he denies that the act is theft at all, since obedience left him no choice. The council recorded it without comment, though the same reasoning had exposed masters before: it held on 11 April 1729 that Charles Steward deserved to suffer for his slave Peter's insolence, the offence arising from the licence he allowed his household.
122	120	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 2d Janry 1739 at Pln House	At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 January 1733 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Caesar Abigaile & Anthony being convicted as mentioned on Tuesday last the former of Stealing the Surplice & Communion Table Cloth out of the Church & the Abigaile & Anthony for receiving & concealing the Same knowing them to be Stolen We this day considered of their Punishment & the Inhabitants expecting Some Severity Should be used in this Case We ordered as a Terrour to all other Blacks, that Caesar being a Rogue & having been formerly Sent to Bencoolen & once Whipt & a Pillory of Regt & Dollars & Runaway to the Malays & from thence to Madras where for his Roguery he was Sent from thence to this Place & there robbed Severall People & behaved very ill as appears by our Consultation of the 1st May, & now be twice off Stealing from Mrs White the late Parsons Widow two Gold Rings & many other Goods & Stealing out of the Church the Surplice of which he has made three Banyan Shirts & will not discover the remainder of it & having Stolen out of the Church the Communion Table Cloth & Spoiled the Same by cutting it out into a Jacket & Breeches Should be led by Geo Beard who was concerned in concealing the two Rings, in a halter from the Church Gate to the White Stone & back again with the Stolen Goods in a Wheelbarrow, & Caesar being Stript from the middle & that he Whipt by the Marshall all the way That Meg a black Wench whom Caesar had falsely accused with Stealing the Said Rings Should give him Six Stripes with the Whip before the Marshall begins with him That Anthoney one of John Longs Black fellows having hidden the Communion Table Cloth at the request of Abigaile knowing the Same to be Stolen out of the Church & being present when Abigaile cut out the Same into a Jacket & Breeches Should be publickly whipt at the Church Gate with Thirty Stripes & to wear a Chain upon his Leg for one Month And that Abigaile being concerned in the whole Affair and cutting out the Communion Table Cloth into a Jacket & Breeches She being Caesars Whore & an old Thief Should receive ten Lashes more She having had twenty Stripes before, on her bare back against the Church Gate & to wear an Iron Shackle on one Leg	Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Caesar, Abigail and Anthony had been convicted at the previous Tuesday's meeting, the first of stealing the surplice and the communion table cloth out of the church, and Abigail and Anthony of receiving and concealing them knowing them to be stolen. The council considered their punishment that day. The inhabitants expected some severity, and the council held that it should be used in this case, and made an example to all the other slaves. Caesar had long been a rogue. He was formerly sent to Bengal, examined and taken to Bengal by order of the Company as a runaway to the Malays, and from there to Madagascar, where for his roguery he was sent from thence to this place. There he robbed several people and behaved very ill, as appears by the consultation of the 6th of May, and was then taken up for stealing from Mrs White, the late chaplain's widow, two gold rings and many other goods, and for stealing out of the church the surplice, of which he has made three banyan shirts and will not discover the remainder of it, and for stealing out of the church the communion table cloth and spoiling it by cutting it out into a jacket and breeches. The council ordered that he be led by George Beard, who was concerned in concealing the two rings, in a halter from the church gate to the White Stone and back again with the stolen goods in a wheelbarrow, and that Caesar be stripped from the middle and whipped by the marshal the whole way. Meg, a black woman whom Caesar had falsely accused of stealing the rings, was to give him six stripes with the whip before the marshal begins with him. Anthony, one of John Long's black fellows, had hidden the communion table cloth at Abigail's request, knowing it to be stolen out of the church, and had been present when Abigail cut it into a jacket and breeches. He was to be publicly whipped at the church gate with thirty stripes and to wear a chain upon his leg for one month. Abigail was concerned in the whole affair and had cut the communion table cloth into a jacket and breeches, knowing Caesar to be an old thief. She was to receive ten stripes more, having had twenty stripes already, on her bare back against the church gate, and to wear an iron shackle on one leg until the remainder of the surplice was discovered, and for one month afterwards. The council ordered the punishment inflicted on the following Saturday, that being the day on which the guards are relieved and things are brought out from the stores. Their punishment would then be more public, more to the satisfaction of the inhabitants and a greater example to the slaves. Interpretations Choosing the day the guards are relieved and stores are drawn is the same reasoning the council applied on 8 April 1729, when it ordered Benjamin Flagg's goods sold at auction on muster day expressly because the assembly would be largest. A punishment intended as an example was scheduled around the island's own timetable of assembly rather than around the offence. Making George Beard lead Caesar in a halter turns the receiver into an instrument of the thief's punishment. Beard had already been whipped and dismissed as an overseer on 19 December 1732 for buying a stolen ring, and this second penalty carries a further humiliation. Requiring Meg to strike the first six blows answers the false accusation Caesar made against her, giving the injured party a formal role rather than merely clearing her name.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		till the remainder of the Surplice be discovered & for one Month afterwards And that this Punishment be inflicted upon them on Saturday next that being the day on which the Guards are Relieved & things out day from the Stores which will make their Punishment be more publick & more to the Satisfaction of the Inhabitants & be a greater Example to the Blacks Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe Margin Notes: Sentence	Caesar's history discloses how the Company moved troublesome slaves around its settlements. He was sent to Bengal as a runaway, then to Madagascar, then to St Helena, each transfer removing a difficulty from one factory by exporting it to another. The island received men the Company's Indian and African stations had already given up on, which sets the repeated thefts and escapes in this record against a wider practice. Iron shackles held until the remainder of the surplice was produced turn the punishment into an instrument of investigation. Abigail's release depended on information rather than on time served, and the council had used the same approach with the seven Bencoolen deserters on 6 April 1731, refusing to entertain them as soldiers until they named who had persuaded and concealed them. Speculations Sacrilege carried the gallows in English law, and Caesar's own companions expected it, Anthony reporting that he hid the cloth because they feared Caesar would be hanged for stealing out of the church. The council had the offence, the confession and a settled inhabitant population wanting severity. It chose corporal punishment and public humiliation instead. What the record shows behind that choice is value rather than mercy: Caesar was Company property, and hanging him would have destroyed an asset the books carried. The elaborate staging of the sentence, the halter, the wheelbarrow, the route from the church gate to the White Stone and back, delivers the deterrent effect a hanging would have produced while returning the man to the establishment at the end of it.
123	121	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 9th Janry 1739 at Plantacon House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward deld each their Monthly Account for Decr last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Expence of the Table in Decr 1739 Vizt 526 lb Beef 6 11 6 148 lb Pork 3 12 5 Pigs 1 5 1 Sheep 1 42 Fowles 3 3 4 Turkeys 1 17 lb Butter 17 62 Bottles Milk 8 31 Days Greens 1 11 59 Gallo Arrack 11 16 1 3 21 Flower 2 8 5½ 4 1 Sugar 1 11 3 1 lb Pepper 1 1 Bushell Salt	At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 January 1733 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for December, which were examined separately and approved as follows. 526 lb of beef, £6 11s 6d 148 lb of pork, £3 12s 0d 5 pigs, £1 5s 0d 1 sheep, £1 1s 0d 42 fowls, £3 3s 0d 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 17 lb of butter, £0 17s 0d 62 bottles of milk, £1 0s 8d 31 bags of greens, £1 11s 0d 59 gallons of arrack, £11 16s 0d 1 cwt 3 quarters 21 lb of flour, £2 8s 5.5d 4 cwt 1 quarter of sugar, £1 11s 3d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d 1 bushel of salt, £0 9s 3d 6 quarts of oil, £1 4s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d Total, £37 5s 1.5d 12 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d 16 gallons of arrack delivered to the black slaves at Christmas, £3 4s 0d 10.5 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards at the same, £2 3s 0d 31 lb of sugar delivered to the guards and the slaves, £0 7s 9d Total, £6 18s 9d Gunner's stores expended in December 1732. Muster day, 13 lb of powder Expense of the guard, 8 lb of powder To fill the grenadier pouches, 5 lb of powder Musket balls for the same, 10 lb Cartridge paper, 2 quires Parchment skins, 6

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		9 3 6 Quarts Oyle 1 4 2 Gallo Vinegar 5 37 5 1/4 12 lb Candles 1.4. 16 Gallo Arrack deld the Blacks at Xmas 3.4. 10 1/4 Gallo ditto deld the Guards at ditto 2.3. 31 lb Sugar deld to the Guards & Blacks 7.9 6.18.9 Gunnars Stores Expended in Decr 1739 Vizt 1739 Decr 9 Muster Day 12 Expence of the Guard 18 To fill the Grenadier Pouches 5 Musquet Balls for ditto 10 lb Cartridge Paper 2 Quire 26 Parchment Skins 6 Match 15 (Signed) Jno French	Match, 15 lb Total powder expended, 26 lb Signed John French. Interpretations Beef at 526 lb is more than double the October charge and by a wide margin the heaviest of this run, with pork, mutton and poultry all rising alongside it. December carries the Christmas provision for the fort, and the same seasonal weight appears in the stock accounts of earlier years, twenty fowls killed at Christmas 1730 among them. The Christmas allowance to the slaves and the guards follows the pattern established through this record without variation. Twenty nine gallons of arrack and thirty three pounds of sugar went out at Christmas 1728, and the sixteen gallons to the slaves with ten and a half to the guards here maintain the customary division, the larger share going to the labouring establishment. Powder for the grenadier pouches appears for a second consecutive month, five pounds here after fifteen in November, with musket balls again alongside. The annual inventories show these pouches standing untouched at 100 or more for years together, so two months of filling them marks a change in practice. No ship has touched the island since 25 June, and nothing in the surrounding consultations explains it, though the council had just ordered a public whipping intended as an example to the slaves. Fifteen pounds of match is the heaviest consumption among the gunner's stores, as it is in almost every month of these accounts. A length had to be kept burning at each guard post through every watch whether or not a gun was fired, so match measures hours of duty rather than any firing.
124	122	Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Soves, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remd 1 Decr: Bullocks 65, Cowes 143, Heifers 28, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 52, Bulls 5, Totall 435, Ewes 72, Wethers 27, Lambs 26, Rams 4, Totall 129, Soves 21, Shoates 20, Barrows 7, Pigs 46, Boats 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 91, Fowles 219, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 34, Bulls 0, Totall 34, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 4, Rams 0, Totall 4, Soves 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 9, Boats 0, Totall 9, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 65, Cowes 143, Heifers 28, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 86, Bulls 5, Totall 469, Ewes 72, Wethers 27, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 133, Soves 21, Shoates 20, Barrows 7, Pigs 55, Boats 3, Totall 106, Turkeys 91, Fowles 219, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Killed for the Table & Blacks in ditto: Bullocks 1, Cowes 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Soves 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 4, Pigs 5, Boats 0, Totall 9, Turkeys 4, Fowles 42, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remd 31 Decr: Bullocks 64, Cowes 143, Heifers 26, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 86, Bulls 4, Totall 465, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Soves 21, Shoates 20, Barrows 3, Pigs 50, Boats 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 87, Fowles 177, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 17300 lb Ditto deld the Honble Comps Blacks 29250 Totall 46550 lb	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of December 1732. Remaining 1 December, 65 bullocks, 143 cows, 28 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 52 calves, 5 bulls, 435 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 27 wethers, 26 lambs, 4 rams, 129 sheep in total, 21 sows, 20 shoats, 7 barrows, 46 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 91 turkeys, 219 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Increased in December, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 34 calves, 0 bulls, 34 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, 4 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 9 pigs, 0 boars, 9 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 65 bullocks, 143 cows, 28 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 86 calves, 5 bulls, 469 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 27 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 133 sheep in total, 21 sows, 20 shoats, 7 barrows, 55 pigs, 3 boars, 106 hogs in total, 91 turkeys, 219 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Killed for the table and the slaves in December, 1 bullock, 0 cows, 2 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 1 calf, 0 bulls, 4 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 4 barrows, 5 pigs, 0 boars, 9 hogs in total, 4 turkeys, 42 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 31 December, 64 bullocks, 143 cows, 26 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 86 calves, 4 bulls, 465 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 20 shoats, 3 barrows, 50 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 87 turkeys, 177 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Yams expended at the several plantations, 17,300 lb Yams delivered to the Honourable Company's blacks, 29,250 lb Total yams expended, 46,550 lb Interpretations Thirty four calves born in one month is the heaviest calving in this record, ahead of the 28 of December 1730 and the 27 of January 1731. The island's summer runs from about November to March, and the herd has now risen from 420 at the start of October to 465 despite the Christmas killing. Four calves in the killed row alongside a bullock and two heifers marks the only month in this run when a calf was taken for the table. Forty two fowls and four turkeys killed is by far the heaviest poultry consumption of the year, and it matches the table account for the same month exactly. The Christmas provision drew the flock down from 219 to 177 in a fortnight, undoing the recovery of the previous two months, and the yard now stands close to where it was in August. Yams reached 46,550 lb, the highest monthly issue since August, and the whole of the increase falls on the slaves rather than the plantations. The new crop planted through the winter is now coming out of the ground, and the account has dropped the Great Wood as a separate heading, merging it into a single issue. The stud rose to nine head with a fifth mare added, the first change since the horse bought in September. Horses were kept for the Governor and for carrying loads on paths no cart could use, and the council had heard on 28 November and 19 December 1732 how bad those paths had become.
125	123	Collection of Goods Sold in Decr 1739 Vizt 110 Gallo Arrack 34 16 8 46 Blankets 19 3 1 Table 1 10 5 Combs 5 1 12 Thimbles 1 1 18 Tea Pots 1 11 6 28 Bowles 3 10 125 Snakets 3 9 6 136 Small Cupps 1 2 4 216 Cupps & 91 Saucers 5 4 3 38 Yards Flannell 4 8 3 30 lb Sugar 175 149 14 11 Charges Generall Vizt 1 lb Brimstone 6 4 7 lb Soap 7 1 Chafing Dish 6 3 1 Cistern & pan 2 6 16 10 Blacks Vizt 12 Bag Beans 7 4	Collection of goods sold in December 1732. 110 gallons of arrack, £34 16s 8d 46 blankets, £19 1s 3d 1 table, £1 10s 0d 5 combs, £0 5s 1d 12 thimbles, £0 1s 1d 18 tea pots, £1 11s 6d 28 bowls, £2 10s 0d 125 [...], £3 2s 6d 136 small cups, £1 2s 4d 216 cups and 91 saucers, £5 4s 3d 38 yards of flannel, £4 8s 0d 3 cwt of sugar, £1 15s 0d Total, £149 14s 11d Charges general 1 lb of brimstone, £0 0s 7d 7 lb of soap, £0 7s 7d 1 chafing dish, £0 6s 3d 1 [...], £0 2s 6d Total, £16s 10d Slaves 12 dozen hooks, £0 7s 4d 12 lines, £0 9s 0d 35 lb of rope, £0 12s 6d 15 cwt 3 quarters of rice, £6 17s 6d Total, £8 6s 4d Garrison 6.5 gallons of oil, £1 9s 3d 10 lb of tea, £3 0s 0d Total, £4 9s 3d Plantation 1 cwt 2 quarters of rice, £2 5s 0d 3 cwt of paddy for hogs and poultry, £1 1s 0d Total, £3 6s 0d Diet expenses 85.75 gallons of arrack, £17 0s 0d 4 cwt 2 quarters 3 lb of sugar, £1 19s 0d 1 cwt 3 quarters 21 lb of flour, £2 8s 5.5d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		12 Lines 9 35 lb Rope 12 6 15 3 Rice 6 17 6 8 6 4 Garrison Vizt 6½ Gallo Oyle 1 9 3 10 lb Tea 3 4 9 3 Plantation Vizt Nt 2 Rice 2 5 3 2 Paddy for Hogs & Poultry 1 1 3 6 Diet Expences 85¼ Gallo Arrack 17 3 4 2 3 Sugar 1 19 1 3 21 Flower 2 8 5¼ 1 lb Pepper 1 1 Bushell Salt 9 3 6 Quarts Oyle 1 4 2 Gallo Vinegar 4 12 lb Candles 1 4 24 13 8¼ 197 7 ½	1 bushel of salt, £0 9s 3d 6 quarts of oil, £1 4s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 12 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d Total, £24 13s 8.75d Grand total, £197 7s 0.5d Interpretations Forty six blankets at £19 1s 3d and 38 yards of flannel are the largest clothing purchase in this run outside the annual autumn issue. The council ordered 100 sailors' blankets for the slaves each September through the earlier years of this record, so a December purchase falls outside the customary cycle and points to sales to the inhabitants rather than to the Company's own establishment. The ceramics dominate the account by quantity: 18 tea pots, 28 bowls, 136 small cups and 216 cups with 91 saucers. Tea drinking had spread rapidly in England through the 1720s, and the tea itself appears in these books month after month, sold in cattles from the China cargoes and issued to the garrison and slaves alike. A shipment of this size arriving on an island of a few hundred households suggests the habit had taken hold thoroughly among the inhabitants. Twelve dozen hooks, twelve lines and 35 lb of rope charged to the slaves continue the fishing establishment set up on 1 March 1727, when Governor Byfield abolished the meat ration in favour of fish. The purchases recur every month in these accounts, and the muster of 30 September 1730 rated all eleven fishermen as good. Brimstone at a single pound is sulphur, used for fumigating storerooms against vermin. The council had heard on 7 November 1732 that rats were killing trees across the country and nesting in the treetops of the Great Wood, and had resolved to ask the Company for wire traps in the next general letter.
126	124	The Governour Reports that this day he recd the following Letter from the Church Wardens Vizt Worshipfull Sir On the 3d of last Month We Assembled a Vestry & laid before them the Severall Matters which Your Worship kindly advised Us to recommend to their Consideration relating to the ruined & ruinous Condition both of the Chappells in the Country & the Chappell at the Fort the former of which has lain level with the Ground for two or three Years past & the later is so much out of Repair that it is therefore a Place set apart for the Celebration of divine Service in the open view of all Strangers especially of foreign Nations Should be longer neglected but after We had proposed to rebuild the Chappells in the Country it was alledged that the Poverty of the People was Such that they could not comply though at this it was Sayd that it Should be assured of our meaning of all & rebuild the Church as their own Houses out that they have had of late, Such worthless Undeserving Men that We tell they could have a Man to Set them a better Example by his own Life & Conversation they have no	Governor Pyke reported that he had that day received the following letter from the churchwardens. The churchwardens set out that they had assembled a vestry on the 3rd of the previous month and laid before it the matter which the Governor had kindly advised them to recommend to its consideration, relating to the ruined and ruinous condition of the chapel in the country and of the chapel at the fort. The former of these had been left without a roof for two or three years past, and the latter was so much out of repair that it was therefore a place set apart for the celebration of divine service. In the open view of all strangers, especially of foreign nations, it should no longer be neglected. When they proposed to rebuild the chapel in the country it was objected that the poverty of the people was such that they could not carry it through. It was said that if they should be assured of receiving an able and honest good man, or a minister they would do so, and were willing to rebuild the chapel at their own charge. Such worthless and undeserving men as they lately had have wanted to set them a better example by their own lives and conversation. They have no encouragement to do any more, for such men as they have of late years, for ministers, do more hurt to them by ill behaviour than the good man can do service by his preaching. They should be very glad if they had a good, honest, sober, learned, discreet man in holy orders, and should be also glad if the Governor and council would lay this matter before the Honourable Company. It was at least however agreed to repair the chapel at the fort in a handsome manner, in the doing of which they humbly asked the Governor and council's directions, they designing to do all that is necessary to be done

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Encouragement to do any thing, for Such Men as they have had of late Years for Ministers do more hurt of them evill Behaviour & bad Life than good Man can do Service by his Preaching & Should be very glad if they had a good Church & good Parson with together & would be also glad if Your Worship & Council would lay this Matter before the Honble Company, It may at least however agreed to repair the Chappell at the Fort in a handsome manner in the doing of which We humbly desire Your Worships Advice & Direction We designing to do all that is necessary to be done thereto without further Delay & is possible before the Arrival of Shiping this Late Worshipfull Sir Your Worships most humble Servts Jona: Doveston Tho: Steward St Helena 9th Janry 1739 After the reading of this Letter the Church Warden were called in & We were acquainted them that he Should be Severally at the Fort & We would then view the Church & give them what Advice & Assistance he could Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe At a Consultation held on Wednesday 16 Janry 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning the Cumberland Ship arrived here from India but last from the Cape, the Supply they brought Us is as follows Vizt Batavia Margin Notes: State of the Churches people would give money if they had good decent Chaplains	thereto without further delay, or if possible before the arrival of the shipping this year. The letter was dated at St Helena, 9 January 1733, and subscribed Jonathan Doveton and Thomas Steward. After the letter was read the churchwardens, being in the country, told the council that he should be very ready at the fort, and would then view the chapel and give them what assistance he could. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Wednesday 10 January 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Cumberland</i> arrived from India, last from the Cape. The supply she brought is as follows. Interpretations The churchwardens have turned a request for repairs into a bargain over the quality of the clergy. Their argument runs that the inhabitants will pay to rebuild the country chapel if the Company sends out a fit minister, and that a bad one does more damage by his conduct than a good one repairs by his preaching. That is a direct reference to George White, whose drunkenness came before the council on 26 July 1732 and whose widow was granted parish relief after his death in September that year. Repairing the fort chapel while leaving the country chapel roofless reflects who sees each building. Ships' commanders, supercargoes and passengers came ashore at the fort, and the churchwardens name foreign nations specifically. The island's standing among visiting vessels had already driven the whole water inquiry of 1732, and the same reasoning applies to a ruinous chapel in plain view of the anchorage. A vestry was the parish meeting of ratepaying inhabitants, competent to levy for church repairs and to appoint officers. Its refusal to fund the country chapel without a guarantee about the minister shows the limit of what the council could compel: it could direct the churchwardens, but the money had to come from householders who were free to decline. The <i>Cumberland</i> is the first vessel to touch St Helena since the <i>Middlesex</i> and the Dutch ship sailed on 25 June 1732, a silence of more than six months. Comparable gaps run through this record, five months in 1729 and again in 1730, and the stock and storekeeper's accounts through those months show the island's cash trade stopping entirely.
127	125	Batavia Arrack 4 half Legrs Vizt No 1 70 2 70 3 72 4 67 285 Gallo 263 Sugar 10 Bags qty 99 Factory is Ct 2 19 @ 12 Mrs p bag 132 Rice 40 Bags qty 1½ Ct Factory is Ct 3 Ct 8 @ 1½ p Mrs 57 3 3 5 11 9	Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, number 1, 70 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 2, 70 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 3, 72 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 4, 67 gallons, 285 gallons in all, 264 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Sugar, 10 bags at 22 maunds factory weight, 2 maunds 2 seers 19 [...] at 12 maunds per bag, 132 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Rice, 40 bags at 19 maunds 1 quarter 20 seers factory weight, 3 maunds 8 seers at 1.5 maunds per bag, 57 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Batta, 5 rupees 11 annas 9 pies, 63 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Charges merchandise, 30 rupees 8 annas 6 pies Total, 489 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Invoice of the <i>Derby</i>.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		63 1 Batta 30 8 6 Charges 489 9 6 Invoice ꝑ Derby Vizt Batavia Arrack 4 half Legrs Vizt No 5 72 6 66 7 70 8 72 280 Gallo @ 120 Mrs ꝑ Legr 263 Sugar 10 Bags qty 99 Factory is Ct 2 19 @ 12 Mrs ꝑ bag 132 Rice 40 Bags qty 4 Ct Factory is Ct 3 Ct 8 @ 1½ ꝑ Mr 57 3 3 5 13 9 63 1 Batta 30 8 6 Charges 489 9 6 As Soon as the Captains were come on Shoar We gave each of them the Usual Orders to heave in upon Allarms of which the following is a Copy Vizt Sir According to the Honble Companies Instructions to Us, We desire & direct that upon all Allarms which may happen during Your Stay here to Send out Your Stream Cable to a good Hausser with a Small Anchor to the Flat Rocks & heave to by it as near the Shoar as will be safe for Your Riding which You will know by Your Soundings, the Intent is that no Pirate or other Ship may come a head of You, but You out of the Road, You go the Honble Companies Directions to Us for You but because We know many Ships cannot so conveniently Spare an Anchor to carry out & that Some have not Boates fit for it We have of our others for the better Security & Convenience of all Ships that may touch here placed a Large Anchor on the Long Back to the Westward of the Road as a Shearfast to which any Ship may Send her Hauser & make fast with very little trouble & keep near to it with the greatest Security, We think this most Certain might to be used for the Safety of our Honble Masters States & Board & if you be of You want any Assistance We Shall be glad to Serve You We are Sir Your most humble Servts Isa Pyke Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin	Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, number 5, 72 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 6, 66 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 7, 70 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 8, 72 gallons, 280 gallons in all at 120 rupees per half leaguer, 264 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Sugar, 10 bags at 22 maunds factory weight, 14 maunds 3 seers 19 [...] at 12 maunds per bag, 132 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Rice, 40 bags at 19 maunds 1 quarter factory weight, 3 maunds 8 seers at 1.5 maunds per bag, 57 rupees 3 annas 3 pies Batta, 5 rupees 13 annas 9 pies, 63 rupees 1 anna 0 pies Charges merchandise, 30 rupees 8 annas 6 pies Total, 489 rupees 9 annas 6 pies As soon as the captains came ashore the council gave each of them the usual orders to heave in upon alarms, of which the following is a copy. The council set out that, following the Honourable Company's instructions, it desired and directed each commander upon every alarm to send out his stream cable to a good hawser with a small anchor to the shore rocks, and to heave in as near the shore as would be safe for his riding, which he would know by his own soundings. The intent was that no pirate or other ship might come ahead of him and cut him out of the road. So far went the Company's directions, but because the council knows that many ships cannot conveniently spare an anchor to carry out, and that some have not boats fit for it, it has of its own authority, and for the better security and convenience of all ships that may touch there, placed a large anchor on the long back to the westward of the road, with a hawser to which any ship may send her stream cable and heave in with very little trouble and be near to it with the greatest security. The council thought it must be the greatest caution that might be used for the safety of the Honourable Company's estate aboard, and that if any assistance were wanted the council should be glad to serve. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations The council has gone beyond the Company's own instruction and provided the means of obeying it. The standing order since 13 March 1729 required every commander to warp to the crane on any alarm, hauling his ship close under the castle's guns without making sail. That order assumed each vessel could spare an anchor and had a boat capable of carrying it out, and the council here acknowledges that many could do neither. Laying a permanent anchor and hawser to the westward of the road converts an instruction that many captains could not follow into one requiring only that they send out a cable. A stream cable is the lighter cable used for kedging and warping rather than for riding at anchor, and a hawser the heavy rope run between ship and fixed point. The whole arrangement exists because St Helena has no sheltered harbour, so a vessel in the road lies exposed and cannot be defended from the shore unless she is hauled in under the guns. The two invoices are identical in every figure of value despite differing slightly in gallons and weights, which confirms the Bengal agents made up each island supply to a standard specification rather than shipping whatever came to hand. The pattern repeats across the whole run of these accounts, the <i>London</i> and the <i>Middlesex</i> landing near-identical consignments in June 1732 and the <i>Lyell</i> and <i>Grantham</i> doing the same in June 1730.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Duke Crispe	Batta was the exchange allowance struck when accounts crossed between rupee zones of different standards, a maund a weight of about 80 pounds and a seer its subdivision, factory weight being the Company's own settlement standard rather than the local market measure. Speculations The council could have left the difficulty with the commanders. The Company's instruction was addressed to them, the obligation to warp in was theirs, and a governor of St Helena had no power to compel a Company captain to do anything, as the quarrel with Captain Wilson of the <i>Morice</i> in December 1729 established when the council refused to produce the written clause he demanded. It chose instead to spend the island's own resources laying a permanent anchor and hawser, and stated openly that it acted of its own authority rather than under direction. What lies behind that is the lesson of the fleet that sailed in defiance on 13 June 1729: orders the commanders found impracticable were simply ignored, and the council's only sanction was a protest entered in the general letter. Providing the tackle removes the excuse rather than repeating the command.
128	126	At a Consultation held on Saturday 13th Janry 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that the Same day the Cumberland & Derby arrived he Sent to Mrs White the late Parsons Widow to acquaint her least she Should otherwise Say she had not Sufficient Notice that she had now an Opportunity to go to England & that she ought to get ready accordingly to which She Answered that she desired a day or two & time to consider of it & the Evening next word that she could not go till after the Arrival of the next Shipping Capt Braund & Capt Anselom having each of them insisted upon Liberty to cutt Wood for the Use of their Ships in their Voyage home, they were told that the Scarcity of Wood was Such that it could by no means be allowed them & upon this occasion they Sent Us the following Letter Vizt Worshipfull Sir & Sirs The loss of my Passage from Bengale having made the Expençe of my Wood & Coales extraordinary Large more than Expected & has put me under a necessity of requesting Your Worships that you would Spare me & that Coales & my own for being otherwise I must be obliged to put into Yohe Port or Place where I can be Supplied for the Ship & not having sufficient of Wood & Coale for the Expençe from hence to England, I am Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servt Benja Braund	At a consultation held on Saturday 13 January 1733 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke reported that on the day the <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> arrived he sent to Mrs White, the late chaplain's widow, to tell her that she should not afterwards say she had not had sufficient notice, and that she now had an opportunity to go to England and ought to get ready accordingly. She answered that she desired a day or two more to consider of it, and on writing said next that she could not go so soon, but would wait for the arrival of the next shipping. Captain Braund and Captain Anselm each insisted on liberty to cut wood for the use of their ships on their voyage home. They were told that the scarcity of firewood is such that it could by no means be allowed them. On that occasion they sent the following letters. Captain Braund set out that the loss of his passage from Bengal, having made the expense of his wood and coals rather more than an ordinary cargo and more than he expected, had put him under the necessity of asking the council's help. He would take what they could spare for the total expense of his own for firing, otherwise he must be obliged to put into some port or place where he can be supplied for his ship, not having sufficient wood and coals for the expense from there to England. The letter was dated at St Helena, 12 January 1733, and signed Benjamin Braund. Captain Anselm set out that his ship proving leaky in his passage obliged him to be at a very great expense of wood and coals in his passage to the Cape. That unforeseen accident, with the loss of his passage from Bengal, had obliged him to spare or make what he had taken in for his voyage home, so that he is forced to make this request to the council for whatever quantity of coals it can spare. Otherwise he cannot without putting to sea where he is a supply propose to get home, not having enough to serve the ship's use. The letter was dated at St Helena, 13 January 1733, and signed Abraham Anselm. The island's stock of coal is short. Nevertheless, since their putting into any foreign port might prove highly prejudicial to the Honourable Company, the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		St Helena 12th Janry 1739 Worshipfull Sir & Sirs My Ship proving Leakey in my Passage obliged me to be at a very great Expence of Wood & Coales in my Passage to the Cape which unforeseen Accident & the Loss of my Passage from Bengale has obliged me to Spare me & must & what is the Load in for my Voyage home, that I am forced to this my Request to Your Worships & for what Quantity of Coale You can Spare otherwise cannot without putting to be in danger for a Supply propose to get home not having enough to Serve the Ships Use I am Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most humble Servt Abr Anselom St Helena 13th Janry 1739 Our Stock of Coales is but Short nevertheless as their putting into any foreign Port may prove highly prejudiciall to the Honble Company We agreed to Spare them Three Chaldron wch is Fifty four Bushells apeice	council agreed to spare them three chaldrons, which is fifty four bushels apiece. Interpretations Refusing the captains wood while granting them coal turns on the island's own crisis rather than on generosity. The advertisement of 21 October 1729 held that unless the waste of timber were prevented no wood would be left standing in seven or eight years, and the surveys of 1727 and 1729 fined tenant after tenant for failing to plant and fence. Coal came by sea from England and could be replaced by the next supply ship; a stand of timber could not. A chaldron of coal ran to 36 bushels, so three chaldrons is fifty four bushels by the island's reckoning here, a measure that varied between ports. Coal reached St Helena as sea coal shipped from England, and the storekeeper's account for November 1732 carries a single chaldron at £5 8s 0d. The reason for yielding is stated plainly: a Company ship forced into a foreign port would expose the vessel and her cargo. That anxiety runs through the whole convoy correspondence of 1729 and 1730, when the council entered a formal protest against Captain Peacham of the <i>Prince Frederick</i> on 10 December 1729 and stood on its orders against Captain Wilson of the <i>Morice</i>. Supplying fuel keeps the ship out of a Dutch or French harbour. Sophia White has now declined a passage home a second time. The council granted her 10s a week on 12 September 1732 and tried to move her out of the fort and away from liquor, which she refused. Her position is precarious: she was robbed of most of her linen in December 1732, and every month she stays extends a relief payment split between the Company and the inhabitants.
129	127	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 16th Janry 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved This day the Cumberland & Derby Sailed for England Richard Beale this day paid into the Honble Comps Cash the Sum of Sixty two Pounds upon Account for the Use of Elizabeth Robinson & he & is desiring the Same may be continued till he & the Should be of Age & the Marriage & the like Credit given her in the Books accordingly The Petition of Orlando Bagley junr was read & praying a Lease for about ten Acres of Wast Land lying near Bank Cliffs he desired him to Examine the Damage he being lately married & intending to Settle there Granted provided upon viewing the Same it be found that it may be Let to him without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood At a Consultation held on Tuesday 23 of Janry 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved	At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 January 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> sailed for England that day. Richard Beale paid into the Honourable Company's cash that day the sum of £62 0s 0d, upon account for the use of Elizabeth Robinson by her assigns. The sum was to be entered and paid to Mr Wills, should he or Captain Pope arrive there. The council gave order in the books accordingly. Orlando Bagley junior presented a petition asking for a lease of about 6 acres of waste land lying near Bates Valley, adjoining land held by Mr Sandry, who is very likely intending to settle there. The council granted it, having viewed the ground and found that it may be let to him without prejudice to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood. Subscribed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 January 1733 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. James Harding presented a petition asking for a lease of about 3 acres of waste land adjoining his own lands in Sandy Bay, which he holds by lease from the Honourable Company. Two parcels of land, seven acres or more, were petitioned for by Orlando Bagley junior, who lately advertised the parcel of land there and asked for the same land thereabouts to add to it. Anybody who had not fenced or planted anything, having the same to display, could be highly prejudicial to Mr Harding therein granted, but the whole of the parcels being allowed to Bagley the [...] and any parcel which he agreed to have. The council ordered both parcels viewed and measured accordingly.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Petition of James Harding was presented & read praying a Lease for about three Acres of Wast Land also adjoining to his Wifes Fathers Lands in Sandy Bay which he holds by Lease of the Honble Company This Parcell of Land & even Some more was Petitioned for on Thursday last by Orlando Bagley junr & the adjoining the harbour & upon the Petitions for the Same Land thereabouts he was told that if it be had not it & it appearing that viewing the Same to Bagley would be highly prejudiciall to Harding the therefore granted them that if what the Harding & already & Bagley the latter & very & Acres which he agreed to hire & Ordered both Parcells to be viewed and Leases prepared accordingly	Interpretations Paying £62 0s 0d into the Company's cash on another person's account is the island's substitute for a bank. St Helena had almost no coin and no institution that could hold a sum against a future claimant, so money owed to an absent party went into the Company's own books and was drawn against on production of authority. The same device was used on 22 August 1732, when the portions of William Tumfrey and Frances Long, the latter then in England, were ordered lodged in the Company's cash until they came of age. Bagley's success here follows two earlier disappointments. He petitioned for land near his house and lost it to Captain Alexander on 26 December 1732, and was told then, as Giles Player had been on 12 December 1732, that if he could find another parcel that suited him he should have it. The formula was not empty, and this grant of six acres near Bates Valley discharges it. Viewing the ground before any lease issues is settled practice since the resolutions of 26 July 1732. The council also resolved then that every fresh lease should reserve a right of way through the ground, which followed from the Sandy Bay road commission of 20 April 1731 that found well over a mile of cart road absorbed into private plantations. The <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> leave after a stay of six days, having taken three chaldrons of coal apiece on 13 January 1733 to avoid putting into a foreign port. Their call ends a silence of more than six months, no vessel having touched the island since 25 June 1732, and the stock and storekeeper's accounts for January should show the first sales to shipping since that date.
130	128	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 30 Janry 1739 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Jonathan Doveston & Jean Wingham this day presented the Last Will & Testament of Robert Wife of Sam Bates decd praying the Same might be proved & the Same was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto Vizt Wm Woodale Orlando Bagley & Daniel Griffith who deposed that She publyshed & declared it to be her Last Will before them & that they Signed the Same as Witnesses in her Presence Jean Wingham presented a Deed of Sale of four Acres of Land which he lately bought of Eliz Greentree praying the Same might be Registered for the greater Security thereof & the Same was ordered to be Registred accordingly Mingo a Slave belonging to Sam Pypey was this day brought before Us by his Master & by him accused upon Oath with Attempting to commit a Rape upon the body of his Daughter Margaret a Child of about Six Years of Age, & for four & twenty Years of age an errand of a boat & the Same & prevented the Crime of the Said Pypey by putting up her Coates & endeavouring to persuade her to let him lye with her, & Pypey	At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 January 1733 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Jonathan Doveton and Isaac Wingham presented that day the last will and testament of Bridget, wife of James Bates, deceased, asking that it might be proved. The council accordingly proved it on the oaths of the witnesses, Mr William Werdale, Orlando Bagley and Daniel Griffith, who deposed that she published and declared it to be her last will before them and that they signed it in her presence. Isaac Wingham presented a bill of sale of four acres of land which he had lately bought of Elizabeth Greentree, asking that it might be registered for his greater security. The council ordered it registered accordingly. Mingo, a slave belonging to Samuel Jephry, was brought before the council that day. His master accused him upon oath of attempting to commit a rape upon the body of his daughter Margaret, a child of about six years, and of throwing her on a bank and taking the same liberties. The wife of Jephry, by putting up her cries and endeavouring to persuade her to let him go with her, prevented it. The council held that some exemplary punishment should be inflicted upon him to deter others from daring to attempt the like villainy hereafter, and that the same should be done in the most public manner. It committed him to prison until the next Tuesday, to be tried for the crime. The council read the petition of Isaac Wood, ensign. He set out that he had some time ago purchased about 5 acres of freehold land, and that the same had been made over to him by a bill of sale, and that upon enquiry of the persons of whom he bought the land the original deed could not be found. He therefore asked that a new deed might be granted him, with the liberty to secure his title, he having been in quiet possession thereof and no

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		that Some exemplary Punishment might be inflicted upon him to deter all others from doing to Attempt the like Villany here- after, & told that the Same was effectually be done & in the mean & publickly manner We committed the Slave to Prison in order to be tried for this Crime at the next Sessions The Petition of Isaac Wood Ensign was Presented & read Setting forth that Sometime ago he Purchased Thirty five Acres of Freehold Land & that the Same hath been made Sure to him by Bill of Bargain & Sale but upon Enquiry of the Persons of whom he bought the Said Land after the Originall Deeds he could not hear of any & praying that a new Deed thereof might be Granted him the better to Secure his Title he having been put into the quiet Possession thereof & no Person whatsoever having Claimed the Same or any part thereof Ordered that the Books be Searched & Enquiry made between this & Tuesday next how the Persons who Sold the Said parcell of Land to Mr Wood, came by the Same The Petition of John Marsham also presented & read & complaining that Samuel Pypey unlawfully possessed more than three Acres of Freehold Land belonging to the Petr & praying that the Said Pypey might make restitution thereof & alledging some Compensation for the time the Said Pypey had unjustly withheld it from the Petr, & the Said Pypey who thought he was concerned in this Said Petition was read to him & he desired time till next Tuesday to give in his Answer & the Same was Granted This day Richd Beale presented the following Paper Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr & the Honble Councill Richard Beales Complaint & his Unhappy Case & Sheweth That Your Complainant Rich Beale was born upon this	person whatever having claimed the same or any part thereof. The council ordered the ground surveyed and a boundary made between him and Whaley near Mr Isaac's, and the parcel of land in the wood, coming by the crane. The council also read the petition of John Marsham, who set out that Samuel Jephry unlawfully possessed more than three acres of freehold land belonging to the petitioner, asking that Jephry might make restitution and allow him some compensation for the time he had unjustly withheld it from him. Jephry, being present, denied it, and the council ordered that he attend the following Tuesday to give his answer, and the case was appointed. Richard Beale presented the following paper that day, addressed to Governor Pyke and the council, setting out his unhappy case, that he was born upon [...] Interpretations The charge against Mingo is stated with unusual precision as to the child's age and the manner of the attempt, and the council's language turns entirely on deterrence rather than on the offence itself. Committing him for trial the following Tuesday rather than punishing him at once follows the pattern used with Caesar, Abigail and Anthony in December 1732, where conviction came first and the sentence was framed at a separate meeting expressly for public effect. Losing an original deed and applying for a fresh one recurs throughout this record. Gabriel Powell obtained a new deed on 6 February 1728 for a James Valley house after the grant of 1678 was found lost or destroyed, and John Durling received one on 16 November 1730 for 25 acres he had held for many years. Mr Alexander reported on that occasion that holders had formerly neglected to register a deed once delivered, which explains why so many titles rest on possession rather than paper. A bill of sale registered for greater security served the same function. Registration did not create the title but recorded it publicly, so that a later dispute could be settled from the book rather than from memory or from a document that might be carried to England, as Mary Powell's papers were said to have been in the Giles Smith title dispute of July 1730. Samuel Jephry appears twice in one sitting, first as the master of an accused slave and then as a defendant charged with holding three acres of another man's freehold. He has run through this book since 1726, receiving a deed to 20 acres in Wilkes Valley on 8 November 1726 and appearing at every orphans court as a debtor to Isaac Fluchus for £45 16s 0d.
131	129	this Island St Helena & descended from Some of the originall Inhabitants of this Place who were Men of good Characters & of Substance & suffer informed that the Honble Company thought fit to appoint Your Complainants Grandfather Deputy Governour That the Said Honble Company were pleased to give him Twenty Acres of Land & by his Industry he Purchased Twenty Acres more & Your Complainants Grandfather dying Intestate the Said Land descended to his Heirs who was Your Complainants Father Jonathan Beale who by his Last Will & Testament Bequeathed one third part of his profitts & that only to Your Complainants Mother who out lived him & afterwards was contract Mr Northgate as to contract	Richard Beale set out that he was born on the island of St Helena and descended from some of the original inhabitants of the place, who were men of good character, for which he can suffer himself informed. The Honourable Company thought fit to appoint his grandfather Deputy Governor. The Honourable Company was pleased to give him 20 acres of land by his indenture. He purchased 20 acres more from the petitioner's grandfather, who died intestate, and the land descended to his heirs, who were the petitioner's father Jonathan Beale. He by his last will and testament bequeathed one third part of his estate, and only to the petitioner's mother, who outlived him. Afterwards she entered into a marriage with Gabriel Powell, who proved a poor gentleman, cruelly and inhumanly using her. At her death he disposed of it with great cruelty and inhumanity, and the manner of his disposal of the land is as follows. Being a hasty and passionate

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		a Marriage with Gabriel Prowd who proved a vile Contentious & wicked Man & used her with great Cruelty & inhumanity & was the Occasion of her Death in the following manner Vizt the Said Prowd being a hasty brutish & passionate Man was pleased to be angry with Your Complainants Brother Anthonie an Infant under two years of Age for Something he said & fancied him he Rose of & they said the Child & Beat & Bruised him & threw he would lay him upon the floor & when he lied was there Standing upon the View & Burning for this great harm was going to do so which with much & begging Your Complainants Brother persuaded but with the Weight of the Cruell Complainants was Head & other early it was only a Child having been Bruised less than five Months & preserved and Death & that to her Wretch was a Confirmed to the Cruel of Endeavours he after my Mothers Death & of the very Cruel & tormented & beating & Suffering me about the Way till my age when he Rice till my Complaint was to the That the Said Prowd long after the Death of Your Complainants Mother Claimed a third part of the Said Land of which Your Complainant Father was Seized at the time of his Death That having to take that Governour Poirier & who was a Gentleman of an Undoubted Character the Said Prowds Claim was disallowed but after his Death by dishonest & mean Practices which Your Complainant & more to make out the Said Prowds fraudulently got Possession of the Land & hath illegally be Seized it ever Since Your Complainant therefore humbly Prays that his Said Land may be restored him by those who have now got Unlawfull Possession of the Same or that upon a refusal thereof a Court of Law here may be Appointed in order to determine Your Complainants Right & I am Your Complainant here in Duty bound & shall ever Pray Richard Beale St Helena 30 Janry 1739 Ordered that a Copy of this Paper be delivered to Peter Prowd & he being the Person who as Rich Beale alledges at this time Unlawfully with holds the Lands from him & that he do return an Answer thereto in a Months time if he shall desire a time so long Margin Notes: Prowd	man, he was pleased to be angry with the petitioner's brother Anthony, an infant under twelve years of age, for something he had said concerning his brother, and being both children weak and timid, he would lay him upon the ground behind him standing upon the fire and burning his own back. He was going to do it, and with much difficulty the petitioner's brother returned from it. By the weight of the blows the petitioner had been beating and remained. It had been by his brother, prejudiced less than five months' peace and death, and it had been so continued to the day of his death. He afterwards, by his brother's death, resolved very cruel, continuing beating and inflicting on it about the eighth to his own house. He did not die of his life the very unjust manner following. Soon after the death of the petitioner's mother, Powell claimed a third part of the said land as land of the petitioner. Nathaniel was disposed at the time of his death. Being that Governor Poirier had, and was a gentleman of an undoubted character, the third part of the land was disposed of, but after his death by dishonest means and practices which the petitioner strove to make out. Powell fraudulently got possession of the land, and it holds illegally to that hour. He therefore asked the council that his said land be restored to him by those who have now got unlawful possession of the land, or that upon refusal a court of law may be appointed in order to determine the petitioner's right. The petition was dated at St Helena, 30 January 1733, and signed Richard Beale. The council ordered that a copy of the paper be delivered to Peter Bennett, he being the person who is Mark Beale alleges at this time unlawfully withholds the land from him, and that he do return an answer thereto in a month's time if he shall desire time so long. Interpretations The petition reaches back thirty years or more to establish descent through three generations, and the reason lies in how St Helena settled land titles. Deeds went missing constantly, as the fresh grants to Gabriel Powell in 1728 and John Durling in 1730 both show, and Mr Alexander reported on 16 November 1730 that holders had formerly neglected to register a deed once delivered. Where paper failed, a claimant fell back on birth, descent and the reputation of his forebears, which is exactly what Beale does here. Gabriel Powell died possessed of an estate valued at upwards of £1,200 0s 0d, the largest private fortune named in this record, and his acquisitions were challenged before. The court of judicature of 24 February 1730 heard four complaints over the Hodgkinson estate, which Mary Powell had carried into her marriage with him without inventory or accounts, the profits falling to Powell for nearly twenty years. Beale's account of a stepfather taking a third part of his wife's children's land follows precisely that pattern. The council offers two routes at once, restitution by agreement or a court to determine the right, which is the same approach Governor Pyke took to the Marsh estate on 4 July 1732. He told those claimants he would save their money and warned against contesting at law, then examined the claims himself and obtained a settlement. Giving Bennett a month to answer keeps the matter out of court while a compromise is still possible. A month for an answer is a substantial allowance on an island where the parties live within a few miles of each other. The delay allows Bennett to search for

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			whatever documents exist, and where a claim rests on events of the previous generation, both sides need time to gather witnesses old enough to remember them.
132	130	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 6th Febr'y 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Alexander the Person who in the Year 1718 Sold Mr Wood twenty five Acres of the Land mentioned in Mr Woods Petition last Consultation having been & desired farther time till Tuesday next to Examine the Books in order to make out how he came by the Same & upon which We appointed Mr Goodwin & Mr Crispe, they being neither of them concerned in the Affair to Search the Books & to make Enquiry into this Matter & to Report the Case to Us as they find the Same on Tuesday next Samuel Pypey this day appeared & acquainted Us that he was willing to Surrender the Land which John Player claimed by Petition on Tuesday last provided he would take the Quantity wanting to make up Ten & Acres in the Cabbage Tree which the other refused to do alledging that his Land already lay in two Parcells which was very inconvenient & the offer to add a third at a Distance from him was unreasonable & would be of no Use to him, & farther alledged that by the Deed of Gift from Jno: Prowlege to the Father of the Said Player it is provided that if any Land Should be wanting to make up Ten Acres it Should be taken at the Bottom of the Gumwood Land or in the Cabbage Tree Land & for the Reasons before mentioned the said Player demanded that at the bottom of the Gumwood Land adjoining to the Lower part of the Land now in his own Possession It appearing to Us by the Examination of Sevrall People that the Said Pypey is a very old Man having possessed near four Acres of this young Mans Land for twenty Years past & made him pay & Rent for the whole- In, the Governour desired him to Surrender the Land below the Gumwood as demanded by the Said Player & to make him Restitution for the damage he had received thereby but he refused to comply therewith desiring the Same might be tried & determined by a Jury & We accordingly took his Recognizance to appear at the next Court to Answer to the Complaint of the Said Player The Governour Capt Goodwin the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for January last which were Sevrally Examined and Approved & are as follows Vizt Expence of the Table in Janry 1739 Vizt 521 lb Beef 6 10 3 204 lb Pork 8 5 3 Pigs	At a consultation held on Tuesday 6 February 1733 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Alexander was the person who in the year 1718 sold Mr Wood 25 acres of the land mentioned in Mr Wood's petition at the previous consultation. He asked further time until the following Tuesday to examine the books, so that he might establish how he came by the land. The council appointed Mr Goodwin and Mr Crisp, they being the two members not concerned in the affair, to search the books, make enquiry into the matter and report the case to the council the following Tuesday. Samuel Jephry reported that day that he was willing to surrender the land which John Marsham claimed by petition on the previous Tuesday, provided he might take the quantity wanting to make up three acres in the cabbage trees, which the other refused to do, alleging that his land already lay in two parcels, which had very inconvenient use. He offered to add a third at a distance from him, which was unreasonable and would be of no use to him. He further alleged that by the deed of gift from John Rowledge, the father of Jephry, it is provided that if any land should be wanting to make up ten acres, it should be taken at the bottom of the gumwood land or in the cabbage tree land, and for the reasons before mentioned Jephry demanded it at the bottom of the gumwood land adjoining the lower part of the land now in his own possession. It appeared to the council on the examination of several people that Jephry is a very old man, having possessed nearly four acres of this young man's land for twenty years past and made him pay rent for the whole of it. The Governor ordered him to surrender the land below the gumwood as demanded by Marsham, and to make him restitution for the damage he had received thereby, but he refused to comply. Defying the council, he said the matter might be tried and determined by a jury. The council accordingly took his recognisance to appear at the next court and answer the complaint of Marsham. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for January, which were examined separately and approved as follows. 521 lb of beef, £6 10s 3d 90 lb of pork, £8 3s 0d 3 pigs, £3 15s 0d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 12 ducks, £1 18s 0d 36 fowls, £2 14s 0d 31 bags of greens, £1 11s 0d 62 bottles of milk, £1 11s 0d 11 lb of butter, £0 11s 0d 55 gallons of arrack, £11 5s 0d 1 cwt of sugar, £1 5s 0d 1 cwt of flour, £1 3s 9d 1.5 gallons of vinegar, £0 8s 1d 2 lb of pepper, £0 6s 3d 1 bushel of salt, £0 2s 6d 1 basket of the same, £39 1s 3d Total, £39 1s 3d 16 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards and the slaves, £3 5s 0d 56 lb of sugar delivered to the same, £0 12s 6d Total, £3 17s 6d Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		15 5 Turkeys 1 5 12 Ducks 18 36 Fowles 2 14 31 Days Greens 1 11 62 Bottles Milk 1 11 11 lb Butter 5 55 Gallo Arrack 11 5 1 0 1 Sugar 1 5 1 0 Flour 1 3 9 1½ Gallo Vinegar 8 3½ lb Pepper 1 5 1 Bushll Salt 6 3 1 Basket ditto 2 6 39 1 3 16 Gallo Arrack deld the Guards & Blacks 3.5. 56 lb Sugar deld ditto 12.6 3.17.6	Removing the two councillors with an interest and appointing the other two to search the books is a real procedural safeguard. Captain Alexander was the vendor in 1718 and Ensign Wood the petitioner, so Goodwin and Crisp are the only members with no stake. The same care appears in the water inquiry of August 1732, when Governor Pyke required each councillor to walk the ground and report separately rather than accept his own findings. A deed of gift transferring land without payment, with a clause fixing where any shortfall in the acreage should be made up, is exactly the kind of provision that produced disputes a generation later. The land was described by reference to gumwood and cabbage trees rather than by measured bounds, and both are endemic species of the island, so the description depended on vegetation that could be cleared or could die back. Jephry demanding a jury after the Governor ordered restitution repeats a pattern from earlier in this book. Three of the four claimants in the Marsh estate hearing of 4 July 1732 told Governor Pyke they were not satisfied with his opinion and wanted their rights determined at law. A recognisance bound a man and his surety to appear and answer, and the council had used it against John Long over the silver tankard in the spring of 1730. Beef at 521 lb and pork at 90 lb continue the heavy consumption of December, and the poultry lines have risen too. The <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> lay in the road from 10 to 16 January, the first vessels to touch the island since 25 June 1732, and the fort's table always swelled while shipping was ashore.
133	131	Account of the Honble Comps Stock of Neat Cattle &ca for the Month of Janry 1739 Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 Janry: Bullocks 64, Cowes 143, Heifers 26, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 86, Bulls 4, Totall 465, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Sowes 21, Shoates 20, Barrows 3, Pigs 50, Boats 3, Totall 97, Turkeys 87, Fowles 177, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Encrased in Janry: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 26, Bulls 0, Totall 26, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 13, Boats 0, Totall 13, Turkeys 50, Fowles 36, Ducks 12, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 64, Cowes 143, Heifers 26, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 112, Bulls 4, Totall 491, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Sowes 21, Shoates 20, Barrows 3, Pigs 63, Boats 3, Totall 110, Turkeys 137, Fowles 213, Ducks 54, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Sold to Ships & Killed for the Table: Bullocks 5, Cowes 0, Heifers 5, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 10, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 1, Barrows 2, Pigs 3, Boats 0, Totall 6, Turkeys 5, Fowles 36, Ducks 12, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 59, Cowes 143, Heifers 21, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 112, Bulls 4, Totall 481, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Sowes 21, Shoates 19, Barrows 1, Pigs 60, Boats 3, Totall 104, Turkeys 132, Fowles 177, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 1, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0,	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of January 1733. Remaining 1 January, 64 bullocks, 143 cows, 26 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 86 calves, 4 bulls, 465 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 20 shoats, 3 barrows, 50 pigs, 3 boars, 97 hogs in total, 87 turkeys, 177 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Increased in January, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 26 calves, 0 bulls, 26 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 13 pigs, 0 boars, 13 hogs in total, 50 turkeys, 36 fowls, 12 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 64 bullocks, 143 cows, 26 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 112 calves, 4 bulls, 491 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 20 shoats, 3 barrows, 63 pigs, 3 boars, 110 hogs in total, 137 turkeys, 213 fowls, 54 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Sold to ships and killed for the table, 5 bullocks, 0 cows, 5 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 10 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 1 shoat, 2 barrows, 3 pigs, 0 boars, 6 hogs in total, 5 turkeys, 36 fowls, 12 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the sale and killing, 59 bullocks, 143 cows, 21 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 112 calves, 4 bulls, 481 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 19 shoats, 1 barrow, 60 pigs, 3 boars, 104 hogs in total, 132 turkeys, 177 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Dead in January, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 1 calf, 0 bulls, 1 neat beast in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 31 Janry: Bullocks 59, Cowes 143, Heifers 21, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 111, Bulls 4, Totall 480, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Sowes 21, Shoates 19, Barrows 1, Pigs 60, Boats 3, Totall 104, Turkeys 132, Fowles 177, Ducks 42, Geese 14, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Yams Expended at the Sevl Plantations 19500 lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 21500 Totall 41000 lb	in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 31 January, 59 bullocks, 143 cows, 21 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 111 calves, 4 bulls, 480 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 19 shoats, 1 barrow, 60 pigs, 3 boars, 104 hogs in total, 132 turkeys, 177 fowls, 42 ducks, 14 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,500 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 21,500 lb Total yams expended, 41,000 lb Interpretations The sold to ships row reappears for the first time since June 1732, and it has been combined with the killing for the table into a single line of ten head. The <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> lay in the road from 10 to 16 January, ending a silence of more than six months, and the Company's beef trade resumed the moment they anchored. The same correspondence holds through every year of this record without exception. Fifty turkeys bred in a single month is by far the heaviest increase in that line, against 36 fowls and 12 ducks. The turkey flock has risen from 87 to 132 and now approaches the fowls in number, which reverses the usual proportion in these accounts. Governor Pyke bought 72 turkeys for breeding in April 1731 when he found the yard reduced to 24 fowls, and the stock has grown steadily since. Twenty six calves continue the summer calving, after 34 in December and 17 in November. The herd stands at 480 against 420 at the start of October, the highest figure in this record, and the calf column alone now carries 111 head. St Helena's summer runs from about November to March, and the whole of this increase falls within it. Yams at 41,000 lb hold near the December level, with the plantation share rising to 19,500 lb as the new crop comes out of the ground. The Great Wood has been merged into the general issue to the slaves since November, so the account now shows only two headings where it formerly showed three.
134	132	Collection of Goods Sold & Delivered in Janry 1739 Vizt 105½ Gallo Arrack 33 8 9 20 lb Bread 25 3 Chaldron Coales 17 4 19 Iron Potts Sorted 16 2 284 Yards Kersey 24 17 6½ Do damaged Long Cloth 4 16 10 176 pr damaged Shoes Sorted 10 18 6 3 Womens Lasts 3 3 121 lb Twine 13 2 9 28½ Shoe Thread 3 11 3 149 3 9 Garrison Vizt 5 Gallo Oyle 1 7 11 lb Tea 3 6 4 13 Plantation Vizt 3 3 Rice	Collection of goods sold and delivered in January 1733. 105.5 gallons of arrack, £33 8s 9d 20 cwt of bread, £25 0s 0d 3 chaldrons of coals, £17 4s 0d 19 iron pots, sorted, £16 2s 0d 284 yards of kersey, £24 17s 0d 6.5 pieces of damaged long cloth, £4 16s 10d 176 pairs of damaged shoes, sorted, £10 18s 6d 3 women's lasts, £0 3s 3d 121 lb of twine, £13 2s 9d 28.5 lb of shoe thread, £3 11s 3d Total, £149 3s 9d Garrison 5 gallons of oil, £1 7s 0d 11 lb of tea, £3 6s 0d Total, £4 13s 0d Plantation 3 cwt 3 quarters of rice, £1 17s 6d 3 cwt 2 quarters of paddy for hogs and poultry, £1 6s 3d Total, £3 3s 9d Charges general 8 lb of soap, £0 8s 8d 4 china bowls, £0 10s 0d 2 iron shovels, £0 5s 0d 2 helves, £0 2s 4d 2 sweet stones, £0 1s 0d 3 lb of cotton yarn, £0 10s 6d 12 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d 12 lb of nails, £0 2s 4d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 17 6 3 2 Paddy for Hogs & Poultry 1 6 3 3 3 9 Charges Generall Vizt 8 lb Soap 8 8 4 China Bowles 10 2 Iron Shovels 5 2 Helves 2 4 2 Iron Stones 1 6 3 lb Cotton Yarn 10 6 12 lb Candles 1 4 12 lb Nailles 2 4 2 Yards Canvas 2 3 26 Packthread Vizt 3 4 6 3 16 8 Blacks Vizt 18 3 Rice 9 2 6 1 Bag Lines 2 8 1 Grass Hooks 5 8 4 or Silk 3 4 2 Yards Shalloon 4 36 8½ Yds Kersey 26 12 10½ 6 lb Coloured Thread 1 2 1 12 Do Chints 4 10 2 Thimbles 12 4 2 lb Tea 60 9 4½ Diet Expences Vizt 171 Gallo Arrack 44 4 6 1 20 Sugar 1 17 6 1 0 Flour 1 2 5 3 9 1½ Gallo Vinegar 8 6 Do Oyle 8 1 1 lb Pepper 8 7 1 Bushl Salt & 1 Basket Salt 18 7 10 222 13 9½ Gunnars Stores Expended in Janry Vizt Guns Fired, Powder, Match, Powder 1739 Janry 6 Muster Day: Guns Fired 0, Powder 0, Match 0, Powder 16 lb Double Allarm: Guns Fired 6, Powder 6, Match 0, Powder 18 10 Arrived the Cumberland & Derby: Guns Fired 18, Powder 1, Match 17, Powder 20 18 Cumberland & Derby Sailed: Guns Fired 18, Powder 1, Match 17, Powder 20	2 yards of canvas, £0 2s 3d 26 lb of pack thread, £0 3s 4d Total, £3 16s 8d Slaves 18 cwt 2 quarters of rice, £9 2s 6d 1 dozen lines, £0 2s 8d 1 gross of hooks, £0 5s 8d 4 oz of silk, £0 3s 4d 2 yards of shalloon, £0 0s 0d 368.5 yards of kersey, £26 12s 10.5d 6 lb of coloured thread, £1 2s 0d 12 lb of chintz, £4 10s 0d 9 thimbles, £0 0s 0d 2 lb of tea, £0 12s 4d Total, £40 9s 4.5d Diet expenses 171 gallons of arrack, £44 4s 0d 1 cwt of sugar, £1 17s 6d 1 cwt of flour, £1 5s 9d 1.5 gallons of vinegar, £0 8s 1d 6 quarts of oil, £1 1s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 8s 7d 1 bushel of salt and 1 basket of salt, £18 7s 10d Total, £18 7s 10d Grand total, £222 13s 9.5d Gunner's stores expended in January 1733. 6 January, muster day, 6 guns fired, 6 lb of powder, 16 lb of match 6 January, double alarm, 18 guns fired, 1 shot, 17 lb of powder, 18 lb of match 10 January, arrival of the Cumberland and Derby, 18 guns fired, 1 shot, 17 lb of powder, 20 lb of match 18 January, the Cumberland and Derby sailed, 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 lb of powder, 20 lb of match Expense of the guard, 11 lb of match Musket balls for the same, 5 lb Match, 13 lb Total, 49 guns fired, 8 shot, 34 lb of powder, 85 lb of match Interpretations Twenty hundredweight of bread at £25 0s 0d is the clearest marker of the shipping in the road. Bread appears in these accounts only when vessels victual for the passage home, 2,010 lb sold in May 1729 and 57 cwt in May 1731, and vanishes entirely in the empty months. The <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> lay at anchor from 10 to 18 January, ending a silence of more than six months. The kersey divides between two purposes. Two hundred and eighty four yards went to the inhabitants and a further 368.5 yards to the Company's slaves, and the second figure sits close to the 400 yards issued each autumn through the earlier years of this record. Kersey was a coarse ribbed wool and the standard cloth for slave clothing, delivered to the tailor to be cut and made up. Damaged goods again pass into the island at reduced prices, with 176 pairs of shoes and six and a half pieces of long cloth cleared in a single month. The practice runs unbroken through these books: 143 pairs of moth-eaten stockings in October 1730, chintz from goods wrecked at the Cape in January 1731 and 55 lb of spoiled mohair in July 1732. Powder at 34 lb is the heaviest since the ships left in June, and the double alarm of 6 January followed by the arrival four days later shows the sequence exactly. Alarms were fired when a strange sail appeared and were answered by salutes once the vessel was identified as a friend.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Expençe of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Powder 0, Match 0, Powder 11 49 8 34 85 Musquet Balls for ditto 3 lb Match 13	
135	133	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 13th Febr'y 1739 at Pln House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved On the 8th instant the Houghton arrived from Macho & Sailed for England on the 11th, the Supra Cargoes Said & c that they could not put us any & the Plants but brought Us a good Quantity of Berries for Seed which We will plant as fast as the Season will submit Us Mr Goodwin & Mr Crispe this day made the following Report Vizt According to the Order of Tuesday last We have examined the Books & made Enquiry what Title Capt Alexander had to the Twenty five Acres of Freehold Land he Sometime ago Sold to Isaac Wood & find that formerly one Ingraman was possessed of Twenty Acres of Low Land Ten Acres of which was Sold & conveyed by a Bill of Sale dated 8 March 1695 by one Stephens to Mr Colgrove, & Mr Colgrove gave it to Capt Alexander at the time he Married the Said Colgroves Daughter Ten other Acres part of the aforesaid Twenty five Acres its Said Mr Colgrove bought of one Meaders who Sold & Sold it was the Said Colgrove dying it came into the Possession of his Widow & she by Will gave it to the Children of Capt Alexander & they dying young it became Capt Alexanders as heir to his Said Children The other five Acres Capt Alexander alledges he bought of Gunner Ivenit, Gunner Ivenit Saith he bought it of Wentworth & Wentworth & Remnings of Dryson who this has been conveyed from one to the other, nor how Stephens came by the Ten Acres he Sold to Colgrove, nor how Mr Colgrove came by the Ten Acres formerly part of the Low Land of Meaders, but are never the least Opinion that Mr Alexanders Title to the aforesaid Twenty five Acres of Land was good he having been long in Possession thereof & his Right never questioned by any of his Neighbours, except Ten Acres which was claimed by John Colgrove & which he afterwards disclaimed & gave Mr Alexander a Generall Release a Copy of which the same is Registred in the Registry Books & nor hath the Same or any part thereof been Claimed or Demanded of Mr Wood Since the time he purchased the Same, & upon the whole	At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 February 1733 at Plantation House, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Houghton</i> arrived from Mocha on the 6th of the month and sailed for England on the 11th. The supercargoes reported that they could not get any coffee plants, but brought a good quantity of berries for seed, which the council intends to plant as soon as the season will admit. Mr Goodwin and Mr Crisp made the following report that day. In accordance with the order of the previous Tuesday they had examined the books and made enquiry into what title Captain Alexander had to the 25 acres of freehold land he sold to Isaac Wood some time ago. They found that one Ingraham was formerly possessed of 20 acres of the land, of which he sold or conveyed 10 by a deed dated 8 March 1695 to Mr Stephens, and Mr Stephens gave it to Captain Alexander at the time he married Colgrave's daughter. Another part of the 25 acres, it is said, Mr Colgrave bought of one Shaddick, whose son and it was his. Colgrave dying, it came into the possession of his widow, who gave it to the children of Captain Alexander, and they dying young it became Captain Alexander's as heir to his children. The other 5 acres Captain Alexander alleged he bought of Gunner Jones, Gunner Jones's wife having bought it of Cummings and Cummings of Bishop, whose land it was. The commissioners can find no writing whatever showing how this has been conveyed from one to the other, nor how Stephens came by the 10 acres he sold to Colgrave, nor how Colgrave came by the 10 acres formerly part of the land of Shaddick, but are very sure by common report that Mr Alexander's title to the 25 acres of land was good, he having been long in possession of it and his right never questioned by any of his neighbours, except for 10 acres which were claimed by John Colgrave, which he afterwards disclaimed upon Mr Alexander's general release, a copy of which they find registered in the register book. Nor has the same, or any part of it, been claimed or demanded of Mr Wood since the time he purchased it. Upon the whole they are of opinion that a deed may lawfully be granted to Mr Wood to secure his title to the premises. Signed John Goodwin and Duke Crisp, dated at St Helena, 13 February 1733. The council ordered that the report be taken into consideration that day fortnight, and that in the meantime Mr Goodwin and Mr Crisp enquire how Robert Girling came by the other 10 acres of land, part of the 35 acres for which Mr Wood also asked, as mentioned in the consultation of the 30 January last, Gunner Jones being the person who sold the said 10 acres to Mr Wood. Interpretations The report exposes how island titles actually stood. Two conveyances survive in writing, the deed of 1695 and the registered release from John Colgrave, and everything else rests on common report, marriage settlement and undisputed possession stretching back nearly forty years. Mr Alexander had told the council on 16 November 1730 that holders formerly neglected to register a deed once delivered, and this chain of five owners

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		are of Opinion that a Deed may brought to be Granted to the Said Mr Wood to Secure his Title to the Premises (Signed) Jno Goodwin D. Crispe St Helena 13 Feby 1739 Ordered that this Report be taken into Consideration this day Sennight and that in the mean time the Said Messrs Goodwin & Crispe do enquire how Robt Sperling came by the other Ten Acres of Land part of the Thirty five for which Mr Wood also desired a Deed as mentioned in Consultation of the 30 of Janry last, & Ranger & Sperling being the Person who Sold the Said Ten Acres to Mr Wood Margin Notes: Coffee berries for planting from Mocha	with no paper between them shows exactly what that produced. Land passing to a father as heir to his own children is an unusual descent and worth marking. Colgrave's widow gave the parcel to Captain Alexander's children, and when they died young it returned upward rather than sideways, so the gift meant to establish a line instead consolidated the holding in the man who had married into the family. Coffee berries for seed rather than plants marks a real attempt at establishing a crop. Coffee grows readily from seed but the berries lose viability within weeks, which is why the council intends to plant as soon as the season allows. The island's summer runs to about March, and planting falls in the winter from May. The <i>Houghton</i> stayed five days and brought a supply from Mocha, the Red Sea port that gave its name to the coffee trade. She had called before, arriving from China with the <i>Lyon</i> on 2 May 1730, and her return on the Mocha route explains the coffee berries.
136	134	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 20th Feby 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved There being an Enquiry that Benjamin Beale had Sold Ten Acres of Freehold Land to John Bowers a Man of a very Character notwithstanding the Governour had upon that occasion forbid the Said Beale to Sell the Said Land to the Said Bowers they were this day Summoned to attend which they did accordingly & the Said Beale being asked whether he had Sold the Said Lands to the Said Bowers & Answered yes he had & that being possible Land he would Sell it to whom he pleased, but the thing done contrary to the Governours Caution & great Care from whom & the Councill no Reason can be gain'd or to Purchase or Settle here in a Freeholder & he declared the Said Bargain & Sale & said giving the Said Beale leave to Sell to any Person whatsoever of honest Repute, but not to the Said Bowers who by the Presentment made to the Late Governour & Councill on the 8th of January 1728 appears to be an immorall wicked Man, a Copy of which an Copy of the Explanation of the then Govr & Councill thereon after Consideration of the Said Report is as follows Vizt Richard Beale & Isaac Wood Church Wardens presented the following Complaint against Richard Sanders & John Bowers Vizt To the Worshipfull Edward Byfield Esqr Govr & the Councill We the Underwritten Church Wardens of the Island of St Helena in discharge	At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 February 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council had received notice that Benjamin Beale had sold six acres of leasehold land to John Bowers, a man of a very ill character, notwithstanding the Governor had upon that occasion warned Beale not to do so. The council summoned both men to attend that day, and they accordingly appeared. Beale, being asked whether he had sold the land to Bowers, said he had. Bowers answered yes, he had, and that being an unfit person to hold land, he would set it to whomever he pleased. The council found that the thing being done contrary to the government's caution, and there being no reason to admit him to purchase or settle here in a freehold, it declared the bargain void, and it gave Beale leave to sell to any person of honest repute, but not to Bowers. The council held that the presentment made to the late Governor and council on the 14th of January 1728 shows him to be an immoral and wicked man, a very copy of which is at the head of the declaration of the then Governor and council. Their opinion after consideration of the report is as follows. Richard Beale and Isaac Wood, churchwardens, presented the following complaint against Richard Swallow and John Bowers. The churchwardens of St Helena set out to Governor Edward Byfield and the council that in discharge of the duty they owe to their office and to the parish they found themselves indispensably obliged to represent to the Governor and council that Richard Swallow and John Bowers, to the great discouragement of virtue and morality, have to the ill example of others each of them begotten several children upon their slave wenches, and notwithstanding they have been frequently admonished to leave off their lewd and debauched practices, they have nevertheless persisted in their wickedness. Each of the wenches has lately been delivered of children begotten by the said masters. The churchwardens further set out that no provision which the masters should make for the future maintenance and support of the children can be by any means sufficient, and that great partiality or injustice is thereby occasioned in respect of lawful and legitimate issue. They also warned that the offspring of such unions, who in future generations may be increased if not timely prevented, may in

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of the Duty We owe to our Selves & Posterity find our Selves indispensably obliged to represent to Your Worships the Council that Richard Sanders & John Bowers to the great Discouragement of Vertue & morality & to the evil Example of others have each of them begotten Severall Children upon their Slave Wenches & notwithstanding they have been frequently & admonished to leave off their Practices & disowned & they have nevertheless persisted in their & to the great scandall of these Said Practices having again been lately delivered of these Children begotten by these Said Masters That the Provision which they Should have made for the future Maintenance & Support of these unlawfull Issue is by the means & considerably & with great Partiality & Injustice & Scandall & Confounded in respect of Persons Amongst Blacks who in future Generations may be increased that if not timely prevented they may become formidable to the Inhabitants & may by force & Attempt to free themselves from that State of Slavery into which they are born & which will very ill Agree with their Complexions & their near Relation to whole People We therefore humbly pray in behalf of our Selves & the rest of the Inhabitants that Your Worships & the Council will be pleased to take this Affair into your Consideration & that Your will Apply Such Remedies as may effectually Stop the Progress of this growing Evil, for Complacence to Religion & good Order & to as prejudicial to their Children Lawfully begotten (Signed) Isaac Wood Richard Beale 8 Janry 1728 John Bowers was called in & examined & being confronted by Mr Wingham to whom he lately confessed that the first two of this Year Child said of Robert his Wench hath been delivered were her he begon under them but frankly denied that he was the Father of her Last Child, We therefore & the most effectual way to enquire the Progress of this growing Evil & find the Said Bowers of the Sum of Ten Pounds for the Use of the Poor & at the Same time told him that if ever he did the like again he	time become formidable to the inhabitants, and may by force attempt to free themselves from that state of slavery into which they are born, which was the case of the [...] with the offspring of others in relation to whom people. They therefore humbly asked, in behalf of themselves and the rest of the inhabitants, that the Governor and council would be pleased to take this affair into consideration, and that they would apply such remedies as may effectually stop the progress of this growing evil, by such orders as may be so prejudicial to their children, lawful and legitimate. The complaint was dated 14 January 1728 and signed Richard Beale and Isaac Wood. John Bowers was called in and examined, and being confronted by Mr Wingham, to whom he lately confessed that he was the father of two of the three children of his slave wench, he had delivered, and he had begotten them, but firmly denied that he was the father of the last child. The council thereupon by the most effectual way to disprove the charges of this growing evil, and finding the last convictions of the wench, fined him ten pounds for the use of the poor, and at the same time told him that if ever he did the like again, he [...] Interpretations The council declares a completed sale void on the ground of the purchaser's character, which is an unusual reach into a private bargain. Its authority rests on the tenure itself: leasehold land was held from the Company, so an assignment required the council's admission of the new tenant, and it had refused to register Samuel Doveton's assignment on 22 August 1732 until the Company gave direction on engrossing. What is being withheld here is not the right to sell but the right of the buyer to be accepted as tenant. Bowers's answer that he would set the land to whomever he pleased misunderstands that position entirely. A freeholder might dispose as he wished, but a Company leaseholder could not, and Beale was left free to sell to any person of honest repute. The 1728 complaint is reproduced in full because it supplies the evidence of character on which the present refusal depends. Bowers was fined £10 0s 0d for the use of the poor on 21 January 1729 after admitting two of the three children and denying the third, and warned of a doubled penalty and corporal punishment on any repetition. Richard Swallow, named in the same complaint, was repeatedly ill and his case was still undetermined on 28 January 1729. The churchwardens' argument runs on two lines, neither of them concerned with the women. The first is that provision for such children prejudices the lawful issue, since an estate divided among more claimants supports each less well. The second is demographic, that a growing population of mixed descent born into slavery might in time become numerous enough to free itself by force. The council's own difficulty in prosecuting anything against slaves, the testimony of blacks being inadmissible, runs beneath that anxiety throughout this record.
137	135	his Fine Should be Doubled & that he Should receive Corporall Punishmt and Yet notwithstanding the Said Bowers has been fined & frequently Admonished as aforesaid he has continued to live with the Said black Wench ever Since in open Fornication which in Severall of our Colonies in America is Punished with much greater Severity than he has yet met with for by the	The council warned Bowers that his fine should be doubled and that he should receive corporal punishment. Notwithstanding that penalty, he had continued to live with the same black woman ever since in open fornication, an offence which in several of the colonies in America is punished with much greater severity than he has yet met with. The council examined the book entitled Laws in Force in His Majesty's Plantations, printed in the year 1724, and cited the following.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Book Intitled Laws in force in his Majts Plantations Printed in the Year 1724 folio 22 We find by the Laws of Virginia that if a Man & Woman commit Fornication & one of them be a Servant the Master Shall pay Fifty Shillings for the first Offence & the Woman be Punished When any Bastard Child is gotten on a Woman Servant by her Master he Shall forfeit two Years Labour of Such Slave for the Use of the Country folio 60 Laws of Jamaica fol: 137 Vizt If a Freeman get a Woman Servant with Child he Shall give good Security to Save the Parish harmless & Shall forfeit Twenty Pounds Laws of Barbadoes folio 261 Vizt Whoever Shall get a Woman Servant with Child if the Child be brought up at the Charge of the Parish the Reputed Father Shall Serve the Country two Years Laws of Maryland folio 8 Vizt Every Person convicted of Fornication Shall for every time offending be fined Twenty Shillings Sterling & every one that Harbours Entertains or Provides for the Maintainance of any Such Woman or frequents her Company after Publick Admonition, Shall undergo Such Pains & Penalties as those who are Convicted of Fornication or Adultery Any White Woman Free or Servant that Suffers her Self to be got with Child by a Negro Such Woman if free Shall become a Servant for Seven Years & the Issue to be Servants till Thirty one Years of Age And any Whiteman that Shall get a Negro Woman with Child whether free or Servant Shall undergo the Same Penalties But although all Sort of Means have been used to reclaim this Man from the wicked Course he has fallen into he Stil persists in the Same evil way to the great trouble & Concern of the Inhabitants & therefore to put an End to this Shamefull Example We have determined to Send him to Bencoolen & gave him Notice to provide for the Voyage accordingly to which he Answered he was ready to go at any time The Petition of Giles Player was presented & read praying a Lease for about Fifteen Acres of Land lying in Manatee Bay bought for three others & some lying upon the Top of the Main Ridge Granted provided Letting the Same be not prejudicial to the Honble Company or to their Neighbourhood The Petition of Benjamin Pledger was also presented & read praying a Deed for five Acres of Land which he holds in the Cabbage Tree Grounds alledging that he had no Deed or Writing to prove his Title thereto Ordered that Enquirey be made how the Said Pledger came into	At folio 22, the laws of Virginia provide that if a man and woman commit fornication and one of them is a servant, the master shall pay 50s for the first offence and the woman be punished. At folio 60, where any bastard child is got on a woman servant by her master, she shall forfeit two years' labour of that slave for the use of the country. The laws of Jamaica, at folio 137, provide that if a freeman gets a woman servant with child he shall give good security to save the parish harmless, and shall forfeit £20 0s 0d. The laws of Barbados, at folio 261, provide that whoever shall get a woman servant with child, if the child be brought up at the charge of the parish, the reputed father shall serve the country two years. The laws of Maryland, at folio 8, provide that every person convicted of fornication shall for every time offending pay 20s sterling, and that everyone who harbours, entertains or provides for the maintenance of any such woman, or frequents her company after public admonition, shall undergo the same pains and penalties as those convicted of fornication or adultery. Any white woman, free or servant, who suffers herself to be got with child by a negro or such woman, shall become a servant for seven years, and the issue shall be servants until 31 years of age. Any white man who shall get a negro woman with child, whether free or servant, shall undergo the same penalties. Although all sorts of means have been used to reclaim this man from the wicked course into which he has fallen, he still persists in the same evil way, to the great trouble and concern of the inhabitants. The council has therefore determined to put an end to this shameful example and to send him to Bencoolen, and it gave him notice to provide for the voyage. He answered that he was ready to go at any time. Giles Hayes presented a petition asking for a lease of about 15 acres of land lying in Manatee Bay, bounded on three sides by land lying upon the top of the main ridge. The council granted it, provided that letting the same be not prejudicial to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood. Benjamin Pledger also presented a petition asking for a deed for 5 acres of land which he holds in the cabbage tree grounds, alleging that he had no deed or writing to prove his title to it. The council ordered enquiry made how Pledger came into possession of the land and what right he has to it. Interpretations The council has gone looking for precedent in a printed digest of colonial law rather than relying on its own authority. Laws in Force in His Majesty's Plantations gathered the statutes of the American and Caribbean colonies into one volume, and the council cites five jurisdictions to show that its own treatment of Bowers has been mild by comparison. That is an argument for escalation: the fine of £10 0s 0d imposed on 21 January 1729 stands well above the Virginia and Maryland penalties, yet the council presents itself as having been lenient because it never applied the labour forfeitures or terms of servitude those colonies impose. Transportation to Bencoolen was the heaviest sanction available short of a capital sentence, and the council had seen what the destination meant. Seven soldiers deserted the <i>Craven</i> on 30 March 1731 rather than sail there, each giving fear of starving as his reason, on the account the people of the <i>James and Mary</i> gave of bad diet and heavy mortality in the fort. Bowers answering that he was ready to go at any time suggests either indifference or a calculation that the island held nothing for him.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Possession of the Said Land & what Right he hath thereto Margin Notes: to be sent to Bencoolen	Removing the man leaves the woman and children where they are, and the record says nothing of them. The churchwardens' complaint of 14 January 1728 rested on the prejudice to lawful issue and on the danger that a growing population of mixed descent might in time free itself by force, so the remedy addresses the father and not the household he created. Pledger's petition repeats a difficulty running through this whole book. He holds five acres with no deed or writing, exactly as Isaac Wood held 25 acres bought in 1718 with no paper behind the chain of owners, and the council orders the same remedy, an enquiry into how he came by the land rather than a refusal for want of documents.
138	136	At a Consultation held on Thursday 22 Feby 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Sat: last Night Capt Jenkins in the Harrington arrived here from England this Morning We opened the Honble Companies Packett & after the reading their Letter gave the Captain the usual Instructions to heave in upon Allarms & An Order to Send the Goods on Shoar of which the following is a Copy Vizt Sir We desire & direct You to Send on Shoar with all the Expedition You possibly can that Such Goods or Merchandize as are on board Your Ship consigned to Us for the Use of the Honble Company & if You want any Assistance We Shall be Glad to Serve You there of We also Ordered Our Boats to attend at the Water Side to receive the Goods when Landed, & to Lodge in the Secretaries Office every Evening an Account of the Ships Working & of the number of Craft are daily delivered & what Surf or other Accidents happen to hinder them working to the End it may appear that all due care hath been taken to dispatch her within the time limited by Charter Party At a Consultation held on Tuesday 27th Feby 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved As Soon as We had read the last Generall Letter & Orders were given to John Turling to pick out Twenty good Men & Ten Women to be Sent according to the Honble Companies Directions to Bencoolen & to day he made Report by Letter to the Governour of his Proceedings therein a Copy of which is as follows Vizt Worshipfull Sir You having Ordered me to pick out Twenty Men & Ten Women Slaves to be Sent to Bencoolen I have accordingly viewed	At a consultation held on Thursday 22 February 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Harrington</i>, Captain Jenkins, arrived from England on Saturday night. The following morning the council opened the Honourable Company's packet, and after reading their letter gave the captain the usual instructions to heave in upon alarms, together with an order to send the goods ashore, of which the following is a copy. The council desired and directed the captain to send ashore with all convenient speed such goods and merchandise as are on board consigned to it for the use of the Honourable Company, and stated that if he wanted any assistance it should be glad to serve him. The council also ordered Mr Crisp to attend at the water side to receive the goods when landed, and to lodge in the secretary's office every evening an account of the time working and of the number of boats daily delivered, and of what surf or other accidents happen to hinder them working, to the end that it may appear that all due care has been taken to dispatch her within the time limited by the charter party. At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 February 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. As soon as the council had read the last general letter, orders were given to John Durling to pick out 20 good men and ten women slaves to be sent to Bencoolen. That day he made his report by letter to the Governor of his proceedings therein, a copy of which is as follows. Durling set out that, having been ordered to pick out 20 men and ten women slaves to be sent to Bencoolen, he had found it impossible to get such a number as is required, nor indeed can any be well spared for what with the necessary help required to keep up the fences of the Great Wood, the plantations and the [...], to look after the cattle and other live stock, and to carry on various sorts of country business, and to keep the fortifications and other buildings in repair instead of sinking away. More hands are rather wanted, for many of those the Honourable Company have are sickly, worn out and past their labour. He humbly asked the council to take his statement into consideration, and for its better information he laid before it an account of the numbers employed at the several plantations and other works, most of which places require a greater number of labourers than are now there. Interpretations The Company has ordered thirty of its St Helena slaves shipped to Bencoolen, and the overseer's answer is that the island cannot spare them. His account of the establishment matches what the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		them but find it impossible to get Such a Number as is required nor indeed can any be well Spared for what with the necessary help required to keep up the Fences of the Great Wood, the Coffee & other Plantations & to look after the Cattle & they, live Stock & various Sorts of Country business, & to keep the Fortifications & other Buildings in Repair instead of Sinking any away, more hands are rather wanted for many of those the Honble Company have are Sickly worn out & that there Labour which I humbly desire Your will take into Your Consideration & for Your better Information herein May before You a List of the Numbers Employed at the Severall Plantations & other Works most of which Places require a greater number of Labourers than are now there Vizt	musters record: the count of 30 September 1730 gave 101 men out of 210 in total, and Governor Pyke reported in August 1732 that of 128 slaves only 55 men were fit for heavy work, the rest being superannuated, women, boys or girls. Removing 20 men would take more than a third of the effective labour force. The list of standing obligations shows why. Fencing the Great Wood, maintaining the plantations, tending the stock and repairing the fortifications are continuous rather than seasonal, and the council had already found itself unable to spare hands for the water course, hiring 20 slaves from the planters at nine pence a day in August 1732 to cut a drainage trench. The daily record of boats and surf follows the practice established with the <i>Anne and Mary</i> in March 1728 and repeated with the <i>Cadogan</i> in March 1729. Demurrage was payable to a ship's owners for delay beyond the time allowed by the charter party, so the council kept an evidential record proving the delay lay with the weather rather than with the island. Bencoolen consumed people. The Company's settlement on Sumatra had a fearful reputation, and seven soldiers deserted the <i>Craven</i> on 30 March 1731 rather than sail there, each giving fear of starving as his reason on the account the people of the <i>James and Mary</i> gave of bad diet and heavy mortality in the fort.
139	137	At the Plantation called the Limekiln 1 At the Great Wood 8 At Hardingsfs 13 At the Plantation in the Fort Valley 1 At the Grand Plantation 9 At the Fortifications & Buildings 10 At the Plantation called Perkins 2 Looking after the Sheep 1 In the Fishing Boates & Longboat Crew 10 Looking after the Horses 1 In the Gardens most of whom are worn out 11 Looking after the Cattle 2 Looking after the Hogs 2 In the Kitchen 2 Waiters in the House 2 Superannuated 5 80 Men Women Weeding & Washing 15 In the House 3 At their Needle 4 In the Scullery 2 Superannuated 3 27 Women 33 Boys 40 Girles	At the plantation called the limekiln, 1 At the Great Wood, 8 At handicrafts, 13 At the plantation in the fort valley, 1 At the Grand Plantation, 9 At the fortifications and buildings, 10 At the plantation called Perkins, 2 Looking after the sheep, 1 In the fishing boats and long boat crew, 10 Looking after the horses, 1 In the gardens, most of whom are worn out, 11 Looking after the cattle, 2 Looking after the hogs, 2 In the kitchen, 2 Waiters in the house, 2 Superannuated, 5 Total, 80 men Women weeding and washing, 15 In the house, 3 At their needle, 4 In the scullery, 2 Superannuated, 3 Total, 27 women Boys, 33 Girls, 40 Total, 180 slaves The letter was dated 27 February 1733 and signed John Durling. The council took the letter into consideration at once, and found the particulars in it to be true. Nevertheless, the Honourable Company having been pleased to order some to be sent, and in obedience to their commands, the council resolved to spare 8 men and 2 women, 3 boys and 7 girls, though for want of their help many things of consequence must of necessity lie by and be neglected. Whatever the Honourable Company may have been told to the contrary, no fault or blame can be imputed to the council if it sends no greater number. The island has such a vast quantity of heavy work upon its hands, which must of necessity be soon and speedily undertaken, and which requires such numbers of hands to complete it, that the council is afraid it shall be obliged to hire people. Orlando Bagley senior attended that day and laid before the council a paper called a release of interest

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		180 Slaves I am Worshipfull Sir Your most Obedient & Most humble Servt John Turling 27 Febry 1739 This Letter was immediatly taken into Consideration & all the particulars therein mentioned well Examined & found to be true, but nevertheless as the Honble Company have been pleased to Order Some to be Sent We in Obedience to their Commands resolved to Spare 8 Men & Women 3 Boys & 7 Girles though for want of their help many things of Consequence must of necessity by by this neglected but as the Honble Company & such Numbers Should be Sent no fault or blame can be imputed to Us for whatever the Honble Company have been told to the contrary We have Such a vast Quantity of heavey Work upon our hands which must of necessity be done & be Speedily & upon & which requires Such a Number of hands to compleat & that We are afraid We Shall be obliged to hire People Orlando Bagley Senr this day arrived & laid before Us a Paper called a Releafe of Interest of the Said Bagleys Bond of which the following is a true Copy Vizt To all People to whom this Presents Shall come I William Slaughter now at London late an Ensign in the Service of the Honble East India Company at the Island of St Helena Send Greeting Whereas Orlando Bagleye Senior a Freeman of the Said Island Stands Indebted to me in the Sum of One hundred & Eighty Pounds principall Money by his Bond bearing date about Ten Years ago whereon about four Years Interest remains due And whereas the Said Bond was Sometime Since forceibly & Unjustly taken out of my Custody & is Still detained from me & Stile detained from me although I never assigned the Same or gave any Power or Authority to any Person whatsoever to receive the Money due thereon	of Bagley's bond, of which the following is a true copy. William Slaughter, now at London, late an ensign in the service of the Honourable East India Company at the island of St Helena, and John Durling, set out that Orlando Bagley senior, a yeoman of the island, stands indebted to Slaughter in the sum of £180 0s 0d in money by his bond bearing date about ten years ago, whereon about four years' interest remains due. The bond was some time since forcibly and unjustly taken out of his custody and is still detained from him, although he never signed the same or gave any power or authority to any person whatever to receive the money due thereon. Interpretations The establishment has fallen to 180 from the 210 recorded at the muster of 30 September 1730 and the 219 of March 1728. Eighty men support the whole island against 101 three years earlier, and the overseer's marginal notes tell the same story as the numbers: the eleven in the gardens are most of them worn out, and five men are entered as superannuated. Sending away 8 men takes a tenth of what remains. Handicrafts at 13 is the largest single trade grouping and covers the carpenters, coopers, smiths, tailors and butchers the island could not function without. The fortifications carry 10 and the fishing boats another 10, the latter establishment dating from 1 March 1727 when Governor Byfield abolished the slaves' meat ration in favour of fish. The council's compliance is deliberately partial and its reasoning is placed on the record for London to read. It sends 20 people rather than 30, gives its numbers in full, and states plainly that no blame can attach to it if the shortfall is questioned. The same device of entering an answer in the general letter appears throughout this book, most sharply in the protest against Captain Peacham on 10 December 1729 when the council had no power to compel a commander. Hiring people is the alternative the council now anticipates, and it has already tried it. In August 1732 Governor Pyke hired 20 slaves from the planters at nine pence a day to cut the salt drainage trench, on condition they were used only outside the planting season.
140	138	or any part thereof from the Said Orlando Bagley Now Know Ye that for the Good Will & Friendship I bear to the Said Orlando Bagley & Ann his Wife I do hereby Remise Releafe Acquit and Discharge the Said Orlando Bagley & Ann his Wife their Executors & Administrators of all Interest now due or hereafter to grow due on the Said Bond for during the Lives of the Said Orlando Bagley & Ann his Wife & the Life of the Survivour of them And I do hereby declare my Meaning to be that neither I nor my Extr or Adminstr or Assigns Shall or Will sue & the Demand Claim or Sue for the	Slaughter declared that, for the goodwill and friendship he bears to Orlando Bagley and Ann his wife, he did thereby remise, release, acquit and discharge Bagley and his wife, their executors and administrators, of all interest now due or hereafter to grow due on the bond, for the lives of Bagley and his wife and of the survivor of them. He further declared his meaning to be that neither he nor his executors or assigns shall or will sue or demand or claim or sue for the money due on the bond, or any part of it, until after the death of both Bagley and his wife, and that the principal money shall carry interest only from the death of the survivor of them. In witness whereof he set his hand and seal at London on the seventh day of November in the year of our Lord 1732. Signed William Slaughter.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Money due on the Said Bond or on any part thereof till after the Death of the Said Orlando Bagley & Ann his Wife And that the Said principall Money Shall carry Interest only from the Death of the Survivour of them In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand & Seal at London the Seventh day of November in the Year of our Lord 1739 Wm Slaughter Sealed & Delivered (being first duely Stamped) in the Presence of James Feluire Jno Jeffrs Josph Bates John Dabey The Said Bagley after reading the Said Paper or Releafe was asked whether he had entered into any Such Bond & he Answered no he never did enter into any Such Bond but remembers that a Bond was made & that a Bill of Bargain & Sale of Ten Acres of Land from Mr Slaughter to the Said Bagley was made at the Same time but that neither of them were ever Executed & the Said Bagley then prayed that he might continue in the quiet Possession of the Said Land according to an Agreement made between him & the Wife of the Said Wm Slaughter in behalf of herself & her Three Children in Consultation of the 14th August 1738 & the Said Bagley declaring his Belief that the Proceedings of the Said Slaughter in this Affair give him cause to think that he designs to deprive himself of her necessary Maintainance & to throw both her & his Children upon the Parish, We therefore acquainted the Said Bagley that he Should continue in the quiet Possession thereof according to the Meaning of the Said Agreement unless the Honble Company Should Order it otherwise which We believe they will never do The Petition of Ann Daughter of the Said Slaughter was read praying leave to go to Bencoolen, & Mr Colson having made Oath that her Said Father had desired him when in London to carry her to Bencoolen We Granted her Request John Turling was Summoned at the Complaint of Orlando Bagley Senr who alledged that the Said Turling detained Ten Acres of Freehold Land from him & being asked what Parcell of Land it was he Answered he could not tell but believed it was a Parcell that formerly had belong to an Orchard about Fifty Years ago, was asked if he was able to prove his Right to the Said Land & Answered he believed he could & desired farther time to do so & We told him that as Soon as he was ready he Should be heard	Sealed and delivered, being first duly stamped, in the presence of James Milne, John Jeffers, Joseph Bates and John Doby. Bagley, after the paper was read, was asked whether he had ever entered into any such bond. He answered that he never had, but remembered that a bond was made at the sale or bargain for about ten acres of land from Slaughter to him at the same time, and that neither of them was ever cancelled. He asked that he might continue in quiet possession of the land according to an agreement made between him and the wife of Slaughter on behalf of herself and her three children, recorded in the consultation of 4 August 1730. Bagley declared his belief that Slaughter's proceedings in the affair give him cause to think that he designs to deprive him of the necessary maintenance and to throw both him and his children upon the parish. The council therefore told Bagley that he should continue in quiet possession of the land according to the meaning of the agreement, unless the Honourable Company should order otherwise, which the council believes they will never do. Ann Slaughter, daughter of William Slaughter, presented a petition asking leave to go to Bencoolen. Mr Alsop made oath that her father had desired him, while in London, to carry her to Bencoolen. The council granted her request. John Durling was summoned on the complaint of Orlando Bagley senior, who alleged that Durling detained six acres of leasehold land from him, and being asked what parcel of land it was, he answered that he could not tell but believed it was a parcel that formerly belonged to an orchard about fifty years ago. Being asked if he was able to prove his right to the land, he answered he believed he could, and asked further time to do so. The council told him that as soon as he was ready he should be heard. Joshua Beale presented a petition setting out that he had lately received a letter from his sister Parsons at Bengal, asking him to come thither, she having an opportunity to prefer him there. It appearing that Beale had joined the Honourable Company as a soldier upwards of two years earlier, the council gave him leave to go off the [...] Interpretations The release suspends the debt rather than cancelling it. Slaughter gives up all interest during the lives of Bagley and his wife and undertakes not to sue until both are dead, at which point the £180 0s 0d principal falls due against the estate and begins running interest again. The arrangement protects the couple for their lifetimes while preserving the whole claim for Slaughter's own children, which is why Bagley reads it as a design against his family rather than as an act of friendship. Bagley's denial that any bond exists sits oddly beside his recollection of one made at the sale of the land, and his uncertainty is characteristic of this record. Titles and obligations on St Helena rested on memory and possession far more than on paper, as the enquiries into Isaac Wood's 25 acres and Benjamin Pledger's 5 acres both showed within the past month. William Slaughter is the former ensign tried at the general court of 9 November 1728 for forging the charge that Governor Byfield had called King George a Scotch tailor. He pleaded guilty, spent nearly five months in prison and was released on 1 April 1729 out of pity for his wife and children. He is now in London, transacting business on the island through documents witnessed there, and his daughter is taking passage to Bencoolen at his direction.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Petition of Joshua Beale was presented & read & complaining that he had lately received a Letter from his Sister Parsons at Bengal desiring him to come thither, She having an Opportunity to prefer him there & probably the Said Beale & he having Served the Honble Company as a Soldier upwards of Ten Years We gave him leave to go off the	The council's assurance that the Company will never order otherwise is unusually confident for a body that habitually deferred to London. Its reasoning rests on the parish: if Bagley loses the land, he and his children fall on the poor rate, and the council had spent the previous autumn arranging relief for Sophia White and for Elizabeth Vaughan's abandoned children.
141	139	the Island accordingly Messrs Goodwin & Crispe Report that according to the Order of the 13th instant they they have Enquired how Robert Turling came by the Ten Acres of Land which Some Years ago he Said & Made Sold & find that the Said Ten Acres of Land became the Said Turlings by Verdict of the Jury upon a Tryal in Court 17th Feby 1728 between the Said Turling & John Wells deceased & that the Said Ten Acres make part of the Fifty Acres for the Said Wells had a Deed Granted him dated 1st Aug 1713 Ordered that this together with the other Report of the Said Messrs Goodwin & Crispe which was appointed to be taken into Consideration this day be farther adjourned to Tuesday 13th March next the Houghton being now in the Road & all of Us busy in hastening her Departure At a Consultation held on Tuesday 6th March 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday Evening We dispatched Capt Jenkins for the West Coast & took his Receipt for our Severall Packets for India accordingly On the 3d instant We had two Allarms within half an hour of each other, one for a Ship that past by & the other for the Halifax who arrived here on Saturday last from Bencoolen with a little Supply of Arrack for the Use of this Place, As Soon as the Captain came on Shoar We delivered him the Usual Instructions to heave in upon Allarms a Copy of which is Entred in Consultation of the 18th Jany last Invoice JP Enfield Arrack 1 Legr qty 164 Gallo 2 W 170 do 3 160 do 498 Gallo @ 21 JP 160 74 2 79 Charges Merchandize Boat Hire 3 77 2 79 The Weather & Working during the time the Houghton was Unlading were as follows Vizt Feby 23 Four Long Boates were unladen 24 Four Longboates & two Yawles were Unladen 26 Four Longboates & two Yawles ditto 27 Two Longboates & two Yawles ditto 28 Two Longboates & one Yawle ditto	The council gave Joshua Beale leave to go off the island accordingly. Mr Goodwin and Mr Crisp reported that in accordance with the order of the 13th of the previous month they had enquired how Robert Girling came by the 10 acres of land which some years ago he sold to Isaac Wood. They found that the 10 acres became Girling's by virtue of a verdict upon a trial in court on 17 February 1728 between Girling and John Wells, deceased, and that the 10 acres make part of the 50 acres for which Wells had a deed granted him dated 1 August 1713. The council ordered that this report, together with the other report of Mr Goodwin and Mr Crisp which was appointed to be taken into consideration that day, be further adjourned to Tuesday 13 March next, the shipping being now in the road and the council busy in hastening her departure. At a consultation held on Tuesday 6 March 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The council dispatched Captain Jenkins for the coast the previous evening and took his receipt for two sets of packets for India. On the 3rd of the month two alarms were fired within half an hour of each other, one for a ship that passed by and the other for the <i>Enfield</i>, which arrived there on Saturday last from Bencoolen with a small supply for the use of the place. As soon as the captain came ashore the council delivered him the usual instructions to heave in upon alarms, a copy of which is entered in the consultation of the 18th of the previous month. Invoice of the <i>Enfield</i>, the selling price being 6s 4d per gallon. Arrack, 1 leaguer, number 1, 168 gallons Arrack, leaguer number 2, 170 gallons Arrack, leaguer number 3, 160 gallons, 498 gallons in all at 21 rupees 8 annas 0 pies per 160, 74 rupees 2 annas 79 pies Charges merchandise, boat hire, 3 rupees Total, 77 rupees 2 annas 79 pies The weather and the working during the time the store ship was unladen were as follows. 23 February, four longboats were unladen 24 February, four longboats and two yawls were unladen 26 February, four longboats and two yawls the same 27 February, two longboats and two yawls the same 28 February, two longboats and one yawl the same 1 March, two longboats were unladen 2 March, one yawl unladen 3 March, one longboat unladen John Durling reported that day that the parents and relations of several of the slaves who are now going to Bencoolen have by the starting grown very stubborn and sullen, and said they had no heart to work for masters who sent their children and relations from them. He said that partly with good usage and partly by correction he had [...]

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		March 1 Two Longboates were Unladen 2 One Yawle Unloaded 3 One Longboat Unloaded John Turling Overseer this day acquainted Us that the Parents and Relations of Severall of the Blacks who are now going to Bencoolen by the Sending on grow very Stubborn & Sullen & Said they had no heart to Work for Masters who Sent their Children & Relations from them but that partly with good Usage & partly by Correction he had for the Margin Notes: Selling Price 6/6  Gallo	Interpretations The 10 acres came to Robert Girling by verdict rather than by conveyance, which is why no deed of sale existed for the commissioners to find. A jury decided the title between Girling and John Wells in 1728, and the underlying grant to Wells dates from 1713. Isaac Wood's petition of 30 January 1733 has now been traced through two separate enquiries, the first covering 25 acres bought from Captain Alexander and this one the remaining 10. The daily record of boats and surf was kept to prove the island had used all due care to discharge the ship within the term fixed by the charter party, so that no demurrage could be charged against the Company. The same practice appears with the <i>Anne and Mary</i> in March 1728, the <i>Cadogan</i> in March 1729 and the <i>Monmouth</i> in March 1731. Only two days of the eleven show no work at all. Selling arrack at 6s 4d the gallon has been the settled price on the island since Governor Byfield fixed it on 7 March 1727, and it has held through six years of these accounts without variation. Durling's report describes the human cost of the order the council answered on 27 February 1733, when it agreed to send 8 men, 2 women, 3 boys and 7 girls to Bencoolen. The families left behind understand what the destination means, and their refusal to work is a direct response to the breaking up of households. Correction here means whipping, and the phrase partly with good usage and partly by correction sets the two methods side by side without comment.
142	140	the present brought them into good Order again but is afraid it wont last unless hands be given them that no more, that he Sent away and farther told Us that the Father & mother of the boy Gabriel Said that the Governour was no good Man he Say all Lies for he Say first that he Send Gabriel to England to learn a Trade, but now he not Send upon the Ocean, but come back again he Say I said Lies he Send to Bencoolen, Governour no good Man, made face of Us, & for this Piece of Impudence he told Us that he had Set them apart to be Punished with greater Severity than the rest but the Governour Strictly forbid him to do so, for all they had last their Child he thought their Discontent was purely the Effect of Sudden Passion & sorrow, & told Turling & told them both down to him, & he would give them a Bottle of Arrack & See & thought that most Usage upon this Occasion would work more upon them than Severe Treatment & directed Turling to let them that they Should go on board to see their Son as often as they would during the time the Ship continued here At a Consultation held on Tuesday 13th March 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Mary Janet & Charles Steward Executors of Isabel Powell deceased & to now Daughter of Robert Wastington, was this day Summoned to Answer the	Durling reported that for the present he had brought them into good order again, but that he is afraid it will not last unless hands be given them that no more shall be sent away. He further told the council that the father and mother of the boy Gabriel said the Governor was no good man, and that they said he sent Gabriel to England to learn a trade, but that they never saw him come back again, and now he had sent [...] to Bencoolen. The Governor is no good man, and much of the same sort. For this piece of impudence he told them that he had set them apart to be punished with greater severity than the rest, but the Governor strictly forbade him to do so, for all they had lost their child, and he thought such discourse was purely the effect of sudden sorrow. Durling told them both that he would give them a bottle of arrack and tea, thinking that mild usage upon this occasion would work more upon them than severe treatment, and directed Girling to see that they should go on board to see them as often as they would during the time the ship continued there. At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 March 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Mary, wife of Charles Steward, daughter of Gabriel Powell, deceased, and now the widow of Robert Wellington, attended that day, summoned to answer the complaint of Captain Wills, an inhabitant of Benjamin Reyner, an assistant of the parish of Wednesbury, in the county of Wilts, for neglecting to pay him the sum of £20 0s 0d. She and her husband are able to pay Benjamin Reyner, who by his letter of attorney under their hands and seals dated 25 October 1731 had empowered him to demand and receive it. They attended accordingly, and were asked why they had neglected or refused to pay the sum. They answered that the distress was such that they were willing to pay it, but had not the money, nor were they able to procure it at that time, or to pay it in cash or in any other provision. They

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Complaint of the Complaint of Capt Tho: Crosby in behalf of Benjamin & his Assistant of the Parrish of Wakenrights, in the County of Middx for neglecting to pay him the Sum of Twenty five Pounds due to the Benjamin & his Nephew & which they by a Letter of Attorney under their hands & Seals dated the 26th of Octr 1731, had Empowered him to demand & receive, they attended accordingly & were asked why they neglected or refused to pay the Said Sum, they Answered that the Debtors part they were willing to pay it, but had not Money, nor were they able to borrow it but offered to pay it in Cattle or other Provision, but they having given the Persons Some of equal Money as his first & Amount, he told them that he had discharged himself with Such Provision, on he wanted but nevertheless offering & fortunately the Ability to assist the poor People in England, he did agree to take any Quantity of them in part of Payment, upon Condition that they would engage to remit the rest to England by Some of the Shiping that return this Season, & they both Solemnly promised to do so The Governour the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their respective Accounts for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt	having given the very best sum of what money is at present available, he told them that he had satisfied himself with such provision as he wanted, but nevertheless offered, if he be desirous of assisting the poor people in England, he would again to take any credit of them in part of payment upon condition that they would engage to remit the rest to England by some of the shipping that return this season. They both solemnly promised to do so. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward delivered their respective accounts for the month past, which were separately examined and approved as follows. Interpretations The parents' complaint against the Governor rests on a broken promise about their son Gabriel, sent to England to learn a trade and never returned. Their grief hardens into a judgement about the man's character, and the overseer proposed to answer it with exemplary punishment. Governor Pyke forbade that outright, treating the words as the effect of sudden sorrow rather than as insolence. The contrast with the council's earlier practice is sharp. On 11 April 1729 a slave named Peter was sentenced to six weeks' imprisonment with whipping every fortnight for abusing the Governor and Mr Crisp by name, and the council held that his master deserved to suffer for allowing such licence. Here the same offence draws arrack, tea and permission to visit the ship as often as the parents wished. Allowing the families aboard while the vessel lay in the road is the only concession available. The council had agreed on 27 February 1733 to send 8 men, 2 women, 3 boys and 7 girls to Bencoolen, and Durling reported that the parents and relations left behind had grown stubborn and sullen and had no heart to work for masters who sent their children away. The Wellington debt shows how obligations reached the island from England. A letter of attorney executed at Wednesbury in 1731 empowered a local man to collect £20 0s 0d, and the debtors could not raise coin, offering provisions instead. The same difficulty runs through the pursuit of Governor Smith's debtors in May and June 1731, when every man summoned answered that he had no money and offered cattle or delay.
143	141	Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoats, Barrows, Pigs, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remd 1 Febry: Bullocks 59, Cowes 143, Heifers 21, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 111, Bulls 4, Totall 480, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Sows 21, Shoats 19, Barrows 1, Pigs 60, Boats 3, Totall 104, Turkeys 132, Fowles 177, Ducks 42, Geese 13, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Encreased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 20, Bulls 0, Totall 20, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 24, Fowles 56, Ducks 15, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 59, Cowes 143, Heifers 21, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 131, Bulls 4, Totall 500, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Sows 21, Shoats 19, Barrows 1, Pigs 60, Boats 3, Totall 104, Turkeys 156, Fowles 233, Ducks 57, Geese 13, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Sold to Ships in do: Bullocks 4, Cowes 0, Heifers 3, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 7, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 0,	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of February 1733. Remaining 1 February, 59 bullocks, 143 cows, 21 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 111 calves, 4 bulls, 480 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 19 shoats, 1 barrow, 60 pigs, 3 boars, 104 hogs in total, 132 turkeys, 177 fowls, 42 ducks, 13 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Increased in February, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 20 calves, 0 bulls, 20 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 24 turkeys, 56 fowls, 15 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the increase, 59 bullocks, 143 cows, 21 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 131 calves, 4 bulls, 500 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 19 shoats, 1 barrow, 60 pigs, 3 boars, 104 hogs in total, 156 turkeys, 233 fowls, 57 ducks, 13 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Sold to ships in February, 4 bullocks, 0 cows, 3 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 7 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 55, Cowes 143, Heifers 18, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 131, Bulls 4, Totall 493, Ewes 72, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 132, Sows 21, Shoats 19, Barrows 1, Pigs 60, Boats 3, Totall 104, Turkeys 156, Fowles 233, Ducks 57, Geese 13, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 1, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 1, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Barrows 1, Pigs 0, Boats 0, Totall 3, Turkeys 8, Fowles 56, Ducks 15, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 28th Febry: Bullocks 54, Cowes 143, Heifers 18, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 131, Bulls 4, Totall 492, Ewes 71, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 131, Sows 21, Shoats 17, Barrows 0, Pigs 60, Boats 3, Totall 101, Turkeys 148, Fowles 177, Ducks 42, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 18800 lb Ditto deld the Blacks 17500 Totall 36300 lb	sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the sale, 55 bullocks, 143 cows, 18 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 131 calves, 4 bulls, 493 neat cattle in total, 72 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 132 sheep in total, 21 sows, 19 shoats, 1 barrow, 60 pigs, 3 boars, 104 hogs in total, 156 turkeys, 233 fowls, 57 ducks, 13 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Killed in February, 1 bullock, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 1 neat beast in total, 1 ewe, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 1 sheep in total, 0 sows, 2 shoats, 1 barrow, 0 pigs, 0 boars, 3 hogs in total, 8 turkeys, 56 fowls, 15 ducks, 1 goose, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Remaining 28 February, 54 bullocks, 143 cows, 18 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 131 calves, 4 bulls, 492 neat cattle in total, 71 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 131 sheep in total, 21 sows, 17 shoats, 0 barrows, 60 pigs, 3 boars, 101 hogs in total, 148 turkeys, 177 fowls, 42 ducks, 12 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,800 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 17,500 lb Total yams expended, 36,300 lb Interpretations Seven head sold to shipping is the second month of sales after the six-month silence, following ten in January. The <i>Houghton</i> called from Mocha between 6 and 11 February and the <i>Harrington</i> arrived from England on 17 February, so two vessels victualled during the month. The Company's beef trade tracks the anchorage exactly in every year of this record. The herd has passed 500 for the first time in these accounts before falling back to 492 with the sales and killing. Twenty more calves join the 26 of January and 34 of December, and the calf column alone now stands at 131 head. St Helena's summer runs to about March, and this is the close of the calving season. Poultry breeding is heavy in the same month, 56 fowls, 24 turkeys and 15 ducks bred against 56 fowls, 8 turkeys and 15 ducks killed. The fowl flock returns to exactly where it began at 177, and the turkeys have risen to 148 from 87 at the start of December, an unusual reversal of the ordinary proportion in these books. The barrow column has emptied entirely for the first time in this run. Barrows are castrated boars kept for fattening, and the last one was killed in February, leaving the hogs standing at 101 with 60 pigs and 21 sows to carry the breeding forward.
144	142	Collection of Goods Sold &ca in Feby 1739 94 Gallo Arrack 29 15 4 10 2 1 Sugar 25 12 6 55½ Yards Shalong 6 4 10½ 264 Shirts 31 6 18 lb Coloured & brown Thread 2 16 5½ 38½ Whited brown Sorted 17 8 176 Do Kersey Do 6 2 3 970 Do Taffities 16 4 13½ Yards Vinegar 1 13 1½ 15½ Flanders	Collection of goods sold and delivered in February 1733. 94 gallons of arrack, £29 15s 4d 10 cwt 1 quarter of sugar, £25 12s 6d 55.5 yards of shalloon, £6 4s 10.5d 264 shirts, £31 6s 0d 18 lb of coloured and brown thread, £2 16s 5.5d 38.5 lb of white and brown thread, sorted, £17 6s 0d 176 oz of silk, the same, £6 2s 6d 6.75 pieces of taffety, £16 14s 0d 13.5 gallons of vinegar, £1 13s 1.5d 15.5 lb of candles, £1 11s 0d Total, £137 15s 7.5d Charges general 15 lb of soap, £0 16s 3d 4 sieves, £0 10s 6d 1 spading bill, £0 2s 0d 14 grass cutters, £2 16s 0d 16 lb of white and brown thread, £0 7s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 11 137 15 2¼ Charges Generall Vizt 15 lb Soap 16 3 4 Helves 10 6 1 Grazing Bits 2 14 Grass Coats 2 16 16 lb Whited brown Thread 7 10 Do Reams 3 1 Tin Frick 4 6 1 lb Stone 6 1 Scale Board 4 2 Mopps 2 12 Do Fish 4 9 13 9 6 Do Vizt 4 9 2 Squares Glass 10 by 12 3 5 12 4 Blacks Vizt 3 lb Tea 18 13 Lines 9 9 12 Bag Hooks 2 6 1 lb Twine 8 6 14 lb Rope 7 0 30 lb Rice 15 10 17 14 5 Plantation Vizt 1 Splinter Sack 4 6 28 lb Nails 12 3 3 2 14 Rice for Hogs & Poultry 1 16 3 3 4 Garrison Vizt 1 lb Hamburg Lines 3 6 8 lb Sea 2 8 4½ Gallo Bar Oyle 1 3 3 11 2 Diet Expences Vizt 174 Gallo Arrack 14 16 4 17 lb Sugar 2 3 9 1 lb Tea 6 2 lb Pepper 2 2 Bottle Oyle 12 6 1 Gallo Vinegar 1 4 18 lb Candles 2 4	10 [...] of reams, £0 3s 0d 1 tin sieve, £0 4s 6d 1 lb of soap, £0 0s 0d 1 lead powder, £0 2s 6d 2 snappers, £0 4s 0d 19 [...] of [...], £0 4s 9d 19 lb of [...] vitriol, £0 4s 9d 2 [...] glass, 10 by 12, £0 3s 0d Total, £5 12s 4d Slaves 3 lb of tea, £0 18s 0d 13 lines, £0 9s 9d 12 dozen hooks, £0 7s 6d 1 lb of twine, £0 2s 6d 14 lb of rope, £0 7s 0d 30 cwt of rice, £15 10s 0d Total, £17 14s 5d Plantation 1 splinter sack, £0 4s 6d 28 lb of nails, £0 12s 7d 3 cwt 2 quarters 14 lb of rice for hogs and poultry, £1 16s 3d Total, £3 0s 4d Garrison 1 Hamburg sieve, £0 3s 6d 8 lb of tea, £2 8s 0d 4.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 0s 3d Total, £3 11s 9d Diet expenses 174 gallons of arrack, £14 16s 0d 17 cwt 3 quarters of sugar, £2 3s 9d 1 lb of tea, £0 6s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 2 bottles of oil, £0 12s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 1s 3d 18 lb of candles, £1 9s 4d 1 basket of salt, £2 18s 0d 9 cwt 1 quarter 8 lb of flour, £22 3s 7d Total, £22 3s 7d Grand total, £189 17s 7.5d Gunner's stores expended in February 1733. 2 February, an alarm for two ships passing by, 6 guns fired, 6 shot, 18 lb of powder 3 February, muster day, 12 lb of powder 7 February, an alarm, 6 guns fired, 4 shot, 12 lb of powder 8 February, saluted the Houghton, 9 guns fired, 1 shot, 8 lb of powder, 11 lb of match 11 February, saluted the supercargoes, 9 guns fired, 1 shot, 8 lb of powder, 11 lb of match 11 February, the Houghton sailed, 9 guns fired, 1 shot, 8 lb of powder, 11 lb of match 21 February, an alarm, 9 guns fired, 1 shot, 10 lb of powder, 13 lb of match 21 February, the Harrington arrived, 11 guns fired, 1 shot, 10 lb of powder, 13 lb of match Expense of the guard, 14 lb of match Musket balls, 3 lb Cartridge paper, 2 quires Match, 13 lb Total, 61 guns fired, 19 shot, 42 lb of powder, 123 lb of match Interpretations Two hundred and sixty four shirts at £31 6s 0d is far beyond any household need and marks a sale to the shipping. The <i>Houghton</i> and the <i>Harrington</i> both lay in the road during February, and a homeward Indiaman victualling for a passage of several months bought clothing for her crew alongside bread, beef and water. Taffety was Bengal silk and shalloon a light twilled woollen used chiefly for coat linings. Both reached the island through the annual supply from India, and the quantity of silk and thread sold in the same month suggests the inhabitants were buying

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Basket Salt 2 18 9 lb 1 lb Flour 22 3 7 189 17 7½ Gunners Stores Expended in Febry 1739 Guns Fired, Powder, Minion, Saker, Powder 1739 Febry 2 An Allarm for two Ships past by: Guns Fired 6, Powder 6, Minion 0, Saker 0, Powder 18 lb 3 Muster Day: Guns Fired 0, Powder 0, Minion 0, Saker 0, Powder 12 7 An Allarm: Guns Fired 4, Powder 4, Minion 0, Saker 0, Powder 12 8 Arrived the Houghton: Guns Fired 22, Powder 1, Minion 8, Saker 11, Powder 0 21 To Salute them at going on board: Guns Fired 22, Powder 1, Minion 8, Saker 11, Powder 0 Houghton Sailed: Guns Fired 22, Powder 1, Minion 8, Saker 11, Powder 0 21 An Allarm: Guns Fired 11, Powder 1, Minion 10, Saker 13, Powder 0 do Harrington Arrived: Guns Fired 0, Powder 0, Minion 0, Saker 0, Powder 14 Expence of the Guard: Guns Fired 61, Powder 19, Minion 42, Saker 123, Powder 0 Musquet Balls 3 lb Cartridge Paper 2 Quire Match 13 lb	materials to make up garments rather than ready-made clothing. Powder at 42 lb is the heaviest since the ships left in June, and the pattern of alarm followed by salute appears three times. An alarm was fired whenever a strange sail was sighted, and once the vessel proved friendly she was saluted according to her rank. Saluting the supercargoes separately with nine guns follows the practice recorded in May 1731, when the merchant officers of the <i>Harrison</i> and <i>Hartford</i> received the same compliment as their ships. Fourteen grass cutters at £2 16s 0d among the general charges points to the summer work of clearing pasture. The island's warm season runs to about March, and the storekeeper's accounts carry hoes, spades, mattocks and cutting tools in the months when the ground could be worked.
145	143	Expence of the Table in Febry 1739 Vizt 377 lb Beef 4 14 3 150 lb Pork 3 15 1 Sheep 1 56 Fowles 4 4 13 Ducks 1 9 6 8 Turkeys 2 1 Goose 5 4 lb Butter 4 28 Days Greens 1 8 56 Bottles Milk 18 8 74 Gallo Arrack 14 16 17 lb Sugar 2 3 9 1 lb Tea 6 2 lb Pepper 9 2 Bottles Oyle 9 12 lb Candles 1 4 1 Basket Salt 2 4 2 lb 1 lb Flour 9 18 1 Gallo Vinegar 2 6 48 At a Consultation held on Tuesday the 20 of March 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander	Expense of the table in February 1733. 377 lb of beef, £4 14s 3d 150 lb of pork, £3 15s 0d 1 sheep, £1 4s 0d 56 fowls, £4 4s 0d 15 ducks, £1 2s 6d 8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 9 lb of butter, £0 9s 0d 28 bags of greens, £1 8s 0d 56 bottles of milk, £0 18s 8d 74 gallons of arrack, £14 16s 0d 17 cwt 3 quarters of sugar, £2 3s 9d 1 lb of tea, £0 6s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 6s 0d 2 bottles of oil, £0 9s 0d 12 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d 1 basket of salt, £0 2s 4d 2 cwt 0 quarters 4 lb of flour, £2 18s 0d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d Total, £42 0s 0d At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 March 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. On Wednesday last Mary Powell and the other executors of Gabriel Powell, deceased, presented the following paper, which they called an answer to the complaint of Richard Beale entered in the consultation of 30 January last. Mary Powell, widow, set out her objections against Richard Beale's alleged claim to 20 acres of land now in her possession. She stated that whereas Jonathan Beale, the father of Richard Beale, by his last will gave to his wife Margaret Beale the third part of all he was or might be possessed of at any time after his decease, as will more fully appear by the will now in the Governor's possession, and the will being also observed, she heard the witnesses who declared upon their oath that it was Jonathan Beale's full intent and meaning that his wife Margaret Beale should have the third part of his real and personal estate, excepting a house in the country, and that each of his sons John, Richard and Anthony should have the other two

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved On the 6th instant Mary Powell & the other Executor of Gabl Powell deceased presented the following Paper which they called an Answer to the Complaint of Richard Beale entred in Consultation of the 30th of January last Vizt Mary Powells Widow her Objections against Rich Beales illegall Claim to Twenty Acres of Land now in the Possession of Mary Powell aforesaid Sheweth That whereas Jonathan Beale the Father to Rich Beale & the last Will gave to his Wife Margaret Beale the third part of all he was or might be possessed of at any time after his decease as will more fully appear by the Style & Series Pocket where it Say the Governour thinking the Will a Void objected & heard the Witnesses who declared upon their Oath that it was Jonathan Beales full Intent & Meaning that his Wife Margaret Beale Should have the Third part of his real & personall & that excepting a Seat in the Country & that each of his Sons Richard & Anthony Should have the other two parts divided between them only the house next apart which he allowed for his Son Richard & Gabriel Powell by Vertue of Marriage contracted with the Relict of the Said Jonathan Beale here claimed a third part of the real & personall, but the former was denied him by the Governour who kept	parts divided between them only, the house set apart which he allowed for his son Richard. Gabriel Powell, by virtue of marriage, contracted with the relict of Jonathan Beale and claimed a third part of the real and personal estate, but the former was denied him by the Governor, who kept [...] Interpretations The table at £42 0s 0d is the heaviest since December, and the poultry lines account for much of it. Fifty six fowls, fifteen ducks, eight turkeys and a goose is the largest bird consumption in this run, and the stock account for the same month shows exactly those figures killed. Two ships lay in the road during February, the <i>Houghton</i> to the 11th and the <i>Harrington</i> from the 21st, and commanders and supercargoes ate at the Governor's table while ashore. Mary Powell now appears in a third estate dispute in this record. She was the central defendant in the four Hodgkinson complaints tried at the court of judicature on 24 February 1730, where the jury found she had carried her first husband's estate into her marriage with Gabriel Powell without inventory or accounts, the profits falling to him for nearly twenty years. Richard Beale's petition of 30 January 1733 alleges the same pattern against the same man, a stepfather absorbing his wife's children's land. The dispute turns on what a widow's third part covered. Jonathan Beale left his wife a third of everything he possessed, and the question is whether that third passed to Gabriel Powell on his marriage to her, and whether it carried the land as well as the goods. A widow's customary right was to half the real estate for life and a third of the personal estate outright, and Powell claimed both. The witnesses were examined on oath as to the testator's intent rather than merely to prove his signature, which shows how far these titles rested on memory. The will exists and is in the Governor's hands, yet its meaning still had to be established by men who heard Jonathan Beale explain what he wanted.
146	144	kept the Said Powell in Suspence for Severall Years but by Petitioning the Honble Company he obtained an Order to have a Tryall at the Place wherein it Should be decided which Order came  Ship Torrington 17th August 1711 & the 18th of Octr following was held according to the Honble Companies Order a Court of Judicature which determined & allowed the Third part of as he Real & Personall Estate excepting a house in the Country Should become the Right & Property of Said Powell & accordingly the Said Gabl Powell made Application to the Govr & Councill to have the Land divided into three Parts which was Granted & his Gabl Powell obtained a Deed from the Governour & Councill under the Honble Companies broad Seale for his Third part of Land as well as for the other part of free Land Since purchased of the Said Richard Beale, In Answer to Rich Beales Complaint that whereas he Saith that the Powell doth possess Twenty	Powell was kept in suspense for several years, but by petitioning the Honourable Company he obtained an order to have a survey of the place, whereupon it should be decided. That order came by the ship <i>Arrington</i> on 17 August 1711, and on the 18th of that month a court of judicature was held in accordance with the Company's directions, which adjourned and determined the third part of all the real and personal estate, excepting a house in the country, to be the right and property of Gabriel Powell. Accordingly Powell applied to the Governor and council to have the land divided into three parts, which was granted, and he obtained a deed from the Governor and council and the Honourable Company for his third part of the land, as well as for the other parcel of free land since purchased of Richard Beale. In answer to Richard Beale's complaint, she said that whereas he says that Powell used to possess 20 acres of land and that his mother in a fraudulent manner drew up a groundless declaration, wherein he expresses the Honourable Company not only in endeavouring to alter or disannul what their servants have ordered, but to the decision of the affair, but also to call in question the force of a deed under the Governor and council and the Honourable Company. Such being of the same nature as all planters hold their own land, it would be always looked on as sufficient, and it never to that the least adjustment or at any time called in question or come from through and not of such validity as may prevent any litigious suits, none of them will be

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Acres of Land that was his Mothers in a fraudulent manner I think it a groundless Declaration wherein he doth Express the Honble Company not only in Endeavouring to alter or dissannull what their Servants hath ordered & to the Decision of the Affair but also to call in Question the force of a Deed by the Governour & Councill under the Honble Companies Seale being of the Same a Nature as all Planters hold their own Land & be always looked on as Sufficient & the never to be the least disputed & at any time called in question & of some other though & not of Such Validity as may prevent very litigious Suits none of them will be ever Safe in the Possession of Such Lands as from time to time they have Purchased with a great deal of Industry or for the Support of their Families & for a farther Proof of the Said Gabl Powells Title to the Said Land in dispute after Presentation to the Same aforesaid a Copy of his Deed for the Same & the Said Rich Beale having been Ten or Twelve Years of full Age & the Said Gabl Powell been in quiet Possession of the Land in dispute above Seven & twenty Years I do doubt not but the Honble Company will for the Confirm the Same to the heirs of the Said Gabl Powell & it is for our hope & being Executors of the Last Will & Testament & Powell & is desired in half of the Orphans of the Said Gabl Powell Charles Steward Mary Powell G1 Powell St Helena March 10th 1739 Ordered that a Copy of this Paper be delivered to Rich Beale	more safe in the possession of such lands as from time to time they have purchased with a great deal of industry and for the support of their families. For a further proof of the said Gabriel Powell's title to the said land in dispute, she referred herself to the survey aforesaid, a copy of which is annexed for the same. Richard Beale having been ten or twelve years of full age, and Gabriel Powell having been in quiet possession of the land upwards of about seven or eight years, she did not doubt but the Honourable Company will confirm the same to the heirs of Gabriel Powell. Signed Charles Steward and Mary Powell, they being executors of the last will of Gabriel Powell, and George Powell as heir of the orphans of Gabriel Powell. Dated at St Helena, 10 March 1733. The council ordered that a copy of the paper be delivered to Richard Beale. Interpretations The defence rests almost entirely on the finality of a court decision taken twenty two years earlier. A court of judicature sat on 18 August 1711 under the Company's own direction, determined the third part to Powell, and a deed followed from the Governor, council and Company together. Reopening it would mean setting aside all three, which is the argument the answer presses hardest. The wider point is the one every landholder on the island would recognise. If a deed granted under the Company's seal can be questioned a generation later, no title anywhere on St Helena is secure. That anxiety runs through this whole book: Isaac Wood's 25 acres and Benjamin Pledger's 5 acres both came before the council in the previous fortnight with no writing behind them, and Mr Alexander reported on 16 November 1730 that holders formerly neglected to register a deed once delivered. The argument from delay cuts the other way from how it is framed. Richard Beale reached full age ten or twelve years ago and has waited until now, while Powell held the land quietly for years before his death. A claimant who sleeps on his right weakens it, and the answer makes that the closing point. George Powell signs as heir of the orphans, and he had leave on 25 May 1731 to take passage for England on business requiring his presence there, his mother Mary endorsing the petition. Charles Steward and Mary Powell were named executors of Gabriel Powell's will, an estate valued at upwards of £1,200 0s 0d, the largest private fortune in this record.
147	145	At a Consultation held on Fryday 27 March 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Upon View & Examination of the Goods  Harrington We find Some that are charged at very high & even though they came far Short of the Value put upon them by the Honble Comps & far Short in point of Value of the Same Sort of Goods Sold here by Capt Jenkins of which he humbly was in part on the Meanes the barbarian of which are as follows Vizt 780 Deram Deals charged at 8, 4, 8, & 20 though many of them hardly held out 4 feet & great numbers of them barely 3 feet 720 Christiana Deales charged at 8, 10, & 20 & the most of them were	At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 March 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Upon view and examination of the goods of the <i>Harrington</i>, the council found several items charged at very high prices, though they fall far short of the value put upon them by the invoice. They fall short in point of value of the same sort of goods sold here by Great Britain, of which the particulars are as follows. 780 deal boards, charged at £7 8s 0d each, though many of them hardly held out 8 feet by a great number of them scarcely 8 feet 730 Christiana deals, charged at £8 16s 0d each, most of them scarcely eleven feet long and very few reaching to twelve feet 100 pairs of shoes, charged at £2 9s 0d a pair, which added to 50s a pair and are the price of them, and at £8 10s 0d a pair, though some of the former cargo held the fifth and centurion, and the 12th sort for £4 15s 0d a pair, which is in point of goodness

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		only Eleven feet long very few reaching to Twelve feet 400 Pair of Womens Shoes charged at 42, ¹⁰/₁₂ pair which are the Fifty ¹⁰/₁₂ Cent make them 78, 10, & 20 though Some of the former Cargo which the Fifty & Cent were then the Cost for £6 12 & 20 which were in point of Goodness are far better & so far & are wider than those brought by the Harrington Mr Crispe & Mr Bagley the Person whom We appointed to assist the Storekeeper in opening the Bales & Charging his Report that according to the Invoice there ought to have been Fifty Mens Cloth & Fifty Mens Frieze Coats but upon opening the Case which was broke & one, & was raised down & the Package & consequently some Numbers being that four Bras Coats Value £8 12 & 20 Sixteen Cloth Coats Value £17, 3, 4 were wanting & that Twelve dozen of Buckling Combs in Paper Said to be put up with the Frieze Coates Value £4, 4, 12, were also wanting though the Cash on it & one in which they were Said to be Packed was neither in good Condition, & were also the Pair of Mens Shoes Value £1, 8, but the Case or Cask in which they were put up was fast raised down & the Package & therefore Seem may full & to the truth of the & required they were willing to make Oath Ordered that the Substance of this Consultation as mentioned in this next Generall Letter that a Blank & of each of the Sorts aforesaid be Sent to the Honble Company by the next Ship that they may See how much they have been deceived & the & the People of this Place abused The Petition of Joseph Whaley junr was presented & read praying a Lease for about an Acre of Wast Land lying near his other Land in Woolley Ridge Valley Granted provided upon viewing the Same it may be Let without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood	far better and far wider than those brought by the Harrington Mr Crisp and Mr Bagley, the persons whom the council appointed to assist the storekeeper in opening the cargo and stowing it, report that according to the invoice there ought to have been 50 men's cloaks and 50 men's dungaree suits, but upon opening the last, which was landed one, it was carried down to the package and inspected from timber. They found that four presents valued at £8 18s 0d, sixteen cloth coats valued at £4 4s 0d, were wanting, and that twelve dozen of buckling combs in paper laid to be put up with the shoe stocks valued at £1 12s 0d were also wanting, though the cask in which they were said to be packed was not in good condition. As were also two pairs of men's shoes valued at £1 5s 0d. The box or case in which they were put up was fast nailed down and the package, and every seam very full. To the truth of this, if required, they were willing to make oath. The council ordered that the substance of these consultations, as mentioned in this next general letter, and a blanket of each of the sorts aforesaid, be sent to the Honourable Company by the next ship, so that they may see how much they have been deceived and the pearl of them the case is left. James Whaley junior presented a petition asking for a lease of about an acre of waste land lying near his other land in Wooley Ridge Valley. The council granted it, provided that on viewing the same it may be let without prejudice to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood. Interpretations The council is compiling evidence of fraud against the Company's own suppliers in London rather than against the ship. Deal boards charged as full lengths that measure eight feet, Christiana deals falling short of twelve, and shoes invoiced at prices well above what better goods fetched in an earlier cargo all point to the same practice. Sending a sample blanket home of each sort turns an assertion into something the Court of Committees can handle and judge for itself. Christiana deals were softwood boards shipped from the Norwegian port of that name, and deal boards generally were sold by standard lengths, so a shortfall of three or four feet on each board is a substantial loss across 1,510 pieces. The island had no timber to spare, the wood crisis running through this whole record, so imported softwood was the only material for building. Appointing two men to assist the storekeeper in opening the cargo produced the discovery. A single officer receiving goods alone could not later prove a shortage, whereas two witnesses willing to make oath give the council testimony that will stand in London. The same reasoning lies behind the daily record of boats and surf kept during every discharge in this book. Cases nailed fast and seams full when opened is the detail that matters most. Goods missing from a package that shows no sign of having been broken open must have been short when it left England, which places the loss on the supplier rather than on the crew or the boatmen.
148	146	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 3d April 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved	At a consultation held on Tuesday 3 April 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Elizabeth Greentree, widow and mother of Jane Greentree, presented that day the last will and testament of her daughter, asking that it might be proved and registered. The council proved it accordingly upon the oaths of the witnesses to it,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Elizabeth Greentree Widow Mother of Jane Greentree decd this day presented the Last Will & Testament of her Said Daughter praying the Same might be proved & Registered & the Same was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto Vizt Charles Steward John Johnson & Martha Frances who declared that the Said did publish & declare the Same in their Presence & that they did each of them in her Sight Sign their Names as Witnesses thereto & the Will was therefore Ordered to be Registered The Petition of Jos: Bates was presented & read praying leave to renew a Lease of Twenty four Acres of Land lying in Sandy Bay The Petr was thereupon called in & acquainted that the Said Land Should be viewed & that if it was found fully Wooded & could be Let without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood his Lease Should be renewed accordingly The Governour the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for March last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Expende of the Table in March 1739 Vizt 240 lb Beef 3 7 6 70 lb Pork 1 17 6 2 Pigs 2 2 5 Pigs 1 5 10 Turkeys 2 10 18 Ducks 10 18 64 Fowls 4 16 11 lb Butter 11 31 Days Greens 1 11 62 Bottles Milk 8 59 Gallo Arrack 11 16 1 Gallo Vinegar 2 6 2 Do Oyle 1 2 6 1 0 0 Flour 1 3 9 122 lb Sugar 1 10 6 1 lb Pepper 1 6 2 Bushell Salt 12 6 38 7 6 11 Gallo Arrack deld the Guards Smiths Coopers Carpenters &c her Majesties Birthday happening this Month 2.4. 7 do do the Blacks 1.8.	Charles Steward, John Johnson and Martha Frances, who declared that the deceased did publish and declare the same in their presence, and that they did each of them in her sight sign there as witnesses thereto. The will was therefore ordered registered. Joseph Bates presented a petition asking to renew a lease of 25 acres of land lying in Sandy Bay. The council thereupon ordered that the land be viewed, and if it is found fully wooded and fenced without prejudice to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood, his lease should be renewed accordingly. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for March, which were examined separately and approved as follows. 270 lb of beef, £3 7s 6d 70 lb of pork, £1 17s 6d 5 pigs, £2 2s 0d 2 sheep, £2 5s 0d 10 turkeys, £2 10s 0d 18 ducks, £0 18s 0d 64 fowls, £4 16s 0d 11 lb of butter, £0 11s 0d 31 bags of greens, £1 11s 0d 62 bottles of milk, £1 0s 8d 59 gallons of arrack, £11 16s 0d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d 3 bottles of oil, £0 7s 6d 2 cwt 2 quarters of flour, £1 10s 0d 122 lb of sugar, £1 10s 6d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 12s 6d Total, £38 7s 6d 11 gallons of arrack delivered to the guards, smiths, coopers and carpenters on the Queen's birthday, happening this month, £2 4s 0d 7 gallons delivered to the slaves, £1 8s 0d 36 lb of sugar delivered to the slaves and the guards, £0 9s 0d Total, £4 4s 0d Interpretations Requiring a view for evidence of fencing and wood before renewing a lease follows the resolutions of 26 July 1732, and Joseph Bates is a notable applicant to face that test. He was found on 3 May 1731 to have advanced a forged claim to the whole estate of Don John de Mesa y Aniento, and was named first among the encroachers on the Sandy Bay cart road on 20 April 1731. His 25 acres lie in the same valley. The Queen's birthday allowance to the guards, smiths, coopers and carpenters repeats the pattern of every royal anniversary in this record. Skilled tradesmen were included alongside the garrison, distinguishing the occasion from the ordinary guard issue, and the same distribution appears in March 1729 and on the King's birthday each October. Proving a will on the oaths of three witnesses who saw the testator publish it and signed in her sight is the standard form throughout this book. Jane Greentree predeceased her mother, and the estate returns upward through the family rather than descending, a pattern that also produced Captain Alexander's title to land inherited from his own children who died young. The table at £38 7s 6d has fallen from £42 0s 0d in February as the <i>Harrington</i> departed, and the seven gallons of arrack to the slaves comes without the wet weather note that will return with the winter. The island's planting season opens about May.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		36 lb Sugar deld to Blacks & Guards 9. 4.1.	
149	147	Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Barrows, Boats, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Bullocks 54, Cowes 143, Heifers 18, Steers 35, Yearlings 107, Calves 131, Bulls 4, Totall 492, Ewes 71, Wethers 26, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 131, Sows 21, Shoats 17, Pigs 60, Barrows 0, Boats 3, Totall 101, Turkeys 148, Fowles 177, Ducks 42, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 5, Totall 9 Encreased in ditto: Bullocks 35, Cowes 16, Heifers 50, Steers 40, Yearlings 75, Calves 22, Bulls 2, Totall 240, Ewes 10, Wethers 17, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 27, Sows 0, Shoats 30, Pigs 0, Barrows 10, Boats 0, Totall 40, Turkeys 0, Fowles 20, Ducks 6, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 1, Totall 1 Bullocks 89, Cowes 159, Heifers 68, Steers 75, Yearlings 182, Calves 153, Bulls 6, Totall 732, Ewes 81, Wethers 43, Lambs 30, Rams 4, Totall 158, Sows 21, Shoats 47, Pigs 60, Barrows 10, Boats 3, Totall 141, Turkeys 148, Fowles 197, Ducks 48, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 6, Totall 10 Cattle Sheep & Hogs Cutt & grown in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 16, Steers 35, Yearlings 92, Calves 75, Bulls 0, Totall 218, Ewes 0, Wethers 27, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 27, Sows 0, Shoats 10, Pigs 30, Barrows 0, Boats 0, Totall 40, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 89, Cowes 159, Heifers 52, Steers 40, Yearlings 90, Calves 78, Bulls 6, Totall 514, Ewes 81, Wethers 43, Lambs 3, Rams 4, Totall 131, Sows 21, Shoats 37, Pigs 30, Barrows 10, Boats 3, Totall 101, Turkeys 148, Fowles 197, Ducks 48, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 6, Totall 10 Sold to Ships in do: Bullocks 5, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 6, Ewes 0, Wethers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 84, Cowes 159, Heifers 51, Steers 40, Yearlings 90, Calves 78, Bulls 6, Totall 508, Ewes 81, Wethers 43, Lambs 3, Rams 4, Totall 131, Sows 21, Shoats 37, Pigs 30, Barrows 10, Boats 3, Totall 101, Turkeys 148, Fowles 197, Ducks 48, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 6, Totall 10 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Wethers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sows 0, Shoats 2, Pigs 5, Barrows 0, Boats 0, Totall 7, Turkeys 0, Fowles 64, Ducks 12, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 84, Cowes 159, Heifers 50, Steers 40, Yearlings 90, Calves 78, Bulls 6, Totall 507, Ewes 81, Wethers 41, Lambs 3, Rams 4, Totall 129, Sows 21, Shoats 35, Pigs 25, Barrows 10, Boats 3, Totall 94, Turkeys 148, Fowles 133, Ducks 36, Geese 12, Horses 4, Mares 6, Totall 10 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Wethers 1, Lambs 1, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boats 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 31 March: Bullocks 84, Cowes 159, Heifers 50, Steers 40, Yearlings 90, Calves 78, Bulls 6, Totall 507, Ewes 81, Wethers 40, Lambs 2, Rams 4, Totall 127, Sows 21, Shoats 35, Pigs 25, Barrows 10, Boats 3, Totall 94, Turkeys 148, Fowles 133, Ducks 36, Geese 11, Horses 4, Mares 6, Totall 10 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 15000 lb	Account of the Honourable Company's stock of neat cattle and other livestock for the month of March 1733. Remaining 1 March, 54 bullocks, 143 cows, 18 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearlings, 131 calves, 4 bulls, 492 neat cattle in total, 71 ewes, 26 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 131 sheep in total, 21 sows, 17 shoats, 60 pigs, 0 barrows, 3 boars, 101 hogs in total, 148 turkeys, 177 fowls, 42 ducks, 12 geese, 4 horses, 5 mares, 9 horses and mares in total Increased in March, 35 bullocks, 16 cows, 50 heifers, 40 steers, 75 yearlings, 22 calves, 2 bulls, 240 neat cattle in total, 10 ewes, 17 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 27 sheep in total, 0 sows, 30 shoats, 0 pigs, 10 barrows, 0 boars, 40 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 20 fowls, 6 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 1 mare, 1 horse and mare in total Standing after the increase, 89 bullocks, 159 cows, 68 heifers, 75 steers, 182 yearlings, 153 calves, 6 bulls, 732 neat cattle in total, 81 ewes, 43 wethers, 30 lambs, 4 rams, 158 sheep in total, 21 sows, 47 shoats, 60 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, 141 hogs in total, 148 turkeys, 197 fowls, 48 ducks, 12 geese, 4 horses, 6 mares, 10 horses and mares in total Cattle, sheep and hogs cut and grown in March, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 16 heifers, 35 steers, 92 yearlings, 75 calves, 0 bulls, 218 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 27 lambs, 0 rams, 27 sheep in total, 0 sows, 10 shoats, 30 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, 40 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the reclassification, 89 bullocks, 159 cows, 52 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearlings, 78 calves, 6 bulls, 514 neat cattle in total, 81 ewes, 43 wethers, 3 lambs, 4 rams, 131 sheep in total, 21 sows, 37 shoats, 30 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, 101 hogs in total, 148 turkeys, 197 fowls, 48 ducks, 12 geese, 4 horses, 6 mares, 10 horses and mares in total Sold to ships in March, 5 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 6 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 0 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the sale, 84 bullocks, 159 cows, 51 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearlings, 78 calves, 6 bulls, 508 neat cattle in total, 81 ewes, 43 wethers, 3 lambs, 4 rams, 131 sheep in total, 21 sows, 37 shoats, 30 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, 101 hogs in total, 148 turkeys, 197 fowls, 48 ducks, 12 geese, 4 horses, 6 mares, 10 horses and mares in total Killed in March, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 1 neat beast in total, 0 ewes, 2 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, 2 sheep in total, 0 sows, 2 shoats, 5 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, 7 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 64 fowls, 12 ducks, 0 geese, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total Standing after the killing, 84 bullocks, 159 cows, 50 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearlings, 78 calves, 6 bulls, 507 neat cattle in total, 81 ewes, 41 wethers, 3 lambs, 4 rams, 129 sheep in total, 21 sows, 35 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, 94 hogs in total, 148 turkeys, 133 fowls, 36 ducks, 12 geese, 4 horses, 6 mares, 10 horses and mares in total Dead in March, 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, 0 neat cattle in total, 0 ewes, 1 wether, 1 lamb, 0 rams, 2 sheep in total, 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, 0 hogs in total, 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 1 goose, 0 horses, 0 mares, 0 horses and mares in total

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Ditto delivered the Blacks 10150 Total 25150 lb	Remaining 31 March, 84 bullocks, 159 cows, 50 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearlings, 78 calves, 6 bulls, 507 neat cattle in total, 81 ewes, 40 wethers, 2 lambs, 4 rams, 127 sheep in total, 21 sows, 35 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, 94 hogs in total, 148 turkeys, 133 fowls, 36 ducks, 11 geese, 4 horses, 6 mares, 10 horses and mares in total Yams expended at the several plantations, 15,000 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 10,150 lb Total yams expended, 25,150 lb Interpretations March closes the Company's half year, and the increase row carries 240 head of neat cattle in a single month. No calving could produce that. The figure comes from a general muster of the ranges bringing in animals that had run without ever being entered on the monthly sheets, and the same effect appears across sheep, hogs, poultry and horses at once. September 1732 showed the identical pattern with 161 head. The cut and grown row moves 218 beasts between classes without changing the total. Seventy five calves become yearlings, ninety two yearlings become steers, and thirty five steers and sixteen heifers move upward, while twenty seven lambs pass into the ewe and wether columns. Bullocks are castrated males, wethers castrated rams and barrows castrated boars, so the operation and the reclassification fall together, which is why the barrow column refills to ten after standing empty in February. Yams have fallen sharply to 25,150 lb from 36,300 lb, the lowest issue since July. The old crop is running down as the island's summer closes and the winter planting season approaches in May, and the same seasonal trough appears in these accounts every year before the new crop comes in. Six head sold to shipping continues the modest trade of the spring, following seven in February and ten in January. The <i>Enfield</i> called from Bencoolen in early March and the <i>Harrington</i> sailed for the coast on 5 March, so vessels lay in the road for part of the month.
150	148	Gunners Stores Expended in March 1739 Vizt Guns Fired, Culvering, Sakets, Minion, Falcons, Powder Mar: 1739 1 Her Majesties Birthday: Guns Fired 21, Culvering 1, Sakets 3, Minion 1, Falcons 16, Powder 38 2 An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns Fired 4, Culvering 0, Sakets 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 ditto: Guns Fired 4, Culvering 0, Sakets 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 3 Arrived the Enfield: Guns Fired 9, Culvering 0, Sakets 0, Minion 1, Falcons 8, Powder 11 15 Enfield Sailed: Guns Fired 9, Culvering 0, Sakets 0, Minion 1, Falcons 8, Powder 11 Harrington Sailed not any Salute passed to avoid giving Notice to many Blacks who were runaway from their Masters that the Ship was ready to Sail least they Should Steal Boats & stand after her 31 Expence of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Culvering 0, Sakets 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 14 47 1 3 11 39 98 Lead Show for ditto 2 lb Cartridge Paper 3 Quire Match 20 lb Collection of Goods Sold in the Month of March 1739/0 110 Gallo Arrack 34 16 8 1602 Yards damaged Chints 30 4	Gunner's stores expended in March 1733. 1 March, Her Majesty's birthday, 21 guns fired, 1 culverin, 3 sakers, 1 minion, 16 falcons, 38 lb of powder 2 March, an alarm for a ship that passed by, 4 guns fired, 0 culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 2 March, another alarm, 4 guns fired, 0 culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 3 March, the Enfield arrived, 9 guns fired, 0 culverins, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 15 March, the Enfield sailed, 9 guns fired, 0 culverins, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder The Harrington sailed, no salute passed, to avoid giving notice to many blacks who were runaway from their masters that the ship was ready to sail, lest they should steal boats and stand after her 31 March, expense of the guard, 14 lb of powder Lead shot for the same, 2 lb Cartridge paper, 3 quires Match, 20 lb Total, 47 guns fired, 1 culverin, 3 sakers, 1 minion, 39 falcons, 98 lb of powder Collection of goods sold in the month of March 1733. 110 gallons of arrack, £34 16s 8d 1,608 yards of damaged chintz at 30s 9d, £35 0s 9d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		35 9 5 lb Long Patna do 33 11 7½ Haberdasheryware Sorted as <i>W</i> Journall folio 1 6 1 Barl Tar 1 2 1 Bar Ditto 1 10 12 Gallo Turpentine 31 3 3½ 8 lb Nailes Sorted 139 6 4 Charges Generall Vizt 13½ Soap 14 7½ 25 lb Candles 9 4 lb Tea 2 8 8 33½ Do Twine 1 10 8 1 lb Whited brown Thread 10 4 6 oz Thread 4 6 Yards Frontings 3 8 5 Yards Canvas 8 10 2 dozen Combs 2 8 12 oz Silk 11 2 1 Iron Pott & Ladles 14 6 3 Iron Shovells 13 6 1 Shod do 6 2 Pitores 2 14 22 Helves 1 5 8 1 Nr 4 Anger 1 15 8 1 Iron Pott 1 15 16 4 Grass Corks 14 1 Web Carnation Tape 8 1 doz do 2 8 2 large Tea Kettles 8 4 17 Punning Knives 1 2 1 Square Glass 18 12 1 Plantation Vizt 55 lb Rope 1 2 Yokes for Sackmen 2 3 24 Hand Bills 4 6 3 Butchers Knives 5 6 3 3 Rice for Hogs & Poultry 1 17 6 3 6 3 Diet Expences Vizt 17 Gallo Arrack 15 8	5 pieces of long Patna cloth, £33 11s 7.5d Haberdashery ware, sorted, as per journal, folio [...], £1 6s 0d 1 barrel jar, £1 6s 0d 1 tar shell, £1 10s 0d 12 gallons of turpentine, £31 3s 3.5d 8 lb of nails, sorted, £139 6s 1d Total, £139 6s 1d Charges general 13.5 lb of soap, £0 14s 7.5d 25 lb of candles, £0 9s 0d 4 lb of tea, £2 8s 8d 33.5 [...] of twine, £1 13s 8d 1 lb of white and brown thread, £0 12s 4d 6 oz of thread, £0 8s 4d 6 yards of ferreting, £0 3s 10d 5 yards of canvas, £0 2s 8d 2 ivory combs, £0 4s 2d 12 oz of silk, £0 1s 6d 1 box iron and heaters, £0 13s 6d 3 iron shovels, £0 3s 6d 1 shod shovel, £2 14s 0d 2 pickaxes, £1 5s 8d 22 helves, £1 5s 0d 1 pair of hinges, £1 16s 0d 1 iron pot, £0 14s 0d 4 grass cutters, £0 8s 0d 1 lb of carnation tape, £2 8s 0d 1 dozen of the same, £0 4s 0d 2 large tea kettles, £0 8s 0d 17 pruning knives, £0 1s 2d 1 square glass, £18 12s 1d Total, £18 12s 1d Plantation 55 lb of rope, £1 2s 3d 2 yokes for oxen, £0 5s 3d 24 hand drills, £0 5s 6d 3 butcher's knives, £1 17s 6d 3 cwt 3 quarters of rice for hogs and poultry, £3 6s 3d Total, £3 6s 3d Diet expenses 117 gallons of arrack, £15 8s 0d 1 cwt 1 quarter 8 lb of sugar, £1 19s 6d 2 cwt 1 quarter 18 lb of flour, £3 3s 6d 1 cwt 0 quarters 8 lb of vinegar, £1 6s 6d 1.5 lb of sweet oil, £0 8s 0d 5 lb of pepper, £0 12s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £22 11s 10d Total, £22 11s 10d Interpretations The suppression of the <i>Harrington's</i> departure salute is the most striking entry in this book for some time. Runaway slaves were watching the anchorage for a chance to escape, and the customary nine or eleven guns would have told them the ship was about to weigh. The council chose to leave the compliment unfired rather than signal the moment, and the gunner recorded his reason on the face of the account. That anxiety runs back through the whole record. Governor Byfield warned Captain Ingles of the <i>Caernarvon</i> on 26 February 1728 to keep a strict night watch against slaves seeking to board, seven put out to sea in a boat that March and were supposed drowned, and a guard was set to lie in the long boat all night in July 1728. The council's fear here is specifically that the men would steal boats and follow the ship out. Ninety eight pounds of powder is the heaviest month since the shipping returned, and the Queen's birthday alone took 38 lb across twenty one guns. Royal salutes consistently draw more powder than any defensive firing in these accounts, and the two

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 1 18 Sugar 1 19 6 2 1 12 Flour 3 3 6 1 Gallo Vinegar 2 6 1½ Do Sweet Oyle 1 6 1 lb Pepper 1 2 Bushels Salt 12 6 22 11 10	alarms of 2 March were answered with four guns each from the minions. Over sixteen hundred yards of damaged chintz cleared in a single month is the largest such disposal in this run. Damp and insects attacked textiles continuously in the storehouse, and the practice of selling spoiled stock into the island at reduced prices appears in every year of these books.
151	149	Brought over 183 16 9 Blacks Vizt 10 pr Chints 3 15 6 Do Blue 13 24 Coloured Thread 8 100 Taylours & Treadles 2 6 1 pr Bras Nippers 5 6 13 Bag Blocks 3 6 15 8 Gallo Arrack 3 15 66 Lines 9 12 Grass Blankets 23 6 16 2 Rice 36 14 7 Garrison Vizt 6½ Gallo Oyle 1 8 1½ 12 lb Tea 3 15 5 1½ 224 11 5½ At a Consultation held on Wednesday 4 April 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved This day the Frances Capt Stockholme arrived here from India & as Soon as the Captain was come on Shoar We delivered him the usual Order to heave in upon Allarms a Copy of which is Entred in Consultation of the 10th Janry last, the Supply Sent Us by this Ship is as follows Vizt Invoice ꝑ Frances Vizt Batavia Arrack 4 half Legrs Vizt No 5 qty 58 Gallo 6 78 7 78 8 70 284 @ 110 ꝑ Legr 220 Batta 10 ꝑ Cent 22 242 10 Bags Tesson Sugar qty 20 Cwt is 14 2 19 at 9 Mrs ꝑ Bag 90 Batta 10 ꝑ Cent	Brought over, £183 16s 9d. Slaves 10 pieces of chintz, £3 15s 0d 6 pieces of blue cloth, £0 13s 0d 24 lb of coloured thread, £0 8s 0d 100 taylands and feathers, £0 2s 6d 2 pieces of blue nippers, £0 5s 6d 15 dozen hooks, £0 3s 6d 15.5 gallons of arrack, £3 15s 9d 68 lines, £0 9s 0d 12 sailors' blankets, £23 6s 0d 16 cwt 2 quarters of rice, £35 14s 7d Total, £35 14s 7d Garrison 6.5 gallons of oil, £1 8s 1.5d 12 lb of tea, £3 12s 0d Total, £5 0s 1.5d Grand total, £224 11s 5.5d At a consultation held on Wednesday 4 April 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Frances</i> , Captain Stuckholme, arrived that day from India. As soon as the captain came ashore the council delivered him the usual orders to heave in upon alarms, a copy of which is entered in the consultation of the 10th of January last. The supply sent by this ship is as follows. Invoice of the <i>Frances</i> , the selling price of arrack being 6s 4d per gallon. Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers, number 5, 58 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 6, 78 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 7, 78 gallons Batavia arrack, half leaguer number 8, 70 gallons, 284 gallons in all at 110 rupees per leaguer, 220 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 22 rupees 0 annas 0 pies, 242 rupees 0 annas 0 pies 10 bags of Tresundee sugar at 20 maunds, 14 maunds 2 quarters 19 seers, at 9 maunds per bag, 90 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees 0 annas 0 pies, 99 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Rice for the Company's use, 36 bags at 17 maunds per bag, 52 maunds 3 quarters 6 seers, at 1 maund 20 seers per maund, 41 rupees 2 annas 3 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 4 rupees 1 anna 9 pies, 45 rupees 4 annas 0 pies Charges merchandise, 22 rupees 6 annas 0 pies Total, 408 rupees 10 annas 0 pies Interpretations The arrack now comes at 110 rupees per leaguer, down from the 120 charged on every earlier invoice in this record. That is a real reduction of about a twelfth on the largest single item in the annual supply, and the selling price on the island remains fixed at 6s 4d the gallon, as it has since Governor Byfield set it on 7 March 1727. Tresundee sugar and Bengal rice make up the rest of the consignment in the proportions repeated year

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		9 99 36 Bags Rice qty 1½ bag is 52 3 6 at 1 20 Sers ₪ Mrs & 41 2 3 Batta 10 ₪ Cent 4 1 9 45 4 Charges Merchandize 22 6 Rupees 408 10 Margin Notes: Selling Price 6/6 ₪ Gallo 6d ₪ lb Rice for Comps Use	after year, and batta at 10 per cent is added separately to each line. Batta was the exchange allowance struck when accounts crossed between rupee zones of different standards, so the council could check the invoice by applying the same percentage to each commodity in turn. Twelve sailors' blankets to the slaves in April is early for the annual clothing issue, which usually falls in September so the garments can be made up before the winter. The island's planting season opens about May, and the purchase suggests the council preparing ahead of it rather than waiting. Sixty eight lines and fifteen dozen hooks continue the fishing establishment created on 1 March 1727, when the meat ration was abolished in favour of fish. Rice at 16 cwt 2 quarters is again the heaviest single charge to the slaves, supplementing the yams, which fell to 25,150 lb in March as the old crop ran down.
152	150	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 10 April 1739 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The Last Consultation was read & Approved Simon a Negro Slave belonging to Tho: Glew Soldier having been Runaway from his Master for near two Months past when this day apprehended by the Said Master at an Outhouse belonging to John Long Planter, a Man of very ill Fame & the Petr & brought before Us & being examined what he had done for Provisions & where he had concealed himself all the time of his Elopement & Answered that in the day he hid himself among the Rocks & Mountains & that every Night he lay at an outhouse belonging to the Said Long, & that one of the Said Longs Slaves named Clare & that Some Ropes appointed four last the Said Long Should discover him Clare encouraged him to Stay & did him not be afraid for his Master Long he was Slave would not Stop any Runaway Black especially he keeps to their Masters had & wanted, & this Clare owned to it & was also confirmed by a black Wench named Grace belonging to John Blunt & the Petr & Ann Clare told the Same Story & desired her & of for the way Runaway & Entertained by the Said Clare that his Master would not catch any body & Runaway Black, & Provisions he Said he got by Stealing having Stolen three Turkeys from James Vaughan two from John Bagley Senr & four from Solomon Turling, Yams from & Doveston & Sam Goodwin, Yams from his own Master, & Fish & Fowl from four & Golden & Stole many other things & to name the particulars of which he did not remember, & that upon coming about Eight or Nine a Clock he met John & one Isaac Vaughan & five	At a consultation held on Tuesday 10 April 1733 at Union Castle, with Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp present, the previous consultation was read and approved. Simon, a Malay slave belonging to John Clew, soldier, had been a runaway from his master for near two months past. He was that day apprehended by his master at an outhouse belonging to John Long, planter, a man of ill name, and Mr Pyke brought him before the council. Being examined what he had done for provisions and where he had concealed himself all the time of his absence, he answered that in the day he hid himself among the rocks and mountains, and that every night he lay at an outhouse belonging to Mr Long, then with one of the said Long's slaves named Clare. He said Simon repeatedly for a fortnight, and Long should influence him. Clare encouraged him to stay and did not persuade him to his master. Long, he was there, would not stop any runaway blacks, especially not because their masters had quarrelled. Clare owned to him and also confirmed by a black wench and mate belonging to John Bradley. Abraham Clare said the same story, but not to say for he was a runaway and entertained by Clare, and that his master would not catch any [...] runaway black. Provisions he said he got by begging, having stolen from Durling, from James Vaughan, from John Bagley senior, from Solomon Durling, yams from Doveton, from Isaac Godwin, from his own master John Wood, and from George Powell and many other things, up to more the particulars of which he did not remember, and that upon coming about eight or nine o'clock he met John Long's Malay Corryden, who said John Long, and that Corryden and his brother Long wanted to sell to the ship. The council came thereon that Clare and the other Malays of John Long, who harboured him by his master's knowing or at the time he was a runaway, did him bring Clare into Durling or Sancho or anything else, and he would give them to his master for he wanted to get them to Bengal. Having one night hung up a longer in the chimney breaking it, the next day he told Clare what was become of it. Clare told him that his master had been there, that he took it away. Clare further denied that he told his master, Long, of Simon coming to him, but that his master did not take care to apprehend him. The Clare being a Company slave was not able to answer him, and he had said such circumstances. John Long acknowledged he was carried in the said examination. He was asked to say that he was asked whether he knew of particulars again, imprisoned near two things to prevent, they possessed what he could to Congo, having the fine liberty of which he professed he knew nothing. He,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		blue Turkeys which Long Said he & other Long wanted to Sell to the Ship, the Copied Some & then the Said & that Clare & the other Fellow of John Longs who harboured him by the Master Long Ordered on the time he was Runaway did him bring Clare who a Turkey or Fowle or any thing else, so he would give them to his Master for he wanted to Sell them to Shiping & that having one night hung up a Congar in the Chimney & finding it the next day he & the Clare what was become of it & Clare told him that the Master had been there & had taken it away & the Said Clare farther declared that he told his Master Long of Simons coming to him but that his Master did not take care to apprehend him & the Clare being & Compt was not able to prove him had he had any Such Instructions John Long acknowledged he was carried & the Said Examination was read to him & he was asked whether the Answers of particulars & again imprisoned near two & he to & finally they persisted & what it will be to Longs having the four Turkeys of which he pretended to know nothing & having given this Servant leave to look after that manner to the Said Simon in order to deny & catch him & more safely but this Excuse not having the least Probability & of truth & the whole & Neighbourhood about & John Long had of late been given constantly & Sordid and Plundered & his Affair & one of the Said Longs & was a Receptacle for all concerned in the Roguery & for all other Runaway Blacks to the great Prejudice of the Publick & to the evil Example of others & we therefore appointed the Said Long to make good the half of the Damage that the Glew Master of Simon & the Slave say to the concerned this & their Labour & Time & make good the other half & the Person who have been Plundered as aforesaid & ordered both Long to the	having given his servant leave to look after that manner to the said Simon, in order to deny that he made a shift, but this incident not having the least probability of truth. The whole neighbourhood about John Long had of late been given constantly and admonished that his Long's men have long been a receptacle for all concerned in the slavery, then in other runaway blacks to the great prejudice of the inhabitants and the evil example of others. The council therefore appointed to send Long to make good the half of the damage that the Clew master shall come with, that he had committed their labourers, thereupon he made good the whole part of the persons who have been thereupon aforesaid. It ordered both Long to [...] Interpretations John Long has now appeared before this council in almost every category of offence over seven years. He was reprimanded on 16 July 1728 for beating John Martin Vandeston, named among those grazing goats illegally on the Chapel Valley range that same month, suspected of shooting the Company's goats in January and November 1729 with warrants issued to kill his dogs, bound over for abusing James Ryder on 26 August 1729, and charged with stealing Gabriel Powell's silver tankard in the spring of 1730. He has never once been convicted. The reason is the evidentiary bar that runs through this whole book. The testimony of blacks was inadmissible, so a case built on what Simon said, what Clare admitted and what Bradley's wench confirmed cannot convict a white planter. Every witness against Long is a slave, which is precisely why his outhouse could function as a refuge for years. The council's remedy sidesteps the difficulty entirely. Rather than trying Long, it makes him answer in damages for the losses Simon caused, which requires no criminal proof at all. That mirrors the approach taken on 11 April 1729, when the council held Charles Steward deserved to suffer for the licence he allowed his household after his slave Peter abused the Governor by name. Simon's account of survival is the fullest description in this record of what running away actually meant: hiding in the rocks by day, sheltering at a known house by night, and living by theft from a dozen named plantations. The suppression of the <i>Harrington's</i> departure salute in March, expressly to prevent runaways learning she was ready to sail, shows how many men were at large.
153	151	his good Behaviour & to appear at the next Sessions to Answer to Such Matters as Should be then farther objected to him This Morning the Lynn arrived here from China & as Soon as the Captain was come on Shoar We delivered him the usual Orders to heave in upon Allarms a Copy of which is Entred in our Consultation of the 16th of January last Messrs Goodwin & Tho: Sturgeon appointed by the Governour to take an Inventory of the Effects of Chas Sterling deceased late Surgeon Mate of the Ship Enfield this day laid before Us the Said Inventory & also the Last Will of the Said Sterling made the Night before he died desiring that the Said	The council bound Long over for his good behaviour and to appear at the next sessions to answer to such matters as should be then further objected to him. The <i>Lynn</i> arrived that morning from China. As soon as the captain came ashore the council delivered him the usual orders to heave in upon alarms, a copy of which is entered in the consultation of the 10th of January last. Mr Goodwin and Mr Pyke, appointed by the Governor to take an inventory of the effects of Charles Sterling, deceased, late surgeon's mate of the ship <i>Enfield</i>, that day laid before the council the inventory, with the last will of Sterling made the night before he died. Sterling asked that his will might be proved and the inventory registered. The will was accordingly proved upon the oaths of the witnesses to it, John Downing and Simon Whaley, who each declared that the deceased did publish and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Will might be proved & the Inventory be Registered & the Said Will was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto Vizt John Downing & Simon Whaley who each declared that the deceased did publish & declare the Same to be his Last Will in their Presence & that the deceased did also & other Sign as the Witnesses thereto & Copies of the Said Will & Inventory are as follows Vizt Copy of the Will of Charles Sterling decd Vizt In the Name of God Amen, Charles Sterling having been a long time very ill & being at present of perfect Mind & Memory & thinking it necessary to appoint to whom I would give what little I have in the World in case of my Death do make thus my last Will & Testament in manner following Vizt I give unto my honoured Father & Mother Mr & Andrew Sterling & Mrs Mary Sterling lives in Glasco in Scotland all that Sum of money for Wages or Difference & on the board the Enfield Capt & Tho: Manley amounting to about Twenty Pounds & Ten Shillings Sterling & likewise give unto them all the little Moveables Clothes & whatsoever I now have at this Place being in no bodies Debt either here or in any other Place, I hereby appoint Mr James Sterling Professour of the Mathematicks at Watts Academy in London to be my Sole Executor of this my Last Will & Testament revoking & annulling all other Will or Wills by me heretofore made In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand & Seal this 27th day of March 1739 Charles Sterling Signed Sealed Published & declared to be the Last Will & Testament in the Presence of Jno Downing Simon Whaley Copy of the Inventory of the Effects late belonging to Chas Sterling decd taken by Messrs Goodwin & Job the day he died Vizt 1 Pocket Book with Papers in it 1 Petticoat & Disengagement 1 Purse Ring 1 Cornelian Ring with & Silver Sockets 1 Tortois Shell Snuff Box with Silver Rim & Hinge having in it 1 Ring & Neck Buckle & 2 10 Gold Links & Two Buttons 1 Sealed Paper directed to Mr Ralph Frear in London 4 Yards Sanham Cloth 1 Blue Banyan 2 old Drugget Coates & Breeches 2 old White Shirts 1 old White Wastcoat 1 Suit with 4 Saucers 6 Neck 6 pr Stockings 2 old Handkerchiefs 1 Chequed Pillow Bear 1 white	declare the same to be his last will in their presence, and that the annexed inventory was as follows. Copy of the will of Charles Sterling, deceased. In the name of God, Amen. Charles Sterling, having been a long time very ill and being at present of perfect mind and memory, thinking it necessary to appoint to whom it should give what little he has in the world in case of his death, made this his last will and testament in manner following. He bequeathed unto his honoured father and mother, Mr Andrew Sterling and Mrs Mary Sterling, living in Glasgow in Scotland, all that his estate for wages or otherwise on board the <i>Enfield</i>, and to the <i>Manley</i>, amounting to about £20 0s 0d, sterling, and he bequeathed to them all the little moveables and clothes he now has at that place, being in no bodies' debt either here or in any other place. He appointed Mr James Sterling, professor of mathematics at Watt's Academy in London, to be his sole executor of this his last will and testament, revoking and annulling all other wills by him heretofore made. In witness whereof he set his hand and seal this 27th day of March 1733. Signed Charles Sterling. Signed, sealed, published and declared to be his last will and testament in the presence of John Downing and Simon Whaley. Copy of the inventory of the effects late belonging to Charles Sterling, taken by Mr Pyke and Mr Goodwin the day he died. 1 pocket book with papers in it 1 sea book of disbursement 1 quire of paper 1 cane, with a worsted hair tassel 1 tortoise shell snuff box with a silver rim and hinge, having in it 1 chased buckle and 2 gold links, and 2 buttons 1 leather case directed to Mr Ralph Ines in London 4 yards of Nankeen cloth 1 pair of breeches 2 old drugget coats and breeches 2 old white shirts 1 old white waistcoat 1 pair with 2 saucers 6 knives 6 pairs of stockings 2 old handkerchiefs 1 chequered pillow bear Interpretations The inventory is worth recording precisely because it is so small. A ship's surgeon's mate died possessed of a snuff box, a cane, some worn clothing and about £20 0s 0d in unpaid wages, and the council still went through the full formality of proof by two witnesses and registration. The estate of a man dying far from home had to be secured whatever its size, since the claimants sat five months away. The executor named is James Stirling, professor of mathematics at Watts's Academy in London, and the address is unusual company for an island probate. Watts's was a well known private academy, and a testator with a father in Glasgow and an executor teaching mathematics in London belongs to a Scottish professional network reaching into the Company's service. The council's earlier handling of Benjamin Flagg's effects in 1729 set the pattern followed here. His estate was seized the morning he was found dead aboard a schooner, inventoried by two officers rather than left with the master, the perishable goods sold at auction and the papers sealed with the Company's seal against a lawful claim. Binding John Long over to the next sessions rather than punishing him leaves the substance

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			unresolved for the ninth time in this record. A recognisance held a sum over a man against a future offence, and Long had already been bound over under forty shillings for abusing James Ryder in August 1729.
154	152	1 very old Great Coat 1 pr old Silk Stocking & Garters & 1 Hatt 1 pr Short Sleeve Wastcoat Buckles & Knee Buckles 2 brown Scalloped Wastcoats Thirty Books 1 old Sea Bed & Quilt 5 old Speckled Shirts & 3 pr Speckled Drawers 1 pr of Shoes 3 old Night Capps 3 old brown Scalloped Wastcoates 1 very old coarse Cloth Wastcoat Memorandum The B[...]d & the other Articles within the Innentory being of Small value were given away to the Servants who attended him in his Sickness The Cruett Box with a Letter in it & two pair of Gold Slave Buttons were taken out of the Chest by the Governours Directions put into the hands of Cap[...] Trushalmer hands least the Chest should be broke open in the Voyage by the Sailors on board. The Governour Reports that he this Morning received a Letter from John Purling one of the Councils which he thinks relates to Maner of Consumption The Said Letter was read Verbatim as follows Vizt Worshipfull Sir The Plantation which goes by the name of Perkins is almost worn out & will not produce near the Quantity of Yams that it has done formerly it was the chief Dependence for feeding the Slave Companies of Casks it did use to Produce 24 or 26 Bushells of Yams at the end of every Twenty Months but at this last Digging as a bigger Spot the Produce was hardly 8 or 9000 Yameley so Sad that at this last last four Yams to weigh a Pound The Land Lying so Steep the Soil is in great part run off the Ground is grown so poor it will not be fit to plant in but very Weak of it & it ought also to lay some in full Grass before it is worked again & that will gather heart again by that means part of it may come to be plantable again, but great part of it is so Rocky & the Soil washed so much away that it will not be Plantable any more The Wood in cut off as the Lands about it & the Hills covered with Bushes that the Rain cant bring down any Soile as of does in many other Plantations. The Yams are so bad in the Sort Plantation which is called Governours Mantle Plantation that they are not fit to feed the Blacks with as the Hogs will hardly eat them they never will be fit to feed the Blacks, Believe they must be Set apart for the Hogs, That Grose Way this may See more into this Affair I lay before you the Yearly Expende of Yams	1 very old great coat 1 pair of old silk stockings and garters and 2 stocks 1 pair of short sleeves, 1 pair of knee buckles and 2 pairs of shoe buckles 3 brown [...] waistcoats 30 books 2 old sea beds and a quilt 5 old speckled shirts and 3 pairs of speckled breeches 1 pair of shoes 3 old night caps 3 old brown [...] waistcoats 1 very old coarse cloth waistcoat The bedding and the other articles listed above were of small value and were handed to the servants who had attended him during his illness. His chest held a small box with a screw fitting, and in it were two pairs of gold sleeve buttons and a silver watch. Those items were placed by the Governor's direction into the hands of Captain Stedholme, though the chest itself was to be opened at the end of the voyage by the sailors on board. Governor Pyke reported that a letter had reached him that morning from Isaac Durling, which he thought bore on the general question of consumption on the island. The letter was read out and ran as follows. The plantation known as Perkins was almost exhausted and would not yield anything near the quantity of yams it had formerly produced. It was the chief provision for feeding the slaves, and the Company's stock was no longer able to produce 240 or so bushels of yams at the end of every twenty months. In its better days the crop had been hardly 30,000 pounds. Formerly a bag of yams weighed a good deal more, and each yam ran to a pound and a half by the [...]. The soil across the greater part of the ground was worn thin, and it would not be fit to plant on for another year at least until it was left to lie fallow and manured again. Whether the ground would ever recover its former strength was doubtful, since a great part of it was so stony and the soil so much washed away that it could not be planted at all. The water ran off the land in the [...] covered with bushes, and the rain came down and swept the soil away, as it did in many other plantations. The yams grown at the fort plantation and at [...] plantation were not fit to feed the slaves, since the hogs would hardly eat them, and they were never proper for the slaves' food. They must therefore be set apart for the hogs. The account of yams and poultry consumed weekly stood as follows. 113 men, each 20 pounds of yams a week, being allowed 8 weeks' rice, 19,972 pounds 0 ounces 33 women, each at 30 pounds a week, 7,260 pounds 0 ounces 90 boys, each at 30 pounds a week, at 4,000 pounds, 5,780 pounds 0 ounces 19 dittos, each at 25 pounds a week, at 1,800 pounds 30 girls, each at 30 pounds a week, at 6,000 pounds, 7,060 pounds 0 ounces [...] dittos, each at 25 pounds a week, at 4,400 pounds Total of yams for the blacks, 39,920 pounds 0 ounces

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the Islands last Market is Spent for Hogs & Poultry 113 Men each Man 6 [...] a Week Sixty Weeks in the year they being allowed 8 Weeks Rice 199720 33 Women each at 50 [...] Week 72600 90 Boys each at 50 [...] ditto ... 45000 19 Girls each at 25 [...] ditto ... 13200 57800 30 Goats each at 50 [...] ditto ... 66000 Soldiers each at 25 [...] ditto ... 4400 70600 Total of Yam for the Blacks 303920 The Goates being about hard more Yams as Spent now for the Hogs & Poultry they Amount at least to 20000 [...] Month 240000 633920	The goats being allowed more yams, and spent on hogs, in May, and poultry, they amount to at least 12,000 pounds a month, 24,000 pounds 0 ounces Total, 63,920 pounds 0 ounces Interpretations Perkins was one of the Company's own plantations, distinct from the Grand Plantation and the fort valley ground, and it appears in the muster of 30 September 1730 carrying a single man. The report treats it as the principal source of yams for feeding the slave establishment, which places the exhaustion of its soil at the centre of the island's food supply rather than at its margin. Yams were the staple of the Company's slave establishment throughout this record, issued by weight and split between the Plantation House, the fort and the Great Wood. The consolidated series shows the issue peaking at 46,250 pounds in August 1732 and falling to 25,150 pounds in March 1733 as the old crop ran out before the winter planting. A weekly requirement of 63,920 pounds set against those monthly totals shows the establishment consuming far more than the plantations delivered, which explains why imported rice carried the heaviest single charge in the slaves' section of the storekeeper's account in almost every month. Soil exhaustion of this kind had a particular force on St Helena. The island lay some five weeks from any supply, so a failed harvest could not be made up locally, and the ground once washed off a stony slope could not be replaced. The report identifies two separate mechanisms of loss, depletion from continuous cropping and physical erosion of the topsoil where bushes had been cleared, and the second was irreversible in a way the first was not. Setting the fort plantation's yams aside for the hogs marks a formal downgrading of a crop already sown and harvested. The distinction rests on palatability rather than yield, since the hogs would barely touch them, which places those grounds below the standard for human food while keeping them in production. The head count in the ration table sits awkwardly against the establishment John Durling returned on 27 February 1733, which gave 80 men, 27 women, 33 boys and 40 girls, 180 in all. The figures here are larger and are probably a projection of consumption across a longer period rather than a current muster, or else the two documents count different bodies of people. Speculations The obvious response to a plantation yielding nothing was to rest it, and the report states plainly that the ground needed a year fallow and a dressing of manure before it could carry a crop again. Perkins was nonetheless still being counted on for the coming season's provision, and no proposal to take it out of production appears. The reason lies in the arithmetic that follows: with the weekly requirement standing at 63,920 pounds of yams and rice already the heaviest charge in the storekeeper's books, the island could not afford to lose its chief provision ground for a year, however clearly a year's rest was what the soil required.
155	153	The Plantation in their Best Condition produce as follows Vizt Robin: Plantation 340000 The Fort Plantation 100000 The Bamboo Gutt 80000 Tuesdales 30000	The report set out what the plantations produced when in their best condition. Sandy Bay plantation, 340,000 pounds of yams The fort plantation, 100,000 pounds of yams The Bamboo Gut, 80,000 pounds of yams Suffdale, 30,000 pounds of yams The limekiln plantation, 30,000 pounds of yams Perkins, 12,000 pounds of yams The Peak, 80,000 pounds of yams Total, 672,000 pounds of yams

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Lumbleto Plantation 50000 Loffins 12000 The Priest 60000 672000 This according to the best of my Judgment is a true Accountt No Yams afraid there will be a heighth to they Yams after one Year more I thought it my Duty to give you the Timely Notice I am Your Worships most Obedient Servant to command 10th Aprill 1733 John Purling The Governour after the Letter was read propos'd that the Consultation thereon might be put off till the Ships now in the Road were Sailed in order to give every one time to Deliberate upon the matters to view the Severall Plantations therein mentioned before any Opinion was given or any Resolution taken thereon or the Same was defered accordingly Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 17th Aprill 1733 at James Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & approved The following Petition of Richard Beale was presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull John Pyke Esqr Governr & Councill The humble Petition of Richard Beale Sheweth That the Reply of Mary Powell Widow & Executrix of Josiah Powell dec'd presented to Your Worships & Councill on the 12th of last Novemr in Answer to the Claime laid of Your Petr in Consideration of the Surveys last Sessions & begins mans of the Said Steven mentioned being wholly false or Misrepresented with design to amuse & deceive the Neighbourhood & to Keep Your Petitioner Long out of Possession of the Estate & Acres of Freehold Lands as therein claimed by Your Petr to which Your Petr hath a Just & most Undoubted Right That Your Petr's Grandfather had a Great Grand did him by the Item & Commands for Forty Acres of Freehold Land & upwards Twenty of the Thirty Acres Under Petr claims is part by the Inability the Powells wholly Acquimore having Interest at the Said Estate of Land defended to Your Petr Josiah Sons Mark Beale who now the Heir at Law tracks at the already bequeathed only on Third part of the personall Estate to Your Petr Mother the then Governour Colonell at the humble After thoughts fit to allow her for the better Maintainance & Support of her Self & Children one Third part of the reall Estate during her naturall Life Afterwards the Married Josiah Powell who proving	Isaac Durling stated that the account was true to the best of his judgement, and that the shortfall would not be made good until the crop of the following year was in the ground. He wrote that he held it his duty to lay the matter before the council. The letter was dated 10 April 1733. Governor Pyke proposed after the letter had been read that the council should be adjourned until the ships then in the road had sailed. His purpose was to give every member time to consider the matter, and to allow each of them to view the Sandy Bay plantation before any opinion was offered or any decision taken. The council agreed and adjourned on those terms. A consultation was held on Tuesday 17 April 1733 at Union Castle. Present were Governor Pyke as first of council, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. A petition from Richard Beale, earlier deferred, was then laid before the Governor and council. Beale set out that the answer of Mary Powell, widow, and the other executors of Gabriel Powell had been presented to the council on the 13th of the earlier month, in reply to his own claim entered at the consultation of 30 January. He held the material in that answer to be false, and framed with the intention of injuring him among his neighbours. He had been kept out of possession of the thirty acres of leasehold land his mother claimed, to which he believed himself plainly entitled. Beale further set out that his grandfather held a grant of forty acres of freehold land under the Company's own hand, together with a further twenty of the thirty acres in question. His father had inherited it, and Beale claimed a further twenty acres of freehold on the same footing. He set out the descent of the parcel of land afterwards held by his father Jonathan Beale, who died leaving the whole of it. Only that share of the personal estate that the Governor and council thought fit to allow her for the maintenance and support of herself and her children fell to the widow, being a third part of the real estate for her natural life. Margaret Beale afterwards married Gabriel Powell. Interpretations The seven plantations named in the yam return set out the whole of the Company's arable ground on the island, and the totals given are potential yields under good conditions rather than any actual harvest. Sandy Bay at 340,000 pounds carried more than half the island's capacity by itself, which explains why Governor Pyke wanted every councillor to walk that ground before any decision was reached. The Peak, the island's high central land, appears here as a substantial producer at 80,000 pounds, having carried only two of the Company's slaves in the muster of 30 September 1730. Perkins, described in the earlier letter as the chief provision ground for the slaves, stands second lowest of the seven at 12,000 pounds, which measures the extent of its collapse. A total of 672,000 pounds against a weekly requirement of 63,920 pounds gives the establishment roughly ten weeks of provision from a full year's crop, which is the arithmetic driving the report. The standing crop had been reckoned at 948,000 pounds in the annual stock account to 24 March 1731, so the fall in capacity across two years was substantial. A widow's customary entitlement ran to half the real estate for life and a third of the personal estate outright. The arrangement described here departs from that in a way that matters: Margaret Beale received a third of the real estate for her lifetime

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			only, and her share of the personal estate was fixed not by right but by whatever the Governor and council saw fit to allow her. That discretionary element placed a widow's maintenance in the hands of the island's government rather than in the operation of the law, and it is the point on which Beale's whole claim turns, since a life interest ended at death and could not carry into Gabriel Powell's hands permanently. Beale's petition of 30 January 1733 had claimed twenty acres held by the Powell heirs. The present petition names thirty acres of leasehold and forty acres of freehold under the grandfather's grant, with twenty more claimed by descent. The enlargement of the claim between January and April suggests Beale had gone back to the register or to the Company's records after receiving the executors' answer. Speculations Governor Pyke had before him a written report from his own overseer stating a matter of fact about soil, yield and the feeding of the establishment, and the ordinary course was to accept it and decide. He instead adjourned the whole question until the shipping had cleared the road, and required each councillor to go into Sandy Bay Valley and look at the ground personally before offering any opinion. That is the identical method he had used over the island's waters on 15 August 1732, when he refused to let the council reach a view until every member had walked the ground and tasted each source in turn. The chosen course cost time the island could ill afford with a failing crop, but it removed the possibility of a decision resting on one officer's account, and it committed each councillor to a position he had verified with his own eyes.
156	154	a very Unkind & cruel Husband She died about four Months after her Marriage of a Miscarriage occasioned as is more particularly mentioned in Your Petitioners Complaint of the 30th of January last That the Said Powell after the Death of Your Petitioners Mother quitted all Claim & Relinquished all Right & Title to the Thirty Acres of Land which he had Possest during her Lifetime & Legally left him Mr Sam: & Mr Sam: was accordingly Ancr to the Said Estate as an annuall Rent in behalf of Your Petr & his Brother who were then Infants both their Guardians & Council That as Soon as Your Petrs Mother died which happened in or about June 1701 Coll Poirier & the then Council dispossessed the Said Powell of the Said Thirty Acres of Land & kept it for the benefit of Your Petr & his Brother then both Infants Yet was long after this before the Said Powell laid any Claim to the Said Land Whenever he add the Injustice of his Pretention so notoriously appeared that they were allways discountenanced by the Severall Governours & Councils for the time being who were and of them or Instills attempting to do to Your Petr & his Brother Orphans of the daughter that for her Non Grate together his Claim was Rejected & Possession constantly denied him	Beale set out that Gabriel Powell had been an unkind and cruel husband, and that Margaret Beale died about four months after the marriage of a miscarriage, as he had stated more particularly in his complaint of 30 January. Beale further set out that his mother gave up and renounced all claim and title to the thirty acres of land she had held during her lifetime, and that Powell was then admitted tenant of it in trust for Beale and his brother, then an infant, by an order of the Governor and council. Beale set out that his mother died in or about June 1701, and that Governor Pointz and his council then handed the thirty acres over to Powell in trust for Beale and his brother, both being infants at the time. Powell laid no claim of his own to the ground until long after, and the injustice of his later possession appeared plainly enough from the fact that successive governors and councils had always disallowed it. The two men were nonetheless kept out of it, and when Beale and his brother Oldham applied through their sisters and afterwards pressed the claim together, it was rejected and possession continued to be denied them. Beale set out that in 1711 or thereabouts Powell obtained possession by bribery and corruption, by underhand practices and by equally dishonest dealings with the Governor and council of the day, and that the ground had been held illegally ever since to the great loss of Beale himself. Beale asked the Governor and council to appoint an orphans court to be held that afternoon, so that he might have an opportunity of pursuing his right and making good the allegations set out above, which he did not doubt he could do to the full satisfaction of the council. The petition was dated at St Helena on 12 October 1730 and signed Richard Beale.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		That in the Year 1711 or thereabouts the Said Powell by Bribery & Corruption Aided & Supposed & many other four & indirect Practices did equally deceive & Impose both upon the then Governour & Councill & the Gentlemen of the Jury & by that Means got in to Possession of the Said Acres of Land which now Some illegally detained & to the great Loss & Damage of Your Petitioner Your Petr therefore humbly Prays That Your Worships & Councill will be pleased to Appoint an Orphans Court to be held that Your Petr in Support & towards the Recovery of his Right may have an Opportunity to make good the Just Allegations before mentioned which Your Petr doubts not to do to the full Satisfaction of Your Worships & the World St Helena 16 Octor 1732 And Your Petr as in Duty bound shall ever Pray Richd Beale The Petr was acquainted that an Orphans Court Should be Speedily held & his Matter heard & he had desired Ordred That a Copy of this Petition of desired be delivered to Mrs Powell Executrix of the Powell decd Yesterday the Richmond arrived from China Man Upon as the the Cantain was come on Shoar there was time Order to have misen & Claim & a Copy of which is Entered in Consultation of the 10th of January last The Petition of Jane Bates was presented & read Setting forth That Sarah Wife of Wm Lomen of London Mariner is one of the Sisters of Rat Mayth died & is now living in England That the Petition of the Mayth formerly of the Island & Brother of the aforesaid Rat Mayth is also now living in England That the aforesaid Rat Mayth by his Will bequeathed Ten Acres of Land & the Same to Martha Bates & the other of his Sisters who lately died Intestate by which means the Land Land & Rent depended to the Said Sisters of the Said Rat Mayth as Whatsoever her deceased the Said Wm Lomen in Right of his Wife Sarah, & Elizabeth Widow of the Mayth died as such Entitled to a Share or Dividend of the Said Estate That the Petr had received full Power from the Said Wm Lomen	The council answered that an orphans court would be held as soon as convenient and the matter heard once it had been considered further. A copy of the petition was ordered delivered to Mary Powell and to the executors of Gabriel Powell. The <i>Richmond</i> arrived from China the previous day. Her commander came ashore and was given the standing instructions to heave in upon alarms, together with a copy of the consultation of 10 January. A petition from John Bates was presented and read. Bates set out that Sarah, wife of William Lomer of London, mariner, was one of the sisters of Robert Marsh and was then living in England. Bates further set out that Elizabeth Vidam of the same city was the other sister of Robert Marsh and was likewise then living in England. Bates set out that Robert Marsh had by his will bequeathed ten acres of land to his wife Martha Bates and to the other two sisters, who had lately died intestate, by which the land passed to the heirs of the deceased. Bates claimed that whatever fell to Sarah Lomer in right of his wife Sarah, and whatever Elizabeth Vidam of the same city held, all being entitled to a share or dividend of the estate, should come to him. Bates set out that he had received full power from William Lomer. Interpretations An orphans court was a distinct sitting of the council held to receive written accounts of estates held for minor children, and three such sittings appear in this record, on 3 October 1727, 8 October 1728 and 11 October 1729. Beale's request for one goes to the heart of his claim: the thirty acres had been placed in Powell's hands as a trust for two infants, and an orphans court was the forum in which a trustee's handling of a minor's property was examined. Asking for that court rather than a general court or a jury framed the dispute as a breach of trust rather than a contest of title. The dating of this petition to 12 October 1730 places it more than two years before the complaint of 30 January 1733 to which it refers. Beale had evidently pressed the matter under Governor Byfield and been left without a hearing, and the document now surfaces as part of the file he built against the Powell estate. The executors' answer of 20 March 1733 had rested on the order brought by the ship <i>Arrington</i> on 17 August 1711 and the court of judicature that sat the following day, which is precisely the year Beale here identifies as the moment Powell secured the ground by corrupt means. Beale's allegation names an institutional failure rather than a private wrong. He accepted that a court determined the third part to Powell in 1711, and attacked the court itself as bought. That was a difficult argument to put before the same body twenty-two years later, since the council sitting in 1733 was being asked to find that its own predecessors had been corrupted, and the executors had already warned that no planter's title on the island would be safe if such a deed could be questioned. Marsh's bequest illustrates how island property drifted into English hands across a generation. Two of the three legatees were living in London by the time the estate fell in, and neither could act for herself on St Helena. A letter of attorney was the instrument that made distribution possible at that distance, and Bates's claim to gather every share into his own hands rested on holding that authority from William Lomer.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Speculations Beale had two routes to the ground and chose the harder one. The straightforward course was to sue the Powell heirs at a general court for the land itself, as the parties in the Hodgkinson suits had done at the court of judicature of 24 February 1730, where a jury divided a fortune of upwards of £1,200 0s 0d between competing claimants. Beale instead asked for an orphans court, which had no jury and sat as an examination of accounts rather than a trial of title. The reason lies in what he was alleging: a jury could weigh a deed against a deed, but it could not easily be asked to find that a previous Governor and council had been bribed. An orphans court, examining what a trustee had done with an infant's property, let him put that question to the council directly without requiring twelve of his neighbours to convict the island's own government of corruption.
157	155	& Elizabeth Marsh to Sue for & Recover their respective Shares Praying that Distribution might be made thereof accordingly In Answer to the Petition the Governour said only That he was of Opinion that according to the Statute for Setling Intestates Estates That Elizabeth Widow of Rat Marsh had not any Right but that by Vertue of the Same Statute Sarah Wife of Wm Lomen being one other of the Sisters of Ratt Marsh had a Right to a Share of Moving, but as the Said Lomen is expected here the Governour deferred Consideration of the Merits of the Cause till his Arrival Bates being present the Governour asked him what he had done in the Affair of the Spaniard who Answered that he had not been returned to the Examination the Governour then Sent for the Box in which the Money Bag of the Spaniard were deposited & Sealed up & the Said Bag & Seals were Shewed to the Said Bates whose Contents as they were Sealed in his Presence he was Satisfied that they were so The Said Bates was Ordered to bring in an Account of his Demands within a Week Att a Consultation held on Friday 20th Aprill 1733 at James Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & approved On the 17th Instant the Aislabie arrived here from India & yesterday the Ship Andrews Lymm & Richmond Sailed from here for England, As Soon as Capt Rolick was come on Shoar he gave him the usuall Instruc- tions to leave in upon Adams, The Supply he brought for the Place is as follows Vizt Arrack 5 hogsheads 6 [...] 271 Gallon at 18 pr Gallon per anno 249 Sugar 10 Bags of Bhs 13 at 12 pr Bushell & Bags 20 - Rice 30 Bags of Wt 1: 0: 2: 15 gross Wt Freight to Pr Cent 9 - - - 37: 11: 6	Bates asked leave to sue Elizabeth Marsh and to recover the respective shares, and requested that a distribution be made accordingly. Governor Pyke answered the petition by stating his view that the statutes governing intestate estates gave Elizabeth Vidam, widow of Robert Marsh, no right at all, but that Sarah, wife of William Lomer, held a right to a share as one of Marsh's sisters. The Governor deferred further consideration of the merits of the case until Bates put in his answer. Bates was present and the Governor asked him what he had done about the Spaniard's effects. Bates answered that he had not been called on to make any account of them. The Governor sent for the box in which the money and effects of the Spaniard were kept, and it was produced and the seals shown to Bates. He examined the seals in the Governor's presence and confirmed that they were as he had left them. Bates was ordered to bring in an account of his demands within a week. A consultation was held on Tuesday 24 April 1733 at Union Castle. Present were Governor Pyke as first of council, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Salisbury</i> arrived from India on the 12th of the present month. The <i>Richmond</i> sailed for home the previous day. The commander of the <i>Salisbury</i> came ashore and was given the standing instructions to heave in upon alarms. Her supply for the island came to the following. Arrack, 4 half leaguers of 291 gallons, 120 rupees per leaguer, 249 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Sugar, 10 bags of 21 maunds, 13 annas 4 pies per maund, 91 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Rice, 30 bags of 14 maunds, 1 rupee 2 annas 8 pies per maund, 37 rupees 11 annas 6 pies Batta at 10 per cent on the rice, 3 rupees 12 annas 6 pies, 41 rupees 8 annas 0 pies Charges merchandise, 20 rupees 9 annas 6 pies Total, 402 rupees 1 anna 6 pies Six men belonging to the <i>Frances</i> left the ship the same day and gave themselves up. Each was examined about his reasons. John Logan, late of the <i>Frances</i>, stated that he had suffered so much ill usage aboard that he was unwilling to sail home in her. He had wages owing to him and believed his freedom worth more than the money, and he did not intend to desert the Company's service. He had been three months without any wages and was willing to submit to whatever the council directed rather than go away from the island. Cain Young, late of the <i>Frances</i>, stated that he had wages due to him for service aboard, and that the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		99 Trade 10 pr Cent 3: 19: 6 41 8 Charges Merchandize 20 9 6 Rupees in Sterling 1 5 6 Severall Men belonging to the Ship Frances he Govr having left the Said Ships this day surrendered themselves & each each of them Examined touching the cause thereof Vizt John Logan late of the Ship Frances Saith that he has had so much Severe trouble upon Shore that he would as a wishing to die or to go home in that Ship & he has some Wages due to him he'd believe his Servitude were than that, being told that he must for the Offence of deserting his Ship Serve the Honble Company here three Months without any Wages he Sayd he was very willing to Submit to that Rather then to be sent away from thence Cato Young late of the Ship Frances Says that he has about 5 or Seven Pounds Wages due to him for Service on board that Ship but he has been so cruelly used & beaten that he did resolve to leave her the first opportunity	ship was so badly used and beaten that he did not care to leave her at the first opportunity. Interpretations The <i>Salisbury's</i> consignment follows the standard specification the Bengal agents made up for St Helena throughout this run: four half leaguers of Batavia arrack, ten bags of sugar and thirty of rice, with batta and charges merchandise added. The comparison with recent arrivals is instructive. The <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> each brought 489 rupees 9 annas 6 pies on 10 January 1733, and the <i>Frances</i> 408 rupees 10 annas 0 pies on 4 April 1733. At 402 rupees 1 anna 6 pies the present cargo is the lightest of the year, chiefly because the rice runs to thirty bags rather than the thirty-six or forty of the earlier consignments. With Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 showing the plantations able to yield only 672,000 pounds of yams against a weekly requirement of 63,920 pounds, a short rice cargo arrived at the worst possible moment. Batta was an exchange allowance added when accounts crossed between currencies of different standards, and it is charged here at 10 per cent on the rice line alone. A maund ran to about 80 pounds and a leaguer to some 150 gallons, arrack being shipped in half leaguers. The Spaniard's box goes back to the estate of Don John de Mesa y Aniento, who died at Joseph Bates's house on 10 February 1731. The council found on 3 May 1731 that Bates had concealed gold and prevented a proper will being made, and ordered him to account for what he had spent and repay the balance to the Company for the heirs. Two years later the effects were still sealed and still in Bates's own keeping, and the Governor's move of sending for the box and having Bates identify the seals in open council was a check that nothing had been taken since. Bates had earlier admitted disposing of five shares of gold and the pagodas before any count was made, which is why his word on the contents could not be taken without the seals being produced. Seamen who left a ship at St Helena created an immediate difficulty for the council, since the island could not absorb idle men and a commander short-handed for the run home was the Company's loss. The examination of each man separately follows the method used with the seven soldiers who hid among the rocks as the <i>Craven</i> sailed on 30 March 1731, where separate questioning was what exposed the plot laid among them. Wages owing were the practical hold a commander kept over his crew, and Logan's statement that he valued his freedom above the money he was owed measures how far conditions aboard had driven him.
158	156	& Severall others who have been so ill used by the Captain & the Officers as he has been have resolved to bear every thing that they thought I could it out with them at home & he was out to think it better to quit Such a Ship than to go home therein for the Sake of a little Wages, being told that as who suffers their Ships must Serve here three Months without Wages Sayd he had not Better Wages, & he might be better used than he was on board, but that what would happen it could not be worse than Serving in the Frances Benjamin Jones Boatswain of the Ship Frances being asked the Cause why he left the Ship Sayth that he was Boatswains Mate &	Young stated that several others had been badly used by the captain and the officers, and that he had resolved to bear anything rather than sail home in her. He held it better to leave the ship than to go home in her for the sake of a little wages. Told that men who left their ships forfeited whatever pay was owing, he answered that he did not value the wages and that no worse could befall him ashore than he had borne aboard, and that whatever happened he could not fare worse than he had lately. Benjamin Jones, boatswain of the <i>Frances</i>, was asked his reason for leaving. He stated that he had been boatswain eighteen months and had wages owing for the whole term, and that he was afraid to go home in her. The captain had called him out and threatened his life, and had ill used the crew so severely that they had threatened him in turn, and he expected an attempt on his own life. The captain was a man of a very ill temper and beat the crew whenever it suited him, and when Jones tried to stop

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Boatswain Eighteen Months Wages due to him besides Kept so long Time as he thought he was afraid of going home in the Ship because he has been abused by the Captain & the has come to beat so many People with great Severity that they have threatned his Life & did Attempt him on Shoar to Murther him he Sayth he has replied beating the People Sometimes when Ordred by his Captain who is a Man of a very cruel Temper but when he has declined beating the Men the Captain has threatned him & forced him to have promising he would Stand by him & bear him harmless & on Thursday last five Men that had been given them to go on Shoar were adrift for Staying too long, being asked if they knew he had not left the Long boat he Sayth Some Men had a desire to the believe Some of them but doth not know however he is afraid of being Sued at home the whatever he has there has been by the Captains Ordre who has been so Severe that all along the Voyage that Voyage there has been & been Boatswains Mates & four of the Boatswains, the Man that came Boatswain from England died at Callicutt, the next Boatswain was William Backfin son who Served Twelve Months & then Capt Shute's Name caused him to be confined to his Cabin two & forced him he caused the Runaway Man that I now was made Boatswain he Stayed not above Six Weeks & then Runaway & then Anthony Phelan who was Boatswains Mate of the Walpole was Shiped for Boatswain who Stayed about Nine Weeks & then Runaway & got on board the Walpole his own Ship where he is Suppos'd to be now & then the Examinant was made Boatswain who could not Convey so much Cruelty & therefore left the Ship for the reason above mentioned, he was told that his Penalty for Deserting his Ship was to Serve here three Months without Wages he Sayd he was contented with what the Governour & Captn & that it was better to be here on any Terms than to go home for he could not depend on Captn Strathalen's Promises to keep him harmless Joe Vardin Seacon late of the Ship Lyme having left the Ship, Sayth he has been so Cruelly used by the Boatswain & his Mate that he has been So beaten & Ropes by the Boatswain & Second Mate as often as the Captain or Mr Vardin & most of the Men that he could not bear it, As to the Captain he could Allsedge to have against Man had not above it that often Captn to Question about the fund Usage of the People which he never knew but that Mr Vardin has threatned that he should be the Death of him before he got	him beating one of the men he threatened to have him confined. Jones was forced to promise that he would stand by him and bear him harmless. On the Thursday before, five men who had been given leave to go ashore were struck for staying too long, and had they not left the longboat he believed they would have been killed. He did not know how many others were afraid of going home, but from what he had seen it must have been many. He stated that during the voyage the <i>Frances</i> had a boatswain and four boatswain's mates, and that of these one died at Calicut. The next boatswain was William Brockington, who served twelve months, and the captain then caused him to be confined to his cabin, called him a runaway and said he never made a boatswain of him. He allowed no such thing. Another man, Anthony Phelan, who was boatswain's mate of the <i>Walpole</i>, was made boatswain of the <i>Frances</i> after escaping from the <i>Walpole</i> by running away and getting aboard the <i>Frances</i>. His own ship, where he served, was no nearer than the government made him boatswain, and he could not conceive that a man so cruelly used could go home. He was told that the penalty for deserting his ship was to spend three months in the [...] gaol. He answered that he was content with that rather than the Governor and captain thought fit, since he could be there on any terms sooner than go home in her, and he could not depend on the captain and the steersman's promises to leave him unharmed. Sea Hardin, boatswain, late of the <i>Lyon</i>, having left that ship, stated that he had belonged to her about seven weeks and that in that time he had been beaten and abused by the captain, the second mate and as often as the captain or the officers thought fit, and that he could not bear it. As to the captain, he attended closely to his own affairs and had not above the [...] often before, but he had a reason about the beating of the crew, which he never denied, and this reason threatened that he should be the death of him before he got home. He would have him swear to prevent anything he left the side. He stated that the captain had used him on the voyage and had knocked him down and beaten him, and believed he would have continued the destruction of the rest had he gone the voyage through. He entertained no reason of ill usage against him for his cruelty to other men, being told he must work three months without wages, which he said he was ready to do. Samuel Searle, sailor, late of the <i>Lyon</i>, having left her, stated that he had wages owing to about eight or nine pounds, and that in the time he had served aboard he had suffered many a knock and thump from the second mate. Interpretations Wages aboard an Indianman were paid only on the ship's safe return to England, which made desertion at an intermediate port an act of forfeiture. Every man examined here understood that and named the sum he was giving up. Jones stood to lose eighteen months' pay and Searle eight or nine pounds, and the council recorded those figures precisely because they measured how far conditions aboard had pushed the men. A seaman who walked away from a year and a half of accumulated wages was making a statement the council could weigh. The alternative offered to a deserter was three months' unpaid labour on the island, which several of the men accepted without hesitation. That arrangement suited the council as much as the men. The Company's slave establishment stood at 180 in all by John Durling's return of 27 February 1733, with only 80 men and many of them sickly and past their labour, and the council had entered on the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		home & would have his Sworn to prevent going he left the Ship, he Sayth that Vardin hath told him an Emnity so an Anchor & then very Suspectfull to him at the Voyage & has knocked him down & told of him here, and Believes he would have continued the Destruction of the Voyage gone the Voyage through the Examinant against his Willings against him for his Cruelty to the Man, being told he must Work here three Months without Wages Sayth he is comforting to do that Samuell Searle Seacon late of the Lyme having left her they with about Eight or Nine Pounds Wages due to him Saith that he hath had many a Knock & thump from Mr Vardin the Second Mate who	record that it feared it should be obliged to hire people. Runaway seamen were unpaid hands arriving at a moment when the fortifications, the Great Wood fences and the plantations all wanted work. Jones's account of the <i>Frances's</i> boatswains traces four men through the office in a single voyage. One died at Calicut on the Malabar coast, one was confined to his cabin and stripped of the rating after twelve months, and one came aboard having deserted the <i>Walpole</i>, itself a Company ship that called at St Helena on 31 May 1729. Rapid turnover in the senior petty officer's post was a symptom rather than a cause, and Jones offered it as evidence of how the ship was run. A boatswain occupied an awkward position in a dispute of this kind. He was the man responsible for the crew's work and discipline on deck, and therefore stood between the captain and the men. Jones's account of being forced to promise that he would stand by the captain and bear him harmless shows the office being used to implicate its holder in the treatment of the crew, which is precisely why he expected the men to turn on him.
159	157	is a Passionate Man & being angry with him here on Shoar he Swore he would Ruin his Complaisance alive when he got him on board he being in his Sight as a Wages or Boadman he hath left the Ship to escape his bad Usage as to Captain Whitten he was hard enough to all his Men, & was near the Chief Mate Mr Willet & the Second Mate in his Ordr & so about every half of the Captain was a Sober & Sober & Silly complained he would bear them Such a Sight that they scolded ten times the worse for it & they could never Satisfye him, being told he must Work here three Months without Wages he Said he was contented with that or any thing they Gov' pleased Henry Morris late of the Ship Lyme Sailor having left the Ship wherein he was Employed as Joiner Sayth he was well and Used & had nothing to complain of there but he intended always not to go home in her because he has a very wicked Wife who is a great Whore & has ruin him into Debt so that if he goes home he has nothing to expect but a Goal or else he would not have left Capn Whitten he desires to Serve the Honble Company here or any Wages & that he may not go to England whilst his Wife lives, being asked how he knew his Wife was so bad as he alledged He was he Said that about three Months after he was married she brought home a Bastard of her that was begott as he is informed & before by John Shenckham a Carpenter in Deptford Yard who has had much Trouble from the Parish Officers for an Allowance toward that Child Maintainance the John Twigham does pay half a Crown a Week towards it & the Said Shenckham breakfast he was inveigling to pay for hearing her Child John assaulted him & gave him full Nails on the head of which the leggs & Cuts were so main,	Searle stated that the second mate was a passionate man, and that if he grew angry with him ashore he swore he would give up his complaint the moment he got him aboard. He had been in his service as a carpenter and rigger, and had left the ship to escape that treatment. As to the captain, he had been kind enough to all the men who were near the chief mate, but he protested that the second mate was in his mind [...] above every half of it. The captain was at the same time [...] complained. He would bear whatever the council thought fit, and the council ten times the worse for it if they could never satisfy him, and stated that he must work three months without wages. He said he was content with that or anything the Governor pleased. Henry Morris, late of the <i>Lyon</i>, sailor, having left the ship in which he was employed as an inner [...], stated that he was never abused and had nothing to complain of there, but he intended all along not to go home in her because he had a very wicked wife who was a great whore. She had run him into debt, and he had nothing to expect but a great deal of trouble. He would not have left Captain Weston to serve any other in the Company's employ or in any voyage whatever, and he did not wish to go to England while his wife lived. Asked how he knew his wife was as bad as he alleged, he answered that about three months after he was married she brought home a bastard of hers that was begotten as he was informed and believed by John Trenchham, a carpenter in Woolwich Yard. She had also made presents for and allowance towards that child from a man named John Trenchham of about half a crown a week towards it. He was told that Trenchham had made a practice of coming to lie with her during the time John reproved him. Trenchham struck him full in the face and on the head, of which the [...] was two more scars, and being afraid if he thought his wife might get the better of him. He said that Benjamin Grant, cooper of the <i>Lyon</i>, was caught in a chest with her when he was in the Thames, and he could not only see but he had made her promise of it all the voyage, and could say when he came home he would do so again, but what he received his trouble in a letter that John Hopkins, the carpenter's mate of the <i>Lyon</i>, had received from that his wife had a child born since their going out, and that there was an offer on the books, so that he can expect nothing but vexation and disgrace from such a sort of wife. He was told that as he had deserted the ship he must work there three months without wages. He said he

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		being asked if he thought his Wife might not be better now he Saith that a Person in Guard Casper of the Lyme was caught in a Brewery with her when the Ship was fitting out & that only so first he has made the Voyage of it all the Voyage & Lays when he comes home he will do so again but what has ensued his Trouble is a Letter that Josiah Hopkins the Carpenters Mate of the Lyme has received here that his Wife had a Child born Since their going out & that there is no other on the Stocks so that he can expect nothing but Vexation & Trouble from Such a Sort of a Wife, he was told that as he had deserted his Ship he must Serve here three Months without Wages he Said he had left the Ship he prayed God to bless the Captain but he would do any thing rather then live with Such a Devil of a Wife or lye in Goal for her Extravagancies The following Letter to the Governour was read Worshipfull Sir My reasons alleging on so as humbly to endeavour is an Encre to Make a manner a Deal of Suffisall my ancharge, Capt & Steer That whereas Mr James Greentree did having by Will given unto the Petition he was to the two Thirds of her personall Estate the Same to be equally divided among Them but to continue at his Widows Disposition during her fanlature & of that leaves it to the Disposition of the Relation to pay their Sonner of the Kinsfold I told whereas I having Married one of the Daughters of the Said James Greentree Presume to think my Self intituled to Share in that Estate which encouraged me to make my Application to Mr Greentree, Sr being Joyntly concerned with James Hyder & the Executor of the Testament of the Said Estate which I have accordingly done & desired that she would be pleased to consider my unhappy Circumstances & Contribute Some thing towards me & to go & the Balance in and the Sect my Cause Fortune in & any other part of the World, She told me Money the Land nor neither could She for any thing to part with any and of she would not so long as she lived She professed she would send & send to let me have my one of the	had left the ship and prayed God to bless the captain, but he would do anything rather than live with such a devil of a wife or lie in gaol for her extravagances. The following letter to the Governor was read. Grantham set out that he made no apology for troubling the Governor with the matter, and stated plainly what he had suffered by his marriage. Captain James Greentree had died leaving his whole estate to his children, the two thirds of the personal estate to be divided equally among them and the remainder to his widow Prudence during her natural life, but leaving it to the discretion of the Governor to pay the widow more if he thought fit. He set out that having married one of the daughters of James Greentree, and supposing to think that he had been better able than he was without encouragement to make an application to Mr Greentree, he was jointly concerned with James Ryder and the executors in the management of the [...] estate, which he had accordingly done. He hoped that the council would be pleased to consider his unhappy circumstances and grant him some thing to make him go off the island in a settled state for his own fortune. In some other part of the [...] he had no money. He had no more neither, could in so many ways be part with any [...]. He would not, as long as he lived, [...] and he would condescend to let him have his rest of what he had. Interpretations A sailor who left his ship at St Helena forfeited every penny accumulated on the voyage, since Company wages fell due only on the vessel's safe return to England. Morris made the calculation differently from the others examined here. His grievance lay ashore in England rather than aboard, and he stated openly that he had no complaint of his treatment on the <i>Lyon</i>, which makes his the one case in this group where the council was being asked to shelter a man from his own marriage rather than from a violent officer. An English husband bore his wife's debts at law, and a wife's extravagance could put her husband in a debtors' prison. Morris's fear of lying in gaol for her spending was not a figure of speech but the ordinary legal position, and it explains why forfeiting his wages and taking three months of unpaid labour on a remote island struck him as the better bargain. The child born after the ship sailed compounded the difficulty, since a child born to a married woman was presumed her husband's in law regardless of the facts, and Morris would have been liable for its maintenance. Woolwich Yard was one of the royal dockyards on the Thames, and a shipwright's carpenter there held steady employment ashore. The detail matters to Morris's account because it locates the man he blamed in the same maritime community his own service took him away from, which is the recurring hazard of a seafaring marriage in this period. Greentree's letter turns on the difference between a fixed bequest and a discretionary one. His father-in-law left the widow a life interest with the Governor empowered to enlarge it, which placed a portion of the estate outside the will entirely and in the hands of the island's government. Beale's petition read at the consultation of 17 April 1733 rested on the same mechanism, his own mother having received only what the Governor and council thought fit to allow her, and the two cases together show how far testamentary provision on St Helena depended on administrative discretion rather than on the instrument itself.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
160	158	Estate that thereby I might endeavour to improve the Same as well for my present as future Advantage her Answer was that she forbid no part I had or at least as long as She lived if I had afforded, and so thought that I had I may pay to endeavour to get it Which uncharitable Answer induces me in all humility to make my Application to Your Worship humbly hoping that You will be pleased of Your Accustomed goodness to take in Your happy Case into Your wise & Kind Consideration & that Your Worship will be pleased to Aide & Determine Something in my Said unhappy Case as You in Your wise Prudent Judgment & shall think convenient & And I as in Duty bound shall ever pray for Your Worships long Life, Health & Prosperity I am Worshipfull Sir Aprill 17th 1733 Your most Obedt & Dutyfull Servt D: Skifford Ordred That the Said Elz Greentree be Summoned to attend on Tuesday next to Answer this Complaint Joseph Bates this Morning Sent us word that he was very ill & not able to attend with the Spaniards Account as he was Ordred on Tuesday last but promised to bring it as Soon as he was recovered John Long being this day accused before us upon the Oath of George Knight for being Drunk & for cruelly beating & Abusing his own Wife insomuch that her Life was in great Danger the for the Assault & Breach of the Peace committed him to Prison The Petition of Henry Bratt and Gregory who wanted Praying leave to Assign two Acres & Bay of Sugarland Land to Alexr Ward Design & the Same was granted accordingly Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 1st May 1733 at Union Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for Aprill last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt	Greentree stated that he might then try to improve the estate as well for his present as for his future advantage, and that he had at least as long as she lived, if he survived her, no part of it. He thought that he might endeavour to get it. Greentree set out that such uncharitable imputations had moved him to apply to the Governor in all humility, and he asked that the Governor be pleased to take his unhappy case into serious consideration and to determine something in the matter as the council in its own [...] prudent judgement should think convenient. He undertook to pray for the Governor's long life, peace and prosperity. The letter was dated 17 April 1733 and signed by Greentree. The council ordered Mary Greentree summoned to attend the following Tuesday to answer the complaint. Joseph Bates sent word that morning that he was very ill and unable to attend with the Spaniard's account as he had promised on the previous Tuesday, but he undertook to bring it in as soon as he recovered. John Long was brought before the council the same day on the oath of George Knight, who swore that he had been beaten and whipped by him and that his own life and that of his wife stood in great danger. The justices of the peace committed Long to prison. Henry Beale petitioned for leave to assign two acres of leasehold land to Isaac Wood, and the request was granted. A consultation was held on Tuesday 1 May 1733 at Union Castle. Present were Governor Pyke as first of council, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward delivered their monthly accounts for April, which were examined and approved. Interpretations Committing John Long to prison marks a decisive break in a pattern running through this whole record. Every earlier proceeding against him failed on the same evidential obstacle: the testimony of blacks was inadmissible, so no conviction could be obtained over the shooting of the Company's goats in January 1729, over the fresh suspicion of 11 November 1729, or over the harbouring of the runaway Simon at his outhouse on 10 April 1733. George Knight was a free man whose sworn oath the court could receive, and that single procedural fact achieved what a decade of warrants, recognisances and bindings over had not. Knight had appeared before the council once before in a matter of violence. On 22 August 1732 he and his wife Sarah, formerly a Company slave, were found to have beaten the Company's girl Blackman so severely that she was taken back into Company work. His position as a complainant against Long is therefore not that of an unblemished witness, though the council's concern here was the immediate danger to his life rather than his character. Joseph Bates's illness arrived at a convenient moment. The Governor had sent for the sealed box on 24 April 1733 and given him a week to produce an account of his demands against the estate of Don John de Mesa y Aniento, who died at his house on 10 February 1731. Two years and three months had passed since the council found on 3 May 1731 that Bates had concealed gold and prevented a proper will being made, and the account had still not been rendered.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Greentree's request rests on an unusual foundation. He was not claiming a share of his father-in-law's estate as of right, since the will gave the widow a life interest and left any enlargement to the Governor's discretion. His letter asks the council to exercise that discretion in favour of a son-in-law rather than the widow herself, which extends a testamentary power designed to protect a dependent widow into a mechanism for settling a family quarrel between the generations.
161	159	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Piggs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Bullocks: 84, Cowes: 159, Heifers: 50, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 78, Bulls: 6, Totall: 507, Ewes: 81, Wethers: 40, Lambs: 2, Rams: 4, Totall: 127, Sows: 21, Shoates: 35, Piggs: 25, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 94, Turkeys: 148, Fowles: 133, Ducks: 32, Geese: 11, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Increased in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 20, Bulls: 0, Totall: 20, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 8, Rams: 0, Totall: 8, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Piggs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 60, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 84, Cowes: 159, Heifers: 50, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 98, Bulls: 6, Totall: 527, Ewes: 81, Wethers: 40, Lambs: 10, Rams: 4, Totall: 135, Sows: 21, Shoates: 35, Piggs: 25, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 94, Turkeys: 148, Fowles: 193, Ducks: 32, Geese: 11, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Sold to Shipping: Bullocks: 14, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Totall: 14, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 0, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Piggs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 70, Cowes: 159, Heifers: 50, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 98, Bulls: 6, Totall: 513, Ewes: 81, Wethers: 40, Lambs: 10, Rams: 4, Totall: 135, Sows: 21, Shoates: 35, Piggs: 25, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 94, Turkeys: 148, Fowles: 193, Ducks: 32, Geese: 11, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Killed in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 1, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Totall: 1, Ewes: 3, Wethers: 2, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 2, Sows: 0, Shoates: 2, Piggs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 2, Turkeys: 12, Fowles: 65, Ducks: 21, Geese: 2, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 70, Cowes: 159, Heifers: 49, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 98, Bulls: 6, Totall: 512, Ewes: 81, Wethers: 38, Lambs: 10, Rams: 4, Totall: 133, Sows: 21, Shoates: 33, Piggs: 25, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 92, Turkeys: 136, Fowles: 128, Ducks: 11, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Dead in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 1, Bulls: 0, Totall: 1, Ewes: 3, Wethers: 1, Lambs: 1, Rams: 0, Totall: 5, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Piggs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 0, Turkeys: 9, Fowles: 17, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Remg 30th Aprl: Bullocks: 70, Cowes: 159, Heifers: 49, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 97, Bulls: 6, Totall: 511, Ewes: 78, Wethers: 37, Lambs: 9, Rams: 4, Totall: 128, Sows: 21, Shoates: 33, Piggs: 25, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 92, Turkeys: 127, Fowles: 111, Ducks: 11, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Yams expended at the Severall Plantations 18000tt Ditto ditto the Blacks 15000	The stock account for the month to 30 April 1733 ran as follows. Opening: 84 bullocks, 159 cows, 50 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 78 calves, 6 bulls, total 507 neat cattle; 81 ewes, 40 wethers, 2 lambs, 4 rams, total 127 sheep; 21 sows, 35 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 94 hogs; 148 turkeys, 133 fowls, 32 ducks, 11 geese, total 4 [...]; 6 horses, 10 mares, total 10 horses and mares Increased in the month: 20 calves, total 20 neat cattle; 8 lambs, total 8 sheep; 60 fowls Balance: 84 bullocks, 159 cows, 50 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 98 calves, 6 bulls, total 527 neat cattle; 81 ewes, 40 wethers, 10 lambs, 4 rams, total 135 sheep; 21 sows, 35 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 94 hogs; 148 turkeys, 193 fowls, 32 ducks, 11 geese; 6 horses, 10 mares Sold to shipping: 14 bullocks, total 14 neat cattle Balance: 70 bullocks, 159 cows, 50 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 98 calves, 6 bulls, total 513 neat cattle; 81 ewes, 40 wethers, 10 lambs, 4 rams, total 135 sheep; 21 sows, 35 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 94 hogs; 148 turkeys, 193 fowls, 32 ducks, 11 geese; 6 horses, 10 mares Killed in the month: 1 heifer, total 1 neat cattle; 2 wethers, total 2 sheep; 2 shoats, total 2 hogs; 12 turkeys, 65 fowls, 21 ducks, 9 geese, total 2 [...] Balance: 70 bullocks, 159 cows, 49 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 98 calves, 6 bulls, total 512 neat cattle; 81 ewes, 38 wethers, 10 lambs, 4 rams, total 133 sheep; 21 sows, 33 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 92 hogs; 136 turkeys, 128 fowls, 11 ducks, 9 geese; 6 horses, 10 mares Dead in the month: 1 calf, total 1 neat cattle; 3 ewes, 1 lamb, 1 ram, total 5 sheep; 9 turkeys, 17 fowls Remaining 30 April 1733: 70 bullocks, 159 cows, 49 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 97 calves, 6 bulls, total 511 neat cattle; 78 ewes, 37 wethers, 9 lambs, 4 rams, total 128 sheep; 21 sows, 33 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 92 hogs; 127 turkeys, 111 fowls, 11 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,000 pounds Yams expended by the blacks, 15,000 pounds Total yams expended, 33,000 pounds Interpretations The herd stood at 507 head at the opening of the month and closed at 511, against 507 at the end of March 1733 and 492 in February. Growth had slowed sharply. Twenty calves were born, but 14 bullocks went to the shipping, which is the heaviest disposal since the 10 head sold in January, and it reflects the arrival of the <i>Frances</i> on 4 April 1733 and the <i>Salisbury</i> on 12 April, both victualling for the run home. Beef was the island's principal trade with the Indiamen, and the beasts moved only when vessels lay in the road. Poultry losses run through the account at a rate the other classes do not approach. Of 193 fowls carried after the month's increase, 65 were killed and 17 died, leaving 111. Turkeys fell from 148 to 127 and ducks from 32 to 11. The killing served the fort

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Total 33000	table and the ships' commanders entertained ashore, and the figures track the same shipping season the cattle sales do. Governor Pyke had bought 356 fowls, 72 turkeys, 60 ducks and 4 geese for breeding in April 1731 to restore a poultry yard reduced to 24 fowls, and the present stock shows that investment holding two years on despite heavy monthly draw. Five sheep died against eight lambs born, and three of the deaths were ewes. A flock of 128 against 127 a month earlier is standing still, and the loss of breeding ewes at the start of the island's winter is the kind of attrition that had cut the flock from 160 to 143 across September and October 1729 in a wet season. The yam figure carries the sharpest reading. Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733 that the plantations at their best could yield 672,000 pounds against a weekly requirement of 63,920 pounds, and that Perkins was almost exhausted. The month's issue of 33,000 pounds is barely a third of the 46,250 pounds recorded in August 1732 and well below the 25,150 pounds of March 1733 only in that it splits the total differently, giving 18,000 pounds to the plantations and 15,000 pounds to the slaves. The old crop was running out before the winter planting, exactly as Durling had warned, and imported rice was carrying the balance. Two entries in the account cannot be read with confidence: the poultry total in the opening line and again in the killed line show figures that do not reconcile with the columns above them, and the horses and mares are carried at 6 and 10 in the body of the account but at 4 and 6 in the closing line, with the total of 10 unchanged throughout.
162	160	Expence of the Table in Aprill 1733 Vizt 327tt Beef 4 1 9 80tt Fish 2 2 3 2 Sheep 12 Turkeys 4 17 6 65 Fowles 1 11 6 21 Ducks 10 2 Geese 15 1 Hr Bread 1 10 30 Days Greens 1 60 Bottles Milk 13 4 66 Gallon Arrack 1 16 184 Sugar 1 1tt Anni 13 6 2 Bushells Salt 2 8 39 Gallon Strong Beer 11 12 6 27 Gallon Honey & 3 Gallon Oat 2 Gallon Vinegar 13 4 Bottles Oyle 4 10 4½ 3tt Hr Flour 56 9 4½ 13 Gallon Arrack for the Blacks the weather being wet 2.18.	The general table expense account for April 1733 ran as follows. 327 lb of beef, £4 1s 9d 80 lb of fish, £0 2s 2d 2 sheep, £0 2s 3d 12 turkeys, £4 17s 6d 65 fowls, £1 11s 6d 21 ducks, £0 10s 0d 2 geese, £0 1s 5d 1 lb of butter, £1 1s 0d 30 days' greens, £1 0s 0d 60 bottles of milk, £13 4s 0d 66 gallons of arrack, £1 16s 0d 144 lb of sugar, £0 1s 0d 1 lb of thyme, £0 13s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 2s 8d 39 gallons of strong beer, £11 12s 6d 27 gallons of sherry and 3 gallons of port, £0 13s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £4 10s 4.5d 1 bottle of oil, £56 9s 4.5d 3 lb of flour Total, £56 9s 4.5d 13 gallons of arrack to the blacks, the weather being wet, £2 12s 0d 3 lb of sugar to the same, £0 9s 9d 36 candles, £3 12s 0d Total, £6 13s 9d The gunner's stores expended in April 1733 ran as follows. 5 April, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 1 minion, 9 lb of powder 5 April, saluted the Frances: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 7 April, muster day: 9 guns fired, 12 lb of powder 15 April, an alarm: 6 guns fired, 12 lb of powder 15 April, an alarm at Banks's: 6 guns fired, 6 shot, 6 sakers, 1 minion, 8 lb of powder 15 April, saluted the Lynn: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		34tt Sugar for do .9.9 36tt Candle 3.12. £ 6.13.9 Gunners Stores Expended in Aprill 1733 Vizt Guns Fired, Shott, Sakers, Menion, Falcons, Powder 1733 Aprill 4th An Alarm: Guns Fired: 4, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 1, Falcons: 0, Powder: 12 do Saluted the Frances: Guns Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 0, Falcons: 8, Powder: 11 7th Muster Day: Guns Fired: 0, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 0, Falcons: 0, Powder: 12 15th An Allarm: Guns Fired: 12, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 4, Falcons: 0, Powder: 12 do An Allarm at Bankes: Guns Fired: 12, Shott: 6, Sakers: 6, Menion: 1, Falcons: 0, Powder: 12 do Saluted the Lyme: Guns Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 0, Falcons: 8, Powder: 11 16th An Allarm: Guns Fired: 0, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 4, Falcons: 8, Powder: 8 do Saluted the Richmond: Guns Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 1, Falcons: 0, Powder: 11 do To Salute the Supra Cargoes: Guns Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 1, Falcons: 8, Powder: 11 17th An Allarm: Guns Fired: 0, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 4, Falcons: 0, Powder: 12 18th do Saluted the Aislalie: Guns Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 4, Falcons: 8, Powder: 11 19th Frances Lyme Richmond & Sr Robert Sailed: Guns Fired: 36, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Menion: 0, Falcons: 0, Powder: 12 Expence of the Guards Musket Ball 300 ditto 9tt Shot 26tt Guns Fired: 99, Shott: 6, Sakers: 6, Menion: 24, Falcons: 40, Powder: 107 Signed Jno French [...]	16 April, a warm: 6 guns fired, 1 minion, 13 lb of powder 16 April, saluted the Richmond: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 18 April, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 1 minion, 12 lb of powder 18 April, saluted the Supra Cargoes: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 12 lb of powder 19 April, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 1 minion, 12 lb of powder 23 April, saluted the Salisbury: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 12 lb of powder 23 April, the Frances, Lynn, Richmond and Salisbury, expense of the guards: 36 guns fired, 4 minions, 80 falcons, 41 lb of powder Musket balls, 400 ditto, 12 lb Match, 26 lb Total: 99 guns fired, 6 shot, 6 sakers, 24 minions, 28 falcons, 187 lb of powder The account was signed by John French, gunner. Interpretations Arrack was the standard eastern spirit distilled from palm sap, rice or sugar, and it ran through every table account in this record as the working drink of the fort. The separate issue of 13 gallons to the slaves in wet weather follows the practice recorded through the southern winters of this run, the accounts naming wet and stormy conditions as the reason. April marks the start of the island's cooler season, and the allowance appears here for the first time since January 1733. The table total of £56 9s 4.5d stands well above the £38 7s 6d of March 1733 and the £42 0s 0d of February. Four Indiamen lay in the road across the month, and the difference is the entertainment of their commanders, supercargoes and passengers of note ashore. The 327 pounds of beef and 65 fowls charged against the table match the 65 fowls entered as killed in the same month's stock account, which confirms the two records as different views of one household. Powder expenditure of 187 pounds is the heaviest month since the 262 pounds of June 1732. The pattern is unmistakable: every arrival drew an alarm first and a salute afterwards, since the flagstaff could not identify a sail before she closed the road. Six alarms and five salutes fell in eighteen days, and the single entry of 23 April charging 41 pounds against the four ships together covers the departure ceremony for the whole group. Governor Pyke's practice of saluting supercargoes separately with nine guns, recorded for the <i>Houghton</i> on 6 February 1733, appears again on 18 April. The one shot fired in earnest is the entry for Banks's on 15 April, where six sakers and six round shot were discharged. That battery of seven guns stood on a headland covering the anchorage, and live firing from it was the method used to bring a strange vessel to before she could be identified, as on 11 June 1732 when two shot stopped a Dutch ship. Ammunition consumption across the whole of the Company year to 30 September 1732 had run to seven rounds in total, so six in a single incident is a substantial event. Several sums in the table account do not reconcile with the quantities beside them, the milk at £13 4s 0d and the strong beer at £11 12s 6d being conspicuously out of proportion to the other lines, and the figures are given as they stand.
163	161	Collection of Store Goods Sold & Delivered [...] in Aprill 1733 Vizt 140 Gallon Arrack 44 6 8 10 Cwt Sugar	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in April 1733 ran as follows. 140 gallons of arrack, £44 6s 8d 1,015 lb of sugar, £26 11s 3d 10 lb of writing paper stacked, £8 13s 4d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		26 11 3 do pr Winterness Slack 1: 3: 22 8 13 4 24 pr White do damaged 1 13 6 24 pr Mens Silk 6 6 101 pr Stockings damaged 10 13 4 45 in Pieces damaged 4 2 1062 [...] do damaged Chint 19 18 3½ 5 Pillong Sattin 3 3 2 Ramble Silck 6 dito Yar 110tt White Lead 9 15 39tt Red do 19 6 100tt Ocher 2 10 6 7 oz Indico 3 6 2tt Prodinasse 6 6 5tt Prusia Blue 16 3 101 Cwt & 1 Tub Lamblack 2 1 7 12 Hourglasses 18 9 2 Locks 1 2 Locks 4 4 5 Squares 8 by 10 4 7 14 do do 8 10 11 156 6 7½ Charges Generall Vizt 2 Tin Kettles, 2 Custenders 2 Gallon & 2 Quart Funnells 1 10 4 Ironware Sorted 11 3 Ironware Sorted 9 4 8½ 24tt Nailes 1 1 6 2 Quart Pewter Doses 10 2 Pint Ditto 6 2tt Frankincead 6 9 1tt Gume 2 9½ Ells Vittory 11 1 11 Squares Glass Sorted 13 3 1 Iron Sasking 1tt 7tt Rope 11 6 1 Sails 19 & 15tt C for Longboat 4 11 6 5½ Soap 8 1½ 24tt Candles 2 8 22 2 1 Garrison Vizt	24 lb of white lead damaged, £1 3s 6d 24 lb of minium, £0 13s 6d 104 pairs of stockings damaged, £10 13s 4d 15 or 20 pairs of trifles damaged, £0 4s 2d 1,062 yards of damaged chintz, £19 18s 3.5d 5 pieces of long cloth, £3 1s 0d 2 pieces of Bengal silk, £0 1s 0d 6 pieces of [...] yarn, £0 2s 0d 110 lb of white lead, £2 15s 0d 39 lb of red lead, £0 19s 6d 100 lb of ochre, £2 10s 6d 7 oz of indigo, £0 3s 6d 2 lb of vermillion, £0 6s 6d 5 lb of Prussian blue, £0 16s 3d 131 barrels and 1 tub of lampblack, £2 1s 7d 12 [...] of window glass, £0 19s 4d 2 [...] of scythes, £0 3s 0d 2 [...] of trunks, £0 4s 4d 5 squares of glass 8 by 10, £0 4s 7d 14 [...] 5 by 8, £0 11s 0d [...] of coir cordage, £70 0s 0d Total, £156 6s 7.5d Charges general 2 tin kettles, 2 [...], 2 gallon and 2 quart funnels, £1 10s 4d Ironware sorted, £0 11s 3d Iron pans sorted, £9 4s 8.5d 24 lb of nails, £1 1s 6d 4 quart pewter plates, £0 10s 0d 2 [...], £0 6s 9d 2 [...], £0 2s 9d 1 [...], £0 2s 9d 9 and a half ells of [...], £0 11s 8d 11 squares of glass sorted, £0 13s 3d 1 [...], £0 12s 6d 1 [...] of rope, £0 15s 4d 1 [...] for the longboat, £4 11s 6d 5 lb of soap, £0 8s 1.5d 24 lb of candles, £2 8s 0d Total, £22 2s 1d Garrison 11 [...], £0 3s 6d 4 gallons of rape oil, £0 1s 1.5d 1 tub of garnets, £0 4s 6d Total, £4 11s 10.5d Plantation 28 [...] of rice and 1 bushel of paddy, £1 18s 0d Blacks 1 pair of shoes, £0 1s 5d 5 pieces of blue gingham, £17 9s 6d 12 lb of white and brown thread, £0 3s 9d 1 lb of white tape, £0 1s 2d 2 buckhandle knives, £0 1s 9d 1 oz of silk, £0 7s 8d 12 hoes stacked, £0 10s 6d 44 lines, £20 0s 0d 408 lb of rice, £0 12s 0d 9 lb of [...], £24 3s 11d Diet expenses 79 gallons of arrack, £15 16s 0d 102 lb of sugar, £2 13s 3d 3, 3, 25 lb of flour, £14 10s 9.5d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 1 bottle of oil, £0 13s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 13s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 13s 6d 32 gallons of strong beer, £10 3s 3d 27 gallons of sherry, £1 3s 3d 3 gallons of port Total, £38 3s 4.5d Grand total, £247 5s 3.5d Interpretations Minium was red lead used as a pigment and rust primer, and it sits here alongside white lead, ochre, vermillion, Prussian blue and lampblack. These were

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		11 Mattress & do 3 6 4 Gallon Rape Oyle 1 1 1½ 1 Cwt Garnets 4 6 4 11 10½ Plantations Vizt 28 [...] Rice & 1tt 2 Paddy 1 18 - Blacks Vizt 1 Pr Shaes 5 6 5 pr Blew Gingham 1 7 9 1½ Whited Brown Thread 3 9 1 pr White Tape 1 2 2 Bushpanale Knives 1 6 1 oz Silk 7 8 18 Hoy Slacks 10 6 44 Limes 40tt Rice 20 9tt do 12 24 3 11 Diet Expences Vizt 79 Gallon Arrack 15 16 1 Cwt Sugar 2 3 3 3, 3, 20 Flour 4 10 9½ 2 Gallon Vinegar 5 4 Bottles Oyle 13 1tt Pepper 1 2 Bushells Salt 13 6 32 Gallon Strong Beer 9 3 27 Gallon Hunny 10 2 3 3 Gallon Sort 1 3 38 3 4½ 247 5 3½	the paints for preserving ironwork and gun carriages against the damp, and their appearance in quantity each spring reflects maintenance work before the winter. Prussian blue was a comparatively new pigment in this period, synthesised in Berlin early in the century and reaching commercial supply only in the 1720s, so its presence in a St Helena warehouse marks the Company's supply chain carrying a recent European product to a remote island within a decade of its introduction. Damaged goods dominate the retail side of the account. The 1,062 yards of chintz at £19 18s 3.5d, the 104 pairs of stockings and the damaged white lead were all cleared into the island at reduced prices, a practice running through this record: 176 pairs of shoes went the same way in January 1733 and 1,608 yards of damaged chintz in March. Goods spoiled by damp on the passage could not be sent home, and selling them cheaply to the inhabitants recovered something rather than nothing. The grand total of £247 5s 3.5d compares with £224 11s 5.5d in March 1733 and £189 17s 7.5d in February. The rise follows the four Indiamen in the road, though bread, usually the clearest marker of shipping in these accounts, does not appear in this month's collection. Paddy was rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than milled grain and charged to the plantation for stock feed. Its appearance beside 28 measures of rice under the plantation heading, with a further 408 pounds of rice charged to the slaves, shows the extent to which imported grain was carrying the establishment. Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733 that the plantations at their best could yield 672,000 pounds of yams against a weekly requirement of 63,920 pounds, and the April stock account recorded only 33,000 pounds of yams issued across the whole month. The 44 fishing lines at £20 0s 0d are the heaviest single line in the slaves' section. The fishery had been established on 1 March 1727 when the slaves' meat ration was replaced by fish, and 11 men were rated as constantly employed in the boats at the muster of 30 September 1730. With the yam crop failing, the boats carried more of the establishment's food than usual.
164	162	The Petition of John Browne Surgeon was this day presented & read Setting forth that he had a Sum of Money by him in different Species of considerable Value & had also the Sum of £625 in Cash & also besides the Sum of £693: able to him in Salary but not having an opportunity at present to remit the Said Sums with Safety to Britaine prayed that the amount of the Said Money to the Honble Company in Specie at his own Risque upon any Ship he should think proper he being willing to accept of the Same Advantage as the Honble Company give the other People & praying that he might have Bills of Exchange for the Cash & Value & amount	A petition from John Brown, surgeon, was presented and read. Brown set out that he held a sum of money by him in several species of considerable value, together with a further sum of £625 in cash and notes, and the sum of £693 owing to him for salary. He had no opportunity at present to remit the whole with any safety. He asked that the money be paid to the Honourable Company in specie at his own expense on any terms it thought fit to adopt, on the same footing given to other people paying money to the Company for cash and notes advanced. He asked that bills of exchange for the sum be paid to the Governor, and £101 8s 0d [...] to £695, which he had that day paid to the Governor and for what was due to him in the books, amounting together to the sum of £101 8s 0d. The request appeared reasonable and was agreed to as he desired. Bills were signed and issued the same day for the sum last mentioned,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		to £625: which he this day paid to the Governour for what was due to him by the Books amounting together to the Sum of £1518: The Request appearing to be reasonable the afsaid be as he desired & the day Signed and Sealed Bills for the Sum last mentioned & he delivered in Specie the following particulars in Gold & Silver Vizt Gold Vizt 13 Guineas 4 Pieces of Portugee Coin 30 Venetian Weight 33.8 Oz dwt 227 Pagodas or Money of like Value 0. dwt 1 Sha of Gold weight 11. 4 1 do 11. 8½ 1 do 11. 4 1 do 11. 15½ 46.10 Gold Weighing 79.12 Oz dwt Silver Vizt 40½ Dollars 19 Ducatoons 4 Crown Piece 130 Guineas Weighing Oz 106. 8 dwts All which was Sealed up with his own Seal in his Presence & Lodged in the hands of the Governour in order to be transmitted to the Honble Company on the next Packet Complaint being made to us upon Oath by Isbe Burnham who lately was Apprentice to John Disfountain that his Said Master had not complied with the Conditions of the Indentures by which his Said Master was alledged to Instruct him in the trade & Employ to teach or cause him to be taught to read & write & do his Sums together that during the most of the Apprenticeship he Served the Honble Company as a Soldier his Said Master all the time receiving that Pay to that end the Said Disfountain was Summoned to attend & Sent to us this day & was acquainted with the particulars of the Said Burnham Complaint, the Said Burnham produced his Case & do not so unlest it appeared that he could not write & put but not read but he therefore Ordred the Said Disfountain to serve him his Diet for Six Months while he was learning to read & write & to pay for his Schooling & to pay a poor Pt Governour & to the Fund & Clothes for this Sort & if he found him in Care & Salary to the Honble Company by having been employed during the whole time in Labouring at & on the Plantations or looking after the Cattle except the time he Employed upon Guards or Fatigues & pay for what his Said Master received the	to be delivered in specie in the following particulars in gold and silver. 13 guineas [...] pieces of Portugal coin, weighing 33 ounces 2 pennyweight 30 [...] 227 pagodas or money of like value 1 bar of gold, 0 ounces 4 pennyweight 1 bar of gold, weight 11 ounces 8.5 pennyweight 1 bar of gold, 11 ounces 4 pennyweight 1 bar of gold, 11 ounces 15.5 pennyweight Total, 45 ounces 10 pennyweight Gold weighing in all 79 ounces 12 pennyweight 40.5 dollars 19 ducatoons, weighing 106 ounces 8 pennyweight 1 crown piece 132 [...] The whole was sealed with Brown's own seal in his presence and lodged with the Governor to be sent to the Honourable Company by the next packet. A complaint was made on the oath of John Burnham against John Defountaine, who had lately been apprenticed to him. Defountaine had not kept to the terms of the indentures, since he neglected to instruct him in the trade of a shipwright, to teach him or cause him to be taught to read and write, and to supply him with clothing. That failure was the more serious because Burnham had been taken from school by his master at the time and had never been sent back. Defountaine was summoned to answer, and when the particulars of the complaint were put to him he admitted that Burnham had not been taught to read and could not write, saying he had been [...] and unwilling. Burnham stated that Defountaine had refused to find him in diet for six months while he was learning to read and write, and asked to be paid for his work at half a piece the pound at the rate of £4 by the year. Defountaine answered that Burnham had been employed during the whole time in labouring work on the plantation and looking after the cattle, except the year he spent under the guard at Prosperous Bay, for which the master received his full pay, without any allowance to Burnham of £2 a year besides. The council ordered Defountaine to pay Burnham £4, both for his part or share of the Burnham estate and for what was due to him, and warned him against any further difficulty. The Honourable Company having been cheated by this deceitful contract, the council published the following advertisement. Several people had taken sums of money [...] Interpretations An indenture of apprenticeship bound the master as much as the apprentice, and the obligations Defountaine failed to meet were the standard ones: instruction in the trade, basic literacy, food and clothing. Burnham's complaint turns on the substitution of one kind of labour for another. He was bound to learn shipbuilding and was instead set to field work and cattle tending, which cost him the trade he had contracted for while giving his master free agricultural labour for years. The year spent on guard duty at Prosperous Bay is the sharpest instance, since Defountaine drew the full military pay for a post his apprentice filled. Literacy carried a specific value on this island. The consultations show deed registration, lease covenants and probate turning constantly on written instruments, and a man who could not read had no independent check on any document put before him. Burnham's own case illustrates the point: he was complaining about the terms of an indenture he could not read.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		whole Pay which amounted to 12. pr Annum besides £30 - paid at his first entertainment & the full price or Standby the Said Burnhame & to discharge his time by the Justice & to prevent further Injustice of this kind the Honble Company having been also cheated by the dishonest Contract this day published the following & Advertisement Vizt Whereas Severall People have taken Severall of Many	Brown's remittance shows how a servant of the Company converted island earnings into money reachable in England. Coin barely circulated on St Helena, and cash notes issued locally were of no use to a man expecting to return home. Paying specie into the Company's hands against bills of exchange drawn on London moved the value across the sea without the risk of shipping the metal on his own account, and it is the same mechanism the council's officers had used throughout this record. The coins listed measure how far St Helena's economy drew on the whole Atlantic and Indian trade rather than on English currency. Portugal money circulated widely in the English colonies and was valued by weight rather than by face. Pagodas were gold coins of southern India, current at Madras and the Coromandel ports at roughly eight shillings sterling. Ducatoons were large silver coins of the Low Countries, and dollars were Spanish pieces of eight. Weighing the gold in ounces and pennyweight rather than counting it by tale reflects the fact that no two of these currencies shared a standard. Brown had approached the council once before with an offer of money. On 13 June 1732 he proposed lending the Company £400 0s 0d on the terms his father had accepted in England, and Governor Pyke held that the Company had no present need to borrow, allowing 6 per cent only from the day the money reached its cash. The present arrangement is different in kind, being a remittance rather than a loan, and it was granted without demur.
165	163	with Orphan Apprentices under Pretence of teaching them Trades or Employments but instead thereof as Soon as they have been found have found means to get their Said Apprentices Rented as Soldiers in the Service of the Honble Company their Said Masters receiving their Pay all the while to their own Use to the irreparable Injury as of their Said Apprentices who thereby are shut out of a Capacity of learning or being Instructed in any Trade or Employment but remain wholly Ignorant of any & by which they might maintain themselves when their Time was expired To put an End therefore to a Practice so highly injurious to the Youth of this Place These are to give Notice that from this time forward no Apprentice will be Entertained in the Service of the Honble Company upon any Pretence whatsoever & further it is that hereby that any Apprentice shall clandestinely get into the Service Such Apprentice & his Master shall forfeit & disclaim his whole Pay to the Honble Company & to this Order all Persons are to give their Obedience as they will Answer the contrary at their Peril Signed by Order of the Governour & Councill Chas Cay John Long for the Reason mentioned on Tuesday last having been Committed to Prison this day Sent the two following Letters the following Worshipfull Sir Sir with Submission make bold to write to Your Worship & have	Several people had taken orphan apprentices on the claim of teaching them a trade or employment, and had instead of that found means to have those apprentices entered as soldiers in the Honourable Company's service, the master drawing their pay for the whole of their term. That practice did great harm to the apprentices, who were thereby put out of any prospect of learning a trade or employment by which they might afterwards maintain themselves and their families. The council resolved to put a stop to a practice so damaging to the young of the island. Notice was given that from then on no apprentice would be entered in the Honourable Company's service on any pretext whatever, and that should any apprentice do so, the master would forfeit and lose his pay from the Honourable Company. Every person was required to obey the order at their peril. It was signed by order of the Governor and council by Duke Crisp, secretary. John Long, held in custody for the reasons entered at the consultation of the previous Tuesday, sent in the two following letters. Long wrote to Governor Pyke asking forgiveness, and acknowledging that he had broken the promise he made about drinking. He had suffered as he deserved and had brought his troubles on himself. He asked the Governor to forgive him this once more, and undertook not to drink any strong liquor either aboard any ship or ashore. He asked leave to go by cask out of prison, to return home to the country to his family, his wife and eight children, and undertook never to come down to the fort without leave or an order from the Governor. He asked once more for the Governor's pardon for his late ungrateful behaviour and for leave to be at liberty with his family. The letter was signed John Long. Long wrote a second letter stating that he had behaved himself, though he had from time to time drunk to excess and quarrelled at the fort, and that he was resolved to go off the island. He asked the Governor's leave to go there while he had no

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		that Your Worship will forgive me my Faults in offending You after time in breaking my Promise not to Drink & Swear, so that God has like an Ungratefull Beast to Your Worships Service, have to have my Life worse than ever but humbly beg that Your Worship will but forgive me this once more I hope in God that I will that offend Your Worship any more, nor than will allow not to Drink any Strong Drink but believe on the Board of Ship or Ship for Gods Sake to let me come out of Prison & go home into the Country by my poor Family which is my Wife & Eight Children & there will so make Gooder unto offer to come down to the Fort without leave, or an Order from Your Worships but once more humbly beg Pardon for my late & Ungratefull Behaviour to Your Worship & will offer to do this Duty poor Family & remain Your Worships most humble Subject Servt to command John Long Worshipfull Sir Since I should behave my Self as I have been time after time in Drinking & Quarreling this Callendar the Fort it is my Desire to go off the Island so to be Sent off by Your Worship that I hope in God there will be no occasion to go on to Yesterday Vizt I do remain Your Worships most humble Obedt Servt to command John Long Upon this John Long at the Request of his Wife who is very frequently received & then Brought in her behalf & the Assault was ordred to be discharged & Reprimanded to the Church wardens to the Use of the Poor for being Drunk & the Constant Wardens on notice Sterling Serves to Sue Drunk was fined Ten Shill for Suffering him to & of drinking that Cate house & John Pitchford for continuing Sterling with the Said Long Sinner holds was Ordred to pay 5/s each Sume to the Churchwardens for the Use of the Poor & there were all & fined	occasion to go up to the country. The letter was signed John Long. The council released Long on his wife's request, she being newly recovered from a fright brought on by his violence towards her. His arrest was ordered on the acknowledgement of the churchwardens to the use of the poor, and a further sum on the same footing. Christopher Watson, who had sold Long the drink he was found drunk on, was ordered to pay 5s for supplying him with drink, and Cain Young was ordered to pay 5s to the churchwardens for the use of the poor. Both were fined. Interpretations The apprenticeship abuse the advertisement addresses turned on a straightforward transfer of value. A master who enlisted his apprentice as a soldier collected the boy's military pay for the remainder of the indenture while surrendering none of the labour he was owed, and the apprentice emerged at the end of his term with neither trade nor savings. The Company itself bore part of the loss, since it paid a soldier's wage for a body it could otherwise have recruited freely, which explains the penalty falling on the master's own pay rather than on the indenture. Orphan apprentices were the group most exposed to this, and the council had placed a good many of them: three sittings of the orphans court on 3 October 1727, 8 October 1728 and 11 October 1729 examined estates held for minor children, and Company slave girls were regularly put out to the inhabitants under registered bonds. A child with no father to enforce the terms of the indenture had no one to complain on his behalf, which is why John Burnham's grievance against John Defontaine surfaced only after years of misdirected labour. John Long's release completes a sequence begun on 24 April 1733, when George Knight swore that Long had beaten and whipped him and that his life stood in danger. That oath produced the first successful proceeding against a man who had escaped conviction repeatedly over more than a decade, since the testimony of blacks was inadmissible and every earlier charge had rested on it. The present outcome shows the limits of the achievement: he served a matter of days and secured release by petition, exactly as he had escaped punishment in every previous case. Fining the man who supplied the drink extends liability beyond the offender to the retailer. Licensed retail of strong liquor had been regulated on the island since 18 April 1727, when sellers agreed to pay 40s each and unlicensed selling carried a £10 forfeiture, so a penalty on the supplier followed an established principle that the trade carried responsibilities as well as profit.
166	164	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 8th May 1733 at Union Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 6th Instant the Prince of Orange arrived here from Bengall as Soon as the Captain was come on Shoar we gave him the usuall Order to have in a Copy of which is Entred in our Consultacon of the 10th of January last, He brought the following Supply Vizt Invoice of Prince of Orange Vizt 2 hogs & Ann [...] of 110 Gallon [...] per Gallon 110	At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 May 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Prince of Orange</i> arrived from Bengal on the 6th of the month. Her commander came ashore and was given the standing instructions to heave in upon alarms, a copy of which is entered in the consultation of 10 January last. She brought the following supply. Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 110 gallons, 1 rupee per gallon, 110 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 11 rupees, total 121 rupees Sugar, 15 bags of Tresundee at 10 maunds each, 1 rupee per maund, 150 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 15 rupees, total 165 rupees Rice, 16 bags of 675 [...], at 1 rupee 5.5 annas per maund, 52 rupees 9 annas 3 pies

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		131 Batta 10 pr Cent 11 15 Bags Sowinner [...] @10 pr [...] Bag 108 165 Patta 10 pr Cent 15 16 Bags Rice, of 67tt 25 at 1: 60 pr [...] 52. 13 57.16.3 Patta 10 pr Cent 5 30.1.3 Charges Merchandize Rupees 373.14.6 Elizabeth Wife of John Marker Son of Sextan made complaint that the Churchwardens forced her to Setch Suet Allowance of Provisions as the Parish Rate when the alrudge She was unable to do all this Churchwardens being called in were asked what was customary they Answered that the Poor allways fetched their Allowance except that when Sick then Provision was Sent to them, Vpon the Answer she was Satisfied Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 15th May 1733 at Union Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday a Spanish Ship that lie down at Island that arrived here both from China but before we should give notice of them to come in case this Ship arrived then, Pay the Ship which the Spanish Captain produced under his hand a Coll be signed by the Laurns of Thoylayvel Almant of Sarona, it appeared that she was called the Dutchess of Fryers Mary the Result Commander burthen 500 Tons 26 Guns & 600 Men, that she had a Commission which the Captain of the Attention produced which was he Sett a Kings Estonage, Signed by the Kings Commissioner by the Secutary of State & the Stavampton, She continued in force forty Duke of Loran & neither 530 Tons 30 Guns Vessin the Clark Captain Family Satisfied by Rest Proofs that they were Friends We as they	Batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees 2 annas 9 pies Charges merchandise, 37 rupees 16 annas 3 pies 30 rupees 1 anna 3 pies Total, 373 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Elizabeth, wife of John Marsham, complained that the churchwardens had forced on her an allowance of 40 shillings from the parish, which she claimed she was unable to manage on. The churchwardens were called in and asked what allowance was customary for the poor. They stated that the parish had always allowed the same sum except when the person was sick, in which case provision was sent to them worth more. The Governor was satisfied with their answer. At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 May 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. An alarm was raised the previous day for a French ship that arrived from China. Before she came to anchor a strange ship was seen standing after her, and her flags and the signals made showed her to be the <i>Duc de Mortagne</i>, mounting 530 guns, [...] and manned with [...] men, the captain [...] under a commission which the captain of the French ship produced, signed by the Secretary of State and dated [...]. The council conferred with the officers, and it appeared that she was called the [...] mounting 530 guns [...], [...] and [...] men, Captain [...], the council satisfied by proofs that they were friends and let them come in.
167	165	desired & suffred him to Anchor & Refresh but warned them to make all possible Dispatch I began The day after the Walpole arrived from Bengall, as Soon as the Captain had come on Shoar we gave him the usuall Orders to have in upon Allarms a Copy of which is Entred in Our Consultation of the 10th of January last, The Supply She brought is as follows Vizt Salting Provisions 6d pr Cwt Batavia Arrack Vizt 4 hogshheads of 279 Gallon at 10 pr Gallon 220	The council desired and suffered her to anchor and refresh, but warned them to make all possible dispatch and be gone. The <i>Walpole</i> arrived from Bengal the same day. As soon as the captain came ashore the council gave him the usual orders to heave in upon alarms, a copy of which is entered in the consultation of 10 January last. She brought the following supply. Arrack, 4 half leaguers of 279 gallons, at 110 rupees per leaguer, 220 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 22 rupees, total 242 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of Tresundee at 9 maunds per bag, 90 rupees 0 annas 0 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, total 99 rupees

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Batta 10 pr Cent 22 242 6 pr Pound 10 Bags Sugar of Ct 2. 3tt at 9 [...] Bag 90 Batta 10 pr Cent 9 99 Supt for Company 17 Bags Rice of 68. 3. 21tt at 1: 30 pr [...] 53.16.6 Batta 10 pr Cent 5.6 59.1.6 Charges Merchandize 16.4.3 416 5 9 Att a Consultation held on Wednesday 16th May 1730 at Union Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This day Jon Doveton & Charles Steward Churchwardens acquainted us that they had recieved Information that Margarett Newlton the Same Wench who formerly Suffred herself to be got with Child by a Dutch Seaman was again with Child What they recieved this Notice from the Wife of Benjamin Pledger who to prevent Mistakes delivered the following Account of the matter as delivered to the Governour in writing Vizt Honrd Sir I thought it proper to acquaint Your Worship with this Affair tho prudencelin me to conceale it, on Saturday last Marg Nucclton John Bradley Sister in law came to my house & Seeing the Girle very Melancholy Either in the Face & Something thicker in the wast gave me to Suspect Something more than ordinary I asked the Girle to ask her Some Questions concerning the Servts of Woman kind which She Answered me which assured me of what I Suspected I taxd her with Cheing with Child She fell a Crying & told me if I would come to Some Nothing I beg Pardon for her fault She would tell me the Truth I Said her I would come to Your Worship with that She up said no Coathen much John Bradley this Wife lying at the Fort that Joseph Bolisher came 16th John Bradley Wife She being all alone in Sunday Night, he Stayed the best part of the Fright deluding of her System the promise of Marriage He had consented to him but was with Child by him but She doubted he would not perform his Promise but rather thought he would make his Escape in the Shipping for the last time She Saw him She told him She was with Child by him he begd of her to keep it Secret but Said nothing about Marrying	Rice, 17 bags of 68 maunds 3 [...] at 1 rupee 5.5 annas per maund, 53 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees 6 annas, total 59 rupees 1 anna 6 pies Charges merchandise, 16 rupees 4 annas 3 pies Total, 416 rupees 5 annas 9 pies At a consultation held on Wednesday 18 May 1730 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Jonathan Doveton and Charles Steward, churchwardens, informed the Governor and council that they had received information that Margaret, wife of Benjamin Pledger, and the same wench who had formerly suffered herself to be got with child by a black man, was again with child by a Portuguese sailor. To prevent any mistake, they delivered the following account of the matter, drawn up in writing. Doveton wrote to the Governor stating that he thought it proper to acquaint the Governor with this affair, since prudence forbade him to conceal it. He wrote that on Saturday last Mary, John Bradley's sister-in-law, came to his house, and finding the girl very melancholy, with something in her face and manner that suggested something further, he pressed her on the subject, asking her plainly whether she had again concerned herself with any Portuguese man. She informed him what had passed, and confessed she was with child, crying and stating that if he would come to give her the option, she would beg pardon for her fault and would let him go south, that he would come to the Governor with what she had said. On Sunday last John Bradley told him that Joseph Pelosler had come the night before, John Bradley's house, he being all alone on Sunday night, the best part of the night deluding her of her promise of marriage. She had consented to him with child by him, but she doubted he would not perform his promise, but rather thought he would make his escape in the shipping. For the last time she saw him she told him she was with child by him, and he begged of her to keep it secret but said nothing about marrying her. Upon this Pelosler the wench was sent for and examined. Interpretations Batta was the exchange allowance added when Indian accounts were converted between currencies of differing standards, and it is charged consistently at 10 per cent on every line of both cargoes here, arrack, sugar and rice alike. The <i>Walpole's</i> total of 416 rupees 5 annas 9 pies compares closely with the 373 rupees 14 annas 6 pies brought by the <i>Prince of Orange</i> two days before, both cargoes drawn to the same standard specification of arrack, Tresundee sugar and rice that the Bengal agents had supplied to the island throughout this record. The churchwardens' role in reporting suspected illegitimacy follows the pattern of Richard Beale and Isaac Wood's presentment against John Bowers and Richard Swallow on 14 January 1729, where the concern expressed was that a mixed population might in time grow formidable to the inhabitants. The office carried a duty to police sexual conduct among the parish poor precisely because an illegitimate child became a charge on parish funds unless a father could be identified and made to answer for it. Doveton's account preserves the informal process by which such matters came to light, a family member noticing distress and drawing out a confession, well before any formal examination. The girl's own words, as reported, show her expecting marriage rather than mere provision, and her fear

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Upon this Bolisher the Wench was Sent for & Examined Vizt Margaret	that the sailor would abscond in the shipping reflects a real hazard: a Company ship's crew was transient by nature, and a man could be gone within days of a confession being made.
168	166	Margaret Swattow Singlewoman having been presented by the Churchwardens for living a lewd Scandalous life Sorbekly of being Suspected to be with Child was Examined on the Oath Vizt on Sayth that She is now with Child by Joseph Bolisher one of the Garrison who came to the house where She lived in Leather Wist Boat & promised her to Marry him She Answered She was afraid to let him know & so with her wife Said to let you need not be afraid so She promised him to lye with her on hope of forbearing James Said & then he had carnal Knowledge of her body as he had was more than two three days after that in the Same place but the Same manner as before from one of hind time She Sayth She is become with Child by him for She hath not known any other Man but the Said Bolisher Since her being of a Child about two Years or more Since & by youth that the Sunday before Last she told him she was with Child by him & he had no Story nothing of it to any body & Said if it was so that She was with Child he a part would marry her that was all She remembers that that man part do mean that the Mark Anna't her Lorina Sworth de Anai Mary Swallow Anno Domini 1733 Common Isa Pyke Joseph Bolisher being duely Examined on the Complaint of Margaret Swallow who Sayth she is with Child & Charges him to be the Father, He Sayth he cant deny his having been carnally concerned with her & being asked he refuses Sayth he thank almost a Month ago that he Said She has charged him to this China Shore being then in that hour She has charged him to have Cayn with her for the Sunday & Night in Leather Rock & promised her if She would do so that he would marry her upon which he performed him to have the Carnal Knowledge of her body & she Stayed with her the greatest part of that Night, this he Secomly never had Carnal Copulation with her the alledge that last Vizt She met him Sold him that she was with Child by him & that he Read of her to keep it Secret this affair he denies, he says that he Confessing that she did tell him She was with Child but denies that he Refused her to keep it Secret & further he doth not Say the Mark Capt Isa Vissas Sworth de Anai Joseph Bolisher	Margaret Swattowe, an Englishwoman, appeared before the council after the churchwardens reported her for leading a disorderly life and suspected her of being pregnant. Under oath she stated that Joseph Pelosler, a boatswain's mate, had made her pregnant. She said he had come to the house where she lodged in Bradley's yard, and that she had let him sleep with her after he promised to take her to England when the ship sailed. She said he had slept with her again about two days later in the same place, and that she had not slept with any other man since the birth of an earlier child some two years before, so the child she now carried could only be his. She said she told him on the previous Sunday that she was pregnant by him, but he made no response and did nothing about it. Governor Pyke took the oath on 15 May 1733. Pelosler was then examined on Swattowe's complaint. He admitted having slept with her about a month before, but said he could account for nothing beyond that, since he had been away serving aboard the China ships in the meantime. He denied any earlier acquaintance with her of the kind she described, and denied that anything had passed between them before that single occasion. He admitted that she had been forward with him, and that he had asked her to keep the matter quiet, but denied ever promising to marry her, though he allowed he had at one point told her he would consider it before changing his mind. Governor Pyke took his oath on the same day. Having weighed the case, the council ordered Pelosler to receive twenty-five lashes on his bare back at the whipping tree, unless he chose instead to marry Swattowe, and reserved its decision on what punishment she herself should receive. Interpretations Twenty-five stripes at a tree was the standard corporal sentence for fornication on the island, matching the punishment set for Caesar's theft from the church on 2 January 1733 and for Anthony's part in concealing it. Offering marriage as an alternative shows the whipping functioning less as retribution for the act itself than as a penalty for leaving a woman and a child without support: a man who married the mother removed the very harm the punishment was meant to address, so the corporal sentence fell away. The council's silence on what Swattowe herself should suffer, against its firm sentence for Pelosler, follows the pattern set in the case of Charles Steward's slave Peter on 11 April 1729, where the household's licence was blamed rather than the woman alone. A pregnancy outside marriage was treated here as chiefly the man's default, since he alone held the power to escape punishment by marrying her, while her own conduct was left for further consideration rather than settled at once.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Anno Domini 1733 Common me Isa Pyke Upon Consideration of this Affair the Ordred that the Said Bolisher Should receive Twenty five Lashes upon his bare Back till fined he alright but She Should be delivered when we will determine what Chastisement She Shall receive in order to deter her & others from doing the like hereafter The Gunner having enlisted in his Indent twelve loose Slaks as much wanting the Governour Ordred him to be Speak out because it was putting the Stated Company to a needless Charge, Or, in Damboks Serving the Perpays as well of Those we had them Sowing	
<u>169</u>	167	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 22 May 1733 at Union Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning the Aislabie Sailed for England the Supra Cargoes being Messrs Hugh Carpenger & Van Sunham Thomas Chew having beaten one of the Honble Company's Blacks called Chathaye with a Rope in Sambo Cane & 1st & Isted & for the Governor this in a number Sett the Ordred the Said Chew to pay five Shillings to the Churchwardens for the use of the Poor & to give the Black another Shirt in Case of that he tore, & on Putting for himself Money John Long having been apprehended lately & absent, & Prisoners notwith standing at his Letter of his Promise & mentioned in Consultation him the 17th of the Month he was committed for the Same but in Compassion has his Family were discharged him he having entred into a Fresh & very Solemn Engagemnt to behave himself honestly Soberly & Peaceably for the future Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 29 May 1733 at Union Castle Present John Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On Wednesday last the French Ship called the Duke of Anjou Sailed for France & the day before that other Strand Ships arrived here one from India called the Wilhelmina of Four hundred Tons & Eighteen Guns Mony Porte Pant Stebahe [...] the other called the Prince of Two hundred & Sixty Tons & Sixteen Guns Commanded by Hoay Pt not was Outreached bound but off the Cape met with bad Weather could not get about Beoth Ship Man was in a Sad Condition want of the Common being Sick the Ship very largely informed that they will be hardly fit to come in the unlikely Examined their Commission the forme of just	At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 May 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. That morning the <i>Alsford</i> sailed for England. Her supercargoes remained ashore, being Messrs Leigh, Corringer and Van Sungton. Thomas Cane having beaten one of the Company's black slaves with a large timber cane, without the least provocation, the council ordered him to pay four shillings to the slave's master in compensation, and a further sum to the churchwardens for the use of the poor, to give the black man satisfaction for the injury done him. John Long, having been ordered into custody the month before, was mentioned in a consultation held about the same time, and the council in compassion for his family, which had been left destitute by his imprisonment, discharged him on entering into a fresh and very solemn undertaking to behave himself honestly, soberly and peaceably in future. At a consultation held on Tuesday 29 May 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Within sight of the fort the French ship called the <i>Duc de Chartres</i> sailed for France. The day before, two other French ships arrived here from India, one called the <i>Duc de Bourbon</i> of four hundred tons, mounting sixty guns and manned by two hundred and eighteen men, the other called the [...] of two hundred tons, mounting sixteen guns and manned by ninety men. Neither could be outrun, but off the Cape they met with bad weather, being a very [...] condition for want of provisions, and their commanders informed the council that they had hardly been fit to put to sea again for a month, but before weighing anchor they were examined and their commissions taken, dated at the [...] on the eighteenth of October 1731, the [...] on the twenty- fifth of March, and the [...] on the ninth of September. Governor Pyke granted them leave to take the supplies they sought. Invoice of goods bought [...] bags of snakes at 8 pistoles per pound, 291 rupees 2 [...] [...] bags of [...] at 970 [...] per bag, 26 rupees 1 anna [...] [...] bags of [...] at 55 [...] at [...] 20 rupees 2 [...] 18 [...], 28 rupees 1 anna 30 pies 2 [...] Ghee at [...], 92 rupees 3 annas 20 pies 2 [...] Batavia arrack at 116 gallons at 190 rupees 9 [...] 10 pies, 29 rupees 1 anna 82 pies Charges merchandise Total, 368 rupees 1 anna 82 pies Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		was dated on the 18 of Octobr 1731 the other on the 1st of Sept of 1732 Oh the 25th March through, on the 27th the Nabuw Governnd god Granted an appointed date the Supplys they brought was as follows Invoice of Warlborough Ship Sailing Twine 1½ Rice 27 Bags of 3tt Snaks at 6/ pr 2 pr Dowah 291 2 Rice 20 Bags 55tt 9¼ Malague pate 84/ pr Mowah 56 1 Rice for Company 2 Bags Rice 20 Bags of 5tt 9tt 20 at Cwt 20 [...] of 18 Gaur 28 1 30 60 pr Gaur 92 3 20 2 Casks Batavia Arrack 116 Gallon at 190 Rate 40 110 Gaur 29 1 22 Charges Merchandize 368 1 32 Invoice	Naming three French ships arriving within days of one another, each examined on her commission before being admitted, reflects the same caution the council applied throughout this record to any foreign vessel: the <i>Royalle Philip</i> on 28 January 1731, the <i>Mercury</i> on 20 April 1731 and <i>Le Danaë</i> on 2 May 1731 were all held until their papers were checked against the Admiral of France's seal. A commission dated and signed by the proper authority was the only proof available at this distance that a ship sailed under lawful colours rather than as a privateer, since England and France were formally at peace and a hostile vessel flying French colours could otherwise pass unchallenged. Allowing the two damaged ships to take on supplies despite the general scarcity of wood and provisions on the island follows the same principle applied to Captain Braund and Captain Anselm on 13 January 1733, who were refused liberty to cut wood but given coal rather than be forced into a foreign port. A vessel in genuine distress at sea was relieved even when the island's own stock was short, since turning her away risked the ship rather than merely inconveniencing her. Speculations The council had already refused wood to English commanders that same January on the ground that the island's own stock could not spare it, yet here two foreign naval vessels arrived unfit for sea and were granted whatever they needed. The obvious course, consistent with the refusal given to Braund and Anselm, would have been to offer the same limited relief of coal or water and press them onward as quickly as possible. Instead Governor Pyke granted the fuller supply the invoice records, apparently because the ships' distressed state left no real alternative: turning away a vessel genuinely unfit to weather the Cape risked losing her and her company outright, a risk the council was not prepared to take even against a French crew during a period of formal peace but persistent commercial and colonial rivalry.
170	168	Sailing Twine Vizt Invoice of Nassau Vizt 6d pr Gaur Batavia Arrack 1 hogshead of 150 Gaur Mr 110 121 Batta 10 pr Cent 11 6d pr tt Sugar 15 Bags of 33 tt & 22t at Mr 10 pr Bag 150 15 165 Batta 10 pr Cent Ton Comp[any] Vsi Rice 16 Bags of 67. 1. 25 at 1: 30 pr Mr 110 58.9.6 57 13 Batta 10 pr Cent 5.6 27 18 Charges Merchandize 871 11 Invoice of Greenwich Vizt Ton Comp[any] Vsi Rice 25 Bags of 5. 1 Mowah at Piece 0: 1 pr Mowah 121 2 ditto Batta 22 Bags of 27 Mowagh 224 9 17 pr Mowah 56 1 48 1 6d pr Gaur 4 Casks of Arrack of 220 at 20 pr [...] 92 3	Selling price entered against goods sold to the shipping. The invoice for the <i>Nassau</i> ran as follows. Arrack, 1 half leaguer of 150 gallons at 110 rupees per leaguer, 121 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 11 rupees Sugar, 15 bags of 33 maunds at 220 rupees, at 10 rupees per bag, 165 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 15 rupees Rice, 16 bags of 67.125 maunds at 1 rupee 10 annas per maund, 58 rupees 9 annas Batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees 8 annas Charges merchandise, 27 rupees 18 annas Total, 371 rupees 11 annas The invoice for the <i>Greenwich</i> ran as follows. Rice, 37 bags of [...] maunds at [...] per maund, 121 rupees 2 annas Batta at 38 bags of 27 maunds at 2.75 rupees per maund, 56 rupees 1 anna Sugar, arrack, 2 half leaguers at 220 gallons at 20 rupees 16 annas per leaguer, 48 rupees 3 annas Charges merchandise, 92 rupees 3 annas Total, 44 rupees 9 annas 368 rupees 1 anna The invoice for the <i>Grantham</i> ran as follows. Arrack, 1 half leaguer of 158 gallons at 110 rupees per leaguer, 121 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 11 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of 22 maunds at 1 rupee 10 annas per maund, 165 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 15 rupees

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 pieces Batavia of 116 Gaur at 190 pr [...] of 100 49 2 Charges Merchandize 368 1 Invoice of Grantham Vizt 6d pr Gaur Batavia Arrack 1 hogshead of 158 Gaur at 110 pr 110 121 Batta 10 pr Cent 11 6d pr tt Sugar 10 Bags of 55. 2 Mowah at Mr 10 pr Bag 150 15 165 Batta 10 pr Cent Ton Comp[any] Vsi Rice 17 Bags of 63. 9 Mowah at 1: 30 pr Mr 110 57.16.6 65 10 Batta 10 pr Cent 5.6 37 11 Charges Merchandize 386 11 The following Representation from the Churchwardens was this day presented & read Vizt We the underwritten Churchwardens of the Island Wilhelmina humbly beg leave to represent to Your Worship & Council that we have this day been acquainted that one Martha Berry has hath Voyed from her Husband & Bengall & is now amongst her in the Ship Nassau Commanded by Captn Robinson that the Said Captain intends to leave her here to Settle on this Island Since take it to be our Duty to do all that in our Power lies to prevent an Enfamous & Scandalous life being led amongst Persons & prevent this ill Practice from having any Number among us We do therefore on behalf of our Selves the rest of the Inhabts represent the Matter to Your Worship & Council Contend that You will be pleased to give Such Order in this Affair as may believe fit from the Said Company have Example of this Sort of Vicious & Woman her People in the Parts thereupon from being most notoriously Scandalous 29th May 1730 Jno: Doveton To Refreshing on Charles Steward per Council of the Island of St Helena After reading this Representation the Secretary was Sent to her to ask her whether She was come to Settle here or refused to go to England to refused Sh at first Answered, She could not tell but being told that Shrunget give a direct Answer She replied She refused to go to England if She could, Upon considera[tion] of the Case we are Unanimously of Opinion that no Such People	Rice, 27 bags of 63.9 maunds at 1 rupee 1 anna 6 pies per maund, 57 rupees 8.6 annas Batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees 8.6 annas Charges merchandise, 37 rupees 11.5 annas Total, 386 rupees 11.5 annas The following representation from the churchwardens was then presented and read. The churchwardens of the island of St Helena set out that they took leave to represent to the Governor and council that they had been informed that a woman named Martha Bagg had eloped from her husband in Bengal, and had come out in the ship <i>Nassau</i>, Captain Kelson commander, that the captain intended to leave her here to settle on the island. They held it their duty to bring the matter before the Governor and council, since it was of ill example and encouraged all such loose and scandalous persons to imagine every island of St Helena a place where they might come without any restraint of censure among the people. They therefore, on behalf of the rest of the inhabitants, represented to the Governor and council their earnest wish that such an order might be given in the affair as would prevent the Company's colony of St Helena from becoming a place notoriously scandalous for harbouring such women. Signed Jonas Doveton and Charles Steward, churchwardens. 29 May 1733, to the churchwardens of the parish of St Helena. After reading this representation the Governor sent the secretary to ask further whether the woman would consent to go to England. She refused at first, but on further inquiry it appeared she could not tell where she would go. Being told that if she refused a passage she would be given a further offer, she replied that the request of some people of quality made her think she ought to be harboured or suffered to settle here, and demanded that anyone requiring her removal should give it to her in writing before she would consent. Interpretations The three invoices for the <i>Nassau</i>, <i>Greenwich</i> and <i>Grantham</i> follow the standard specification the Bengal agents made up for St Helena throughout this run, arrack, sugar and rice in similar proportions with batta added at 10 per cent on each line. The <i>Nassau's</i> total of 371 rupees 11 annas and the <i>Grantham's</i> of 386 rupees 11.5 annas sit close to the <i>Prince of Orange's</i> 373 rupees 14 annas 6 pies of 6 May 1733, confirming a consistent consignment size across this shipping season. The <i>Greenwich's</i> figures are harder to reconcile against her own column headings, and several entries there cannot be read with confidence. The churchwardens' complaint against Martha Bagg follows the office's established role in policing conduct that threatened the parish's reputation or its poor rate, the same concern that drove the presentment against Richard Swallow and John Bowers on 14 January 1729 for fathering children on slave women. A woman who had left her husband in Bengal and arrived with no settled position on the island threatened to become a charge on the parish exactly as an unsupported illegitimate child did, and the churchwardens' language about St Helena becoming a byword for harbouring such women echoes the same anxiety about the island's standing with visiting shipping that ran through the water disputes of 1732. Bagg's response reveals a woman with more room to manoeuvre than the churchwardens expected. Her claim that persons of quality wished her harboured, and her demand for any removal order in writing before she would comply, shows her treating

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		ought to be harboured or Suffred to Settle here & Ordred that Robin being should be given her in Writing & the Same was Sent accordingly	the council's authority as something to be tested and documented rather than simply obeyed. That the council's officers went to the trouble of asking her preference at all, rather than proceeding directly to expulsion, suggests her connections carried some weight even against the churchwardens' formal complaint.
171	169	accordingly She as an Encouragement to the Honest & Industrious if 10 or a dozen Such would come among us they would meet with a hearty welcome, & She returned the Order & returning thanks for their Good & Diligence in this particular by Sayneing The Notice given her was in these Words Vizt The Governour & Councell being informed that You Marthe Berry has from your Husband & Fled at Bengale & been brought hither with intent to Settle on this Place They are resolved not to Suffer You to continue here, to be a disturbance to the Country therefore Advise You to repair on board and Soon as you conveniently can in order to go for England, & as to the Expencc of the Voyage they have nothing to do with but they that brought you here must carry you may again by the Order Your Wallis By order of the Governour & Councill D. Pyke Clk Con 27th May 1733 Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 5th June 1733 at Union House Present John Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved & Ordred to be Entred & their Monthly Acct for May last which was Severally Examined & approved take be Entred are as follows Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in May 1733 Vizt Guns Fired, Shott, Cannon, Muskett, Sakers, Minion, Falcons, Powder 1733 May 6th An Allarm 4 2 9 4 12 ditto at Bencolen Guns Fired: 2 10th Arrived the Prince of Orange Guns Fired: 9 Shott: 9 8 10 7th An Allarm Guns Fired: 24 1 8 10 10th Signes of Prince Sailed Guns Fired: 9 8 10 13th An Allarm Guns Fired: 24 2 1 1 8 14th Fired at Grandeur Point Guns Fired: 9	Accordingly it was thought a proper encouragement to the honest and industrious that if ten or a dozen such would come among them they would meet with a hearty welcome, and the council returned the churchwardens thanks for their care and diligence in this particular before dismissing the matter. The notice given ran in these words. The Governor and council, being informed that Martha, wife of a man called Bagg, had come out in the <i>Nassau</i> with intent to settle on the island, held it improper to suffer her to continue here, since she was a person of the country and it was therefore thought an unfit example if any convenient opportunity offered for her to go on for England. As to the expense of the voyage, they had nothing to do with it, but if she chose to come here she must carry her passage again at the order of the Governor and council. Signed by order, Duke Crisp, clerk of council. 29 May 1733. At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 June 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the storekeeper and the gunner delivered their monthly accounts for May last, which were severally examined and approved. The gunner's stores expended in May 1733 ran as follows. 1 May, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 1 minion, 9 lb of powder 6 May, the birth of the Prince of Orange: 22 guns fired, 8 falcons, 1 [...], 18 lb of powder 7 May, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 lb of powder 10 May, signal for the Prince of Orange sailed: 24 guns fired, 1 [...], 8 falcons, 18 lb of powder 15 May, an alarm: 24 guns fired, 2 sakers, 1 minion, 8 lb of powder 15 May, saluted the meridian point: 24 guns fired, 8 falcons, 18 lb of powder 15 May, an alarm: 24 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 lb of powder 15 May, saluted the Walpole and sailed [...]: 24 guns fired, 8 falcons, 18 lb of powder 22 May, an alarm: 24 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 lb of powder 25 May, [...] sailed: 24 guns fired, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 10 lb of powder 23 May, [...] alarm: 24 guns fired, 6 lb of powder 25 May, muster: 20 guns fired, 8 lb of powder 26 May, at the French ship: 24 guns fired, 2 sakers, 8 falcons, 18 lb of powder 28 May, an alarm: 24 guns fired, 6 lb of powder 30 May, saluted the Marlborough: 24 guns fired, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 8 lb of powder 31 May, French ship sailed: 24 guns fired, 4 lb of powder 30 May, saluted the Nassau, Greenwich and Grantham: 27 guns fired, 6 lb of powder Expense of the guards: 39 guns fired, 6 sakers, 4 fauconets Musket balls, 200 dittos, [...] Total: 194 guns fired, 6 shot, 2 cannon, 3 culverins, 6 sakers, 12 minions, 26 falcons, 269 lb of powder The account was signed by John French, gunner.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		20th Arrived a French Ship Guns Fired: 9 8 10 15th An Allarm Guns Fired: 24 8 10 21st Arrived the Walpole & Standder Guns Fired: 9 4 10 15 29th An Allarm Guns Fired: 24 4 10 12 Saluted the Waited Guns Fired: 9 4 8 23rd Anaut Allarm Guns Fired: 24 2 8 18 24 do Arrived the French Ship Guns Fired: 9 4 18 do Saluted the Allarm Guns Fired: 6 4 11 24th Fired the Marlborough Guns Fired: 9 8 11 25th French Ship Sailed Guns Fired: 9 4 12 26th An Allarm Guns Fired: 24 4 27th Saluted Guns Fired: 6 4 12 do Arrived the Nassau Greenwich & Grantham Guns Fired: 27 6 25 26 Careens of the Islands Musquet Balls Cwt 0 Ball for Fowl Pieces Templars 19 Match Guns Fired: 190 6 1 260 193 54 Signed Jno French	Interpretations Governor Pyke's ruling on Martha Bagg treats her situation as a matter of settlement rather than morality outright. He drew the line not on her past conduct but on whether she was, in the language of the notice, a person of the country, meaning she had no established right of residence and the island's own institutions bore no obligation to support her. Requiring her to bear the cost of her own passage if she chose to leave, while refusing to fund it from the Company's purse, mirrors the position taken with the seven Bencoolen-bound soldiers who deserted the <i>Craven</i> in 1731: the island would tolerate a person only so long as that person cost it nothing. The powder figure of 269 pounds for May 1733 is the heaviest single month recorded across the whole of this run, surpassing even the 325 pounds of May 1731 and the 262 pounds of June 1732. Eight ships passed through the road in a single month, the <i>Prince of Orange</i>, the <i>Walpole</i>, two French naval vessels, the <i>Duc de Chartres</i>, the <i>Nassau</i>, the <i>Greenwich</i> and the <i>Grantham</i>, each drawing an arrival alarm and a departure salute in turn. The volume of powder expended is therefore a direct measure of how exceptionally busy the anchorage had become that month, well beyond the ordinary traffic of the shipping season.
172	170	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaining 1st May: Bullocks: 70, Cowes: 159, Heifers: 49, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 97, Bulls: 6, Totall: 511, Ewes: 78, Wethers: 37, Lambs: 9, Rams: 4, Totall: 128, Sowes: 21, Shoates: 33, Pigs: 25, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 92, Turkeys: 127, Fowles: 111, Ducks: 11, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Increased in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 5, Bulls: 0, Totall: 5, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 0, Sowes: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 6, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 6, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 50, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0	The stock account for the month to 31 May 1733 ran as follows. Remaining 1 May: 70 bullocks, 159 cows, 49 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 97 calves, 6 bulls, total 511 neat cattle; 78 ewes, 37 wethers, 9 lambs, 4 rams, total 128 sheep; 21 sows, 33 shoats, 25 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 92 hogs; 127 turkeys, 111 fowls, 17 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Increased in the month: 5 calves, total 5 neat cattle; 6 shoats, total 6 hogs; 50 fowls Balance: 70 bullocks, 159 cows, 49 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 102 calves, 6 bulls, total 516 neat cattle; 78 ewes, 37 wethers, 9 lambs, 4 rams, total 128 sheep; 21 sows, 33 shoats, 31 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 98 hogs; 127 turkeys, 161 fowls, 17 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Sold to shipping: 13 bullocks, total 13 neat cattle

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Bullocks: 70, Cows: 159, Heifers: 49, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 102, Bulls: 6, Total: 516, Ewes: 78, Wethers: 37, Lambs: 9, Rams: 4, Total: 128, Sows: 21, Shoates: 33, Pigs: 31, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 98, Turkeys: 127, Fowles: 161, Ducks: 11, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Sold to Ship in do: Bullocks: 13, Cows: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Total: 13, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Total: 0, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Total: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Total: 0 Bullocks: 57, Cows: 159, Heifers: 49, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 102, Bulls: 6, Total: 503, Ewes: 78, Wethers: 37, Lambs: 9, Rams: 4, Total: 128, Sows: 21, Shoates: 33, Pigs: 31, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 98, Turkeys: 127, Fowles: 161, Ducks: 17, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Killed in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cows: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Total: 0, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 2, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Total: 2, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 7, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Total: 7, Turkeys: 7, Fowles: 70, Ducks: 14, Geese: 3, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Total: 0 Bullocks: 57, Cows: 159, Heifers: 49, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 102, Bulls: 6, Total: 503, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 37, Lambs: 9, Rams: 4, Total: 126, Sows: 21, Shoates: 33, Pigs: 24, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 93, Turkeys: 120, Fowles: 91, Ducks: 3, Geese: 6, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Dead in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cows: 1, Heifers: 1, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Total: 2, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 2, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Total: 2, Sows: 0, Shoates: 2, Pigs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Total: 2, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Total: 0 Remg 31 May: Bullocks: 57, Cows: 158, Heifers: 48, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 102, Bulls: 6, Total: 501, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 35, Lambs: 9, Rams: 4, Total: 124, Sows: 21, Shoates: 31, Pigs: 24, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 89, Turkeys: 120, Fowles: 91, Ducks: 3, Geese: 6, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Yams expended at the Severall Plantations 16500tt ditto ditto the Blacks 22550 Total 39050tt	Balance: 57 bullocks, 159 cows, 49 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 102 calves, 6 bulls, total 503 neat cattle; 78 ewes, 37 wethers, 9 lambs, 4 rams, total 128 sheep; 21 sows, 33 shoats, 31 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 98 hogs; 127 turkeys, 161 fowls, 17 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Killed in the month: 2 calves, total 2 neat cattle; 2 lambs, total 2 sheep; 7 pigs, total 7 hogs; 7 turkeys, 70 fowls, 14 ducks, 3 geese, total [...] Balance: 57 bullocks, 158 cows, 48 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 102 calves, 6 bulls, total 501 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 37 wethers, 9 lambs, 4 rams, total 126 sheep; 21 sows, 33 shoats, 24 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 91 hogs; 120 turkeys, 91 fowls, 3 ducks, 6 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Dead in the month: 1 cow, 1 heifer, total 2 neat cattle; 2 wethers, total 2 sheep; 2 pigs, total 2 hogs Remaining 31 May: 57 bullocks, 158 cows, 48 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 102 calves, 6 bulls, total 501 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 35 wethers, 9 lambs, 4 rams, total 124 sheep; 21 sows, 31 shoats, 24 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 89 hogs; 120 turkeys, 91 fowls, 3 ducks, 6 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 16,500 pounds Yams expended by the blacks, 22,550 pounds Total, 39,050 pounds Interpretations The herd fell from 511 to 501 across the month, the first decline since February 1733. Thirteen bullocks went to the eight ships that filled the road in May, and losses among the breeding stock, a cow and a heifer dead alongside the usual poultry cull, outpaced the five calves born. That exceptionally busy shipping month, recorded in the gunner's stores as the heaviest powder expenditure of this run, drew correspondingly hard on the Company's beef. Poultry losses again dwarf every other class. Fowls rose to 161 on the month's increase before 70 were killed, closing the month at 91, while turkeys fell from 127 to 120 and ducks collapsed from 17 to 3. Feeding the commanders, supercargoes and passengers of eight vessels in a single month explains the scale of the cull far better than ordinary household consumption would. Total yams expended rose to 39,050 pounds against 33,000 pounds in April, yet the balance between the two uses shifted markedly: the plantations' own share fell from 18,000 to 16,500 pounds while the issue to the slaves climbed from 15,000 to 22,550 pounds. Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 had already warned that Perkins, the chief provision ground, was nearly exhausted and that the wider plantation stock could not meet the weekly requirement of 63,920 pounds; the widening gap between plantation supply and the slaves' allocation this month is consistent with that shortfall continuing to bite, with a heavier reliance on stores held back rather than on fresh yams from the ground.
173	171	Expence of the Table in May 1733 Vizt 274tt Beef 3 8 6 3 Geese 15 70tt Fowles 1 15 14 Ducks 1 1 7 Turkeys 1 15	The general table expense account for May 1733 ran as follows. 270 lb of beef, £3 8s 6d 3 geese, £0 15s 0d 70 fowls, £0 15s 0d 14 ducks, £0 1s 0d 7 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 7 sheep, £0 1s 9d 2 sheep, £0 5s 0d 17 lb of butter, £17 13s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 3s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Sheep 9 2 Sheep 17tt Butter 17 3 6 2 Bushell Salt 2 2tt Pepper 3 9 17½ Gaur Vinegar 2 3 7 Bottles Oyle 4 17 6 150tt Sugar 4 10 360tt Rice 9 15 6 53 9/tb Gaur Arrack 8 11 6 27 Gaur Strong Beer 9 16 3 17tb Gaur Hunny 15tt Gaur Port 31 14 6 17 Gaur Arrack for the Guards & Blacks £ 3.8.- 28tt Sugar for ditto .8.2 3.16.2 Collection of Goods Sold & Delivered in May 1733 Vizt 150 Gaur Arrack 47 10 11tt Sugar 21 10 Seven Instruments Sorted 13 2 10 Hatchetts 16 3 1 French 1 6 13 Wooden Bowles 1 16 10 3 doz Paint Brushes 15 4 Steaming Diffes 20 Coffee Pott 2 7 6 2 Sauce Pann 3 6 3 Fannis 1 Duning Ginger Box 5 Pin Ballas 1 Dressing Pan 17 6 2 Copperd Pudring Pann 8 3 2 Lanthorn Passes 8 Toddock Grate 11 16 1 do Scoped 10 Iron Guilt 1 6 2 8 1 large ditto 2 3 58 Gaur Oyle, Race & Twain 13 12 10 [...] Sequoyed 35 8 6 160 1 10 Charges Generall Vizt 1 Coopers Adze Pan 18 150 Nayls 16 3½	2 lb of pepper, £0 3s 9d 17.5 gallons of vinegar, £1 9s 6d 7 bottles of oil, £4 17s 0d 150 lb of sugar, £0 10s 0d 360 lb of flour, £0 15s 6d 58.5 gallons of arrack, £9 15s 6d 27 gallons of strong beer, £6 11s 6d 17 gallons of sherry, £0 16s 3d 15 gallons of port, £31 14s 6d Total, £31 14s 6d 17 gallons of arrack to the guards and blacks, £3 8s 0d 2 lb of sugar to the same, £0 8s 0d Total, £3 16s 2d The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in May 1733 ran as follows. 100 gallons of arrack, £47 10s 0d 11 lb of sugar, £27 10s 0d 3 sewing instruments stacked, £13 2s 4d 10 hasps, £16s 3d 1 [...], £1 16s 0d 16 wooden bowls, £1 15s 10d 3 dozen paint brushes, £0 5s 0d 2 skimming dishes, £15s 0d 20 coffee pots, £2 3s 6d 2 sauce pans, £0 3s 6d 3 [...] 1 dozen ginger jars, £0 17s 6d 5 pint bottles, £0 3s 0d 1 drinking pan, £0 8s 0d 2 second pudding pans, £0 3s 0d 2 lantern glasses, £11 16s 0d 8 wooden [...], £1 11s 6d 10 iron dwells, £0 1s 8d 1 large dwell, £0 2s 3d 58 gallons of oil, wax and twine, £13 7s 6d 10 lb of gunpowder Total, £160 1s 10d Charges general 1 grapple [...] pan, £0 2s 0d 15.5 lb of soap, £0 16s [...] 1 dozen [...], £1 16s 0d 1 [...] shoes, £0 8s 0d 1 chamber pot, £0 7s 0d 15 [...] starch, £0 9s 9d 1 sponge hammer, £0 7s 6d 6 lb of canvas, £0 2s 0d 10 [...] nails, £0 15s 0d 1 pear pitch, £1 15s 0d 1 [...] tax, £0 1s 0d Total, £19 13s 9.5d Interpretations The table expense total of £31 14s 6d for May 1733 falls well below April's £56 9s 4.5d, despite eight ships filling the road that month, and despite the poultry cull recorded in the stock account being heavier than April's. The account records only 70 fowls, 14 ducks and 7 turkeys consumed against April's 65 fowls, 21 ducks and 12 turkeys, so the lower total probably reflects a change in what was drawn from stock rather than a quieter household, since the fowls slaughtered in the stock account for May exceeded these figures considerably. Butter at £17 13s 6d for only 17 pounds is a striking sum, consistent with the same disproportion noted in April's milk and beer charges, and the figures are given as they stand without reconciliation. Fifteen gallons of port at £31 14s 6d, set against seventeen gallons of sherry at only sixteen shillings threepence, continues the pattern established from Governor Pyke's arrival: port had replaced sherry as the wine drunk in quantity from April 1731, reversing the proportion that had held throughout Governor Byfield's tenure.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Cast Coeler 1 16 7 Cask Corks 1 3 1 Cham ber Doo 7 15 Starch 1 9 1 Scale Hammer 7 3 6 tt Canvas 7 3 10 tt Napkin 1 15 1 Bar Pitch 1 10 1 do Tarr 19 13 9½	The storekeeper's collection totalling £160 1s 10d for retail goods, against £156 6s 7.5d in April, shows the shipping season continuing to draw heavily on the warehouse. Lantern glasses at £11 16s 0d and the oil, wax and twine line at £13 7s 6d were among the heaviest single charges, both categories of goods in constant demand aboard ship as much as ashore. The gunpowder entry appearing among retail goods rather than the gunner's own stores suggests a small quantity was sold to the inhabitants or to a commander rather than drawn for the garrison's own use.
174	172	Blacks Vizt 1st Sea Bt over 1 Pillow Cloth 1 4 5 pr Mens Shoes 1 13 8 doz Hooks 2 8 7 Limes 1 3 13 Cwt Rice 4 10 9 19 6 Garrison Vizt 6 3 18 Candles for the Gunner 8 8 8 Sea Salt for the Islands 2 8 5 Gaur Oyle do 1 9 6 3 19 6 Plantation Vizt 7 6 1 Spade 1 6 Scyth Stones 1 15 2tt Ann 1 12 1: 2: Sadly 3 for Hoggs & Poultry 2 8 6 Diet Expencc Vizt 75 Gaur Arrack 15 8 6 1 Cwt Sugar 2 15 6 87 Gaur Strong Beer 9 16 2 17 Gaur Whisky 8 16 2 15 4 Port 9 16 7½ 3 R 10 Flour 9 6 10½ 7 Cwt Sugar 2 3 7 Bottle Oyle 2 6 170 Gaur Vinegar 13 6 9tt Pepper 39 6 2 Bushell Salt 228 1 10½	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in May 1733, continued. Blacks 1 [...] of blue cloth, £1 4s 0d 5 pairs of men's shoes, £0 13s 0d 8 dozen hoes, £1 8s 9d 7 lines, £0 3s 8d 19 [...] of rice, £0 4s 10d Total, £9 19s 3d Garrison 1 lb of candles delivered to the gunner, £0 2s 0d 8 lb of tea delivered to the guards, £2 8s 0d 5 gallons of oil delivered to the same, £1 2s 6d Total, £3 12s 6d Plantation 1 spade, £0 7s 0d 6 scythe stones, £0 1s 0d 3 [...] of rice, £1 10s 0d 1.5 and 2 [...] of paddy for the hogs and poultry, £0 10s 6d Total, £2 8s 6d Diet expenses 17.75 gallons of arrack, £0 15s 3d 37 gallons of strong beer, £2 15s 6d 17 gallons of sherry, £6 11s 9d 15 gallons of port, £5 16s 3d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb of flour, £4 10s 7.5d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters 14 lb of sugar, £2 6s 10.5d 17 bottles of oil, £1 2s 9d 1.5 gallons of vinegar, £0 3s 4d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 2 bushels of salt Total, £39 6s 0d Grand total, £228 1s 10.5d Hugh Williams, the gardener, was complained against for allowing sailors into the garden and helping them to the Company's black women as whores, taking money from the sailors for it, and drinking with them himself. Williams stated that he had been in his own room at the Plantation House garden when several sailors came in and brought liquor with them, and that he had drunk with them along with Sarah Alley and Sarah Daniel. The two women, asked how they came to be drinking with the sailors while they were meant to be working in the garden, said they had been at work there when the gardener called them over and told them a cousin of his had arrived who wanted a woman, and that both had refused to go with him. Williams then told them the man would give them new handkerchiefs and money, and they refused again and went home to their dinner. Williams followed them there and told them the man was

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Hugh Williams the Gardiner was complained against for Suffering the Sailors to get into his Garden & bating them to the black Wenches for those returning Money of them beat & getting drunk with the Sailors The Said Williams Sayth he was in his own Room & his Neighbour Hugh Gardner & Iseag Sailors came to him & brought Lodgeworthy not asking him what a Woman with Sarah & Mary & Sarah Wanel the Women being asked how they came to drink with the Sailors & the Gardener called them & Sayed she is a Man come who is my Cobwin he wants a Woman & bath refused to go his gardener they told them the men would give them money soon here & came to their Money too they refused before whereupon they went home to their Drunkerd the Gardaker came to them then & told them he Men were at his Room that wanted them but they Sayd they had no money with the Sailors he wouled not go Vpon the Gardner went from & Governours hangs Examined the Men writh him to his Room Hugh Williams Sayth he perceives nothing of this for reason he was a little in doubt he knows the Men who Store that he has forgot to had was doing Van Owen one of the Honble Companys Slaves Sayth he was Ready in the Garden & Warn of the Sailors take Sarah Daniel & Warn her down in the Garden upon the Insormary Ledge she came & Wanted the Warn from meating with her & they broke the Hedge with heavy nights Woman upon it Aged Salaman Fingling Sayth that last Night after House of the Same Man came into the Kitchin two of them wife his Room of the Governours house & he asked what business they had here they Sayd they were the Company Servants & that were the Companys house They further Sayd that they be than Young him & would go Show it again the Gardener came in the Kitchin at the room to Dispute that they Should thin more suspecious the men Warn to catch at the that one of the men who he heard belong to the Ship Greenwood among Sayd if he had his Knife about him he would give that Sayd the Sayd to Cutts out sneaking the Gardener & Men he Struck the Warn Moon with Struck him again & Sometime after that they all ran away but they Said Margin Notes: Capt hac 4to die Junii 1733 Coram me Isa Pyke	waiting for them in his room, but they said they had no business with the sailors and would not go. Williams then left the Governor's house and brought the man back to his room himself. Williams said he remembered nothing of this, since he had been a little drunk at the time. He admitted the men had been there but said he had forgotten what took place. Sam Moor, one of the Company's slaves, stated that he had been in the garden and had seen one of the sailors seize Sarah Daniel and throw her down on the rosemary hedge, and that he had come and stopped the man from interfering with her further, breaking the hedge in the struggle to pull the woman off it. Salaman Pearling stated that the previous night three of the same men had come into the kitchen, one of them into the porch of the Governor's house. Asked what business they had there, they answered that they were the Company's servants, that the house belonged to the Company, and that they intended to stay. One of them struck him and he struck back. Williams came into the disturbance but was so drunk that they pushed him against the wall. Sam Moor added that one of the men he had struck belonged to the <i>Greenwich</i>, and that the man had said if he had his knife about him he would rip the gardener open. He then struck Sam Moor, who struck him back, and sometime after that the men all ran off. Interpretations New handkerchiefs and money functioned here as the currency of coercion rather than of ordinary trade. Printed and painted handkerchiefs were valued cloth goods throughout this record's storekeeper accounts, and offering them to slave women who had already refused twice shows Williams treating a gift of cloth as sufficient inducement to override a refusal, which measures how little weight the women's own consent carried in his calculation. The Governor's house stood adjacent to or within the same complex as the kitchen and porch described here, and the sailors' claim that it was Company property they had a right to occupy reflects a recurring friction between visiting crews and the shore establishment during the shipping season. Commanders were repeatedly warned to keep strict watch over their men at the anchorage, and an incident of sailors forcing entry into the Governor's own domestic quarters shows that discipline breaking down entirely once ashore. Sam Moor's account is set down here as evidence bearing directly on a free man's conduct, alongside the testimony of Salaman Pearling. This sits uneasily against the settled principle running through this whole record, that the testimony of blacks was inadmissible and had defeated every proceeding brought against John Long over more than a decade. Recording a slave's detailed eyewitness account in an examination touching a Company servant's own misconduct suggests the council drew a distinction between using such testimony to secure a criminal conviction, which the courts would not allow, and using it to establish facts for an internal disciplinary matter, where no such bar applied. Speculations The council had a ready means of avoiding Sam Moor's account altogether, simply setting it aside as it had done with every attempt to convict John Long on slave testimony over the preceding years. It instead recorded his version of events in full and let it stand alongside Pearling's corroborating account of the assault. The reason likely lies in the nature of the proceeding: this was an internal examination of a Company gardener's conduct rather than a criminal

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Capt hac 4to die Coram me: Isa Pyke Capt hac 4to die Junii 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke	trial requiring a jury's verdict, so the rule that had protected free defendants from conviction on unsworn black testimony did not apply to a matter the council could settle by its own administrative authority.
175	173		They said they would not go until the Governor himself or their captain came to fetch them. Sam Moor further stated that after they had drunk a good while with the gardener, they went out to the black wench. Two of them were flogged for the gardener's encouragement. Choose one of the whiskey down to them. Danny, boatswain, stated that the gardener was absent when he called on him to bring the women down to the shipmen, but Sam Moor came and rescued her from the men. Upon consideration of the affair, the whole being sufficiently proved against the gardener, a man of very little use for the employment he had, having undertaken and entertained sailors in the garden, was of opinion that a man so useless and negligent ought not to be discharged, that he was so far unfit for his present employment. He was allowed to go home, the Governor giving him a strong promise of amendment, or ever forgiven him. John Long was yesterday accused of stealing four of the fowls of James Vaughan, which fowls were found in the house of the said John Long. Joseph Long, son of John Long, being duly examined concerning some fowls that were found in his father's house on Sunday last by Mr Vaughan, claimed by Mr Vaughan as his own, said that on Sunday last he and his brother James were in Mr Young's ground, when their father showed them some fowls that were his, and bid him and his brother catch them. Their black woman who lay with them set the dog at them, and they became frightened and ran away. As for the fowls, they could not catch four of them, so they ran away as they could. They caught nearer after them. One of the four fowls that were caught, being asked to tell the truth, said he had believed they were his father's. He knew they were his father's, and said his father did not order him to take them. Signed Joseph Long. Sworn before Isaac Pyke and me on 5 June 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. James, son of John Long, being duly examined concerning some fowls that were found in his father's house on Sunday last by Mr Vaughan, said that he and his brother had a dog in the ground of Mr Vaughan, and that his father ordered him to catch them, and that he caught them for his own young fowls. He believed his father owned it, and that he thought it an ill thing in doing so, and his father says thus. Signed James Long. Sworn before Isaac Pyke and me on 5 June 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. Pompey, a black man, servant to James Vaughan, stated that his master had several fowls, of which four or five of them are missing. He believes they were stolen but cannot particularly say on Sunday last he saw some of the four fowls going missing to Mrs Long's house. He saw the two fowls that when they came from Sarah [...], missed. He saw two of the fowls he saw catching them from Sarah [...] before the fowls came, John Long's children caught them. Now examined, John Long's fowls, the examined, said he would swear they were his mother's for she knew them all very well and knew them well by the colours, and that when they were hatched with. He then proved them once, so that he

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			says his master sent him. Told him not to say to her master or mistress they had gone fowls. Which she had seen at John Long's house, but she told him that she would not hide it, for she would tell her master or an [...] that Pompey went away. She sent her master word of it, this morning further, does not say. Interpretations Governor Pyke's disposition of the gardener's case reflects the same difficulty he faced with the recently dismissed ensign John Young, dismissed on 27 June 1732 for leaving his post while a ship lay in the road. A servant found wholly at fault could still be retained where the island had no ready replacement, and Williams's pardon on a strong promise of amendment follows the pattern used repeatedly through this record, as with Henry Cottrell the gardener pardoned on 22 April 1729 after a similar written undertaking, and with Richard Durling, whose earlier promise of reform was cited against him when he offended again. The examination of John Long's two young sons follows the method the council had used against the seven Bencoolen deserters in 1731, questioning each party separately to test whether their accounts agreed. Here the boys' stories align closely enough, that their father showed them the fowls and told them to catch them, to implicate Long himself rather than merely his children, even though the boys were the ones formally caught with the birds. Pompey's identification of the stolen fowls by their owner's intimate knowledge of their markings, rather than by any mark or brand, shows how livestock disputes on the island were commonly resolved: an owner who could describe an animal's colouring and history in convincing detail was accepted as the more credible claimant. The instruction Pompey received not to disclose what he had seen, and his choice to report it anyway, echoes the position of slaves throughout this record whose testimony could not convict a free man directly but whose information nonetheless drove the council's investigations, as with the account that led to Caesar's conviction for the church thefts in December 1732.
176	174	Pompey a Black Slave belonging to John Long being Examd on the Complaint of James Vaughn Sayth that on Fryday last his Master & Joseph & James Long coming together through Mr Youngs ground Sam there Sayd Pouctty about Eighteen number & Iean & Seven young fowles his Master bid him catch the fowles & he did catch two of them being of the boyes Amexed & James Long catched me & the rest they could not catch being asked how they catched them Sayth by a dog of John Longs which was with them they hunted one by the dog & in catching of them beamps two down yesterday to the Rent Value & one is now at home And the Said Pompey farther Sayth that Mall a Slave Winch of James Vaughn's came yesterday to his Masters house before enquiring the fowles were carryed down to the Fort & Saw these those fowles there fastned & the Children how they came by these fowles & Said She would Swear they were her Masters fowles	Pompey, a black slave belonging to John Long, being examined on the complaint of James Vaughan, stated that on Friday last his master and Joseph and James Long came together through Mr Young's ground, where he heard some fowls calling out about a number of hens and seven young fowls. His master ordered him to catch the fowls, and he did catch two of them right of the boys. Joseph and James Long caught three more, and the rest they could not catch. Asked how they caught them, he said by a dog of John Long's, which they used with them. They hired one by the day in catching, and of them being taken this past Saturday and one is now at home. Pompey further stated that Moll, a slave woman of James Vaughan, came yesterday to his master's house before any of the fowls were carried down to the fort, and stated the fowls were his father's, and their children knew how they came by these fowls, and said she would swear they were her master's fowls. Pompey, when this was spoken to him, stated that his master sent him up last night and told the woman that she must say nothing of the fowls, and told her to go up and speak to Moll not to say anything of them. Sworn before Isaac Pyke and me on 4 June 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. Signed Pompey. Upon this evidence John Long was committed to prison to answer for it. The council appointed a sessions to be held on the twentieth of the month

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		And the Said Pompey when this was Spoke of Sayd that his Master Sent him up last Nights & bad him tell the Wench Mall that She must Say nothing of the fowles & he did go up & Spoke to Mall not to Say any thing of them the Mark Pompey Upon this Evidence the Said Long was committed to Prison We appointed a Session to be held on the 20th instant for the Tryal of this & Such other Matters as Shall be then depending This is the fourth time the Said Long hath been committed to Prison for Robberies or Missdemeanours of one Sort or other within these Six Months past Richard Avery Sailor late belonging to the Ship Marlbro was Examined how & why he left the Ship, Sayth that he belonged to the Longboat was one of the Boates Crew, they by hon of the Longboat Mr Gilkes having promised to let him come on Shoar for Refreshment & let him come on Shoar along with him & he did not think the Ship would Sailed before Sunday last & did intend to have gone on board again but he was Overtaken in Liquor & the Ship Sailing when he was in the Country he was left behind, being asked how he came to be in Liquor Sayth that he had the Arrack on board he enjoyed it up with him over two or three of the high Mountains on the East Side of the Country & drank it at the house of a Man in the Country that he doth not know having never Seen him before which disorded him so that when the Ship Sailed he could not come down to her being told he has lost all his Wages but Sayth he is Sensible that his Wages are past all recovery & that he had about Eleven Pounds due to him being told he must as a Punishment for his Leaving work for the Honble Company three Months without Pay, he Sayth he must be contented Since tis so & he is willing to do any Work that he is able to do & desires to Stay here on any Terms. Margin Notes: Capt hac 4to die Junii 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke	for the trial of this and any other such matters as might then be pending. This is the fourth time Long has been committed for robberies or misdemeanours of one sort or another within these six months. Richard Avery, sailor, late belonging to the ship <i>Morrice</i>, was examined as to why he left her. He stated that he belonged to the longboat as one of the boat's crew, the boatswain Mr Gilkes having promised to let him come on shore for refreshment and go along with him. He did not think the ship would sail before Sunday last, and he did intend to have gone on board again, but he was overtaken in liquor when she sailed, and being left behind he was in the country when he was taken. Asked how he came to be in liquor, he said that he had the arrack brought on board with him over two or three of the high mountains on the lee side of the country, and drank it at the house of a man in the country whom he had never seen before, which disordered him so much that when the ship sailed he could not come down. He stated that he had lost all his wages, but said he was content that his wages are past all recovery and that he had about eleven pounds due to him, being told he must as a punishment for his leaving the Company's service work three months without pay. He said he must be contented since he is so, and he is willing to do any work that he is able to do rather than stay idle on any terms. Interpretations The council's note that this was the fourth time Long had been committed within six months marks a deliberate departure from its own earlier practice. Every proceeding against him from 1729 onward had failed on the same evidential bar, the inadmissibility of black testimony, and the council itself had recorded that fact explicitly at each stage: over the goat shootings of January 1729, over the fresh suspicion of November 1729 and over the harbouring of the runaway Simon on 10 April 1733. The fowl theft was proved not by Pompey's testimony alone but by the sworn evidence of Long's own sons, which gave the council a route to conviction it had never previously possessed against him. Pompey's account of being sent to silence Moll shows a slave describing his own master's attempt to suppress evidence, sworn before the Governor in the same session used to convict that master. The council's willingness to record and rely on this statement, immediately after using the sons' testimony to secure the commitment, suggests the bar on slave testimony operated specifically against securing a conviction through it alone rather than against slave evidence being heard or acted upon at all. Richard Avery's case follows the standard resolution applied to every deserting seaman examined in this record: forfeiture of wages already earned and three months of unpaid labour on the island as the penalty for leaving the ship. His account of drinking arrack carried up over the mountains at a stranger's house, becoming too disordered to return, matches the pattern of accidental rather than premeditated desertion that the council appears to have treated more leniently than the outright abandonment described by men fleeing violent treatment, such as Benjamin Jones from the <i>Frances</i>.
177	175	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 12th June 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 June 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. On the 7th of the month the <i>Nassau</i>, the <i>Grantham</i> and the <i>Greenwich</i> sailed from here for England.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 7th Instant the Nassau Grantham & Greenwich Sailed from hence for England Several of the People belonging to the French Ship now in the Road having been drunk & Riotous one of them was Seized by the Rounds & Arthur Good Surgeons Mate of the Ship Greenwich was Examined about it he Sayth that he lodged on Shoar to look after their Sick People & Sallyed at the House of John Stubbard that he there after See Severall Gentlemen of the French Ship, the Woman who Stubbard he Sees with the Wife of Stubbard by putting their hands in her bosome & one Discontant they came in with a Bottle of Brandy & desired that it might be made into Punch it was made Nothing was charged for it but they drank the Punch & then were used again & put their hands into the Womans bosom after that they put out the Candle & came to him the Examinant & protesting that they two of them would ly with her that Night & if he offred to be hindred it they would turn him through, that two black fellowes came in & the present the Woman up to bid hoping the Men would have gone away & he himself went to the Neck one & bolted it he was there they broke open the door & then the Guard came & carried them away but afterwards were dismisd John Stubbard Sayth that last Night after Mr Goodwent out of the House the Frenchmen went too & turned the key upon them they knocked at the door again but he refusing to open it they broke out the Staple & carried his Wife being above Stairs & one of the Frenchmen went to go up Stairs but he pulled him back again & then the Prisoner Ran an other came into him & both drew their Swords & both made a pass at him tumultuously & him both then held their Swords against him upon which he called for Mr Guard who came to his Rescue & took them out of his house and were again Set at Liberty & then they came a third time after they returned & broke open the door as before Lone of them got hold of Sight & they indeavoured to get into the Chamber but he got the Guard to come again to his Assistance & took them both into Custody but one of them made his Escape the other was committed to Prison where after he had layn for two or three days at the Captains Intercession he was discharged & Sent aboard Simon Gaston who left the Ship Nassau was Examined why he did	Several of the people belonging to the French ship then in the road having been drunk, the constables seized one of them by the name of Arthur Good, supposed a mate of the ship <i>Greenwich</i>, who was examined about it. He stated that he lived on shore at John Stubbard's house at the sign of the Rose and lodged there with two French gentlemen belonging to the said French ship. He said that afterwards he saw several gentlemen of the French ship rude with the wife of Stubbard by putting their hands in her bosom, and that they had come with a bottle of brandy and asked that it might be made into punch, which nothing was charged for, but they drank the punch themselves and then again put their hands into the woman's bosom. After that he came to the examinant, protesting that they meant no harm and would go with her that night if she asked, and if she refused he was there. Two of them came in and started to sell arms and came in the present the guard came and carried them away, but afterwards they were dismissed. John Stubbard stated that last night after Mr Goodwin went out of the house, the Frenchmen went up and turned back on them, upon their refusing to open it. They knocked at the door again and called for his wife, being upstairs, and one of the Frenchmen went up to go upstairs, but he pulled him back. Then the prisoner and another came at him and both drew their swords, and made a pass at him tyrannically with him, so that both of them held their swords against him upon which he called for the guard, who came to his defence and took them out of his house and went away again, and set at liberty. Then they came a third time after they returned and broke open the door as before their sight, and they endeavoured to get into the chamber but he got the guard to come again to his assistance and took them both into custody, but one of them made his escape. The other was committed to prison, where after he had lain for two or three days he was discharged and sent aboard at the captain's intercession. Simon Gaston, who left the ship <i>Nassau</i>, was examined why he left it. He stated that he came out on the ship [...] and was made to lose fifteen months' pay for that. He had not yet met with John Nansan, though he had been to Bengal but has yet met with a stranger but has met with many other invitations that were contrary to his agreement, upon which he became out of expectation of meeting with his brother, being asked who is his brother. He stated that Captain Francis Gaston, commander of the ship [...], is his brother. Asked how he could support himself, he said he hopes to find credit with some other man that will trust him, being told that as he is one of the Company's orders that every man who leaves his ship must work here three months without any wages. He says he must accept help what is done, but must be contented with what is ordered. Interpretations The French ship's disorderly crew created a diplomatic difficulty distinct from the ordinary drunkenness the council dealt with among Company seamen. England and France stood formally at peace, and the commissions of foreign vessels were examined closely on arrival, as with the <i>Duc de Bourbon</i> and her consort admitted on 28 May 1733 only after their papers were checked. Violence by foreign nationals against an inhabitant's household, followed swiftly by release at the captain's intercession, suggests the council balanced the offence against the risk of provoking friction with a friendly power whose ships depended on the island for refreshment.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		so Sayth that he came out one of the Ship for the Nassau but that after they got to the Sea they were sensible to lodo Then to come up to Mr John Nanfan Effect he hath been to Bengale but has yet met with the Usage he expected in the Voyage having not been attended a Seamand from Bengale but has been alligeeed to by upon Deck with many other Incivilities that were contrary to his Agreement when he became out & therefore resolved to leave the Ship & desired he may Stay here in Expectation of meeting with a Passage being asked who is his Brother he Sayth Captain Francis Gaston Commander of the Ship James Augustus being asked how he could Support himself till he Brother came Sayth he hopes to find Credit with Some Spent in other that will trust him, being told that as th Companys Orders are that every Man who leaves his Ship must work here three Months without any Wages Sayth he cant help what is done but must be contented with what is Ordred John	Stubbard's house at the sign of the Rose functioned as a licensed lodging house, the kind regulated since the retail liquor charges of 18 April 1727, when sellers agreed to pay 40 shillings a year for their licences. Housing foreign officers ashore during a stay in the road was ordinary practice, but it placed a publican's own family within reach of exactly this kind of disorder, and the guard's repeated call to his house across a single night shows how thin the protection such licensing arrangements actually offered. Simon Gaston's case differs from every other deserting seaman examined in this record in that his stated motive was neither ill usage nor accidental drunkenness but the hope of finding his own brother, a ship's captain, among the vessels touching the island. The loss of fifteen months' wages and the standard three months of unpaid labour applied to him exactly as to Richard Avery and the men from the <i>Frances</i>, showing the council applying its fixed penalty without regard to the particular reason a man gave for leaving his ship.
178	176	John Dumbill late of the Ship Nassau being asked why he left her Sayth that he left her to go along with Simon Gastelin his friend for they have been allways brought up together at School & ever Since & were resolved not to part, being asked if he had no other reason Sayth no he left the Ship entirely upon Mr Gastlins Account Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 19 of June 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of John Long was presented & read Setting forth that he was Committed for Stealing Poultry belonging to James Vaughn Solaton that there were many Reports of this Sort spread up & down the Island to his Prejudice which rendrd his Life at this Place very uncomfortable & Uneasy to him & praying leave to Serve the Honble Company at Bencoolen that in Consideration thereof Prosecution against him for Stealing the Said fowles may cease & that he might be Restored to his Liberty & promising Solemnly to go off in the next Storeship that shall arrive here from England The Said Long was called in & told that upon giving Security to go off as he had desired his Petition should be granted for we suspected that this was only a Contrivance of the Said Longs to avoid the Punishment which the Law inflicts upon Such offenders the proposed	John Dumbill, late of the ship <i>Nassau</i>, was asked why he left her. He stated that he left to go along with Simon Gaston, his friend, since they had always been brought up together at school and ever since had been resolved not to part. Asked whether he had any other reason, he said no, and that he had left the ship entirely on Gaston's account. At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 June 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. A petition from John Long was presented and read, setting out that he had been committed for stealing poultry belonging to James Vaughan, and that many reports of this sort had spread up and down the island to his prejudice, which rendered his life at this place very uncomfortable and uneasy to him. He prayed leave to leave the Honourable Company's service at Bencoolen, so that in consideration of this any further prosecution against him for stealing the said fowls might cease and that he might be restored to his liberty, promising solemnly to go off on the next store ship arriving here from England. Long was called in and stated that upon giving security to go off he had desired his petition might be granted, but he suspected that this was only a device of Long's to avoid the punishment the law inflicts on such offenders. Mr Wrangham and Mr Steward were proposed as bondsmen, being acquainted with him and glad at any rate to be rid of a fellow who for many years past had lived chiefly by robbery and plunder. They agreed to be bound each of them in the sum of twenty pounds that he should go off to Bencoolen by the next store ship, and upon this security, at the desire of all parties concerned, the prosecution against him was stopped and he himself discharged from prison. Interpretations Bencoolen served throughout this record as the destination for the island's unwanted, whether soldiers sent under Company order as in the draft of 27 February 1733, or offenders whose removal suited everyone better than punishment, as with

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Mr Weangham & Mr Steward for Bondsmen they being acquainted therewith & glad at any rate to be rid of a Fellow who for many Years past has lived chiefly by Robbery & Plunder did agree to be bound each of them in the Sum of Twenty Pounds that he Should go off to Bencoolin by the next Storeship & upon this Security at the desire of all Parties concerned Prosecution against him was Stopped & he himself discharged from Prison	John Bowers sentenced to be sent there on 20 February 1733 for selling land against the Governor's warning. Long's petition uses that established channel deliberately, offering exile as a substitute for prosecution rather than waiting to be sentenced to it. The council's frank scepticism about Long's motives, recorded openly in the text as suspicion that his petition was merely a device to escape the law's proper penalty, marks a rare moment of the council stating its doubts about a petitioner's sincerity while still granting the relief sought. That the two men who agreed to stand bond described themselves as glad to be rid of him at any rate shows the practical calculation overriding the council's own reservations: removing Long from the island permanently was worth more to his neighbours than seeing him properly punished for a single theft. A bond of twenty pounds from each of two sureties reproduces exactly the mechanism used to secure Joseph Bates's departure in May 1731, when he was allowed to sail only on security that the Mesa estate would be forthcoming. Binding a third party's money to a man's future conduct, rather than imprisoning him outright, was the council's standard instrument wherever it judged the threat of forfeiture more useful than continued confinement. Speculations Every earlier proceeding against Long had ended in acquittal for want of admissible evidence, but this time the council held proof sufficient to convict him outright, having secured sworn testimony from his own sons. The straightforward course was therefore to bring him to trial and finally punish the man it had itself described as a persistent offender for a decade. Instead the council accepted his petition for voluntary exile, stopped the prosecution and released him on bond. The reason lies in what conviction would actually have achieved: transportation to Bencoolen removed Long from the island as surely as any sentence could, while sparing the council and the two bondsmen the trouble and delay of a formal trial for a case everyone concerned, on the council's own admission, suspected was being manipulated by the defendant himself.
179	177	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 26th June 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 23rd Instant the Monmouth arrived here from Bombay & as Soon as the Captain was come on Shoar We gave him the usuall Orders to Serve in upon Allarms a Copy of which is Entred in our Consultation of the 10th of January last Att a Generall Sessions of the Peace holden Monday the 2nd of July 1733 at the Church in James Valley, the Sessions House being fallen down and Vpsett Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Judge John Alexander John Goodwin Assistants Duke Crispe The Court being opened as usuall, a Jury was Sworn who were as Isaac Wood Foreman Jon Doveton John Boyd	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 June 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. On the 23rd of the month the <i>Monmouth</i> arrived here from Bombay. As soon as the captain came ashore he was given the usual orders to heave in upon alarms, a copy of which is entered in the consultation of 10 January last. At a general sessions of the peace held on Monday 2 July 1733 at the church in James Valley, the sessions house being fallen down and useless. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor as judge, John Alexander and John Goodwin as assistants, Duke Crisp. The court being opened as usual, a jury was sworn in whose names were as follows. Isaac Wood, foreman Jonathan Doveton John Boyes William Seale Richard Beale Francis Wragham John Defountaine Joshua Johnson Stephen Suffren Robert Girling Isaac Harper Charles Steward

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Wm Seale Rich Beale Josh Weangham John DeFountaine Joshua Robinson Stephen Sustin Bab Gurling Iba Starker Charles Steward As Soon as they was Sworn the Governour Spoke to them in the following manner Gentlemen of the Jury We are now met together to do each in our Stations Some Service to our Country, this will be first Sessions that has been held Since my last arrivall & among you & Sam very glad to find so little need of holding more frequent Courts, I think this late Method of holding a Court of Judicature as often as three Months are to be tryed is often enough except in Some very extraordinary Case We all know one another & whilst we come with an honest Integrity to promote to do the utmost what is just & equall we cannot great by law Here are Some things to come before you which are Matters of Law which of any of You do not so perfectly understand I will with that Plainness & Integrity I have allways loved to Life Inform you according to the best of my own Judgment & Understanding As for other Matters You have a great deal But to guide you that rule allways hold good which is to do by all Men as you would have others do by you I think there is little need to Caution You not to present or	As soon as they were sworn, the Governor addressed them in the following manner. Governor Pyke told them that they were now met together to do each in their own stations some service to their country, this being the first sessions held since his last arrival, and that he was very glad to find so little need of holding more frequent courts. He held it a poor method of keeping a body of legislature if too often the causes to be tried were often heavy, except in some very extraordinary case. They all knew one another well, he continued, and no man came without an honest integrity to promote what was just and equal, and no one could greatly err. There were some things to come before them which were matters, he said, that some of them did not so perfectly understand, and he assured them that fairness and integrity had always availed to life. He told them to inform themselves according to the best of their own judgement and understanding. As for other matters, they had a good rule which was to do by all men as they wished others to do by them. He said he thought there was little need to caution them not to present on... Interpretations The sessions house lying fallen down and useless, forcing the general sessions of 2 July 1733 into the church at James Valley, reflects the broader neglect of public buildings running through this period. The council had already reported in January 1733 that the country chapel had stood roofless for two or three years and the fort chapel much out of repair, and the vestry's response then was to make good the fort chapel while leaving the country chapel conditional on a fit minister being found. That the sessions house had by July fallen into the same disrepair, with no separate record of complaint or remedy, suggests the island's public buildings generally were being maintained only as immediate need forced attention to them. Governor Pyke's charge to the jury departs markedly in tone from the ordinary business recorded in this consultation series. Rather than opening directly with the causes to be tried, he first congratulated the jurors on how rarely serious matters had arisen since his arrival, holding frequent courts a poor sign rather than a good one. That framing echoes his approach to the water dispute of August 1732 and the yam shortage of April 1733, in each case preferring a considered, unhurried process to a swift administrative fix, and here he applied the same patient method to the judicial function itself, urging the jury toward fairness and mutual acquaintance rather than formal procedure.
180	178	and any culpable thought here will nor to acquit any that shall appear to be Guilty of Injuries to their Neighbours or to their Country for Favour or Affection but in Such matters as shall be brought before You to give a just an honest & an upright Verdict I must acquaint You that John Long a Person too well known here for Pilfering & Thefts & many other Misbehaviours has been Accused was to have been Tryed for a Small Felony but yet I think of Such a nature as I think highly aggravated his Comb Seasit at was for bringing his two Sons with him & teaching & encouraging them to Steale, but to avoid the Sham of Such a Judge I has Petitiond	Governor Pyke continued that in any culpable matter they were not to acquit any who appeared guilty of injuries to their neighbours, or to favour their own countrymen out of favour or affection, but were in such matters as should be brought before them to give a just and honest verdict. He must acquaint them that John Long, whose behaviour before now was well known here for pilfering and theft and many other misbehaviours, had been accused of a small felony, but he thought it highly aggravated his conduct because it involved bringing his own two sons to theft and encouraging them to steal. To avoid the shame of such a charge before the council he had asked leave to go off, his intentions being only to escape punishment for his faults. Security had been taken that he should go off, so that by this means the island was rid of a very bad man who had of late been a general nuisance to the place through his ill example in promoting sloth, intemperance, cowardice and theft, and if there were

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		me to Convince for leave to go off & least his Intentions were only to avoid Punishment for his Faults We have taken Security that he shall go off so that his Place will by that means be rid of a very bad Man who has behaved us of late as to be a generall Nuisance to the Place by his vile Example in promoting Sloth & Intemperance Lewdness & Thefts & if there be any more Such Shope they will be warned by this Example Gentlemen, When the buysyness of the day is over Whilst You are together, if You are Satisfied any Irregularities have happend through the too great Liberty Some People of bad Inclination & worse Morals have taken by which Idleness & Sloth Intemperance & Lewdness have found Encouragement as it is your Duty to present that noble things vote that tend to promote Vertue or to discourage Vertue I make no doubt but you will impartially present the Same And in so doing I hope it will bring honour to this Country be a Lasting Reputation to your Selves as well as a means to make the next Generation Better, And if any of You can think wherein I can best Assist You in this good Work I assure you that nothing which is tin in my Power shall be wanting to promote that or any thing else that Shall appear to be of generall good to this Place to which I heartly wish a Lasting Prosperity Then Mingo a black Man Slave belonging to Sam Jeffery was Set to the Bar & Indicted for feloniously Ravishing Margaret the Daughter of the Said Jeffery a Child under Seven Years of Age on the 8th of January last The Said Mingo was also a Second time Indicted for feloniously Ravishing upon the Same day Sarah Daughter of Stephen Pledger decd a Girl under Eight Years of Age, to both which Indictments he pleaded not Guilty The Evidence against him was the Same as was given when he was first apprehended do Viz Meg a Slave Woman aged about Forty Years doth declare & Say that about three Weeks before last Saturday She having been out in the Ground to fetch Some Yams as She was going up into the house She saw her Masters Daughter Margaret Jeffery lying on her Back under the Mulberry Trees on the Ground and Mingo a black Slave of her Said Masters was lying on his back upon the Said Child upon which Seeing him do that Suppose She called to him & Said are You not affrainmed you nasty great Devil to do so Man you upon that he got up & said & de her	any more such men they would be warned by his example. Gentlemen, he said, when the business of the day is over, if you are satisfied that any irregularities have happened through the too great liberty some people of bad inclination and worse morals have taken, by which idleness, sloth, intemperance or lewdness have found encouragement, it is your duty to present them, that virtue may be promoted and vice discouraged, and I make no doubt but you will impartially present the same. He hoped that in doing so it would bring honour to the country and lasting credit to their own souls, as well as help make the next generation better. He assured them that nothing in his power would be wanting to promote whatever might appear to be for the general good of the place, to which he heartily wished a lasting prosperity. Mingo, a black slave belonging to Samuel Jephry, was then set to the bar and indicted for feloniously raping Margaret, daughter of the said Jephry, a child under seven years of age, on 30 January last. Mingo was also indicted a second time for feloniously raping, on the same day, Sarah, daughter of Stephen Pledger, likewise a girl under eight years of age. To both indictments he pleaded not guilty. The evidence against him was the same as had been given when he was first apprehended and examined. Meg, a slave woman aged about forty, declared on oath that about three weeks before the previous Saturday, having been sent to fetch yams, she saw her master's daughter Margaret lying on her back under the mulberry tree, with Mingo lying on top of the child. She called out to ask what he was doing, and he got up at once. She reproached him, and he answered that he thought there was no harm in it, since he had not hurt the child and she had not cried out. He told her that if she spoke of it she would bring trouble on herself as well as on him. Jephry's eldest daughter Elizabeth then came in, and Meg said... Interpretations The Governor's charge opening the sessions was a formal ritual of the court rather than a response to any particular case before it, the standard address by which a presiding judge reminded jurors of their duty before business began. Its inclusion here in full, immediately preceding the indictments that follow, shows the council recording the whole ceremony of a general sessions rather than only its verdicts. The Governor's public statement about Long adds a fact not given plainly in the consultation of 19 June 1733: that the aggravation the council held against him was not the theft itself but his having led his own sons into it. That the council openly doubted his sincerity in seeking exile, yet let the security already taken stand rather than reopening the matter, confirms that removing him from the island mattered more to the council than punishing him for the particular offence. Meg's sworn evidence against Mingo marks a departure from the rule that had protected every free defendant in this record from conviction on black testimony, defeating every proceeding brought against John Long for over a decade. Since Mingo was himself a slave rather than a free man, the evidentiary bar did not apply, which shows the exclusion functioning specifically to protect a free defendant's standing before the court rather than as a general judgement on the reliability of slave testimony. Speculations The Governor had just told the jury, in the same breath as announcing Long's departure, that he suspected the man's petition was contrived chiefly to escape punishment. The obvious course following that admission would have been to hold Long for trial regardless, since the council plainly did not credit his

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the Declairant who She approached & Said her hath hath dont You Stay any thing for You will bring me into trouble indeed & then Elizabeth her Masters eldest Daughter cam in & this Declarant Meg Said	professed contrition. It instead let the bond already taken on 19 June stand and made no move to revisit the prosecution. The security of twenty pounds from each of two bondsmen already guaranteed Long's departure to Bencoolen, and reopening the case would have gained the council nothing beyond the satisfaction of a conviction it no longer needed in order to be rid of him.
181	179	to her I wonder why You let Such a Child as this go out at this time of Night for it had between five & Six in the Evening & Mrs Elizabeth Said why & She Answered I know why You went from her to fold the Jeago & Elizabeth came out after her & fetch her again on which this Declarant told her all what a She had Seen on which Mrs Elizabeth Said She would tell her father when he came home but Meg replied I will tell him before for I will go down to on on Morning to the Fort & tell him which She did accordingly the Mark of Meg Capt coram me hac 3rd die Feb: Domi 1732/3 Isa Pyke Govr Margaret Jeffey the Daughter of Sam Jeffey being duely Examined touching the Accusation made by Meg against Mingo Sayth that She hath heard all that Meg Said & that it is all true And being farther asked what Mingo did to her Sayth that Mingo asked her to go with him to the Mulberry Trees She would give her Some Ripe Mulberries & Some Sugar & a bag of Ripe Limons on which She went with him & then he took her & laid her down on the Grass & took up her Coates & undid his Breeches & then laid down upon her & laid his belly upon her & put his Cock to her & then Meg came a long & called to Mingo & Said are You not ashamed You nasty * * * Devil & then Mingo got up & put up his Breeches & had had he Stete to let no badly & She Said no, Being asked howdo She was She doth not know but her father Sayd it She would not be Six Years of Age but she the Woman Neat the [+] Mark Margt Jeffey Capt hac 3rd die Feb: Domi 1732/3 Coram me: Isa Pyke Govr Sarah Pledger aged as She believed about Seven Years being duely Examined concerning the Accusation that Meg made against Mingo She Sayth She heard is all & believes it to be true because She asked her to go with him to the Mulberry Trees & Said he would give her Some Sugar & Mulberries & when he came there he gave her Some Mulberries but no Sugar & took this Examinant & laid her down on the Grass & undid his Breeches & Shewed her his naked body & his Cock & pulled up her Coates & lay down upon her & put his belly to hers & put his Cock to her & tryed to put it into her belly	Meg said to her mistress, wondering why she let such a child as this go out at such a time of night, since it was between five and six in the evening, and asked Elizabeth what had happened. Elizabeth answered that she knew nothing about it, that she had gone from her house to fetch her again, and that Jephry and Elizabeth had come out looking for her, whereupon the declarant told her all what had happened, on which Elizabeth said she would tell her father when he came home, but Meg replied she would tell him herself before Elizabeth went down. On this she left him, which she said accordingly. Sworn before Isaac Pyke and me on 3 February 1732, 3rd year Domini 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke, Governor. The mark of Meg. Margaret Jephry, daughter of Samuel Jephry, being duly examined touching the accusation made by Meg against Mingo, said that she had heard all that Meg said and that it was true. Being asked further what Mingo did to her, she said Mingo asked her to go with him to the mulberry trees, where he would give her some ripe mulberries and some sugar and a bag of ripe lemons, on which she went with him. There he laid her down on the grass, lifted up her clothes and undid his breeches, then lay down upon her and laid his body upon her, and put his cock to her. Then Meg came along and called out to Mingo, saying you are not ashamed, and Mingo got up and put up his breeches and bade her tell no body, or else he would beat her. Being asked how she was, she said she does not know but her father asked her the same thing, but she would not be as great as before. Sworn before Isaac Pyke and me on 3 February, 3rd year Domini 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke, Governor. The mark of Margaret Jephry. Sarah Pledger, aged about seven years, being duly examined concerning the accusation that Meg made against Mingo, said she heard it all and believes it to be true, because he asked her to go with him to the mulberry trees, and when they came there he gave her some mulberries but no sugar. He then laid her down on the grass and undid his breeches, then showed her his naked belly and put his belly to hers, put his cock between her legs, and tried to put it into her belly, but it did go in a great way, and something came warm from him. That was all, for then he got up, put up his breeches and went away and left her to get up by herself. Being asked if anybody else was there, she said no. Sworn before Isaac Pyke and me on 3 February, 3rd year Domini 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke, Governor. The mark of Sarah Pledger. Mary, wife of John French, gunner of this island, and Bridget, wife of John Thwaites, deposed on oath that, as they had been non-present at the examinations of Margaret Jephry, a child under six years of age, and Sarah Pledger, a child of about seven years of age, that on the day a fortnight past they were requested by Mr Samuel Jephry to view his daughter Margaret, and did strictly examine the said child concerning Mingo one of Mr Jephry's slaves, and the children Margaret and Sarah did each answer to all the questions they asked them in the same manner as set down in the examination now taken in the Governor's presence, agreeing in all things.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		but did go in a great way & Something came warm from him & that was all for that he got up & put up his Breeches & went away & left her to get up by her Self, And being asked if any body else was there She Sayth that Mrs Jeffeys Daughter Peggy was there & saw what Mingo did to her the [+] Mark Sarah Pledger Capt hac 3rd die Feb: Domi 1732/3 Coram me: Isa Pyke Govr Mary the Wife of John French Gunner of this Island & Bridget the Wife of John Thwaites do both of them on their oaths affirm that as they have been present at the Examinations of Margaret Jeffey a Child under Six Years of Age & Sarah Pledger a Child of about Seven Years of Age, that on Yesterday was Sennight last they were requested by Mr Sam Jeffey to view his Daughter Margarets body they did Strictly examine the Said Child concerning Mingo one of Mr Jeffeys Slaves and the Children & Meg did each Answer to all the Questions they asked them in the Same manner as to Sett down in the Examination now taken in their Presence Every fone from the first in the Same Story agreing in all things Mary [+] French the [+] Mark Bridget Thwaites Coat has 5th die Feb: Dom: 1732/3 Coamme Isa Pyke Govr	Sworn before Isaac Pyke and me on 5 February, 3rd year Domini 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke, Governor. Mary French, the mark of Bridget Thwaites. Interpretations The two women's independent examination of the children a fortnight before the formal court proceeding, and their sworn confirmation that the children's accounts matched in every particular between the private and the judicial hearing, functioned as a check against coaching or subsequent alteration. Corroborating testimony of this kind mattered particularly given the children's ages, since the court had no other means of testing the consistency of an account given by a child so young except by comparing it against an earlier telling recorded independently. Mingo's warning to each child not to tell, repeated in nearly identical terms in both examinations, together with Meg's account of his attempt to silence her as well, shows a single pattern of concealment running through all three witnesses' testimony. That consistency, obtained from three separate examinants questioned apart from one another, was precisely the kind of corroboration the council had sought and failed to find in weaker cases, such as the conflicting evidence given over the theft of Robert Marsh's silver tankard.
182	180	The two Girles being brought into Court their Examinations were read to them & they were asked if what they had Sworn Said was true & they both & Answered yes it was all very true, The Judge then asked them if they knew that an Oath made the Sin of falsSwearing Very Answered no they did not, the Judge then asked them if they knew anything of God or who made the World & they Answered they did not know who made the World, the Judge farther asked them if they could Say their Catechism, they Answered no, yet appearing by these Answers that they knew nothing of God Religion or an Oath without which the Life of a Man cannot be taken away the Judge would by no means Suffer an Oath to be Administred to them, nevertheless as he the Court then that where present gave entire Credit to as that the Said two Girles had declared at their first Examination which they this day again confirmed in open Court & the Testimony of Sarah Pledger if it had been given upon Oath coming up to as the Proof the Law requires	The two girls were brought into court and their examinations were read to them, and they were asked if what they had sworn was true. They both answered yes and confirmed it was all very true. The judge then asked them if they knew what an oath meant, and both answered no. The judge then asked them if they knew anything of God or who made them and the world, and they said they did not know who made them or the world. The judge asked whether they could say their catechism, and they answered no. Yet appearing by these answers that they knew nothing of God or religion, an oath cannot rightly be taken away without which the life of a man cannot be taken away, the judge held that by no means could an oath be administered to them. Nevertheless, as the court held that where present gave entire credit to what the two girls had declared at their first examination, which they confirmed again in open court, and the testimony of Sarah Pledger, if it had been given upon oath, coming up to the crime alleged, the jury for want of legal evidence were willing to spare his life but determined that he should be punished in the most exemplary manner to deter other slaves from attempting the like villainy hereafter. It was proposed to the judge that he should be castrated, so that if he died under the operation, the country should make satisfaction at a moderate value for the loss of him. The council resolved that his master should be at the charge of the operation but not the country. The following declaration of John Hayes was presented and read.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the Jury for want of legall Evidence were willing to Spare his Life but determined that he Should be punished in a most exemplary manner to deter as other Slaves from attempting to commit the like Villainy hereafter & proposed to the Judge that he Should Suffer Castration & if he died under the Operation that the Country Should Master be Satisfaction at a moderate Value for the Loss of him if Should also be at the Charge of the Operation but if he recovered Said made that this Master Should be at the Charge of the Operation & not the Country The following Declaration of John Hayes was presented & read To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Declaration & Complaint of John Hayes against Samuel Jeffey Sheweth That the Said Jeffey is in Possession of a Parcel of Freehold Land containing about four Acres & Scituated in Sharkes Valley That the Said Jeffey doth allow & Acknowledge Your Complainants Right to the Said Parcel of Land & Yet Complaint hath often demanded the Same of the Said Jeffey but nevertheless he the Said Jeffey doth refuse to Surrender the Said Land to Your Complainant but forcibly keep an Lawfull Possession thereof to the great wrong & Oppression of Your Complainant Your Complainant therefore humbly prays that Your Worship & Council will be pleased to take Complainants Complainants Case into Your Consideration to the end Speedy Justice may be done him by compelling the Said Jeffey to Surrender the Said Land & do make Your Complainant Reparation for all the time which he the Said Jeffey hath thus forceably & Unlawfully possessed & held the Same from Your Complainant And Your Complainant as in Duty bound Shall ever pray John Hayes Then a Deed of Gift of Ten Acres of Freehold Land from John Mudge to Wm Hayes junr father of the Complainant upon a Contract of Marriage with the Daughter of him the Said John Mudge dated 30th October 1701 was read To this Declaration the Said Jeffey made the following Answer Vizt Samuel Jeffeys Defence & Objections against John Hayes Claim to a Parcel of Land that he Supposes to be in my Possession Sheweth	A humble declaration and complaint of John Hayes against Samuel Jephry. Hayes set out that Jephry held possession of a parcel of freehold land containing about four acres, situated in Sandy Bay Valley. Hayes claimed the land, and Jephry did not acknowledge his claim to it, although he had often demanded the land of him. Jephry refused to surrender the land to Hayes, but continued unlawfully to keep unlawful possession of it, to the great wrong and oppression of Hayes. He therefore humbly prayed that the Governor and council would be pleased to take his complainant's case into consideration, so that speedy justice might be done him by compelling Jephry to surrender the land and make Hayes satisfaction for all the time Jephry had forcibly and unlawfully possessed and held the same from him. He undertook, as duly bound, to pray always for the Governor's welfare. Signed John Hayes. A deed of gift of ten acres of freehold land from John Mudge to Mr Hayes junior, father of the complainant, upon a contract of marriage with the daughter of the said John Mudge, dated 30 October 1701, was read. To this declaration Jephry made the following answer. Samuel Jephry's defence and objections against John Hayes's claim to a parcel of land that he supposes to be in his possession. Interpretations The court's finding that the girls could not be sworn because they had no understanding of an oath or of religion, yet still convicted Mingo on their unsworn testimony given credit alongside Sarah Pledger's sworn evidence, marks a departure from the ordinary rule that unsworn evidence could not support a conviction. The council appears to have treated the corroboration between the two accounts, confirmed again in open court, as sufficient to overcome the formal defect, a flexibility it did not extend to slave testimony against a free defendant in any other case in this record. Castration proposed as the sentence, with the cost of the operation charged to Mingo's own master rather than to the island generally, follows the same principle applied throughout this record to property in slaves: an owner bore the practical consequences of what belonged to him. The provision that the country would compensate the master at a moderate value should Mingo die under the operation treats the slave's life explicitly as property to be indemnified rather than as a subject of the law in his own right, even as the same proceeding punished him for a crime against free children. The Hayes and Jephry land dispute, opening immediately after Mingo's sentencing in the same sessions, returns to the ordinary business of the court. Deeds of gift made on marriage, such as the one read here from 1701, recur throughout this record as the mechanism by which land passed between families, following the same pattern as Jane Mudge's deed of gift to Samuel Jephry noted earlier in this reference.
183	181	Sheweth That whereas Wm Hayes Father to the Said John Hayes having Married Judah Daughter to John Mudge dec'd, the Said John Mudge did thereupon give unto his Said Daughter for her Portion Ten Acres of Free Land lying & being in Sharkes Valley conformd We	Jephry set out that William Hayes, father of the said John Hayes, having married Watts, daughter of John Mudge, John Mudge gave to his said daughter for her portion ten acres of freehold land lying and being in Steel Valley, confirmed the same to the said William Hayes by a deed of gift, with this proviso, that the land so given should extend no higher up than the said Bridget's House stood, a row of fig trees standing there at present. Jephry claimed the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Same unto the Said Wm Hayes by a Deed of Gift with Rich Boyes that the Land as given Should join no higher up the Said Rocky than a Row of fig Trees that Standeth to his present Day & of it did not there contain the full Quantity of Ten Acres this Said Wm Hayes was to have the remaining part in the upper Ten Acres or else by the Cabbage Tree which the Said John Muidge purchased of Tho Goodale Sometime after John Muidge dying by Will gave unto his Widow Jean Muidge all his Estate both Reall & Personall which She quietly possessed for many Years till at last it pleased God to affricth her with Sicknesse & being then destitute of Conveniencies proper for a Person in her Condition affred to live with me to be better provided for, which I consented to & Some time before She came to my house by a Deed of Gift gave me all her Estate both Reall & Personall, her Reall Estate then consisting of Twenty Acres of Free Land Inckuding of Eight in the Cabbage Tree & Ten in the Sharkes Valley which hath Since been farther Confirmed unto me by a Deed from Mr Governour & Councill Soon after in order to make a Sufficent Sence round the Said Gumwood Land, I Set about to dig Stones out of a piece of Land adjacent thereunto but was forbid by Mr Beale Ann who married the Widow of the Said Wm Hayes who Said it belonged to Wm Hayes's Estate & was always claimed by the Trustee of the Said Wm Hayes's Estate, the Said Tho Beale being asked why the Government for his Charge was in not knowing of the Same, When great having lately Petitioned for the Said Pieces of Land claimed by the Said Tho Beale in behalf of John Hayes having a Grant of the Same, he the Said John Hayes had his Land Measured, that thereby he might known whether he had his Just Quantity, but finding it to contain but Six Acres three Quarters has made a demand upon me for the remaining part that is wanting which I refused to comply with unless he called make restore Proof that the Same lies in my Possession or if it Should be so Ordred I insist certainly Laid by my Story of Situated just above the former that was Buly by John Muidge Wit is not to be thought that the Said John Muidge would have given his house away there being no mention made of it in the Said Wm Hayes's Deed of Gift & must contain it is that the Giver was to give it when he called Just Spare it that the Receiver to take his Chance further to demonstrate the Cape Sometime after Sun destruction that Edmond Frankland was determined to hire a piece of ground Land	land did not contain the full quantity of ten acres, and denied that William Hayes was entitled to have the remaining part in the upper part of the ten acres or else in the cabbage tree, which the said John Mudge purchased of Thomas Ragdale. John Mudge dying by will, gave his whole estate, both real and personal, to his widow Jane Mudge, who quietly possessed it for many years until at last it pleased God to afflict her with infirmity, being then destitute of conveniences proper for a person in her condition. She offered to live with Jephry to be better provided for, which he consented to. Some time before she came to his house, by a deed of gift she gave him all her estate, both real and personal, consisting of twenty acres of freehold land now lying in Wilkes Valley, which Jephry has since farther confirmed unto him by a deed from the Governor and council. Soon after, in order to make a sufficient fence around the said Wilkes Valley land, he set about digging stones out of a piece of land adjacent thereto, which was formerly held by Mr Nash, who married the widow of Mr Slaughter, who said it belonged to William Hayes's estate, but was always claimed by the government for its being in the government's possession, the said Mrs Nash being ignorant of not knowing where the boundaries lay. Jephry having lately petitioned for the said piece of land claimed by the said John Hayes as having a grant of the same, the said John Hayes had his land measured that thereby he might know how much he had of his just quantity, but finding it to contain but six acres three quarters, but for the remaining part that is wanting he refused to comply with unless he could make a fresh survey of that same piece in his possession, which he also insisting to have it at the head of my Gumwood land, whereas is it certainly false my story is situated just above the former that was Beale by John Mudge. It is not to be thought that the said John Mudge would have given his house away, there being no mention made of it in the said Mr Hayes's deed of gift. It must contain, it is either the giver was to lose his choice or further to demonstrate that the gap sometime after John Doston was determined to him a piece of ground adjoining on the other side of the title to the same, on Gumwood land and finding it wanted, prejudiced me, the Governor for the same, was granted me and requested by Captain Goodwin, that the same which had been quantified to me not sixteen more than ten acres for which have paid the duty of twenty, and therefore by all accounts that piece of land lately granted to Mr Neale, Steward, is the land wanting to him, the said John Hayes. Signed by me, Samuel Jephry, 25 June 1733. The said Jephry also desired that William Coates of the Deep Sand [...] might be examined on his behalf. They were asked what they knew relating to this matter, being informed that they remembered that a small parcel of land lately let to Mr Neale junior was formerly claimed by the complainant's mother, the Widow Hayes, but they had no knowledge of the matter, the jury said no evidence being before it upon it.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		adjoining on the other Side of the Title to my Said Gumwood Land and finding it would Prejudice me & Petitioned the Governour for the Same wt was Granted me & Measured by Capt Goodwin that the Same time Made my Ellen Land also Measured to me which held out no more than Ten Acres for which I have paid the Duty of yearly & therefore by an Circum Stances that Piece of Land Lately Granted to Wm Neale then of us said is the Land wanting to him the Said John Hayes Signed by me Samuel Jeffey June 27th 1733 The Said Jeffey also desired that Wm Coates & the Derek Sent might be Examined in his behalf & they was asked what they knew relating to this Matter & they Answered that they Remembered that a Small parcel of Land lately Set to Wm Neale junr was formerly claimed by the Complainants Mother, the Wife of Wm Hayes, but they Evidence being void of the matter the Jury laid no Stress upon it but	
184	182	before they withdrew to Consider of the Matter the Judge to guide them in point of Law told them that if it appeared that John Mudge was in Possession in his own Right of Ten Acres of Freehold Land at the time he Executed his Deed of Gift that then they must find for the Plaintiffe, if otherwise, they must find for the Defendant & the Jury being withdrawn after about two houres Stay Returned Verdict for the Plaintiffe The following Declaration of Dan Griffith against the Executors of James Greentree dec'd was also presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Declaration & Complaint of Dan Griffith agst Elz Greentree James Ryder & Tho Greentree Sheweth That James Greentree late of this Island Planter died in the year 1729 Possessed of a considerable Estate both reall & Personall & made a Will appointing Mrs Greentree his Wife, Rich Gurling since dec'd James Ryder & Tho Greentree Executors thereof That on the 4th Jany 1731 Your Complainant Married Mary one of the Daughters of the Said James Greentree & that Soon after his Said Marriage Your Complainant demanded of the Said Executors an Inventory of the Estate of the Said James Greentree that the Same time he asked the Just Part or Portion of the Said Estate due to Your Complainant by Virtue of his Marriage with Mary Daughter of the Said James Greentree as aforesaid but they the Said Executors then did & Still do refuse to give Your Complaint	Before they withdrew to consider the matter, the judge told them, as a point of law, that if it appeared John Mudge had possession in his own right of ten acres of freehold land at the time he executed this deed of gift, then they must find for the plaintiff, but otherwise they must find for the defendant. The jury withdrew, and after about two hours returned a verdict for the plaintiff. The following declaration of Daniel Griffith against the executors of James Greentree was next presented and read. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The humble declaration and complaint of Daniel Griffith against Elizabeth Greentree, James Ryder and the Greentree estate. Griffith set out that James Greentree, late of this island, planter, died in the year 1729 possessed of a considerable estate both real and personal, and left a will appointing Elizabeth Greentree his wife and Richard Gurling since deceased, James Ryder and the Greentree estate executors of it. Griffith set out that on the 4th of January 1731 he married Mary, one of the daughters of the said James Greentree, and that soon after his marriage he demanded of the executors an inventory of the estate of James Greentree, and at the same time demanded the full part or portion of the said estate due to him by virtue of his marriage with Mary, daughter of the said James Greentree, but the said executors then and still refused to give him any such inventory, or to deliver to him any part or portion either of the real or personal estate of James Greentree, justly due to him in right of his wife as aforesaid. Griffith therefore humbly prayed that the Governor and council would be pleased to take the premises into their consideration, that speedy justice might be done him, and that they might order the said executors be compelled to deliver to him an inventory of the real and personal estate of James Greentree, and to the end that he might easily know what lawfully is his right, out of which he had already suffered great loss and damage, having been long and forcibly withheld from the said executors.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		any Such Inventory or to deliver to Your Complainant any Part or Portion either of the reall or Personall Estate of the Said James Greentree justly due to Your Complainant in Right of his Wife as aforesaid Your Complainant therefore humbly prays that Your Worship & Council will be Pleased to take the Premises into Your Consideration that Speedy Justice may be done to Your Complainant & that they the Said Executors may be compelled to deliver to Your Complainant an Inventory of the reall & Personall Estate of the Said James Greentree died to the end that Your Complainant may easily know what lawfully is Your Complainants Right out of which he his great Loss & Damage, he hath been long & forceably with held by them the Said Executors AND Your Complainant as in Duty bound Shall ever pray Danel Griffith To this Declaration the Executors returned the following Answer To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The Answer of Elz Greentree James Ryder, & Tho Greentree Severally to the Declaration & Complaint of D. Griffith That James Greentree late of this Island Planter did in the year 1729 Possessed of an Estate both reall & Personall & by his last Testament did bequeath his Said Estate as he thought to be most for the Advantage & Interest of his Widow & Children & did accordingly appoint Elz Greentree his Wife to be his Lawfull Executrix That in the first Article of Bequest is in his Said Will he the Said dec'd James Greentree out of a dear Affection to his Wife & the better to Support her Family of Some young Children hath absolutely given & bequeathed as a Singular hall Estate both reall & Personall that he	He undertook, as duly bound, to pray always for the Governor's welfare. Signed Daniel Griffith. To this declaration the executors returned the following answer. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The answer of Elizabeth Greentree, James Ryder and the Greentree estate, jointly to the declaration and complaint of Daniel Griffith. They set out that James Greentree, late of this island, planter, died in the year 1729 possessed of an estate both real and personal, and by his last will bequeathed his said estate as he thought to be most for the advantage and interest of his widow and children, and did accordingly appoint Elizabeth Greentree his wife to be his lawful executrix. They set out that in the first article of request in his said will, he, the said James Greentree, out of a dear affection to his wife for the better support of her family of several young children, had absolutely given and bequeathed all his estate, both real and personal, that he...
185	183	he was Possessed of at that time, to his Said Wife the Said Elizabeth Greentree for & during all the Term of her Widowhood That in the next Paragraph of the Said James Greentrees Will he Orders & Appoints each of his Children therein Severally named as they came of Age or Marriage Should receive as much out of his Estate as his Executors & Trustee should think fit That in the next Paragraph the Said James & Greentree Appoints farther that in Case his Wife Marries the two thirds of his personal Estate & remaining part of his reall Estate Shall be kept together for the good of his Children till they come of Age or Marriage & as they did come of Age or Marriage his Estate to be then Appraised & their parts paid them by his Executors & leaves us to their Discretion when to pay it	He was possessed of at that time to his said wife, the said Elizabeth Greentree, for her enjoyment during the term of her widowhood. They set out that in the next paragraph of the said James Greentree's will he orders and appoints that each of his children therein severally named should, as they came of age or married, receive as much out of his estate as his executors and devisees should think fit. They set out that in the next paragraph the said James Greentree appoints further that in case his wife marries, the two thirds of his personal estate and the remaining part of his real estate shall be kept together for the good of his children until they come of age or marry, and as they did come of age or marry his estate to be then appraised and their parts paid them by his executors and devisees, that is to say at the age of twenty-one years or sooner. They set out that by another paragraph of the said James Greentree's will he had given to James Ryder his son in law fifty pounds to be paid out of their estate for the deposition of his lawsuit. Now the said deceased James Greentree, having no doubt formerly considered and weighed the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		that is to Say at the Age of Twenty one Years or Sooner That in & by an other Paragraph of the Said Will the Said James Greentree gath given to James Ryder his Son in Law fifty Pounds to be paid out of their Estate that the Discretion of his Executors Now the Said deceased James Greentree having no doubt Sincerely consulted & weighted the whole Circumstance of his Affairs & how in what manner he ought to have & dispose of Just worldly Good & Effects as it hath pleased God to bless him with as well as to prevent any disputes that might happen after his decease did in the manner before fully mentioned Give Devise Bequeath the Same appointing his Wife to be Sole Executrix for & during as the time of her Widowhood as aforesaid and as he the Said James Greentree died that given her as Singular as the his Estate both reall & Personall for so long time & as many Years as Shas remain a Continued a Widow not without a due regard to the great Charge & Expence She would be Constantly at to bring up, Maintain with all necessaries & Educate so many as Seven Children Severall of them being very young, She the Said Elz Greentree humbly conceive her Claim & Right to the Premises aforesaid to be Just Equall for the whole time She remains a Widow by Vertue of the last Will of her Said husband James Greentree, yet it may be Understood the Said Elz Greentree out of a naturall Affection to her Children doth now Stay & Shew her Willingness to pay & trust a part or two of the Personal Estate as She Shall think fit to any of her Children as they come of Age or Marriage as She can conveniently & without any apparent Injury to the rest of the Children unprovided for, best part from, but in Such manner & Inequality as She Shale or may think reasonabl because Some of them may be more distressed than others as appeals to the true Intent & meaning of the Said James Greentrees Will, Out of the reall Estate Should tho or was broke into & divided only into two part tis impossible the Pastuce Lands Should be Sufficient to maintain of Persons the Stock of Cattle & their Increase which as the only Dependance the Said Elz Greentree hath whereby to provide for & Support her Family with many other Respects very prejudiciall to the rest of the Children as would behave be the Plantable Land if divided to which Effect & Several other reasonable Arguments too lengious to mention here She hath laposhtaken with the Said Griffith & made him an offer Severall times of part of her	whole circumstance of his affairs and in what manner he ought to have the disposal of just worldly goods and effects, as it hath pleased God to bless him with a wife, so as to prevent any disputes that might happen after his death, did in the manner before fully mentioned give and bequeath the same, appointing his wife to be sole executrix for enjoying, as at the time of her widowhood, as aforesaid, and as he the said James Greentree died, and having given her as singular as his estate both real and personal for so long a time and as many years as she remains a widow, continuing a widow not without a due regard to being up, maintaining with all necessaries and educating so many as seven children, several of them being very young, she the said Elizabeth Greentree humbly conceives her claim and right to the premises aforesaid to be just and good for her whole time she remains a widow by virtue of the last will of her said husband James Greentree, yet it may be understood the said Elizabeth Greentree, out of a natural affection to her children, doth now stay and show her willingness to pay trust apart of the personal estate as she shall think fit to any of her children as they come of age or marriage, as she can conveniently and without any apparent injury to the rest of the children unprovided for, be it part from, but in such manner and inequality as she shall or may think reasonable, because some of them may be more distressed than others as appeals to the true intent and meaning of the said James Greentree's will. But if the real estate should be or was broken into or divided only into two parts, it is impossible the pasture lands should be sufficient to maintain her stock, the stock of cattle and their increase, which are the only dependence the said Elizabeth Greentree hath whereby to provide for and support her family in many other respects very prejudicial to the rest of the children, as would be having the plantable land divided, to which effect several other seasonable arguments lay before we mention how the said Griffith made him an offer several times of part of her since Elizabeth Griffith to dispose of as he had opportunity in shipping, which he did and doth now positively refuse to accept any part of the personal estate except a lusty black wench amounting in value to more than as much as the proportion of blacks would come to be in his own possession, and it hath been so for some time as that it is plainly his own fault he has not more out of the said personal estate. And as to the said Daniel Griffith now demanding an inventory of the said deceased James Greentree's estate of James Ryder and the Greentree or other executors.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		She Stash to dispose of as he had Opportunity in Shiping which he did & doth now positively refuse to accept on any part of the personal Estate except a lusty black Wench amounting in Value to more at least as much as the Proportion of Sc lacks would come to be in own in his own Possession & hath been so for Something as that it is plainly his own fault he has not & & more out of the Said personall Estate And as to the Said Dan Griffith now demanding an Inventory of the Said dec'd James Greentrees Estate of James Ryder & Tho Greentree or either	
186	184	either of them is what they do both Positively deny & do for themselves Say & now declare they can no way conceive they either of them are Impowered to act joynt Executors with the Executrix untill Such time as She Should marry or happen to die being argued as Such by the clear Sence of the very Words of the Said James Greentrees Will in the 3rd Article compared with that Legacy of £50 is given to the Said James Ryder which implys a full Answer given absolutely to & payed to her & not according to the purport of the Will of her Said husband during the time of her Widowhood as She Should think fit & it is obvious the Said James Greentree never meant or intended for the reason urged by the Executors that his Land or any part of his reall Estate or Personal Should be Appraised or Inventoried or Divided till Such time as his Widow Should Marry other Vm that Case We the Said James Ryder & Tho Greentree are to act as his Executors, but as we are as Unwilling to be any of her Children Injured & willing to Assist the Widow in any Suplested Suits that is or may be commenced against her We are of Opinion this a wo that the keeping the Said Stock together the reall Estate undivided till the Mothers Death will Contrebutte very much to the generall good & Advantage of the Children Shake as well for the Severall Large Debts now due from the Estate of the Said James Greentree which She cannot Possibly have any view of doing but by the hopes of disposing & taking off part of the Live Stock & without Land as we known they cannot be Preserved as aforesaid to make them Saleable, All which matter & Cause We do jointly & Severally Submit to the Prudence & Justice of Your Worship & Council together with the Gentlemen of the Jury who We have no reason but will determine the Same in Justice & favour to the Widow &	Either of them is what they do both positively deny to do for themselves, saying they know, declare they can no way conceive they are either of them time empowered to act jointly executors with the executrix unless such time as she should marry or happen to die, being argued as such by the clear sense of the very words of the said James Greentree's will in the third article compared with that legacy of two hundred pounds given to the said James Ryder, which implies a full sum given absolutely to be disposed of in her, not according to the purposes of the will of her said husband during the time of her widowhood, as she should think fit, and it is obvious the said James Greentree never meant or intended, for the reason urged by the executrix, that his lands or any part of his real estate or personal should be appraised or inventoried, or divided till such time as his widow should marry or die. They set out that James Ryder and the Greentree estate are to act as her executors, but as we are unwilling to be any of her children injured or willing to assist the widow in any supressed suits that is or may be commenced against her, we are of opinion that the keeping the said stock together the real estate undivided till the widow's death will contribute very much to the general good and advantage of the children, and reason aforesaid as for enabling the widow to pay the large debts now due from the estate of the said James Greentree, which she cannot possibly have any view of doing but by the hopes of disposing and selling of part of the live stock and without land, they are unknown they cannot be presumed as aforesaid to make them saleable, at which matter and cause we do jointly and severally submit to the prudence and justice of the Governor and council together with the gentlemen of the jury, who we have no reason but will determine the same in justice and favour to the widow and children, who with all humbleness as in duty bound shall ever pray. Signed Eliza Greentree, James Ryder, Rich Greentree. St Helena, 4 July 1733. Both parties being heard, the judge told the executors that the law required them to bring in an inventory, and they immediately agreed to bring in an inventory as soon as they could conveniently comply with, with which the plaintiff Griffith was satisfied. The following petition of Rich Beale was next presented and read. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The humble petition and complaint of Rich Beale. Beale set out that Anthony Beale, your complainant's grandfather, was appointed Governor of this island by the Honourable Company. He came out of England as such, where he named a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		her Children who with all humbleness as in Duty bound Shall ever pray Eliza Greentree James Ryder Tho Greentree St Helena 4th July 1733 Both Parties being heard the Judge told the Executors that the Law required them to bring in an Inventory upon this Application they Immediately agreed to bring in an Inventory as Soon as they could conveniently comply with which the Plaintiffe Griffith was Satisfied The following Petition of Rich Beale was presented & read To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Councill The humble Petition & Complaint of Rd Beale Sheweth That Anthony Beale Your Complainants Grandfather was appointed Governour of this Island by the Honble Company & coming out of England as Such where he Married a Gentlewoman of good Family & considerable fortune brought his with him That according to the Customs of those Times they had each a Donation of Twenty Acres of Land usually called Last Land confirmed to them Either heirs by the Company as Deduction their Common good Seals That during the time he was Governour & Deputy Govr Since he purchased Fifty Acres of Land more & then died Sr Testate in Sept 1685 Upon which Jonathan Beale Your Complainants father being eldest Son heir at Law had Possession of one half of the whole Vpon Your Complainants Grandmother held the other half for her Life That	gentlewoman of good family and considerable fortune, whom he brought with him. He set out that according to the customs of those times, each had a donation of twenty acres of land usually granted, and this land confirmed to them either as heirs by the Company as their common goal. He set out that during the time he was Governor and Deputy Governor here, he purchased fifty acres of land more than that which he had. In September 1685, upon which Jonathan Beale, complainant's father, being eldest son and heir at law, had possession of one half of that land, your complainant's grandmother held the other half for her life.
187	185	That Your Complainants father Married in the year 1690 to the Daughter of Mr Moor then Surgeon of this Place who left her a fortune dying in low Circumstances That Your Complainants father left two Sons by his Said Wife, in his last Sickness made a Will bequeathing on third part of his Personal Estate to his Wife who Sometime after he Rather decease did prove that Will but afterwards being not Satisfied therewith She brought Witness to prove her husband Said that he intended to give her a third part of every thing & She having both her young Sons in her Custody it was not disputed by the then Govr Mr Pooner &c She kept Possession of her Childrens part her own That not long after this She was Married to Josh Powell who treated her in a very Barbarous Inhumane manner which Shortened her days for he had not been Married above four Months when	Beale set out that his father married in the year 1690 the daughter of Mr Moor, then surgeon of this island, but she brought him little fortune, dying in low circumstances. He set out that his father left two sons by his said wife, and in his last sickness made a will bequeathing a third part of his personal estate to his wife, who sometime after her husband's decease proved that will, but afterwards being not satisfied with it, brought witness to prove her husband had said he intended to give her a third part of everything, and having her young sons in her custody, it was not disputed by Mr Poirier and others who kept possession of her children's part on her own account. He set out that not long after this she married Gabriel Powell, who treated her in a very barbarous and inhumane manner, which shortened her days, for she had not been married above four months when she died in childbed, being some little goods common on the child's account, of about one year of age, which he had committed. He took up the child's coats and put his hand upon a question and standing upon the fire, and burning hot, which put your complainant's mother into such a fright that she never recovered, and died upon it, then Powell, for some time afterward, kept possession of the forty five acres, the other forty four acres continuing in the possession of his grandmother.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		for Some little fought common on Children one of them under Nine Year of Age had comitted he took up the Childs Coates & put his bare Breech upon a foul dean then Standing upon the fire and burning hat which put Your Complainants Mother into Such a fright that She Miscarried & dyed upon it, then Powell for Some time afterwards kept Possession of the forty five Acres, the other forty four Acres continuing in the Possession of his Grandmother the two Children remained after their Mothers decease a Short time with their father in Law till they were removed from him by the Governour & Councell of the Then bearing of his lascivious great Cruelty to them Other Powell was Dispossessed by the then Governmt & Councell of all the Said Land upon which he Alledged to hire it, having in Consultation of the 17th Decr 1701 Said he was willing to Relinquish his Right to it & it was Let to him accordingly for the Benefit of the Said Children That just after the death of Your Complainants Mother his Grandmother had the little forty five Acres which had been Possessed by her during Life fell to the Children of her Son Jonathan who was never placed out to board by the Governour but had no Guardian nor any near Relation to take care of the That about Sixteen Months after Powell had quieted out & began Right to the Said Land he laid a new Claim to on other part of his estate Mate & Petitioned for a fresh & fort upon hearing the Cause the Judge did not give in any Verdict but desired that the Governor & Councell would agree to it or that it might be determined by the Honble Company in England but the Governour & Councell having given their opinion against him & declared that the Said Land did belong to the Children of Jonathan Beale next to him, the Said Powell should not acquise but applied to the Company who being tired with his Applications they Slightly decided on the 2nd Paragraph of their General Letter of the 17th of Aprill 1711 that his Right Should be tryed in the Ordinary Words, he to his Land but a Jury of Freeholders to determine the Case according to Custom & Equity That instead of determining this Cause according to Equity it was determined by a very ill established custom that is by Bribery & Corruption, for Johnmoor Pouthon coming here a Stranger & not knowing any of the Customs of the Place he was overpowered and Byased by one Daniel Griffith a Man of prodigious Impudence & Dishonesty who clapt up the Matter with Powell & agreed as is	The two children remained after their mother's decease a short time with their father in law, till they were removed from him by the Governor and council, at the strong entreaties of his own great cruelty to them, but the said Powell was dispossessed by the then Governor and council of all the said land upon which he insisted to have it, having in a consultation of the 17th December 1701 said he was willing to relinquish his right to it, and it was let to him accordingly for the benefit of the said children. He set out that just after the decease of your complainant's mother his grandmother, being then forty five years old, moved which had been possessed by her during her life, fell to the children of her son Jonathan, who ever since had appointed to board by the Governor, but had no guardian nor any near relation to take care of them. He set out that about eighteen months after Powell had quitted or waived his right to the said land, he laid a new claim to a considerable part of his estate and petitioned for a trial upon it. Before the cause coming on hearing the parties did not give him any part but insisted that either he or council would agree to it, or that it might be determined by the said council or England, but the Governor and council having given their opinion against him and declared that the said land did belong to the children of Jonathan Beale, not to him, the said Powell should not acquiesce, but applied to the Company, who being tired with his applications, they slightly ordered in the 21st paragraph of their general letter of the 17th of April 1711 that his right should be tried in the ordinary way, or he had his land let by a jury of freeholders to determine the case according to custom and equity. He set out that instead of determining this cause according to equity, it was determined by everyone of a low custom that is by robbery and corruption, for Johnson, being a Bulgarian coming here a stranger and not knowing any of the customs of the place, was dazzled by one Daniel Griffith, a man of prodigious imprudence, whose honesty was closely at the matter with Powell and agreed as is commonly reported, generally to bribe Powell to help Powell to all his demands upon the land of the orphans of Jonathan Beale, provided he would give him one third part thereof, and thereupon, on the 18th of October 1711, they called a court of judicature, and thereupon Dan Griffith, who was then of council, and Sunday stood up and... Interpretations James Greentree's will gave his widow the estate outright during widowhood rather than fixing each child's portion at once, and the whole dispute with Daniel Griffith turns on that structure. A widow's ordinary customary right, recorded elsewhere in this reference, ran to half the real estate for life and a third of the personal estate outright. Greentree's will went further, keeping the estate substantially undivided under his widow's control until she remarried or died, which is precisely what let the executors resist Griffith's demand for an immediate inventory and portion. The executors' argument that dividing the livestock and pasture land would destroy their value as a going concern reflects a real economic constraint particular to this island's stock farming: a herd needs unbroken grazing to sustain itself, so carving out one heir's fractional share in kind could ruin the asset for everyone rather than simply distributing it. That argument, whether sincere or self-serving, has a genuine basis in how the island's stock accounts elsewhere in this reference show herds needing continuous management across a full year to grow at all.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		commonly Reported personally to bribe him to help Powell to all his Demand upon the Land of the Orphans of Jonathan Beale provided he would give him one third part thereof & thereupon on the 18th of Octr 1711 they called a Court of Judicature & thereon Dan Griffith who was then Clerk of Councell & Sec'ty Stood up and	The claim that Griffith had already been offered part of his wife's portion and refused everything except one valuable slave woman, worth more than his fair share of the estate's slaves, reframes the entire complaint: the executors are not simply refusing to pay him but alleging he has been offered satisfaction and rejected it because it did not suit him. Speculations The judge could have ruled on the substantive question the parties were actually contesting, whether the will entitled Griffith to an immediate portion at all. Instead he confined his order to the narrow procedural point that the executors must produce an inventory, leaving the underlying dispute over division untouched. That kept the widow's estate intact for the time being while giving Griffith the one thing he could not be lawfully refused, a true account of what existed, without forcing an immediate ruling that might have broken up a working herd on disputed legal ground.
188	186	and appeared as Councill for Josh Powell & although these Orphans were then under Age & had no Guardian or any other Person to appear for them & none allowed appear for them, but they Set up the Cause themselves that is by Powell & Griffith & no other appearing only one Side was heard & then the Said Griffith Positively declared to the Court & the Jury that there was an absolute Deed & Devise by Jonathan Beale to his Wife of thirty Acres of Land, when in Truth it appears by the Will that there was no Deed of Gift nor any Devise of Land made but the whole was a contrived Story forged by the Said Griffith who if he carried the Cause was to have a third part of the Land as he Remarked before for his Pains, & upon that the Jury being told at the Same time that it was the Honble East India Companies Orders gave the Said Powell thirty Acres of Land which was true Thirds of what he Really Possessed for Jonathan Beale Your Complainants father never had more in his Possession than forty five Acres, the other forty five Acres was allways Enjoyed by Your Complainants Grandmother during her Life & she Survived both her Son Jonathan & his Wife, & so the Orphans have been defrauded not only of a third part of their fathers Estate but of a full third more of their Grandfather & Grandmothers Estate which never was their fathers & the Said Powells has held this Land ever Since That after this upon Powells Application the whole Ninety Acres was divided thirty to him & Sixty to the Orphans & but the Men appointed to make the Division believing it to be Unjust & that the Orphans had been wronged therein Set out for Powell Twenty Acres of the Said Beales Lott Land that lay next to	And appeared as counsel for Gabriel Powell, although these orphans were then under age and had no guardian or any other person to appear for them and no one appeared for them. But they set up the cause themselves, that is by Powell and Griffith, and no other appearing, only one side was heard, and then the said Griffith positively declared to the court and the jury that there was an absolute deed of gift by Jonathan Beale to his wife of thirty acres of land, whereas in truth it appears by the will that there was no deed of gift nor any devise of land made, but the whole was a contrived story forged by the said Griffith, whose was the cause was to have a third part of the land, as is remarked before for his pains upon that, the jury being told at the same time that it was the Honourable East India Company's orders gave the said Powell thirty acres of land, which was true. Of this, what his fifth possessed, for Jonathan Beale, your complainant's father, never had more in his possession than forty five acres, the other forty five acres was always enjoyed by your complainant's grandmother during her life. But he reserved both her son Jonathan and his wife, and so the orphans have been defrauded not only of a third part of their father's estate but of a full third part of their grandfather and grandmother's estate, which never was their father's, and the said Powell has held this land ever since. He set out that after this, upon Powell's application, the whole of ninety acres was divided, thirty to him and sixty to the orphans, but the men appointed to make the division, believing it to be unjust and that the orphans had been wronged therein, set out for Powell twenty acres of the said Beale's best land, that payment to Powell's land, and ten acres of other land near the Prosperous Bay of very small value, commonly esteemed since the wood has been cut off from it, not worth the one shilling per annum quit rent that is paid as duty to the Lords Proprietors for it, and this ten acres, when Griffith demanded the reward of his treachery, Powell offered to deliver to Griffith, alleging that this was a full third part of the quantity of land he had recovered, and Griffith for a long time refused to accept of this land for payment, which was likely to begin a new contest. But Griffith then died and put an end to the dispute, and that land has lain despised and waste land ever since. He set out that Powell's widow enjoyed this ill gotten estate, and though she now knows all she to be true, begs in hopes she thinks the Company will not meddle in this matter, so that she shall continue in these unjust possessions.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Powells Land & Ten Acres of other Land near the Freehold Beale of very Small Value, commonly esteemed since the Wood has been cut off from it not worth the one Shilling & Annum quit Rent that is paid as Duty to the Lords Proprietors for it & this Ten Acres when Griffith demanded the Reward of his Treachery Powell offered to deliver to Griffith alledging that this was a full third part of the Quantity of Land he had recovered and Griffith for a long time refused to Accept of this Land for Payment which was likely to begin a new Contest but Griffith then died & put an End to the Dispute & that Land has Layn dispeopled & has was Land ever Since That Powell this Widow finished with their ill gotten Estate & though She now knows all She to be true Begs in hopes the Honble Company will not meddle in this Matter that She Shall continue in these Unjust Possessions Wherefore Your Complainant humbly hopes that these things being at most notorious Injuries & Oppression of the Orphans of the Said Beale that this Court will re hear that Cause & that Justice Shall be done to them by granting them a new Tryal if they will not put them into Possession of as is most agreeable to Justice & Equity, & that Your Worship and Councill will be pleased to determine whether all the irregularity made wherein one third part of the Personal Estate which was large given to the Wife thereof can be attend so as by Implication to take from the Heirs one third part of the reall Estate But the Widow who was Mother of these Orphans did Enjoy during her whole Life the whole of her husbands & their Childrens Estate both Reall & Personall, & whether in Case She had Marryed a Second husband & got & her father in Law & whether She had Power to give him a full third of her former husband Childrens	He therefore humbly prayed that these things being of most notorious injuries and oppression of the orphans of the said Beale, that this court will hear that cause and that justice shall be done to them by granting them a new trial if they will not put them into present possession, as is most agreeable to justice and equity, and that the Governor and council will be pleased to determine whether the whole irregularity made, wherein one third part of the personal estate, which was large, given to the wife, thereof can be altered so as by implication to take from the heirs one third part of the real estate. But the widow, who was mother of these orphans, did notify during her whole life the whole of her husband's and their children's estate, both real and personal, whether in case she had married a second husband, that is her father in law, and whether she had power to give him a full third of her former husband's... Interpretations Beale's central allegation is not that the 1711 verdict misapplied the law but that the proceeding itself was rigged: he says the orphans were minors with no guardian, that nobody appeared on their behalf, and that only Powell's side was heard. That describes a default judgement obtained against parties who were legally incapable of defending themselves, which under ordinary practice required the court to appoint someone to represent an infant's interest before proceeding at all. The failure to do so is the procedural defect on which his whole claim for a fresh trial rests. The alleged corruption has a specific and unusual shape. Griffith is said to have sat as a member of council, acted as counsel for Powell, and stood to take a third of whatever land Powell recovered. That combination places the same man among those constituting the court, among those arguing before it, and among those profiting from its verdict, and it is the concrete detail that lifts Beale's complaint above a general grievance about an unfavourable outcome. The quit rent of one shilling a year payable to the Lords Proprietors, mentioned as the burden on the ten acres near Prosperous Bay, marks that parcel as held under a form of tenure carrying a nominal annual acknowledgement rather than a substantial rent. Beale's point is that the land was worth less than the rent charged on it once its wood had been stripped, which is why Griffith refused it as payment and why it has lain waste since. The final question Beale puts to the council is a genuine point of law rather than of fact: whether a widow's entitlement to a third of the personal estate can, by implication, be extended to carry a third of the real estate as well. The distinction between real and personal property in inheritance runs through every estate dispute in this record, and Beale is arguing that the 1711 court collapsed the two categories to the orphans' cost. Speculations Beale had a straightforward remedy available and did not take it. The obvious course, twenty-two years after the verdict, was to sue the Powell heirs for the land itself before a jury, as the parties in the Hodgkinson suits had done at the court of judicature of 24 February 1730. He instead asked the council to set aside its own predecessors' judgement and grant a new trial, which required the sitting council to find that an earlier Governor and council had been bought. The reason lies in the nature of his case: a fresh action on title would have run against a deed executed under the Governor, council and Company together, which the Powell executors had already warned would make no planter's title on the island

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			safe. Attacking the judgement as procedurally void, on the ground that infants were condemned unheard, was the only route that did not require him to defeat that deed on its own terms.
189	187	Childrens Estate of Inheritance, but as She lived with him but four Months & then her death was caused by his Cruelty & Inhumanity & She made no Will at her Death as one Possessed of so much Power & Land ought to have done, he must be extreemly Impudent as well as wicked to alledge any Right thereto Whether in Case She had a Right to on third part of her husbands Estate during her Life, Whether Powell an other husband & greatly undeserving than have any legal Pretence to one third part share of the other forty five Acres of the Grandfathers Estate held by his Wife the grandmother during her Life who out lived the eldest Son the father of these Orphans & outlived his Said Son & Wife that was afterwards Married to Powell especially when the Children after their Mothers Death were taken away from Powells house by the then Government of this Place because of his Cruelty to them And whether Powell & his heirs ought not to make a full Reparation for all the Wrongs he has done to these Orphans Richard Beale Mrs Powell being absent the Court ordred that a Copy of the Said Petition Should be delivered to her but would not appoint any time for a new Tryall till the Honble Companies Response Should be first known The Gentlemen of the Jury in behalf of themselves & the rest of the Inhabitants after the busyness of the day was over made the following Presentment Vizt WHEREAS of late Severall disorderly People who have had no Regard to the honour & through by God nor to the Character & Reputation of this Country have for their own wicked Lucre & gainsake dwelt in this Valley & kept private houses of Entertainment wherein during the Season of the Ships they have had many lewd vicious and disorderly Persons Resort to them & occasioned many Riots & Contentions here to the Disturbance of the Peace of other good & Sober People to the Scandal of all good Government, & whereas these People who have most incouraged this unworthy Practice have no other useful Employ as Maintainance & instead of employing themselves in any industrious manner in the Country have for the Sake of Sloth & Lewdness given themselves up to most Sorts of Unlawfull & dishonest Actions as entertaining & incouraging pilfering Blacks, promoting Drunkenness	Several disorderly people have lately settled in the valley, with no regard for religion or for the island's good name, and have set themselves to making money in ways that discredit the place. They run unlicensed lodging houses, and during the shipping season these fill with drunken and disorderly visitors, whose quarrels and brawls disturb the peace and bring the government itself into contempt. The people who profit most from this trade have never established themselves in any settled occupation. Rather than take up honest work in the country, they live idly on what the ships bring, and have drifted into a range of dishonest practices. Chief among these are receiving stolen goods from slaves, supplying drink, and encouraging riotous and immoral behaviour, all of which has become a public scandal. To stop these abuses, the jury asked the Governor and council to act. Allowing people to live idly in the valley when honest work was available in the country did real harm. So did the practice of taking in slaves belonging to other households, which injured their owners and drew honest families into loss by encouraging theft among the slaves generally. The jury observed that much of this disorder had grown out of the freedom people had lately taken to live in this manner, abandoning steady work in the country for an easier and less reputable existence. The jury further presented as a serious public nuisance the disorders that were impoverishing the island, damaging its reputation and corrupting its young people. It also presented the continuing destruction of the island's woodland and the failure to protect the trees that had already been planted across most of the island. Interpretations The court's refusal to fix a date for a new trial until the Company's response was known places the Beale claim beyond the island's own competence. The Powell title rested on an order the Company sent out by the <i>Arrington</i> in August 1711 and on a deed executed under the Governor, council and Company jointly, so a local court could not set it aside without London's authority. Sending Mary Powell a copy of the petition while deferring the hearing preserved Beale's claim without committing the council to reopening a judgement its predecessors had made. A presentment was the jury's own initiative rather than a response to any charge before it, the mechanism by which a jury reported public nuisances to the court for remedy. This one names two distinct grievances: the lodging houses operating in James Valley during the shipping season, and the continued loss of the island's woodland. The complaint about lodging houses targets an economy that grew directly out of the anchorage. The inhabitants subsisted, as Duke Crisp reported on 22 August 1732, wholly on the small profits made from the Company's shipping, and houses catering to crews ashore were an obvious way to capture some of that trade. The jury's objection is that this drew people out of agricultural work at a time when the plantations were failing to feed even the Company's own establishment, as Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 had shown. Harbouring other people's slaves is the specific offence the jury fastens on, and it had been the substance of the case against John Long on 10 April 1733, when the runaway Simon was taken at his outhouse after nearly two months at large. The jury

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& Riots & Lewdness to the notorious Scandal of the Country Wherefore for Amendment & Prevention of Such abuses in future & the Injury to this Country at our Generall Sessions & Present to the Governour & Councill of this Place that the Suffering People to live in Sloth & Idleness in this Valley who might have Laudable & Honest Employments in the Country, and the Entertaining of Blacks who do not belong to them by the Prejudice of their Masters & to many honest & Industrious Families by encouraging them to Thefts & Robberys by other Blacks & Such like bad People do mostly arise from that Liberty Some People have lately taken to live in Idleness & in a lewd vicious manner here, by neglecting & contemning honest & Industrious busyness in the Country All which things We the Jurors do present unto this Court as great Nusances & Irregularities which tend to the great Impoverishing & Dishonour of this Place & tending to the Destruction of our young People as well as to the Depravation of the ale And We also present the very Destruction of Wood and Neglect of Preserving Such as hath been Planted in most Parts of Margin Notes: Disorderly [...] Wood	adds an economic dimension the earlier proceedings did not state plainly: a house that would receive any slave regardless of ownership gave every runaway somewhere to go, and the loss fell on the masters whose property was concealed and on the households robbed to supply it. The renewed complaint about wood returns to a campaign running through this whole record without success, from the survey of 10 November 1729 through the advertisements and fines to the lease reform of July and August 1732 requiring a surveyor's certificate before any renewal. That the jury still found it necessary to present the matter as a public nuisance in 1733 measures how little enforcement had achieved, and the rats reported in the Great Wood on 7 November 1732 had by then added a cause no regulation could reach.
190	188	of this Island as a thing that may be of very bad Consequence to us all We therefore pray the Governour & Councill that Some effectuall order may be made by them to prevent the Scandals & evill Consequences of all these Enormities And We take this Opportunity in behalf of our Country to return our very Sincere & hearty thanks to the Worshipfull the Governour & Councill for the Care they have already taken in this behalf not only for their kind prevention of Lewd & wicked People that attempted to Settle amongst us but also for defeating the too common Practice of those who use no Industry nor incourage any in others but live as Drones in in a lewd & evill manner & have made it great part of their Support to Steale & Pilfer from all their Neighbours And we hope that this Method will be a means to get rid of all Such as are void of honesty & Virtue & deter others from falling into the like Extravagancies. Dated under our hands the 3rd July 1733 in open Sessions Tho Harper Isaac Wood Jno Boyzett	The jury described the loss of the island's woodland as a matter that might have very serious consequences for everyone living there. They asked the Governor and council to make whatever regulations were needed to check these abuses and prevent the damage they were causing. They also took the opportunity, on the island's behalf, to thank the Governor and council warmly for what had already been done. They acknowledged the steps taken not only to keep out wicked people who had tried to settle among them, but also to break up the two houses that had become the resort of those who would neither work nor let others work, who lived in an idle and immoral fashion and drew much of their income from theft and from robbing their neighbours. The jury expressed the hope that these measures would rid the island of people with no honesty or decency about them, and would deter others from falling into the same habits. The presentment was dated and signed in open sessions on 2 July 1733. Thomas Harper Isaac Wood John Bazett Jonathan Doveton Robert Girling Stephen Suffren John Defontaine Joshua Johnson Francis Wrangham Richard Beale William Seale Charles Steward

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Jon: Doveton Rab Gurling Steph Sustin Jno DeFountain Josh Robinson Joah Weangham Rich Beale Wm Seale Charles Steward After this Presentment was Publicly read the Governr finding that there was a great Neglect in the Education and Instruction of the Children of this Place, it having appeared at the Tryall of Mingo that the Witnesses knew not the nature of an Oath, nor who made them nor any way acquainted with the Principles of Christianity but were utterly in a profound Ignorance thereof, proposed to Set up an other Schoole for the more general Instruction of young People in their Duty to God & their Neighbour & then the Court having returned the Jury thanks dismisd them & broke up Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 10th July 1730 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation & Proceedings at the Sessions were then agreed & Approved The Governour, the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for June last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Acct Margin Notes: Schools	After the presentment had been read out publicly, Governor Pyke observed that the children of the island were being seriously neglected in their upbringing and education. This had become plain at Mingo's trial, where the witnesses turned out not to understand what taking an oath meant, and knew nothing whatever of Christian belief. To address that ignorance he proposed establishing another school, to give young people a broader grounding in their duty to God and to other people. The court then thanked the jury, discharged them, and rose. At a consultation held on Tuesday 10 July 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The proceedings of the previous consultation and of the sessions were read, agreed and approved. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward delivered their monthly accounts for June, which were examined and approved as follows. Interpretations The jury's thanks for the suppression of two named houses shows the council had already acted on the disorder in James Valley before the presentment was drawn. That sequence matters: the jury was not asking for a remedy so much as endorsing one already applied and asking for it to be extended, which is why the presentment reads as much as a vote of confidence as a complaint. Twelve signatures on the presentment include seven men who appear repeatedly through this record as officers of the parish or the council's own commissioners, among them Isaac Wood, appointed ensign on 27 June 1732 and named trustee under the chaplain George White's will, Jonathan Doveton and Charles Steward, churchwardens who had brought the complaint against Martha Bagg on 29 May 1733, and Francis Wrangham and Joshua Johnson, who conducted the wood survey of 10 November 1729. The presentment therefore represents the settled opinion of the island's substantial planters rather than any wider body of inhabitants. Governor Pyke's proposal for a school follows directly from a procedural failure at Mingo's trial. The two child witnesses could not be sworn because they understood neither the nature of an oath nor the religion that gave it force, which cost the prosecution its only sworn evidence against him and forced the court to convict on unsworn testimony. A schoolmaster already appears in the lists of eaters at the general table from March 1727 onward, so the island had some provision; the Governor's point is that it reached too few children to produce witnesses a court could rely on. Speculations Governor Pyke could have addressed the evidential problem at Mingo's trial by the direct route, tightening the rules on who might be sworn or accepting unsworn testimony more readily in future. He chose instead to treat the failure as a symptom and proposed a school, which would produce no usable witness for a decade and cost the Company money it was reluctant to spend on an island already running its heaviest annual charge in this record at £4,939 13s 4.5d. The choice fits the method he had used over the island's waters in August 1732 and the yam shortage of April 1733, preferring to address the underlying condition rather than patch the immediate difficulty, even where the slower course carried a cost the quicker one did not.
191	189	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall,	The stock account for the month to 30 June 1733 ran as follows. Remaining 1 June: 57 bullocks, 158 cows, 48 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 102 calves, 6 bulls, total 501 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 35 wethers, 9

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Total Remg 1st June: Bullocks: 57, Cowes: 158, Heifers: 48, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 102, Bulls: 6, Total: 501, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 35, Lambs: 9, Rams: 4, Total: 124, Sows: 21, Shoates: 31, Pigs: 24, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 89, Turkeys: 120, Fowles: 91, Ducks: 3, Geese: 6, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Increased in do: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 2, Bulls: 0, Total: 2, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 36, Rams: 0, Total: 36, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 11, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Total: 11, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 44, Ducks: 11, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Total: 0 Bullocks: 57, Cowes: 158, Heifers: 48, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 104, Bulls: 6, Total: 503, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 35, Lambs: 45, Rams: 4, Total: 160, Sows: 21, Shoates: 31, Pigs: 35, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 100, Turkeys: 120, Fowles: 135, Ducks: 14, Geese: 6, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Sold to Ships in do: Bullocks: 9, Cowes: 1, Heifers: 5, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Total: 15, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Total: 0, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Total: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Total: 0 Bullocks: 48, Cowes: 157, Heifers: 43, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 104, Bulls: 6, Total: 488, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 35, Lambs: 45, Rams: 4, Total: 160, Sows: 21, Shoates: 31, Pigs: 35, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 100, Turkeys: 120, Fowles: 135, Ducks: 14, Geese: 6, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Two Bullocks killed for the Blacks: Bullocks: 2, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Total: 2, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 2, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Total: 2, Sows: 0, Shoates: 3, Pigs: 4, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Total: 7, Turkeys: 12, Fowles: 39, Ducks: 9, Geese: 2, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Total: 0 Bullocks: 46, Cowes: 157, Heifers: 43, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 104, Bulls: 6, Total: 486, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 33, Lambs: 45, Rams: 4, Total: 158, Sows: 21, Shoates: 28, Pigs: 31, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 93, Turkeys: 108, Fowles: 96, Ducks: 5, Geese: 4, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Died of the Staggers in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 1, Heifers: 1, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 3, Bulls: 0, Total: 5, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Total: 0, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Total: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 1, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Total: 0 Remg 30th June: Bullocks: 46, Cowes: 156, Heifers: 42, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 101, Bulls: 6, Total: 481, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 33, Lambs: 45, Rams: 4, Total: 158, Sows: 21, Shoates: 28, Pigs: 31, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Total: 93, Turkeys: 108, Fowles: 96, Ducks: 5, Geese: 3, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Total: 10 Yams expended at the Severall Plantacons 18000tt Ditto delivered the Blacks 28350 Total Yam 46350tt	lambs, 4 rams, total 124 sheep; 21 sows, 31 shoats, 24 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 89 hogs; 120 turkeys, 91 fowls, 3 ducks, 6 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Increased in the month: 2 calves, total 2 neat cattle; 36 lambs, total 36 sheep; 11 pigs, total 11 hogs; 44 fowls, 11 ducks Balance: 57 bullocks, 158 cows, 48 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 104 calves, 6 bulls, total 503 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 35 wethers, 45 lambs, 4 rams, total 160 sheep; 21 sows, 31 shoats, 35 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 100 hogs; 120 turkeys, 135 fowls, 14 ducks, 6 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Sold to shipping: 9 bullocks, 1 cow, 5 heifers, total 15 neat cattle Balance: 48 bullocks, 157 cows, 43 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 104 calves, 6 bulls, total 488 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 35 wethers, 45 lambs, 4 rams, total 160 sheep; 21 sows, 31 shoats, 35 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 100 hogs; 120 turkeys, 135 fowls, 14 ducks, 6 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Two bullocks killed for the blacks: 2 bullocks, total 2 neat cattle; 2 wethers, total 2 sheep; 3 shoats, 4 pigs, total 7 hogs; 12 turkeys, 39 fowls, 9 ducks, 2 geese Balance: 46 bullocks, 157 cows, 43 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 104 calves, 6 bulls, total 486 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 33 wethers, 45 lambs, 4 rams, total 158 sheep; 21 sows, 28 shoats, 31 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 93 hogs; 108 turkeys, 96 fowls, 5 ducks, 4 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Died of the staggers in the month: 1 cow, 1 heifer, 3 calves, total 5 neat cattle; 1 goose Remaining 30 June: 46 bullocks, 156 cows, 42 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 101 calves, 6 bulls, total 481 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 33 wethers, 45 lambs, 4 rams, total 158 sheep; 21 sows, 28 shoats, 31 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 93 hogs; 108 turkeys, 96 fowls, 5 ducks, 3 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,000 pounds Yams delivered to the blacks, 28,350 pounds Total yams, 46,350 pounds Interpretations The staggers is a disorder of cattle and sheep marked by loss of co-ordination and collapse, arising from several causes including mineral deficiency on poor pasture and toxins in fodder. Five head died of it this month, the first time in this run that the account names a cause of death rather than simply entering the animals as dead, which suggests an outbreak distinct enough to be worth recording separately. The herd fell from 501 to 481 across the month, the sharpest single decline in this record's monthly accounts. Fifteen head went to the shipping, two bullocks were killed for the slaves and five died of the staggers, against only two calves born. That the slaughter for the slaves is entered as a separate named line, rather than folded into the ordinary killing, points to the food shortage: with yams failing, beef was being substituted for the establishment's usual diet. The lambing season arrived in force, 36 lambs born in one month against eight in April and none recorded in May, carrying the flock from 124 to 158. Lambing in the island's early winter fits the southern-hemisphere pattern, the ewes having been served during the previous summer, and it is the one class of stock showing genuine growth in a month when everything else contracted.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Yams issued to the slaves rose again to 28,350 pounds, from 22,550 in May and 15,000 in April, while the plantations' own share held at 18,000 pounds for the second consecutive month. The total of 46,350 pounds is the heaviest since the 46,250 pounds of August 1732, and it comes at exactly the point Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 predicted the position would be worst, the old crop exhausted before the winter planting could yield anything. Drawing that much from a failing stock, and killing bullocks for the slaves in the same month, shows the establishment being fed from reserves rather than from the ground.
192	190	Gunners Stores Expended in June 1733 Vizt Fired, Shott, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 1733 June 1st Walpole & Marlborough Sailed: Fired: 27, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 2, Falcon: 25, Powder: 31 4 French Ship called the Griffin Sailed: Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 2, Falcon: 9, Powder: 9 7 Nassau Greenwich & Grantham Sailed: Fired: 27, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 2, Falcon: 25, Powder: 31 11 Anniversary of the Kings Accession: Fired: 21, Shott: 1, Sakers: 3, Minion: 1, Falcon: 16, Powder: 38 22 An Allarm: Fired: 4, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 4, Falcon: 0, Powder: 12 23 Arrived the Monmouth: Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 1, Falcon: 8, Powder: 11 Expence of the Guard 11 Musquet Balls 3tt Fired: 97, Shott: 1, Sakers: 3, Minion: 10, Falcon: 83, Powder: 143 Impious 2 Cartridge Paper 5 Quire Match 23tt John French Expence of the Table in June 1733 120tt Pork 3 253tt Beef 3 3 2 Sheep 2 3 12 Turkeys 3 9 Ducks 13 6 2 Geese 10 39 Fowles 2 18 6 4 Figs 1 9tt Butter 9 60 Bottles Milk 1 1 30 Days Greens 1 10 48 Gallon Arrack 9 12 13 Gallon Port 5 - 9 30 Gallon Small Beer 1 16 2 Gallon Vinegar 5 1 1/2tt Sugar 1 9 3 1 1/2 Bushell Salt 9 9 4 Bottles Oyle 9	The gunner's stores expended in June 1733 ran as follows. 1 June, the Walpole and Marlborough sailed: 27 guns fired, 2 minions, 25 falcons, 31 lb of powder 4 June, the French ship called the Griffin sailed: 9 guns fired, 2 minions, 9 falcons, 9 lb of powder 7 June, the Nassau, Greenwich and Grantham sailed: 27 guns fired, 2 minions, 25 falcons, 31 lb of powder 11 June, anniversary of the King's accession: 21 guns fired, 1 shot, 3 sakers, 1 minion, 16 falcons, 38 lb of powder 22 June, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 4 minions, 12 lb of powder 23 June, arrived the Monmouth: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder Expense of the guard: 11 lb of powder Musket balls, 36 lb Tampions, 2 Cartridge paper, 5 quires Match, 23 lb Total: 97 guns fired, 1 shot, 3 sakers, 10 minions, 83 falcons, 143 lb of powder The account was signed by John French, gunner. The general table expense account for June 1733 ran as follows. 120 lb of pork, £0 3s 0d 253 lb of beef, £3 3s 3d 2 sheep, £0 2s 3d 12 turkeys, £0 3s 0d 9 ducks, £0 13s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 34 fowls, £2 18s 6d 4 figs, £1 0s 0d 9 lb of butter, £0 9s 0d 60 bottles of milk, £1 1s 0d 30 days' greens, £1 10s 0d 48 gallons of arrack, £2 12s 0d 13 gallons of port, £5 9s 0d 32 gallons of small beer, £1 16s 9d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 147 lb of sugar, £1 9s 3d 1.5 bushels of salt, £0 3s 9d 4 bottles of oil, £0 3s 9d 360 lb of flour, £4 19s 0d 13 gallons of arrack to the guards, smiths, coopers and carpenters on His Majesty's accession falling in this month, £2 12s 0d Total, £43 9s 0d 2.5 gallons of arrack to the blacks, £1 18s 0d 3.5 lb of sugar to the guards and blacks, £0 8s 0d Total, £4 18s 0d The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in June 1733 ran as follows. 124 gallons of arrack, £0 38s 0d 2 lb of wine, £23 1s 3d 3 lb of Dutch duck, £0 12s 0d 6 plates, £0 9s 6d 10 dishes, £2 4s 9d 1 tankard, £2 6s 6d 5 basins, £0 3s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		360tt Flour 4 19 - 13 Gallon Arrack died to the Guards, Smith Cooper, Carpenter &c the Majesties of his Majesties Accession, happening this Month 3.3 2.12 13 9 3 12 Gallon do the Blacks 1.18. 3½ of Sugar do to Guards & Blacks 8. 4.18. Collection of Store goods Sold in June 1733 Vizt 124 Gallon Arrack 38 2tt Cwt & Wine 23 1 3 3½ Bags Rusk 12 6 5 Plates 1 9 6 10 Ditto 2 4 9 1 Tankard 2 3 6 5 Bason 2 6 1 Chamber Pott 1 6 1 pay Pint Pott 1 5 1 Shoe & Cap 1 6 12 oz Gold Twist 5 5 1 do 100 Breast Buttons 3 6 17½ oz Silver Twist 13 6 1 oz Gold Thread 17 6 2½ doz Yellow Plate Buttons 2 13 - 2 pr Hayes 92 4 6	1 chamber pot, £0 5s 0d 1 pair of ring tea, £0 15s 0d 1 shoe [...], £0 5s 3d 12 oz of gold twist, £0 5s 6d 1 dozen 100 breast buttons, £0 3s 6d 17 oz of silver twist, £0 12s 6d 1 oz of gold thread, £0 4s 3d 2 dozen yellow metal buttons, £2 13s 0d 2 pairs of hose, £0 3s 0d Total, £92 4s 6d Interpretations Powder expenditure fell to 143 pounds from May's 269, though the anchorage was still busy. The difference lies in the pattern of the month: five departures and one arrival, against May's constant alternation of alarms and salutes as ships came in unidentified. A departing vessel was known and needed no alarm fired before her salute, which is why a month of sailings costs less powder than a month of arrivals. The twenty-one guns for the anniversary of the King's accession on 11 June is the single heaviest firing of the month at 38 pounds, and it drew the customary allowance of arrack to the guards, smiths, coopers and carpenters entered in the table account. Royal anniversaries consistently consumed more powder than any defensive firing in this record, and the pairing of gun salute with a drink allowance to the tradesmen appears at every such occasion. Pork at 120 pounds enters the table account for the first time in this run, alongside a reduced beef charge of 253 pounds against May's 270 and April's 327. The stock account for the same month recorded seven hogs killed, three shoats and four pigs, and the substitution fits a herd under pressure: with five cattle lost to the staggers and fifteen sold to shipping, drawing on the hogs spared the cattle. The table total of £43 9s 0d sits between April's £56 9s 4.5d and May's £31 14s 6d. Five ships sailed in the first week of June and only the <i>Monmouth</i> arrived thereafter, so the entertainment of commanders and supercargoes fell away sharply after the seventh, which the figure reflects. Gold and silver twist, gold thread and metal buttons appearing together in the storekeeper's collection point to a single order for making up a coat of some quality. Twist was the fine cord used for buttonholes and decorative work on a gentleman's coat, and buying it alongside the buttons and thread indicates a garment being made on the island rather than imported ready-made.
193	191	Brought over 92 4 6 10 Testaments 17 6 1 Beveridge Bought 1 2 9 1 large Table 1 10 9 30 Quire Paper 17 6 2½ 329½ Soap 1 19 3 10½ Candles 3 2 15tt Black & White Crape 16 3 30 Yards Stuff 6 2 4 15tt Flour 147 9 1½ 4: 3: 16 Bread Charges Generall Vizt 24tt Candles	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in June 1733, continued. Brought over, £92 4s 6d 10 testaments, £0 17s 6d 1 [...] bought, £1 2s 9d 1 large table, £1 10s 0d 30 quire paper, £17 6s 2.5d 329.5 soap, £1 19s 2.5d 10.5 candles, £0 15s 6d 1 lb of black and white crape, £0 3s 0d 30 yards of stuff, £16 5s 4d 1 [...] of flour, £6 2s 4d 4 hundredweight 3 quarters 16 lb of bread Total, £147 9s 1.5d Charges general 24 lb of candles, £2 8s 0d 8 lb of soap, £0 8s 8d 18 china cups, £0 15s 0d 6 china bowls, £0 2s 10d 4 oz of Prussian blue, £0 2s 1d 4 lb of white lead, £0 1s 3d 2 lb of yellow ochre, £1 12s 0d 1 barrel of lampblack, £1 2s 3d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 8 8tt Soap 8 8 18 China Cupps 8 8 6 ditto Bowles 15 4 oz Prussia Blue 10 4 White Lead 2 1 2 Yellow Ocher 1 3 1 Bar Lamblack 2 1 3 46½ oz Nails 1 12 3 3 Gonge 2 3 8 Grass Cocks 11 2 Earthenware 10 72 Ells Alliyat for Bed & Window Curtains 10 6 2 Pair for Sadie Stone 10 6 3 Steel Shovels 7 6 3 Iron Sugarloaves 6 6 3 Sslives 2 10 4 Doorplates 1 8 1 Stock Lock 1 7 3 1 Cwt Timber 5 10 1 Gallon Linseed Oyle 6 9 6½ Yards Sheet 3 6 12 oz Silk 25 18 9 2 oz Thread 4 17 Squares Glass 10 by 8 Blacks Vizt 1tt Coloured Thread 12 6 172 pr fine Blue Cloth 32 3 8 82 Cwt Baskets 2 8 12 doz Limes 2 10 6 doz Hooks 36 18 11 2tt Tea 8tt Rice 2 8 Garrison Vizt 1 2 6 8tt Tea 1 1 3 Gallon Oyle 4 12 10 3 Solid & Nagles 16 Yards Old Bunting Plantation Vizt 17 11 1 Ship Spence 2 Sleeves 1 Lime 12 Knives & 1 Hatchett 3 15 3	46.5 oz of nails, £11 0s 0d 3 gimlets, £0 10s 0d 8 brass cocks, £0 10s 6d 2 lb of earthenware, £0 6s 6d 75 pieces of chintz aljar for bed and window curtains, £0 6s 6d 2 pans for [...] stone, £0 10s 0d 3 shod shovels, £0 1s 8d 3 [...], £0 1s 7d 3 sieves, £0 5s 10d 4 pairs of dogtails, £0 6s 0d 1 stock lock, £3 6s 0d 1 lb of ginger, £25 18s 9d 1 gallon of linseed oil 6.5 yards of velvet 12 oz of silk 2 oz of thread 17 squares of glass 10 by 8 Blacks 1 lb of coloured thread, £0 4s 0d 17.5 pieces of fine blue cloth, £12 9s 6d 82 lb of blankets, £32 6s 9d 12 dozen limes, £0 3s 8d 6 dozen hooks, £0 3s 8d 2 lb of tea, £2 10s 0d 5 [...] of rice, £36 18s 11d Garrison 8 lb of tea, £2 8s 0d 5 gallons of oil, £1 2s 6d 1 [...] of ruffles, £0 1s 1d 16 yards of red bunting, £4 12s 10d Plantation 1 shod spade, 2 [...], 1 line, 12 knives and 1 hatchet, £0 17s 11d 4 [...] of rice, 3 [...] of paddy for hogs and poultry, £3 15s 3d Total, £4 13s 2d Diet expenses 17.5 gallons of arrack, £11 2s 0d 13 gallons of port, £5 6s 0d 36 gallons of small beer, £1 16s 9d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 9 lb of sugar, £1 17s 9d 1.5 bushels of salt, £0 2s 9d 4 bottles of oil, £4 10s 7.5d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb of flour, £28 10s 7.5d 2 gallons of vinegar Grand total, £248 7s 5d Interpretations Ten testaments entered among the goods sold mark the first appearance of religious books in the storekeeper's accounts in this run, and they follow directly on Governor Pyke's proposal at the sessions of 2 July 1733 for a second school. The two child witnesses at Mingo's trial could not be sworn because they knew nothing of religion, and testaments were the standard text through which children were taught to read as well as catechised. Their purchase in the same season the school was proposed suggests preparation for it. The chintz aljar bought for bed and window curtains was a printed and painted Indian cotton, aljar being one of the Coromandel varieties supplied through the Company's Madras trade. Bed and window hangings of this kind were among the few decorative furnishings a household on the island could obtain, and the quantity here points to a full set being made up rather than a repair. Sixteen yards of red bunting charged to the garrison continues a recurring maintenance line in these accounts. Bunting was the loosely woven worsted from which flags and signals were made, and the flagstaff at Prosperous Bay together with the batteries required constant replacement of colours,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		4 0: 2: Paddy for Hogs & Poultry 4 13 2 4tt in Rice Diet Expences Vizt 70½ Gallon Arrack 11 9 15 Gallon Port 5 16 2 36 Gallon Small Beer 1 17 6 1: 0: 9 Sugar 2 4 1½ Bushell Salt 4 10 7½ 4 Bottles Oyle 28 11 7½ 3: 3: 14 Flour 2 Gallon Vinegar 248 7 5	three separate issues having been recorded across three months in early 1731 for a new flag at Munden's Point and repairs to the others. Eighty-two pounds of blankets at £32 6s 9d is the heaviest single line in the slaves' section and the largest charge of its kind since the annual clothing issue of September. The island's winter runs from about May to September, and supplying blankets in June rather than waiting for the September accounting suggests the cold had arrived before the usual provision was due. The grand total of £248 7s 5d compares with £228 1s 10.5d in May and £247 5s 3.5d in April, holding steady despite five ships leaving in the first week of the month.
194	192	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 17th July 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 12th Instant the Monmouth Sailed for England John Scott late of the Ship Monmouth Sailor & having left the Said Ship & being asked the reason why Sayth that when he came to England he had nothing to trust to there & therefore he was desirous to Stay here where he hoped he Should gain a livelyhood he has left all his Wages due to him in the Voyage & a great many other things but as that would not have Maintained him long in England he has chosen to leave them rather than to go home, & being told he must for his Punishment for Deserting the Ship work here at hard Labour three Months without any Wages Sayd he was Sorry for that & hoped he should not fare worse than other People, being asked in what house he had been he Sayd he had been in no house but had hid himself in the West part of the Island among the Rocks & that he carried a bowl of Arrack Three French Loaves that he bought along with him which is all he has lived upon Since he left Capt Montgomery, & that when he left the ack it was gone he drank nothing but Water & to the truth hereof hath Sett his hand John Scott John Scott farther Sayth that he thinks he has done no hurt in leaving the Monmouth because one George Landon the Drummer is gone on board in his Room & upon Enquiry We find that Geo Landon the Drummer is one of the Island & as we suppose is gone in the Monmouth Greenwich a lusty black Man Sold by Capt Bashey about three Years ago to Mrs Powell this day came before Us & told us	At a consultation held on Tuesday 17 July 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. On the 12th of the month the <i>Monmouth</i> sailed for England. John Scott, late of the ship <i>Monmouth</i>, sailor, having left her and being asked his reason, said that when he came to England he had nothing to trust to, and so was afraid to stay here, where he hoped he should gain a livelihood. He had left all his wages due to him on the voyage and a great many other things, but that would not have maintained him long in England, and he has chosen to leave them rather than go home. Being told he must for his punishment for deserting the ship work here at hard labour three months without any wages, he said he was sorry for that. He hoped he should not fare worse than other people. Being asked in what house he had been, he said he had been in no house but had hid himself in the west part of the island among the rocks, and that he carried a bowl of arrack and three French loaves that he bought along with him, which is all he has lived upon since he left Captain Montgomery. That when he left, arrack was gone, he drank nothing but water, and to the truth hereof he has set his hand. Signed John Scott. John Scott further said that he thinks he has done no hurt in leaving the <i>Monmouth</i>, because one George Lendon the drummer is gone on board in his room, and upon inquiry the council found that George Lendon the drummer is one of the island's slaves, whom they supposed to be gone in the <i>Monmouth</i>. Greenwich, a lusty black man sold by Captain Bashey about three years ago to Mr Powell, came before the council the same day and said that he was the Honourable Company's slave and joined them formerly at Bencoolen, that Governor Cash bought him first for the Company at Batavia, and that when Governor Cash left Bencoolen the Malays seized and sold him to the Spaniards on the opposite side of that country, and that he was afterwards bought of his new masters by one Captain Jarvis who called him a Madagascar and sold him to Captain Leigh, who being called Captain Bashey, [...] that commanding the ship and sold him here at the time, and further said that two of the Honourable Company's slaves named Reilly and Mannow knew that all this was true, they being then the Crown's slaves at Bencoolen. Greenwich, being asked why he did not sooner acquaint the council that he was the Company's slave, said because he was afraid, and to the truth of all this he has set his mark. The mark of Greenwich.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		that he was the Honble Companys Slave & Sowed them formerly at Bencoolen that Governour Cash bought him first for the Company at Batavia & that when Govr Cash left Bencoolen the Malays Seized & Sold him to the People on the opposite Side of that Country & that he was afterwards bought of his new Masters by one Capt Sowin who carryed him to Madras & Sold him to Capt Leward who being dead Capt Bashey then Chief Mate Commanding the Ship & Sold him here at the time aforesaid & farther Said that two of the Honble Companys Slaves named Roley & Mannow now that all this was here they being then the Common Slaves at Bencoolen The Said Greenwich was asked why he did not Sooner acquaint us that he was the Companys Slave, the Said because he was a Fool & to the truth of all this he hath Sett his Mark the [+] Mark Greenwich The Said Roley & Mannow were called in & Upon whom Greenwich repeated as that is above mentioned & they were asked whether it was true & they Confirmed yes it was all very true for they were at Bencoolen when the Malays & remember that the Malays Seized Greenwich then called Dick & carried him away By this Examination it plain that Mrs Powell came honestly by these Slave & for any thing that appears to the contrary Capt Bashey as bad as the Sellers has certainly been the Honble Companys Slave they have Still a Right to him & therefore as he has been Sold fairly to Mrs Powell we will wait for their Directions whether we Shall take him away or not As to the Slaves at Bencoolen they are so little regarded there, that it is a wonder they have any left, nor is it so if we speak worth their while to look after them if so often as they ask for Thirty or fourty	Reilly and Mannow were then called in before whom Greenwich repeated all that is abovementioned, and they were asked whether it was true. They answered yes, it was all very true, for they were at Bencoolen when he was seized and remembered that the Malays seized Greenwich and then carried him away. By this examination it is plain that Mr Powell came honestly by this slave, for anything that appears to the contrary, but as Captain Bashey has sold us the island, having enlarged upon the Honourable Company's slaves, they have still a right to him. Therefore, as he has been sold fairly to Mr Powell, the council will wait for their directions whether they shall take him away or not. As to the slaves at Bencoolen, they are so little regarded there that it is a wonder they have any left, nor is it worth much their while to look after them if so often as they ask for thirty or forty. Interpretations Greenwich's account traces a slave carried through four separate jurisdictions before reaching St Helena. He was bought at Batavia for the Company, held at Bencoolen, seized by Malays and sold to the Spanish settlement on the opposite coast of Sumatra, then bought back into English hands, relabelled as a Madagascar slave and shipped west. The false attribution of origin mattered commercially: Madagascar was the recognised source for slaves reaching the Atlantic trade, and a man so described raised no question about how he came to be for sale. The council's finding turns on a distinction between good faith and title. Powell was held to have bought honestly, since nothing suggested he knew the man's history, yet the Company's original ownership survived the whole chain of seizure and resale, so its right remained intact. That reasoning is unusual in this record, where possession and long enjoyment ordinarily settled disputed title, as in the enquiry into Isaac Wood's land on 13 February 1733, and the council's decision to refer the question to London rather than resolve it locally reflects the awkwardness of the outcome. Greenwich's explanation for his silence over three years, that he was afraid, points to the practical position of a slave who knew his own status was wrong. Asserting the claim risked immediate punishment from the man holding him, and no proceeding could be brought without his master's cooperation. The corroborating testimony of Reilly and Mannow, both Company slaves who had been at Bencoolen when he was taken, was what made the account provable. John Scott's substitution of the island slave George Lendon in his place shows a desertion arranged rather than merely opportunistic. A ship short a hand was the Company's loss, and Scott's argument that no harm followed because a replacement went aboard treats the crew as a headcount to be maintained. That the replacement was an island slave, and that the council learned of it only from Scott's own examination, meant the island had lost a man permanently to a departing ship. Speculations The council could have taken Greenwich back into the Company's hands at once, having satisfied itself on sworn evidence that he had always been Company property and that the intervening sales conveyed nothing. It instead left him with Powell and referred the question to London. The reason lies in what an immediate seizure would have meant for every planter on the island: Powell had bought openly from a ship's captain three years earlier, and setting that purchase aside would have exposed every slave on St Helena to a claim founded on some

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			earlier transaction the buyer knew nothing of. The council preferred to leave a man it believed wrongly held where he was rather than unsettle the basis on which slaves were bought and sold across the whole island.
195	193	fourty they have new Slaves Sent them, we having Sent them within two Years fifty Slaves of whom to very likely not above one half now remain with them The Petition of John Tripe junr was presented & read Praying a Lease for about four Acres of waste Land adjoining to each end of the other Land & for about three Acres more contiguous together of the Land also lying in Diagwood Valley Granted provided letting the Same be not prejudicial either to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood We this day took into Consideration the Jurys Presentment at the last Sessions against Lewd & Idle People, & it being proved to Us that the Wife of James Peck Soldier was one of the vicious debauched disorderly Persons pointed at in the Said Presentment We ordred them to remove out of the Valley & allowed them a Month time to get an habitation in the Country & warned them to endeavour by an honest industrious behaviour in the Country to wipe of the Scandal they have incurred by Lewdness & Idleness that the Fort where they have no house nor any lawfull Calling by which to Maintain themselves Att a Consultation held on Tuesday the 24th July 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Sutton Mash was this day accused by the foreman of the late Jury for Saying that four of them had endeavoured to Debauch by with his Daughter Rebecca Wife of James Seale & that one of them had offred her Ten Shillings to do so, & he attending was called in and acquainted with the matter laid to his Charge & being asked whether he did Say so or not he Answered that he had denyed so but Said he did not mean any harm by it, however as the Gentlemen of the Jury thought themselves highly injured & abused by Such a Report tending to make Mischeif & create Differences in their own Families which they thought proceeded from a Malicious & Spightfull disposition of the Said Mash levelled at them because they had lately presented the lewd Life & behaviour of many disorderly People who live in the Valley without any visible Means or calling to Support themselves of which number Rebecca Daughter of the Said Mash is notoriously known to be one We therefore & fatally to discourage all Such	The council observed that thirty or forty new slaves had been sent to Bencoolen, having sent them within two years about fifty slaves, of whom scarcely one half now remain with them. The petition of John Tripe junior was presented and read, asking a lease of about four acres of waste land adjoining each end of his other land, and for about three acres more contiguous to the whole of it, all lying in Deep Valley. The council granted it, provided the grant did no prejudice either to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood. The council took into consideration the same day the jury's presentment at the last sessions against lewd and idle people. It was proved to them that the wife of James Peet, soldier, was one of the vicious and disorderly persons pointed at in that presentment. The council ordered her removed out of the valley, and allowed her three months to find a settled place in the country, warning her to work by honest and industrious behaviour in the country to wipe off the scandal she had incurred by lewdness, and stating that in the valley she had no house nor any lawful occupation by which to maintain herself. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 July 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Sutton Marsh was accused the same day by the foreman of the late jury of saying that four of them had tried to seduce his daughter Rebecca, wife of James Seale, and that one of them had offered her ten shillings to do so. Marsh attended and was called in and questioned about the matter laid to his charge, and being asked whether he had said it or not, he answered that he had done so but said he did not mean any harm by it. The gentlemen of the jury nonetheless thought themselves highly injured and abused by such a report, which they thought proceeded from a malicious and spiteful disposition tending to make mischief and create differences in their own families, and which Marsh levelled at them because they had lately presented the lewd life and behaviour of many disorderly people who live in the valley without any visible means or trade to support themselves, among whom Rebecca, daughter of the said Marsh, is notoriously known to be one. The council therefore held it fitting to discourage all such reflections upon those who laudably endeavour to root out vice and immorality, and committed Marsh to prison in order to be further prosecuted for the same. He was given the warning to admonish him to reform his life, and provide himself with a habitation in the country, where he might endeavour by some honest, industrious labour or employment to wipe off all the reflection and reproach he had incurred by his lewd life and behaviour in the valley. Interpretations The removal of James Peet's wife from the valley applies the jury's presentment of 2 July 1733 to a named individual within a fortnight. The remedy chosen is instructive: she was not fined or imprisoned but ordered to relocate to the country and given three months to arrange it, which addresses the jury's actual complaint that people were living idly in the valley off the shipping trade rather than working the land. The order treats residence itself as the offence.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Reflections upon those who Laudably endeavour to root out Vice & Immorality committed the Said Mash to Prison in order to be farther Prosecuted for the Same, & gave the Woman such admonition to reform her Life & provide herself with an habitation in the Country where endeavour by Some honest industrious Labour or Employment to wipe off all the Reflection & Reproach She has incurred by her lewd Life and behaviour in the Valley	Marsh's accusation struck at the jury's standing to make the presentment at all. By alleging that four jurors had tried to seduce his daughter, and that one offered her money, he attacked the moral authority of the men who had just condemned disorderly living in the valley. The council's response, committing him to prison for further prosecution, treats slandering a jury as an offence against the administration of justice rather than a private wrong to the men named, since an unanswered charge of this kind would have discredited the whole presentment. Rebecca Seale's position illustrates how the presentment operated. She was married to James Seale yet lived in the valley without visible means, and the council names her among those the jury had in mind. Her father's counter-accusation, whatever its truth, arose directly from her inclusion, which shows the presentment biting on identifiable households rather than remaining a general complaint. The note on Bencoolen closes the exchange over Greenwich from the previous consultation. Fifty slaves sent within two years and scarcely half remaining measures a mortality the council had already cited on 27 February 1733, when John Durling reported the establishment could not spare twenty men and ten women for that settlement. The observation supports the council's reluctance to send more. Speculations The council could have dealt with Marsh's slander as the jurors' own affair, leaving four private men to pursue an action for defamation against him if they chose. It instead committed him to prison and undertook the prosecution itself. The reason lies in the timing: the presentment of 2 July 1733 had just given the council its warrant to clear the valley, and it had begun enforcing that warrant the previous week against James Peet's wife. A charge that the presenting jurors were themselves seducers, left unanswered, would have supplied every household facing removal with an argument that the whole campaign was hypocrisy. Prosecuting Marsh defended the policy rather than the men.
196	194	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 31 July 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Petition was this day presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Sutton Mash Sheweth That Your Petr is heartily Sorry for Reflecting upon the Gentlemen of the last Jury & is the more concerned because Your Petr is very Sensible that they had just Ground to present those Matters they presented & Your Petr having been informed that his Daughter the Wife of James Seale has given much offence by her disorderly & indiscreet behaviour, Your Petr therefore to avoid all farther blame & Reproach upon that Account has prevailed with his Said Daughter to live altogether in the Country & She has accordingly provided herself with an habitation on the West Side thereof where	At a consultation held on Tuesday 31 July 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented and read. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The humble petition of Sutton Marsh. Marsh set out that he was heartily sorry for the reflections he had cast on the gentlemen of the last jury, the more concerned because he was sensible they had just grounds to present those matters they did. Having been informed that his daughter, the wife of James Seale, had given much offence by her disorderly and indecent behaviour, he had, to avoid any further blame or reproach on that account, prevailed with his daughter to live altogether in the country. She had accordingly provided herself with a habitation on the west side of the island, where she was already gone to live, and he undertook that she should stay there and come no more to settle in the valley. He therefore humbly prayed that he might be restored to his liberty, and as in duty bound would ever pray. Signed Sutton Marsh, 31 July 1733. Marsh was called in and the petition read to him again. He acknowledged his fault once more and promised to behave himself in future, and was discharged accordingly.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		She is already gone to dwell & where Your Petr engages She Shall continue & no more come to Settle in the Valley Your Petr therefore humbly prays that he may be Restored to his Liberty And Your Petr as in duty bound Shall ever Pray 31 July 1733 Sutton Mash The Petr was called in & the Said Petition was again read & having again Acknowledged his fault & promised to behave himself well for the future, he was discharged accordingly Capt Goodwin Reports that all the Flaggs are worn out except one which is very old, & being asked what quantity of Bunting there is in the Stores Sayth that there is only a Small parcell of blue & Red & no White unless Flannell be used which he thinks would be too heavy & tear the Rest but as We have no white Bunting we must make the Flag for the Sugar Loaf which is quite torn to Pieces of blue & Red which as tis only for a Signal & Flag we think may do well enough The Governour the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Account for the Month ending this day which were Severally Examd & Approved & are as follows Vizt Guns Fired, Shott, Sakers, Minion, Falcons, Powder 1733 July 1st Muster Day: Guns Fired: 0, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 0, Falcons: 0, Powder: 11 12th Monmouth Sailed: Guns Fired: 9, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 1, Falcons: 8, Powder: 11 18th Double Allarm for three Ships that past by: Guns Fired: 6, Shott: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 6, Falcons: 0, Powder: 18 Ditto at Bankses for the Same Ships: Guns Fired: 3, Shott: 2, Sakers: 3, Minion: 0, Falcons: 0, Powder: 12 Expence of the Guards 13 Musquet Balls 6tt Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Guns Fired: 18, Shott: 2, Sakers: 3, Minion: 7, Falcons: 8, Powder: 65 Match 6tt Signed Jno French Margin Notes: Flag for Sugarloaf	Captain Goodwin reported that all the flags were worn out except one, which is very old. Being asked what quantity of bunting there was in the stores, he said there were only a dozen small parcels of blue and red and one white, and no flannel he could find, which he thought would be too heavy and tear the rest. Since there was no white bunting, the council thought it best to make the flag for the Sugarloaf out of pieces of blue and red, which, being only for a signal, they thought would answer well enough. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward delivered their accounts for the month ending that day, which were examined and approved as follows. The gunner's stores expended in July 1733 ran as follows. 1 July, muster day: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 12 July, the Monmouth sailed: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 18 July, a double alarm for three ships that passed by: 6 guns fired, 2 shot, 3 sakers, 18 lb of powder 18 July, an alarm at Banks's for the same ships: 3 guns fired, 12 lb of powder Expense of the guards, 13 lb of powder Musket balls, 6 lb Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 6 lb Total: 18 guns fired, 2 shot, 3 sakers, 7 minions, 8 falcons, 65 lb of powder The account was signed by John French, gunner. Interpretations Marsh's release turned on his daughter's removal rather than on his apology. The council had committed him on 25 July 1733 for slandering the jury, and the petition six days later offers a settlement of the underlying grievance: Rebecca Seale had gone to live on the west side of the island and would not return to the valley. That satisfied the very objective the presentment of 2 July 1733 had set, so the council released him without further prosecution. The state of the flags shows a small but telling gap in the island's supply. Every colour but one had worn out, and the storekeeper held no white bunting at all, which forced the council to make the Sugarloaf signal from blue and red alone. Flags at the lookout stations were the island's only means of communicating an approaching sail from the heights to the fort, and their condition mattered more than their appearance, which is why a signal flag of irregular colours was thought acceptable where a national colour would not have been. Sixteen yards of red bunting had been issued to the garrison only the previous month, which suggests the stock had been running down for some time. The double alarm of 18 July, fired both from the castle and again at Banks's for three ships that passed without closing, accounts for half the month's powder. Firing twice for the same vessels reflects the two batteries operating independently, Banks's standing on a headland out of hail of the fort, as Captain Cason and Ensign Wood had reported on 28 November 1732 when describing the path there as impassable. Powder expenditure fell to 65 pounds, the lowest since the 42 pounds of February 1733 and well below June's 143 and May's 269. One departure and one alarm made up the whole month's firing, the shipping season having closed with the June fleet.
197	195	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall,	The stock account for the month to 31 July 1733 ran as follows. Remaining 1 July: 46 bullocks, 156 cows, 42 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 101 calves, 6

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1st July: Bullocks: 46, Cowes: 156, Heifers: 42, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 101, Bulls: 6, Totall: 481, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 33, Lambs: 45, Rams: 4, Totall: 158, Sows: 21, Shoates: 28, Pigs: 31, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 93, Turkeys: 108, Fowles: 96, Ducks: 5, Geese: 3, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Increased in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 3, Bulls: 0, Totall: 3, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 8, Rams: 0, Totall: 8, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 6, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 6, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 20, Ducks: 11, Geese: 4, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 46, Cowes: 156, Heifers: 42, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 104, Bulls: 6, Totall: 484, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 33, Lambs: 53, Rams: 4, Totall: 166, Sows: 21, Shoates: 28, Pigs: 37, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 99, Turkeys: 108, Fowles: 116, Ducks: 16, Geese: 7, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Killed 2 Bullocks for the Blacks & 1 Cow for the Table: Bullocks: 2, Cowes: 1, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Totall: 3, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 2, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 2, Sows: 0, Shoates: 5, Pigs: 10, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 15, Turkeys: 17, Fowles: 36, Ducks: 4, Geese: 2, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 44, Cowes: 155, Heifers: 42, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 104, Bulls: 6, Totall: 481, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 31, Lambs: 53, Rams: 4, Totall: 164, Sows: 21, Shoates: 23, Pigs: 27, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 84, Turkeys: 91, Fowles: 80, Ducks: 12, Geese: 5, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Dead in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 1, Bulls: 0, Totall: 1, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 3, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 3, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 0, Turkeys: 9, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Remg 31 July: Bullocks: 44, Cowes: 155, Heifers: 42, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 103, Bulls: 6, Totall: 480, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 28, Lambs: 53, Rams: 4, Totall: 161, Sows: 21, Shoates: 23, Pigs: 27, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 84, Turkeys: 82, Fowles: 80, Ducks: 12, Geese: 5, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Yams expended at the Severall Plantacons 27500tt Ditto delivered the Blacks 25000 Totall 42500tt	bulls, total 481 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 33 wethers, 45 lambs, 4 rams, total 158 sheep; 21 sows, 28 shoats, 31 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 93 hogs; 108 turkeys, 96 fowls, 5 ducks, 3 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Increased in the month: 3 calves, total 3 neat cattle; 8 lambs, total 8 sheep; 6 pigs, total 6 hogs; 20 fowls, 11 ducks, 4 geese Balance: 46 bullocks, 156 cows, 42 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 104 calves, 6 bulls, total 484 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 33 wethers, 53 lambs, 4 rams, total 166 sheep; 21 sows, 28 shoats, 37 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 99 hogs; 108 turkeys, 116 fowls, 16 ducks, 7 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Killed, 2 bullocks for the blacks and 1 cow for the table: 2 bullocks, 1 cow, total 3 neat cattle; 2 wethers, total 2 sheep; 5 shoats, 10 pigs, total 15 hogs; 17 turkeys, 36 fowls, 4 ducks, 2 geese Balance: 44 bullocks, 155 cows, 42 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 104 calves, 6 bulls, total 481 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 31 wethers, 53 lambs, 4 rams, total 164 sheep; 21 sows, 23 shoats, 27 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 84 hogs; 91 turkeys, 80 fowls, 12 ducks, 5 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Dead in the month: 1 calf, total 1 neat cattle; 3 lambs, total 3 sheep; 9 turkeys Remaining 31 July: 44 bullocks, 155 cows, 42 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 103 calves, 6 bulls, total 480 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 28 wethers, 53 lambs, 4 rams, total 161 sheep; 21 sows, 23 shoats, 27 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 84 hogs; 82 turkeys, 80 fowls, 12 ducks, 5 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 27,500 pounds Yams delivered to the blacks, 25,000 pounds Total yams, 42,500 pounds Interpretations No beast went to shipping this month, the first such gap since the season opened, and the herd held almost level at 480 against 481. The June fleet had sailed and only the <i>Monmouth</i> remained, departing on the 12th, so the beef trade that had drawn fifteen head in June and thirteen in May stopped entirely. What killing there was went to the island itself: two bullocks for the slaves and one cow for the fort table. Slaughter for the slaves appears as a named line for the second consecutive month, two bullocks again as in June. That the entry has become regular rather than exceptional confirms beef being used to make up what the plantations could not supply, exactly as Isaac Durling had warned on 10 April 1733 when he reported Perkins nearly exhausted. Fifteen hogs were killed, five shoats and ten pigs, against seven the previous month and two in May. The hog herd fell from 93 to 84 across the month despite six pigs born, and the accelerating slaughter fits the same pressure that produced the bullock killings, the establishment eating into its stock while the winter planting was still in the ground. Yams issued to the plantations rose sharply to 27,500 pounds from 18,000 in each of the two previous months, while the slaves' share fell slightly to 25,000. The plantation figure covers seed as well as feed, and the timing points to the winter planting season being under way, the island's planting running from about May to September. Committing 27,500 pounds of a failing crop to the ground rather than to the table was the necessary condition of any harvest at all the following year.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
198	196	Expende of the Table in July 1733 Vizt £ s d 300tt Beef 4 7 6 170tt Pork 4 5 13tt Butter 13 2 Sheep 2 8 10 Figs 2 10 17 Turkeys 4 5 4 Ducks 6 30 Fowles 2 5 2 Geese 10 64 Gallon Arrack 13 8 20 Gallon Port 7 15 4 Bottles Oyle 15 10 1 Gallon Vinegar 10 150tt Sugar 1 17 6 3: 0: Flour 3 15 1½ Bushell Salt 4 £ 50 10 4 12 Gallon Arrack for the Guards Smith Cooper Carpenter &c there being a Session this Month £ 2. 8. 10 Gallon do the Blacks 2. -- 28tt Sugar do do Guards & Blacks - 7.- £ 4. 15. - Collection of Store Goods Sold in July 1733 104 Gallon Arrack 32 18 4 27tt Sugar 67 10 4 pr Youths Stocking 5 4 4 pr Girls do 10 81 pr Cravats 11 10 11 1 pr Womens Thread 4 6 48 pr Womens Worsted 10 16 38 pr Mens Shirt 14 5 43 pr do Wove 11 5 9 24 pr Girls 3 12 6 pr Sockings 10 1 30 pr Shoes Sorted Prime Cast 3 6 9 46 pr Boys good 9 11 5 20 pr Globe 2 10 6 66 pr Womens Calico 13 4	The general table expense account for July 1733 ran as follows. 300 lb of beef, £4 7s 6d 170 lb of pork, £4 5s 0d 13 lb of butter, £0 13s 0d 2 sheep, £2 8s 0d 10 figs, £2 10s 0d 17 turkeys, £4 5s 0d 4 ducks, £0 5s 6d 30 fowls, £2 5s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 64 gallons of arrack, £13 8s 0d 20 gallons of port, £7 15s 0d 4 bottles of oil, £0 15s 10d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 10s 0d 150 lb of sugar, £1 17s 6d 3 hundredweight of flour, £3 15s 0d 1.5 bushels of salt, £0 4s 0d Total, £50 10s 4d 12 gallons of arrack to the guards, smiths, coopers and carpenters, there being a session this month, £2 8s 0d 10 gallons of the same to the blacks, £2 0s 0d 28 lb of sugar to the guards and blacks, £0 7s 0d Total, £4 15s 0d The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in July 1733 ran as follows. 104 gallons of arrack, £32 18s 4d 27 lb of sugar, £67 10s 0d 4 pairs of youths' stockings, £0 5s 4d 4 pairs of girls' stockings, £0 10s 0d 81 pairs of crutches, £11 10s 11d 1 pair of women's shoes, £0 4s 6d 48 pairs of women's worsted, £10 16s 0d 38 pairs of men's shoes, £14 5s 0d 43 pairs of the same, women's, £11 5s 9d 24 pairs of girls' shoes, £3 12s 0d 6 pairs of doublets, £0 10s 1d 30 pairs of shoes sorted, prime cost, £3 6s 9d 46 pairs of boys' shoes, good, £9 11s 5d 20 pairs of gloves, £2 10s 6d 66 pairs of women's calico, £13 4s 0d 10 pairs of the same, Spanish, £2 10s 0d 80 pairs of pins, £2 3s 0d 5 pairs of slippers, £1 13s 9d 1 pair of stockings, £0 1s 1d 2 pairs of men's island shoes, £0 8s 0d Total sold, £210 2s 5d Plantation 3 [...] of rice, £2 12s 6d 7 [...] of paddy for hogs and poultry, £1 8s 0d Total, £4 0s 6d Grand total, £214 2s 11d Interpretations Pork at 170 pounds now stands close to beef at 300 pounds, having entered the table account for the first time only the previous month at 120 pounds. The stock account for July recorded fifteen hogs killed against three cattle, and the two records together show the fort table shifting deliberately onto pork while the cattle herd was held back, no beast having gone to shipping at all that month. The arrack allowance to the guards, smiths, coopers and carpenters is charged this month against the sessions rather than a royal anniversary. Those tradesmen received the customary issue on public occasions throughout this record, and the general sessions of 2 July 1733, the first held since Governor Pyke's arrival, evidently ranked as one. Footwear dominates the storekeeper's retail account to an unusual degree, more than 260 pairs of shoes and slippers sold in a single month across every category from men's and women's to boys', girls' and island-made. The island produced no leather goods of its own beyond the most basic, and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		10 pr do Spanish 2 10 80 pr Wigs 23 5 pr Slippers 1 13 9 1 pr Stockets 1 1 2 pr Mens Island Shoes 8 Total Sold 210 2 5 Plantation Vizt 3tt Rice 2 12 6 7: Paddy for Hogs & Poultry 1 8 4 6 214 2 11	shoes came out from England in the Company's cargoes, so a consignment arriving created a concentrated period of buying. The council had complained on 27 March 1733 that the <i>Harrington's</i> shoes were charged above the price of better and wider ones in an earlier cargo, which places this sale in the aftermath of that disputed consignment. The eighty-one pairs of crutches at £11 10s 11d is difficult to read against any ordinary requirement of an island of a few hundred people, and the entry may record some other article of the same name rather than the walking aid. The grand total of £214 2s 11d falls from June's £248 7s 5d and May's £228 1s 10.5d, the decline following the departure of the shipping. Bread, the clearest marker of vessels victualling in these accounts, is absent from the collection entirely.
199	197	Brought over 210 2 5 Brought over 4 6 Garrison Vizt 1 pr Sweet Prints for the Doctor 7 6 1 Bottle Sweet Oyle 3 3 154 Gallon Rape Oyle 1 1 4½ 11 Cause Tea 3 6 4 1 Lime 2 4 4 Yards Red Bunting 5 4 5 5 9½ Blacks Vizt 9 doz Hooks 6 6 6 Limes 5 1 1 oz Silk 1 6 2tt Tea 12 3 pr damaged Prints 1 2 2 6 Blankets 2 6 6 5: 1: Rice 2 13 6 7 6 6 Charges Generall Vizt 2 Cases Knives & Forks 3 10 4 1 Milk Pan 1 3 3 Quart ditto 2 3 15½ Soap 16 9½ 1 Yard Story 1 2 66: 3 Nailles 2 6 6 1 pr Dovetails 6 8 2 Gimblets 1 6 2tt Needles 1 6 1 Grindstone 17 6	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in July 1733, continued. Brought over, £210 2s 5d Brought over, £4 0s 6d Garrison 1 pair of sweat pants delivered to the doctor, £0 7s 6d 1 bottle of sweet oil, £0 3s 3d 4.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 1s 4.5d 11 lb of tea, £3 6s 0d 1 line, £0 2s 4d 4 yards of red bunting, £0 5s 4d Total, £5 5s 9.5d Blacks 9 dozen hooks, £0 6s 6d 6 lines, £0 5s 6d 1 oz of silk, £0 1s 6d 2 lb of tea, £0 12s 0d 3 pieces of damaged prints, £1 2s 6d 6 blankets, £2 6s 6d 5 lb of rice, £2 12s 6d Total, £7 6s 6d Charges general 2 cases of knives and forks, £3 10s 4d 1 milk pan, £0 1s 3d 3 quart pans, £0 2s 3d 15.5 lb of soap, £0 16s 9.5d 1 yard of stony cloth, £0 1s 2d 66 lb 3 oz of nails, £2 6s 6d 1 pair of dovetails, £0 6s 8d 2 gimlets, £0 1s 6d 2 lb of needles, £0 1s 5d 1 grindstone, £0 17s 5d 2 lb of thumbs, £0 5s 5d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 lb of rope, £2 15s 0d 1 lb of starch, £0 1s 9d 1 mop, £0 2s 0d 3 lb of cotton yarn, £0 10s 6d 1 pair of jackboots, £0 6s 6d 19 lb of rosin, £0 3s 3d 24 lb of candles, £2 8s 0d Total, £14 13s 6.5d Diet expenses 89 gallons of arrack, £17 16s 0d 18 lb of sugar, £2 3s 9d 5 hundredweight of flour, £3 15s 0d 3 bottles of oil, £0 16s 3d 4 gallons of vinegar, £0 10s 0d 1.5 bushels of salt, £0 2s 0d 20 gallons of port, £7 15s 0d Total, £33 5s 0d Grand total, £274 13s 9d Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2tt Thrums 5 5 1: 1: 12 Rope 2 15 6 1tt Starch 5 9 1 Mop 2 3tt Cotton Yarn 10 6 1 pr Sockets 6 6 19tt Rosin 7 6 24tt Candles 2 8 14 13 6½ Diet Expences 89 Gallon Arrack 17 16 1: 0: Sugar 2 3 9 5: Flour 3 15 6 3 Bottles Oyle 16 3 4 Gallon Vinegar 10 1½ Bushell Salt 9 20 Gallon Port 7 15 33 5 274 13 9	Blankets and damaged prints supplied to the slaves in July follow the eighty-two pounds of blankets issued in June, and both fall well ahead of the annual clothing charge that normally appears in the September accounts. The island's winter runs from about May to September, and two consecutive months of blanket issues point to the cold arriving early or to the previous year's provision having worn out. Damaged prints sold on to the slaves illustrate the standard disposal route for goods spoiled in transit. Cloth wetted or stained on the passage could not be returned to the Company, and clearing it cheaply into the island's own consumption recovered part of the value, a practice recorded repeatedly in these accounts with chintz, stockings and shoes. Rosin, a residue of pine resin distillation, was used to waterproof cordage and seal timber joints, and it appears here alongside rope, nails and a grindstone as part of the ordinary maintenance stock. The island had no timber to spare, as the jury's presentment of 2 July 1733 had again complained, so imported materials of this kind carried the whole burden of keeping boats, buildings and gear serviceable. The grand total of £274 13s 9d exceeds June's £248 7s 5d despite the anchorage standing empty from the twelfth of the month. The retail sale of more than 260 pairs of shoes accounts for the difference, a single consignment being cleared into the island rather than any continuing trade with shipping.
<u>200</u>	198	Att a Consultation held on Saturday Evening the 4th Augst 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander absent John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that Capt Du Bart Commander of the French Ship now in the Road had been with him this Afternoon to complain that one of the Soldiers of the Guard had taken him by the Collar & tore his Shirt, And that to avoid any Mistake he had taken the Said Captains Complaint in Writing & had also taken in Writing the Examination of the Soldier whom the Captain accused as the Person who had done him this Violence, & also the Examinations of the Sevrall Persons who were called upon as Witnesses either in behalf of the Captain or the Soldier & laid the Same before Us which were immediately read & are as follow Vizt St Helena Capt Du Bart complaining Sayes that he was up the Valley at Mr Longs house & Saw three of the Honble Companies Soldiers beating one of his Men, the English Soldiers Names were John Young Sam Davit & Sam Browning as the name of his Man was John Nigreen & he went to part them but the three English Men Still continued beating his Man & he took hold of one by the Coat to part	At a consultation held on Saturday evening 4 August 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. John Alexander absent. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke reported that Captain Du Bart, commander of the French ship then in the road, had been with him that afternoon to complain that one of the soldiers of the guard had seized one of his men by the collar and torn his shirt. To avoid any mistake, the Governor had taken the captain's complaint down in writing, and also the examination of the soldier the captain accused of doing the violence, together with the examinations of several persons who were called on as witnesses on behalf of either the captain or the soldier. All of these were laid before the council, and read as follows. Captain Du Bart, complaining, said that he was up the valley at Mr Long's house and saw three of the Honourable Company's soldiers beating one of his men. He named the English soldiers as John Young, Sam Davis and John Browning, and the man beaten as John Vignerón. They continued beating the man, one of them taking hold of him by the coat to pull him away, and John Young took him by the collar and tore his shirt. He therefore hoped that the soldier would be severely punished. Taken this 4th day of August. Coram Isaac Pyke. John Vignerón, a sailor belonging to Captain Du Bart, said that he went into a house of one Burnham to light his pipe, and asked him to give him a light, and they being unwilling to give him a light, he spoke a hasty word to them and said sacre, upon which they beat him. Taken before me as above. Isaac Pyke. John Vignerón was still drunk when his captain brought him along to me as his witness, and therefore scarcely knew what he said. Isaac Pyke. Robert Burnham, being examined about this affray between the French sailor and the soldier John

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		them & John Young took him by the Collar & tore his Shirt for which Insolence he expects that the Soldier be Severely Punished John Nigteen a Sailor belonging to Capt Du Bart Says that he went into a house of one Burnham to light his Pipe & asked them to give him Some Fire & they being Cast in & to give him Fire he Spoke a hasty Word to them & Said Fowlers on which they beat him John Nigteen was Still Drunk when his Captain brought him along to me as his Witness & therefore I care knew what he Said Isa Pyke St Helena Robert Burnham being Examined about this Affray between the French Sailor & the Soldier John Young Sayth that John Nigteen came to him as he was Standing at the Door of his house & asked him for Fire & he gave him Fire to light his Pipe, then he Stayed in the house about two or eight Minutes & walked about the house on which this Examinant had a Friend to take the Fire from him to prevent his Setting fire to the house & John Young Said to him Sailor & then Sam Davit went to take the Fire from him on which they Shuffled together & they both fell down & the Door & then & Sergnt Nigteen came & Struck John Davit or Young & for that he went to part them & one of them Struck him this Examinant but his head being down he does not know which then Captain Du Bart came & Struck Davit with his naked Sword three or four blows & thrust John Young also & the Captain Swore John Young first ran him up against the Wall & then the Ensign came & ordred the English Men to be Easy & after that John Warren followed Young & Struck her two or three blows more but the Ensign then parted them & commanded Peace upon which John Young according to his direct Orders went away & the Captain followed him with his Cane & gave him Severall blows & then Young ran away & Captain Du Bart ran after him again on which John Young drew his Bayonet & then went down to the Guard Sam Davit affirms the Same & Burnham, Sam Browning also affirms the Same & Says he could add more to the Same purpose Margin Notes: Taken this 4th day of Augst 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke Taken before me as above Isa Pyke Taken this 4th Augst 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke	Young, said that John Vignerone came to him as he was standing at the door of his house and asked him for a light, and he gave him a light to light his pipe. Then he stayed in the house about an hour, and afterwards walked about the house, on which the examinant had a friend to take the fire from him to prevent mischief. John Young said to him, sirrah, then Sam Davis went to take the fire from him, on which they scuffled together, they both fell down and the door was open. Vignerone came and struck him, and Davis, a young lad, that he went to part them. One of them struck him, the examinant, but his head being down he saw not from where. Then Captain Du Bart came and struck Davis with his naked sword, three or four blows, and struck John Young also. The captain seized John Young first, threw him up against the wall, then the ensign came and ordered the English men to be safe, after which John Warren followed Young and struck him two or three blows more. The ensign then parted them and commanded peace, upon which John Young, according to his account, went away, and the captain followed him with his cane, gave him several blows, was then Young ran away. Captain Du Bart came after him again, on which John Young drew his musket, then went down to the guard. Sam Davis affirms the same, and Burnham and Sam Browning also affirm the same, and say he could add more to the same purpose. Taken this 4th day of August 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. Interpretations Governor Pyke's decision to reduce the whole affair to writing before it came before the council, taking the captain's complaint, the accused soldier's answer and every witness statement separately, shows the same method he applied to the water enquiry of August 1732 and to the examination of the seven Bencoolen deserters. Where a matter touched a foreign power, the written record mattered more than the outcome, since the papers were what London would eventually read. The Governor's marginal observation that Vignerone was still drunk when produced as a witness, and scarcely knew what he was saying, is entered as part of the record rather than kept as a private note. Recording the unreliability of the complainant's own witness at the moment of examination was a precaution against the account being read differently later, and it undercut the French captain's case before the council had heard a word from the soldiers. Du Bart's conduct as described transforms the complaint he brought. He came to the Governor as the injured party, alleging that his sailor had been assaulted by three Company soldiers, but the witnesses place him striking two of those soldiers with a drawn sword and pursuing one with a cane after the ensign had commanded the peace. A foreign commander using a naked blade against the garrison of a Company settlement was a far graver matter than a torn shirt, which is why the council took the evidence at length on a Saturday evening rather than waiting for the ordinary Tuesday sitting. Vignerone's account of the quarrel's origin, that he was refused a light and answered with an oath, reduces the whole affair to a moment of friction between a drunken foreign sailor and an islander at his own door. The word he used, given in the record as <i>sacre</i>, was a common French profanity, and the language barrier probably made the offence sharper than the words themselves warranted.
201	199	John Young Soldier in Answer to Captain Barts Complaint Sayth	John Young, soldier, answering Captain Du Bart's complaint, said that he was at Burnham's house

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		he was at Burnhams house & that John Nigreen asked him for fire to light his Pipe & they gave it him & he had it about Seven or Eight Minutes & being drunk he went about the Room with it & this Examinant fearing he would do Some hurt with the fire, bid him go out & Saying I Sailor but he did not go out & then John Young Said & had a knife but he Swearing about & they fearing hurt took the fire in his hand & Davit went to thrust him out & he took hold of Davits Collar & haled him after him & so they both fell down & then went to fighting & then the Captain came with his naked Sword from the Bridge & Struck Davit with the Sword & the Ensign the Captain in a great Passion took hold of him to prevent Mischief & then the Captains Shirt was tore but he had no design to take the Captains Cloth but his own Shirt was also tore by the Captain, all which he can prove by Severall Witnesses After full & mature Consideration of this Affair we think that Nigreen the French Sailor was most in fault & began the Quarrel & that Captain Du Bart did wrong to draw his Sword or medle in a drunken Affray but he had been at John Longs all day & it was not Sober himself, however to please him he was told that the Soldier who had tore his Shirt Should ask his Pardon but upon this he went away in a great Passion Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 7th Augst 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that notwithstanding the Rude & abrupt manner in which Capt Bart went from him on Saturday last he had Sent to him on Sunday Morning to invite him & the two chief Officers to Dinner as usual, but the Captain Swore he would not come any more into this Castle, The next Morning being Monday the Captain Sent a very peevish Message to the Governour by Capt Pike, who kept the Same Shewed to Prisoner & Stood & so put it into English the Captain having delivered it in French, tis as follows The French Captain Bart came to me this Morning & in a great Passion desired me in French to tell the Governour that he Should be insulted him as he passed up & down the Valley by Rayling at him and & Damning him as he past by & that he did not that the pay happened three of the English Soldiers came to John Longs house where he was & knocked at the Door & made a great Noise, & he Supposes to abuse him & that if the Governour would not do him Justice by punishing	when John Vignerone asked for a light to light his pipe. Vignerone was given it and stayed about seven or eight minutes, then walked about the room carrying the light. The examinant, fearing he would do some harm with the fire, told him to go out and said, sirrah, sirrah, but he did not go out. John Young then said he had no knife, but was swearing about, and fearing harm from the fire in his hand, Davis went to thrust him out. He took hold of Davis's collar and hauled him after him, and they both fell down and then went to fighting. The captain then came with his naked sword from the bridge and struck Davis with it, and the examinant, seeing the captain in a great passion, took hold of him to prevent mischief. The captain's shirt was torn, but he had no design to tear the captain's clothes, and his own shirt was also torn by the captain, all of which he can prove by several witnesses. Taken this 4th day of August 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. After full and mature consideration of this affair, the council thought Vignerone the French sailor was most in fault, since the quarrel and what Captain Du Bart did going to draw his sword made it a drunken affray, but he had been at John Long's all day and was not sober himself. However, to please him he was told that the soldier who had torn his shirt should ask his pardon, but on this he went away in a great passion. At a consultation held on Tuesday 7 August 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that notwithstanding the rude and abrupt manner in which Captain Du Bart went from him on the Saturday, he had sent to him on Sunday morning to invite him and his two chief officers to dinner as usual, but the captain swore he would not come any more into the castle. The next morning, being Monday, the captain sent a very uncivil message to the Governor by Mr Pike, who left the same aboard the <i>Prisoner</i> and translated it into English. The captain, having delivered it in French, it is as follows. The French captain Du Bart came to me this morning in a great passion, desiring me in French to tell the Governor that Mr Slew had insulted him as he stood up and down the valley by railing at him and damning him as he passed, and that he heard that the day happened when three of the English soldiers came to John Long's house, where he was, and knocked at the door and made a great noise, which he supposes to abuse him. That if the Governor would not do him justice by punishing the people that insulted him on Saturday night, and in the manner abovementioned, that he would do himself justice, that he must not be answered in any episode happened, for he had not suffered from him he would take him aboard of six or eight of his own people from on board who should watch with him, then if any one occasioned him he would set his people on them and try who was strongest. He also said he wished there was war, and that he would eat all the English to boot. Certified by me, Boolace Pike. Interpretations The council's finding placed the fault on the French sailor while offering the captain the one thing that would cost the garrison nothing: an apology from the soldier who tore his shirt. That formula preserved the substance of the judgement, since it made no admission that the soldiers had been in the wrong, while giving Du Bart a public

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the People that Insulted him Saturday a Night & now in the manner abovementioned that he would do himself Justice & that he must not be Surprised if any disorder happened for he had not Suffren from him he would ask for a Board of Six or Eight of his own People from on board who Should walk with him & that if any one Offered to hin the would Set his People on them & try who was Strongest, He also Said he wished there was War & that he would eat all the English to boot Testified by me Doolace Pike Margin Notes: Taken this 4th day of Augst 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke	satisfaction he could take back to his own crew. His refusal of it, and his departure in anger, closed off the only route to a settlement the council was prepared to offer. The invitation to dinner the following morning, extended despite the captain's conduct, was the ordinary courtesy shown to every commander in the road throughout this record. Withdrawing it would have been an unmistakable diplomatic signal, and Governor Pyke's decision to renew it after being sworn at shows him keeping the quarrel at the level of a private dispute rather than letting it become a matter between the two nations. Du Bart's threat to land six or eight of his own crew as an armed escort and set them on anyone who provoked him was a direct challenge to the council's authority over the shore. St Helena had no sheltered harbour and no means of compelling a ship's company once ashore beyond the garrison itself, and a foreign commander proposing to police the valley with his own men struck at the basis on which foreign vessels were admitted at all. His parting remark, wishing for war and boasting he would eat all the English, is recorded as the measure of his temper rather than as a serious statement of intent. The captain's separate grievance against Mr Slew, alleging he was abused in the street as he passed, adds a second front to the quarrel and suggests the friction had spread beyond the single incident at Burnham's door. Slew appears in this record as the interpreter used in the Mesa estate examinations of April 1731, so a man with French or Spanish would have been among the few islanders able to trade words with a French crew at all.
202	200	Upon this piece of Gasconade we thought proper to warn him to attend Us to day in Councill & ordred the following Summons to be Served upon him & that with him Vizt These are to Charge & Command You to Summon Captain Bart to attend me & the Gentlemen of Councill to Morrow Morning by Eleven a Clock at the Castle, to be Enquired for Sending an insolent & Menacing Message to the Governour & Publishing his Offences in return for which Civil usage & hereof fail not & for so doing this Shall be Your Warrant Given under my hand this 6th day of Augst 1733 Isa Pyke To, Simon Whaley Marshall To, Edward Bagley Const To this he Answered he would not attend he was a Frenchman but in about half an hour after he with one of his chief Officers Mons Van Bart came to the Govr, the Captain told the Governour that his Message had been much Mistaken he did not design to Say or do any Such thing as the Message purported & was Sorry for what had happened & desired the Matter might drop & that no more might be Said about it all which the Govr agreed to do but purely for the Sake of the poor People of this Place who from it is of great Advantage to have foreign Ships resort & Refresh here	On this piece of bravado the council thought it proper to warn him to attend the council that day, and issued the following summons to be served on him at the house where he lodged. These are to charge and command you to summon Captain Du Bart to attend the diligent members of council tomorrow morning by eleven o'clock at the castle, to answer for sending an uncivil and menacing message to the Governor, publishing his offences in return for which uncivil usage, and if you fail of doing this, this is your warrant. Given under my hand this 6th day of August 1733. Isaac Pyke. To Simon Whaley, marshal, or Edward Bagley, corporal. To this he answered that he would not attend, since he was a Frenchman, but about half an hour after he, with one of his chief officers, Monsieur Serbat, came to the Governor. The captain told the Governor that his message had been much mistaken, that he did not design to say or do any such thing as the message purported, and that he was sorry for what had happened, and desired the matter might drop and that no more might be said about it. All this the Governor agreed to do, but purely for the sake of the poor people of this place, to whom it is of great advantage to have foreign ships resort here and refresh here. Yesterday the captain dined with the council himself well, since he is willing to believe he would always have done as he had not been led away by John Long and his wife, both of whom are supposed to stand behind for their ill life and daughter, to whom the captain makes presents and with whom he spends most of his time. The petition of Isaac Wood, ensign, presented at the consultation of 30 January last, praying a new deed for thirty five acres of freehold land, together with the order and consultation of the 6th of February following and the several reports of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& Yesterday the Captain dined with the & behaved himself well, Since we are willing to believe he would allways have done so had he not been led away by John Long & his Wife both whom are Suspected to Stand & Severall for their else & Daughter to whom the Captain makes Presents & with whom he Spends most of his time The Petition of Isaac Wood Ensign presented at the 30th of January last praying a new Deed for thirty five Acres of Freehold Land together with the Order & Consultation of the 6th of Febry following & the Severall Reports of Chief the Goodwin & Crispe made in Obedience to the Order of Councill of the 6th Febry aforesaid were this day taken into Consideration which from time to time had been deferred upon Account of much other busyness & the Trouble & Arrivall of our own & Severall foreign Ships one upon the other and after mature Deliberation & Enquiry made we find that the Said Wm Wade Lawfully Purchased the Severall Parcells of Land mentioned in his Said Petition, & that no Person whatsoever hath claimed or pretended any Right or Title to the Same or any part thereof Since he purchased the Same which is now near Eighteen Years ago We are therefore Unanimously of Opinion that his Right thereto ought to be Ascertained by granting him a new Deed thereof according to the Prayer of the Petition, provided no Person shall appear to Claim the Same within Some reasonable limited time, & for the Information & more perfect Satisfaction of all Persons whom it may concern, or who may pretend any Right or Title to the Same, we determined to give Publick Notice of our Intention & accordingly Ordred the following Advertisement to be Published by beat of Drum & to be affixed at the usual Place & the Same was Published & affixed accordingly Vizt These are to give Notice that if any Person or Persons whatsoever have any Right or Title to the whole or to any part or parcel of thirty five Acres of Freehold Land now in the Possession of Isaac Wood formerly bought by him & the Said Wm Wade of Capt Alexander & Rab Gurling they are to Demand or make Claim thereof in Writing to be delivered to the Worshipfull the Governour & Councill on or before the 2nd day of November next after which time no Pretended Right whatsoever will be received By Order of the Governour & Councill D Pyke St Helena 7th Augst 1733	Captain Goodwin and Duke Crisp made in obedience to the order of council of the 6th of February aforesaid, were this day taken into consideration, which from time to time had been deferred on account of much other business, and by the sudden arrival of our own and several foreign ships. Upon these and other matters, after mature deliberation and enquiry made, the council found that the said Mr Wood lawfully purchased the several parcels of land mentioned in his said petition, and that no person whatsoever hath claimed or possessed any share or title, or any part thereof, since he purchased the same, which is now near eighteen years ago. The council was therefore unanimously of opinion that his right thereto ought to be ascertained by granting him a new deed thereof according to the prayer of the petition, provided no person shall appear to claim the same within some reasonable limited time. For the information and more perfect satisfaction of all persons whom it may concern, or who may pretend any right or title to the same, the council determined to give public notice of their intention, and accordingly ordered the following advertisement to be published throughout the island, to be affixed at the usual place. The same was published and affixed accordingly, and is as follows. These are to give notice that any person or persons whatsoever having any right or title to the whole or to any part or parcel of thirty five acres of freehold land now in the possession of Isaac Wood, formerly bought by him of Captain Alexander and Gunner Jones, are to demand or make claim thereof in writing, to be delivered to the worshipful the Governor and council on or before the second day of November next, after which time no further claim from them will be received. By order of the Governor and council. Duke Crisp. St Helena, 7 August 1733. Interpretations The council's reason for accepting Du Bart's retraction is stated with unusual frankness: foreign ships calling for refreshment brought money the island's inhabitants depended on. Duke Crisp had made the same point on 22 August 1732, warning that the inhabitants subsisted wholly on the small profits made from shipping. A French commander who left in anger might carry that reputation to other captains, and the cost of pressing the quarrel would have fallen on the islanders rather than on the council. Governor Pyke's explanation of Du Bart's conduct, that he had been led astray by John Long and his wife and spent his time with their daughter, connects the affray to the campaign the jury had opened on 2 July 1733 against disorderly houses in the valley. Long appears throughout this record as the island's most persistent offender, bound over repeatedly and finally committed for theft in June, and his household is now identified as the place where a foreign captain was drawn into a quarrel with the garrison. The advertisement in Isaac Wood's case sets a formal limitation period on any competing claim. Wood had petitioned on 30 January 1733 for a fresh deed to land bought from Captain Alexander and Gunner Jones, the original deeds having been lost, and the enquiries by Captain Goodwin and Duke Crisp reported on 13 February and 6 March had traced the chain of title as far as the records allowed without finding written evidence for most of it. Publishing notice and fixing 2 November as the bar converted eighteen years of undisturbed possession into a title the council could safely confirm, since any

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The	claimant who stayed silent after public warning would be shut out. That the matter had waited from January to August is explained in the record itself by the pressure of other business and the arrival of English and foreign shipping. The consultations from March onward carry the sessions of 2 July, the Mingo trial, the Beale petition and a succession of ship arrivals, and land business of this kind was set aside whenever vessels lay in the road.
203	201	The Petition of John Hayes was presented & read praying that the was recovered Onto the Land for which he obtained a Verdict at the last Sessions as Sam Jeffey to be delivered up to him Ordred that Capt Goodwin go to the Place & Sett out so much of the Land now Possessed by Sam Jeffey as Shall make up the Ten Acres belonging to John Hayes & that he have regard if possible, not to Spoile Jeffeys Plantation but that it may Still be fit for one Family & so to lay it out so that the Land Possessed by Jeffey & now to be taken in be Such as Adjoyne to the Lands of Josh Hayes & that the Marshalls do their throw down Jeffeys present Fence on that Side & Sett up Stakes where John Hayes Fence is to Stand & that the Said Jeffey have Notice hereof & that he either make up or pay for making up his part of the Fence The joynt Petition of Joseph Hayes & Grace Hayes Widow his Sister praying leave to exchange one with the other all Such Land as they hold by Lease of the Honble Company, it being for their mutuall benefit & so the was also presented & read & Granted accordingly & an Assignment of their respective Leases Ordred to be forthwith made The Governour Reports that five Blacks have been lately born Vizt Will of Sarah Slave of Maria Rebecca of Betty Tom Tom of Margaret Sat of Betty Jim And that one Man called Jack the Butcher & an old Wench called Maria died last Week Ordred that they be Entred in the Books Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 21st Augst 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Two black Men one belonging to Mrs Powell & the other to Mrs Greentree having been Runaway were lately apprehended & their Examinations taken by the Governour & are as follow Vizt Cornelius a black Slave belonging to Mrs Mary Powell being Runaway from his Said Mistress or Mistress about a Week or	The petition of John Hayes was presented and read. He asked that the land he had won by verdict against Samuel Jephry at the last sessions be handed over to him. The council ordered Captain Goodwin to go to the place and mark out enough of the land Jephry then held to make up the ten acres due to Hayes. He was to do this, so far as he could, without ruining Jephry's plantation, leaving it still able to support one family, and to take the shortfall from the side adjoining Hayes's own ground. The marshals were then to pull down Jephry's fence along that boundary and set stakes where the new fence was to run. Jephry was to be given notice, and was to rebuild his share of the fence or pay for the work. Joseph Hayes and his sister Grace Hayes, widow, petitioned jointly for leave to exchange with one another the land each held on lease from the Honourable Company, the exchange being to their mutual advantage. The council granted it and ordered the two leases assigned accordingly without delay. The Governor reported that five black children had lately been born, as follows. Will, son of Sarah Harry, son of Maria Rebecca, daughter of Betty Tom Tom, son of Margaret Sal, daughter of Betty Tom He also reported that a man called Jack the butcher and an old woman called Maria had died the previous week, and the council ordered both entered in the books. At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 August 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Two black men, one belonging to Mr Powell and the other to Mr Greentree, had lately been caught after running away, and the Governor took their examinations as follows. Cornelius, a slave belonging to Mr John Powell, had been absent from his mistress's house about five weeks, though he could not say exactly how long. Asked why he ran off, he said he had been ill and that his young master, James Powell, son of the widow Powell, was very harsh with him. Asked what he meant by that, he said the young man beat him and sometimes whipped him severely. Asked what he wore when he was whipped, he said he had no clothing to cover him. He said he could not keep warm in that house and could not sleep there, and that he was treated far worse than in his previous places with Captain Stedholme and John Harding. Asked how he lived while he was at large, he said he took yams from his mistress's own ground, and that he had been set to breaking rock, digging and hoeing. Asked whether he had stolen anything, he said he had taken some things from... Interpretations The remedy ordered in the Hayes case shows the verdict being carried into effect on the ground rather than left to the parties to settle. Captain Goodwin

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		5 Weeks or 10 Weeks or thereabouts he cannot tell exactly being asked the Cause why he Runaway Sayth that he was Sick & he goeing up after was very cross meaning James Cronelly the Widow Powells Son being asked what he called cross he Sayth that he goeing to a Master beats him & Sometimes whips him very much being asked what causes he has when they whip him he Sayth he has no Cloath to cover him & then if he does not work hard James Powells whips him but he cannot Work when he has no Cloths to keep him warm & Say he cannot Sleep in that house they use him so much worse than where he lived before at Capt Trushalls, as at John Hardings being asked how he lived when he was Runaway Sayth he used to get Yams out of his Mistresses Ground & carried them to break Ruth Valley & baked them, being asked if he Stole nothing he Sayth he Stole Some things from	was to measure the shortfall, the marshals to pull down the fence and stake the new line, and Jephry to bear his share of the rebuilding. The instruction to leave Jephry's plantation still able to support one family sets a deliberate limit on execution: the council enforced the judgement without reducing the losing party to a holding too small to live from. Five births and two deaths among the Company's slaves in a single week is an unusual concentration. The establishment stood at 180 by John Durling's return of 27 February 1733, down from 219 in March 1728, and the council had entered its fear that it would be obliged to hire labour. Recording each child by its mother was how the Company tracked its own increase, a slave child carrying a book value from birth. Cornelius's complaint rests on inadequate clothing as much as on the beatings. He said he had nothing to cover him and could not keep warm, which places his flight in the island's winter, running from about May to September. The storekeeper's accounts for June and July 1733 both carry unusual blanket issues to the Company's slaves, so the cold that season was being felt across the establishment. The comparison Cornelius drew between the Powell household and his earlier places with Captain Stedholme and John Harding shows a man sold on between owners and able to measure one against another. That he lived five weeks by taking yams from his own mistress's ground repeats the difficulty the council met with Simon, caught at John Long's outhouse on 10 April 1733: a runaway fed himself from the plantations, so the loss fell on the neighbourhood at large rather than on his owner alone.
204	202	from Robert Burnhams house as follows about 20th York, 16 or Nankeen Cloth, 1 White Shirt, 1 old Slate, Some Tea & Sugar & Bread & broke open 2 old Locks & had a Case Knife & farther Sayth that Greenwich Stole three Turkies from Dan Griffith & they eat them together & for other Victualls they lived upon Fish & farther doth not Say the Mark Cornelius Capt Coram me hac prima die Augst 1733 Isa Pyke Greenwich a black Slave belonging to Widow Greentree having been Runaway two Weeks & being asked the Cause of his Runningaway Sayth that his Master & Mistress are very cross to him being asked in what manner Sayth they are allways beating him with a great Cane, so that he could not hear it, so he went away being asked how he lived when he Runaway Sayth that Some & first being very hungry he hoed one of Mr Weanghams Lambs & had no other food only upon & then he went to his Mistresses house & took what he could Yams he could find, he Sayth his young Master John Greentree beats him & is Sober by his Mistress when She is in the Country & when She is not on the Country than John	Cornelius said he had taken things from Robert Burnham's house, listing about 20 yards of nankeen cloth, 1 white sheet, 1 old plate, some tea, sugar and bread. He broke open an old chest and had a case knife. He also said that Greenwich stole three junkies from Daniel Griffith, which they ate together, and for other victuals they lived upon fish. He would say nothing further. Taken before me on 1 August 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. The mark of Cornelius. Greenwich, a black slave belonging to the widow Greentree, having been a runaway two weeks, was asked the cause of his running away. He said that his master and mistress were very harsh with him. Asked in what manner, he said they were always beating him with a great cane, so that he could not bear it any longer, and so he went away. Asked how he lived while he was a runaway, he said that one night, being very hungry, he took one of Mr Wrangham's lambs, and had no other food except yams. He went to his mistress's house and took what he could find, and said his young master John Greentree beat him without reason when his mistress was in the country, and when she is not in the country then John Greentree is the master, and he does so as he pleases, sometimes without any reason but much more when he commits any fault. Taken this 1st day of August 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. The mark of Greenwich. Robert Burnham declared that the several things he lost when his house was broken open amounted to the sum of £1 5s 0d. Upon this the two slaves were each of them punished as is usual in such cases, and their mistresses, having promised to make satisfaction for what their slaves had stolen, they were delivered to them again. The petition of John Bagley was presented and read, setting out that the lease for twenty-five acres of land which he bought some time ago of Joseph

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Greentree the Master & he does so he Please Sometimes & without any reason but much more when he commits any fault the Mark Greenwich Capt hac prima die Aug 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke Robert Burnham declared that the Several things he lost when his house was broke open amounted to the Sum of 15. 6. Upon which the Said Blacks were each of them punished as is usuall in Such Cases & their Mistresses having promised to make Satisfaction for what their Blacks had Stolen they were delivered to them again The Petition of John Bagett was presented & read Setting forth that the Lease for Twenty five Acres of Land which he bought Sometime ago of Joseph Sustin dec'd was lost or Mislaid & that he had completed the Same thereof but for want of the Said Lease & that he could not certainly tell what Quantity he had inclosed nor the bearings or bounds thereof & Praying that the Same might be Reassigned to him a new & to be according to the Fences & Boundary Stands: And the Said Petition was Granted & Capt Goodwin was ordred to Measure the Same accordingly The Petition of Charles Steward was also presented & read Setting forth that in Inclosing his in the Valley he had by Mistake inclosed about two feet in front of the Honble Companies Ground & Praying that for paying yearly a Small Acknowledgement he might continue to hold the Same, & the Said Petition was Granted accordingly, the Said Steward paying yearly the Sum of Two Shillings for the Same & the Same to be a Yearly Rent	Justinand was lost or mislaid, and that he had completed the same, but not for want of the said lease and that he could not certainly tell what quantity he had enclosed nor the bearing or bounds thereof. He asked that the same might be reappraised to him anew, and did so according to the survey and Mr Ryder's stand. The petition was granted and Captain Goodwin was ordered to measure the same accordingly. The petition of Charles Steward was also presented and read, setting out that in erecting his house in the valley he had by mistake enclosed about two feet in front of the Honourable Company's ground, and asking that on paying yearly acknowledgement for the same he might continue to hold it. The petition was granted accordingly, the said Steward paying yearly the sum of two shillings for the same, the whole to be a party wall. Interpretations Nankeen was a plain cotton cloth of a natural yellowish-brown colour, originally woven at Nanking and shipped through the China trade, and twenty yards of it was the single most valuable item taken from Burnham's house. Its presence in an inhabitant's household illustrates how far Company cargoes filtered into ordinary island life, since nankeen appears repeatedly in the storekeeper's collections alongside chintz and gingham. The council's disposal of the two runaways rests on the ordinary rule that an owner answered for the property his slaves took. Burnham's loss of £1 5s 0d was made good by the two mistresses rather than by any process against the men themselves, who were punished corporally and returned. That division, punishment falling on the slave and restitution on the owner, follows the same principle applied to Charles Steward on 11 April 1729, when the council held he deserved to suffer for the conduct of his slave Peter. Both examinations name a young master as the immediate cause. Cornelius blamed James Powell, son of the widow Powell, and Greenwich blamed John Greentree, who ruled the household whenever his mother was in the country. The two accounts describe the same situation, a widow's son exercising authority his mother's absence left unchecked, and the council recorded both without comment on the treatment complained of. Steward's two-foot encroachment was settled by a nominal annual acknowledgement of two shillings rather than by demolition, and the wall was made a party wall serving both properties. The same mechanism appears elsewhere in this record where a small trespass on Company ground was better regularised than undone, as with Francis Wrangham's parcel of about forty feet square behind his house at two shillings a year on 30 November 1730. Charging a token rent preserved the Company's title while leaving the building where it stood.
205	203	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 26 Augst 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Lewis Dillespee Soldier having absented himself from his Duty was this day brought before Us & confessed that he hath Stolen a Coll Battle of Arrack three Sheeps & Some other things of Small Value from Mr Vaught	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 August 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Lewis Dillope, soldier, having absented himself from his duty, was brought before the council that day and it was proved that he had stolen a coat, a bottle of arrack, three cheeses and other things of small value from Mr Young, who had all his things again except the three cheeses and the bottle of arrack. He promised never to do so again. This not being the first nor the second offence of that kind, for which he had been punished formerly enough to

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		who hath all his things again except the three Sheeps & the Battle of Arrack he promises never to do so again this not being the first nor Second Offence of that kind for which he hath been Punished formerly enough to his purpose, wherefore he was ordred to do constant Duty for the Blanket & Fort which he Strongly promised to do & this for the present is to be his Punishment, & as to the Frenchman who deserted from the French Ship the Venus he positively affects that he knows nothing of him nor where he is; but about three houres afterwards the Said Frenchman Surrendred himself whose Examination was immediately taken & is as follows Vizt Bartly Gwion late a Sailor belonging to the Ship Venus having deserted from the Said Ship came down to the Fort & Surrendred himself & being asked why he left the Said Ship Sayth that he did not belong to the Ship but was recommended to Capt Bart that he thought the Ship had been going to Pondicherry & found afterwards that they were bound to Mosbravas & that he had it either & made to work very hard without any Allowance but his Victualls & now desiring to Stay here & would not offer to do any Work but was told we could not keep him here, He was asked where the Ship had been, he Said that he did not know the Places Names but that the Ship had Anchored near to Valentia & Say & at four or five other Places on the Coast of Africa but he could not Say where, being asked what they did there he Said they Looked for the Island of St Thomas but he thinks they did not find it for those Places where their Boat went was on the Virgin Coast of Guinea being asked where he had been all this while concealed he Says was about the Island & that he lay among the Rocks so in no house tho in the day time he has been in Sundry houses but never lay in any, being asked how he got Victuals he Sayd he had Yams given him in Some of the houses & that he Eat nothing else but Yams & Lemon & Water but had no Fish for he could not catch none but he has lived thus Thirty one days Joseph Bates this day attended & laid before Us the following Acct of Expences which he alledged he had been at upon Account of Don Juan de Mossa & Aponte & his Wife The Estate of the aforesaid Don Juan de Mossa & Aponte Dr to Joseph Bates for Sundry Expences & Disbursements Vizt 2 10 8 To 8 Gallon Arrack 2 8 To 8 ditto Wine 10 To Cash paid Mr Rufsells Cesar for water 10 To ditto paid George Landon 4 6 To 1 pr Shoes for his San Emanuel	no purpose, he was ordered to do constant duty at Banks's fort, which he strongly promised to do, and this for the present is to be his punishment. As to the Frenchman who deserted from the French ship, Captain Vinent positively affirmed that he knew nothing of him nor where he is, but about three hours afterwards the Frenchman surrendered himself, and his examination was immediately taken as follows. Bartholomew Guian, late a sailor belonging to the ship <i>Venus</i>, having deserted from her, came down to the fort and surrendered himself. Being asked why he left the ship, he said that he did not belong to her but was recommended to Captain Bart, that he thought she had been going to Pondicherry and found afterwards that she was bound to Madagascar, and that he had been made to work very hard without any allowance beyond his victuals, and was desirous to stay here and would not offer to do any work but was told he could not stay here. He was asked where the ship had been. He said that he did not know the places by name, but that the ship had anchored near to Saldanha Bay and at four or five other places on the coast of Africa, but he could not say where. Being asked what they did there, he said they looked for the island of St George, but he thinks they did not find it, for those places where their boat went was on the Virgin Coast of Africa. Being asked where he had been all this while concealed, he said not about the island, and that he lay among the rocks and in no house though in the day time he has been in Judah's house, but never lay in any, being asked how he got victuals he said he had yams given him in some of the houses, and that he ate nothing else but yams and lemons and water, but had no fish, for he could catch none, but he has lived thus thirty-one days. Taken this seventh day of August 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke, Governor. Joseph Bates this day attended and laid before the council the following account of expenses which he alleged he had been at on account of Don Juan de Mesa. The estate of the deceased Don Juan de Mesa to Joseph Bates, debtor, for sundry expenses and disbursements as follows. To 9 gallons of arrack, £2 10s 8d To 8 quarts of wine, £2 8s 0d To cash paid Mr Byfield's Caesar for medicines, £0 10s 0d To ditto paid George Lander, £0 10s 0d To 1 pair of shoes for his son Emanuel, £0 4s 6d To washing his own, his son's and servant's linen, £5 0s 0d To 30 turkeys tendered, £0 10s 0d To 9 gallons of arrack, £2 15s 0d To 8 quarts of wine, £0 8s 0d To 56 apples, £0 4s 0d Interpretations Constant duty at Banks's was itself the punishment imposed on Dillope, which places that post among the least desirable stations on the island. Captain Cason and Ensign Wood had reported on 28 November and 19 December 1732 that the path there ran directly over a precipice, that the guard could carry no more than two quart bottles of water at a time, and that they had once gone three days without fresh water when the sea ran too high for a boat. Assigning a persistent thief to permanent duty there combined isolation from the valley's temptations with genuine hardship. Guian's account of the <i>Venus</i> searching the African coast for the island of St George, having sailed under the belief she was bound for Pondicherry, points to a voyage whose real purpose

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		5 - - To Washing his own his Sons & Servants Linen 10 To 30tt Sugar bewarded 2 15 To 9 Gallon Arrack 2 8 To 8 Gallon Wine 4 To 56 Apples	was concealed from her crew. Saldanha Bay lies north of the Cape and served as a watering place away from the Company's usual routes. A ship working that coast under a false destination, with a crew driven hard and paid nothing beyond food, suggests a slaving voyage rather than an ordinary trading passage. Thirty-one days living among the rocks on yams and lemons given at houses repeats the pattern of every concealment case in this record, from Simon the Malay taken at John Long's outhouse on 10 April 1733 to Cornelius and Greenwich examined the week before. The island offered no employment to a man in hiding, so survival depended entirely on what inhabitants would quietly hand over, and Guian's care to say he never slept in any house was an attempt to keep those who fed him out of the matter. Bates's account against the Mesa estate arrives more than two years after the council found on 3 May 1731 that he had prevented the dying man from making a proper will, had concealed gold and disposed of five shares of it before any inventory was taken. He had been ordered then to render his bill for lodging, diet and funeral and to repay the balance, and had pleaded illness on 1 May 1733 when the account was demanded. The items now presented, arrack, wine, washing and a pair of shoes for the dead man's son, are the ordinary charges of a household keeping a sick guest, and their modesty against an estate valued at not less than £2,000 0s 0d is the point of the exercise.
<u>206</u>	204	Brought over To 1 pr Shoes for his Servant 6 To 1 Plate for his Son 15 To 9 days Diet for the Linguister at 6 Rd pr day 1 16 To Cash paid the Linguister by order 4 To 1000 Limons Expended 1 10 Charges for his Funerall Vizt To 37 Yards Muslin at 5 pr Yard 9 5 To 2 pr White Satten 8 To 3 pr Black Taffety 3 10 To Stone Yards 12 3 To 2 Doe for White 1 15 To 3 Sheets 12 To Mr Beale 7 6 To Inviting People to his Funerall 10 To 8 Gallon Wine 2 8 To 300 Limons 15 To John Marsh for Deals & Planing his Coffin & making a pr Trestles & for Deals & for making his Coffin 2 10 To Cash paid his Servant by order 25 18 To making 1 Coat for his Son 4 6 To 1 pr Shoes for ditto 9 1	Joseph Bates's account against the estate of Don Juan de Mesa, continued. Brought over, £0 0s 6d To 1 pair of shoes for his servant, £0 15s 0d To 1 plate for his son, £1 16s 0d To 9 days' diet for the interpreter at 6 shillings per day, £4 0s 0d To cash paid the interpreter by order, £1 10s 0d To 1,000 lemons as aforesaid Charges for his funeral as follows To 37 yards of muslin at 5 shillings per yard, £9 5s 0d To 2 pieces of white satin, £8 0s 0d To 3 pieces of black taffeta, £3 10s 0d To 12 yards, £12 3s 0d To 1 doctor, White, £1 15s 0d To 3 cheeses, £0 12s 0d To Mr Beale, £0 7s 6d To inviting people to his funeral, £0 10s 0d To 8 gallons of wine, £2 8s 0d To 300 lemons, £0 15s 0d To John Marsh for deals and planing his coat and making a pair of crutches, and for deals for making his coffin, £2 10s 0d To cash paid his servant by order, £25 18s 0d To making 1 coat for his son, £0 4s 6d To 1 pair of shoes for the same, £0 4s 6d To 61 days' diet for the same from 27 January to 29 March, £9 10s 0d To 1 wig for his son, £1 0s 0d To 121 days' diet for his servant from 27 January to 28 of May at 4 shillings, £24 4s 0d To 7 gallons of arrack for the use of his son and servant, £2 4s 4d To 1 pair of buckles for his son, £0 1s 6d To 2 pairs of pumps for his son, £0 11s 0d To 7 gallons of arrack for their use, £2 4s 4d To 1 pair of shoes for the son, £0 4s 6d To 20 lb of sugar expended, £0 10s 0d To 7 gallons of arrack, £2 4s 4d To 6 lb of bacon for his servant to carry on board, £1 15s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		To 61 days Diet for ditto from 27 Janry to 29 March 3 10 To 1 Wig for his Son To 121 days Diet for his Servant from 27 Janry to 28 of May at 4 pr day 24 4 To 7 Gallon Arrack for the use of his Son & Servant 2 4 4 To 1 pr Buckles for his Son 1 6 To 2 pr Pumps for his Son 4 To 7 Gallon Arrack for their Use 2 4 4 To 1 pr Shoes for the Son 4 6 To 20tt Sugar Expended 10 To 7 Gallon Arrack 2 4 4 To 24tt Bacon for his Servant to carry on board 1 15 To Cap & Wastcoat for his Servants Passage 10 1 To 2 pr Shoes & 2 pr of Stocking for his Servant 5 3 To my own & Wifes Setting up Night & Day & Nursing always attending & for Shaveing of my Breeding &c with the excessive Puning of his Wounds 30 To a Tomb & Charges thereof 20 To 2 pr Shoes for his Son 9 To Millas Shirts for ditto 10 To 1 Wastcoat for ditto 10 To 1 Coat & 1 pr Breeches for ditto 1 10 To 1 pr Shoes for ditto 4 6 To 1 Hatt for ditto 10 To 1 pr Stocking for ditto 3 To 1 Coat & board for ditto from 9th March 1732 10 15 To Mr Crispe for Making 3 10 To ditto for his Servants Discharge To 1 pr Shoes for his Son 4 6 To Mr Bagett Mr Ryder & Mr Young for taking an Inventory of his Goods 15 To 1 pr Shoes for his Son 4 6 238 4 8 St Helena 21 Augst 1733 Joseph Bates This	To 1 cap and 6 waistcoats for his servant's passage, £10 0s 0d To 2 pairs of shoes and 2 pairs of stockings for the servant, £5 3s 0d To my own and my wife's sitting up night and day and nursing always attending, and for spoiling of my bedding and bed with the excessive running of the wounds, £30 0s 0d To a tomb and charges thereof, £20 0s 0d To 2 pairs of shoes for his son, £0 9s 0d To 1 dollar shirts for the same, £0 10s 0d To 1 waistcoat for the same, £0 10s 0d To 1 coat and 10 pairs of breeches for the same, £1 10s 0d To 1 pair of shoes for the same, £0 4s 6d To 1 hat for the same, £0 10s 0d To 1 pair of stockings for the same, £0 3s 0d To 1 year's board for the same from 29 March 1732, £10 15s 0d To Mr Crisp for writing, £3 10s 0d To the same for his servant's discharge, £0 4s 6d To 1 pair of shoes for the son, £0 15s 0d To Mr Bazett, Mr Ryder and Mr Young for taking an inventory of his goods, £0 4s 6d To 1 pair of shoes for his son, £238 4s 8d Total, £238 4s 8d St Helena, 21 August 1733. Signed Joseph Bates. Interpretations The account totals £238 4s 8d against an estate that Captain Slower and Mr Bonnell had valued at not less than £2,000 0s 0d when Mesa landed on 27 January 1731. Bates had claimed the whole estate under an alleged spoken bequest, and the council found on 3 May 1731 that he had prevented a proper will being made. Reduced to a creditor's bill, his claim now runs to about an eighth of what he originally sought. Two entries carry the bulk of the sum and neither rests on any receipt. Thirty pounds is charged for Bates and his wife sitting up night and day and for bedding ruined by the discharge from Mesa's wounds, and twenty pounds for a tomb. Together they make a fifth of the account, and both are of a kind no third party could verify, unlike the shoes, diet and cloth entered elsewhere at ordinary prices. The funeral charges show what a Spanish gentleman's burial cost on the island: thirty-seven yards of muslin, white satin and black taffeta for the hangings and mourning, deals for the coffin, wine for the mourners, and a payment for going about to invite people. Muslin was fine Bengal cotton and taffeta a light silk, both Company trade goods, and their use here converts warehouse stock into funeral display at a moment when no substitute existed on the island. The account also records the fate of the two people Mesa left behind. His son Emanuel was kept, clothed and boarded for two and a half years, with repeated charges for shoes, a wig, a coat and a year's board from 29 March 1732, while the servant Miguel Sandegan was fed for 121 days and fitted out with clothing and bacon for his passage. Sandegan had sworn on 7 April 1731 that Mesa bound the estate to pay him 100 dollars to enable his return to his family at Payta, and the charges here for his passage suggest that undertaking was at least partly honoured. Speculations Bates had every reason to render this account promptly, since the council ordered him on 3 May 1731 to bring in his bill and repay the balance, and he was allowed to sail for England only on security that the estate would be forthcoming. He instead let two years and four months pass, pleading illness on 1 May 1733 when the account was finally demanded. The delay served him: every month Emanuel

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			remained in his house added board, clothing and shoes to the bill, and the two unverifiable charges for nursing and the tomb could be framed against a period long enough that no one else on the island could contradict them. What began as a claim to the whole estate had become, by degrees, a claim to be its largest creditor.
207	205	This Bill appearing to be very high more a great deal than seems necessary the Same was referred to Messrs Alexander Goodwin & Crispe who were appointed to examine the Same & to Report their Opinion on Tuesday next & what Articles thereof they think reasonable to be allowed & what ought to be rejected & that in their Enquiry & Examination they guide themselves according to the usual Expences & Allowances made upon the like Occasions Elizabeth Greentree Widow also this day attended according to the Order of the 3rd of July last & presented the following Inventory & Appraisement of the Estate late belonging to her husband James Greentree deceased as the Same was taken & Appraised by Messrs Jeom Weangham & Charles Steward on the 25th of July last Vizt Household Goods Vizt 1 Chest of Drawers 3 9 1 ditto 9 1 ditto 1 10 1 Longtore 9 1 Trunk 10 1 Tin Chest 15 1 ditto 10 1 Small Scrutore 5 5 3 Small old Boxes 1 Feather Bed 2 Pillows Plantain Baulster 1 Quilt Chints Curtains & Bedsteads 6 1 ditto less 2 ditto Pillows Flock Baulster 1 Quilt Chints Curtains & Bedsteads 5 1 Small Bed 2 Pillows Flock Baulster Quilt and Bedstead 2 10 1 Coloured ditto 2 Pillows & Coat 1 15 1 ditto & Coat 1 15 1 Flock ditto Baulster & Quilt 1 10 1 Feather Bed: Quilt Carevances Curtains and Bedstead 5 1 ditto 2 Pillows 1 Baulster 1 Blanket 1 Counterpain & Coat 4 1 ditto 2 Pillows Caravances Curtains & Bedstead 4 5 1 Chamber Table 15 1 ditto less	The bill appearing to be very high, a great deal more than seemed necessary, it was referred to Messrs Alexander, Goodwin and Crisp, who were appointed to examine it and report their opinion the following Tuesday on what articles of it they think reasonable to be allowed and what ought to be rejected, and that in this enquiry and examination they guide themselves according to the usual expenses and allowances made upon the like occasions. Elizabeth Greentree, widow, attended the same day according to the order of 3 July last, and presented the following inventory and appraisement of the estate late belonging to her husband James Greentree, deceased, as the same was taken and appraised by Messrs Francis Wrangham, Charles Steward and John Brown on 25 July last. Household goods 1 chest of drawers, £3 9s 0d 1 chest of drawers, £2 0s 0d 1 chest of drawers, £1 10s 0d 1 long store, £2 0s 0d 1 trunk, £0 10s 0d 1 tin chest, £0 15s 0d 1 tin chest, £0 10s 0d 1 small escritoire, £0 5s 0d 3 small old boxes, £0 5s 0d 1 feather bed, 2 pillows, plantain bolster, 1 quilt, chintz curtains and bedsteads, £6 0s 0d 1 feather bed, 2 pillows, flock bolster, 1 quilt, chintz curtains and bedsteads, £5 0s 0d 1 small bed, 2 pillows, flock bolster, quilt and bedstead, £2 10s 0d 1 bed, 2 pillows and cot, £1 15s 0d 1 bed and cot, £1 15s 0d 1 flock bed, bolster and quilt, £1 10s 0d 1 feather bed, 1 quilt, calico curtains and bedstead, £5 0s 0d 1 bed, 2 pillows, 1 bolster, 1 blanket, 1 counterpane and cot, £4 0s 0d 1 bed, 2 pillows, calico curtains and bedstead, £4 5s 0d 1 chamber table, £0 15s 0d 1 chamber table, less, £0 7s 6d 1 oval table, £1 0s 0d 1 oval table, less, £0 15s 0d 1 square table, £0 15s 0d 1 square table, £0 15s 0d 1 square table, £0 10s 0d 1 square table, £0 17s 0d 1 old cot, £0 5s 6d 12 cane chairs, plain, and 6 small chairs, £2 6s 0d 1 chair and 6 small chairs, £3 5s 0d 12 island made chairs, £0 16s 0d 12 island made chairs, very old, £0 8s 0d 1 form, £0 4s 6d 1 old couch, £0 8s 0d 2 old table frames, £2 5s 0d 1 looking glass, £1 0s 0d 1 small looking glass, £0 4s 0d 1 looking glass, £0 12s 0d 1 case with 12 bottles, £0 10s 6d 2 carboys, £0 6s 0d 1 gallon pot, £0 7s 6d 1 tea table, £0 9s 3d 1 tea table, £0 9s 3d 2 china bowls, £0 9s 3d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		7 6 1 oval Table 1 1 ditto less 15 1 Square Table 15 1 ditto 10 1 ditto 17 1 ditto 5 6 1 old Coat 2 6 1 Ellbow Cane Chair & 6 Small ditto 3 5 1 ditto & 7 Small ditto 5 12 Island matts 18 6 12 ditto very old 4 6 1 Form 4 6 1 old Couch 8 2 old Table Frames 2 5 1 Looking Glass 1 4 1 Small old ditto 9 1 ditto 12 1 Case with 12 Bottles 10 6 2 Carboys 9 6 1 Grease Pott 7 6 1 Tea Table 9 5 1 ditto 2 China Bowles	Interpretations Referring Bates's bill to three councillors for examination against the usual allowances on similar occasions applies the same method the council used to check the surgeon Alsop's accounts on 8 April 1729 and George Gibson's schedule of debts in March 1729. The test set is comparative rather than evidential: not whether Bates incurred the charges but whether they exceed what such services ordinarily cost on the island, which strikes directly at the thirty pounds for nursing and the twenty pounds for the tomb. The Greentree inventory answers the order made at the sessions of 2 July 1733, when the judge told the executors that the law required them to produce one and they agreed to comply as soon as they conveniently could. Daniel Griffith had complained since his marriage in January 1731 that no inventory had ever been taken, and the appraisal of 25 July 1733 by Wrangham, Steward and Brown is the first accounting of the estate since James Greentree died in 1729. Plantain bolsters and flock bolsters mark the two grades of bedding in an island household. Flock was shredded wool or rag waste, the ordinary stuffing, while plantain fibre came from the banana plant growing on the island itself. Feather beds appear only three times in a list of eight bedsteads, and their appraisal at five or six pounds against one pound ten shillings for a flock bed measures the difference. The distinction between cane chairs and island-made chairs runs through the furniture. Cane seating came out from England or was made in the eastern settlements, and twelve plain cane chairs with six small ones were valued at £2 6s 0d, while twelve island-made chairs fetched sixteen shillings and twelve more, very old, only eight. Local joinery was worth a fraction of imported work even in the same house. Carboys were large glass vessels used for carrying spirits or oil, and a case of twelve bottles was the standard travelling or storage case for liquor. Their presence alongside two tea tables and china bowls shows a household equipped for entertaining, which fits a planter whose estate the executors described in July as considerable enough to carry large debts.
208	206	Brought over 1 Small Jar 2 2 large ditto 19 1 old Tea Kettle 7 2 large Leather Jarrs 15 2 Small ditto 5 2 Bar Iron & Skeates 10 3 old Tin Potts 1 8 6 1 pr brass Candlesticks 9 2 very old ditto 2 1 1 old Lanthorn 9 1 1 old brass Mortar 1 5 1 pr old Stilyards 7 6 1 pr old Scales 2 6 1 pr brass ditto & Weights	The inventory and appraisal of the estate of James Greentree, continued. 1 small jar, £0 2s 0d 2 large jars, £0 19s 0d 1 old tea kettle, £0 7s 0d 2 large earthen jars, £0 15s 0d 2 small earthen jars, £0 5s 0d 2 box irons and heaters, £0 10s 0d 3 old tin pots, £0 18s 6d 1 pair of brass candlesticks, £0 6s 0d 2 very old candlesticks, £0 2s 0d 1 old lanthorn, £0 2s 0d 1 old brass mortar, £0 1s 0d 1 pair of old steelyards, £0 5s 0d 1 pair of old scales, £0 2s 0d 1 pair of brass scales and weights, £1 12s 6d 4 large pewter spoons, £0 4s 0d 2 small pewter spoons, £0 2s 0d 5 large old pewter dishes, £1 10s 0d 2 pewter dishes, £0 7s 0d 3 pewter dishes, less, £0 12s 0d 1 large pewter dish, £0 12s 0d 12 pewter plates, £1 0s 0d 4 old chamber pots, £0 10s 0d 2 pewter cruets, £0 5s 0d 6 old ivory handled knives and forks, £0 6s 0d 12 wooden knives and 12 forks, £0 12s 0d 2 small iron pots, £0 12s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 12 4 large Pewter Spoons 4 2 Small ditto 7 6 5 large old Pewter Dishes 1 10 2 ditto 7 3 less 19 10 1 large ditto 1 1 12 Pewter Plates 1 10 4 old Chamber Potts 5 6 2 Pewter Cruetts 5 6 6 old Ivory hanaled Knives & Forks 12 12 18 Wooden do & 12 Forks 12 10 2 Small Iron Potts 10 1 old Yam Pott 1 4 1 large Great Pott 7 2 6 1 ditto less 6 1 ditto very Small 2 2 Spitts & 1 old Dripping Pan 15 1 old Rack & Cask 4 6 2 old brass Kettles 14 6 3 old Pailles 1 & 2 Plates 7 4 6 3 3 very old rusty Tubs 3 4 old Firkin Tubs 4 2 old Piggins 1 1 Church Sury 7 6 1 Orange Tub 6 8 21 old Diaper Napkins 2 6 8 Coarse Towels 15 4 pr & 1 Sheet Long Cloth 2 1 pr old Sheets 10 4 Damask Table Clothes 8 3 old Powder Table Cloths 4 12 1 pr coarse Cloth 3 19 2 pr Chintzes 15 4 pr Chints 14 3 pr coarse damnified Chints 1 16 12 Yards Vittory 1 pr fine Long Cloth 1 Silver Tankard 10 large Spoons	1 old yam pot, £0 10s 0d 1 large meat pot, £1 0s 0d 1 meat pot, less, £0 7s 0d 1 meat pot, very small, £0 2s 6d 2 spits and 1 old dripping pan, £0 6s 0d 1 old glass and jars, £0 2s 0d 2 old brass kettles, £0 5s 0d 3 old scales and 7 skillets, £0 14s 0d 3 very old milk pails, £0 6s 0d 4 old milk tubs, £0 3s 0d 2 old piggins, £0 1s 0d 1 churn, £0 4s 0d 1 orange tub, £0 7s 0d 21 old diaper napkins, £0 6s 6d 8 coarse towels, £0 6s 8d 4 pairs and 1 sheet of long cloth, £2 5s 0d 1 pair of old sheets, £0 15s 0d 4 damask table cloths, £2 0s 0d 3 old dowlas table cloths, £0 10s 0d 1 pair of coarse cloth, £0 8s 0d 5 pairs of counterpanes, £4 0s 0d 4 pairs of chintz, £3 12s 0d 3 pairs of coarse damaged chintz, £0 15s 0d 12 yards of nicanee, £0 14s 0d 19 pairs of fine long cloth, £1 16s 0d 1 silver tankard, 10 large spoons, 13 small spoons, 1 tea strainer, 1 tea tongs, weight 37.5 ounces at 5 shillings, £9 7s 6d 1 pair of glass decanters, £0 5s 0d 1 pair of glass cruets, £0 2s 6d 1 pair of glass jars, £0 4s 0d 4 small wine glasses, £0 1s 0d 3 old teapots, £0 7s 6d 3 old sieves, £0 3s 0d 1 seine net, £0 2s 0d 1 frying pan, £0 5s 6d 25 eagles, £3 6s 8d 60 lb of tallow, £2 5s 0d Total, £113 4s 4d Hogs 10 sows, £16 5s 0d 25 sows and barrows, £18 15s 0d 5 sows, £3 0s 0d 2 boars, £3 0s 0d 19 shoats, £3 12s 0d 8 pigs, £1 4s 0d Total, £46 16s 0d Interpretations Silver plate was the standard means of holding portable wealth on an island almost without coin, and the Greentree tankard, spoons, tea strainer and tongs are valued not as objects but by weight, 37.5 ounces at five shillings the ounce. That method of appraisal treats the whole service as bullion with a workmanship value of nothing, which is precisely how such items functioned: they could be melted, weighed against a debt or shipped home as value. The kitchen equipment reveals a household producing much of its own food. Milk pails, tubs, piggins and a churn indicate dairying, an orange tub and a seine net point to fruit and fishing, and three graded meat pots with spits and a dripping pan cover roasting and boiling for a large family. Elizabeth Greentree had told the court in July that she had seven children to raise, several of them very young. Box irons and heaters were hollow smoothing irons into which a heated iron slug was inserted, and steelyards were sliding-weight balances used in trade. Their presence alongside brass scales and weights, valued at £1 12s 6d and among the more expensive items in the list, indicates a household weighing goods for sale rather than merely for its own use. Nicanee was a striped or checked cotton of the Coromandel trade, and dowlas a coarse linen used for common table cloths and shirting. Both appear

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		13 Small ditto 1 Tea Strainer 1 do Tongs Weight 37½ oz at 5 9 7 6 1 pr Glass Decanters 5 6 1 pr Glass Cruetts 9 6 1 pr ditto Potts 4 6 4 Small Wine Glasses 4 3 old Sconces 7 6 3 old Sives 3 1 Trowell 2 6 1 Frying Pan 9 6 25 Eagles 3 6 8 60tt Tallow 2 5 113 4 4 Hoggs Vizt 10 Barrows 16 5 25 Sows & Barrows 18 15 5 Sows 5 5 2 Boars 3 2 19 Shoates 12 4 8 Pigs 1 4 46 16	regularly in the storekeeper's collections through this record, and their presence here shows imported Company cloth accumulating in an island household across a working lifetime, alongside four damask table cloths that would have served the better occasions. The hog valuation of £46 16s 0d against household goods of £113 4s 4d gives some measure of the estate's shape. The executors had argued in July that the stock could not be divided without ruining it, since the cattle and their increase were the widow's only means of supporting the family, and the herd figures still to come will show whether that argument held.
<u>209</u>	207	Brought over Sheep Vizt 9 Ewe Sheep 9 1 Ram 1 1 3 Lambs 1 10 11 10 Neat Cattle Vizt 10 Cowes 37 10 11 ditto 44 18 Calves 18 5 Heifers 13 15 4 ditto 8 17 Steers 15 15 5 Yearlings 7 10 4 Bullocks 26 2 Bulls 15 184 10 Yams Vizt 26000 26 28000 14	The inventory and appraisal of the estate of James Greentree, continued. Sheep 9 ewe sheep, £9 0s 0d 1 ram, £1 0s 0d 3 lambs, £1 10s 0d Total, £11 10s 0d Neat cattle 10 cows, £37 10s 0d 11 cows, £44 0s 0d 18 calves, £18 0s 0d 5 heifers, £13 15s 0d 4 heifers, £8 0s 0d 17 steers, £15 15s 0d 5 yearlings, £20 10s 0d 4 bullocks, £16 0s 0d 2 bulls, £15 0s 0d Total, £184 10s 0d Yams 26,000 pounds, £26 0s 0d 28,000 pounds, £14 0s 0d 34,000 pounds, £25 10s 0d 12,000 pounds, £3 0s 0d Total, £68 10s 0d Poultry 4 turkeys, £1 0s 0d 15 hens and chickens, £0 17s 6d 5 ducks, £0 18s 0d 12 dunghill fowls, £0 1s 6d 6 chickens, £2 14s 6d Blacks 1 black man named Frank, £25 0s 0d 1 black man named Greenwich, £20 0s 0d 1 black man named Dutchy, £12 0s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		34000 25 10 12000 3 68 10 Poultry Vizt 4 Turkeys 1 15 old Chickens 17 6 5 Ducks 18 12 Dunghill Fowls 1 6 6 Chickens 2 14 6 Blacks Vizt 1 Blackman named Frank 23 1 ditto Greenwich 28 1 ditto Dutchy 12 1 ditto Torrella 10 1 old Woman 16 1 Girle 86 Land Vizt 20 Acres Free Land & the House in the Country 220 20 ditto adjoining to Mr Nobles 150 20 ditto adjoining to Mr Larshops 120 52 Acres Leased Land 65 555 Houses Vizt 1 House purchased of Rich Cleve 90 1 ditto of Geo Bowman 45 1 ditto of Mr Bearans 15 150 Debts due to the Estate Vizt Frances Carre 1 2 3 Mary Nichols 2 2 6 Jona: Stepham junr 3 15 6 Ann Bates 16 1 Wm Renale 4 4 6 Rab Burnham 1 7 6 Silas Smith 1 6 6 Jas Scarbring 12 6 Charles Rogers 3 15 6 Jean Crispe 6 13 11 James Leigh 2 8 9 Daniel Griffith 8 12 3 Isaac Sugivron 8 15 2 Joshua Johnson	1 black man named Jorella, £10 0s 0d 1 old woman, £10 0s 0d 1 girl, £86 0s 0d Land 20 acres of land with the house in the country, £220 0s 0d 20 acres adjoining to Mr Beale's, £150 0s 0d 20 acres adjoining to Mr Lashmore's, £120 0s 0d 52 acres of leased land, £65 0s 0d Total, £555 0s 0d Houses 1 house purchased of Richard Clew, £90 0s 0d 1 house purchased of George Bowman, £45 0s 0d 1 house purchased of Mr Rogers, £15 0s 0d Total, £150 0s 0d Debts due to the estate Frances Carne, £1 2s 3d Mary Nicholls, £2 2s 6d Jonathan Higham junior, £3 15s 6d Ann Peter, £0 16s 1d William Ronald, £4 4s 0d Robert Burnham, £1 7s 6d Giles Smith, £0 12s 0d James Scantling, £0 12s 6d Ebenezer Rogers, £3 15s 6d Ryan Whaley, £2 13s 11d James Leech, £2 2s 0d Daniel Griffith, £8 19s 3d Isaac Ingram, £2 5s 0d Joshua Johnson, £3 13s 2d Total, £37 2s 11d Debts due from the estate To the Honourable Company, £50 3s 0d To Captain Goodwin, £53 0s 4.5d To James Ryder, £80 7s 10d To John Brown, £8 18s 4d To John Boyer, £6 4s 0d To Walter Ward, £1 6s 6d To John Hopkins, £1 7s 6d To Richard Girling, £1 2s 0d To James Doveton, £5 16s 9d To John Bagley junior, £19 13s 8d To John Clarkson, £4 5s 3d To William Powell, £2 3s 0d To Isaac Wrangham, £2 15s 9d To Charles Steward, £2 4s 9d To Benjamin Alsop, £291 6s 11.5d Clear estate, £1,034 2s 9.5d Total, £1,255 7s 9d Signed Francis Wrangham, Charles Steward. Interpretations The estate closes at £1,255 7s 9d gross and £1,034 2s 9.5d clear, which places it among the largest private fortunes recorded in this run, second only to Gabriel Powell's estate valued at upwards of £1,200 0s 0d in the suits of February 1730. That figure vindicates the executors' argument at the sessions of 2 July 1733 that the estate carried large debts requiring careful management, since £291 6s 11.5d was owing against it. Land and houses account for £705 0s 0d of the total, more than half the gross estate, and the valuations distinguish sharply between freehold and leasehold. Twenty acres with the house in the country stand at £220 0s 0d while fifty-two acres of leased land are worth only £65 0s 0d, which is barely a quarter of the rate per acre. A lease conferred use for a term while a freehold could be sold or inherited outright, and the gap between the two measures how little a tenancy was worth against ownership on this island. The six slaves are valued at £86 0s 0d in total, individually assessed from £25 0s 0d for Frank down to £10 0s 0d each for an old woman and a girl. That scale matches the Company's own practice of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 13 37 2 11 Debts due from the Estate Vizt To the Honble Company 50 3 To Capt Goodwin 53 4½ To James Ryder 80 7 10 To John Brown 8 18 4 To John Boyer 6 4 4½ To Walter Marsh 1 5 6 To Rich Hopkins 6 3 6 To Rab Gurling 1 2 6 To Jonas Doveton 5 16 9 To John Bagley junr 19 12 8 To John Clarkeinson 4 15 3 To Wm Powell 2 15 3 To Joah Weangham 3 15 4 To Charles Steward 2 4 9 To Benj Alsop 291 6 11½ Clear Estate 1034 - 9½ Joah Weangham Charles Steward 1255 7 9 March	settling the value of black children in proportion to their age, recorded each September in these consultations, and the same valuation logic appears in the muster ratings running from very good to good for nothing. One name in this list carries a separate history. Greenwich, appraised at £20 0s 0d, had come before the council on 17 July 1733 claiming he was the Honourable Company's slave, seized by Malays at Bencoolen and sold on through several hands before reaching the island. The council found Powell had bought honestly but that the Company's right survived, and referred the question to London. His appearance here in Greentree's inventory, rather than Powell's, indicates either a second man of the same name or a transfer between the two households. The debt to Benjamin Alsop at £291 6s 11.5d dwarfs every other liability and exceeds the next largest, James Ryder's £80 7s 10d, more than threefold. Alsop was the Company surgeon engaged on 13 February 1728, and the council examined his accounts on 15 April 1729, when forty-nine debtors acknowledged sums owing to him. A charge of this size against a single estate suggests years of medical attendance on a large household, and it is the principal reason the executors resisted dividing the estate while those debts stood.
210	208	Memorandum more about 8tt of Tea & about 20tt Sugar which is in use for present Spending be not inserted in this Inventory Messrs Weangham & Steward made Oath that the abovementioned is a true & right Inventory & is appraised to the best of their Skill & Judgment Joah Weangham Charles Steward Jurat hac vicesimo primo die Augusti Anno Domini 1733 Coram me Isa Pyke Elizabeth Greentree being also Sworn declared upon Oath that the Same was a true Inventory Ordred that Copies thereof if desired, be delivered to any Person concerned herein On the 18th Instant the French Ship called the Venus proceeded on her Voyage to India Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 28th Auguste 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Messrs Alexander Goodwin & Crispe this day made their Report according to the Order of Tuesday last which was read &	A memorandum noted that about 8 lb of tea and about 20 lb of sugar, being in use for present consumption, were not entered in the inventory. Messrs Wrangham and Steward swore that the above was a true inventory and appraisement to the best of their skill and judgement. Signed Francis Wrangham, Charles Steward. Sworn this 1st day of August 1733 before me. Isaac Pyke. Elizabeth Greentree, being also sworn, declared on oath that the same was a true inventory. The council ordered that copies of it be delivered to any person concerned who asked for one. On the 18th of the month the French ship called the <i>Venus</i> went on her voyage to India. At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 August 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Messrs Alexander, Goodwin and Crisp made their report that day in accordance with the order of the previous Tuesday, which was read and approved as follows. Following the council's order of the previous Tuesday, they had examined the bill of charges and demands that Joseph Bates delivered against the estate of Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento, the Spaniard who died at his house some time ago, which had been referred to them. In the course of that examination they had thought it necessary to enquire particularly what the custom of the island had been on similar occasions, and what allowances had usually been made. They could find no case of any kind that would warrant or justify the demands Bates

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Approved & is as follows Vizt According to the Order of Councill of Tuesday last we have examined the Bill of Expences & Demands of Josh Bates then delivered in upon the Estate late belonging to Don Juan de Mosia y Apunto the Spaniard who Sometime ago died at his house which was then Referred to Us & in this Examination we had occasion to make particular Enquiry what has been the Custom here upon the like Occasions & what Allowances have been usually made but could not meet with one that in any Sort could Warrant or Justify the Demands which the Said Bates hath made upon the Said Estate which in many Articles appear to Us to be highly Unjust & Unreasonable, nevertheless Such as in our Opinion seem just we have allowed him & that too in fair measure & have only Struck off Such as appeared to Us manifestly unjust & Unreasonable which we have inserted at the later End of this Account together with our Reasons for so doing & as this matter will best appear by way of Debtor & Creditor we have reduced the Same into the Form of an Account Currant which as follows Vizt	had made against the estate, many items of which appeared to them highly unjust and unreasonable. Nevertheless they had allowed him such sums as in their opinion seemed just, and had done so in full measure, striking off only such items as appeared to them manifestly unjust and unreasonable. These they had noted at the foot of the account, together with their reasons for doing so. So that the whole might appear plainly as debtor and creditor, they had reduced it to the form of an account current, which follows. Interpretations The commissioners' finding that no precedent existed on the island for charges of this kind disposes of Bates's account on comparative grounds rather than by disproving any single item. They were asked on 26 August 1733 to measure the bill against the usual expenses and allowances on similar occasions, and their answer is that nothing comparable had ever been claimed, which condemns the two largest entries, thirty pounds for nursing and twenty pounds for a tomb, without requiring evidence that the services were not performed. Choosing to set the result out as an account current, with debits and credits ranged against one another, converts a disputed claim into a running balance. That form shows at a glance what Bates spent, what he had already received from the estate and what remains owing either way, which the council would need before it could order any repayment to the Company for the heirs at Manila and Tenerife. The memorandum excluding tea and sugar in daily use from the Greentree inventory reflects a standard distinction in probate practice between the estate to be valued and consumable household stores. Eight pounds of tea and twenty of sugar would have been worth a pound or two at the prices recorded in the storekeeper's accounts, and excluding them avoided appraising goods that would be gone before any distribution took place. Requiring both the appraisers and the widow to swear separately to the inventory gave Daniel Griffith what he had sought since 1731. He had complained at the sessions of 2 July 1733 that no inventory existed and that he could not know what his wife's portion amounted to, and the order that copies be given to any interested party puts the document into the hands of every child of the marriage rather than leaving it with the executors alone.
211	209	Dr Joseph Bates Cr To Cash as pr Inventory Vizt 11 Shares of Gold @ 48 each 528 113 Pagodas @ 9 50 17 100 Dollars @ 5 25 Small Money 4 6½ 604 4 6½ By the Spaniards board 12 days Vizt from 29 January to 9th Febry both inclusive, at 6 pr diem 3 12 ditto for his Son @ 3 1 16 ditto for his Servant	The account current between Joseph Bates and the estate of Don Juan de Mesa ran as follows. Debtor To cash as per inventory 11 shares of gold at £48 each, £528 0s 0d 113 pagodas at 9 shillings, £50 17s 0d 100 dollars at 5 shillings, £25 0s 0d Small money, £0 4s 6.5d Total, £604 1s 6.5d Creditor By the Spaniard's board, 12 days from 29 January to 9 February both inclusive, at 6 shillings a day, £3 12s 0d Ditto for his son at 3 shillings, £1 16s 0d Ditto for his servant at 3 shillings, £1 16s 0d Total, £7 4s 0d By funeral charges 2 pieces of muslin, £6 0s 0d 6 gallons of arrack, £1 18s 0d 1 gallon of wine, £1 4s 0d 3 cheeses, £0 12s 0d 300 lemons, £0 15s 0d 2 lb of tobacco, £0 6s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		@ 3 1 16 7 4 By Funerall Charges 2 pr Musselmee 6 6 Gallon Arrack 1 18 1 Gallon Wine 1 4 3 Sheets 9 300 Lemons 15 2tt Tobacco 6 15tt Sugar 7 6 25 Books 6 3 Paid the Clerk 7 6 Paid the Person 15 Making the Coffin 1 Deals for ditto 9 13 17 3 By Cash Vizt 6 Share of Gold @ 48 288 100 Dollars 25 313 By Sundry Accts Washing 3 10 50 Apples 4 7 Gallon Shoes @ 4/6 1 11 6 2 Plates 1 5 1 Wig 1 10 1 pr Stockings 3 1 pr Buckles 1 6 2 Coates 1 12 1 Waistcoat 10 2 Chequed Shirts 16 Taking the Inventory 11 17 By the boys board from 10 Febry 1731 to 29 March 1733 or 402 days at 10 pr Ann as pr Agreement 11 4 4 357 2 4 By Ballance due from the Said Bates to the Estate 28th August 1733, besides a great Parcel of Apparel &c 246 19 2½ 604 4 6½ The Abatements we have made in his Bill are as follows Vizt 1 We Reject the Severall Articles of Arrack, Wine, Lemons & Sugar except	15 lb of sugar, £0 7s 6d 25 fowls, £0 6s 3d Paid the clerk, £0 7s 6d Paid the parson, £0 15s 0d Making the coffin, £1 0s 0d Deals for the same, £0 9s 0d Total, £13 17s 3d By cash 6 shares of gold at £48, £288 0s 0d 100 dollars, £25 0s 0d Total, £313 0s 0d By sundry accounts Washing, £3 10s 0d 50 apples, £0 4s 0d 7 quarts of wine at 4 shillings 6 pence, £1 11s 6d 2 plates, £1 5s 0d 1 wig, £1 10s 0d 1 pair of stockings, £0 3s 0d 1 pair of buckles, £0 1s 6d 2 coats, £1 12s 0d 1 waistcoat, £0 10s 0d 2 chequed shirts, £0 15s 0d Taking the inventory, £0 10s 0d Total, £11 17s 0d By the boy's board from 10 February 1731 to 29 March 1733, being 1,102 days at £10 per annum as per agreement, £11 4s 1d Total, £357 2s 4d By balance due from Bates to the estate on 28 August 1733, besides a great parcel of arrack, £246 19s 2.5d Total, £604 1s 6.5d The commissioners set out the abatements they had made to the bill as follows. 1: They rejected the several articles of arrack, wine, lemons and sugar except what they had allowed in the funeral charges, amounting to 33 gallons of arrack and 24 quarts of wine, which with the sugar and lemons comes to £14 3s 0d, as highly extravagant and unreasonable, the deceased having brought a great quantity of liquor on shore with him. 2: They also rejected the sum of ten shillings said to be paid to Mr Byfield's Caesar. Interpretations The commissioners' account inverts Bates's position entirely. He had presented a bill for £238 4s 8d as a creditor of the estate, and their reckoning shows him holding £604 1s 6.5d of the dead man's money against allowances of £357 2s 4d, leaving £246 19s 2.5d owing from him to the estate, together with a quantity of arrack unaccounted for. The exercise converts the claimant into the debtor. Eleven shares of gold at £48 apiece dominate the debit side at £528 0s 0d. Miguel Sandegan had sworn on 7 April 1731 that he counted fifteen shares of gold and ninety pagodas on landing by his master's order, and Bates admitted concealing a share of gold and disposing of five more before any inventory was taken. The account credits him with six shares returned, which leaves the arithmetic of what became of the remainder embedded in the balance now demanded. A pagoda was a gold coin of southern India current at Madras and the Coromandel ports, valued here at nine shillings, and dollars were Spanish pieces of eight taken at five shillings. Recording all three currencies at fixed sterling rates was necessary to strike a single balance, and the rates used are consistent with those applied elsewhere in this record. The funeral allowance of £13 17s 3d against Bates's claimed £48 or more turns on what the commissioners accepted as necessary. Two pieces of muslin were allowed where thirty-seven yards had been claimed, the payments to the clerk and the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		what we have Allowed in Funerall Charges Amounting to 33 Gallon Arrack & 24 Gallon Wine, which with the Sugar & Lemons comes to 15: 14: 3 as highly extravagant & Unreasonable, the deceased having brought a great Quantity of Liquors on Shoar with him 2 We Reject also the Sum of Ten Shillings Said to be paid to Mr Russells Cesar	parson stand at seven shillings sixpence and fifteen shillings, and the coffin with its deals comes to £1 9s 0d against the £2 10s 0d Bates had charged. Nothing whatever is allowed for the tomb he valued at £20 0s 0d. The single largest item struck out is the £30 0s 0d Bates claimed for himself and his wife sitting up night and day and for bedding ruined by the discharge from the dying man's wounds. It appears nowhere in the credits, and the commissioners' reasoning is that the twelve days' board at six shillings a day, which they did allow, covered what a household could properly charge for lodging a sick guest. The boy Emanuel's board is settled at ten pounds a year by agreement, running 1,102 days from his father's death to 29 March 1733, which shows a formal arrangement in place for the child's keep rather than the open-ended charges Bates had entered item by item for shoes, coats and wigs across the same period.
212	210	Cesar & the Sum of Ten Shillings Said to be paid to Geo Landon because done without any Order or Authority but his own, Both the Blacks of that name deny the Receipt of any Such Sum, & George Landon is Runaway & cant be examined 3 We also Reject the Sum of £3 - - charged for Washing what proper we have allowed 4 We also Reject the Sum of £1 16 - for the Linguisters diet 9 days as a thing highly Unreasonable & also the Sum of £4 - Said to be paid to him the Same being done without or Authority & because an Interpreter was of greater benefit to Bates than the Spaniard 5 We also Reject the Severall Sums of £2 5. £3 - - 3. 10. 3 & 3. for Store Goods & every thing else charged in Bates Account under the Article of Funerall Charges except what we have before allowed as highly extravagant & Unwarrantable & Unjust 6 We also Reject the £25 - - Said to be paid to the Servant we not having Seen or heard of any Receipt or Discharge given for any Such Sum nor can Bates not being an Executor Warrant paying the Same 7 We also Reject the Sum of £9 2 - for the board of the Son of the deceased 61 days at 3 pr day as a Matter also very extravagant & Unreasonable, what is just we have already allowed 8 We Reject likewise the £24 4 - charged for the Servants board from 29th February to 28th May following as a Matter also highly extravagant & Unreasonable because the Master left him Money for his Support & to pay for his Passage back again to his own	Caesar, and the sum of ten shillings said to be paid to George Lander, because it was done without any order or authority but Bates's own. Both the black men of that name deny receiving any such sum, and George Lander is a runaway and cannot be examined. 3: They also rejected the sum of £5 0s 0d charged for washing, beyond what they had allowed. 4: They also rejected the sum of £1 16s 0d for the interpreter's diet for nine days as a thing highly unreasonable, and also the sum of £1 0s 0d said to have been paid to him, the same being done without any order or authority, and because an interpreter was of greater benefit to Bates than to the Spaniard. 5: They also rejected the several sums of £9 5s 0d, £8 0s 0d, £3 10s 0d and £12 3s 0d for store goods and everything else charged in Bates's account under the article of funeral charges, except what they had allowed above, as highly extravagant and unwarrantable. 6: They also rejected the £25 18s 0d said to have been paid to the servant, they not having seen or heard of any receipt or discharge given for any such sum, nor can Bates produce any account, warrant or authority for paying it. 7: They also rejected the sum of £9 10s 0d for the board of the deceased's son for sixty-one days at three shillings a day as also very extravagant and unreasonable, beyond what they had already allowed. 8: They rejected likewise the £24 4s 0d charged for the servant's board from 27 January to 28 May following, as also highly extravagant and unreasonable, because the master left him money for his support and paid for his passage back again to his own country, as appears more particularly in the consultation of 7 April 1731, that if anything be due upon account of his kind, the said servant is to pay it out at the rate allowed at £10 per annum. 9: They also, for the same reason, rejected the several sums of £1 4s 0d for shoes, £1 15s 0d for bacon, and £1 3s 0d for shoes and stockings for the said servant. 10: For the same reasons they likewise rejected the sum of £10 0s 0d said to have been paid for his passage to England, whither he went at the desire and persuasion of Bates as a witness on his behalf, the beforementioned sum of £25 18s 0d having been given him by his master for his support and his passage back again to his own country, which was sufficient for that purpose. Therefore, if Bates has paid any such sum, he ought to be at the charge of it himself, because it was done without any reason, warrant or authority but his own.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Country as more particularly appears in Consultation of the 7th of March 1732/3 of any thing he does upon Account of his & paid the Said Servants to pay it out at the Rate alledged £10 - pr Annum 9 We also for the Same Reason Reject the Severall Sums of £1 4 for Shirts, £1 15 - for Bacon, & £1 3 - for Shoes & Stockings for the Said Servant 10 On the Same Reasons We likewise Reject the Sum of £10 - Said to be paid for his Passage to England whither he went at the desire & Persuasion of the Said Bates as a Witness in his behalf, the beforementioned Sum of £2 6 - being given him by his Master for his Support & Passage back again to his own Country was Sufficient for that Purpose & therefore if the Said Bates has paid any Such Sum he ought to be at the Charge thereof because done without any Reason Warrant or Authority but his own 11 We Reject the £30 - - which he the Said Bates has charged for his & his Wives trouble & Attendance, as a thing most notoriously Unjust Extravagant & Unwarrantable & beyond all Precedent or Example, for the Spaniard had he Servant to attend him & one of Mrs Russells Servants did also Assist him most part of the time he lived which was but four days in all besides as an Acknowledgement for their trouble the Said Bates affirms that the deceased gave his Wife a Diamond Ring which is now adjudged in the Possession of the Said Bates of a very considerable Value 12 We also Reject the Sum of £20 - charged for a Tomb there not being any Such thing in the Churchyard & any where else as we cant hear, nor ought the Same to be done at the Charge of the said without Directions from his heirs 13 We also Reject the Sum of £3 10 Said to be paid to Mr Crispe for Sundry Writings, the Said Writings having been drawn or Written at the Instance of the Said Bates in Prosecution of his Claim to the Estate of the deceased & Mr Crispe remembers that when Bates paid him some Such Sum upon this Occasion he told the Said Bates that if he did not make his Claim good the Charge would be at his own, & is having now appeared that he hath no Right thereto all the Charge that has already or may hereafter	11: They rejected the £30 0s 0d which Bates charged for himself and his wife's attendance, as a thing most notoriously unjust, extravagant and unwarrantable, and beyond all precedent or example, for the Spaniard had his own servant to attend him, and one of Mr Byfield's servants also nursed him most of the time he lived, which was but seventeen days in all, besides an acknowledgement for their trouble. Bates affirms that the deceased gave his wife a diamond ring, which is not entered in the inventory of Bates's or of any considerable value. 12: They also rejected the sum of £20 0s 0d charged for a tomb, there not being any such thing in the churchyard or anywhere else, as he can neither do nor ought the same to be done at the charge of the estate without directions from his heirs. 13: They also rejected the sum of £3 10s 0d said to have been paid to Mr Crisp for sundry writings, the said writings having been drawn or written at the instance of Bates in prosecution of his claim to the estate of the deceased. Mr Crisp remembers that when Bates paid him some such sum upon this occasion he told Bates that if he did not make his claim good the charge would be all his own, and having now appeared that he has no right thereto, all the charge that has already or may hereafter happen to arise upon this account ought to be made good by Bates. They further affirm that every article in the bill is... Interpretations The commissioners struck out three quarters of Bates's bill by applying a single test to nearly every item: whether he had authority to incur the charge on the estate's behalf. Payments made without order, receipt or warrant fall away regardless of whether the money changed hands, which places the risk of unauthorised expenditure on the man who chose to spend rather than on the heirs at Manila and Tenerife. The rejection of the interpreter's charges rests on a sharper point. An interpreter served Bates rather than the dying Spaniard, since Bates needed to establish what Mesa had said in order to claim the estate. John Slew, who acted in that capacity, swore on 7 April 1731 that the deceased never talked to him about making a will, and the council found on 3 May 1731 that he had been tampered with. Charging the estate for the man who supplied the evidence for the claim against it was the kind of circularity the commissioners refused to countenance. Two claims collapse on simple verification. No tomb existed in the churchyard or anywhere else, and both black men said to have received ten shillings denied it, one of them being unavailable because George Lander had run away. The commissioners were checking assertions against the physical evidence and the named recipients, which is what turned the examination from a comparison of prices into a finding of bad faith. The £30 0s 0d for nursing falls on the ground that Mesa had his own servant attending him and that one of Mr Byfield's servants nursed him besides, across an illness of only seventeen days. The mention of a diamond ring given to Bates's wife, absent from the inventory, connects to the admission Bates made on 7 April 1731 that he had concealed two rings among other items, and the commissioners raise it here to show that whatever the household received was neither disclosed nor accounted for. Mr Crisp's evidence closes the account. He had warned Bates when taking his fee that the cost of the papers would fall on him personally if the claim failed, and the claim had failed on 3 May 1731 when the council found the whole a scene of forgery.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		happen to arise upon this Account ought to be made good by him the Said Bates We farther affirm that every Article in the Bill & the Bill it Self	Charging the estate for the legal writing used to attack it was the last of the items disallowed, and the reasoning applies equally to every expense Bates had incurred in pursuing his claim.
213	211	Self is without any Date, the Date it bears having been put to it after it was delivered into Councill, which we think has an ill Appearance, & Seems to Us to be done with design to conceale Some very foule Practices (Signed) John Alexander 28th Augst 1733 John Goodwin D. Crispe Ordred that the Said Bates be Summoned to attend on Tuesday next & to deliver an Account of all Such Goods & Effects as are now in his Possession belonging to the Said Spaniard & used or to his Shire On Saturday last a Danish Ship from Tranquebar but last from the Cape arrived here, it appears by the Captains Commission that She is called the <i>Dronning Anna Sophia</i> Capt Robert Sorensen Holm Commander of Denmark from was Signed by the King & dated 25th Octr 1731 Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 4th Sept 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Joseph Bates attended this day according to Order but pretended his Account was not ready & desired farther time till Tuesday next to prepare the Same, & his Request was Granted The Petition of Isaac Wood Ensign was presented & read praying that his Lease for two & three of Land lately expired might be renewed Ordred that the Said parcel of Land be viewed & if it be fenced duely fenced & Planted with its full Proportion of Wood that his Lease be renewed accordingly The Governour, Capt Goodwin the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Account for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in Augst Guns Fired, Musqt, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 4th Muster Day: Guns Fired: 0, Musqt: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 0, Falcon: 0, Powder: 11 14th French Ships both days to compliment the French Ship: Guns Fired: 21, Musqt: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 0, Falcon: 24, Powder: 24 18th French Ship Sailed: Guns Fired: 15, Musqt: 0, Sakers: 0, Minion: 1, Falcon: 14, Powder: 17 21 An Allarm: Guns Fired: 4, Musqt: 1, Sakers: 3, Minion: 4, Falcon: 19, Powder: 26 Danish Ship Arrived: Guns Fired: 15, Musqt: 1, Sakers: 3, Minion: 1, Falcon: 10, Powder: 26 Expence of the Guard 12	They further affirmed that every article in the bill and the bill itself carry no date, the date it now bears having been added after it was delivered into council, which they thought had an ill appearance and seemed to them to have been done deliberately to conceal some very foul practices. Signed John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. 28 August 1733. The council ordered Bates summoned to attend the following Tuesday and to deliver an account of all goods and effects now in his possession belonging to the deceased Spaniard, or to his heirs. On the previous Saturday a Danish ship arrived from Tranquebar, last from the Cape. Her captain's commission showed her to be the <i>Dronning Anna Sophia</i>, commanded by Captain Egbert Sorensen Molen, and the commission was signed by the King of Denmark and dated 25 October 1731. At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 September 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Joseph Bates attended that day as ordered, but claimed his account was not ready and asked for further time until the following Tuesday to prepare it, which was granted. The petition of Isaac Wood, ensign, was presented and read, asking that his lease for two acres of land lately expired might be renewed. The council ordered that the parcel be viewed, and if it were found duly fenced and planted with its full proportion of wood, the lease should be renewed accordingly. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward delivered their accounts for the past month, which were examined and approved as follows. The gunner's stores expended in August 1733 ran as follows. 1 August, muster day: 9 guns fired, 21 falcons, 11 lb of powder 14 August, French ship, both days, to compliment the French ship: 21 guns fired, 24 falcons, 24 lb of powder 18 August, French ship sailed: 15 guns fired, 1 minion, 14 falcons, 19 lb of powder 21 August, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 1 saker, 1 minion, 19 lb of powder 21 August, Danish ship arrived: 15 guns fired, 3 sakers, 1 minion, 10 falcons, 26 lb of powder Expense of the guard: 12 lb of powder Musket balls, 6 lb Ordnance stores, 5 Cartridge paper, 6 quires Sponge staves, 12 Match, [...] Total: 55 guns fired, 1 [...], 3 sakers, 6 minions, 45 falcons, 99 lb of powder The account was signed by John French, gunner. Interpretations The commissioners' closing observation about the missing date turns a question of unreasonable charges into one of deliberate concealment. A bill without a date could not be tested against the events it claimed to cover, and adding one after delivery to the council suggested an attempt to make the document fit a chronology it had not originally

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Musquet Balls 6tt Battonment Skins 3 Cartridge Paper 5 Cannon Staves 6 Match 12 Guns Fired: 55, Musqt: 1, Sakers: 3, Minion: 6, Falcon: 45, Powder: 99 Jno French	carried. That finding, coming from three councillors rather than from the Governor alone, gave the council grounds to demand a full account of everything Bates still held. Isaac Wood's petition applies the lease reform of 26 July 1732 to a member of the council's own circle. The resolution then passed required the surveyors to certify that any parcel was duly fenced and planted with a fair proportion of thriving wood before renewal, and Wood, appointed ensign on 27 June 1732 and named trustee under the chaplain's will, receives the same treatment as Joseph Bates did over his Sandy Bay lease on 3 April 1733. The condition was being applied without regard to standing. Danish East Indiamen appear repeatedly in this record calling at St Helena on the homeward run from Tranquebar, the Danish factory on the Coromandel coast, and each was examined before admission. The <i>Cronenburg</i> was similarly checked on 28 January 1729 and permitted to water without being admitted to the road. A commission signed by the King of Denmark and dated nearly two years earlier reflects the length of an East India voyage rather than any irregularity. Powder expenditure of 99 pounds against July's 65 follows the French and Danish visits, which between them account for 69 pounds. Twenty-four pounds spent to compliment the French ship on two successive days is a substantial courtesy, and it falls only ten days after Captain Du Bart's quarrel with the garrison was patched up on 7 August. The council had decided then to let the matter drop for the sake of the trade foreign ships brought, and the salute measures how thoroughly that decision was carried through.
214	212	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Weathers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 August: Bullocks: 44, Cows: 155, Heifers: 42, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 103, Bulls: 6, Totall: 480, Ewes: 76, Weathers: 28, Lambs: 53, Rams: 4, Totall: 161, Sowes: 21, Shoates: 23, Pigs: 27, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 84, Turkeys: 82, Fowles: 80, Ducks: 12, Geese: 5, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Increased in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cows: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 4, Bulls: 0, Totall: 4, Ewes: 0, Weathers: 0, Lambs: 2, Rams: 0, Totall: 2, Sowes: 0, Shoates: 0, Pigs: 0, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 30, Ducks: 12, Geese: 4, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 44, Cows: 155, Heifers: 42, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 107, Bulls: 6, Totall: 484, Ewes: 76, Weathers: 28, Lambs: 55, Rams: 4, Totall: 163, Sowes: 21, Shoates: 23, Pigs: 27, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 84, Turkeys: 82, Fowles: 110, Ducks: 24, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Killed 2 Bullocks for the Blacks & 1 Heifer for the Table: Bullocks: 2, Cows: 0, Heifers: 1, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 1, Bulls: 0, Totall: 4, Ewes: 0, Weathers: 3, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 3, Sowes: 1, Shoates: 4, Pigs: 5, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 10, Turkeys: 10, Fowles: 24, Ducks: 8, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Remains 31 Augst 1733: Bullocks: 42, Cows: 155, Heifers: 41, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 106, Bulls: 6, Totall: 480, Ewes: 76, Weathers: 25, Lambs: 55, Rams: 4, Totall: 160, Sowes: 20, Shoates: 19, Pigs: 22, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 74, Turkeys: 72, Fowles: 86, Ducks: 16, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10	The stock account for the month to 31 August 1733 ran as follows. Remaining 1 August: 44 bullocks, 155 cows, 42 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 103 calves, 6 bulls, total 480 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 28 wethers, 53 lambs, 4 rams, total 161 sheep; 21 sows, 23 shoats, 27 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 84 hogs; 82 turkeys, 80 fowls, 12 ducks, 5 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Increased in the month: 4 calves, total 4 neat cattle; 2 lambs, total 2 sheep; 30 fowls, 12 ducks, 4 geese Balance: 44 bullocks, 155 cows, 42 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 107 calves, 6 bulls, total 484 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 28 wethers, 55 lambs, 4 rams, total 163 sheep; 21 sows, 23 shoats, 27 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 84 hogs; 82 turkeys, 110 fowls, 24 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Killed, 2 bullocks for the blacks and 1 heifer for the table: 2 bullocks, 1 heifer, 1 calf, total 4 neat cattle; 3 lambs, total 3 sheep; 1 sow, 4 shoats, 5 pigs, total 10 hogs; 10 turkeys, 24 fowls, 8 ducks Remaining 31 August 1733: 42 bullocks, 155 cows, 41 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 106 calves, 6 bulls, total 480 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 25 wethers, 55 lambs, 4 rams, total 160 sheep; 20 sows, 19 shoats, 22 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 74 hogs; 72 turkeys, 86 fowls, 16 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,000 pounds Yams delivered to the blacks, 13,700 pounds Total yams, 31,700 pounds Interpretations The herd closed at exactly 480 head, unchanged on the month, with four calves born and four beasts killed. No animal went to shipping for the second consecutive month, the anchorage having held only

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Yams expended at the Severall Plantacons 18000tt Ditto delivered the Blacks 13700 Total 31700tt	the French and Danish vessels, neither of which drew on the Company's stock. That the killing was entirely for the island itself, two bullocks for the slaves and one heifer for the table, confirms the pattern established in June and July. Killing bullocks for the slaves appears now for the third month running, and the entry has settled into the account as a standing charge rather than an exceptional one. Yams delivered to the slaves fell sharply to 13,700 pounds from 25,000 in July and 28,350 in June, the lowest issue since April, and the beef is making up the difference. Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 had put the establishment's requirement at 63,920 pounds of yams a week, so the present issue covers a fraction of what the overseer thought necessary. The hog herd fell from 84 to 74, the sharpest proportional loss of any class this month, ten killed including a breeding sow. Hogs had stood at 100 as recently as June, and the sustained slaughter across three months reflects the same substitution driving the bullock killings, the establishment eating into its breeding stock while the winter crop remains in the ground. Yams issued to the plantations held steady at 18,000 pounds, having risen to 27,500 in July when the winter planting was under way. The island's planting season runs from about May to September, and the drop back to the June figure suggests the main planting was complete by the end of July, with August's issue covering feed alone.
215	213	Expende of the Table in Augst 1733 250tt Beef 3 2 6 100 Fish 2 10 215tt Pork 5 2 6 3 Sheep 3 15 5 Figs 1 5 10 Turkeys 2 10 8 Ducks 12 24 Fowles 18 11tt Butter 11 47 Gallon Arrack 9 16 22 Gallon Port 8 10 6 48 Gallon Strong Beer 3 12 1 Gallon Vinegar 2 6 3: 3: Flour 4 1 3 9tt: 2: Sugar 1 11 3 5 Bottles Oyle 16 3 2 Bushell Salt 12 49 7 9 10 Gallon Arrack for the Guards &c 1 of August being the Anniversary of the Accession of the present Royall Family to the Throne 2 - - 14tt Sugar for ditto 3.6 2:3:6	The general table expense account for August 1733 ran as follows. 250 lb of beef, £3 2s 6d 100 lb of fish, £2 10s 0d 215 lb of pork, £5 2s 6d 3 sheep, £3 15s 0d 5 pigs, £1 5s 0d 10 turkeys, £2 10s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 24 fowls, £0 18s 0d 14 lb of butter, £0 11s 0d 49 gallons of arrack, £9 16s 0d 22 gallons of port, £8 10s 6d 48 gallons of strong beer, £3 12s 0d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d 3 hundredweight of flour, £4 1s 3d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £1 11s 3d 5 bottles of oil, £0 16s 3d 2 bushels of salt, £0 12s 0d Total, £49 7s 9d 10 gallons of arrack to the guards on 1 August, being the anniversary of the accession of the present royal family to the throne, £2 0s 0d 14 lb of sugar to the same, £0 3s 6d Total, £2 3s 6d The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in August 1733 ran as follows. 44 gallons of arrack, £29 15s 4d 2 lb of blankets, £13 8s 0d 12 pieces of luscancies, £11 2s 0d 1.5 pieces of fustian, £2 4s 8d 23.5 yards of white dimity, £47 19s 6d 19 pieces of fustian, £20 18s 6d 10 hundredweight 1 quarter of sugar, £10 4s 6d 103 shirts partly damaged, £142 13s 6d Total, £142 13s 6d Charges general 131 lb of nails, £5 15s 0d 1 yoke, £0 1s 8d 1 lb of earthenware, £0 1s 2d 13 lb of white lead, £0 6s 6d 2 lb of ochre, £0 1s 4d 18 lb of red lead, £0 9s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Collection of Goods Sold &c in August 1733 Vizt 94 Gallon Arrack 29 15 4 2 pr Blankets 13 8 9 12 pr Sussanies 11 2 1½ pr Neptuan 2 4 8 23½ Yds white Dimothy 47 19 6 14 pr Neptuan 20 18 6 10 R: 14tt Sugar 10 4 6 103 Shirts partly damaged 142 13 6 Charges Generall Vizt 131tt Nailles 5 15 1 Yoke 1 8 1tt Earthenware 1 2 6 13tt White Lead 1 6 2tt Ocher 1 4 18tt Red Lead 9 6 3 Bars Lamblack 2 12 7½ Gallon Linseed Oyle 2 8 5 Grass Corks 2 4 24tt Candles 2 8 3½ Soap 7 2¼ 1 Mop 7 6 Sail Needles 1 2 6 2 Thimbles 4 9 2 Sslives 18 1 Iron Bound Cask 2 6 2 pr Ragmatts 9 6 2 Squares Glass 3 9 2 oz Thread 7 1½ Yds whited brown 16 18 10 Plantation Vizt 6 Scyth Stones 1 7 1 Spade 4 8 9 1: 2: Rice 6: 1: Paddy 4 16 9	3 barrels of lampblack, £2 12s 0d 7.5 gallons of linseed oil, £1 2s 8d 3 brass cocks, £0 2s 2.5d 26 lb of candles, £0 2s 7.5d 2.5 lb of soap, £0 7s 6d 1 mop, £1 4s 6d 6 sail needles, £0 18s 0d 2 [...], £0 2s 6d 2 sieves, £0 5s 0d 1 iron and bell lock, £0 3s 9d 2 pairs of garnets, £0 7s 0d 2 squares of glass, £16 18s 10d 3 lb of thread 7 yards of white broom Plantation 6 scythe stones, £0 1s 7d 1 spade, £0 4s 8d 4 lb of rice, £4 15s 9d 6 lb of paddy Interpretations Fish enters the table account at 100 pounds, the first substantial appearance since the anchorage emptied. The fishery had been established on 1 March 1727 when the slaves' meat ration was replaced by fish, and eleven men were rated as constantly employed in the boats at the muster of 30 September 1730. With beef down to 250 pounds and no ship calling to victual, the fort table was drawing on the island's own resources. Pork at 215 pounds now exceeds beef for the first time in this run, having entered the account at 120 pounds only in June. The stock account for August recorded ten hogs killed against four cattle, and the two records confirm a deliberate policy of sparing the herd while the shipping season was closed. The arrack allowance to the guards on 1 August marks the anniversary of the Hanoverian accession, George the First having come to the throne on that day in 1714. Royal anniversaries drew both a gun salute and a drink allowance throughout this record, and the gunner's account for the same month records nine guns fired on muster day, the two events falling together. A hundred and three shirts partly damaged at £142 13s 6d dominate the retail account and represent the bulk of the month's sales. Goods spoiled in transit were cleared into the island at reduced prices rather than returned to the Company, a practice recorded repeatedly with chintz, stockings and shoes, and a consignment of this size arriving in a month when no ship called suggests stock long held in the warehouse being moved. Luscianies were a coarse Indian cotton cloth of the Coromandel trade, and dimity a ribbed cotton used for bedding and light wear. Both appear alongside fustian, a hard-wearing cotton and linen mixture, and the combination shows the storekeeper supplying the materials for ordinary clothing rather than any finer wear. Red and white lead, ochre, lampblack and linseed oil recur in these accounts each spring as the paints for preserving ironwork and gun carriages against the damp. Their appearance in August, with the island's winter drawing to a close, fits the annual maintenance cycle before the shipping season opens again.
216	214	Brought over Garrison Vizt 16tt Tea 4 10 6½ Gallon Oyle 1 2 3 1tt Twine 2 2¼	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in August 1733, continued. Brought over Garrison 16 lb of tea, £4 10s 0d 6.5 gallons of oil, £1 9s 3d 1 lb of twine, £0 2s 0.5d 1 lb of brown thread, £0 4s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1tt brown Thread 4 6 5 5 Blacks Vizt 12 doz Hooks 7 6 12 Limes 2 6 1 pr damaged Chints 7 6 2 Blankets 13 6 2 pr Shoes 11 6 1 Pruners Knife 10 3: - 14tt Rice 16 1 3 2tt Tea 12 19 5 4 Diet Expences Vizt 59 Gallon Arrack 11 16 1: 1: 12 Sugar 1 4 9 3: 1: Flour 4 1 3 5 Bottles Oyle 16 3 1 Gallon Vinegar 2 6 2 Bushell Salt 12 22 Gallon Port 8 10 6 48 Gallon Strong Beer 3 12 31 5 3 221 5 1 Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 11th Sepr 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday Joseph Long gave the following Information Vizt St Helena Joseph the Son of John Long Complaineth that his father is very Unkind & cruel to him & that he often beats him Severely without any Cause & particularly Sayth that his father is in League with old James one of the Honble Comp Blacks who lives after the Companies Plantation at the Priors who lets him have Yams every week from the Honble Comps Plantation & Sometimes almost every Night & Long & his old black old Anthony for them & that his father gave old James a Pig but hearing it was talked of went & fetched his Pig away again & Suspecting his Son Joseph the Complainant had spoke of it he beat him both with a Cane & afterwards with a Ratteen in a Severe manner but now John Long has Sent the Pig down to	Total, £6 5s 5d Blacks 12 dozen hooks, £0 7s 6d 12 lines, £0 9s 0d 1 piece of damaged chintz, £0 7s 6d 2 blankets, £0 15s 6d 2 pairs of shoes, £0 11s 6d 1 pruning knife, £0 10s 0d 16 lb of rice, £1 1s 3d 2 lb of tea, £0 12s 0d Total, £19 5s 4d Diet expenses 59 gallons of arrack, £11 16s 0d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 13 lb of sugar, £1 14s 9d 3 hundredweight 1 quarter of flour, £4 1s 3d 5 bottles of oil, £0 16s 3d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 5s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 12s 0d 22 gallons of port, £8 10s 6d 48 gallons of strong beer, £3 12s 0d Total, £31 5s 3d Grand total, £221 5s 1d At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 September 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Joseph Long gave the following information the previous day. Joseph, son of John Long, complained that his father was very unkind and cruel to him, and often beat him severely without any cause. He said in particular that his father was in league with old James, one of the Honourable Company's black men who looks after the Company's plantation at the Peak, who lets him have yams every week from the Honourable Company's plantation, and that Long and his black man Anthony sometimes went almost every night to fetch them. He said that his father gave old James a pig, but hearing it was talked of, went and fetched the pig away again, and suspecting that his son Joseph, the complainant, had spoken of it, he beat him both with a cane and afterwards with a stick in a severe manner. Now John Long has sent the pig down to old James again, as he thinks, being asked what James, John Long has, he says he has some in Deep Gut, but he fetches or sends for more from the Honourable Company's plantations at the Peak than from there. He therefore desires that he may not be obliged to live any longer with his said father and mother, they knowing of the stealing. Interpretations Joseph Long's information marks the second time a son has given evidence against his own father in this record. James and Joseph Long were examined on 4 June 1733 over the theft of James Vaughan's fowls, and their accounts secured the commitment that ended in their father's bond to leave the island for Bencoolen. The present complaint arises from the beating Joseph received for having spoken of the pig, so the earlier testimony had left the boy exposed in his own household. The theft described works through a Company slave rather than around him. Old James kept the plantation at the Peak, which appears in Isaac Durling's yam return of 10 April 1733 as one of the seven Company grounds, credited at 80,000 pounds in its best condition. A weekly supply of yams passing out through the man in charge of the ground was undetectable in any account, since nothing was recorded until the crop came in, and the pig given and then reclaimed shows the arrangement being paid for in kind.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		old James again as he thinks being asked what Yams John Long has, Sayth he has Some in Deep Gutt but he fetches or Sends for more from the Honble Comps Plantations at the Briers than from thence And therefore he desires he may not be Obligated to live longer with his Said father & Mother & to his knowing of the fetching the	That John Long was still on the island in September, having petitioned on 19 June 1733 for leave to go to Bencoolen and been released on bonds of twenty pounds each from Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward, reflects the terms of that undertaking: he was to sail by the next store ship from England, and none had arrived. The council's calculation that exile would remove him more surely than punishment has meanwhile left him at large through the whole winter. A son asking to be released from his parents' household had no straightforward remedy in law, since a father's authority over a minor child was near absolute. The council had cancelled Mary Edwards's apprenticeship on 19 March 1728 when her master's house was found to be run as an inn, and delivered her to her brother, but that turned on a breach of indenture rather than on any power to separate a child from a parent. Speculations Joseph Long could have brought his complaint as a simple charge of theft against his father, which is how the fowl case had proceeded in June and which the council was well practised in handling. He instead framed it as a request to be removed from the household, making the beating and his parents' knowledge of the stealing the substance of the application rather than the yams themselves. The reason lies in what the June proceeding had cost him: his evidence had convicted his father and earned him a caning, and a fresh accusation on the same footing would leave him living in the same house with the same man. Asking for release rather than prosecution sought the one remedy that would put him beyond his father's reach.
217	215	the Comps Yams & is privey to all Such things but prays that he may be appointed to live with any honest Man on the Island who he will willingly allow him any reasonable Recompence for his Diet Joseph Long This day the Said Joseph Long presented the following Petition Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Joseph Long Sailor Sheweth That Your Petitioners father John Long ever Since the discovery of Your Petitioners Stealing by his father Directions the fowles of James Vaughn hath beated Your Petitioner with great Severity often beating Your Petr without cause or reason That Your Petr to his great concern is daily acquainted with the wicked Transactions of the Said father who by his black called Anthony almost every week Steals Yams out of the Honble Companies Plantation carried the Briers & the other to do the Undersigned his Said father got into Intreague with the Companies black Sergeant James who Looks after the Said Plantation & gave the Said a Pig, but this being talked of & Suspecting that Your Petr had mentioned it he beat Your Petr with Such exceeding cruelty that it is impossible Your Petr can live longer with her in peace and	Joseph Long said that his mother knew of the Company's yams and was privy to all such things, and asked that he might be appointed to live with any honest man on the island who would willingly allow him any reasonable recompense for his keep. Taken before me on 10 September 1733. Isaac Pyke. Signed Joseph Long. The same day Joseph Long presented the following petition. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The humble petition of Joseph Long, soldier. Long set out that his father John Long, ever since the discovery of the petitioner's evidence about stealing James Vaughan's fowls, had treated him with great severity and beaten him without cause or reason. He set out that his great concern was the daily wicked transactions of his father, who with his black man Anthony almost every week stole yams out of the Honourable Company's plantation called the Peak, and other things besides. He understood that his father had got into league with the Company's black man old James, who looks after the plantation, and gave him a pig. That being talked of, and suspecting the petitioner had mentioned it, he beat him with such extreme cruelty that it is impossible for him to live any longer with him in peace and safety, the more so because his mother is privy to and connives at all these scenes of wickedness. He therefore, being immediately under the command of the Governor as a soldier, humbly asked to be removed from his father and mother and placed with any honest man to whom the Governor is willing to allow a reasonable recompense for his keep. Signed Joseph Long, 11 September 1733. The council ordered that Joseph Long live and eat with Sergeant Garner, making him a reasonable

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Safety & the rather because his Mother is privey to & connives at all these Scenes of Wickedness Your Petr therefore being immediately under the command of Your Worship as a Sailor humbly prays that he may be removed from his Said father & Mother & Placed with any honest Man to whom Your Petr is willing to allow a reasonable Recompence for his Diet And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray 11th Sept 1733 Joseph Long Ordred that the Said Joseph Long do live & Diet with Sergeant Garner making him an Allowance for the Same not exceeding 10 pr Annum who we hope will take care & keep him out of Wickedness Upon this Information the Governour Sued the Warrant for apprehending John Long & Mary his Wife, their black called Anthony & the Honble Companies Slave called James Robert Burnham & a father dying lately very poor & leaving a Child upon the Parish the Churchwardens who also all here as Overseers of the Poor acquainted the Governour that they here apprehensive they Should not be able to place it out for less than the usuall price that is the Sum of Six Shillings a Week but it appearing not so extravagant & exceedingly that as much Should be given with a Parish Child as with a Child whose Parents are in good Circumstances & able to give Such a Sum they on inquiry proposed that if they would have the Parish to him he would endeavour to get Mumlin the particulars for which they thanked & readily agreed to do so, & the Governour having heard that he also had in past owner the Child of a live house he Sent for the Widow Anne who is Grandmother of the Child & destitute of an Habitation except what by Courtesy She is allowed to live in, & told her that if She would take the Child & bring it up at her own Charge till it was of Age the house Should be Enlisted for and fit for her to dwell in & that if She Survived the Child after it came of Age the house Should be her own & to Sell it or give it away as She pleased, but if the Child should die before it came of Age that then the house Should return to the Parish & to the Poor & the Woman readily consented & the Churchwardens being acquainted therewith advertised to compleat the house immediately which they think may be done for Six or Eight Pounds at most which is a much better & a much cheaper way than paying of it out by the Week John Blanch junr being Sent for by the Governour to be bound Apprentice to his father to learn the Trade of a Carpenter declared	allowance for the same, and secured him against such wickedness. Upon this information the Governor issued his warrant for apprehending John Long and his wife, their black man Anthony and the Company's slave called James. Robert Burnham's father having lately died very poor and left a child on the parish, the churchwardens, who also act as overseers of the poor, informed the Governor that they had apprehended they should not be able to place it out for less than the usual price, that is to say six shillings a week, but it appearing highly extravagant and exceedingly dear that as much should be given with a parish child as with a child whose parents are in good circumstances and able to give such a sum, they made every proper effort that they would have the matter to him. They asked leave to endeavour to settle particulars, for which they thanked him, and readily agreed to do so. The Governor, having heard that the deceased had in past ownership the shell of a little house, sent for the widow Anne, who is grandmother of the child and destitute of any habitation except what she allowed by courtesy. She was allowed to live in and told that if she would take the child and bring it up at her own charge till it was of age, the house should be forfeited or made fit for her to dwell in, and that if she survived the child after it came of age the house should be her own, and to sell it or give it away as she pleased. But if the child should die before it came of age, then the house should return to and belong to the parish, as the poor and the woman readily consented. The churchwardens, being acquainted with it, afterwards agreed to complete the house, imperfect as it was, which they think may be done for six or eight pounds, a saving of it out by the wish and a much cheaper way than any other of it out by the wish. John Clarke junior being sent for by the Governor to be bound apprentice to his father to learn the trade of a carpenter, declared that he was willing to be bound for seven years, the indentures being... Interpretations Joseph Long's status as a soldier gave him the standing his complaint required. A minor child had no means of leaving his father's household, but an enlisted man came under the Governor's command directly, and the petition turns on that point: he asks to be removed as a soldier subject to military authority rather than as a son seeking release from a parent. The council's order placing him with Sergeant Garner keeps him within the garrison establishment while putting him beyond his father's reach. The warrant against John Long, his wife, the slave Anthony and the Company's man James reaches every party to the arrangement at once. Old James looked after the plantation at the Peak, which Isaac Durling had valued at 80,000 pounds of yams in his return of 10 April 1733, and a keeper who let stock pass out weekly was the only means by which a theft of that duration could go undetected. Naming Long's wife on the warrant reflects Joseph's evidence that she knew of the thefts and said nothing. The churchwardens' objection to paying six shillings a week for a pauper child rests on a comparison with what parents in good circumstances paid for the same service. Parish relief throughout this record ran at modest sums, five shillings a week to the chaplain's widow in September 1732 and forty shillings to Elizabeth Marsham in May 1733, so six shillings weekly for a single child would have been among the heaviest charges on the parish.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		that he was willing to be bound for Seven Years & the Indentures being Margin Notes: Capt Coram me hoc decimo die Septembris Anno Domini 1733 Isa Pyke	The arrangement made with the grandmother converts a recurring parish liability into a one-off capital outlay. Repairing the shell of a house for six or eight pounds, against six shillings a week indefinitely, pays for itself within half a year, and the reversion to the parish should the child die before coming of age protects that investment. The grandmother gains a dwelling she does not presently have, the child gains a home, and the parish escapes a weekly charge, which is why the churchwardens agreed to bear the cost of completion.
218	216	being prepared they were mutually Signed & Interchanged after which he this day again expressed his Satisfaction at being bound Joseph Bates according to Order of Tuesday last presented the following Account of Effects remaining in his hands belonging to the Estate of the Spaniard who Sometime ago died at his house Vizt 80 White Shirts 1 Sett of Bed Curtains 11 Sheets 8 Umbrellaes 8 Banyan Shirts 3 pr of old Shoes 4 White Banyan Shirts 1 pr Slippers 25 pr Drawers 2 Silver Hilted Swords 6 Towells 4 Belts 9 Napkins 1 large Gold headed Cane 2 Table Cloths 2 Amber ditto 2 Shaving ditto 1 Small Scrutoire 15 Pillowbeats 3 Silver Spoons 6 Capps 1 Blunderbuss 5 White Handkerchiefs 1 Landing Piece 12 pr Cotton Stockings 2 Iron Pistolls 2 pr Red Silk ditto 3 large Jars 2 pr black ditto a Small Parcell of Chocolate 3 pr white ditto a Parcell of Drugs 8 Stocks 1 Barber Bason 10 Neckcloths 1 Case with 12 Bottles 1 blue Silk Coat trimmed with Gold & 2 pr Breeches 1 Ditto with Eleven ditto 2 black Silk Wastcoates & 2 pr Breeches 1 Close Stone Pan 1 fine Marble Stone Buttons 1 White Camblet Coat & 1 pr Breeches 2 Canes 1 Brass Stamp 1 Dowlas Wastcoat 2 Chests 1 Stitched Banyan 1 old Carpet 1 Silk ditto 1 large pr Silver Buttons 1 old Wigg	The indentures being prepared, they were mutually signed and exchanged, after which the boy again expressed his satisfaction at being bound. Joseph Bates, in accordance with the order of the previous Tuesday, presented the following account of the effects remaining in his hands belonging to the estate of the Spaniard who died at his house some time ago. 80 white shirts 11 sheets 8 banyan shirts 4 white banyan shirts 25 pairs of drawers 6 towels 9 napkins 2 table cloths 2 shaving cloths 15 pillowbeats 6 caps 5 white handkerchiefs 19 pairs of cotton stockings 2 pairs of red silk stockings 2 pairs of black stockings 3 pairs of white stockings 8 stocks 10 dishcloths 1 blue silk coat trimmed with gold and 2 pairs of breeches 2 black silk waistcoats and 2 pairs of breeches 1 white camlet coat and 1 pair of breeches 1 dress waistcoat 1 flowered banyan 1 silk banyan 1 old wig 1 old silver laced hat 1 remnant of silk 1 silk crown and cape and ribbons 2 quilts 1 set of bed curtains 8 umbrellas 3 pairs of old shoes 1 pair of slippers 2 silver hilted swords 4 belts 1 large gold headed cane 2 similar canes 1 small fountain 3 silver spoons 1 blunderbuss 1 fowling piece 2 iron pistols 3 large jars 2 small parcels of chocolate 1 parcel of dolls 1 barber's basin 1 case with 12 bottles 1 case with 11 bottles 1 old shoe and pan 1 five marks stone buttons 2 canes 2 brass lamps 1 chest 1 old carpet

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Silver Cross 1 old Silver Laced Hatt 1 Hair brush 1 Remnant of Silk 1 Grater 1 Silk Green Bed Valen & Pillows By Ballance a Rest in my hand 22.5. 2 Quilt St Helena 11th Sepr 1733 Joseph Bates Ordred that Messrs Goodwin & Crispe do compare this Account with the former Inventory & Report this day fortnight how they find the Same to agree therewith The Petition of Isaac Hayes was presented & read Praying that he might have a new Lease Granted him for Nineteen Acres of Land lying in Luffkins Valley Granted provided he do in Six Twelve Months time Fence & Inclose & Plant a proportionate part of his Land with Wood & that when the Same shall be so fenced Inclosed & Planted he shall give Bond to keep the Same from being wasted or destroyed & that this Lease be not delivered him till these things are complied with	1 large pair of silver buttons 1 silver cork 1 stave brush 1 grater By balance due in my hands, £22 5s 0d St Helena, 11 September 1733. Signed Joseph Bates. The council ordered that Messrs Goodwin and Crisp compare this account with the former inventory and report a fortnight from that day how they find the two agree. The petition of James Hayes was presented and read, asking that he might have a new lease granted him for seventeen acres of land lying in Sutton's Valley. The council granted it, provided he does within twelve months fence and enclose the land and plant a proportionate part of it with wood, and that when the same has been so fenced and enclosed he shall give bond to keep it from being wasted or destroyed, and that his lease not be delivered to him until these things are complied with. Interpretations The wardrobe listed here is that of a wealthy man travelling with a full establishment: eighty white shirts, two silver hilted swords, a gold headed cane and a blue silk coat trimmed with gold. Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento was described in one paper as late Governor of Manila, and Captain Slower and Mr Bonnell had put his whole estate at not less than £2,000 0s 0d when he landed on 27 January 1731. The clothing alone represents the visible portion of that wealth. A banyan was a loose gown of Indian origin worn indoors, and the four white banyan shirts and two banyans, one flowered and one silk, mark a man who had lived long in the East. Camlet was a plain wool or wool and silk cloth that shed rain, and a white camlet coat would have served for travelling. The eight umbrellas are unusual enough to be worth noting, since these were still uncommon in England at this date and associated with hot climates rather than wet ones. The order that Goodwin and Crisp compare this list against the earlier inventory is the practical test of Bates's honesty. He had admitted on 7 April 1731 to concealing a share of gold, gold shoe buckles, two rings and two pagodas, and to disposing of five shares of gold before any count was taken. Setting the two documents side by side would show what had gone missing in the intervening two and a half years, and the balance of £22 5s 0d he now acknowledges stands against the £246 19s 2.5d the commissioners found owing on 28 August. The conditions attached to James Hayes's lease apply the reform of 26 July and 1 August 1732 in its fullest form. He must fence and plant within twelve months, give a bond against waste once the work is done, and receive no lease at all until both are complete. Withholding the instrument until performance reverses the ordinary sequence, since a tenant who already holds his lease has little incentive to plant, and it is the mechanism the council had lacked through the whole failed wood campaign running from 1727 onward.
219	217	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 18th Sepr 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved It being late in the Evening before the Marshall could execute the	At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 September 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. It being late in the evening before the marshal could execute the warrant for apprehending John Long, his wife and their black man Anthony for stealing the Honourable Company's yams, and for

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Warrant for apprehending John Long & his Wife & their black named Anthony for Stealing the Honble Companies Yams by corrupting their black Fellow James who was appointed to look after their Plantation at the Briers they were not brought before Us till the next Morning when their Examinations were Severally taken by the Governour & are as follow Vizt Anthony a black Slave belonging to John Long being Examined touching the Complaint made yesterday by Joseph Long of his father & Mother corresponding with the Honble Companies Blacks & Stealing Yams out of their Plantations Sayth there was none Stolen or that he knew of no Yams being Stolen but they were bargained for & bought by his Master of James the Companies Black who Looked after that Plantation because his Master gave James a Fig & Sometimes Some Sugar, & Sometimes Some Tea & had the Yams of James for them, This Examinant & Anthony also Sayth he has lately fetched Six bags of Yams but he does not know the weight of them, being asked if his Mistress knew of their fetching the Comps Yams Sayth yes, She did being asked what he Sayed to James when he went for the Yams Sayth he only Said to James I want Some Yams & James Said go & take them so he went & dug them himself in the Night time & then it was dark but Sometimes James helped & told him being asked if ever he gave James any thing Sayth he did two or three times give him Sometime a Sugar & Sometime Tea that his Master Sent for James being asked if he was not Sensible it was a great fault to fetch these things so he Said he was a Slave what must he do his Master Sent him & if he did not go his Master would Whip him James one of the Honble Comps Blacks who is employed to look after the Yam Plantation at the Briers being Examined about giving the Companies Yams to John Long Sayth that one day when John Long came from the Fort he being Standing at the door Long called to him & Sayed if you will give me Some Yams I will give you a Fig but he Sayed there is no Yams to give you he Sayed well but when the People have all of they leave any in the ground give them to me, & after People have all of they leave any in the ground give them to me, & after & he Said he would & after that James Sayed come to him & he gave him Yams & one Sowe gave him Some Sugar & Some Tea & so many when Long came it was in the Night & dark, Being asked if John Long	corrupting their black fellow James, who was appointed to look after the plantation at the Peak, they were not brought before the council until the next morning, when their examinations were severally taken by the Governor as follows. Anthony, a black slave belonging to John Long, being examined touching the complaint made the previous day by Joseph Long about his father and mother corresponding with the Honourable Company's blacks and stealing yams out of their plantations, said there was none stolen, or that he knew of no yams being stolen, but they were bargained for and bought by his master from James, the Company's black who looked after that plantation, because his master gave James a pig, and sometimes some sugar, and sometimes some tea, and had the yams of James for them. The examinant Anthony also said he had lately fetched six bags of yams but does not know the weight of them. Being asked if his mistress knew of their fetching the Company's yams, he said yes, she did, being asked what he said to James when he went for the yams, he said he only said to James, I want some yams. Being asked what to do, he then said he went and dug them himself in the night, sometimes it was dark, but sometimes James came and helped him. Being asked if ever he gave James anything, he said he did two or three times give him sometimes sugar, sometimes tea, that his master sent for James. Being asked if he was not sensible it was a great fault to fetch these things, he said he was a slave, and what unless he do his master sent him or if he did not go, his master would whip him. Taken this tenth day of September 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. James, one of the Honourable Company's blacks who is long employed to look after the yam plantation at the Peak, being examined about giving the Company's yams to John Long, said that one day when he came from Long's, coming from the fort side, being standing at the door, Long called to him and said, if you will give me some yams I will give you a pig. But he said there was no yams to give, you have said well, but when the people have all of them leave any come to him and he gave him what he said he would. After that, sometimes some tea and sometimes when yams do run, some sugar gave him, so far as when they came in the night to dark. Being asked if John Long ever gave him a pig, he said he did give him a pig, but afterwards took and gave him at home again, and that pig is not at his house, and further he does not say. Taken this tenth day of September 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. John Long and his wife, being then called in, the examinations of their son were read to them, but they both denied their son's account and said the same to be true, however, their excuse not availing, the following warrant was issued to the marshal for whipping John Long. Whereas John Long, late a planter on this island, has been accused and convicted before the Governor and council of this place, not only of several larcenies and thefts, but of tempting and inducing others as well the Honourable Company's slaves to steal, and also of receiving some of the Honourable Company's slaves to steal yams out of their plantations, for some of which he has many and divers times received these stolen yams of them, and though he has often been reprimanded and forewarned for such like offences, he has not regarded the same but continues to be incorrigible in his... Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		had give him a Fig Sayth he did give him a Pig but afterwards took it home again & that Pig is now at his house & farther he doth not Say John Long & his Wife being then called in the Examinations of their Son was & of the two Blacks were read to them but they both & with their whole Assurance denied the Same to be true however this Excuse not availing the following Warrant was Issued to the Marshall for taking the Said Long Vizt WHEREAS John Long late a Planter on this Island hath been accused & convicted before the Governour & Councill of this Place not only of divers Larcenies & Pilferings & of teaching & influencing his Children & Servants to Steale & also for bribing Some of the Honble Comps Slaves to Steal Yams out of their Plantations & for such other has many & divers times received these Stolen Yams of them & tho he hath been often Imprisoned & forewarned for Such like Offences he hath not regarded the Same, but continues to be Incorrigible in his Margin Notes: Capt hac die decimo die Septembris Domini 1733 Coram me Isa Pyke Capt hac die decimo die Septembris Domini 1733 coram me Isa Pyke	Anthony's defence rests entirely on his position as a slave: he was sent, and refusal would have brought a whipping. That answer had defeated proceedings before, most plainly on 2 January 1733 when Anthony gave the same reasoning over Mr Brewster's fruit, saying that if his master says go fetch, he must go, and that is no stealing. The consistency between the two examinations, eight months apart, suggests a settled understanding of where responsibility lay rather than an excuse constructed for the occasion. Long's method with James follows the pattern he used with his own sons over James Vaughan's fowls in June: he arranged the theft and had others perform it. A pig given and then reclaimed once the arrangement was talked of, with sugar and tea passing at intervals, kept the transaction in kind and outside any account. James's own position made him the necessary party, since a keeper who noticed nothing was the only protection a theft of this duration required. The council's difficulty over slave testimony, which had defeated every earlier proceeding against Long, does not arise here. His conviction rests on his son Joseph's information, a free man's evidence, with the two slaves' examinations serving to establish the mechanism rather than the guilt. That is the same route by which the fowl case succeeded on 4 June 1733, when the sworn accounts of James and Joseph Long secured their father's commitment. Whipping a free planter marks a departure from every earlier disposal in Long's case. He had been bound over, imprisoned, released on petition and finally allowed to compound his prosecution by undertaking to leave for Bencoolen on bonds of twenty pounds each from Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward on 19 June 1733. The store ship had not come, he had remained on the island through the winter, and the council now applied the corporal penalty it had passed over three months earlier.
220	218	his lewd vicious idle & Unlawfull Practices contrary to the Peace Quiet & good Government of this Place & contrary to many good Laws & Orders for that case made & provided as well as contrary to an Act of Parliament of the 7th Chapter of the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth made & intituled an Act to avoid & prevent divers Misdemeanours in Lewd & idle Persons You are therefore to whip the Said John Long publicly with Ten Lashes for the Said Offences but in regard he hath been a Planter here you may for this first time let him receive the Shame of his Punishment with his Cloth on giving him notice that for all his future Offences he Shall be Looked on only & regarded as a common Vagabond & be punished in the Same manner You are to make Your Prisoner fast to the Face of the Wooden Horse & then to lead this to him before You whip him Hereof You are not to fail & for so doing this is Your Warrant Dated & Given under my hand & Seale this 12th day of Septr 1733 Isa Pyke Simon Whaly Marshall To his Sufficient Deputy	The warrant continued, setting out that Long's lewd, vicious, idle and unlawful practices ran contrary to the peace, equity and good government of the place, and contrary to many good laws and orders made in that case, and that provision was made in an act of Parliament of the 7th chapter of the 43rd of Queen Elizabeth entitled an act to avoid and prevent divers misdemeanours in lewd and idle persons. The marshal was therefore to whip John Long publicly with ten lashes for the offences, but in regard he had been a planter there, he might for the first time receive them with his clothes on, and be given notice that for all his future offences he shall be looked on only and treated as a common negro, and be punished in the same manner. The marshal was to make the prisoner fast to the face of the wooden horse before proceeding to whip him, and was not to fail of doing this. Dated and given under my hand and seal this 11th day of September 1733. Isaac Pyke. To Simon Whaley, marshal, or his sufficient deputy. Long was whipped accordingly in the presence of a great many people, who were only concerned that he did not receive the stripes upon his naked body and in greater numbers. The Honourable Company's black slave James was also severely whipped and removed to another place, but Anthony, Long's black, alleging that he was a slave and obliged to obey his master and expecting orders, was excused. His life was excused from whipping, but for his punishment he was sent to labour at the Honourable Company's works, and was

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		And the Said Long was whiped accordingly in the Presence of a great many People who were only concerned that he did not receive the Stripes upon his naked body & in greater Numbers The Honble Companies black Fellow James was also Severely whiped & removed to an other Place, but Anthony Longs black, alledging that he was a Slave, & Obligated to obey his Masters Orders upon the whole of the case had his Life was excused from Whipping & for his Punishment Sent to Labour at the Honble Companies Works but was told that if he Should hereafter obey any of his Masters unlawfull Commands & not give notice thereof he Should also be punished with Severity Messrs Goodwin & Crispe this day made the following Report Vizt We have examined & compared the Account of the Effects late belonging to Don John de Mosia y Apunto deceased which Jos Bates delivered into Councill on Tuesday last with the Inventory of the Goods & Effects belonging to the dec'd which the Said Bates formerly delivered & find that a great Summ of Money have been Squandered & Imbezled by the Said Bates & that many other things are missing & that neither of the Said Accounts are true they differing each from the other in many materiall Articles as are hereafter mentioned The particulars wanting or Imbezzled are Vizt Cash 5 Shares of Gold each at £48 £240 - - - 113 Pagodas @ 9 50. 17 - odd Money 4. 6½ Cash wanting or Imbezzled 291. 1. 6½ 20 White Shirts 1 pr Slippers 1 Banyan Shirt a Small Quantity Spice 20 Capps 1 Landing Piece 4 pr Stockings 2 Glass Mugs 5 Necks 1 Cattee Tea 1 Remnant Silk 1 pr Musselines 2 pr Shoes Six Shares of Gold 2 Diamond Rings 3 Silver Forks 100 Dollars 1 Bottled Shoe Buckles 1 Silver Stamp & a Parcell of Papers are in the Governours Custody Sealed up The later Account disagrees with the former in the following particulars, that is to Say, the Severall Articles hereunder set out are inserted in this Inventory which the Said Bates delivered into Councill on Tuesday last & are quite omitted in the first Inventory Vizt 1 Small Scutore 2 pr Drawers	told that if he should hereafter obey any of his master's unlawful commands and not give notice of it, he should also be punished with the greatest severity. Messrs Goodwin and Crisp made the following report the same day. This report ought to be copied. See the report in the next consultation. They had examined and compared the account of the effects late belonging to Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento, deceased, which Joseph Bates delivered into council on the previous Tuesday, with the inventory of the goods and effects belonging to the deceased, which Bates formerly delivered, and found that great sums of money have been squandered and embezzled by Bates, and that many other things are missing, and that neither of the accounts are true, they differing each from the other in many material articles as is hereafter mentioned. The particulars wanting or embezzled are as follows. Cash, 5 shares of gold each at £48, £240 0s 0d 113 pagodas at 9 shillings, £50 17s 0d Small money, £0 4s 6.5d Cash wanting or embezzled, £291 1s 6.5d 20 white shirts 1 banyan shirt 20 capes 4 pairs of stockings 5 necks 1 remnant of silk 2 pairs of shoes 1 pair of slippers a small quantity of spice 1 looking glass 2 glass mugs 1 cattie of tea 1 pair of muslins Six shares of gold, two diamond rings, three silver forks, 100 dollars, one pair of shoe buckles, one silver stand and a parcel of papers are in the Governor's custody, sealed up. The later account disagrees with the former in the following particulars, that is to say, the several articles inserted in the second inventory which Bates delivered into council on the previous Tuesday and are quite omitted in the first inventory. 1 small escritoire 2 pairs of drawers 2 shaving cloths 2 pillowbeats 1 white... Interpretations The statute cited, 43 Elizabeth chapter 7, was an English act of 1601 against unlawful cutting of wood, hedges and crops and the receiving of stolen produce, providing summary punishment before justices where the offence fell short of felony. Its use here allowed the council to whip a free planter on summary conviction without a jury, which is why the warrant recites it at length: Long had escaped every earlier proceeding for want of admissible evidence or through composition, and the statute supplied a route to immediate corporal punishment. The concession that Long might be whipped with his clothes on, being a planter, and the warning that any future offence would see him treated as a common negro, marks the precise point at which his standing as a free man ceased to protect him. Corporal punishment on the bare back was the penalty reserved for slaves throughout this record, as with Caesar and Anthony on 2 January 1733, and the council was placing Long one offence away from that category. The crowd's reaction, that the sentence was too light, measures how far Long had exhausted the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 Shaving Cloths 2 Pillowbeats 1 White Margin Notes: This Report cannot to be Copied, See the Report in the next Consultation	neighbourhood's patience. Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward had stood surety for his departure on 19 June 1733 saying they were glad at any rate to be rid of him, and James Ryder had complained of him in 1729, John Martin Vandeston in 1728. A public whipping before a crowd wishing for more is the culmination of a decade of failed proceedings. The disparate treatment of the two slaves rests on where the initiative lay. James was severely whipped and moved away because he held a position of trust over the Company's plantation and betrayed it, while Anthony was excused the lash on the ground that a slave must obey, and set to labour instead. The warning given him, that concealing an unlawful order in future would bring the severest punishment, creates an obligation to inform against his own master that no slave could safely discharge. The commissioners' finding of £291 1s 6.5d in cash missing, together with the discrepancies between Bates's two inventories, converts the matter from overcharging into embezzlement. Five shares of gold and 113 pagodas are simply gone, and the fact that the second account lists items absent from the first shows that neither document can be relied on, which is what the commissioners state plainly.
221	219	1 White Handkerchief 2 pr Silk Stockings 1 Neckcloth 1 Hatt 1 Brass Stamp 1 Carpet 1 large Pair Silver Buttons 1 Hair Brush 1 Grater We also find that the Said Bates when he was compelled on the 7th of Aprill 1733 to deliver to the Governour great part of the Cash belonging to the deceased that he paid in the Sum of one hundred Dollars of which no Notice is taken in either of the Inventories & yet the Said Bates has Signed them both & offers to Swear that each of them is a true Inventory We therefore Submit it to consideration whether Some effectuall Course might not to be taken with the Said Bates in Order to Secure Such Effects as are yet remaining as well as to discourage all Such corrupt & Infamous Practices which the Said Bates hath committed in a most Shamefull Degree with relation to the Goods & Effects of the deceased Jno Goodwin St Helena 18th Sept 1733 D. Crispe The following Will & Inventory of the Estate & Effects of John Knipe Senr deceased was this day presented & proved by the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto Vizt In the Name of God Amen This 20th day of July 1733 I John Knipe Senr being Sick & weak of body but of Sound & Perfect Mind & Memory thanks be to Almighty God do make constitute & Ordain this my last Will & Testament that is to Say principally	The commissioners' list of items appearing in the second account but omitted from the first continued. 1 white handkerchief 2 pairs of silk stockings 1 dishcloth 1 hat 1 brass stamp 1 carpet 1 large pair of silver buttons 1 stave brush 1 grater They also found that when Bates was compelled on 7 April 1731 to deliver up to the Governor a great part of the cash belonging to the deceased, he then paid in the sum of one hundred dollars, of which no notice is taken in either of the inventories, and yet Bates has signed them both and offers to swear that each of them is a true inventory. They therefore submitted it to consideration whether some effectual course ought not to be taken with Bates in order to secure such effects as are yet remaining, as well as to discourage all such corrupt and dishonest practices, which Bates has committed in a most shameful degree in relation to the goods and effects of the deceased. Signed John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. St Helena, 18 September 1733. The following will and inventory of the estate and effects of John Knipe senior, deceased, was presented the same day and proved on the oaths of the witnesses. In the name of God, amen. This 20th day of July 1733, John Knipe senior, being sick and weak of body but sound and perfect in mind and memory, thanks be to Almighty God, made and ordained this his last will and testament. He first commended his soul into the hands of Almighty God and his body to the earth, to be buried in a Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors hereafter named, and as touching such worldly goods as it had pleased God to bless him with, he devised and disposed of the same as follows. He directed that all his debts and funeral charges be fully satisfied in some convenient time after his death. He gave all the rest and residue of his estate, of whatever kind, both real and personal, and devised and bequeathed it to his beloved children, to be

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& first of all I give & Recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God, my body to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like & decent manner at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named and as touching Such worldly Goods wherewith it has Pleased God to bless me with I give devise & dispose of the Same in manner & form as followeth Vizt Imprimis My desire is that all my Debts & Funerall Charges be fully Satisfied in Some convenient time after my decease Item, all the Rest & Residue of my Estate is what kind soever both Real & Personall I give & bequeath to my well beloved Children to be equally divided amongst them that is to John, William & Samuel & Sarah, Mary & Ruth, but my desire is that my Executors do keep my whole Estate that is left together for the good & benefit of my Children if can conveniently that each Child not to take out their Part or Parts untill my youngest Child Ruth do attain to the Age of Sixteen Years or Marriage Item I constitute & Appoint my loving Friends Mr Isaac Wood John Purling, & John DeFountain Executors of this my last Will, Revoking & Disannulling all former Wills by me made Ratifying & Confirming this & no other to be my last Will and Testament Jno Knipe Signed Sealed Pronounced & declared in the Presence of Us John Thwaites Thomas Boyd Richard Beale Under the originall Will the Govr wrote with his own hand as follows The Seventeenth of another that the third Clause of this Will is contrary to Law & that the Children cannot be alledged to Stay until the youngest Sister is of the Age of Sixteen Years & because it appears by the Inventory first now read that there is very little if any Difference between the Amount of the personall Estate & the Debts owing by the deceased so when those Debts are payed there will be nothing to be divided & therefore the Gentlemen who are named Executors are appointed to be Administrators & Administration is to be granted them with	equally divided among them, that is to say John, William and Samuel, and Sarah, Mary and Ruth. He desired that his executors keep his whole estate together for the good and benefit of his children, if they conveniently can, and that no child part with their part or parts until his youngest child Ruth attains the age of sixteen years or marries. He constituted and appointed his loving friends Isaac Wood, John Durling and John Defountaine executors of this his last will, revoking and disannulling all former wills by him made, and ratifying and confirming this and no other to be his last will and testament. Signed, sealed, pronounced and declared in the presence of us, John Thwaites, Thomas Boyle, Richard Beale. Signed John Knipe. Under the original will the Governor wrote with his own hand as follows. That the last clause of this will is contrary to law, in that the children cannot be obliged to stay until the youngest sister is of the age of sixteen years, unless it appear by the inventory just now read that there is very little if any difference between the amount of the personal estate and the debts owing by the deceased, so that when those debts are paid there will be nothing to be divided. He therefore appointed the gentlemen who are named executors and administration is to be granted them with... Interpretations The council's discovery that a hundred dollars surrendered to the Governor on 7 April 1731 appears in neither of Bates's inventories, both of which he signed and offered to swear to, is the point on which the whole enquiry turns from carelessness to perjury. A man cannot swear to two inconsistent documents as true, and both omit money the council itself had received from his hands two and a half years earlier. The commissioners stop short of recommending any particular course, submitting instead whether some effectual step ought to be taken to secure what remains. That reticence reflects the limits of the council's authority: Bates had already been allowed to sail for England in May 1731 only on security that the estate would be forthcoming, and the determination of the whole matter had been reserved to the Company in London, which alone could reach the heirs at Manila and Tenerife. Governor Pyke's endorsement on Knipe's will identifies a defect in the instrument itself. A testator could recommend that an estate be kept together, but he could not bind adult children to leave their shares undivided until a younger sibling reached sixteen, since a vested interest could not be postponed by direction alone. The Governor's note distinguishes what the will directs from what the law will enforce. The practical resolution rests on the arithmetic rather than the legal point. With the personal estate barely exceeding the debts, nothing remained to divide once creditors were paid, so the clause the Governor held unenforceable would have no effect in any case. Granting administration to the named executors allows the debts to be settled without the children's shares becoming a contested question, which is the same reasoning applied to the Greentree estate at the sessions of 2 July 1733, where the executors argued that division would destroy the value of what remained.
222	220	a Copy of the Will annexed without any farther regard to this Paper though it be called John Knipes Will but John Knipe	The Governor's endorsement concluded that a copy of the will was annexed without any further regard to this clause, though it be called John Knipe's will, but John Knipe the eldest son agreeing to confirm this will as far as relates to himself, all is

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the eldest Son agreeing to confirm this Will as far as Relates to himself all is referred to him & the Administrators the Children being all to have care of by their Several Relations An Inventory of the Estate both Real & Personall lately belonging to John Knipe Senr dec'd taken & Appraised by Isaac Wood John Purling & John DeFountain 17 Sept 1733 Household Furniture 1 Feather Bed 1 Feather Bolster 1 feather Pillow 1 Bedstead 5 2 Quilts 2 old Flock Beds 1 flock Bolster 2 feather Pillows 1 old Quilt & 1 old Coat 1 10 1 old Flock Bed 2 feather Pillows 1 Bedstead 1 1 Chest 2 Trenchers & Saucers 5 1 Chest 15 1 old ditto with Drawers 10 1 old Cask with 3 Sacks 4 6 Knives & 6 Forks 6 1 Table Frame & Form 10 9 China Plates 4 1 Looking Glass 4 4 old Chairs 4 2 Small Washing Tubs 4 1 large ditto 6 3 Pewter Basons 5 1 Pewter Dish & Sampler 5 1 Pail, 1 Churn 1 Tub 1 6 1 Spitt, 1 Frying Pan & 2 pr of old Potthooks 6 Large Iron Pott 1 1 Small ditto 8 1 Small ditto 3 1 old Iron Pan 3 2 China Bowles & 2 Trenchers 5 4 Cupps 2 Saucers 1 Glass 2 1 Stone Jug 2 1 Tin Sauce Pan 3 2 Small Earthen Jars 2 a Parcell of Rosewater Tea 5 2 brass Candlesticks 2	referred to him and the administrators, the children being all taken care of by their several relations. An inventory of the estate, both real and personal, lately belonging to John Knipe senior, deceased, taken and appraised by Isaac Wood, John Durling and John Defontaine on 17 September 1733. Household furniture 1 feather bed, 1 pillow, 1 bolster 1 feather bed, 1 bolster, 1 bedstead, £3 0s 0d 1 quilt 2 old flock beds, 1 flock bolster, 2 feather pillows, £1 10s 0d 1 old quilt and 1 old cot 1 old flock bed, 2 feather pillows, 1 bedstead, £1 0s 0d 1 chest, 2 trunks and 1 large box, £0 5s 0d 1 chest, £0 15s 0d 1 old case with drawers, £0 10s 0d 1 old chest with 3 boxes, £0 5s 0d 6 knives and 6 forks, £0 6s 0d 1 table frame and form, £0 10s 0d 9 china plates, £0 4s 0d 1 looking glass, £0 4s 0d 4 old chairs, £0 5s 0d 2 small washing tubs, £0 5s 0d 1 large tub, £0 6s 0d 1 pewter basin, £0 5s 0d 1 pewter dish and 1 tankard, £0 5s 0d 1 pail, 1 churn, 1 tub, £1 6s 0d 1 spit, 1 frying pan and 1 pot, £0 6s 0d 1 old saltbox 1 large iron pot, £1 0s 0d 1 small iron pot, £0 8s 0d 1 lead pot, £0 4s 0d 1 old iron pan, £0 3s 0d 2 china bowls and 2 saucers, £0 5s 0d 4 cups, 1 saucer, 1 glass, £0 5s 0d 1 stone jug, £0 2s 0d 1 tin water jar, £0 3s 0d 1 large earthen jar, £0 2s 0d 1 parcel of earthenware, £0 5s 0d 2 brass candlesticks, £0 2s 0d 1 grindstone, £0 2s 0d 1 desk and basket, £0 2s 0d 1 pair of tongs, £0 3s 0d 1 new chamber pot, £0 5s 0d Blacks 1 man named Oxford, £20 0s 0d 1 boy named Jack, £20 0s 0d 1 girl named Nanny, £6 0s 0d Neat cattle 1 old cow and calf, £4 3s 0d 1 brown and white cow and calf, £5 0s 0d 1 black and white cow and calf, £5 0s 0d 1 brown cow and calf, £5 0s 0d 1 brown cow, £4 0s 0d Sheep 2 ram ewes, £2 0s 0d 1 wether, £0 3s 0d 1 ewe and 2 lambs, £0 3s 0d Poultry 23 fowls, £1 9s 0d 4 turkeys, £0 12s 0d 6 ducks, £0 6s 0d Total brought forward, £92 3s 6d Yams 5,000 young at 15 shillings per 1,000, £3 15s 0d 3,000 at 10 shillings per 1,000, £1 10s 0d 5,000 recovered at 5 shillings per 1,000, £1 10s 0d 3,000 at 3 shillings, £0 10s 0d 1,000, £0 5s 0d Total of the personal estate, £99 13s 6d Land 10 acres of freehold land with a dwelling house, £70 0s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Grindstone 6 4 Deals Board 6 1 pr Tongs 4 1 new Chamber Pott 5 Blacks Vizt 1 Man named Oxford 20 1 Boy Slave 20 1 Girle Nanny 6 Neat Cattle Vizt 1 old Cow & Calf 4 3 1 Brown & white Cow & Calf 5 1 black & White Cow & Calf 5 1 Brown Cow & Calf 5 1 Brown Cow 4 Goats Vizt 2 Female Goats 2 1 do & 1 Shakes 3 1 do & 2 ditto 2 Poultry Vizt 23 Fowles 1 9 4 Turkeys 12 6 Ducks 6 92 3 6 Brought forward 92 3 6 Yams Vizt 5000 young 15 pr 1000 3 15 3000 ditto 10 pr do 1 10 6000 Newcuts 5 pr do 1 10 3000 ditto 3½ 10 1000 ditto 5 Total of the Personall Estate 99 13 6 Land Vizt 10 Acres of free Land with a dwelling House 70 31 7/9 Acres Leased Land 30 In whole Estate 199 13 6 The Estate Dr to Sundrys Vizt To Capt Alexander 13 6 To the Honble Company 52 12 10 To John Bagett 3 10 To Bridget Bagett 2 3 9 To Josh Weangham 11	31.75 acres of leased land, £30 0s 0d Whole estate, £199 13s 6d The estate is debtor to sundry persons as follows To Captain Alexander, £1 12s 6d To the Honourable Company, £52 12s 10d To John Bazett, £3 10s 0d To Bridget Bazett, £2 3s 9d To Francis Wrangham, £0 11s 0d To Elizabeth Young, £3 15s 9d To John Doveton, £3 7s 0d To John Cannon, £1 8s 4d To Mr Crisp for money, £1 6s 0d To Mary Powell, £7 1s 5d To William Seale senior, £7 1s 3d To James Hayes, £1 16s 4d To Draper's orphans, £1 2s 9d To Isaac Wood, £3 18s 0d To John Durling, £6 12s 3d To John Defountaine, £13 10s 0d Total debts, £106 1s 8d Isaac Wood, John Durling and John Defountaine made oath that this is a just and true inventory and appraisement of all the effects left by John Knipe senior which have come to their knowledge since 17 September, and that the appraisement is according to the best of their judgement. Sworn this 17 September 1733 before me. Isaac Pyke. Signed Isaac Wood, John Durling, John Defountaine. Interpretations The estate closes at £199 13s 6d against debts of £106 1s 8d, which confirms Governor Pyke's endorsement on the will: with the personal estate at £99 13s 6d and the debts exceeding it, nothing of the movable property survived for division among the six children. The land alone carries any surplus, and it is the reason the executors were left to administer rather than the children put to their shares. The eldest son's agreement to confirm the will so far as it concerned himself resolves the legal difficulty without a contest. He was the party best placed to challenge the clause tying the estate until his youngest sister reached sixteen, and his consent removed the only claim that could have forced a division. The note that the children were all being cared for by their several relations explains why none of them needed an immediate share. Yams appear in the inventory as a valued crop rather than as stores, priced by the thousand and graded from fifteen shillings down to three according to age and condition. A standing crop in the ground was a realisable asset on this island, and its inclusion here at £7 10s 0d shows how a modest planter's wealth was held. The valuation follows the same practice as the Company's own accounts, which reckoned the standing crop at 948,000 pounds in the annual stock account to 24 March 1731. The three slaves are appraised at £46 0s 0d, close to a quarter of the whole estate, with a man and a boy at £20 0s 0d each and a girl at £6 0s 0d. That distribution matches the Greentree inventory of 25 July 1733, where six slaves came to £86 0s 0d on the same scale, and it reflects the Company's own practice of settling values in proportion to age each September. Sixteen creditors are named, the Honourable Company itself the largest at £52 12s 10d, and three of them, Isaac Wood, John Durling and John Defountaine, are the executors who took and swore the inventory. An executor who is also a creditor holds a position of some delicacy, since he must satisfy his own claim out of an estate he administers, and their appointment by the will rather than by the council is what made that acceptable here.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		To Elz Young 3 15 9 To John Doveton 3 7 6 To John Lanson 14 4 To Mr Crispes Attorney 12 6 To Mary Powell 7 1 5 To Wm Seale Senr 1 4 3 To Jno Hayes 1 16 4 To 1 Deacons Orphans 13 9 To Isaac Wood 3 18 To John Purling 6 12 3 To Jno DeFountain 13 10 - Debts 106 4 8 Isaac Wood, Jno Purling & John DeFountain make Oath that this is a Just & true Inventory & Appraisment of all the Effects left by John Knipe Senr dec'd which have come to their Knowledge till the 17th of this Month & that the Estate hath & Appraisment is according to the best of their Skill & Judgment Isaac Wood John Purling Jno DeFountain Jurat hac 18 die 17 die 1733 Coram me Isa Pyke	
223	221	Joseph Bates attending he was called in & the Inventory or Account of the Spaniards Effects which he laid before Us on Tuesday last, was Shewn to him he was asked whether the Same was a true Account or not, He Said it was a true Account & made Oath thereof in the following Words written under the Said Inventory or Account Vizt Joseph Bates maketh Oath that the herein written is a faithfull, true & just Account of all the Effects now in his hands belonging to Don Juan de Mosia y Apunto deceased Joseph Bates Jurat hac decimo Octavo die Septembris Anno Domini 1733 Coram me Isa Pyke John Gurling presented this day a Bill of Sale for a house in James Valley which he lately bought of Francis Weangham for Sixty pounds Praying the Same might be Registred for greater Security thereof Ordred that the Same be Registred accordingly Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 25th Seprtr 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe	Joseph Bates attended, and the inventory or account of the Spaniard's effects which he laid before the council on the previous Tuesday was read to him. Asked whether the same was a true account or not, he said it was a true account, and made oath to it in the following words written under the said inventory or account. Joseph Bates makes oath that the above written is a faithful, true and just account of all the effects now in his hands belonging to Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento, deceased. Signed Joseph Bates. Sworn this 21st day of September 1733 before me. Isaac Pyke. John Durling presented that day a bill of sale for a house in James Valley which he lately bought of Francis Wrangham for sixty pounds, asking that the same might be registered for his greater security. The council ordered that it be registered accordingly. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 September 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Messrs Goodwin and Crisp made the following report that day. Following the council's order of Tuesday the 4th of the month, they had examined and compared the account which Joseph Bates delivered into council of the goods and effects belonging to Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento, the Spaniard deceased, with the account of the same which Bates delivered into council on Tuesday the 8th of April 1732. Although

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The last Consultation was read & Approved Messrs Goodwin & Crispe this day made the following Report Vizt According to the Order of Tuesday the 11th Instant we have examined & Compared the Account which Joseph Bates that day delivered into Councill of the Goods & Effects belonging to Don John de Mosia y Apunto the Spaniard deceased with the Account thereof which the Said Bates delivered into Council on Tuesday the 4th of Aprill 1733 & although the Said Bates hath Sworn to the truth of each of these Accounts yet we find they greatly differ, disagreeing in many particulars, & that in the first Account Sixteen different Articles are wanting which were mentioned in his former Account to which it appears to Us that the Said Bates is forsworn & that he hath concealed more of the Goods & Effects of the deceased than he is willing to have known Jno Goodwin St Helena 25 Sept 1733 D. Crispe The Said Bates attending he was called in & the Said Report was read to him but with great Confidence he defended himself to his first Inventory which he affirmed was a true one & than Sworn to it & that he Swore that the Inventory which he gave in on Tuesday last he Swore was also a true Account although they differ the 11th Instant was also a true Account although they differ widely in Several materiall Articles & many Items inserted in one Account more than in the other & therefore of Consequence both Accounts are false, we withhold the Said Bates was allowed him till Tuesday next to make his Account The following Petition was this day presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of John French Gunner Sheweth That the present Scituation of the Magazine is very dangerous & improper, it lying near the Sea & defended only by a Wall of two or three feet thick which may easily be beat into of an Enemy was to fire against it & that it is not in any Sort Secured against a Bomb That Margin Notes: Magazine	Bates has sworn to the truth of each of these accounts, they find they materially differ, disagreeing in many particulars, and that in the first account, dated in September, sixteen different articles are wanting which were mentioned in the former account. They therefore submit to the council that Bates has sworn that he has concealed more of the goods and effects of the deceased than he is willing to have known. Signed John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. St Helena, 25 September 1733. Bates attended and the report was read to him, but with great confidence he defended himself, referring to the first inventory which he affirmed was true, or that he was no longer since he swore to it, and that he would abide by it. He swore that the inventory which he gave in on the previous Tuesday was also a true account, although they differ widely in several material articles, and many items are inserted in one account more than in the other, and therefore of consequence both accounts are false. Bates was allowed time until the following Tuesday to make up his account. The following petition was presented and read. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The humble petition of John Ronald, gunner. Ronald set out that the present situation of the magazine was very dangerous and improper, lying near the sea and defended only by a wall of two or three feet thick, which may easily be beaten by an enemy's fire, and is not in any way secured against a bomb. Interpretations Bates's position has now collapsed into an open contradiction he refuses to resolve. He has sworn to two inventories that differ in sixteen articles, and when the discrepancy was put to him he confirmed both on oath rather than abandoning either. The commissioners state the necessary conclusion, that both accounts are therefore false, and the effect of his obstinacy is to convert what might have been careless bookkeeping into deliberate concealment. The council's response to that finding is to grant him another week. That patience runs through the whole affair: he was ordered to render his bill on 3 May 1731, pleaded illness on 1 May 1733, was summoned again on 28 August, asked for time on 4 September, produced an account on 11 September and swore to it on 21 September. The determination of the whole matter rests with the Company in London, which alone can reach the heirs at Manila and Tenerife, so the council's object is a complete record rather than a local judgement. The gunner's objection to the magazine's position revives a difficulty the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 had already identified, when the magazine was found chiefly damaged by damp and 72 barrels of powder condemned as entirely spoiled. Ronald's complaint is different in kind, concerning defence rather than preservation: a powder store near the shore behind a wall two or three feet thick was exposed to bombardment from the road, and a single shell reaching it would destroy the island's whole stock of powder at once. A bomb in this period meant a hollow explosive shell fired from a mortar on a high trajectory, which fell from above rather than striking a wall directly. The island's own inventory of 30 September 1729 carried ten bomb shells among its stores, so the council understood the weapon, and no thickness of vertical wall protected against one. The remedy would have required overhead cover or a new site inland, and the petition arrives at a moment when

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			the annual charge of the island stood at its heaviest in this record.
224	222	That by its present Scituation it is in great Danger of being blown up by Fire if any Should happen within the Castle, most of the Rooms or Chambers thereof being built close to it & the Timber in this Country is so very dry & apt to burn that if a Fire Should once happen it would be hardly possible to Save the Magazine That formerly in the time of Governour Johnson many barrels of Powder were damaged by the violent Rains that then fell & Your Petitioner is full of Apprehension that upon heavy Rains the like Accident may again happen That for this Reason a new Magazine was built by Governour Smith but proving Damp it lay long useless & great Quantities of Powder were therein damaged of which Your Petitioner gave early Notice but no Regard was given thereto till Six Months afterwards when the Powder was removed back to the old Magazine Your Petr therefore humbly begs leave to propose to Your Worship & Councill that if the Said Magazine cannot be made dry & Secure & Your Petr believes it cannot Some other convenient Place may be laid out for Rebuilding of an other in order to avoid all the Damage & Danger before mentioned All which is Submitted to Your Worship & the Councill by Your Petr St Helena 25th Sepr 1733 Jno French Gunnr The Governour & Councill being each of them Sensible of the Equity of the Said Petition so far as it relates to the Necessity of building a new Magazine agreed that the Same ought to be done but took time till Tuesday next in order to Search for a Place most convenient for the purpose & to consider of the Dimensions & Expence thereof & the better to Judge of these things, the Gunner was asked what Wooden Work would be wanted within the Magazine & he Replied that Paving would do but flooring better Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 2nd Octr 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Accounts for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Gunnrs Stores Expended in Sepr 1733 Vizt Guns Fired, Minion, Falcons, Powder	Ronald set out that in its present position the magazine stood in great danger of being blown up by fire, should any break out in the castle, since much of the roofing and thatch of the buildings close to it, and the timber of the island generally, was very dry and quick to catch. Were a fire to start there, it would be almost impossible to save the magazine. He set out that in Governor Johnson's time many barrels of powder had been damaged by the heavy rains, and that he feared the same might happen again. He set out that for that reason a new magazine was built by Governor Smith, but proving damp it became useless, and great quantities of powder were damaged in it. He had given the council early notice of this, but no attention was paid to it until six months afterwards, when the powder was removed back to the old magazine. He therefore asked leave to propose to the Governor and council that, since the magazine cannot be made safe by any means in the council's power, some other convenient place might be laid out for building another, so as to avoid the damage and danger he had described. Submitted to the Governor and council. Signed John French, gunner. St Helena, 25 September 1733. The Governor and council, each of them being sensible of the truth of the petition so far as it relates to the necessity of building a new magazine, agreed that the same ought to be done, but took time until the following Tuesday in order to search for a place most convenient for the purpose, and to consider the dimensions and expense of it, the better to judge of these matters. The gunner was asked what wooden work would be wanted within the magazine, and he replied that flooring would do, but flooring better. At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 October 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward delivered their accounts for the past month, which were examined and approved as follows. The gunner's stores expended in September 1733 ran as follows. 1 September, muster day: 9 guns fired, 10 lb of powder 6 September, the Danish ship sailed: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder Expense of the guards: 11 lb of powder Cartridge paper, 6 quires Sheepskins, 3 Match, 6 lb Total: 9 guns fired, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 39 lb of powder The account was signed by John French, gunner. Interpretations The gunner's petition rests on a history of failure the council itself had recorded. Powder damaged by rain under Governor Johnson, a replacement magazine built by Governor Smith that proved damp and spoiled more powder, and a six-month delay before the stock was moved back, together establish that neither building had ever been fit. The ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 found 72 barrels entirely spoiled and the magazine chiefly damaged by damp, which corroborates his account from the council's own papers.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1733 Sept 1st Muster Day: Guns Fired: 0, Minion: 0, Falcons: 0, Powder: 10 6 The Danish Ship Sailed: Guns Fired: 9, Minion: 1, Falcons: 8, Powder: 11 Expence of the Guards 11 Cartridge Paper 6 Quire Sheep Skin 3 Match 6tt Guns Fired: 9, Minion: 1, Falcons: 8, Powder: 32 Signed Jno French Margin Notes: Magazine	Two distinct dangers run through the petition and should not be conflated. Damp destroyed powder slowly and had already done so twice, while fire spreading from the thatched buildings adjoining would destroy it instantly along with much else. Ronald's point is that the site suffers from both at once, and that no repair to the existing structure addresses either. The council's agreement in principle, followed by an adjournment to search for a site and consider the cost, follows Governor Pyke's established method. He had required every councillor to walk the ground and taste each spring before giving an opinion on the water in August 1732, and adjourned the yam question in April 1733 until members had seen Sandy Bay for themselves. A decision reached before the ground was viewed would have been out of character. Powder expenditure of 39 pounds is the lowest recorded in this run, below the 42 pounds of February 1733 and less than a seventh of May's 269 pounds. One muster and one departure made up the whole month's firing, the anchorage having stood empty since the Danish ship sailed on the sixth. The figure measures the trough between shipping seasons, and the timing of the magazine proposal is no coincidence: building work was possible only while no vessels required attention.
225	223	Iron Ordinance Sorted, Iron round Shott, Double headed Shott, Cannon Powder, Match, Cartridge Paper, Spunge Staves, Spunge Heads, Rammer Heads, Powder Horns, Worms, Ladles, Tompions, Sheepskins, Boks, Quoins, Cartouch Boxes, Touch, Adzes, Blunderbuss, Pistolls, Rouge Barrels, Pins, Union Flags, Handspikes, Formers, Linstocks, Priming wires, Cartridge Cases, Scowl Sticks, Leade Shott, Parchment Skins, Drums, Field Colours, Flints, Buccaneere Peices, Halberts, Scowring Rods, Buff Bolts, Grenadier Pouches, Bomb Shells, Field Carriages, Gun Ropes, Fowling Peices, Bills, Musquets, Swords, Tin Black Remg 1 Octr 1732: Iron Ordinance Sorted: 128, Iron round Shott: 6916, Double headed Shott: 545, Cannon Powder: 1897 cask, Match: 388, Cartridge Paper: 9 18, Spunge Staves: 323, Spunge Heads: 486, Rammer Heads: 281, Powder Horns: 208, Worms: 17, Ladles: 21, Tompions: 737, Sheepskins: 139, Boks: 122, Quoins: 108, Cartouch Boxes: 163, Touch: 396, Adzes: 58, Blunderbuss: 36, Pistolls: 12, Rouge Barrels: 0, Pins: 9, Union Flags: 2, Handspikes: 3, Formers: 22, Linstocks: 5, Priming wires: 24, Cartridge Cases: 100, Scowl Sticks: 300, Leade Shott: 122, Parchment Skins: 4, Drums: 4, Field Colours: 1310, Flints: 64, Buccaneere Peices: 6, Halberts: 2, Scowring Rods: 5000, Buff Bolts: 7, Grenadier Pouches: 11, Bomb Shells: 271, Field Carriages: 114, Gun Ropes: 100, Fowling Peices: 10, Bills: 2, Musquets: 1, Swords: 1, Tin Black: 10, 213, 192, 1 Recd in one year: Cannon Powder: 14, Parchment Skins: 4 Iron Ordinance Sorted: 128, Iron round Shott: 6916, Double headed Shott: 545, Cannon Powder: 2037, Match: 388, Cartridge Paper: 9 18, Spunge Staves: 323, Spunge Heads: 486, Rammer Heads: 281, Powder Horns: 208, Worms: 17, Ladles: 21, Tompions: 737, Sheepskins: 139, Boks: 122, Quoins: 108, Cartouch Boxes: 163, Touch: 396, Adzes: 58, Blunderbuss: 36, Pistolls: 12, Rouge Barrels: 0, Pins: 9, Union Flags: 2, Handspikes: 3, Formers: 22, Linstocks: 5, Priming wires: 24, Cartridge Cases: 100, Scowl Sticks: 300, Leade Shott: 177, Parchment Skins: 4, Drums: 4, Field Colours: 1310, Flints: 64, Buccaneere Peices: 6, Halberts: 2, Scowring Rods: 5000, Buff Bolts: 7, Grenadier Pouches: 11, Bomb	The annual inventory of gunner's stores for the year to 30 September 1733 ran as follows. Remaining 1 October 1732: 128 iron ordnance mounted, 6,916 iron round shot, 545 double headed shot, 189 barrels 5 lb cannon powder, 388 lb match, 19 quires 18 sheets cartridge paper, 323 sponge staves, 486 sponge heads, 281 rammer heads, 208 powder horns, 17 worms, 21 ladles, 737 tompons, 139 sheepskins, 122 [...], 108 quires, 163 cartouche boxes, 396 touches, 58 adzes, 36 blunderbusses, 12 pistols, 9 bouge barrels, 2 pins, 3 union flags, 22 handspikes, 24 formers, 100 linstocks, 300 priming wires, 122 cartridge cases, 4 sword sticks, 1,310 laded shoes, 64 parchement skins, 6 drums, 2 field colours, 5,000 flints, 7 buccaneer pieces, 11 halberds, 271 scouring rods, 114 buff belts, 100 grenadier pouches, 10 bomb shells, 2 field carriages, 1 gun rope, 1 fowling piece, 10 bills, 213 muskets, 192 swords, 1 tin block Received in one year: 14 barrels cannon powder Balance: 128 iron ordnance mounted, 6,916 iron round shot, 545 double headed shot, 203 barrels 7 lb cannon powder, 388 lb match, 19 quires 18 sheets cartridge paper, 323 sponge staves, 486 sponge heads, 281 rammer heads, 208 powder horns, 17 worms, 21 ladles, 737 tompons, 139 sheepskins, 122 [...], 108 quires, 163 cartouche boxes, 396 touches, 58 adzes, 36 blunderbusses, 12 pistols, 9 bouge barrels, 2 pins, 3 union flags, 22 handspikes, 24 formers, 100 linstocks, 300 priming wires, 179 cartridge cases, 4 sword sticks, 1,310 laded shoes, 64 parchement skins, 6 drums, 2 field colours, 5,000 flints, 7 buccaneer pieces, 11 halberds, 271 scouring rods, 114 buff belts, 100 grenadier pouches, 10 bomb shells, 2 field carriages, 1 gun rope, 1 fowling piece, 10 bills, 213 muskets, 192 swords, 1 tin block Expended in one year: 10 iron round shot, 12 barrels 41 lb cannon powder, 197 lb 2 oz 1 dr match, 2 sponge staves, 4 sponge heads, 13 rammer heads, 8 tompons, 20 sheepskins, 1 cartouche box, 1 touch, 7 cartridge cases, 9 [...] Balance: 128 iron ordnance mounted, 6,906 iron round shot, 545 double headed shot, 190 barrels 30 lb cannon powder, 191 lb 7 oz 17 dr match, 321 sponge staves, 482 sponge heads, 268 rammer heads, 208 powder horns, 17 worms, 21 ladles, 729

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Shells: 271, Field Carriages: 114, Gun Ropes: 100, Fowling Peices: 10, Bills: 2, Musquets: 1, Swords: 1, Tin Black: 10, 213, 192, 1 Expended in one year: Iron round Shott: 10, Cannon Powder: 12 41, Match: 197 2: 1, Cartridge Paper: 2, Spunge Staves: 4, Spunge Heads: 13, Tompions: 8, Sheepskins: 20, Touch: 1, Adzes: 1, Leade Shott: 7 6 9 Iron Ordinance Sorted: 128, Iron round Shott: 6906, Double headed Shott: 545, Cannon Powder: 190: 30, Match: 191, Cartridge Paper: 7 17, Spunge Staves: 321, Spunge Heads: 482, Rammer Heads: 268, Powder Horns: 208, Worms: 17, Ladles: 21, Tompions: 729, Sheepskins: 119, Boks: 122, Quoins: 108, Cartouch Boxes: 163, Touch: 395, Adzes: 57, Blunderbuss: 36, Pistolls: 12, Rouge Barrels: 0, Pins: 9, Union Flags: 2, Handspikes: 3, Formers: 22, Linstocks: 5, Priming wires: 24, Cartridge Cases: 100, Scowl Sticks: 300, Leade Shott: 122, Parchment Skins: 4, Drums: 4, Field Colours: 1269, Flints: 55, Buccaneere Peices: 6, Halberts: 2, Scowring Rods: 5000, Buff Bolts: 7, Grenadier Pouches: 11, Bomb Shells: 271, Field Carriages: 114, Gun Ropes: 100, Fowling Peices: 10, Bills: 2, Musquets: 1, Swords: 1, Tin Black: 10, 213, 192, 1 Sent to England: Cannon Powder: 50 Remg 30th Sepr 1733: Iron Ordinance Sorted: 128, Iron round Shott: 6906, Double headed Shott: 545, Cannon Powder: 140: 30, Match: 191, Cartridge Paper: 7 17, Spunge Staves: 321, Spunge Heads: 482, Rammer Heads: 268, Powder Horns: 208, Worms: 17, Ladles: 21, Tompions: 729, Sheepskins: 119, Boks: 122, Quoins: 108, Cartouch Boxes: 163, Touch: 395, Adzes: 57, Blunderbuss: 36, Pistolls: 12, Rouge Barrels: 0, Pins: 9, Union Flags: 2, Handspikes: 3, Formers: 22, Linstocks: 5, Priming wires: 24, Cartridge Cases: 100, Scowl Sticks: 300, Leade Shott: 122, Parchment Skins: 4, Drums: 4, Field Colours: 1269, Flints: 55, Buccaneere Peices: 6, Halberts: 2, Scowring Rods: 5000, Buff Bolts: 7, Grenadier Pouches: 11, Bomb Shells: 271, Field Carriages: 114, Gun Ropes: 100, Fowling Peices: 10, Bills: 2, Musquets: 1, Swords: 1, Tin Black: 10, 213, 192, 1	tompions, 119 sheepskins, 122 [...], 108 quires, 163 cartouche boxes, 395 touches, 57 adzes, 36 blunderbusses, 12 pistols, 9 bouge barrels, 2 pins, 3 union flags, 22 handspikes, 24 formers, 100 linstocks, 300 priming wires, 122 cartridge cases, 4 sword sticks, 1,269 laded shoes, 55 parchment skins, 6 drums, 2 field colours, 5,000 flints, 7 buccaneer pieces, 11 halberds, 271 scouring rods, 114 buff belts, 100 grenadier pouches, 10 bomb shells, 2 field carriages, 1 gun rope, 1 fowling piece, 10 bills, 213 muskets, 192 swords, 1 tin block Sent to England: 50 barrels cannon powder Remaining 30 September 1733: 128 iron ordnance mounted, 6,906 iron round shot, 545 double headed shot, 140 barrels 30 lb cannon powder, 191 lb 7 oz 17 dr match, 321 sponge staves, 482 sponge heads, 268 rammer heads, 208 powder horns, 17 worms, 21 ladles, 729 tompions, 119 sheepskins, 122 [...], 108 quires, 163 cartouche boxes, 395 touches, 57 adzes, 36 blunderbusses, 12 pistols, 9 bouge barrels, 2 pins, 3 union flags, 22 handspikes, 24 formers, 100 linstocks, 300 priming wires, 122 cartridge cases, 4 sword sticks, 1,269 laded shoes, 55 parchment skins, 6 drums, 2 field colours, 5,000 flints, 7 buccaneer pieces, 11 halberds, 271 scouring rods, 114 buff belts, 100 grenadier pouches, 10 bomb shells, 2 field carriages, 1 gun rope, 1 fowling piece, 10 bills, 213 muskets, 192 swords, 1 tin block Interpretations The ordnance stands unchanged at 128 pieces for the sixth consecutive year, the same figure recorded in the annual inventories of 1728, 1729, 1730 and 1732. Not a gun was added or lost across the whole period, which measures the Company's assessment of the island's defensive needs more plainly than any correspondence: the batteries were considered adequate as they stood and no expenditure was made on them. Fifty barrels of powder sent to England is the single most striking entry, and it has no precedent in the earlier annual inventories. The stock falls from 190 barrels 30 lb to 140 barrels 30 lb in one movement, better than a quarter of the whole. Powder had been the island's most persistent supply problem, with 72 barrels condemned as spoiled in the survey of 26 September 1727, and returning a quarter of the magazine to England within days of the gunner petitioning that the building was unfit suggests the two decisions were connected: powder that could not be safely stored was better shipped home than left to spoil. Ten round shot expended across the whole year, and 5,000 flints standing untouched, confirm again that the garrison never fired in earnest. The same pattern appears in the inventories of 30 September 1729, when 17,000 flints stood unmoved, and of 30 September 1732, when seven shot made up the entire year's ammunition consumption. The alarms recorded month by month in the gunner's accounts were answered with salutes and blank charges rather than live fire. Match at 197 lb expended is again the heaviest consumption of any store, as it was in 1730 and 1732. A length had to burn at every guard post through every watch whether or not a gun was fired, so match consumption measured the hours the batteries were manned rather than any threat encountered.
226	224	Collection of Store Goods Sold &c in Sepr 1733 Vizt 130 Gallon Arrack 41 3 4 3 Brass Kettles 5 6	The storekeeper's collection of goods sold and delivered in September 1733 ran as follows. 130 gallons of arrack, £41 3s 4d 3 brass cocks, £0 3s 6d 2 pairs of candlesticks, £1 5s 0d 14 tea spoons, £10 17s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 pr Candlesticks 1 5 14 Sea Pieces 10 12 9 5tt 2. 21tt Bread 7 4 3 11: 21 Flour 13 12 8 1tt Corkwax 1 8 12 Hooflocks 1 16 150 Yards Canvas 8 15 3 pr Butchers Knives 1 6 17 Pruning Knives 1 7 11 Penknives 1 13 6 6 ditto Ivory 1 8 6 1 Case Knives & Forks 1 17 2 Razor Straps 1 1 doz Rule Folades 2 50 pr Scissars 2 4 3 17 Thimbles 1 9 2 50 Horn Combs 5 1 6 1 Box do 5 13 6 81 Ivory do 4 7 6 17 & 2 Buffer & 25 Saucers 120 Single Cupps 2 10 6 44 Inkhorns 20 Pounds 18 2 17 Sea Salter 24 12 10 pr Diving 27 15 10 pr Tapestry 163 12 6½ Charges Generall Vizt 6 Paint Brushes 6 9 2 pr Ducks 4 3 26tt Vittory 1 4 4 20 Twine 4 12 1tt Frankinsend 1 2 6 7tt Paint Sorted 1 6 3 1 Bar Lamblack 1 5 6 1 Bar Pitch 1 1 Bar Tar 1 2 1tt Turrentine 7 7 7tt Soap 2 24tt Candles 13 9	5 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 lb of nails, £7 4s 9d 11 lb 3 quarters of flour, £13 12s 8d 1 lb of lampwick, £0 6s 8d 12 brass corks, £1 16s 0d 152 yards of canvas, £8 6s 0d 3 pairs of buckskin knives, £1 1s 0d 17 pruning knives, £1 1s 0d 12 stockfishes, £1 13s 0d 6 dozen ivory, £1 7s 9d 1 case of knives and forks, £1 12s 0d 2 razor straps, £0 1s 4d 1 dozen awl blades, £0 1s 0d 50 pairs of scissors, £2 4s 3d 17 pairs of buckles, £0 2s 0d 50 horn combs, £2 1s 0d 1 box of the same, £0 1s 6d 81 ivory of the same, £5 12s 6d 17.5 pieces of Bengal sauces, £4 0s 0d 120 single cups, £2 10s 0d 44 muskets, £0 18s 0d 20 [...], £0 4s 0d 17 lb of tea, £24 10s 0d 10 pairs of duroy, £27 15s 0d 40 pairs of sagathy, £163 12s 6.5d Charges general 2 hair brushes, £0 6s 9d 2 yards of duck, £1 0s 0d 26 ells of jerry, £0 3s 4d 2 quires of [...], £0 4s 6d 1 lb of earthenware, £0 4s 6d 7 lb of paint sorted, £0 5s 3d 1 barrel of lampblack, £1 15s 0d 1 iron pistol, £1 5s 0d 1 box of tar, £1 2s 0d 1 lb of turpentine, £2 7s 7d 7 lb of soap, £0 12s 0d 24 lb of candles, £0 12s 0d 3 brass hooks, £0 3s 6d 1 yard of garting, £0 2s 6d 1 saw, £0 6s 6d 3 squares of glass, £0 17s 0d 200 nails, £0 8s 0d 1.5 gallons of linseed oil, £19 13s 5d Blacks 2 lines, 6 dozen hooks and 1 oz of silk, £0 12s 8d 16 lb of rice, £8 12s 0d 2 lb of tea, £0 15s 0d Total, £9 9s 8d Garrison 15 catties of tea, £4 10s 0d 6.5 gallons of oil, £1 10s 9d 1 tin lamp, £6 0s 9d Plantation 4 iron pots, £0 1s 0d 15 lb of rice, £0 2s 0d 5 lb 3 quarters of paddy for the hogs and poultry, £2 15s 0d Total, £13 16s 3d Diet expenses 128 gallons of arrack, £11 19s 0d 14 lb of sugar, £2 5s 6d 30 lb of flour, £2 3s 0d 3 bottles of oil, £0 5s 6d 2.5 gallons of vinegar, £0 6s 6d 2 bushels of salt, £0 12s 0d 21 gallons of port, £3 15s 0d 19.5 gallons of strong beer, £3 13s 0d 2 [...], £0 6s 0d Total, £31 6s 0d Interpretations Duroy and sagathy were both light worsted cloths, sagathy a Norwich serge and duroy a coarser woollen used for men's outer wear, and together they account for £190 or so of the month's retail sales, dwarfing every other line. Consignments of

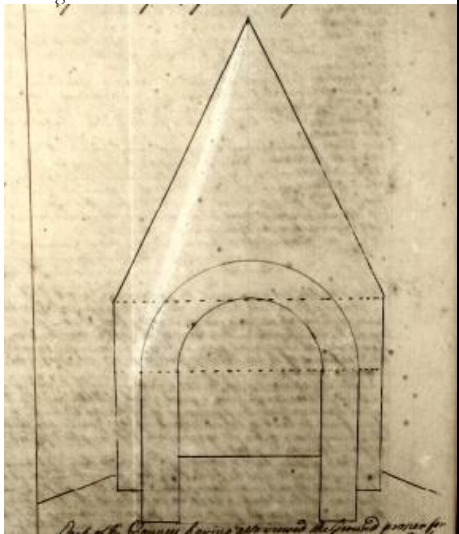
BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3 Grass Cocks 13 6 1 Mrs Painting 2 6 1 Iron 1 5 6 3 Squares Glass 17 6 204tt Nails 8 19 19 5 1½ Gallon Linseed Oyle Blacks Vizt 2 Limes 6 doz hooks & 1 oz Silk 12 8 16: 2: Rice 8 5 9tt Tea 19 9 9 8 Garrison Vizt 15 Cadees Tea 4 10 6½ Gallon Oyle & 1 Tin Lamp 1 10 9 6 - 9 Plantation 4 Iron Potts 4 1 1tt 2: Rice 20 5: 3: Paddy for Hoggs & Poultry 2 15 3 13 16 3 Diet Expences 58 Gallon Arrack 11 12 1: 2 Sugar 2 5 6 3: Flour 2 3 3 Bottles Oyle 9 6 2½ Gallon Vinegar 6 3 2 Bushell Salt 12 21 Gallon Port 3 12 6 11½ Gallon Strong Beer 3 13 9 Butter 31 - 6 Acct	this size cleared into the island in a single month suggest a stock long held in the warehouse being moved, since no vessel had called since the Danish ship sailed on 6 September. Stockfish, dried and unsalted cod cured hard in the open air, kept indefinitely without refrigeration and appears here as one of the few preserved provisions in the collection. Its presence alongside canvas, tar and turpentine, the materials for maintaining boats, fits a month when the island's own fishery carried the fort table, 100 pounds of fish having been charged in August. The heavy issue of nails at 5 hundredweight 2 quarters 21 lb, together with canvas, a saw, glass, tar and linseed oil, points to building work under way. The gunner petitioned on 25 September that the magazine was unfit and the council agreed a new one ought to be built, and materials of this kind would be the first requirement of any such undertaking. Fifty pairs of scissors, fifty horn combs, eighty-one of ivory and fourteen tea spoons are small personal goods of a kind that appear only occasionally in these accounts. Their sale in quantity during a month without shipping indicates the inhabitants buying for themselves rather than victualling a vessel, and the tea at seventeen pounds retail with fifteen cattles more to the garrison confirms how far that commodity had entered ordinary island consumption.
227	225	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1st Sept: Bullocks: 42, Cowes: 155, Heifers: 41, Steers: 40, Yearlings: 90, Calves: 106, Bulls: 6, Totall: 480, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 25, Lambs: 55, Rams: 4, Totall: 160, Sows: 20, Shoates: 19, Pigs: 22, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 74, Turkeys: 72, Fowles: 86, Ducks: 16, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Cattle Bull & Grown in do: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 13, Steers: 29, Yearlings: 40, Calves: 50, Bulls: 0, Totall: 132, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 52, Rams: 0, Totall: 52, Sows: 0, Shoates: 5, Pigs: 20, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 25, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0	The stock account for the month to 30 September 1733 ran as follows. Remaining 1 September: 42 bullocks, 155 cows, 41 heifers, 40 steers, 90 yearling calves, 106 calves, 6 bulls, total 480 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 25 wethers, 55 lambs, 4 rams, total 160 sheep; 20 sows, 19 shoats, 22 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 74 hogs; 72 turkeys, 86 fowls, 16 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Cattle cut and grown in the month: 13 heifers, 29 steers, 40 yearling calves, 50 calves, total 132 neat cattle; 52 lambs, total 52 sheep; 5 shoats, 20 pigs, total 25 hogs Balance: 42 bullocks, 155 cows, 28 heifers, 11 steers, 50 yearling calves, 56 calves, 6 bulls, total 348 neat cattle; 76 ewes, 25 wethers, 3 lambs, 4 rams, total 108 sheep; 20 sows, 14 shoats, 2 pigs, 10 barrows, 3 boars, total 49 hogs; 72 turkeys, 86 fowls, 16 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Bullocks: 42, Cows: 155, Heifers: 28, Steers: 11, Yearlings: 50, Calves: 56, Bulls: 6, Totall: 348, Ewes: 76, Wethers: 25, Lambs: 3, Rams: 4, Totall: 108, Sows: 20, Shoates: 14, Pigs: 2, Barrows: 10, Boars: 3, Totall: 49, Turkeys: 72, Fowles: 86, Ducks: 16, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Increased in ditto: Bullocks: 29, Cows: 13, Heifers: 18, Steers: 20, Yearlings: 50, Calves: 8, Bulls: 2, Totall: 140, Ewes: 22, Wethers: 30, Lambs: 17, Rams: 0, Totall: 59, Sows: 0, Shoates: 20, Pigs: 27, Barrows: 5, Boars: 0, Totall: 52, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 71, Cows: 168, Heifers: 46, Steers: 31, Yearlings: 100, Calves: 64, Bulls: 8, Totall: 488, Ewes: 98, Wethers: 55, Lambs: 10, Rams: 4, Totall: 167, Sows: 20, Shoates: 34, Pigs: 29, Barrows: 15, Boars: 3, Totall: 101, Turkeys: 72, Fowles: 86, Ducks: 16, Geese: 9, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Killed 2 Bullocks for the Blacks & 1 Heifer for the Table: Bullocks: 2, Cows: 0, Heifers: 1, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 1, Bulls: 0, Totall: 4, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 2, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 2, Sows: 0, Shoates: 6, Pigs: 4, Barrows: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 10, Turkeys: 12, Fowles: 24, Ducks: 2, Geese: 1, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Remg 30th Septr 1733: Bullocks: 69, Cows: 168, Heifers: 45, Steers: 31, Yearlings: 100, Calves: 63, Bulls: 8, Totall: 484, Ewes: 98, Wethers: 53, Lambs: 10, Rams: 4, Totall: 165, Sows: 20, Shoates: 28, Pigs: 25, Barrows: 15, Boars: 3, Totall: 91, Turkeys: 60, Fowles: 62, Ducks: 14, Geese: 8, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Yams expended at the Severall Plantations 16500tt Ditto delivered the Blacks 24100 Totall 40600tt	Increased in the month: 29 bullocks, 13 cows, 18 heifers, 20 steers, 50 yearling calves, 8 calves, 2 bulls, total 140 neat cattle; 22 ewes, 30 wethers, 17 lambs, total 59 sheep; 20 shoats, 27 pigs, 5 barrows, total 52 hogs Balance: 71 bullocks, 168 cows, 46 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearling calves, 64 calves, 8 bulls, total 488 neat cattle; 98 ewes, 55 wethers, 10 lambs, 4 rams, total 167 sheep; 20 sows, 34 shoats, 29 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 101 hogs; 72 turkeys, 86 fowls, 16 ducks, 9 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Killed, 2 bullocks for the blacks and 1 heifer for the table: 2 bullocks, 1 heifer, 1 calf, total 4 neat cattle; 2 wethers, total 2 sheep; 6 shoats, 4 pigs, total 10 hogs; 12 turkeys, 24 fowls, 2 ducks, 1 goose Remaining 30 September 1733: 69 bullocks, 168 cows, 45 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearling calves, 63 calves, 8 bulls, total 484 neat cattle; 98 ewes, 53 wethers, 10 lambs, 4 rams, total 165 sheep; 20 sows, 28 shoats, 25 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 91 hogs; 60 turkeys, 62 fowls, 14 ducks, 8 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 16,500 pounds Yams delivered to the blacks, 24,100 pounds Total yams, 40,600 pounds Interpretations The cutting and growing entry of 132 head is the year-end reclassification rather than any real change in numbers. Animals were moved between categories as they aged, calves becoming yearlings, yearlings becoming steers and heifers, and the same adjustment appears each September and March in these accounts, 159 head reclassified at the muster of 30 September 1732 and 218 at the half-year muster of 31 March 1733. The herd itself closed at 484 against 480 at the opening. Fifty-two lambs moved out of that category into the ewe and wether columns, which explains the sheep figures. The flock rose from 160 to 165 across the month, with the ewes climbing from 76 to 98 and the wethers from 25 to 53, all of it drawn from the lambs born in the heavy season of June and July. Killing two bullocks for the slaves appears for the fourth consecutive month, the entry now standing as a fixed monthly charge. Yams to the slaves rose to 24,100 pounds from 13,700 in August, the plantations' own share falling to 16,500, and the total of 40,600 pounds comes at the close of the winter planting season with the new crop not yet lifted. No beast has gone to shipping since June, three full months without a sale, and the anchorage stood empty from 6 September. The herd's recovery to 484 head reflects that absence of trade as much as any increase, since the beef sold to Indiamen had drawn 15 head in June and 13 in May.
228	226	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hoggs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Wethers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaining 30 Septr 1732: Bullocks: 66, Cows: 144, Heifers: 30, Steers: 35, Yearlings: 107, Calves: 33, Bulls: 5, Totall: 420, Ewes: 70, Wethers: 25, Lambs: 14, Rams: 4, Totall: 113, Sows: 21, Shoates: 25, Barrows: 15, Pigs: 28, Boars: 3, Totall: 92, Turkeys: 84, Fowles: 188, Ducks: 32, Geese: 14, Horses: 4, Mares: 4, Totall: 8 Increased in one Year: Bullocks: 64, Cows: 29, Heifers: 68, Steers: 60, Yearlings: 125, Calves: 163, Bulls: 4, Totall: 513, Ewes: 32, Wethers: 47, Lambs: 77, Rams: 0, Totall: 156, Sows: 0, Shoates: 50,	The annual livestock account for the year to 30 September 1733 ran as follows. Remaining 30 September 1732: 66 bullocks, 144 cows, 30 heifers, 35 steers, 107 yearling calves, 33 calves, 5 bulls, total 420 neat cattle; 70 ewes, 25 wethers, 14 lambs, 4 rams, total 113 sheep; 21 sows, 25 shoats, 15 barrows, 28 pigs, 3 boars, total 92 hogs; 84 turkeys, 188 fowls, 32 ducks, 14 geese; 4 horses, 4 mares, total 8 horses and mares Increased in one year: 64 bullocks, 29 cows, 68 heifers, 60 steers, 125 yearling calves, 163 calves, 4 bulls, total 513 neat cattle; 34 ewes, 47 wethers, 77 lambs, total 156 sheep; 50 shoats, 15 barrows, 94 pigs, total 159 hogs; 97 turkeys, 419 fowls, 77 ducks, 8 geese; 2 mares, total 2 horses and mares Bought in the year: 2 ewes, 4 rams, total 6 sheep

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Barrows: 15, Pigs: 94, Boars: 0, Totall: 159, Turkeys: 97, Fowles: 419, Ducks: 77, Geese: 8, Horses: 0, Mares: 2, Totall: 2 Bought in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 0, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Totall: 0, Ewes: 2, Wethers: 4, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 6, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Barrows: 0, Pigs: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 130, Cowes: 173, Heifers: 98, Steers: 95, Yearlings: 232, Calves: 196, Bulls: 9, Totall: 933, Ewes: 104, Wethers: 76, Lambs: 91, Rams: 4, Totall: 275, Sows: 21, Shoates: 75, Barrows: 30, Pigs: 122, Boars: 3, Totall: 251, Turkeys: 181, Fowles: 607, Ducks: 109, Geese: 22, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Cattle Sheep & Hoggs Bull & grown in do: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 0, Heifers: 29, Steers: 64, Yearlings: 132, Calves: 125, Bulls: 0, Totall: 350, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 79, Rams: 0, Totall: 79, Sows: 0, Shoates: 15, Barrows: 0, Pigs: 50, Boars: 0, Totall: 65, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 130, Cowes: 173, Heifers: 69, Steers: 31, Yearlings: 100, Calves: 71, Bulls: 9, Totall: 583, Ewes: 104, Wethers: 76, Lambs: 12, Rams: 4, Totall: 196, Sows: 21, Shoates: 60, Barrows: 30, Pigs: 72, Boars: 3, Totall: 186, Turkeys: 181, Fowles: 607, Ducks: 109, Geese: 22, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Sold in ditto: Bullocks: 50, Cowes: 1, Heifers: 14, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 0, Bulls: 0, Totall: 65, Ewes: 0, Wethers: 0, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 0, Sows: 0, Shoates: 0, Barrows: 0, Pigs: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 0, Turkeys: 0, Fowles: 0, Ducks: 0, Geese: 0, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 80, Cowes: 172, Heifers: 55, Steers: 31, Yearlings: 100, Calves: 71, Bulls: 9, Totall: 518, Ewes: 104, Wethers: 76, Lambs: 12, Rams: 4, Totall: 196, Sows: 21, Shoates: 60, Barrows: 30, Pigs: 72, Boars: 3, Totall: 186, Turkeys: 181, Fowles: 607, Ducks: 109, Geese: 22, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Killed in ditto: Bullocks: 11, Cowes: 3, Heifers: 8, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 3, Bulls: 1, Totall: 26, Ewes: 3, Wethers: 16, Lambs: 0, Rams: 0, Totall: 19, Sows: 1, Shoates: 30, Barrows: 15, Pigs: 47, Boars: 0, Totall: 93, Turkeys: 91, Fowles: 502, Ducks: 95, Geese: 10, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Bullocks: 69, Cowes: 169, Heifers: 47, Steers: 31, Yearlings: 100, Calves: 68, Bulls: 8, Totall: 492, Ewes: 101, Wethers: 60, Lambs: 12, Rams: 4, Totall: 177, Sows: 20, Shoates: 30, Barrows: 15, Pigs: 25, Boars: 3, Totall: 93, Turkeys: 90, Fowles: 105, Ducks: 14, Geese: 12, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10 Dead in ditto: Bullocks: 0, Cowes: 1, Heifers: 2, Steers: 0, Yearlings: 0, Calves: 5, Bulls: 0, Totall: 8, Ewes: 3, Wethers: 7, Lambs: 2, Rams: 0, Totall: 12, Sows: 0, Shoates: 2, Barrows: 0, Pigs: 0, Boars: 0, Totall: 2, Turkeys: 30, Fowles: 43, Ducks: 0, Geese: 4, Horses: 0, Mares: 0, Totall: 0 Remg 30 Septr 1733: Bullocks: 69, Cowes: 168, Heifers: 45, Steers: 31, Yearlings: 100, Calves: 63, Bulls: 8, Totall: 484, Ewes: 98, Wethers: 53, Lambs: 10, Rams: 4, Totall: 165, Sows: 20, Shoates: 28, Barrows: 15, Pigs: 25, Boars: 3, Totall: 91, Turkeys: 60, Fowles: 62, Ducks: 14, Geese: 8, Horses: 4, Mares: 6, Totall: 10	Balance: 130 bullocks, 173 cows, 98 heifers, 95 steers, 232 yearling calves, 196 calves, 9 bulls, total 933 neat cattle; 104 ewes, 76 wethers, 91 lambs, 4 rams, total 275 sheep; 21 sows, 75 shoats, 30 barrows, 122 pigs, 3 boars, total 251 hogs; 181 turkeys, 607 fowls, 109 ducks, 22 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Cattle, sheep and hogs cut and grown in the year: 29 heifers, 64 steers, 132 yearling calves, 125 calves, total 350 neat cattle; 79 wethers, 79 lambs, total 79 sheep; 15 shoats, 50 pigs, total 65 hogs Balance: 130 bullocks, 173 cows, 69 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearling calves, 71 calves, 9 bulls, total 583 neat cattle; 104 ewes, 76 wethers, 12 lambs, 4 rams, total 196 sheep; 21 sows, 60 shoats, 30 barrows, 72 pigs, 3 boars, total 186 hogs; 181 turkeys, 607 fowls, 109 ducks, 22 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Sold in the year: 50 bullocks, 1 cow, 14 heifers, total 65 neat cattle Balance: 80 bullocks, 172 cows, 55 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearling calves, 71 calves, 9 bulls, total 518 neat cattle; 104 ewes, 76 wethers, 12 lambs, 4 rams, total 196 sheep; 21 sows, 60 shoats, 30 barrows, 72 pigs, 3 boars, total 186 hogs; 181 turkeys, 607 fowls, 109 ducks, 22 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Killed in the year: 11 bullocks, 3 cows, 8 heifers, 3 calves, 1 bull, total 26 neat cattle; 3 ewes, 16 wethers, total 19 sheep; 1 sow, 30 shoats, 15 barrows, 47 pigs, total 93 hogs; 91 turkeys, 502 fowls, 95 ducks, 10 geese Balance: 69 bullocks, 169 cows, 47 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearling calves, 68 calves, 8 bulls, total 492 neat cattle; 101 ewes, 60 wethers, 12 lambs, 4 rams, total 177 sheep; 20 sows, 30 shoats, 15 barrows, 25 pigs, 3 boars, total 93 hogs; 90 turkeys, 105 fowls, 14 ducks, 12 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Dead in the year: 1 cow, 2 heifers, 5 calves, total 8 neat cattle; 3 ewes, 7 wethers, 2 lambs, total 12 sheep; 2 shoats, total 2 hogs; 30 turkeys, 43 fowls, 4 geese Remaining 30 September 1733: 69 bullocks, 168 cows, 45 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearling calves, 63 calves, 8 bulls, total 484 neat cattle; 98 ewes, 53 wethers, 10 lambs, 4 rams, total 165 sheep; 20 sows, 28 shoats, 15 barrows, 25 pigs, 3 boars, total 91 hogs; 60 turkeys, 62 fowls, 14 ducks, 8 geese; 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses and mares Interpretations The herd closed at 484 head against 420 a year earlier, a gain of 64 on an increase of 513 births, against 65 sold to shipping, 26 killed and 8 dead. That compares with the year to 30 September 1732, when cattle rose from 381 to 420, and with 1730, when 38 head went to shipping. Sixty-five sold is the heaviest disposal since the 57 of 1729, and it reflects a shipping season in which eight vessels lay in the road during May alone. Poultry losses are of a different order from every other class. Of 607 fowls carried after the year's increase of 419, some 502 were killed and 43 died, leaving 62 at the year's end against 188 at its start. Turkeys fell from 84 to 60 and ducks from 32 to 14. Governor Pyke had bought 356 fowls, 72 turkeys, 60 ducks and 4 geese for breeding in April 1731 to restore a yard reduced to 24 fowls, and the present figures show that stock being consumed faster than it could reproduce. The purchase of two ewes and four rams is the only livestock bought in the year, and it repeats the practice recorded in November 1732 when two ewes and four wethers were bought to increase the breed. Sheep rose from 113 to 165 on an increase of 156,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			and the deliberate introduction of fresh rams points to an attempt to improve the flock rather than merely to enlarge it. Ninety-three hogs killed against 159 born, with the herd holding almost level at 91 against 92, measures the substitution that ran through the second half of the year. Pork entered the fort table in June, exceeded beef by August, and the bullock killings for the slaves became a fixed monthly charge from June onward, all of it drawing on the hogs to spare a cattle herd that was itself the island's principal trade with the shipping.
229	227	Expençe of the Table in Sept̃r 1733 Vizt 130tt Beef 1 12 6 120 Fish 3 9 6 85 Fish 3 2 Sheep 3 4 Figs 1 12 Turkeys 3 29 Fowles 1 16 9 Ducks 3 1 Goose 5 2 Bushells Salt 12 13tt Butter 4 60 Bottles 1 30 Days Greens 1 10 58 Gallon Arrack 11 12 1: 2: Sugar 2 15 6 3: Flour 3 15 6 3 Bottles Oyle 9 6 2½ Gallon Vinegar 6 3 2 Bushell Salt 12 49 Gallon Strong Beer 3 13 6 21 Gallon Port 8 9 9 Butter 49 15 6 This day the Governour made the following Report Vizt Having measured & examined the Magazine of Powder which Gunner French complained of Tuesday last I found it Situated as he hath alledged in the Front of the Castle next the Sea & that it has a Small Leak in it from the top & is too much exposed, the Dimensions of it are Thirty feet long, Eleven feet broad, and Eleven feet high The Magazine made by Mr Smith is badly placed being directly under the Water Course that a great Leak of Water coming there in	The general table expense account for September 1733 ran as follows. 130 lb of beef, £1 12s 6d 120 lb of pork, £3 0s 0d 85 lb of fish, £0 9s 6d 2 sheep, £3 0s 0d 4 pigs, £1 0s 0d 12 turkeys, £3 0s 0d 24 fowls, £1 16s 0d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 2 bushels of salt, £0 19s 0d 14 lb of butter, £0 14s 0d 60 bottles of milk, £1 0s 0d 30 days' greens, £1 10s 0d 58 gallons of arrack, £11 12s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £3 7s 6d 3 hundredweight of flour, £3 12s 6d 5 bottles of oil, £0 16s 3d 2.5 gallons of vinegar, £0 6s 3d 2 bushels of salt, £0 12s 0d 49 gallons of strong beer, £3 13s 6d 21 gallons of port, £8 2s 9d 2 lb of pepper Total, £49 15s 6d The Governor made the following report the same day. Having measured and examined the powder magazine which the gunner French complained of on the previous Tuesday, he found it as much exposed as the gunner described in the front of the castle next the sea, and that it has a small leak in it from the top, being too much exposed. Its dimensions are thirty feet long, eleven feet broad and eleven feet high. The magazine built by Mr Smith is badly placed lying directly under the water course that has a great deal of water coming through it, which has occasioned the damaging of some 120 barrels of powder from first to last, of which about eighty barrels are quite spoiled. The dimensions of this magazine are twenty feet in length, eleven feet in breadth and eight and a half feet in height. Each of them has a winding passage to their entrance, but the Governor found these too narrow, and proposed that he might make wider passages through the middle so that none of the barrels stand so as to touch the walls, but so as to have room enough for a man to go in sideways to turn the barrels and the tackles, examining if the casks be sound and dry. He therefore proposed to make the magazine 12 feet wide, which will be sufficient, that it be twenty-four feet long within, and between ten and eleven feet high on the inside. As to the expense, a thing of the nature is of so much consequence that though the charge were large it must be done, but in this case the double passage and the flooring will not take up above 200 deals, and he says he believes with door case and about 8 pairs of short window shutters will be sufficient. The

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		which has occasioned the damaging of above 100 Barrels of Powder from first to last of which about Eighty Barrels are quite Spoiled the Dimension of this Magazine are 24 length 2 & 9 feet, breadth 11 feet, & height 11½ feet Each of them hath a winding Passage to their Entrance but the Gunner Sayth that he finds these too narrow & besides it be made wider that he may have good Passage through the Middle so that none of the Barrels stand so as to touch the Wall but so there to have room enough for a Man to go in & carry as to turn the Barrels & the Rates & examine if the Casks be Sound & dry And therefore I proposed to make the Magazine 42 feet wide which will be room Sufficient, & that is to Twenty five feet long within & between Ten & Eleven feet high on the Inside As to the Expence a thing of the nature is of so much Consequence that though the Charge were large it must be done but as this Castle doubles Passage & the Flooring will not take up above 200 - Deals, & the Joysts & Beams with Door Case & of about 8 & 9 of Short & hard Timber will be Sufficient, the rest of the Work will be performed by the Labour of our own People without any farther Charge As to the Site of this Building I think the best to place it to the South of the Fort & then the whole Substance and Strength of the Fort will be between the Sea & this Magazine, & this Stall to be the Securest Place, & so enough the way into it to be through one of the Warehouses & then a the Winding Passage to be made The whole Magazine is to be Arched over with a double Arch & a good sized of Earth between the two Arches & Finished with a high Sloaping Roof as the Kings Magazines are usually made In this Place also it will be clear from all Soakage of Water this is certainly the driest Place in this Valley & where I think if the Powder be well looked after & kept duely turned it can receive no damage The Shape of the Outside will appear of the Form of the farther Draught Margin Notes: Magazine Dimensions Site Cost &c	rest of the work will be performed by the labour of our own people without any further charge. As to the site of this building, he thinks it best to place it to the south of the fort, and then the whole substance and prospect of the fort will be between the sea and this magazine. He thinks this stable to be the securest place, and proposes the way into it to be through one of the warehouses, and there the winding passage to be made. The whole magazine is to be arched over with a double arch and a good bed of earth between the two arches, and finished with a high sloping roof as the King's magazines are usually made. In this place also it will be clear from all soakage of water, and it is certainly the driest place in the valley. Where he thinks that if the powder be well looked after and kept duly turned, it can receive no damage. The shape of the outside will appear of the form of the following draught. Interpretations Governor Pyke's inspection confirms the gunner's account and adds a figure the earlier petition did not give: some 120 barrels damaged over the years from water alone, of which eighty were entirely spoiled. Set against the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727, which condemned 72 barrels, this makes clear the loss had continued in the intervening six years rather than being a single episode. Two separate magazines are described, both defective for different reasons. The one facing the sea is exposed to bombardment and leaks from the roof, while Governor Smith's building sits directly beneath a water course and has been soaking powder since it was built. Neither can be repaired into fitness, which is why the Governor proposes an entirely new site rather than remedial work. The design addresses damp through handling as much as through construction. Widening the passage to twelve feet lets a man pass between the stacks to turn the barrels and check the casks, and powder that is regularly turned does not settle and absorb moisture from the ground. The double arch with earth packed between answers the bomb objection, since the mass absorbs a burst that reaches the outer shell, and the sloping roof above sheds rain clear of both. The cost is remarkably modest for a work of this importance: about 200 deals, a door case and eight pairs of window shutters, with the labour supplied by the Company's own slaves. Deals were imported softwood boards, and the council had complained on 27 March 1733 that the <i>Harrington's</i> consignment ran far short of its stated lengths, so the material would have to come from stock or from the next ship. Placing the magazine south of the fort, with the fort's own mass standing between it and the sea, uses the existing buildings as protection rather than adding new works. Entry through a warehouse conceals the approach and adds a further barrier, and the Governor's assurance that this is the driest ground in the valley addresses the failure that ruined Governor Smith's building.
230	228	Draught & will be very like unto the old Magazine at Tilbury Fort opposite to Gravesend only much less Each of the Councill having also viewed the Ground proper for	The gunner's plan showed that the building would be very like the old magazine at Tilbury Fort opposite Gravesend, only much less. A drawing accompanied it, showing a high pitched roof rising

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the Scituation of a new Magazine are of Opinion that the Spot the Governour has proposed is by much the most Safe, Dry & convenient of any Place in the Valley & desired that he would give Directions for Building the Same according to the Plan or Modell by him laid down The following Petition of Joseph Bates was presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Joseph Bates Sheweth That when Your Petr Swore on the 18th of last Month to the truth of the Inventory or Account of the Money Goods & Effects belonging to Don John de Mosia y Apunto died which he delivered into Your Worship & Council on the Tuesday before Your Petr meant only to Swear to the truth of Such of the Goods & Effects of the dec'd as were that day remaining in Your Petrs hands Your Petr having Spent & Applied to his own use great part of the Said Money & did not intend in any Sort to contradict the Inventory delivered by Your Petr to Your Worship & Council on the 4th of Aprill 1733 which Your Petr Acknowledges & Affirms to be a true Inventory & Account of the Said Goods & Effects except that Your Petr hath taken & converted to his own use one dozen or one dozen & half of the Shirts of	to a point above an arched vault set on a plain rectangular base.  Each of the council, having also viewed the ground proper for the site of a new magazine, was of opinion that the spot the Governor had proposed was much the most dry and convenient of any place in the valley, and desired that he would give directions for building the same according to the plan or model he had laid down. The following petition of Joseph Bates was presented and read. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The humble petition of Joseph Bates. Bates set out that when he swore on the 18th of the previous month to the truth of the inventory or account of the money, goods and effects belonging to Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento, deceased, which he delivered into the council on the Tuesday before, he meant only to swear to the truth of such of the goods and effects of the deceased as were that day remaining in his hands. He set out that having spent and applied to his own use a great part of the money, he did not intend in any sort to contradict the inventory delivered by him to the Governor and council on 8 April 1732, which he acknowledged and affirmed to be a true inventory and account of the goods and effects, except that he had taken and converted to his own use one dozen or one and a half of the shirts. Interpretations Tilbury Fort guarded the Thames approach to London and had been rebuilt in the 1680s to the most advanced European designs of the period, so its magazine was among the best known structures of its kind in English service. The gunner's reference to it gives the council a specification without requiring drawings from England, and the arched vault shown in the plan is the essential feature: a curved masonry roof carries the weight of an overhead burst outward into the walls rather than admitting it, which answers precisely the objection Ronald raised on 25 September that the existing magazine offered no protection against a bomb. Bates's petition abandons the position he defended on 25 September, when he swore to both inventories and insisted each was true. He now concedes that the September account covered only what remained in his hands at that date, and admits outright that he spent a great part of the money and took a dozen or more shirts for himself. The retreat came within a week of the commissioners' finding that £291 1s 6.5d was missing, and it converts a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			defence of both documents into an admission that the second was never a full account. The distinction Bates now draws, between what remained and what had been converted, is the only ground on which the two inventories can stand together without perjury. Whether the council accepts it will determine whether he faces a charge of false swearing in addition to the debt, and the concession about the shirts is small enough to look like candour while leaving the far larger question of the missing gold and pagodas resting on the same explanation.
231	229	of the deceased for which nevertheless Your Petr is willing to Pay & make Satisfaction & Your Petr humbly hopes that Your Worship & Council will not put a favourable Construction upon what Your Petr did then Say & Swear for Your Petr declares & hopes he Shall be believed that Your Petr would not affirm or Swear falsly for any consider- ation in the World, no not to be the Master of all the Riches & Wealth of Peru That by the Report of Messrs Alexander Goodwin & Crispe which was read to Your Petr & Council on Tuesday last it appears that there is a Debt or Deficiency of £246. 19. 2½ which Still remains due from Your Petr to the Heirs of the Said Don John de Mosia y Apunto dec'd That for the Speedy Payment hereof Your Petr will use all means in his Power for that purpose & is willing to Assign or make over Such part of his Freehold Land as Shall appear most likely to make good the Said Debt or Deficiency & for the more effectuall discharge hereof Your Petr humbly prays leave to Sell or Assign Seven Acres thereof of Freehold Land which Your Petr believes is of the Value of £13. or £50 Your Petr therefore humbly prays Your Worship and Council will take the Premises into Your Consideration & give Order therein accordingly And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray St Helena 2nd Octr 1733 Joseph Bates The Said Bates was called in & acquainted the farther that that he was willing & desired to Sell his freehold Land as well as his Leasehold Land in order to make Satisfaction for the Said Debt or Deficiency & he was told that he was at liberty to Sell his Land to any Person whatsoever provided they do not already possess above one hundred Acres, & that it was expected he Should be Speedy & diligent in raising the Said Money James Ryder being formerly Instructed to the Widow French in the Sum of Nine Pounds Refusing to Pay the Same he was Summoned	Bates set out that he was nevertheless willing to make satisfaction for the effects of the deceased, and hoped that the Governor and council would not put an unfavourable construction upon what he did then swear to. He declared that he would not affirm or swear falsely for any consideration in the world, not even to be master of all the riches and wealth of Peru. He set out that by the report of Messrs Alexander, Goodwin and Crisp, which was read to the Governor and council on the previous Tuesday, it appeared that there was a debt or deficiency of £246 19s 2.5d still remaining due from him to the heirs of Don Juan de Mesa y Aniento. He set out that for the speedy payment of this he would use every means in his power for that purpose, and was willing to assign or make over such part of his freehold land as should appear most likely to make good the debt or deficiency, or, for the more effectual discharge of it, he humbly asked leave to sell or assign seven acres of freehold land which he believed to be of the value of £600 0s 0d. He therefore humbly asked that the Governor and council would take the matter into consideration and give order accordingly. Signed Joseph Bates. St Helena, 2 October 1733. Bates was called in and told further that he was welcome and desired to sell his freehold land as well as his leasehold land in order to make satisfaction for the debt or deficiency. He was told that he was at liberty to sell his land to any person whatsoever, provided they do not already possess above one hundred acres, and that it was expected he should be speedy and diligent in raising the money. James Ryder, formerly indebted to the widow French in the sum of one hundred pounds, professing to say the same, he was summoned to attend the same day, but being ill, he desired his attendance might be put off to another time, and the same was done accordingly. Nevertheless, as the witnesses in this cause were then present it was ordered that they were unwilling that they might be examined and what they had to say in this affair, and their depositions were taken accordingly and are as follows. Robert Girling makes oath that he was present when the bargain was made between Mr French and James Ryder for a black wench named Meg, when Mr Ryder agreed to give her price for the wench, and that Mr Mason was concerned, provided he took the payment in provisions, but he positively remembers upon what terms were accepted, otherwise, and he never asked her to be one, and to the truth hereof he signs his name. Signed Robert Girling. Sworn this 2nd day of October 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. John Hodgkinson swears that he was not present when the bargain was made between Mr French and Mr Ryder for a black wench named Meg, but that he came in soon after and heard Mr Ryder ask her whether he had bought that wench, and what he was to give for her. He further says that he knows the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		to attend this day but being ill he desired his Attendance might be put off to an other time & the Same was long accordingly nevertheless as the Witnesses in this Cause were for they desired that Same were & quilled that they might be now heard what they had to Say in this Affair & their Depositions were taken accordingly & are as follows Vizt Robert Gurling maketh Oath that he was present when the Bargain was made between Mrs French & James Ryder for a black Wench named Meg, Mrs Ryder agreed to give her price for the Wench & so the Matter was concluded provided She took the Payment in Provisions but he positively Remembers & Warrants were excepted & otherwise Speaks but he never asked her to be one Cause & to the truth hereof he Signs his Name Robert Gurling Jurat hac 2 die Octr 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke John Hodgkinson Sweareth that he was not present when the Bargain was made between Mrs French & Mr Ryder for a black Wench named Meg but that he came in Soon after & heard Mr Ryder Ask now these that he had bought that Wench & that he was to give £5. for her & he further Sayth that he knows the Wench at that time was in a tollerable good State of health, in Testimony whereof he hath Signed his Name Jno Hodgkinson Jurat hoc 2do die Octr 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke	wench at that time was in a tolerably good state of health, in testimony whereof he has signed his name. Signed John Hodgkinson. Sworn this 2nd day of October 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. Interpretations Bates offers land because it is the only asset that can meet the debt. Coin barely circulated on the island, and the Company's own officers remitted their earnings home through bills of exchange rather than specie, so a man owing £246 19s 2.5d in cash had no means of raising it except by selling ground. His valuation of seven acres at £600 0s 0d sits far above the rates recorded elsewhere in this run, where Richard Beale's eleven acres in Sandy Bay were valued at £57 15s 0d in November 1730. The condition attached to any sale, that no purchaser may already hold above a hundred acres, applies the Company's standing direction against engrossing. The council had refused to register Samuel Doveton's assignment of twenty acres on 22 August 1732 for that reason, warning that no person already holding large quantities should be indulged. An island of a few hundred people needed as many households planting as possible, and a forced sale was exactly the occasion on which land might otherwise gather into few hands. The Ryder dispute turns on the condition of a slave at the moment of sale. Girling's evidence goes to the terms agreed, including payment in provisions rather than money, while Hodgkinson speaks only to the woman's health, which he describes as tolerably good. A purchaser who found a slave sickly soon after buying had a claim against the seller, and the whole point of taking these depositions is to fix what her state was when the bargain was struck. Taking the witnesses' evidence in the defendant's absence, because they were present and the matter might otherwise wait, follows the practical method Governor Pyke used repeatedly. Witnesses on this island were scattered across the country and hard to assemble, so securing sworn statements while they stood in the room mattered more than the ordinary sequence of proceedings.
232	230	Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 9th Octr 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved To day the Governour in Councill Vin the Presence of Joseph Bates took off the Seal from the Box which was Sealed up with the Seale of the Said Bates on the 7th of Aprill 1733 & in which were Vizt A Parcell of Papers Six Shares of Gold Two Diamond Rings One hundred Dollars One Pair of Gold Shoe Buckles Three Silver Forks One large Silver Seale All which the Governour took into his Custody, all the Said Effects Still remaining Sealed up in the Severall Papers & & & & & & & in which they were first put Particularly the two Diamond Rings except the Six Shares of Gold which	At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 October 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. That day the Governor in council, in the presence of Joseph Bates, took off the seal from the box which was sealed up with Bates's own seal on 7 April 1732, in which were the following. A parcel of papers Six shares of gold Two diamond rings One hundred dollars One pair of gold shoe buckles Three silver forks One large silver seal All of which the Governor took into his custody, the several effects still remaining sealed up in the several papers in which they were first put, save only the two diamond rings, except the six shares of gold which were opened and severally weighed, the contents of which are as follows. 1 share weighing 11 ounces 18 pennyweight 1 share, 11 ounces 15 pennyweight 1 share, 11 ounces 15.5 pennyweight 1 share, 11 ounces 17 pennyweight 1 share, 11 ounces 16 pennyweight 1 share, 11 ounces 16 pennyweight Total, 70 ounces 17.5 pennyweight

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		were opened & Severally weighed the Contents of which are as follow Vizt 1 Share Weighing 11. 18 Oz dwts 1 ditto 11. 15 1 ditto 11. 15½ 1 ditto 11. 17 1 ditto 11. 16 1 ditto 11. 16 Oz 70: 07/2 Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 16th Octr 1733 at Union Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Persons this day presented their Severall Petitions Vizt John DeFountain Setting forth that the Lease for Twenty Eight Acres of Land formerly Granted for the benefit of Your Petitioner & his Brother & Sisters is now expired That all the Said Parcels of Land is duely fenced & Planted with its full Proportion of Wood but all growing on one part thereof That Your Petr formerly purchased the Interest of his Brother & Sisters in Fifteen of the Said Twenty Eight Acres which is fully Wooded & praying that a Lease might be granted him in his own Name for the Said Thirteen Acres & that a Lease for the other Fifteen Acres may be in the Name of himself & his Said Brother &	At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 October 1733 at Union Castle. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following persons presented their several petitions that day. John Defontaine set out that the lease for twenty-eight acres of land granted to him, the petitioner, and his brother and sister is now expired. He set out that the said parcel of land is duly fenced and planted with its full proportion of wood, but is growing on one part of it. He set out that he had formerly purchased the interest of his brother and sisters in thirteen of the twenty-eight acres, which is fully wooded, and asked that a lease might be granted him in his own name for those thirteen acres, and that a lease for the other fifteen acres might be in the name of himself and his said brother. Interpretations Weighing the six shares of gold individually, and recording each to a fraction of a pennyweight, converts an item that had been counted by number into one measured by weight. Bates had admitted concealing gold and disposing of five shares before any inventory was taken, and the commissioners had found five shares at £48 each missing on 18 September. Establishing the exact weight of what survives fixes the standard by which the missing shares can be valued, since a share was evidently not a coin but a bar or ingot of roughly twelve ounces. The box had lain sealed with Bates's own seal since 7 April 1731, when he was compelled to deliver up what he had not yet made away with. Opening it in his presence, and recording that every parcel remained sealed as first put in save the rings and the gold now weighed, protects the council against any later suggestion that the contents were disturbed while in official custody. The care taken reflects the fact that the whole matter was destined for London. Defontaine's petition applies the lease reform of 26 July 1732, which required surveyors to certify a parcel duly fenced and planted with thriving wood before renewal. His statement that the land is fenced and wooded is offered to meet that condition, and the qualification about one part still growing is the kind of detail the surveyors would test on view. Dividing a single lease into two, one in his own name and one held jointly with his brother, follows the earlier purchase of his siblings' interests. Joint tenancy on this island created difficulties whenever one holder wished to sell or died, as the disputes over the Beale and Greentree estates show, and separating the thirteen acres he owned outright from the fifteen still held in common removed that complication before it arose.
233	231	& Sisters to be Possessed & Enjoyed nevertheless by their Mother the Wife of Wm Wood Ensign during the Term of the Said Lease if She Shall so long live The Petr was called in & acquainted that upon giving Security to Plant the other part of the Land with Wood the Petition Should be Granted the Land being now divided into two Parcels & in the Possession of two different Families, & the Petr agreed to give Security accordingly John Hayes praying leave to Assign one Acre of Freehold	Defontaine set out that the land should nevertheless be possessed and enjoyed by their mother, the wife of William Wood, ensign, during the term of the lease if she should so long live. He was called in and told that on giving security to plant the other part of the land with wood, his petition would be granted, the land being now divided into two parcels and in the possession of two different families. He agreed to give security accordingly. John Hayes asked leave to assign one acre of leasehold land to William Seale junior, the petitioner not yet having any deed for the same, although his right to ten acres of land was legally confirmed to him by the court and jury on 29 July last. He asked that a deed might be granted him for the ten acres,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Land to Wm Seale junr the Petr not yet having any Deed for the Same although Your Petrs Right to Ten Acres of Land was legally confirmed to him by the Court & Jury on the 2nd of July last & praying that a Deed might be Granted him for the Said Ten Acres for the more effectuell Security thereof, & the Said Petition was Granted & a Deed ordred to be prepared accordingly Henry Beale Setting forth that he was lately Married and intends to Settle him but having no Plantation to Maintain a Family prayed leave to hire about four Acres of waste Land lying in two parcells in Swan Valley, & the Petr was told that if upon viewing the Said Land it appeared it might be let without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood his Petition Should be Granted & the Land was Ordred to be viewed accordingly Saml Doveton this day presented a Bill of Sale for a house he lately bought of Joah Weangham & situated in the Fort Valley praying the Same might be Registered for greater Security thereof & the Same was Ordred to be Registred accordingly Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 23 Octr 1733 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved One of the Honble Companies Calves having been Stolen out of their Pastures near the Plantation House on Tuesday last the Govr offred a Reward of Forty Shillings for the discovery of the Person who Stole the Said Calf & upon Search a Slave of Sergeant Whaleys & a Slave of John DeFountains who were Runaway from their Master were apprehended on Sunday Evening whose their Exa-minations taken are as follow are the Stealing of the Said Calf Vizt Walker a Slave belonging to John DeFountain being taken up on Suspicion of his being Runaway from his Master acknowledges that he is Runaway & that he left on the day Sennight last his Masters Service, being asked why he Runaway Sayth his Master is very hard & Unkind to him & beats him very cruelly for every fault & also Some Occasions that he looked after are dead & the Master Said they were Starved & dyed only for want of feeding & threatned to beat him	and for the more effective security of it his petition was granted and a deed ordered to be prepared accordingly. Henry Beale set out that he was lately married and intends to settle, but having no plantation to maintain a family, he asked leave to hire about four acres of waste land lying in two parcels in Swanley Valley. He was told that if on viewing the land it appeared it might be let without prejudice to the Honourable Company or to the neighbourhood, his petition should be granted, and the land was ordered to be viewed accordingly. Samuel Doveton presented that day a bill of sale for a house he lately bought of Isaac Wrangham, situated in Fort Valley, asking that it might be registered for greater security. The council ordered the same registered accordingly. At a consultation held on Tuesday 23 October 1733 at Plantation House. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. One of the Honourable Company's calves having been stolen out of their pasture near Plantation House on the previous Tuesday, the Governor offered a reward of forty shillings for the discovery of the person who stole the calf. Upon search a slave of Sergeant Whaley's and a slave of John Defountaine's, who were runaways from their masters, were apprehended on Sunday evening, when their examinations were taken as follows. Walker, a slave belonging to John Defountaine, being taken up on suspicion of being a runaway from his master, acknowledged that he was a runaway, and that he left him the same day a fortnight ago, having been in his master's service. Being asked why he ran away, he said his master is very hard and unkind to him and beats him very cruelly for every fault. He named some occasions when he looked after and fed the master's pigs, and said they were starved and died only for want of feeding, and threatened to beat him... Interpretations The condition attached to Defountaine's lease shows the reform of 26 July 1732 being applied with some flexibility. The council did not refuse renewal outright where part of the ground stood unwooded, but required security for planting the remainder, which secures the object of the policy while allowing a tenant already substantially in compliance to keep his land. Splitting the lease into two parcels held by two families made the requirement enforceable against a single identifiable holder. The reservation of a life interest to the petitioner's mother, wife of Ensign William Wood, keeps the widow provided for while the freehold interest passes to her children. That arrangement recurs throughout this record, most contentiously in the Beale and Hodgkinson estate suits, where a widow's life interest and her children's expectancy came into conflict once she remarried. John Hayes's petition follows directly from the verdict he won against Samuel Jephry at the sessions of 2 July 1733, which the council had ordered carried into effect on 20 August by having Captain Goodwin mark out the shortfall and the marshals restake the fence. He had held the ten acres by verdict alone since then, and a deed converts a judgment into a title he can assign, which is why the request to transfer one acre to William Seale junior came with it. A reward of forty shillings offered for information about a stolen calf matches the £5 0s 0d published on 14 January 1729 for convicting anyone who shot the Company's goats, and both reflect the same

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			evidential difficulty: without admissible testimony, only an informer could bring a case home. The two runaways apprehended in the search were taken up on suspicion arising from that hunt rather than for the theft itself. Walker's complaint that he was beaten cruelly for every fault, and blamed for pigs that starved for want of feed he was not given, repeats the pattern of the examinations of Cornelius and Greenwich on 20 August 1733. Each names a specific grievance about food or clothing rather than ill treatment in general, and the council recorded all of them without any recorded comment on the masters concerned.
234	232	him for it & therefore he ranaway & went to the Cabbage Tree Woods in Sandy Bay & on Monday last he went to Mr Stewards & helped the Blacks to Work for that day & on Tuesday he went again to the Cabage Trees & Slept out of Peoples Sight and continued there till Fryday & then went to Mr Greentrees house & Stayed about half a day & there begged a few Yams of his Countrymen Boston & came away & on Capt Rasors Pasture he met Sauneey Serjeant Whaleys Black who asked the Examinant where he was going he Sayed he was Runaway from his Master & then he Said I am Runaway too will You go along with me I am going to the Horse Pasture & I have got one of the Honble Companies Calves & Walker Sayd how came you by it he Sayd I went into the Pound & took hold of it he asked him how he came to catch the Calf he said I saw it in the Pound & there was nothing there but a Skin, so he went in & took it & carryed it to Tuesdales Gutt & there he holed & I told it & put the Gutts into a hole & he carryed the Skin into the Cabage Tree upon the Meat & he had Some Raw Yams with him tied up in his Shirt so they went together to the Horse Pasture but he left Sauneey till he went to Mr Muinges to get Fire so he got a Fire there & came to Sauneey again & they dressed it all by& broiling it on the Coales & then eat Some of it, & one quarter of it Walker brought away & Sauneey had all the rest that was left & then they parted & Sauneey Stayed there & Walker went that Night to Mr Garner & on Wednesday went to Mr Weanghams Witness the Mark of Walker the Mark Walker Sauneey a Slave of Serjeant Whaleys having on a Search for the Thieves that Stole the Honble Companies Calf been found at the Beach in Sandy Bay & till John who helps Ditch hath been Runaway from his Master two Weeks & owneth that he with an other Runaway Black named Walker did on Thursday Night	Walker said he was threatened with a beating for it, and therefore ran away and went to the cabbage tree woods in Sandy Bay. On the previous Monday he went to Mr Steward's and helped the slaves to work for that day, and on Tuesday he went again to the cabbage trees and kept out of people's sight, and continued there till one day when he went to Mr Greentree's house and stayed about half a day. There he begged a few yams of his countryman Bourton and came away, and in Captain Mason's pasture he met Sauneey, Sergeant Whaley's slave, who asked him where he was going. He said he was a runaway from his master. The other said, I am a runaway too, will you go along with me, I am going to the Scots pasture and I have got one of the Honourable Company's calves. Walker said, how came you by it. He said he went into the pound and took hold of it. He asked him how he came to catch the calf. He said he saw it in the pound and there was nothing there but a pigeon, so he went in and took it and carried it to Suffdale, where he killed and flayed it and put the guts into a hole. He carried the skin into the cabbage tree upon the meat, and he had some raw yams with him tied up in his shirt. So they went together to the Scots pasture, but he left Sauneey till he went to Mr Junge's to get fire. So he got a fire there and came to Sauneey again. They dressed it and by broiling it on the coals, then ate some of it, and one quarter of it Walker brought away, and Sauneey had all the rest that was left. Then they parted and Sauneey stayed there, and Walker went that night to Mr Carne's and on the last day went to Mr Wrangham's. Witness the mark of Walker. Taken this 21st day of October 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. The mark of Walker. Sauneey, a slave of Sergeant Whaley's, having on a search for the thieves that stole the Honourable Company's calf been found at the beach in Sandy Bay with John Whaley, admitted that he had been a runaway from his master two weeks, and confessed that he, with another runaway, a slave named Walker, did on Thursday night last go into the Company's pound and take away the calf. Sauneey carried it to Suffdale, where they killed it and Walker flayed off the skin, then put it into a gummy bag and they carried it to the Scots pasture. They carried it into a hole and sometimes one and sometimes another, where in a hole near a barn or spring they dressed it by broiling it. They ate part of it together and some of one of the quarters which they could not then eat. Sauneey bore away, and Walker carried four or five pieces with him in the bag, and left him. Sauneey bred with the rest of the calf, which he had eaten since. Taken this 21st day of October 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. The mark of Sauneey. Sauneey further said that he went to Walker at Rose's Gully on Saturday night to get some yams from him, and Walker told him he would go along with him, and so they went on Sunday morning into Roberts's Valley and stayed there till Tuesday night.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		last got into the Companies Pound & was away & do to left & Sauney carryed it to Tuesdales & there they killed it & Walker fled of the Skin & then put it into a Gumwood Bag & they carryed it to the Horse Pasture & they carried it & Sold & Sold Sometimes one and Sometime an other & there in a hole near Bennets Point they dressed it by broiling of it & they eat part of it together & Some of one of the Quarters which they found not then eat & Sauney bore away & Walker carryed four or five Peices with him in the Bag & left him Sauney there with the rest of the Calf which he hath eaten Since The Mark Sauney Sauney farther Sayth that he went to Walker at Rozes Fairey on Saturday Night to get Some Yams from him & Walker told him he would go along with him & so they went on Sunday Morning into Roberts Place & Stayed there till Tuesday Night & then went to Beales Hutt & Stayed there till Thursday Night & then went to Tuesdales Gutt & that Night Stole the Calf, he farther confeseth that whilst Walker was with him they Stole a Pig from Josiah Whaley junr & being asked why he Runaway from his Master Sayth that his Master lost Some Beef out of a Door that was locked & charged him with Stealing which he did Steale though he denied it to his Master, & being asked his Master would Whip him so Runaway & carryed what he had not eat of the Beef with him & that whilst he was alone he Stole one Sowe from Mr Muidge and an Margin Notes: Capt hac 21 die Octobris Anno Domini 1733 Coram me Isa Pyke Capt hac 21 die October 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke	Then they went to Beale's Hill and stayed there till Thursday night, and then went to Suffdale's gut, and that night stole the calf. He further confessed that while Walker was with him they stole a pig from Joseph Whaley junior. Being asked why he ran away from his master, he said that his master lost some beef out of a door that was locked, and charged him with stealing, which he did steal though he denied it to his master, and being afraid his master would whip him he ran away. He carried what he had not eaten of the beef with him, and while he was alone he stole some yams from Mr Mudge and an... Interpretations The two accounts of the theft, taken separately on the same day, agree on every material point: the calf taken from the pound on the Thursday night, killed and skinned at Suffdale, the hide and offal disposed of, the meat broiled over coals at the Scots pasture and divided between them. Governor Pyke had used the same method with the seven Bencoolen deserters in March 1731 and with the Long boys in June 1733, and the correspondence between independently given accounts is what makes a confession safe to act on. The geography of the two men's movements maps the island's hiding places precisely. Cabbage tree woods in Sandy Bay, Rose's Gully, Roberts's Valley, Beale's Hill, Suffdale's gut and the Scots pasture form a circuit through broken ground on the eastern side, and both men moved between them by night. This is the same pattern recorded for Simon, taken at John Long's outhouse on 10 April 1733 after nearly two months at large, and for the Frenchman Bartholomew Guian, who lived thirty-one days among the rocks in August. Neither man could survive without help from other slaves. Walker begged yams from his countryman Bourton at Mr Greentree's, worked a day for Mr Steward's slaves, and got fire from Mr Junge's, while Sauney sought Walker out specifically to obtain yams. The jury's presentment of 2 July 1733 had complained that houses in the valley harboured other people's slaves and encouraged theft, and these examinations show the same network operating in the country, sustained by slaves rather than by the free households the jury named. Sauney's stated reason for running is that he stole beef, was accused of it and feared the whipping that would follow. His flight therefore compounded the offence rather than escaping it, and led directly to the theft of a Company calf, a pig and further yams. The sequence illustrates how the fear of punishment produced exactly the sustained predation on the neighbourhood that the council found so difficult to control.
235	233	an other from Joseph Hayes & farther this Examinant doth not at this time Say the Mark Sauney Walker being a Second time Examined did this day confess that besides the Calf which he & Sauney Stole from the Honble Company that they Stole a Boat belonging to Jos Whaley junr which they boiled at his House & farther doth not Say the Mark Walker Ordred that each of the Said Blacks do wear an Iron Collar about their Necks for a Twelvemonth according to the ancient Custom of this Place & that they be Sett to hard Labour Six	Sauney further confessed that he stole another from Joseph Hayes, and said nothing more at this time. Taken this 22nd day of October 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. The mark of Sauney. Walker, being examined a second time, confessed the same day that besides the calf which he and Sauney stole from the Honourable Company, they also stole a goat belonging to Joseph Whaley junior, which they boiled at his house, and said nothing more. Taken this 22nd day of October 1733. Coram Isaac Pyke. The mark of Walker. The council ordered that each of the said slaves wear an iron collar about their necks for a twelvemonth according to the ancient custom of this place, and that they be set to hard labour six months for their victuals, three months of it for the Honourable Company and the other three months in

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Months for their Virtuals three Months thereof for the Honble Company & the other three Months in Mending & Repairing the Highways, & that they be each of them presently whiped with Thirty Lashes & that at the Expiration of the Said Six Months they be again each of them Whiped with Thirty Lashes more & in Consideration that Sauney in this Case is the greatest offender he having a hand but Walker a cruel Master it was also Ordred that the Said Sauney between the beginning & End of the Said Six Months do receive two other Whipings of Thirty Lashes each & that in Regard that Solomon Justing, & Stephen one of the Honble Companies Blacks, & a Slave called Robin belonging to Capt Alexander having been very diligent & Industrious in Seeking after & apprehending these two Thieves it was farther Ordred that each of them as a Reward for their Care & trouble Should receive the Sum of Ten Shillings to be paid by the Owners of the Said two Runaway Blacks & that they Should also pay the Honble Company the Sum of Forty Shillings for the Loss of the Said Calf, & the Governour proposed that each of the Councill Should Report on Tuesday next their Opinion what ought to be done to prevent the Running away of Blacks for the future Att a Consultation held on Tuesday 30th Octr 1733 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Petition of Sarah Johnson was presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Councill The humble Petition of Sarah Johnson Sheweth That John Johnson Your Petrs eldest Brother deceased in the East Indies & made a Will bequeathing the Land & house of his Very Father & Situate at St Helena which Said Jonas Hyatt & my Brother as appears by that Will hath given from me to one Thomas Muinston a Copy of which Will is here annexed by which it doth appear to be attested by no more than two Witnesses, by our Petr conceived that there is an Act of Parliament expressly declares & makes Void all manner of Wills for disposall of Lands that are not Witnessed and Attested by three or four Witnesses & that Will being Void the Said Inheritance Margin Notes: Capt hac 22 die Octobris 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke Capt hac 22 die Octobris 1733 Coram me: Isa Pyke	mending and repairing the highways. Each of them was to be presently whipped with thirty lashes, and at the expiration of the said six months each of them was to be whipped again with thirty lashes more. In consideration that Sauney was in this case the greater offender, he having been a kind but Walker a cruel master, it was also ordered that Sauney, between the beginning and end of the said six months, receive two other whippings of thirty lashes each. In regard that Solomon Durling, sergeant, one of the Honourable Company's blacks, and a slave called Robin belonging to Captain Alexander, had been very diligent and industrious in looking after and apprehending these two runaways, it was further ordered that each of them, as a reward for their care and trouble, should receive the sum of ten shillings, to be paid by the owners of the two runaway slaves, and that they should also pay the Honourable Company the sum of forty shillings for the loss of the calf. The Governor proposed that each of the council should report on the following Tuesday their opinion on what ought to be done to prevent the running away of blacks in future. At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 October 1733 at Plantation House. Present: Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor, John Alexander, John Goodwin, Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following petition of Sarah Johnson was presented and read. To the worshipful Isaac Pyke Esquire Governor and council. The humble petition of Sarah Johnson. Johnson set out that John Johnson, her eldest brother, deceased, in the East Indies made a will bequeathing the land and house of his very father's estate at St Helena, which the said Sarah Johnson's brother appears by that will hath given from him to one Thomas Moynston, a copy of which will is here annexed, by which it does appear to be attested by no more than two witnesses. By our petition it is stated that there is an act of Parliament in these accounts and made and in all manner of wills for disposal of lands that are not effectual unless attested by three or four witnesses, and that will being void, the same in itself... Interpretations The iron collar imposed for twelve months served as a permanent visible mark identifying a slave as a convicted runaway, which made concealment or a second flight far harder to sustain. The council described it as the ancient custom of the place, and the same instrument had been used on Abigail and Anthony in the church theft case of January 1733, where a shackle was ordered until stolen goods were recovered. The division of the six months' hard labour between the Company's own work and repairing the highways spreads the recovery of value across both the injured owner and the public. Highway maintenance was ordinarily the responsibility of the overseers appointed each year, and Samuel Doveton had complained on 26 December 1732 that men neglected to send their slaves to the roads, so unpaid convict labour filled a genuine gap. The reasoning behind Sauney's additional punishment inverts what might be expected. He is treated as the greater offender not because he did more but because his master had been kind, while Walker's master was cruel, which the council had heard directly in the examinations. Ill treatment was therefore accepted as partial mitigation for flight, a position consistent with the complaints of Cornelius and Greenwich recorded on 20 August 1733 without any censure of the men themselves.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Rewarding the two slaves who tracked the runaways, and charging the ten shillings each to the owners rather than to the Company, places the cost of recapture on those whose property was recovered. Solomon Durling had been appointed overseer of the Company's slaves on 31 December 1728 and described then as sober and industrious, and using slaves to apprehend other slaves was the only practical means available on an island where the terrain offered so many hiding places. The Governor's direction that each councillor report his own opinion on preventing flight follows his established method, the same used over the island's waters in August 1732 and the yam shortage in April 1733. Requiring separate written opinions rather than a collective discussion produced a record of individual reasoning that could be sent home. The point taken against John Johnson's will concerns the Statute of Frauds of 1677, which required a devise of land to be attested by three or four credible witnesses. A will valid for personal property could therefore fail entirely as to real estate, and Sarah Johnson's petition turns on that distinction: two witnesses sufficed for the movables but not for the land and house her brother purported to give away.
236	234	of my father descends to me who am my Brothers Heir at Law & whereas Messrs France Weangham & John Bagett have as Attorneys on behalf of the Said Thomas Moynston claimed a Right to the Said Land & prayed the Honble Companies Duke Grants for the Same to my prejudice who have Resided all my Life on this Island where I was born & have a Family & Sevrall Children who will be deprived of a Support & Maintainance if that Land be taken from me of which my Mother before me & my Self have had Possession of for many Years Your Petr therefore humbly prays that he may be confirmed in the Possession of the Said Land as his own just Right, & that Messrs Weangham & Bagett may be forbid Meddling any farther herein Untill I have had a legal Tryall & my Legacy justify my Right & that they may not be Permitted to Pay the Quit Rents for the Said Land which I do now desire & I am ready to pay And Your Petr as in Duty bound shall ever pray 30 Octr 1733 Joshua Johnson Copy of the Will Referred to in the Said Johnsons Petition Vizt In the name of God AMEN I John Johnson of Tellichery on the Coast of Malabar in the East Indies being of an indifferent State of health & knowing the Uncertainty of this Life think it necessary as I am of Sound Mind & Memory to make this my Will and Testament which is in manner & form following Revoking all Wills by me heretofore made Imprimis I Constitute & Appoint John Bradley Esqr & Stephen Law Executors of this my Will & Testament who are after my	Johnson set out that the estate of her father descended to her as her brother's heir at law, and that Mr Francis Wrangham and John Bagley, acting as attorneys on behalf of Thomas Moynston, claimed a right to the land, and had applied to the Honourable Company's Court for a grant of it. That claim was to her prejudice, she having resided all her life on the island where she was born, and having a family and several children who would be deprived of support and maintenance if the land were taken from her, since her mother before her and she herself had held possession of it for many years. She therefore humbly asked that she might be confirmed in possession of the land as her own proper right, and that Wrangham and Bagley might be forbidden to meddle any further in the matter until she had a legal trial to justify her right. She asked also that they might not be permitted to pay the quit rents for the land, which she now desired and was ready to pay herself. Signed Joshua Johnson, 30 October 1733. A copy of the will referred to in the petition follows. In the name of God, amen. John Johnson of Tellichery on the coast of Malabar in the East Indies, being of an indifferent state of health and knowing the uncertainty of this life, thought it necessary, being of sound mind and memory, to make his will and testament in the manner following, revoking all wills by him heretofore made. He appointed Mr Sergeant John Bradfield Esquire and Stephen Law executors of his will and testament, who were after his decease to cause an interment to be made in a decent manner, and touching what it had pleased God to bestow upon him, he bequeathed as follows, that is after his funeral charges and lawful debts are fully discharged. To his nephew Thomas Moynston, at present an officer of the garrison, he bequeathed for the use of him and his heirs forever all that belongs to him on the island of St Helena which is now enjoyed and made over to him by his brother Joshua Johnson, consisting of land, slaves, cattle and so on. But it is provided and intended by him that if the said Thomas Moynston cannot let the same go out of the family, he gave and bequeathed to him for his own proper use and behoof all his wearing apparel including his silver mounted sword, a silver mounted

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		decease to cause an Interment to be made in a decent manner, & as touching what it hath pleased God to bestow upon me I bequeath as followeth that is after my funerall Charges & all lawfull Debts are fully discharged Item To my Nephew Thomas Moyston at present an Officer of this Garrison I bequeath for the Use of him & his heirs forever all that belongs to me on the Island Helena which now is Enjoyed with my Leave by my Brother Joshua Johnson consisting of Land Slaves Cattle &c but is provided & intended by me that the Said Thomas Moyston cannot let the Same go off of our Family, Also Give & bequeath to him Thomas Moyston for his proper use & behoof all my wearing Apparel including my Silver Mounted Sword, a Silver Mounted Hanger & a Pair of Silver Capt Pistolls, & one Suit of Gold Waistcoat Buttons the Smallest also two Pair of Gold Shirt Buttons & one Pair of Studs Item To my Daughter Mary Douglass Wife of Capt Alexander Douglass of the Garrison I give & bequeath all my furniture consisting of Chairs Chests & Scrutore, Boxes, Beds & Bedding a Pair of Silver Candlesticks & Snuffers as also the Sum of Eight Hundred Rupees to be Enjoyed by her & her heirs forever Item To my Sister Eliz: Taylour I give & bequeath for the Use of her & her heirs forever the Sum of Eight hundred Rupees to be Remitted by Bill on the Honble East India Company Item To my Brother Joshua Johnson of St Helena Inhabitant I give & bequeath for the proper Use & behoof of my Diamond ring & the Sum of Eighty Pounds or Three hundred & twenty Rupees to be Enjoyed by them & his heirs forever which my Executors are to Remitt according to their Discretion & one Sett of Gold Buttons Item To Stephen Law of Tellichery one of my Executors before mentioned I give & bequeath all my Painted Books And in Case my Estate Should come out Short than the Amount of Said Legacies before mentioned & Will that the Overplus be given to my Daughter Sister & Brother abovenamed to be divided in	hanger and a pair of silver capped pistols, one pair of gold waistcoat buttons, the smallest, also two pairs of gold shirt buttons and one pair of studs. To his daughter Mary Douglas, wife of Captain Alexander Douglas of the garrison, he gave and bequeathed all his furniture consisting of chairs, chests, escrtoire, boxes and bedding, a pair of silver candlesticks and snuffers, as also the sum of eight hundred rupees to be enjoyed by her and her heirs forever. To his sister Elizabeth Taylor he gave and bequeathed for the use of her and her heirs forever the sum of eight hundred rupees, to be remitted by bill on the Honourable East India Company. To his brother Joshua Johnson of St Helena, inhabitant, he gave and bequeathed for his proper use and behoof one diamond ring and the sum of eighty pounds or three hundred and twenty rupees, to be enjoyed by them and their heirs forever, which his executors are to remit according to their discretion, and one set of gold buttons. To Stephen Law of Tellicherry, one of his executors before named, he gave and bequeathed all his painted books. And in case his estate should come out short of the amount of the several legacies before mentioned, he willed that the surplus be given to his daughter, sister and brother above named, to be divided... Interpretations The petition and the will together disclose a conflict of interest at the heart of the case. Francis Wrangham and John Bagley act as attorneys for Thomas Moynston, the beneficiary under a will the petitioner says is invalid for want of sufficient witnesses, and their move to pay the quit rents would establish a continuous record of possession in Moynston's name. Sarah Johnson's insistence on paying the rents herself is therefore not a matter of a few shillings but an attempt to preserve the evidence of her own occupation. The devise itself carries an unusual internal contradiction. John Johnson gave his St Helena property to Moynston absolutely, then added that if Moynston could not keep it within the family he should instead have only the testator's personal effects. That reservation suggests Johnson understood his own title was doubtful, since the land was described as made over to him by his brother Joshua rather than inherited outright. An estate held on the coast of Malabar and disposed of at Tellicherry shows how far the island's families reached into Company service. Legacies expressed in rupees and remitted by bill on the East India Company, with an alternative sterling figure of eighty pounds against three hundred and twenty rupees, put the conversion at about five shillings to the rupee, and the mechanism is the same one Company servants used throughout this record to move value home without shipping coin. The signature reads Joshua Johnson though the petition is entered as that of Sarah Johnson, and the will names Joshua Johnson of St Helena as the testator's brother and a legatee. Whether the petitioner is Sarah or Joshua, or whether one signed on the other's behalf, cannot be resolved from this page alone, and the discrepancy will matter if the claim proceeds to trial.
237	235	in Proportion to each Sum bequeathed them, but in case it should	The will directed that any shortfall be met by reducing each legacy in proportion to the sum

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		come out less then a Deduction to be made out of each of their Legacies in Proportion to each Sum bequeathed Dated in St Hellena Fort the 23d day of April in the Year of our Lord 1739 John Johnson Signed Sealed & Declared (there is no Stamp Paper to be had in the Presence of us Hugh Scoward Alexander Christian Vera Copia Wm Gillies Robt Broome Ordered That Messrs Wingham & Bazett have a Copy of the Petition of the said Johnson & that they do make Reply thereto if they think fit on Tuesday next at which time the said Johnson is to attend in Order to receive an Answer to his said Petition The Petition of Sarah Bradley was also presented & read Setting forth that she was Indebted to the Honble Company in the Sum of £9.6 which she is unable to pay being miserably poor Unless her Black was Employed at their Works in Order to clear the same & praying that her Black might be so Employed at 9d ^{per} diem the price allowed for other Blacks, this Petition was granted accordingly The Petition of Jno Harden Soldier was likewise presented & read Setting forth that a Longboat would be of great Service in Shipping time & praying leave that he might keep a Fly a Longboat in Shipping time under such Regulations as shall be thought proper, but this being a matter Something new the Consideration of this Petition was deferred till Tuesday next. According to the Order of Tuesday last the Governour & Council took into Farther Consideration the Mischief done by Runaway Blacks & agreed upon severe Rules for the more speedy Apprehending of them which were made publick by beat of Drum in the following Advertisment vizt Whereas Severall Blacks have lately been Runaway from their Owners & have done great Mischief in all parts of the Country by Robbing & Stealing from the severall Inhabitants thereof & some of them have been so daring & Impudent as to Rob the Honble Company. To prevent therefore these & all other Mischiefs of this Sort, These are to give notice that the Owners of all Runaway Blacks are to give Information to the Governour within three days after their said Blacks shall be so Runaway or otherwise for such Neglect or Refuse shall make good all the Loss & Damage which shall accrue	bequeathed, just as any surplus was to be shared in proportion. John Johnson signed it at Tellicherry on 23 April 1733. The document was signed, sealed and declared without stamped paper, none being available, in the presence of Hugh Howard and Alexander Christie. Two copies were made, witnessed by William Gillies and Robert Brown. The council ordered that Wingham and Bazett receive a copy of Johnson's petition. Both men were to attend the following Tuesday and give their answer if they saw fit, and Johnson was required to attend on the same day to hear it. Sarah Bradley set out in a petition that she owed the Honourable Company £2 6s 0d and could not pay it, being desperately poor. Her black man had earlier been employed at their works to clear the debt, and she asked that he be taken on again at nine pence a day, the rate allowed for other blacks. The council granted it. George Hardin, a soldier, asked leave to keep a small boat and to run it during the shipping season under whatever rules the council thought fit, setting out that such a craft would be of real use in supplying the ships. The council considered the proposal something of a novelty and put the matter over until the following Tuesday. Following the order made at the previous Tuesday's meeting, Governor Pyke and the council returned to the problem of runaway slaves and settled on several measures for taking them up more quickly. The resulting notice was published by beat of drum: The Governor and council recorded that several blacks had lately run from their owners and done great damage across the country by stealing from the inhabitants and from the Honourable Company, some of them growing so bold as to break into houses. 2: To prevent this and other mischief of the same kind, 3: Owners were to inform the Governor within three days of any black running away or otherwise absenting himself. An owner who neglected or refused to do so was to make good every loss and every injury done by that black to any person during the whole time of the absence. 4: Any runaway taken, whether by his own owner or by another person, was to be brought to the Governor for punishment. A penalty of 20s applied, and the cost of taking up the runaway was to be borne by the owner. 5: To encourage the taking of runaways, a reward of 20s for each black was to be paid at once by the Governor to any free person or black who apprehended one and delivered him up. The Governor might allow more or less according to the labour and pains taken in the search. 6: For greater speed, Joseph Player, corporal, was appointed by the Governor and council to search for runaways immediately on notice given by their owners, who were to account [...] Interpretations A will disposing of land needed three or four witnesses under the Statute of Frauds of 1677, while two sufficed for personal property. Johnson's Tellicherry will carried the signatures of Hugh Howard and Alexander Christie alone, which is the exact defect Sarah Johnson relied on in her petition of 30 October 1733, arguing that the devise of the St Helena land failed and the estate descended to her as heir at law. The clause noted here on stamped paper matters for the same reason: English law required certain instruments to be written on stamped revenue paper, and an unstamped document could be challenged as void. Governor Byfield had

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		to any Person during the time their said Blacks shall be so Absent or Runaway That as soon as any Runaway Black shall be Apprehended whether they be taken by their said Owners or by any other Persons, such Blacks shall be brought to the Governour in order to be Punished for the same under Penalty of Twenty Shillings & to be lyable to be Prosecuted for taking such Runaway Blacks That as an Incouragement for Apprehending all Runaway Blacks a Reward not exceeding Twenty Shillings for each Black will be immediately paid by the Governour to any Freeway Black or Black who shall Apprehend any Runaway Black bringing him to the Governour as aforesaid the said Reward to be Setled by the Governour who will allow more or less for taking of any such Black according to the Labour & Pains such Person shall take in Searching for & Apprehending the said Runaway Blacks That for the more effectual Apprehending such Runaway Blacks as aforesaid Joseph Hayes Corporal is appointed by the Governour & Council to make immediate Search for them upon Notice given him thereof by the Owners of such Runaway Blacks who are to acquaint	certified the same want of stamped paper beneath the Slaughter affidavit on 15 April 1729, so the recital protects the instrument against that objection while leaving the witness defect untouched. Sarah Bradley's arrangement shows how a debt to the Company was cleared where no coin existed. Her slave's labour at the Company's works was valued at nine pence a day, the identical rate Governor Pyke paid the planters for the 20 slaves hired to cut the salt-spring trench on 25 August 1732. Hiring out a slave was the only liquid asset a poor householder held, and the council treated the man's daily wage as a currency in which the £2 6s 0d could be paid down. Bradley had been fined 20s among the wood defaulters on 18 November 1729 and ordered to fence and plant at once, so her poverty was already on the record. The reward scale rests on a calculation about who actually catches runaways. Offering 20s to a black as readily as to a free person acknowledged that the men most able to search the cabbage tree woods, Rose's Gully and the other hiding places were themselves slaves, and the sum paid to Solomon Durling and Robin on 30 October 1733 for taking Walker and Sauney was ten shillings each, half this standing figure. Appointing Corporal Player as a dedicated searcher created something close to a paid office for the purpose, where every earlier response had depended on the chance of a runaway being stumbled upon. The three-day reporting rule shifts the burden of a runaway's thefts onto the owner who stayed silent. Concealment had a plain motive, since an owner who reported a flight advertised that he could not keep his own household in order, and the examinations of Cornelius and Greenwich on 20 August 1733 and of Walker on 23 October 1733 all turned on complaints of cruel usage that reflected badly on the master. Making the silent owner answerable for every loss removed the advantage of saying nothing. Speculations The obvious remedy against harbouring was a penalty on the harbourer, and the council had the case in front of it: John Long's outhouse had sheltered the Malay slave Simon for near two months, and on 10 April 1733 the council held his premises a long-standing refuge for runaways yet could only order him to make good the damage, the testimony of blacks being inadmissible against a free man. These rules leave the harbourer alone entirely. Instead they attach every duty and every penalty to the owner, who is answerable at law, whose losses are provable, and against whom no question of admissible evidence arises. The council chose to work on the one party in the chain it could reliably reach, and to buy the labour of the rest with a standing reward.
238	236	him in the said Search, the said Hayes to be Rewarded by the Governour for his Trouble according to the 5th Article of this Advertisemt These Rules & Orders to continue in force for Six Months & if found Beneficial to the Inhabitants to be longer continued of which timely Notice will be hereafter given. At a Consultation held on Tuesday 6th Novr 1733 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved	Any person assisting in the search was to be rewarded by the Governor for his trouble, the sum settled according to the fifth article of the advertisement. 7: The rules and orders were to hold for six months, and would be extended beyond that term if they proved useful to the inhabitants, with timely notice given of any continuation. At a consultation held on Tuesday 6 November 1733 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Francis Wrangham and John Bagley, acting as attorneys for Thomas Moynston, then at Tellicherry in India, presented a petition to the Governor and council. They set out that John Johnson had recently

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The following Petition was presented & read vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & the Councill The humble Petition of Fran: Wingham & Fra: Bazett Attorneys of Tho Moyston now at Tilleicherry in India Sheweth That John Johnson lately died at Tilleicherry possessed of an Estate of considerable Value lying in this Island That Joshua Johnson by the Sale Favour and Bounty of his said Brother John Johnson did possess & seeing to his own Use & Benefit all the Issue & Profits of the said Estate for Sixteen or Seventeen Years past without paying any Rent to his Brother for the same That the said John Johnson by his last Will did give & bequeath all the said Estate to his Nephew Tho Moysten his Sisters Son who for many Years lived with & was Maintained by his said Uncle That some Arrears of the said John Johnson the said Joshua Johnson hath denied the said Estate of Your Petitioners as Attorneys of the said Tho Moysten That notwithstanding this, the said Johnson hath lately claimed the said Estate as his own under Pretence of some Flaw or defect in the Will of his deceased Brother which Your Petr's humbly apprehend are not of force sufficient to destroy the Validity of the said Will That this Claim tends highly to the Prejudice of the Fortune & Interest of the said Thomas Moysten Your Petr's therefore humbly pray that the Right and Title to the said Estate may be Ascertained till Your Petr's shall receive Orders or Instructions from him Principally Robt Addams Esqr & the said Tho: Moysten touching this Affair & that in the mean time at least till to the Hon Compy at St Davids the from Fort St Georg they may be received as usual by Your Petr's And Yr Petr's as in duty bound shall ever pray Fran Wingham St Helena 6th Novr 1733	died at Tellicherry holding an estate of considerable value on St Helena. Joshua Johnson had enjoyed his brother's favour and generosity and had taken the whole benefit of that estate for sixteen or seventeen years, paying no rent for it. John Johnson by his last will left the entire estate to his nephew Thomas Moynston, his sister's son, who had lived with his uncle for many years and been maintained by him. Joshua Johnson had since surrendered the estate to the petitioners as Moynston's attorneys. Despite that surrender he had lately claimed the estate as his own, relying on some paper or document said to bear on the title of his deceased brother, which the petitioners held insufficient to overturn the will. The claim stood greatly to the prejudice of Moynston's fortune and interest. The petitioners asked that the right and title to the estate be determined before they received further instructions from Richard Addams, principal attorney for Moynston, on the affair. In the meantime they asked that at least the quit rent due to the Honourable Company from the estate be received as usual. The petition was signed by Francis Wingham and dated at St Helena, 6 November 1733. Interpretations Two rival petitions over the same estate now stand before the council within a week of each other. Sarah Johnson petitioned on 30 October 1733 that the Tellicherry will was void as a disposal of land, carrying only two witnesses where the statute required three or four, and that the estate descended to her as heir at law. Wingham and Bagley answer from the other side, and their claim does not defend the will's attestation at all. They rest instead on Joshua Johnson's surrender of the estate to them, which is a much stronger ground: a man who has given up possession to the devisee's attorneys has acknowledged the devise, and his later change of mind matters little whatever the will's defects. The council therefore faces one attack on the instrument itself and one argument built on conduct after the death, and the two do not meet. Quit rent is a small fixed annual payment reserved to the Company as ground landlord, and its significance here has nothing to do with its size. Continuous payment is evidence of continuous possession, and an estate whose rent falls into arrears while the title is contested risks forfeiture or resumption by the Company. Sarah Johnson had asked on 30 October 1733 that Wingham and Bagley be forbidden to pay the rents and that she be allowed to pay them herself, so both sides are competing to be the party the Company's books record as the tenant. Whoever pays builds the record that a court will later read as proof of who held the land. The paper Joshua Johnson relies on is described only as something bearing on his dead brother's title, and the petitioners do not name or date it. That vagueness is itself informative, since the island's titles rested heavily on possession and common report where deeds had been lost, as the enquiry into Isaac Wood's title on 13 February 1733 found when no writing survived for most of the chain. Sixteen or seventeen years of rent-free enjoyment would ordinarily support a claim by long possession, which is probably the ground Joshua Johnson means to occupy. Speculations The obvious course for attorneys holding a surrender was to ask the council to enforce it and confirm them in possession, and their own petition supplies every element such a request would need. They ask for nothing of the kind. Instead they seek

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			only a determination of right, and even that they qualify by waiting on instructions from Richard Addams as principal attorney before proceeding further. The reason sits in the distance to Tellicherry: an order obtained now, without authority from the man who actually holds the power, might be repudiated later or might commit Moynston to a position his principal attorney would not have chosen. Wrangham and Bagley preferred to secure the rent payment, which preserves the position and costs nothing, and to leave the substantive fight until the post could bring them cover.
239	237	The Petitioners were called in & the Petition of Joshua Johnson presented on Tuesday last was read to them, they were then told that the Affair should ly in Suspence till they should receive Orders & Instructions from their Principals how to proceed, and were farther acquainted that as Johnson & they had each of them desired to receive the Rent becoming due from the Honble Company for the hire of a house belonging to the said Estate, neither of them should receive it till the Right & Title thereto should be finally determined Severall Blacks who were lately Runaways from their owners having been lately apprehended they were brought to the Governour who Severally Examined them as follows vizt Moll a Slave Wench belonging to John Thwaites being Runaway from her Master because she was Sick but doth not confess that she Stole any thing during the time yet sayth that she saw Pompey Mr Pyke's Black who was then Runaway about a month or five Weeks ago the Pompey stole two Pigs of Mr Wangham's from the same afterwards two more in presence of Harry one of Mr Wangham's Blacks & Sue one of Giles Smith's Blacks who were both Runaway as well as her Self & the said these Pigs himself & gave her part of them to eat And she farther sayth that Guttee one of Mr Wangham's Blacks often saw them for he worked down in Sarah's Valley near where they were concealed & would not Discover them because London one of Mr Pyke's Runaway Blacks used to Work for him when Mr Wangham was out of the way farther at this time the Examinant made doth not say The Mark Moll Isaac Pyke Jack a Slave belonging to John Bradley Soldier was also apprehended & Examined he it appearing by the Testimony of the said Black as wel as by the Affirmation of divers Persons of Credit that the Slave hath not a due Quantity of Food to eat that at this the said Bradley hath a good Plantation yet it is not well laboured nor well Fenced so that all the Family are in a Starving Condition	The petitioners were called in and Joshua Johnson's petition of the previous Tuesday was read to them. They answered that the whole affair should stand over until they received further orders and instructions from their principals on how to proceed. The council also told them that rent had fallen due to the Honourable Company for the hire of a house belonging to the estate, and neither side would accept it until the right and title were finally settled. Several blacks who had lately run from their owners were taken up and brought before the Governor, who examined each of them separately. Moll, a slave woman belonging to John Thwaites, said she had run from her master because he was cruel to her. She would not admit stealing anything while absent, but did say that she saw Pompey, a slave of Mr Ryder, who had then been away about a month, and about three weeks earlier Pompey took two pigs of Mr Wrangham's from the same place. Two more were taken afterwards in the presence of Harry, a slave of Mr Wrangham, and Sue, a slave of Giles Smith, both of whom were also runaways alongside her. Pompey himself gave her part of the pigs to eat. She said further that Guttee, one of Mr Wrangham's blacks, saw them after he had worked down in Sarah's Valley near the place where they were hidden, and would not give them away, because Sanders, one of Mr Ryder's runaway blacks, used to work for him whenever Mr Wrangham was out of the way. She could not say whether Guttee was living with the woman at that time. The account was signed with her mark, dated 17 November 1733, and taken before Isaac Pyke. Jack, a slave of John Bradley, a soldier, was also taken up and examined. From his own account, and from what several people of credit affirmed, the slave did not get enough food to eat, though Bradley had a good plantation. The ground was neither well tilled nor sown, so that the whole family was in a starving condition through idleness and neglect. The Governor told Bradley that unless he mended his habits and put his plantation in better order he would be dismissed from the service. Harry, a slave of Joshua Johnson, was likewise taken up and brought before the Governor. He admitted that during his flight he had stolen only a shoat from his master, from whom he had also taken a saw and four pigs. He was carried to the fort and publicly whipped by the marshal, then returned to his master, who was to pay 15s to the several people who took him up, for their care and trouble in doing so. Ned, one of the Honourable Company's blacks, and one of the overseers of the other blacks, said that Walter, a slave of Mr Defontaine, had declared openly before many of the other blacks that as soon as he had finished work for killing the Company's calf he would go and kill one of their bullocks next. The account was signed with his mark. Harry, one of the Honourable Company's blacks, said that the previous morning Walter, one of the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		through Sloth & Idleness the said Bradley have the Governour 11 Years the Governour told him that if he did not mend his Doings & Notwithstanding & keep his Plantation in better Order that he would dismiss him the Service Harty a Slave of Joshua Johnson's being also apprehended was brought to the Governour to whom he owned that during the time of his being Runaway he only Robbed his Master from whom he took a Sow & two Pigs for which he was carried to the Fort where publicly Whipped by the Marshall & then Returned to his Master who is to pay 15s to the several Persons who apprehended the said Fellows for their Care & trouble in so doing Ned one of the Honble Companies Blacks one of the Overseers of the other Blacks sayth that Watter Mr Deferrantains Black sayd & declared openly in presence of many of the other Blacks that as soon as he had done Working for hiring the Companies Cast he would go & kill one of them Bullocks next The Mark Ned Harry one of the Honble Compys Blacks sayth that yesterday morning Watterson & the Runaway Blacks now at Labour for hiring one of the Companies Calves sayd Surely that when he had done working for this Employment here he would come again & kill a Bullock & sayd farther that he would not kill his Masters but one of the Companies	runaway blacks now at labour for killing one of the Company's calves, told him that when he had done his work for that employment he would come again and kill a bullock. He said further that he would not kill his master's, but one of the Company's. Interpretations A shoat is a young pig recently weaned, still growing and not yet fit for fattening, and its theft mattered on an island where breeding stock could not be replaced from outside. The pigs taken repeatedly in these examinations were the inhabitants' most portable and most easily concealed livestock, killed and eaten on the spot in the way Walker and Sauney disposed of the Company's calf at Suffdale in October 1733. Wrangham lost at least four in a few weeks, which explains why the reward scheme published a fortnight earlier fixed 20s a head for taking runaways up. Every one of these examinations was taken separately, and the value of that method appears in what Moll gives away. Questioned alone, she denies her own thefts but supplies a chain implicating Pompey, Harry, Sue, Sanders and Guttee, and describes an arrangement in which a runaway worked for another man's slave in exchange for silence. That is a network rather than a series of individual flights, and it could only surface because no two of them were in the room together. The Governor had used the same technique on the seven Bencoolen deserters on 31 March 1731 and on Walker and Sauney in October 1733, in each case matching the separate accounts against one another. Jack's case turns the inquiry around entirely. The runaway is not punished at all, and the master is threatened with dismissal from the Company's service instead. Bradley held a good plantation left untilled and unsown, so the whole household went hungry, and hunger is the reason his slave ran. The council was pursuing the same logic in Cornelius's examination of 20 August 1733, where ill usage by a young master was accepted as partial mitigation, but here it goes further and treats the master's neglect as the offence to be corrected. Bradley had form: he was dismissed the service on 30 July 1728 for stealing an apple tree, whipped after conviction at the general court of 26 September 1728, and surrendered a lease near the Sandy Bay limekiln on 24 December 1728 pleading he could not work it. The 15s Joshua Johnson was made to pay for Harry's recovery falls short of the 20s reward the advertisement had fixed, and the sum was divided among several captors rather than paid to one. The cost falls on the owner exactly as the fourth article of that notice required, which turns the reward from a charge on the Company into a charge on the man whose slave ran. Johnson is also, at this moment, the party contesting the Tellicherry estate, so the council is recovering money from him in one proceeding while holding his claim in suspense in another. Walter's threat is the most striking thing on the page, because it is a stated intention rather than a completed act, reported by two Company slaves independently and entered as sworn evidence. Testimony from blacks was inadmissible against a free defendant throughout this record, which is why no conviction was ever obtained against John Long, yet here two such accounts are taken down and preserved against another slave. The distinction was never about the reliability of the witness but about the status of the accused. Speculations Walter's declaration singles out the Company's bullock and expressly spares his master's, and the reason is visible in the punishment he was already serving. He was at labour for killing the Company's

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			calf, and Walker and Sauney had been sentenced on 30 October 1733 to six months' hard labour, three for the Company and three on the highways, with an iron collar for a twelvemonth. A slave working off a penalty owed to the Company gains nothing by injuring the master who feeds him and everything by striking at the body imposing the sentence. The council could have read this as ordinary theft and did not: it took two separate statements and entered both, treating the choice of victim as the point worth recording.
240	238	Chatham, Sambo & Jaunsey three other of the Companies Blacks testified the same Words to Walkers face & Walker being asked why he said so owned that he did say so but sayth he had rather stay here & Work allways than go home to his Master but doth not give any Reason why he said those Words whereupon the Govr told him that the Law of this Place was that every Black that Runaway & Stole should besides an Iron Callar & Whipping as he had been was to have for each time they Runaway one joint of a Finger cutt off but he had not inflicted the whole Punishment on him in hopes that when he was tired with wearing his Collar he would be better but now because he had been so Impudent as to say he would as soon as he was at Liberty kill one of the Compys Bullocks he would order the Compys Blacks that whenever he came into the Companies Pasture unless his Master was with him to tie him up & Whip him & that if any of the Compys Bullocks were killed he should be hanged for it as Betty Mrs Greentrees Black had lately been Manuel one of the Compys Blacks brought Martha a Slave Wench of the Widow Greentrees whom he took at the Compys Cowpound this Morning & sayth that she was Runaway & she being Examined why she Runaway sayth her Mistress is so cruel to her that she cannot live with her & that she beats her every day with a Stick or a Firebrand or the Tongs or any thing that comes in her way & sayth that her Arme is so bruised that she cant use her right hand & every time her Mistress beats her says to her Now go to Court & Complain if you will, & she sayth that she now came away with Intent to complain of her Mistress Ordered that Manuel have half a Crown for taking the said Wench & she be sent to Work at the Highway she saying she was able to carry Stones, & that her Mistress do pay the said half Crown she being driven away by her Mistresses Cruelty & her & for that reason shall neither be Whipt or wear a Collar her	Chatham, Sambo and Sauney, three more of the Company's blacks, gave the same account of Walker's words. Asked why he had said it, Walker admitted the words but would give no reason for them, saying only that he would rather stay where he was and work for good than return to his master. Governor Pyke told him that the law of the island required every black who ran away and stole to lose one joint of a finger for each flight, on top of the iron collar and the whipping he had already received. The whole penalty had been held back in the hope that a spell in the collar would improve him. His boast that he would kill one of the Company's bullocks the moment he was free changed that. The Governor gave orders to the Company's blacks that if Walker came into the Company's pasture without his master beside him they were to seize and whip him, and that if any of the Company's bullocks were killed he would hang for it, as Betty, a slave of Mr Greentree, had lately done. Manuel, one of the Company's blacks, brought in Martha, a slave woman of the widow Greentree, whom he took that morning at the Company's cow pound. Asked why she had run, she said her mistress was so cruel that she could not live with her. Martha was beaten every day with a stick, a firebrand, a pair of tongs or whatever else came to hand, and one arm had been so badly damaged that she could no longer use her right hand. Every time her mistress beat her she was told to go and complain at court if she liked, and Martha said she had come away with exactly that intention. The council awarded Manuel half a crown for taking her, and directed that Martha be set to work on the highways, she having said she was strong enough to carry stones. Her mistress was to pay the half crown. Since Martha had been driven away by cruelty, she was neither to be whipped nor to wear a collar, her mistress being the party chiefly at fault. Interpretations Removal of a finger joint for each flight is described here as the settled law of the island, which places it alongside the iron collar the council called the ancient custom of the place when sentencing Walker and Sauney on 30 October 1733. The two penalties work differently. A collar can be struck off when the term expires, but a severed joint is permanent, so the second marks a man as a repeat runaway for the rest of his life and destroys some of his value as a labourer at the same time. Governor Pyke had withheld it once already, and the record shows him treating it as a reserve held over the offender rather than a tariff applied automatically. Betty's hanging is mentioned in passing as something the island had lately seen, and it establishes that killing the Company's stock was a capital matter in practice and not merely in threat. That sets the boundary of what the council would tolerate. Mingo was spared his life at the sessions of 2 July 1733 for want of legal evidence on two charges of rape, castration being proposed instead, while a slave who killed a bullock was hanged. The difference is not the gravity of the act but whose

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Mistress being most in fault	property the harm fell on, and the council was open about wanting an example that other slaves would understand. Walker's stated preference for staying at labour rather than returning to his master is the whole difficulty in one line. He was serving three months for the Company and three on the highways under the sentence of 30 October 1733, and he found that preferable to John Defountaine's household, where he complained of cruel beatings and of blame for pigs that starved for want of feed. A penal sentence that the convict prefers to his ordinary life cannot deter, which is why the Governor reached instead for a standing order that the Company's own slaves seize and whip him on sight in the pasture. Policing had to be transferred to the place he intended to strike, since the punishment itself had lost its force. Martha's treatment inverts the usual proceeding entirely. She is given labour on the highways because she volunteered for it, spared both the whip and the collar, and her mistress is charged the half crown reward, so the owner pays for the recovery of a slave the owner drove out. The council had accepted ill usage as mitigation for Cornelius and Greenwich on 20 August 1733 and had criticised no master then, and had rated Sauney the worse offender on 30 October 1733 precisely because his master had been kind. Here it goes further and makes the mistress bear the cost and the blame outright. The taunt Martha reports carries more weight than it first appears. Being told to complain at court was meant as mockery, since a slave's testimony was inadmissible against a free defendant throughout this record, and no conviction had ever been obtained against John Long on that ground. Martha took the invitation literally and it worked, because the council did not need to convict Elizabeth Greentree of anything to reach the same result. It simply declined to punish the slave and shifted the charge. That route around the evidential bar had also opened on 1 May 1733, when George Knight's oath as a free man put Long in prison after a decade of failed proceedings. Speculations The obvious course with Martha was the one the record follows in every comparable case: punish the runaway as usual, return her to her owner, and take the owner's promise to make good what was stolen, as happened with Cornelius and Greenwich on 20 August 1733. The council did not return her at all. It put her to public work on the highways, which kept her out of Elizabeth Greentree's hands while giving the island the benefit of her labour, and it charged the mistress the finder's fee. Martha's crushed arm and her account of daily beatings with tongs and firebrands made simple restoration look like sending her back to be maimed further, and her willingness to carry stones supplied the council with somewhere else to put her.
241	239	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 13th Novr 1733 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved For the Reasons mentioned in Consultation of the 8th of January last the 6th 13th & 20th of February and 7th of August last we this day Executed a Deed to Mrs Hood Ensign to Serve & Maintain the Right of him & his heirs to Thirty Five Acres of Enkled Land in the East Division	At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 November 1733 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. For the reasons recorded in the consultations of 30 January, 13 and 20 February and 7 August last, the council executed a deed to Isaac Wood granting him and his heirs 35 acres of freehold land in the east division of the island. Nobody had come forward with any claim following the notice published by beat of drum on 7 August last. The council also executed a lease to Martin Harper for 25 acres in Sandy Bay in three parcels, part of the ground lying between the land held by Harper and that held by Charles Steward.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of the Island no Person whatsoever having made any Claim thereto according to Notice given thereof by an Advertisement published by beat of Drum of the said 7th of August last. We also this day Executed a Lease to Martin Harper for Twenty Five Acres of Land lying in Sandy Bay in two parcells there being thereof being part of Ten Acres held between the said Harper & Charles Steward Benjamin Pledger this day attended & desired that a Deed for Ten Acres of Land according to his Petition presented on the 25th of Febry last might be Granted him, & the said Pledger producing an old Writing or Deed of Gift from his Grandfather to his Mother of the said Ten Acres of Land as per Porter we are inclinable to believe that the Right of the said Pledger to the said parcell of Land is just & well grounded no other Person having appeared to Claim the same, it was therefore Ordered that the desire & Pretention of the said Pledger to the said Ten Acres of Land should be known to all Grants by an Advertisement to be published by beat of Drum & that if any Person between this & the 10th day of Febry next should make Claim to the said parcell of Land in Writing to be delivered to the Governour & Council on or before the said 13th day of Febry next that then a Deed for the same would be Granted to the said Pledger & the said Advertisement was this day published accordingly & is as follows vizt These are to give Notice that any Person or Persons have any Right or Title to Ten Acres of Enkled Land now in the Possession of Benjamin Pledger they are to Demand or make Claim thereof in Writing to be delivered to the Governour & Council on or before the 13th of February next after which time no pretended Right or Claim will be received Ordered Greentree Owner of the Wench named Martha who for her Mistresses Cruelty to her had Runaway & so was doing was appointed to Work at the Highways on Tuesday last was delivered to her Mistress again on Saturday she having promised the Governour in Writing under her hand to use her kindly hereafter, & not to beat her for the fault, & also to pay the half Crown for Apprehending of her Jno Wardell this day attended & desired an Answer to his Petition of the 30th of last month about keeping a Longboat & was told by the Governour that he being a Sentinel must delisted to Regard & made at those times it could not be Suffered The Governour Reports that the Wooden Frame of the Arbour in the Country Garden was quite gone to Ruin & decay & had fallen down	Benjamin Pledger attended and asked that a deed be granted for the 5 acres he had petitioned for on 20 February last. He produced an old written instrument or deed from his grandfather to his mother covering the 5 acres. The council was inclined to believe his right to the parcel good, no other person having come forward to claim it. His intention to take a deed was therefore to be made public by beat of drum, and any person who wished to claim the ground was to deliver a claim in writing to the Governor and council on or before 13 February next, after which a deed would be granted to him. The notice was published in these terms: Any person holding a right or title to the 5 acres of freehold land now held by Benjamin Pledger, lying near a place called the cabbage tree grounds, was to demand it or make a written claim to the Governor and council on or before 13 February next. No claim made after that date would be received, and a deed would be granted to Pledger. John Greentree, owner of the slave woman Martha who had run away because of his mistreatment of her, and who had been set to work on the highways the previous Tuesday, was returned to her owner on the Saturday. He promised the Governor in writing to treat her kindly from that time forward and not to beat her for a fault, and he paid the half crown for her recovery. Jack Norwood attended for the Governor's answer to his petition of 30 October last about running a small boat. The Governor told him that a soldier could not be spared from his post and that the proposal could not be allowed. The Governor reported that the wooden frame supporting the arbours in the country garden had decayed and fallen down four or five times. He proposed to replace it that winter with stone piers, which he judged the cheapest method, since the only cost would be the labour of the Company's blacks. The council approved the work. Interpretations Isaac Wood's deed closes an enquiry running since 30 January 1733. He had bought 25 acres from Captain Alexander in 1718 and 10 acres from Gunner Jones, and the original deeds were lost, so Goodwin and Crisp traced what they could of the chain on 13 February and 6 March, finding no writing survived for most of it. The council fell back on long possession and common report, then published a limitation notice on 7 August fixing 2 November as the bar after which no claim would be received. Pledger's parcel now goes through the identical procedure with 13 February 1734 as its cut-off. A public advertisement followed by a fixed date converts an untraceable title into a good one by extinguishing everybody else's right to object, which is the only remedy available on an island where deeds were routinely never registered, as John Alexander reported to the council on 16 November 1730. The owner of Martha appears here as John Greentree, where the earlier examination named the widow Greentree as her mistress. He was the son who ruled the household whenever his mother was in the country, and the slave Greenwich had described him on 20 August 1733 as beating him without reason in exactly those circumstances. A written undertaking to treat a slave kindly and not to strike her for a fault is unusual in this record, and it is enforceable in a practical sense rather than a legal one: the council holds the paper, and any further flight by Martha would produce it. Greentree also paid the half crown, so the cost of recovering a slave driven out by cruelty fell on the household responsible.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		four or five times this Winter & proposed to Support the same by Stone Piers as the most cheap & lasting way nothing being therein required but the Labour of the Blacks, the same was agreed to accordingly	Wooden arbour frames rotted quickly in the island's damp winters, and four or five collapses had already been paid for. Stone piers cost nothing but the labour of the Company's blacks, which is the same reasoning Governor Byfield applied to the Plantation House garden wall in January 1728 and to the rebuilt limekiln on 19 November 1728, and which Governor Pyke applied again to the new powder magazine on 2 October 1733, where 200 deals and some ironwork were the only charge and the rest came from the Company's own people. Slave labour was already on the books, so any work that could absorb it was effectively free, and the choice was always between buying materials that would last and buying materials that would need buying again. Norwood's refusal turns on the establishment rather than on the merits of the boat. Small craft were genuinely useful during the shipping season, since everything landed at St Helena came ashore by open boat, and the council had put four half leaguers and forty bags of rice through the surf for each arriving Indiaman that year. The garrison was the constraint. Company slaves numbered 180 by John Durling's return of 27 February 1733, with only 80 men and many of those worn out, and the council had entered its fear that it would be obliged to hire people. Releasing a soldier for private trade would have made the shortage worse in the one branch that could not be filled from the island's own population.
242	240	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 20th Novr 1733 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Caesar a Black belonging to Richd Beale having been Runaway from his Master was apprehended on Saturday last & brought to the Governour to whom he made the following Confession vizt Caesar a Black Slave belonging to Richard Beale being sent in the Long Pasture by Pompey a Slave belonging to Joseph Bates & sent for Runningaway doth confess that he is Runaway from his Master & hath been & Absent three days but hath stollen nothing nor hath eaten any thing for three days but a Yam that Pompey gave him when he saw him & farther he doth not say Taken before me this 17th day of Novr 1733 before us Isaac Pyke The Mark Caesar Ordered that Pompey the Black of the said Bates have half a Crown Reward for taking him to be paid out of the Levee & Charged to Mr Beales Account & that Caesar be Whipt with Thirty Lashes for Runningaway & then delivered to his Master The Governour Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for October last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expence of the Table in October 1733 vizt	At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 November 1733 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Caesar, a black belonging to Richard Beale, ran from his master and was taken up on the Saturday and brought before the Governor, to whom he made the following confession. Caesar, a slave of Richard Beale, was found in the horse pasture by Pompey, a slave of Joseph Bates, and taken up for running away. He admitted that he had left his master and had been absent three days. He had stolen nothing and had eaten nothing over those three days apart from what Pompey gave him when he found him. He would say nothing further. The statement was signed with his mark and taken before Isaac Pyke on 17 November 1733. The council awarded Pompey, Bates's slave, half a crown for taking him, the sum to be paid out of the horse and charged to Beale's account. Caesar was whipped with 30 lashes for running away and delivered back to his master. Governor Pyke, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered the monthly accounts for October, which were examined, approved and entered as follows. Expense of the table in October 1733 248 lb beef, £3 1s 0d 100 lb fish, £3 5s 0d 140 lb veal, £3 10s 0d 2 sheep, £2 0s 0d 4 pigs, £1 3s 0d 48 fowls, £3 18s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 15 turkeys, £3 5s 0d 15 lb butter, £0 15s 0d 62 bottles milk, £0 8s 0d 30 days greens, £1 10s 0d 68 gallons arrack, £13 12s 0d 150 lb sugar, £1 19s 0d 14 gallons port, £5 8s 6d 34 gallons beer, £1 13s 0d 3 gallons oil, £0 0s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		243 lb Beef 3 5 130 lb Fish 3 5 140 lb Veal 3 10 2 Sheep 2 4 Pigs 1 8 48 Fowles 3 18 2 Geese 10 4 Ducks 6 13 Turkeys 6 5 15 lb Butter 3 5 62 Bacca Milk 15 8 30 Days Greens 1 8 68 Gallons Wash 1 10 169 lb Sugar 13 10 14 Gallons Port 7 19 34 Gallons Beer 5 8 6 3 Gallons Oyle 1 13 5 lb Flour 2 9 1½ Gallons Vinegar 3 6 20 lb Pepper 3 9 1½ Salt 2 9 51 7 5 Gunnars Stores Expended in October 1733 vizt Guns Fired, Culvring, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 6th Muster Day: Guns Fired 0, Culvring 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 10 lb 11th the Kings Coronation: Guns Fired 21, Culvring 1, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 1038, Powder 0 Carried of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Culvring 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 12 Musquett Balls 60 Cartredge Paper 12 Quire Matches 1 Fusees 1 Match 12 lb Guns Fired 21, Culvring 1, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 1660, Powder 0 (Signed) Jno French	20 lb flour, £3 5s 0d 1.5 gallons vinegar, £0 3s 9d 20 lb pepper, £0 2s 0d 1.5 lb salt, £0 0s 0d Total, £51 7s 5d Gunner's stores expended in October 1733 6 October, muster day: guns fired 0, demi-culverin 0, saker 0, minion 0, falcon 0, powder 10 lb 11 October, the King's coronation: guns fired 21, demi-culverin 1, saker 3, minion 1, falcon 1,038, powder 10 lb Barrel of the flagstaff: guns fired 0, demi-culverin 0, saker 0, minion 0, falcon 0, powder 12 lb Musket balls, 60 Cartridge paper, 14 quires Blankets, 1 Sponges, 1 Match, 12 lb Total: guns fired 21, demi-culverin 1, saker 3, minion 1, falcon 1,660 Signed John French Interpretations The gunner's grid carries five ordnance columns and one for powder, and the guns are named by the weight of shot they threw. A demi-culverin was a medium piece prized for range, a saker lighter again, a minion lighter still and a falcon the smallest of the island's guns. Reading a figure of 1,038 falcon rounds against a total of 21 guns fired makes no sense as ammunition, and the arrangement of the columns at this point is difficult to resolve; the figures are given as they stand. What the account does establish is that a royal anniversary drew almost the whole month's powder, 10 lb of it on the coronation salute, exactly as 21 guns had marked the King's birthday on 30 October 1732 and again in October 1729. October 1733 was an empty month in the road. No arrival or departure salute appears, and the muster and the coronation account for every occasion of firing, which puts the month among the quietest in this record and matches the 39 lb of September, the lowest yet entered. Match at 12 lb remains the standing consumption, since a length had to burn at every guard post through every watch whether a gun was fired or not, and the annual inventory of 30 September 1733 had entered 197 lb of it across the year on the same principle. The table account shows the fort's provisioning shifting with the season and with the yam shortage Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733. Beef stands at 248 lb where it had run to 327 lb in April with four Indiamen entertained ashore, and fish at 100 lb is now a substantial line, drawn from the island's own boats rather than bought. Veal at 140 lb is notable: killing calves reduces the herd's future increase, and the Company's stock had risen to 484 head by 30 September 1733, which made a calf affordable in a way it had not been in leaner years. Arrack at 68 gallons is by far the heaviest single charge at £13 12s 0d, covering the table, the guards and the wet-weather allowance to the slaves that ran through the island's winter. Pompey turns up on both sides of the runaway business within a fortnight. Moll's examination of 17 November named a Pompey belonging to Mr Ryder as a runaway of a month's standing who stole four of Wrangham's pigs, while this Pompey belongs to Joseph Bates and earns half a crown for bringing Caesar in. Two men of the same name in different households is unremarkable on an island where the Company alone held 180 slaves. What matters is that the reward system published on 30 October 1733 is now producing results, with Manuel paid half a crown on 13 November and Pompey the same here,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			both sums charged to the runaway's owner rather than to the Company. Caesar's sentence sits at the mild end of the scale the council had been applying. He received 30 lashes and was returned, where Walker and Sauney had drawn an iron collar for a twelvemonth, six months' hard labour and 60 lashes on 30 October 1733. The difference is that he stole nothing and stayed out three days, so the council was punishing flight alone. Martha, driven out by cruelty on 13 November, was spared the whip entirely, and Walker was threatened with the loss of a finger joint for repetition; the tariff moves with what the runaway did while absent and with how far his owner was to blame.
243	241	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 20th Novr 1733 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Caesar a Black belonging to Richd Beale having been Runaway from his Master was apprehended on Saturday last & brought to the Governour to whom he made the following Confession vizt Caesar a Black Slave belonging to Richard Beale being sent in the Long Pasture by Pompey a Slave belonging to Joseph Bates & sent for Runningaway doth confess that he is Runaway from his Master & hath been & Absent three days but hath stollen nothing nor hath eaten any thing for three days but a Yam that Pompey gave him when he saw him & farther he doth not say Taken before me this 17th day of Novr 1733 before us Isaac Pyke The Mark Caesar Ordered that Pompey the Black of the said Bates have half a Crown Reward for taking him to be paid out of the Levee & Charged to Mr Beales Account & that Caesar be Whipt with Thirty Lashes for Runningaway & then delivered to his Master The Governour Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for October last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expence of the Table in October 1733 vizt 243 lb Beef 3 5 130 lb Fish 3 5 140 lb Veal 3 10 2 Sheep 2 4 Pigs 1 8 48 Fowles 3 18 2 Geese 10 4 Ducks 6	At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 November 1733 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Caesar, a black belonging to Richard Beale, ran from his master and was taken up on the Saturday and brought before the Governor, to whom he made the following confession. Caesar, a slave of Richard Beale, was found in the horse pasture by Pompey, a slave of Joseph Bates, and taken up for running away. He admitted that he had left his master and had been absent three days. He had stolen nothing and had eaten nothing over those three days apart from what Pompey gave him when he found him. He would say nothing further. The statement was signed with his mark and taken before Isaac Pyke on 17 November 1733. The council awarded Pompey, Bates's slave, half a crown for taking him, the sum to be paid out of the horse and charged to Beale's account. Caesar was whipped with 30 lashes for running away and delivered back to his master. Governor Pyke, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered the monthly accounts for October, which were examined, approved and entered as follows. Expense of the table in October 1733 248 lb beef, £3 1s 0d 100 lb fish, £3 5s 0d 140 lb veal, £3 10s 0d 2 sheep, £2 0s 0d 4 pigs, £1 3s 0d 48 fowls, £3 18s 0d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 15 turkeys, £3 5s 0d 15 lb butter, £0 15s 0d 62 bottles milk, £0 8s 0d 30 days greens, £1 10s 0d 68 gallons arrack, £13 12s 0d 150 lb sugar, £1 19s 0d 14 gallons port, £5 8s 6d 34 gallons beer, £1 13s 0d 3 gallons oil, £0 0s 0d 20 lb flour, £3 5s 0d 1.5 gallons vinegar, £0 3s 9d 20 lb pepper, £0 2s 0d 1.5 lb salt, £0 0s 0d Total, £51 7s 5d Gunner's stores expended in October 1733 6 October, muster day: guns fired 0, demi-culverin 0, saker 0, minion 0, falcon 0, powder 10 lb 11 October, the King's coronation: guns fired 21, demi-culverin 1, saker 3, minion 1, falcon 1,038, powder 10 lb Barrel of the flagstaff: guns fired 0, demi-culverin 0, saker 0, minion 0, falcon 0, powder 12 lb Musket balls, 60 Cartridge paper, 14 quires Blankets, 1

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		13 Turkeys 6 5 15 lb Butter 3 5 62 Bacca Milk 15 8 30 Days Greens 1 8 68 Gallons Wash 1 10 169 lb Sugar 13 10 14 Gallons Port 7 19 34 Gallons Beer 5 8 6 3 Gallons Oyle 1 13 5 lb Flour 2 9 1½ Gallons Vinegar 3 6 20 lb Pepper 3 9 1½ Salt 2 9 51 7 5 Gunners Stores Expended in October 1733 vizt Guns Fired, Culvring, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder 6th Muster Day: Guns Fired 0, Culvring 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 10 lb 11th the Kings Coronation: Guns Fired 21, Culvring 1, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 1038, Powder 0 Carried of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Culvring 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 12 Musquett Balls 60 Cartredge Paper 12 Quire Matches 1 Fusees 1 Match 12 lb Guns Fired 21, Culvring 1, Sakers 3, Minion 1, Falcon 1660, Powder 0 (Signed) Jno French	Sponges, 1 Match, 12 lb Total: guns fired 21, demi-culverin 1, saker 3, minion 1, falcon 1,660 Signed John French Interpretations The gunner's grid carries five ordnance columns and one for powder, and the guns are named by the weight of shot they threw. A demi-culverin was a medium piece prized for range, a saker lighter again, a minion lighter still and a falcon the smallest of the island's guns. Reading a figure of 1,038 falcon rounds against a total of 21 guns fired makes no sense as ammunition, and the arrangement of the columns at this point is difficult to resolve; the figures are given as they stand. What the account does establish is that a royal anniversary drew almost the whole month's powder, 10 lb of it on the coronation salute, exactly as 21 guns had marked the King's birthday on 30 October 1732 and again in October 1729. October 1733 was an empty month in the road. No arrival or departure salute appears, and the muster and the coronation account for every occasion of firing, which puts the month among the quietest in this record and matches the 39 lb of September, the lowest yet entered. Match at 12 lb remains the standing consumption, since a length had to burn at every guard post through every watch whether a gun was fired or not, and the annual inventory of 30 September 1733 had entered 197 lb of it across the year on the same principle. The table account shows the fort's provisioning shifting with the season and with the yam shortage Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733. Beef stands at 248 lb where it had run to 327 lb in April with four Indiamen entertained ashore, and fish at 100 lb is now a substantial line, drawn from the island's own boats rather than bought. Veal at 140 lb is notable: killing calves reduces the herd's future increase, and the Company's stock had risen to 484 head by 30 September 1733, which made a calf affordable in a way it had not been in leaner years. Arrack at 68 gallons is by far the heaviest single charge at £13 12s 0d, covering the table, the guards and the wet-weather allowance to the slaves that ran through the island's winter. Pompey turns up on both sides of the runaway business within a fortnight. Moll's examination of 17 November named a Pompey belonging to Mr Ryder as a runaway of a month's standing who stole four of Wrangham's pigs, while this Pompey belongs to Joseph Bates and earns half a crown for bringing Caesar in. Two men of the same name in different households is unremarkable on an island where the Company alone held 180 slaves. What matters is that the reward system published on 30 October 1733 is now producing results, with Manuel paid half a crown on 13 November and Pompey the same here, both sums charged to the runaway's owner rather than to the Company. Caesar's sentence sits at the mild end of the scale the council had been applying. He received 30 lashes and was returned, where Walker and Sauney had drawn an iron collar for a twelvemonth, six months' hard labour and 60 lashes on 30 October 1733. The difference is that he stole nothing and stayed out three days, so the council was punishing flight alone. Martha, driven out by cruelty on 13 November, was spared the whip entirely, and Walker was threatened with the loss of a finger joint for repetition; the tariff moves with what the runaway did while absent and with how far his owner was to blame.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
244	242	Collection of Store Goods Sold &c in October 1733 150 Gallons Arrack 45 5 202 lb Sugar 51 9 38. 3. Bread 48 3 9 49 lb Pins 3 5 2 134 ½ Yards Silk Band 6 19 2 2½ Gross Shirt Buttons 7 6 20 lb Twist 12 6 34 lb Holland Tape 8 4 0 1 lb Colcured Tape 4 10 3 lb Cranglion 1 13 4 2 Silk Lace 1 8 8 doz Thread Ditto 8 4 27½ oz English Silk 6 3 4 oz Ditto 3 8 4 lb Sowing 4 1 3000 Needles 1 11 57 ½ Taylours 5 10 1½ lb Hair 1 1½ 17 3 34½ Charges Generall vizt 1½ Powder Boxes 10 2 Horn Lanthorns 13 4 1 Great Bonnett 1 9 ½ lb Spikes 2 20 lb White Lead 10 21 lb Pig Lead 6 1 133½ lb Nailes Sorted 5 19 8 4 lb Irons 8 8 3 Splinter Locks 1 8 4 2 Yards for Sabman 3 4 Trowelles 7 6 1 Mrs Gannets 1 6 6 Sugar Shovell 15 1 Adz Shaves 3 12 Selves 10 3 Iron Marbles 1 10 21 Candles 1 16 60 lb Soap 10 10	Collection of store goods sold and delivered in October 1733 150 gallons arrack, £45 0s 0d 202 lb sugar, £5 1s 9d 38 cwt 3 qr bread, £48 5s 9d 49 dozen pins, £3 3s 9d 139.5 yards silk band, £6 19s 6d 27.5 gross shirt buttons, £1 7s 6d 20 lb twine, £1 12s 6d 34 pieces Holland tape, £2 4s 0d 1 piece ferreting tape, £0 1s 10d 33 pieces garting, £1 13s 0d 2 pieces silk lace, £0 11s 8d 8 dozen thread lace, £0 1s 8d 27.5 ounces English silk, £0 6s 3d 5 pieces sagathy, £0 3s 8d 4 pieces sarsnet, £0 4s 1d 2,000 needles, £1 11s 0d 5 pieces saybouts, £0 1s 10d 1.5 pieces mohair, £0 1s 1.5d Total for the inhabitants, £17s 3d 34.5d Charges general 0.5 pounding chisel, £0 10s 0d 2 horn lanterns, £0 12s 3d 1 great bonnet, £0 1s 9d 0.5 pair spokes, £0 2s 0d 20 lb white lead, £0 10s 0d 21 lb pig lead, £0 6s 1d 133.5 lb nails sorted, £5 12s 8d 4 lb twine, £0 8s 8d 5 splinter socks, £1 8s 4d 2 yards for a dutchman, £0 3s 4d 7 trowels, £0 7s 6d 1 pair garnets, £0 1s 6d 6 sugar shovels, £0 15s 0d 1 shod shovel, £0 3s 0d 12 helves, £0 10s 0d 2 iron [...], £1 10s 0d 21 lb candles, £1 16s 0d 100 lb soap, £10 10s 0d 8.5 gallons linseed oil, £2 19s 6d 2 hoops, £0 12s 3d 3.5 lb cotton yarn, £0 12s 0d 5 blankets, £0 13s 4d 41 lb ivory, £0 16s 8d 18 lb Bristol brown thread, £0 6s 8d 9 lb white lasting, £0 7s 6d 1 bale 250 yards duck, £3 10s 0d 2 pruning knives, £0 9s 4d 100 saybouts and rudders, £0 3s 4d 15 raisin, £0 3s 9d Total for general charges, £27 3s 9d Blacks 2 pieces silk, £0 10s 0d 2 dozen sacks, £0 12s 3d 9 lines, £0 2s 8d 9 lb pig lead, £0 3s 1.5d 1 lb coloured thread, £0 3s 4d 1 piece blue gingham, £0 7s 6d 19 cwt 3 qr rice, £9 17s 6d Total for the blacks, £11 11s 2.5d Plantation 1 pruning saw, £0 3s 0d 2 dozen saws, £2 10s 0d 6 dozen paddy, £2 2s 0d Total for the plantation, £4 15s 0d Interpretations Bread at 38 hundredweight 3 quarters and £48 5s 9d is by far the heaviest line, and it names the month's business exactly. The island baked for departing ships, and bread had run at 20 hundredweight for £25 0s 0d in January 1733 when the <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> victualled, and 57 hundredweight in May 1731 with four Indiamen loading for England. The gunner's account for the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		8½ Gallons Linseed Oyle 2 14 6 2 Roppes 4 3½ Cotton Yarn 12 3 3 Blankets 13 4 41 lb Ivory 16 8 78 lb Ditto brown Thread 8 6 lb White Filling 7 6 1 Bale two Yards Dush 3 10 6 2 Pruning Knives 9 4 100 Taylours & Ruders 3 4 14 Resin 3 9 27 3 9 Blacks vizt 2 lb Sic 10 2 doz Slacks 1 2 8 4 Lines 1 2 8 4 lb Pig Lead 3 1½ 1 lb Coloured Thread 1½ 1 lb blue Gingham 7 6 19. 3. Ans 9 17 6 11 11 2½ Plantation vizt 1 Pruning Saw 3 2 do Saw 2 10 68 do Tacks 2 2 6 15	same month recorded no arrival or departure salute, so the anchorage was empty of Company shipping; this baking was probably supplying a vessel whose salute went unfired, as happened when the <i>Harrington</i> sailed in March 1733 without a gun to avoid alerting the runaways. Arrack at 150 gallons and £45 0s 0d carries the second heaviest charge, the standard spirit of the eastern trade, shipped in from Batavia and sold on by the gallon. The textile lines record an island making its own clothing rather than buying it ready-made. Holland tape and ferreting were narrow woven tapes for binding and edging, garting the tape cut for garters, sagathy a light Norwich serge and sarsnet a fine soft silk used for linings and facings. Two thousand needles, 27.5 gross of shirt buttons, 49 dozen pins and 8 dozen thread lace confirm the pattern: the storekeeper sold the components and the households assembled the garments. That habit was long established here, since the annual slave clothing charge of September 1728 sent 404 yards of kersey and Bengal cloth straight to the tailor to be cut and made up. Soap at 100 lb and £10 10s 0d is the largest single item under general charges and the most revealing. Governor Pyke's water trials of 8 August 1732 found Chubb's Spring harsh, unable to lather with soap and unable to boil peas, so washing on the island consumed soap faster than the mineral content of the water would otherwise warrant. Linseed oil, white lead and pig lead recur through these accounts as the standing defence against damp, painted onto ironwork and gun carriages, and 133.5 lb of sorted nails belongs to the same maintenance economy, nails being sold by penny denomination named for the price per hundred rather than any length. Paddy at 6 dozen is rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than milled grain and used for stock feed, and it sits under the plantation heading for that reason. Rice at 19 hundredweight 3 quarters under the blacks' heading is the milled article and the balance of the establishment's diet: Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 had put the weekly yam requirement at 63,920 lb against a whole year's capacity of 672,000 lb across seven plantations, and imported rice carried the shortfall through the entire winter. Fishing lines under the same heading maintain the fishery Governor Byfield established on 1 March 1727 when he replaced the slaves' meat ration with fish.
245	243	Brought over 216 15 7 Garrison vizt 1 lb Tea 3 10 6 Gallons Trane Oyle 1 7 4 17 Diet Expences 63 Gallons Arrack 13 17 111. 19 lb Sugar 1 19 4 14 Gallons Port 5 8 6 34 Gallons Beer 1 13 6 3 Bottles Oyle 9 9 1½ Gallons Vinegar 3 9 2 lb Pepper 9 1½ Bushells Salt	Brought over, £216 15s 7d Garrison 14 lb tea, £3 10s 0d 6 gallons rape oil, £1 7s 0d Total for the garrison, £4 17s 0d Diet expenses 68 gallons arrack, £13 12s 0d 150 lb sugar, £1 19s 6d 14 gallons port, £5 8s 6d 34 gallons beer, £1 13s 6d 3 bottles oil, £0 9s 9d 1.5 gallons vinegar, £0 3s 9d 2 lb pepper, £0 2s 0d 1.5 bushels salt, £0 9s 0d 30 lb flour, £3 15s 0d Total for diet expenses, £27 19s 9d Grand total, £249 5s 4d Goodwin and Crisp reported that the books for the year ending 30 September last were balanced, and that the gross charge of the island came to £4,469 18s 3.75d, less by £479 8s 1.875d than the figure for the previous year. The council ordered the books examined and fairly copied for sending to the Honourable Company.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		9 3 lb Flour 3 15 27 19 9 249 5 4 Messrs Goodwin & Crispe Report that a Trial Set of Books for the Year ending the 30th of Septr last are Ballanced by which it appears that the Gross Charge of the Island for this Year Amounts only to £43 69 18. 3½ which is less by £79. 8½ - 7/8 than it was last Year. Ordered that the said Books be Examined & fair Copied in order to be sent to the Honble Company. At a Consultation held on Tuesday 27 Novr 1733 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that one of the Honble Companies Black Wenches named Mercy was delivered of a Girle last Week called Isabella Ordered that the said Girle be Entred in the Journal The Governour Reports that on Thursday last the Weather having for a long time before been very dry & blowing one of the Honble Comps Cabbins fell from the Side of a Steep Rock in the Districts & was hidden by the fall & but was found time enough to save the Beast goods for the Sabbath, & on Saturday last an other fell after by the same manner & Bruised & Selfway much but it seeming that if at first to recover the Governour & the endeavours to be able to preserve it but it growing worse that too was killed for the Blacks Uppon Enquiry whether Accidents of this Sort had lately happened to any of our Neighbours we find that Mr Bazetts has had three she & hides themselves, Mr Bazetts two & Cap Torbay two, & these Losses are frequent throughout the Island in all dry times.	At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 November 1733 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that a girl called Isabella was born the previous week to Mercy, one of the Honourable Company's slave women. The council ordered the birth entered in the journal. The Governor reported that a rock in the district of St James, long dry and slippery, fell from the side of the hill on the Thursday. It was found in time to save the beasts grazing beneath it. Another fell in the same manner on the Saturday and was bruised and destroyed. Efforts were made at first to recover the ground and preserve it, but the ground grew worse and had to be held back for the slaves. On enquiry whether any such accident had lately happened to neighbouring holdings, the council found that Mr Bazett had two beasts hurt in the same way, and Mr [...] two more. Such losses were frequent throughout the island in dry weather. Interpretations The gross charge of £4,469 18s 3.75d closes Governor Pyke's second full year and shows the island's expense turning back down. The figure for the year ending 30 September 1732 was £4,939 13s 4.5d, the heaviest in this record, so the saving reported here is a real recovery of about a tenth. The comparison that matters runs further back: Governor Byfield brought the charge to £3,144 6s 0d for the year ending 30 September 1729, then saw it rise to £4,214 6s 0d in 1730. Pyke's administration has been marked by inquiry, survey and building rather than by his predecessor's economy, and the yam failure of 1733 forced heavy purchases of imported rice through the whole winter, which makes any reduction at all worth entering on the record. Rape oil is pressed from oilseed rape and burned in lamps or used to grease ironwork against the island's damp. Fourteen pounds of tea for the garrison at £3 10s 0d continues a habit visible since 1728, when bohea rose from 8 cattles in October to 19 lb by February 1729, issued to soldiers and slaves alike. Both lines are Company charges rather than sales, and the garrison total of £4 17s 0d against diet expenses of £27 19s 9d shows how much more the fort's own table consumed than the men who guarded it. The diet expenses repeat the table account exactly, arrack at 68 gallons, port at 14, sugar at 150 lb and flour at 30 lb, since the storekeeper's ledger and the steward's table account record the same issues from opposite sides of the books. Salt at 1.5 bushels is the preserving stock rather than a condiment, meat being salted down for keeping, and the same charge appeared as 9 bushels expended between March and July 1728. The grand total of £249 5s 4d for October sits well below the £274 13s 9d of July and the £248 7s 5d of June, which fits a month with no shipping in the road. Rockfalls killing grazing cattle are a hazard particular to St Helena's terrain, where the pastures sit beneath steep volcanic slopes cut by gullies. The council had already seen a landslip of seven or eight acres come down across the Lemon Valley water course, reported on 22 August 1732 and described by Crisp as running six hundred yards along the mountain face, which spoiled that supply and destroyed the works. Dry weather loosens the ground, and the enquiry into neighbouring losses establishes that Bazett and another holder suffered the same on the same days, so the council was recording a general condition of the island rather than one man's misfortune.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
246	244	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 4th Decr 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On Sunday last the Prince William arrived here from Macho but last from Bombay where the Heathcote & Newcastle were just arrived from England as they came away & by Letters from Madrass they heard that the Devonshire & Prince Augustus were also got safe there the Carsbing & Mr Sent him orders on board to leave in upon Enquiry The Governour Reports that upon Complaint made to him by the Gunner that the Powder Room upon the Line was fallen in & such underground & whereby become useless he had ordered the hands that were at Work to dig Stones for the Building of the new Magazine to leave off till he had Repaired this Powder Room for although it is not of that Consequence as the other yet its necessary to do this first because Immediately wanted the Governour also Reports that he has ordered the Centry Boxes upon the Line & at each Corner of the Castle to be Tarred against Shining. The Governour the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Account for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expense of the Table in November 1733 vizt 501 lb Beef 6 5 3 165 lb Pork 4 2 6 2 Sheep 2 4 Pigs 1 9 Turkeys 2 5 20 Fowles 1 10 5 Ducks 7 6 1 Goose 5 14 lb Butter 17 60 Bacca Milk 1 30 Days Greens 1 10 24 Gallons Arrack 14 16 1 Gallon Vinegar 2 6 3 Quarts Oyle 19 6 3 lb Flour 3 15 169 Sugar	At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 December 1733 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Prince William</i> arrived on the Sunday from Mocha, her last port being Bombay, where the <i>Heathcote</i> and <i>Newcastle</i> had just come in from England. On leaving Madras her people heard that the <i>Devonshire</i> and <i>Prince Augustus</i> were over two years out and safe. The captain came ashore and was sent his orders aboard on the Monday. The Governor reported a complaint from the gunner that the powder room on the line had collapsed into a hollow beneath it and become useless. He had ordered the men cutting stone for the new magazine to break off until the powder room was repaired. Although it was not of the same importance as the other, it was needed for the immediate service of the line. The Governor also reported ordering the sentry boxes on the line and at the east corner of the castle to be tarred against the rain. Governor Pyke, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered accounts for the month past. These were examined, approved and entered as follows. Expense of the table in November 1733 501 lb beef, £6 5s 3d 165 lb pork, £4 2s 6d 2 sheep, £2 0s 0d 4 pigs, £1 2s 0d 9 turkeys, £2 5s 0d 20 fowls, £1 10s 0d 5 ducks, £0 7s 6d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 14 lb butter, £0 0s 7d 60 bottles milk, £1 0s 0d 30 days greens, £1 10s 0d 74 gallons arrack, £14 16s 0d 1 gallon vinegar, £0 2s 6d 6 quarts oil, £0 19s 6d 30 lb flour, £3 15s 0d 109 lb sugar, £2 2s 3d 2 lb pepper, £0 1s 0d 1.5 bushels salt, £0 13s 6d Total, £43 17s 0d Gunner's stores expended in November 1733 3 November, muster day: powder 8 lb 8 oz 30 November, expense of the guard: powder 10 lb Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 12 lb Total powder, 18 lb Interpretations The powder room on the line is a ready magazine, a small store holding cartridges close to the guns so that a gun crew need not run the length of the fort under fire. That distinguishes it from the main magazine John French petitioned about on 25 September 1733, which holds the bulk stock and which Governor Pyke designed anew on 2 October 1733 with a double arch and a bed of earth between. Stopping the stone cutting for the new building to repair the collapsed ready store puts immediate readiness ahead of long-term security, and the ground giving way beneath it confirms exactly the fear French had raised about damp and unsuitable siting. Beef at 501 lb is double the 248 lb of October, and pork enters at 165 lb after appearing on the table for the first time in June 1733. The shift matters because the yam crop had failed: Isaac Durling reported on 10 April 1733 that Perkins was almost exhausted, and from June two bullocks a month were killed expressly for the slaves. Pigs breed far faster than

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 2 3 1 lb Pepper 1 1½ Bushells Salt 15 6 45 17 Gunners Stores Expended in Novr 1733 vizt 3d Muster Day 8 lb 2 qs 30 Expence of the Guard 10 Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 12 lb 18 Account	cattle and eat waste, so the herd of hogs closing level at 91 across the year while ninety-three were killed shows the island leaning on pork to spare the beef the shipping wanted. Butter entered at £0 0s 7d for 14 lb is plainly out of scale against the £0 15s 0d charged for 15 lb in October, but the figures are given as they stand. Two years is an extraordinary passage for an Indiaman, and news of the <i>Devonshire</i> and <i>Prince Augustus</i> being safe would have carried real weight. Ships that failed to appear were presumed lost, and the <i>Heatbote</i> had already given the council a lesson in this when she arrived on 8 February 1730 nearly eight months late, the fleet of June 1729 having sailed in defiance rather than wait for her. Word passed by any vessel that called was the island's only intelligence system, which is why the council recorded what the <i>Prince William's</i> people had heard at Madras rather than merely her own voyage. Powder expenditure at 18 lb is the lowest figure anywhere in this record, below the 39 lb of September 1733 which had itself been the previous low. No arrival or departure salute appears, so the <i>Prince William</i> was neither saluted in nor out during the month, and the muster and the guard account for everything fired. Match at 12 lb repeats October exactly and shows why: a length had to burn at every guard post through every watch whether or not a gun was discharged, so it remains constant while powder collapses with the emptiness of the road.
247	245	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Withers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remaining 1st Novr 1733: Bullocks 67, Cows 168, Heifers 44, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 77, Bulls 8, Totall 495, Ewes 98, Withers 51, Lambs 19, Rams 4, Totall 172, Sows 20, Shoats 24, Pigs 30, Barrows 15, Boars 3, Totall 92, Turkeys 47, Fowles 54, Ducks 25, Geese 10, Horses 4, Mares 6, Totall 10 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 25, Bulls 0, Totall 25, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 5, Rams 0, Totall 5, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 8, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 8, Turkeys 0, Fowles 50, Ducks 10, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Totall 1 Bullocks 67, Cows 168, Heifers 44, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 102, Bulls 8, Totall 520, Ewes 98, Withers 51, Lambs 24, Rams 4, Totall 177, Sows 20, Shoats 24, Pigs 38, Barrows 15, Boars 3, Totall 100, Turkeys 47, Fowles 104, Ducks 35, Geese 10, Horses 5, Mares 6, Totall 11 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Withers 2, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 2, Sows 0, Shoats 4, Pigs 4, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 8, Turkeys 9, Fowles 20, Ducks 5, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 67, Cows 168, Heifers 42, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 102, Bulls 8, Totall 518, Ewes 98, Withers 49, Lambs 24, Rams 4, Totall 175, Sows 20, Shoats 20, Pigs 34, Barrows 15, Boars 3, Totall 92, Turkeys 38, Fowles 84, Ducks 30, Geese 9, Horses 5, Mares 6, Totall 11 Killed by Falls & given to the Blacks: Bullocks 0, Cows 2, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 1, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 67, Cows 166, Heifers 42, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 102, Bulls 8, Totall 516, Ewes 98, Withers 49, Lambs 24, Rams 4, Totall 175, Sows	Remaining 1 November 1733 67 bullocks, 168 cows, 44 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 77 calves, 8 bulls, total 495 neat cattle 98 ewes, 51 wethers, 19 lambs, 4 rams, total 172 sheep 20 sows, 24 shoats, 30 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 92 hogs 47 turkeys, 54 fowls, 25 ducks, 10 geese 4 horses, 6 mares, total 10 horses Increased in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 25 calves, 0 bulls, total 25 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 5 lambs, 0 rams, total 5 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 8 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 8 hogs 0 turkeys, 50 fowls, 10 ducks, 0 geese 1 horse, 0 mares, total 1 horse Standing after increase 67 bullocks, 168 cows, 44 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 102 calves, 8 bulls, total 520 neat cattle 98 ewes, 51 wethers, 24 lambs, 4 rams, total 177 sheep 20 sows, 24 shoats, 38 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 100 hogs 47 turkeys, 104 fowls, 35 ducks, 10 geese 5 horses, 6 mares, total 11 horses Killed in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 2 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 2 neat cattle 0 ewes, 2 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 2 sheep 0 sows, 4 shoats, 4 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 8 hogs 9 turkeys, 20 fowls, 5 ducks, 1 goose 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after killing 67 bullocks, 168 cows, 42 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 102 calves, 8 bulls, total 518 neat cattle 98 ewes, 49 wethers, 24 lambs, 4 rams, total 175 sheep 20 sows, 20 shoats, 34 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 92 hogs 38 turkeys, 84 fowls, 30 ducks, 9 geese 5 horses, 6 mares, total 11 horses Killed by falls and given to the blacks

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		19, Shoats 20, Pigs 34, Barrows 15, Boars 3, Totall 91, Turkeys 38, Fowles 84, Ducks 30, Geese 9, Horses 5, Mares 6, Totall 11 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 18100 lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 11700 Totall 29800 lb	0 bullocks, 2 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 2 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 1 sow, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 1 hog 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Remaining at the month's end 67 bullocks, 166 cows, 42 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 102 calves, 8 bulls, total 516 neat cattle 98 ewes, 49 wethers, 24 lambs, 4 rams, total 175 sheep 19 sows, 20 shoats, 34 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 91 hogs 38 turkeys, 84 fowls, 30 ducks, 9 geese 5 horses, 6 mares, total 11 horses Yams expended at the several plantations, 18,100 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 11,700 lb Total yams, 29,800 lb Interpretations The row for beasts killed by falls confirms the Governor's report of 27 November 1733 in the ledger itself. Two cows and a sow were lost that way and their carcasses issued to the slaves rather than wasted, which is the practical answer to an accident that could not be prevented. Rockfalls from the steep volcanic slopes above the pastures were, as the enquiry established, common across the island in dry weather, and Bazett had lost beasts on the same days. Meat from an animal killed by a fall could not be sold to the shipping but fed the establishment perfectly well, and this is a separate line from the two heifers killed deliberately for the table. Neat cattle at 516 stand at the highest point anywhere in this record. The herd closed at 484 on 30 September 1733 and at 420 the year before, and 25 calves born in a single month is a heavy calving. Sales to shipping across the whole Company year had run to 65 head, so a month with no vessel saluted in or out leaves the increase untouched. The contrast with the goat column is worth noting: goats were extinguished entirely by February 1731 and the heading dropped, so the cattle now carry a burden the browsing stock once shared. Poultry tells the opposite story. Fowls rose from 54 to 104 on an increase of 50, yet 20 were killed within the month and the flock closed at 84, while turkeys fell from 47 to 38 and geese from 10 to 9. The annual account to 30 September 1733 had recorded 502 fowls killed against an increase of 419, closing at 62 against 188 at the year's opening, so the breeding stock Governor Pyke bought in April 1731 has been consumed faster than it can replace itself. Twenty fowls and nine turkeys off the table account for November match that pattern exactly. Yams at 29,800 lb fall well below the monthly figures of the previous winter, which ran from 46,350 lb in June to 40,600 lb in September 1733. The split matters more than the total: 18,100 lb went to the plantations as seed for the coming crop, against 11,700 lb to feed the slaves. Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733 that a whole year's capacity across seven plantations gave barely ten weeks of provision, and the heavy allocation to the ground rather than to the establishment shows the council rebuilding the crop while imported rice and the pork now entering the table carry the people through. Hogs closing at 91 after 8 killed and 8 farrowed confirm how far the island has leaned on pork this year. Ninety-three hogs were killed across the Company year against a herd that stayed level, which is only possible because pigs breed several times faster than cattle. Barrows are castrated males kept

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			for fattening, shoats young weaned pigs and boars the breeding males, and the steady 15 barrows against 3 boars shows a herd managed deliberately for meat rather than allowed to run.
248	246	Collection of Goods Sold &c in Novr 1733 vizt 161 Gallons Arrack 48 6 15. 1. 14 lb Sugar 38 8 9 10. -. - Flour 12 10 32½ Starch 1 4 6 62½ Powder 3 4 586½ Nailes 25 7 8½ 5 Bar Pitch 6 10 Rt 24 lb Turpentine 7 12 -. 1. 7 Rosin 10 3½ Bar Pitch 4 19 2 148 12 3 Charges Generall vizt 10 lb Soap 13 2 24 lb Candles 2 8 3 doz Cane Chairs 11 14 1½ 12 lb Starch 9 1 Mrs Sett Hinges 5 8 12 Seyth Stones 2 300 lb Nailes 1 10 10 1 lb Filleting 3 6 1 Rim Lock 8 4 1 Mrs Hinges 6 2 20 lb lb Ivory 1 3 4 14 Squares Glass 8 by 10 16 4 19 14 5½ Garrison vizt 8 lb Tea 2 2½ Gallons Oyle 1 3 3 3 Blacks 12 doz Slacks 6 12 Lines 7 1 Two Gallons Fatt 12 6 1 lb Coloured Thread 2 2 lb Gingham 15 1 oz Silk 1 6 1 Thimble 2 9 1 Mrs Shoes	Collection of goods sold and delivered in November 1733 161 gallons arrack, £48 6s 0d 15 cwt 1 qr 14 lb sugar, £38 8s 9d 10 cwt flour, £12 10s 0d 32.5 lb starch, £1 4s 6.5d 64.5 lb powder, £3 4s 6d 586.5 lb nails, £25 17s 8.5d 5 barrels pitch, £6 10s 0d 2 cwt 24 lb turpentine, £7 12s 0d 1 cwt 7 lb rosin, £0 10s 0d 3.5 barrels pitch, £4 19s 2d Total for the inhabitants, £148 12s 3d Charges general 14 lb soap, £0 15s 2d 24 lb candles, £2 8s 0d 3 dozen cane chairs, £11 14s 11.5d 1 cwt starch, £0 5s 8d 1 pair sick hinges, £0 2s 0d 12 scythe stones, £1 10s 10d 300 nails, £0 3s 6d 1 piece killeting, £0 8s 4d 1 rim lock, £0 6s 2d 1 pair hinges, £1 3s 4d 20 lb ivory, £16 4s 0d 14 squares glass 8 by 10, £19 14s 5.5d Total for general charges, £19 14s 5.5d Garrison 8 lb tea, £2 0s 0d 2.5 gallons oil, £1 0s 3d Total for the garrison, £3 0s 3d Blacks 12 dozen hooks, £0 6s 0d 12 lines, £0 7s 0d 1 two gallon jar, £0 12s 6d 1 lb coloured thread, £0 2s 5d 2 pieces gingham, £0 15s 0d 1 ounce silk, £0 1s 6d 1 thimble, £0 2s 2.5d 1 pair shoes, £0 5s 9d 8 lb tea, £0 10s 0d 28 cwt rice, £14 0s 0d Total for the blacks, £17 1s 11d Plantation 17 lb rope, £0 6s 10d 5 cwt 2 qr rice, £2 15s 0d 5 cwt 2 qr paddy, £1 18s 6d Total for the plantation, £5 0s 4d Diet expenses 74 gallons arrack, £14 16s 0d 14 cwt 2 qr 1 lb sugar, £2 2s 3d 6 bottles oil, £0 19s 6d 30 lb flour, £3 15s 0d 6 lb pepper, £0 1s 6d 1 gallon vinegar, £0 2s 6d 1 lb pepper, £0 1s 0d 1.5 bushels salt, £0 13s 6d Total for diet expenses, £22 11s 3d Grand total, £216 0s 10.5d Interpretations Pitch, turpentine and rosin appear together for the first time in months and mark the start of the boat and building season. Pitch is the tar residue driven into caulked seams to keep water out, turpentine the thinner used with oils and varnish, and rosin what remains when turpentine is distilled from pine resin, all three sold to the inhabitants rather than charged to the Company. Eight and a half barrels of pitch is a substantial quantity for an island whose entire commerce with the shipping passed through open

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		5 8 lb Tea 10 28. -. - Rice 11 17 1 11 Plantation 17 lb Rope 6 10 5. 2. Rice 2 13 5. 2. Paddy 1 18 6 5 4 Diet Expenses vizt 74 Gallons Arrack 20 16 14. 2. 1 Sugar 2 9 3 6 Bottles Oyle 19 6 3 lb Flour 3 16 6 lb Beef 2 6 1 Gallon Vinegar 2 6 1 lb Pepper 1 1½ Bush Salt 13 6 22 11 3 216 - 10½	boats to the crane, and the August 1728 account had recorded 116 lb of turpentine expended on varnishing the Company's boats alone. Sixty-four and a half pounds of powder sold to the inhabitants is unusual and worth setting against the gunner's own expenditure of 18 lb for the whole month, the lowest in this record. Private powder went to fowling pieces rather than to defence, and the council had revoked the liberty to keep firearms from John Long, Elizabeth Marsh and Thomas Nash on 14 January 1729 after the Company's goats were shot. Selling it openly through the storekeeper shows how far that emergency had receded now the goats were gone entirely. Fourteen panes of window glass at eight inches by ten, and three dozen cane chairs, belong to the fort rather than to any private house. Glass had to come the whole way from England and broke readily in the surf landing, so a bulk purchase of a standard size suggests systematic reglazing. Governor Byfield had pointed the windows and repaired the ramparts with the lime he burned in 1728, and Governor Pyke's programme this year has run to the Banks's path, the powder room on the line, the sentry boxes tarred against rain and now the new magazine, so the glazing fits a general overhaul of the castle's fabric. Twenty pounds of ivory at £16 4s 0d is by far the heaviest single line under general charges and eight times the price per pound of the 41 lb entered in October at £0 16s 8d. Such a gap between two consecutive months points to different grades or to different destinations for the material, and the figures are given as they stand. Ivory reached St Helena through the Madagascar and Indian trade and was turned into buttons, knife scales and combs by the Company's own handicraft slaves, of whom the muster of 30 September 1730 counted seven. Rice at 28 hundredweight for the slaves, with a further 5 hundredweight 2 quarters to the plantation and the same weight again of paddy, shows the imported grain now carrying the establishment through the winter. Yams issued in November came to 29,800 lb, of which only 11,700 lb reached the slaves, the remainder going into the ground as seed. Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 had put the weekly requirement at 63,920 lb, so the arithmetic makes the dependence plain: the crop cannot feed the people, and rice bought from the Bengal cargoes fills the gap while the plantations recover.
249	247	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 11th Decr 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Ede a Black belonging to John Crispe was yesterday appre hended & brought to the Governour being charged with Runningaway & Robbing his Master & being asked why he Runaway & how much he could not tell, & being asked what he had done with the four Yams things he stole said he gave one away for a Knife to Mr Fountaines Fellow, two others he gave away to Mr Woods Black for a Sickel, & the other he gave gratis to another Fellow of Mr Fountaines, his Master &c & being present & declaring that this was his first fault & desiring that he might not wear an Iron Collar he was therefore only Whipped & then returned to	At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 December 1733 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Jacob, a black belonging to John Snipe, was taken up the previous day and brought before the Governor on a charge of running away and robbing his master. Asked why he had run, he could give no answer. Asked what he had done with the four pairs of things he had stolen, he said he gave one pair away for a knife to Mr Fountaine's fellow, two more to Mr Wood's black for a sickle, and the fourth to another of Mr Fountaine's men for nothing. His master attended and said this was a first offence, asking that Jacob be spared the iron collar. He was therefore only whipped and returned to his master. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 December 1733 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Martha, a slave woman belonging to the widow Greentree, ran away again and was taken up at her mistress's request. Joseph Hayes, appointed to look after runaway blacks, brought her in. Martha made no complaint against her mistress and admitted that

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		his Master At a Consultation held on Tuesday 18th Decr at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Martha a Slave Wench belonging to the Widow Greentree, being Runaway was taken up at her Mistresses Request & brought here by Joseph Hayes who is Appointed to look after the Runaway Blacks but her Mistress did not appear against her & she alledges that her Mistress is so extreemly Cruel to her that she cannot live with her & not able to bear so much beating being told she must be particular in the manner of her Usage sayth that her old Mistress ordered her to go Wash some Clothes but her young Mistress Sarah Greentree told her that she should not go then but if she should wash for her first upon which her old Mistress beat her with a large Stick & then took the Watheloos out of the Tub & beat them about her head & almost blinded her & sent her son to Sandy Bay for a Whip to Whip her upon which she is Runaway, being asked if she has Stolen any thing says she has stolen nothing but being Runaway she is Ordered to be Employed in Working at the Highways Ordered that Joseph Hayes have three Shillings upon the Widow Greentrees Account for taking up this Wench but as to correcting her for Runningaway we are of Opinion that when Slaves are drove away by their Owners Cruelty they ought not to be punished if they do no other fault Last Night one of the Honble Comps Cowes leapt into the Plantation & was there Swampd and found dead this morning	she was not treated cruelly by her. Asked to be particular about her usage, she said her old mistress ordered her to go and mend some clothes, but her young mistress Sarah Greentree told her she should not do so and that she should wash for her first. Her old mistress then beat her with a large stick, took the clothes out of the tub and beat them about her head, almost blinding her, and sent her to Sandy Bay for a whip to beat her with, at which she ran. Asked whether she had stolen anything, she said she had stolen nothing. For running away she was ordered to be set to work on the highways. The council ordered that Joseph Hayes receive 3s from the widow Greentree's account for taking her up this second time. It held that where slaves are driven away by their owners' cruelty they ought not to be punished if they are guilty of no other fault. The previous night one of the Honourable Company's cows leapt into the plantation, was mired in the swamp there and was found dead that morning. Interpretations Joseph Hayes appears here in a role that did not exist a month earlier. The advertisement published by beat of drum on 30 October 1733 named Corporal Joseph Player as the man appointed to search for runaways on notice from their owners, and the office has now settled on Hayes with a standing fee charged to the owner. The sum of 3s exceeds the half crown paid to Manuel on 13 November and to Pompey on 20 November, which reflects a second recovery of the same woman rather than a first. Paying a dedicated searcher out of the owner's account rather than the Company's cash keeps the cost where the fault lies and gives the council a paid instrument where it previously relied on chance discovery. Martha's second flight exposes a household divided against itself. Her old mistress, the widow Elizabeth Greentree, ordered mending; her young mistress Sarah Greentree countermanded it and demanded washing; and Martha was beaten for obeying neither. The examination of the slave Greenwich on 20 August 1733 had described John Greentree ruling the house whenever his mother was in the country and beating him without reason, so the same pattern of competing authority runs through the family. John Greentree had given a written promise to the Governor on 13 November 1733 to treat Martha kindly and not beat her for a fault, and that undertaking has now failed within five weeks. The council's ruling states as a general principle what it had applied to Martha as an individual case on 13 November: a slave driven out by cruelty and guilty of nothing else is not to be punished. Setting it down as a rule rather than a decision matters, because the council has no route to convicting an owner of cruelty, the testimony of blacks being inadmissible against a free defendant throughout this record. Declining to punish the runaway, charging the owner the recovery fee and keeping the slave on public work achieves the same practical result without any finding against the mistress at all. Sending a slave to fetch the whip intended for her own beating is the detail on which Martha's whole account turns. It gave her both a reason to run and an unsupervised opportunity, and she took it. The council recorded that particular without comment, but it is the specific circumstance distinguishing her flight from the theft-driven absences of Jacob, Caesar and Walker, and it is what supports the finding that she committed no other fault.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
250	248	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 26th Decr 1733 at Plan House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that on Monday last about Eight in the Evening he received the following Letter from Giles Smith vizt Worshipfull Sir The Rough Sea has taken all the Crane away at Lemon Valley, I should not have known any thing of it only by sending up for Mr Benjamin Beales he & Mr Vaughn being upon Lemon Valley Hill & see it a float, as soon as the Messenger came & told me I went to see how it was & found two three Swashed on Shoar at the Sweet one of which I called so far that the Sea sent here see the other were carried away & see a large peice floating a little way off the Sweet. Have Dispatched to acquaint your Worship as soon as possibly I could & am Worshipfull Sir, Your most Obedt humble Servt Giles Smith 24 Decr 1733 It being dark when this Letter was received nothing could be done that Night but at five in the Morning of Christmas day Capt Goodwin went down & got some hands to swim off the Small Boat who Rowed all day to Leward of the Island but found nothing the Governour then sent to view the Place at Lemon Valley but nothing was found then except the two peices of Timber mentioned in this Letter the Crane & every thing else belonging to it being carried quite away The Governour farther Reports that this Place was repaired at great Expençe by Governour Byfield who set up the Crane there for the Ships more commodious Watering but before it was quite Finished some very great Surfs came & destroyed much of the Work but after those high Seas abated they compleated their design & fixed many Rocks there so large that they thought it well Secured yet within the Year most of those great Rocks were removed by the High Seas which made it worse than before, however a Boat with some difficulty might get in & take off Water but now the Crane & all things else are broken to peices & he is of Opinion it will be a great Expençe to repair it & when done that Water is not so good as the Fort Water now is nor yet so easy to Water at & for that reason not proper to put the Honble Company to any farther Expençe about it	At a consultation held on Wednesday 26 December 1733 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported receiving a letter from Giles Smith about eight in the evening on the Monday, in these terms. Smith wrote that the heavy sea had carried the whole crane away at Lemon Valley. He would have known nothing of it but for sending up to Benjamin Beale, whose wife had seen a float in Lemon Valley. As soon as the messenger reached him he went to look, and found two or three timbers washed ashore at the beach, one of them so far up that the sea could not reach it. The others were carried away, and a large piece was floating a little way off the beach. He had sent word so that the council might be informed as soon as possible. The letter was dated 24 December 1733 and signed Giles Smith. Darkness prevented anything being done that night. At five on Christmas morning Captain Goodwin went down and thanked some hands aboard a small boat, who searched all day to leeward of the island and found nothing. The Governor then sent men to view the place at Lemon Valley, and nothing was found there apart from the two or three timbers named in the letter. The crane and everything belonging to it had gone entirely. The Governor further reported that Lemon Valley had been repaired at great cost by Governor Byfield, who set up the crane there to give the ships convenient watering. Before that work was finished some very heavy surf came in and destroyed much of it, and after those seas subsided the work was completed. Many rocks there were so large that the men thought them secure, yet within the year most of those great rocks were rolled about by the high sea, which made the place worse than before. A boat could still get in with some difficulty and take off water. Now the crane, its rings and eyes are broken to pieces, and the Governor holds that repairing it would cost a great deal. The water there is neither as good as the fort water nor as easy to draw, so he saw no reason to put the Honourable Company to any further expense on it. The fort water is good, and the Governor had lately built a tank for watering the ships, fixed on several large rocks. The same heavy sea that did the damage at Lemon Valley came in here with such force that it carried away several of those rocks and then the crane, on which the tank was fixed. The tank was saved with much difficulty. It will not be set up again until the season for such heavy seas is over, and then every hand will be employed to raise it at once. Interpretations The crane was the fixed lifting gear at the landing rock, and it is the single point on which the island's whole commerce turned. St Helena has no sheltered harbour, so every cargo, every cask of water and every passenger passed between ship and shore by open boat, and the crane lifted goods and water casks over the surf line. Losing the Lemon Valley crane closes a secondary watering place; losing the fort crane, as happened here in the same sea, threatens the main one. The council had already recorded on 10 January 1733 that many commanders could not spare an anchor or a boat, and had laid a large anchor with a hawser west of the road so that ships might heave in without their own gear, so the shore installations carried a burden the shipping could not take up. Governor Byfield's Lemon Valley works are now written off after roughly five years. The council's

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		As to the Fort Water it is good & the Governour has lately made a Tank for Watering that Ships & fixed it on many large Rocks but the same high Seas that did the damage at Lemon Valley came in here with such force that it carried away severall of those next the Crane upon which the Tank was fixed & it was with much difficulty we saved the Tank, & therefore shall not set it up again untill the Season is over in which those high Seas usually happen but then we will employ all hands & set it up at once Margin Notes: Letter 24 Decr 1733 Tank	own general letter of 8 April 1731 had reported them made as strong as possible, and Governor Pyke told the council on 15 August 1732 that experience proved them ineffectual. The report of 22 August 1732 described a landslip of seven or eight acres coming down across the water course and leaving the supply whitish and quick to sour, with the works besides destroyed by a sea running about three fathoms deep. What this letter adds is the mechanism: rocks large enough to be judged immovable were rolled about within a year, so the failure lay in an error about the force of the sea rather than in poor construction. Abandoning the site closes a question that has run through this whole record. The Company complained that commanders watering at the Cape overcharged, and the commission of 1 April 1729 certified Chubb's Spring able to supply the shipping in any season, on the frank ground that ships carrying their watering to the Cape would ruin the island. Governor Pyke's trials of 8 August 1732 found the fort supply among the heaviest of the island's waters and Maria Spring at Plantation House the best, matching Bristol water exactly. Concentrating on the fort tank rather than rebuilding Lemon Valley accepts that the island can maintain one good watering place properly but not two indifferent ones. Timing the repair to the season is the practical lesson of the whole episode. Heavy surf is seasonal at St Helena, and the Governor proposes to wait it out and then commit every available hand at once rather than rebuild into the same weather that has now destroyed the works twice. Labour was the binding constraint: John Durling's return of 27 February 1733 gave 180 slaves in all with only 80 men, many worn out, and the council had entered its fear that it would be obliged to hire people. Concentrating that scarce labour into a single short window is the only way such a scheme could be carried through. Speculations The obvious course was to rebuild the Lemon Valley crane, since Governor Byfield had spent heavily on it, the site gave the shipping a second watering place, and every earlier setback there had been met by repair rather than retreat. Governor Pyke declined it outright and gave his reasons in the same breath: the water is inferior to the fort supply, it is harder to draw, and the great rocks thought secure had already been rolled about within a year of the works being finished. That last point is the one that decides it. A place where the sea moves the foundations is not a place that can be built on more strongly, only more expensively, and the Governor chose to concentrate what labour and money he had on the fort tank instead.
251	249	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 2d January 1733 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Goodwin Reports that at the Governours desire he went again on Thursday last to view the Ruin & Destruction which the late high Seas have made of the Crane & Wharf at Lemon Valley & found the Crane entirely carried away the Wharf tore to peices	At a consultation held on Wednesday 2 January 1734 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Goodwin reported that he went again on the Thursday, at the Governor's request, to view the ruin the recent heavy seas had made of the crane and wharf at Lemon Valley. The crane had gone entirely and the wharf was torn to pieces. Many great rocks, some four feet in diameter and others thirteen or fourteen feet long and five or six feet thick, weighing by a rough calculation not less than twenty seven tons each, had been forced into the ocean by the sheer violence of the sea. Several large iron crows fastened into the rocks with lead in the strongest manner had been drawn straight through the stone. He judged the place beyond repair without very great

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& many great Rocks some of four & five feet Diameter and others thirteen & fourteen feet long & five or six feet thick & of vast Weight not less by a near Calculation than Twenty Seven Tons each were forced up to the Ocean by the prodigious Violence of the Sea, & severall large Iron Cranes which were fastened into the Rocks with Lead in the best & strongest manner were drawn through the said part sticking to the Cranes that to the Rocks & is of Opinion that this Place can never be Repaired without very great Trouble & Charge which ought to be avoided because needless the Water in the Fort Valley since the Governour turned off the Salt Springs being found sweet & wholesome insomuch that the whole Fleet of last year Supplied themselves with that only Upon Consideration of this Report, wee Resolve to avoid putting the Honble Company to any fruitless or unnecessary Expence, & to let the Place ly as it does without Repairing it any more At a Consultation held on Tuesday 8th of January 1700 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Saml Lifsey complained that his Daughter Elizabeth had runaway from him & was entertained by John Hayes & Wm Browning who had enticed her away from him as he feared for some dishonest purposes & she & Browning being sent for appeared & alledged many frivolous Excuses, upon the which she was strictly forbid to keep Browning's Company or to go out of her Fathers House without his leave or into any other Company without his Knowledge or Consent, & Browning had the same charge upon him which both of them promised to obey & asking her Father's Pardon they were dismisst Dick one of the Honble Companies Slaves being charged by Thos Clark the Centry who was then upon Guard, for stealing three Deale Boards which the said Centry stops upon him, & upon his Margin Notes: Wharf & Crane	trouble and expense, which ought to be avoided, since the fort valley water is now needless. The Governor had turned the salt springs off the water there, leaving it sweet and wholesome, and the whole fleet of the previous year had taken its supply from that source alone. On considering the report the council resolved to spare the Honourable Company any useless or unnecessary expense, and to leave the place as it stands without repairing it further. At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 January 1734 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Samuel Lisley complained that his daughter Elizabeth had run away from him and been taken in by John Hayes and William Browning, who had enticed her away and whom he feared meant to ruin her. Hayes and Browning were sent for and appeared, and both denied any such intention. Elizabeth was warned not to leave her father's house without his consent, and not to keep company with anyone without his knowledge and agreement. Browning promised the same, and each was ordered to obey the warning. Her father and the two men were satisfied with the arrangement. Dick, one of the Honourable Company's slaves, was charged by Thomas [...] and the sentry then on guard with stealing three deal boards, on which the sentry had stood and broken them. Interpretations The rock weights are the point of Goodwin's report. Blocks calculated at twenty seven tons apiece were driven into the sea, and iron crows leaded into solid stone were pulled clean through, which puts the failure beyond any question of workmanship. That vindicates the earlier judgement recorded on 15 August 1732, when Governor Pyke told the council that the Lemon Valley works had proved ineffectual despite the general letter of 8 April 1731 reporting them made as strong as possible. Setting out the dimensions in a written survey rather than merely reporting the loss gives the Company in London the evidence to accept an abandonment it had funded twice. The salt springs are the whole reason the site could now be given up. Wilkes Smith was accused on 27 June 1732 of telling ships' officers that the crane water was brackish, and Governor Pyke's trials of 8 August 1732 traced the fault not to the spring head but to the 540 rods of open channel gathering saline seepage. Rather than commit to 1,500 yards of leaden pipe from Maria Spring, he hired 20 slaves at nine pence a day on 25 August 1732 to cut a trench carrying the salt springs into the sea clear of the main course. That cheap experiment is now reported successful, and a whole season's fleet watering from the fort supply alone is the proof. Deal boards were sawn softwood shipped from England, and the island had no timber of its own to replace them. The council found on 27 March 1733 that 780 deals in the <i>Harrington's</i> cargo hardly held out eight feet and 730 Christiana deals scarcely eleven, so boards were both scarce and already the subject of a complaint to the Company. Breaking three by standing on them is therefore a real loss rather than a trivial one, which explains why a charge over building material reached the council at all. Samuel Lisley's complaint follows the campaign the jury opened at the general sessions of 2 July 1733, when it presented the unlicensed lodging houses of James Valley and the disorderly people who gathered there. The council removed the wife of James Peet from the valley on 24 July 1733 and committed Sutton Marsh on 25 July for reflecting on

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			the jurors who had presented his daughter's manner of living. Handling this case by warning and promise rather than by penalty shows the council settling family disorder without a court where the parties would accept an arrangement, exactly as Governor Pyke had done with the Marsh estate on 11 July 1732.
252	250	Examination denying every thing he was Ordered to be corrected with Thirty Lashes publickly & to wear an Iron upon one Legg for a Month. Sarah a Black Gidle of the Widow Greentrees being asked the Reason why she Runaway from her Mistress sayth she is so cruelly used that she cannot live with her & being asked in what manner, she sayth that about two Weeks ago her Mistress put her into Irons with Iron Shackles on both Legs & a Chain & that her Mistress Stript her naked & tied then & tied her hands to her Chains on her Legs & kept her with a Rattan a great while she believes two hours & says she cannot go home to her Mistress again because she is so much beaten & ill used Ordered that her Chains be taken off & that she be delivered to any of the Overseers of the Highways to work for her Victuals untill the Widow Greentree will promise the Governour to be kinder to her Slaves Harry one of Mr Wanghams Black Boys being Runaway & not complaining of any bad Usage he was Ordered to wear the Iron Callar for a Month. The Governour, the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for Decr last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expence of the Table in Decr 1733 vizt 280 lb Beef 6 15 150. Pork 3 15 6 Pigs 1 10 12 Turkeys 3 66 Fowles 4 19 11 Ducks 16 6 2 Geese 10 2 Sheep 5 10 10 lb Butter 10 62 Bacca Milk 1 8 31 Days Greens 1 11 10 Gallons Port & 30 Gallons Sherry 15 10	Dick denied everything at his examination, and was ordered to be publicly whipped with thirty lashes and to wear an iron on one leg for a month. Sarah, a black girl belonging to the widow Greentree, ran from her mistress and was asked her reason. She said she was so cruelly used that she could not live with her. Asked to describe the treatment, she said her mistress had put her in irons about a fortnight earlier, with shackles on both legs and a chain, then stripped her naked, tied her hands to the leg chains and beat her with a cane for a long while, which she believed lasted two hours. She said she could not go home to her mistress again because she was so badly beaten and ill used. The council ordered her chains struck off and directed that she be delivered to one of the overseers of the highways to work for her food, until the widow Greentree promised the Governor to be kinder to her slaves. Harry, one of Mr Wrangham's black boys, ran away and made no complaint of ill usage. He was ordered to wear the iron collar for a month. Governor Pyke, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered the monthly accounts for December, which were examined, approved and entered as follows. Expense of the table in December 1733 280 lb beef, £6 15s 0d 150 lb pork, £3 15s 0d 6 pigs, £1 10s 0d 12 turkeys, £3 0s 0d 66 fowls, £4 19s 0d 11 ducks, £0 16s 6d 2 geese, £0 10s 0d 2 sheep, £5 10s 0d 10 lb butter, £0 0s 0d 62 bottles milk, £1 0s 8d 31 days greens, £1 11s 0d 10 gallons port and 30 gallons sherry, £15 10s 0d 87 gallons arrack, £17 3s 0d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 2 bottles oil, £0 6s 6d 4 cwt 19 lb flour, £0 0s 0d 1 cwt 18 lb bread, £4 13s 0d 2 bushels salt, £0 2s 6d 12 lb sugar, £0 2s 6d 2.5 lb pepper, £0 0s 0d Total, £72 16s 4d Gunner's stores expended in December 1733 1 December, muster day: guns fired 0, minion 0, falcons 0, powder 8 lb 9 December, an alarm: guns fired 4, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 9 December, arrival of the Prince William: guns fired 9, minion 0, falcons 9, powder 9 lb 12 December, the Prince William sailed: guns fired 9, minion 0, falcons 9, powder 9 lb 31 December, expense of the guard: guns fired 0, minion 0, falcons 0, powder 10 lb Sponge staves, 1 Sponge heads, 1 Rammer heads, 1.5 Iron pins, 1 Sponges, 1 Match, 12 lb Total: guns fired 22, minion 4, falcons 18, powder 48 lb

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		34 Gallons Arrack 17 3 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 6 2 Bottles Oyle 6 6 4. - 19. Flour 2 6 - . - 18 Bread 4 13 2 Bushells Salt 2 6 12 lb Sugar 2 6 3½ Pepper 72 16 4 Gunners Stores Expended in Decr 1733 vizt Guns Fired, Minion, Falcons, Powder 1 Muster Day: Guns Fired 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 8 lb 2 An Alarm: Guns Fired 4, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 12 Arrived the Prince William: Guns Fired 9, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 9 19 Prince William Sailed: Guns Fired 9, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 20 31 Expence of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 0 Spung Staves 1 Sponge Heads 1 Ramrods Heads 1½ Spare Wires 3 Sponges 1 Match 12 lb Guns Fired 22, Minion 4, Falcons 18, Powder 48 Acct	Interpretations Three runaways from three households produce three different outcomes on the same day, and the distinctions are entirely about the owner's conduct. Harry ran from Wrangham with no complaint and drew the iron collar for a month. Dick denied a theft and was whipped and ironed. Sarah described being chained, stripped and beaten for two hours, and was not punished at all: her chains were struck off, she was sent to work on the highways for her keep, and her return was made conditional on her mistress giving the Governor a promise. The council stated this principle on 18 December 1733, that a slave driven out by cruelty and guilty of nothing else should not be punished, and it is now applied as a working rule. The widow Greentree's household has produced three of these cases in five months. Greenwich absconded in August 1733 complaining that John Greentree beat him without reason; Martha ran in November and again in December, the second time after being beaten about the head with wet clothes and sent to fetch the whip; and Sarah now describes shackles and a two-hour beating. The council's remedy has escalated from charging the recovery fee to withholding the slave entirely until an undertaking is given, which is as close to a sanction on an owner as the record allows, the testimony of blacks being inadmissible against a free defendant. Powder at 48 lb is nearly triple November's 18 lb, and the <i>Prince William</i> accounts for the whole difference. She was saluted in on 9 December with nine guns and out on the 12th with nine more, after an alarm the same day cost 12 lb and four minion shot. The pattern of alarm followed immediately by salute recurs through this year and reflects a flagstaff that could not identify a sail before she closed the road, exactly as the gunner's returns for April to September 1733 recorded. Match holds steady at 12 lb for the third consecutive month, since a length burned at every guard post through every watch regardless of what was fired. The table shows the fort's Christmas provision. Sherry at 30 gallons against 10 of port reverses the proportion that has held since Governor Pyke's arrival, when port replaced sherry as the wine drunk in quantity, and 87 gallons of arrack is the heaviest monthly charge of the run. Sixty-six fowls and 12 turkeys match the seasonal killing entered in the stock account, where 42 fowls went for Christmas 1732. Pork at 150 lb continues alongside beef rather than replacing it, the shift that began in June 1733 when the yam failure forced two bullocks a month to be killed expressly for the slaves.
253	251	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Withers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoats, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 Decr: Bullocks 67, Cowes 166, Heifers 42, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 102, Bulls 8, Totall 516, Ewes 98, Withers 49, Lambs 24, Rams 4, Totall 175, Sows 19, Shoats 20, Pigs 34, Barrows 15, Boars 3, Totall 91, Turkeys 38, Fowles 84, Ducks 30, Geese 9, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 19, Bulls 0, Totall 19, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 5, Rams 0, Totall 5, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 5, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 5, Turkeys 5, Fowles 72, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 67, Cowes 166, Heifers 42, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 535, Ewes 98, Withers 49, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 180, Sows	Remaining 1 December 1733 67 bullocks, 166 cows, 42 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 102 calves, 8 bulls, total 516 neat cattle 98 ewes, 49 wethers, 24 lambs, 4 rams, total 175 sheep 19 sows, 20 shoats, 34 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 91 hogs 38 turkeys, 84 fowls, 30 ducks, 9 geese 5 horses, 4 mares, total 9 horses Increased in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 19 calves, 0 bulls, total 19 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 5 lambs, 0 rams, total 5 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 5 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 5 hogs 5 turkeys, 72 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after increase 67 bullocks, 166 cows, 42 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 535 neat cattle

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		19, Shoats 20, Pigs 39, Barrows 15, Boars 3, Totall 96, Turkeys 43, Fowles 156, Ducks 30, Geese 9, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 Killed & Sold to Shipping: Bullocks 1, Cowes 0, Heifers 7, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 8, Ewes 0, Withers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sows 0, Shoats 3, Pigs 6, Barrows 0, Boars 1, Totall 10, Turkeys 12, Fowles 66, Ducks 11, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 66, Cowes 166, Heifers 35, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 527, Ewes 98, Withers 45, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 176, Sows 19, Shoats 17, Pigs 33, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 86, Turkeys 31, Fowles 90, Ducks 19, Geese 7, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 1 Cow 1 Heifer killed by Falls & 3 Turkeys Stolen: Bullocks 0, Cowes 1, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 3, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 30 Decr: Bullocks 66, Cowes 165, Heifers 34, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 525, Ewes 98, Withers 45, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 176, Sows 19, Shoats 17, Pigs 33, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 86, Turkeys 27, Fowles 90, Ducks 19, Geese 7, Horses 5, Mares 4, Totall 9 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 20300 lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 28500 Totall 48800 lb	98 ewes, 49 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, total 180 sheep 19 sows, 20 shoats, 39 pigs, 15 barrows, 3 boars, total 96 hogs 43 turkeys, 156 fowls, 30 ducks, 9 geese 5 horses, 4 mares, total 9 horses Killed and sold to shipping 1 bullock, 0 cows, 7 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 8 neat cattle 0 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 4 sheep 0 sows, 3 shoats, 6 pigs, 0 barrows, 1 boar, total 10 hogs 12 turkeys, 66 fowls, 11 ducks, 2 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after killing and sales 66 bullocks, 166 cows, 35 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 527 neat cattle 98 ewes, 45 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, total 176 sheep 19 sows, 17 shoats, 33 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 86 hogs 31 turkeys, 90 fowls, 19 ducks, 7 geese 5 horses, 4 mares, total 9 horses One cow and one heifer killed by falls and three turkeys stolen 0 bullocks, 1 cow, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 2 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 3 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Remaining 30 December 1733 66 bullocks, 165 cows, 34 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 525 neat cattle 98 ewes, 45 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, total 176 sheep 19 sows, 17 shoats, 33 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 86 hogs 27 turkeys, 90 fowls, 19 ducks, 7 geese 5 horses, 4 mares, total 9 horses Yams expended at the several plantations, 20,300 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 28,500 lb Total yams, 48,800 lb Interpretations Rockfalls take another cow and heifer, following the two cows lost the same way in November and the Governor's report of 27 November 1733 that Bazett and another holder suffered identically on the same days. Two months running with such losses entered as a separate line establishes this as a standing hazard of grazing beneath the island's steep volcanic slopes rather than a single accident, and the dry weather that loosens the ground continues through the southern summer. The yam figures reverse completely from November. The plantations then took 18,100 lb against 11,700 lb to the slaves; here the establishment receives 28,500 lb while the ground takes 20,300 lb, and the total climbs from 29,800 lb to 48,800 lb. The winter planting is finished and the crop set, so the yams no longer needed as seed can feed the people. That figure of 28,500 lb is the highest monthly issue to the slaves since the shortage Isaac Durling reported on 10 April 1733, and it suggests the reserves held out better than his account of ten weeks' provision from a whole year's crop implied. Eight head of cattle killed and sold ends four months in which the herd grew untouched. The <i>Prince William</i> arrived on 9 December and sailed on the 12th, saluted in and out, and her victualling accounts for the seven heifers and one bullock along with four wethers and ten hogs. Bread at 38

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			hundredweight in October had signalled the same business, and the pattern holds throughout this record: beasts go to the shipping only when a vessel lies in the road, which is why not a beast was sold between July and November 1729. Poultry shows the Christmas killing plainly. Seventy-two chicks hatched and 66 fowls were killed within the month, so the flock closed level at 90, while turkeys fell from 43 to 27 after 12 killed and three stolen. The table account for December carried exactly 66 fowls and 12 turkeys. Theft of three turkeys is entered as a distinct category, the same heading that recorded 48 goats stolen in the year to 30 September 1730, and it sits alongside the runaway examinations of this month, where slaves absent from their masters lived by taking what they could from the plantations.
254	252	Collection of Goods Sold in Decr 1733 vizt 156 Gallons Arrack 46 16 14. -. - Sugar 35 50 Blankets 18 2 9 33 Yards Callimanco 3 13 11 57½ Mrs Canvas 33 6 9 104½ Yards Kersey 9 2 10½ 146 12 9½ Charges Generall vizt 24 lb Candles 2 8 12. Soap 13 8 doz Corks 2 8 2 Irons 4 1 7 3 Paint Brushes 1 7 2 Tallampoes 1 17 1 lb Freshhead 1 2 2 6 1 do Twine 2 9 14 lb White Lead 2 6 6 7 lb do 6 4 lb Vinegrass 13 6 10 Barrells Lamblack 2 6 12 Cupps & Faucets 6 1 2 1 Earthen Pan 1 2 7 2 10 Diet Expences 10 Gallons Port & 30 Gallons Sherry 15 10 8½ Gallons Arrack 17 8 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 6 2 Bottles Oyle 6 6 4. -. 12 Flour 5 2 8 -. -. 18 Bread 4 18	Collection of goods sold in December 1733 156 gallons arrack, £46 16s 0d 14 cwt sugar, £35 0s 0d 50 blankets, £18 2s 9d 33 yards callamanco, £3 13s 11d 576.5 lb canvas, £33 6s 9d 104.5 yards kersey, £9 2s 10.5d Total for the inhabitants, £146 12s 9.5d Charges general 24 lb candles, £2 8s 0d 12 lb soap, £0 13s 0d 8 dozen corks, £0 2s 8d 2 irons, £0 4s 0d 3 paint brushes, £0 1s 7d 2 tallampores, £1 17s 0d 1 lb pitch head, £0 1s 9d 1 lb twine, £0 2s 9d 19 lb white lead, £0 2s 9d 7 lb red lead, £0 6s 6d 4 lb vinegar, £0 13s 0d 10 Bristol lampblack, £0 2s 6d 12 cups and saucers, £0 6s 6d 1 earthen pan, £0 1s 2d Total for general charges, £7 2s 10d Diet expenses 10 gallons port and 30 gallons sherry, £15 10s 0d 87 gallons arrack, £17 8s 0d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 2 bottles oil, £0 5s 6d 4 cwt 12 lb flour, £5 2s 8d 1 cwt 18 lb bread, £4 18s 0d 2 bushels salt, £0 13s 0d 1 cwt 3 qr sugar, £4 17s 6d 2.5 lb pepper, £0 2s 6d Total for diet expenses, £49 4s 2d Blacks 4 canisters tea, £1 0s 0d 2 pairs shoes, £0 9s 0d 6 dozen hooks, £0 3s 0d 6 lines, £0 4s 0d 5 cwt 1 qr rice, £2 12s 6d Total for the blacks, £4 8s 6d Garrison 8 canisters tea, £2 0s 0d 4.5 gallons rape oil, £1 1s 4.5d 5 gallons linseed oil, £1 15s 0d 1.5 barrels lampblack, £0 3s 9d 1.5 sacks, £0 2s 6d 1 barrel tar, £1 6s 0d 2 tar brushes, £0 4s 0d 1 lead line, £0 1s 2d Total for the garrison, £6 13s 9.5d Plantation 6 helves, 8 mauls and 82 hatching irons, £0 19s 4d 2 pairs hinges, 1 hone stone and 40 lb rope, £1 20s 8d 5 cwt rice and 5 cwt 2 qr paddy, £4 8s 4d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 Bushells Salt 4 17 2 1. 3. - Sugar 6 6 3½ Pepper 44 4 2 Blacks 4 Cannes Tea 1 2 do Shoes 2 6 doz Slacks 3 6 Lines 4 5 do 1½ Rice 2 12 6 4 8 6 Garrison 8 Drams Tea 2 4 2½ Gallons Rape Oyle 1 1 1½ 5 Jars Linseed 1 15 13 Bar Lamblack 3 2 1½ Tacks 2 6 1 Bar Iron 1 6 2 Jar Brushes 4 1 Segmentre 1 2 6 13 2½ Plantation 5 Selves 8 Mawles & 3 Ratching Irons 19 4 2 Mrs Hinges 1 Sub Stone & 40 lb Rope 1 10 8 5 do Rice 10. 5. 2 L. Paddy 4 8 6 39 lb Nails 1 8 4 8 6 10 217 8 11	396 lb nails, £1 8s 4d Total for the plantation, £8 6s 10d Grand total, £217 8s 11d Interpretations Tar, tar brushes and lampblack under the garrison heading answer directly to the Governor's report of 4 December 1733 that he had ordered the sentry boxes on the line and at the east corner of the castle tarred against the rain. Tar seals timber against damp, and Bristol lampblack was the fine soot ground into black paint for ironwork and gun carriages, the standing defence in a climate where salt air and winter rain destroyed unprotected metal and wood alike. Linseed oil at 5 gallons is the binder those pigments were mixed into, and the three appear together month after month for that reason. Canvas at 576.5 lb for £33 6s 9d is the heaviest textile line of the month and the second heaviest charge overall. It went to the inhabitants rather than the Company, and its use on the island was boat sails and covers, the fishing establishment set up on 1 March 1727 requiring constant replacement of gear worn by salt and surf. The timing matters: the heavy seas that destroyed the Lemon Valley crane in the week before Christmas and carried away the rocks under the fort tank would have wrecked private boat gear along the whole coast. Fifty blankets sold to the inhabitants at £18 2s 9d is unusual outside the annual clothing charge, which normally falls in September, and 104.5 yards of kersey with it. Blankets had already gone to the Company's slaves in June, July and August 1733, well ahead of the usual issue. Callamanco is a glossy checked worsted and kersey a coarse ribbed wool, both winter cloths, so private households were buying warm covering in the island's summer, which points to stock arriving late rather than to seasonal need. Tallampores are large painted cotton bedcovers from the Coromandel coast, better known in this record under the spelling palempore, and they appear in the household inventories of the island's more substantial families, one being listed among Robinson's orphans' goods at the orphans court of 3 October 1727. Charging two to the Company's general account rather than selling them suggests furnishing for the fort or Plantation House rather than trade. The hatching irons in the plantation account, eighty-two of them bought with helves and mauls, are hand tools for breaking ground, and the quantity marks the scale of the replanting now under way. Yams to the plantations ran to 20,300 lb in December on top of 18,100 lb in November, so the Company was setting seed heavily after Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 that Perkins was exhausted and the whole year's capacity across seven plantations gave barely ten weeks of provision. Rice and paddy continue alongside, the milled grain feeding the establishment and the husked grain the stock.
255	253	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 10th Jany 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr Isaakes Wingham brought the last Will of Mr Robert Pike who died on the 26th of last month to be proved & Mr Jno Brown Surgeon & Mr Charles Steward being Witnesses thereto, He also brought	At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 January 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Isaac Wingham brought in the last will of Thomas Pyke, who died on 2 December last, for probate. John Brown, surgeon, and Charles Steward were the witnesses to it. He also produced an inventory of the estate Pyke held on the island, amounting to £96 9s 1.5d, signed by Isaac Wood and Charles Steward, who swore to it. Brown was unwell and could not attend to be sworn as a witness to the will. Steward and the other

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		in an Inventory of the Estate which the said Mr Pike died possessed of here, amounting to the Sum of £96. 9. 0½ which was Signed by Mr Isaac Wood & Mr Charles Steward who Swore to the same. Mr Brown being Indisposed could not appear to be Sworn as a Witness to the said Will but Mr Steward the other Witness was Sworn to the same who declares that he see Mr Pike the said deliver it as his last Will & Testament, & Mr Brown was Ordered to be Sworn as soon as he was able to come abroad By the said Will Capt John Goodwin was appointed one of the Executors but he refused to Act therein & renounced the Executorship Mr Isaac Wingham the other Executor & says that he finds so many Debts he is unwilling to Undertake a Trust likely to be attended with so much Trouble & unfinished he might be excused acting therein or else be Satisfied for his Trouble, but the Govr told him it was necessary Somebody should Act & desired him to Undertake it & as to his Extraordinary trouble he might charge it if there was Estate enough to pay it but of nothing was left then he could say nothing to it. The Inventory is as follows vizt An Inventory of Sundry Goods & Debts belonging to Robert Pike deceased taken & Appraised by Isaac Wood & Charles Steward 10th Jany 1733 Wearing Apparel vizt 1 Coat, Wastcoat & 2 Breeches of Olive Coloured Cloth 2 10 1 Coat Wastcoat & Breeches of Black Cloth very Old 10 1 Suit old Silk Lace 8 2 do Sankeen Cloth Breeches 6 1 Old Bag Coat 6 1 Painted Jacket & Breeches 8 1 Ditto 3 3 pr Gloves 3 12 Silver Twist Buttons 5 2 pr Shoes 10 1 pr do do 2 2 pr do Boots 8 1 pr old Spurr Leathers 1 2 do Black Silk Stockings 1 4 4 Mrs ditto very old 4 1 pr does white & pr coloured 8 4 do old Yarn Stockings 6 3 1 do old Worsted Stockings	witness were sworn, and declared that they saw Pyke sign and deliver it as his last will and testament. Brown was ordered to be sworn as soon as he was able to come out. Captain John Goodwin was named one of the executors under the will, but refused to act and renounced the executorship. Isaac Wingham, the other executor, said he found so many debts that he was unwilling to take on a trust likely to bring him a great deal of trouble unless he might be paid or otherwise compensated for his pains. The Governor told him somebody had to act, and warned him that if the estate proved large enough to meet the debts he might charge for any extraordinary trouble, but that if nothing was left there was nothing to be had. The inventory follows. An inventory of the household goods and other effects belonging to Thomas Pyke, deceased, taken and appraised by Isaac Wood and Charles Steward on 15 January 1734. Wearing apparel 1 coat, waistcoat and pair of breeches of olive-coloured cloth, £2 10s 0d 1 coat, waistcoat and breeches of black cloth, very old, £1 10s 0d 1 suit with old silk lace, £0 18s 0d 2 pairs nankeen cloth breeches, £0 6s 0d 1 old red coat, £0 6s 0d 1 painted jacket and breeches, £0 8s 0d 1 hat, £0 5s 0d 3 pairs gloves, £0 3s 0d 12 silver twist buttons, £0 3s 0d 2 pairs shoes, £0 10s 0d 1 pair old shoes, £0 2s 0d 2 pairs old boots, £0 8s 0d 1 pair old spurs and lashes, £0 1s 0d 2 pairs black silk stockings, £1 0s 0d 4 pairs of the same, very old, £0 4s 0d 1 pair silk stockings, white and coloured, £0 8s 0d 4 pairs old cotton stockings, £0 6s 3d 4 pairs old worsted stockings, £0 3s 0d 4 flowered shirts, £1 4s 0d 6 baftas shirts, £1 10s 0d 1 gauze shirt, £0 5s 0d 15 old shirts, £0 15s 0d 1 dimity waistcoat, £0 16s 0d 1 of the same, old, £0 12s 0d 6 of the same, with linen sleeves, £0 6s 0d 14 handkerchiefs and belts, £0 6s 0d 6 silk handkerchiefs, £0 6s 0d 6 of the same, £0 6s 0d Carried over, £14 1s 0d Interpretations Renouncing an executorship is a formal act with a precise legal effect: it releases the named person from all liability for the estate and passes the whole burden to the remaining executor. Captain Goodwin, an experienced accounting officer who had served as executor to Grace Coulson, James Holmes and Henry Francis senior, evidently read the debts against the £96 9s 1.5d inventory and declined the appointment. Executors were answerable for administering an estate properly and could be pursued by creditors, so a small estate carrying many debts was a liability rather than a benefit. The Governor's answer to Isaac Wingham states the rule governing an executor's compensation. A charge for extraordinary trouble is payable out of the estate, so it exists only where assets remain after the creditors are satisfied, and an insolvent estate leaves nothing for anyone. The same reckoning had appeared in John Knipe senior's estate on 18 September 1733, where £199 13s 6d stood against debts of £106 1s 8d, and again in James Greentree's inventory of 25 July 1733, where £291 6s 11.5d fell

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		6 4 Blessard Shirts 1 4 6 Bafta Shirts 1 10 1 Mens Shirt 4 15 Old Shirts 15 1 Dimothy Waistcoats 16 1 ditto old 12 6 ditto Bed without Sleeves 3 6 14 Wastcoats & Beds 6 6 Silk Handkerchiefs 6 6 ditto 6 Carried over 14 1 -	due to Benjamin Alsop alone. What makes this exchange notable is the Governor's insistence that somebody had to act, since an estate with no acting executor simply cannot be wound up and the creditors have no route to payment. Baftas were plain woven Indian cottons, cheap and hard-wearing, imported through the Bengal and Coromandel trade and made up into shirts on the island, while dimity was a ribbed cotton used for waistcoats and light wear and nankeen a firm yellowish cotton from Nanking. Silver twist buttons were worked with fine silver thread and counted individually here because they retained value independent of the garment. The mix in one wardrobe shows how far the island's clothing depended on the eastern cargoes rather than on English woollens, though the black cloth suit and worsted stockings came the other way. Only two witnesses attested this will, and one of them could not attend to swear. That deficiency would matter enormously had Pyke held land, since the Statute of Frauds of 1677 required three or four witnesses for a devise of real property, and Sarah Johnson's petition of 30 October 1733 against her brother's Tellicherry will turned on exactly that defect. Two witnesses suffice for personal estate, and this inventory contains nothing but movables, so the council could proceed on the evidence of one sworn witness while holding the second open until Brown recovered.
256	254	Wearing Apparel brought over 14 1 - 6 Cotton Handkerchiefs 5 1 very old Gown & ditto Banyan 2 6 5 old Wigs & 1 Wig Box 1 5 3 Canes 6 1 pr Shoe Buckles & 1 pr Knee ditto 15 Wearing Apparel Amounting to 16 11 6 1 Silver hilted Sword 20 1 Small Mourning ditto 5 1 Hanger 15 1 Gold Ring 12 1 Mourning ditto 1 1 Silver Rimmed Snuff Box 5 3 Tortoise Shell Snuff Boxes 4 1 Agate Seale & Crystall Stone Buttons 6 1 Silver Head for a Cane 2 6 2 Scales & 1 pr Compasses 1 6 1 Scope Whip 1 6 1 Fowling Peice 1 1 Roler 12 5 old Razors 5 7 12 - Household Goods vizt	Wearing apparel brought over, £14 1s 0d 6 cotton handkerchiefs, £0 5s 0d 1 very old gown and one banyan, £0 2s 6d 5 old wigs and a wig box, £1 5s 0d 3 canes, £0 6s 0d 1 pair shoe buckles and 1 pair knee buckles, £0 15s 0d Wearing apparel amounting to, £16 14s 6d 1 silver hilted sword, £20 0s 0d 1 small mourning sword, £0 5s 0d 1 hanger, £0 15s 0d 1 gold ring, £0 12s 0d 1 mourning ring, £1 0s 0d 1 silver rimmed snuff box, £0 5s 0d 3 tortoiseshell snuff boxes, £0 4s 0d 1 agate seal and 8 crystal stone buttons, £0 6s 0d 1 silver head for a cane, £0 2s 6d 2 scales and 2 pairs compasses, £0 1s 6d 1 rope whip, £0 1s 6d 1 fowling piece, £1 0s 0d 1 ruler, £0 12s 0d 5 old razors, £0 5s 0d Total, £7 12s 0d Household goods 4 old napkins and 2 side boards, £0 10s 0d 1 pair old sheets and 2 pillowcases, £0 10s 6d 1 mattress, 1 quilt, 2 blankets and 1 pillow with a bafta bedstead, £3 0s 0d 3 window curtains and 1 old curtain, £1 0s 0d 2 chamber pots, £0 1s 6d 1 stand candlestick, £0 2s 6d 1 brass sieve, £0 0s 4d 1 old tin funnel, £0 2s 0d 8 small tin tea canisters, £0 1s 6d 2 candle moulds, £0 1s 6d 1 dark lanthorn, £0 1s 0d 1 tea board, £0 1s 0d 1 cover for a cushion, £0 1s 6d 1 japan looking glass, £0 1s 0d 1 chest, £1 0s 0d 1 furniture, £1 0s 0d 1 old trunk, £0 10s 0d 1 dressing box, £0 5s 0d 1 lacquered hand board, £0 1s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		17 old Napkins & 2 Silk Boards 10 1 pr old Sheets & 1 Pillowbeer 10 6 1 Mattress, 1 Quilt 2 Blankets 1 Pillow 1 Bolster & Bedstead 3 3 Window Curtains & 1 old Curtain 1 2 Chamber Pots 1 2 1 Stand Candlestick 2 6 1 Brass Ditto 4 1 old Tin Funnell 2 8 Small Tin Tea Cannisters 4 2 Candle Moulds 6 1 Dark Lanthorn 1 1 Tea Board 1 1 Cover for a Cushion 1 6 1 Japan Looking Glass 1 1 Chest 1 1 Furniture 10 1 Bed Tounch 1 6 1 Dressing Box 1 6 1 Basket hand board 10 2 old Sea Chests 1 6 3 Cases with 12 five Pint Bottles each 1 1 Japan Lanthorn 3 6 Wineglasses 5 6 Roves & 6 Forks 6 1 Small Looking Glass 3 1 pr Snuffers 2 6 Cracked China Plates 3 1 ditto China Boyle 4 1 Blue White Guglet & Bason 4 6 Coarse Sanahed Dishes Small 4 1 Coloured China Dish & 3 Plates 4 9 Ulm Cupps & 6 Saucers 4 18 Ditto & 6 Ditto Blue & White 7 3 China Bowles 6 1 China Sneaker 2 3 China Cruets & 1 Stand 4 1 Glass Decanter 8	2 old sea chests, £0 10s 0d 3 cases with 15 pint bottles each, £1 6s 0d 1 japan lanthorn, £0 1s 6d 6 wine glasses, £0 3s 0d 6 pots and 6 forks, £0 5s 6d 1 small looking glass, £0 3s 0d 1 pair snuffers, £0 2s 0d 6 enamelled china plates, £0 3s 0d 6 china bowls, £0 3s 0d 1 blue and white cruet and basin, £0 4s 0d 6 coarse japanned dishes, small, £0 6s 0d 1 coloured china dish and 3 plates, £0 4s 0d 9 blue cups and 6 saucers, £0 4s 2d 18 of the same and 6 of the same, blue and white, £0 4s 7d 3 china bowls, £0 7s 0d 1 china teapot, £0 6s 6d 3 china cruets and 1 stand, £0 2s 4d 1 glass decanter, £0 1s 8d 1 parcel of small brass fixtures, £0 8s 0d 3 small brushes, £0 2s 0d 1 tea kettle, £0 15s 0d Interpretations The silver hilted sword at £20 0s 0d is by far the largest single entry and comes to almost a fifth of the whole estate at £96 9s 1.5d. Worked silver was how portable wealth was held on an island almost without coin, exactly as the silver tankard among Gabriel Powell's goods and the 37.5 ounces of plate weighed at five shillings in James Greentree's inventory of 25 July 1733. A sword of that value was a gentleman's badge rather than a weapon, and it would have been the first item a creditor looked to. A banyan was a loose informal gown of Indian origin, worn indoors over shirt and breeches, and its name records the Gujarati merchants through whom such garments reached English wardrobes. Japan and lacquer work in the lanthorn, looking glass and hand board came through the China trade, while the enamelled and blue-and-white china runs to more than seventy pieces across plates, bowls, cups, saucers, cruets and a teapot. The <i>Townshend</i> landed a chest of 640 pieces of blue and white ware in March 1727 and the <i>Caesar</i> another in March 1729, so tableware of this kind was reaching the island in bulk and had become ordinary in a modest household. Eight tea canisters, a tea board, a tea kettle, a teapot and fifteen cups with twelve saucers make tea drinking the most heavily equipped activity in the inventory. That fits the storekeeper's accounts, where bohea rose from 8 catties in October 1728 to 19 lb by February 1729 and where tea was issued to the garrison at 14 lb in October 1733 and 8 canisters in December. Tea reached St Helena directly from Canton in the homeward China ships, so the island drank it earlier and more cheaply than most English households of comparable means. The scales, compasses and ruler mark Pyke as a man who measured and drew, which is not the equipment of an ordinary planter. Three cases each holding fifteen pint bottles, two sea chests and a fowling piece round out a household kept by someone accustomed to travel. A mourning ring and a mourning sword were worn at funerals and often bequeathed for that purpose, so their presence records a social obligation rather than a taste.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		A Parcell of Small Chinar Fixtures 4 3 Small Brushes 15 1 Tea Kettle	
257	255	Brought over 24 6 6 Household Goods brought over 14 17 10 1 Sauce Pan & Cover 12 1 Chafing Dish 2 2 Silver Spoons 4 ditto Tea Spoons & 2 ditto for Salt 1 5 1 Red & White Tea Pott 1 6 Household Goods Amtg to 16 19 4 2 pr Womans Silk Stockings 12 2 do Lanthorn Cloth 8 1 do Dimothy 12 4 Yards Ribband 4 6 A Parcell of old Books 1 1 Bible 13 3 8 6 50 Bottles Cape Wine 1 17 6 6 Pint Bottles Wash 6 1 Bottle Joy 3 6 1 Gallon Cape Wine 3 6 4 lb Wax Candles 4 10 lb Tea 1 16 4 lb Hair Powder 9 4 8 A Parcell of old Lumber 10 A Parcell of Small Trifles 10 1 In Cash 16 7 3½ 96 9 0½ Salary due to him. Mr Barlace Pike Dr to Sundry considerably more than the Amount of his Effects as appears by Sorts of his Papers Isaac Wood Charles Steward Yesterday the Doth Gultar arrived here from Madrass & brought us the Cargo designed to be sent us by the Lyles who was but unfortunately Cast by the carelessness of the Pilot on the 19 of July last in Bengale River Batavia Arrack a half Sugars ½ Sugar 150 Gallons ½ 145 ½ 68	Brought over, £24 6s 6d Household goods brought over, £14 17s 10d 1 sauce pan and cover, £0 12s 0d 1 chafing dish, £0 6s 0d 2 silver spoons, £1 5s 0d 4 more sea spoons and 2 more for salt, £0 5s 0d 1 red and white sea box, £0 1s 6d Household goods amounting to, £16 19s 4d 2 pairs women's silk stockings, £0 12s 0d 2 pairs nankeen cloth, £0 8s 0d 1 pair dimity, £0 12s 0d 4 yards riband, £0 4s 6d 1 parcel of old books, £1 0s 0d 1 bible, £0 13s 0d Total, £3 8s 6d 50 bottles Cape wine, £1 17s 6d 5 pint bottles sack, £0 4s 6d 1 bottle soy, £0 3s 6d 1 gallon Cape wine, £0 3s 6d 4 lb wax candles, £0 6s 0d 10 lb tea, £1 16s 0d 4 lb hair powder, £0 2s 0d Total, £4 8s 0d A parcel of old lumber, £0 10s 0d A parcel of small trifles, £0 10s 0d Total, £1 0s 0d In cash, £16 7s 3.5d Grand total, £96 0s 9.5d Salary was also due to him. Barlace Pyke owed considerably more to various people than his effects amounted to, as several accounts showed. Signed by Isaac Wood and Charles Steward. The <i>Delta</i> arrived the previous day from Madras and brought the cargo Mr Lyle had meant to send, having been lost on 19 July last in Bengal River through the carelessness of the pilot. Batavia arrack, 4 half leaguers 0.5 leaguer, 70 gallons 0.5 leaguer, 71 gallons 0.5 leaguer, 68 gallons 0.5 leaguer, 80 gallons Total 290 gallons as per invoice Wasted and used to fill up, 74 gallons Received, 222 gallons Sugar, 10 bags, 14 maunds 2 seers 19 [...] as per invoice Wasted, 2 maunds 3 seers 9 [...] Received, 11 maunds 3 seers 10 [...], 99 rupees Rice, 40 bags, 66 maunds as per invoice Wasted, 10 maunds 1 seer 20 [...] Received, 55 maunds 2 seers 8 [...], 569 rupees Charges merchandise, 21 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Total, 218 rupees 4 annas 6 pies The invoice carried a note at the foot recording that half a leaguer of arrack had been used to fill up the rest and make good the leakage, and that the ship was short of the invoice by 6 maunds 3 seers 26 [...] of rice and 1 maund 15 seers of sugar. Signed Richard Benyon, Captain Nash. Richard Mason lately directed his slave Yellow to steal rushes cut for thatching the Honourable Company's buildings. He was summoned to attend and, on submitting and promising better conduct in future, he was forgiven and discharged. His slave was ordered to be whipped. Interpretations The estate closes at £96 0s 9.5d and the appraisers record that the debts exceed it, which explains

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		½ 80 293 Gallons as $\mathfrak{P}$ Invoice 74 wasted wasted to Fleurs 222 Received 222 Sugar 10 Bags = 14. 2. 19 as $\mathfrak{P}$ Invoice 2. 3. 9 wasted &c 11. 3. 10 Received 99 Rice 40 Bagoes 66. -. - as $\mathfrak{P}$ Invoice 10. 1. 20 wasted &c 55. 2. 8 Received 56 9 Charges Merchandize 21 5 6 218 4 6 The Invoice at the Bottom has the following Memorandum vitz ½ Leager Arrack was used in filling up the Rest & in speaking the Ship & Sugar there is short of the Invoice 6. 3. 26 of Rice & 1. 0. 14 Sugar Richd Benyon Capt Wash Richard Mason having lately directed his Black Fellow to steal some Rushes cut for Thatching the Honble Companies Buildings he was appointed to attend to day and upon Submission & promise of future good Behaviour he was forgiven & discharged but his Black was Ordered to be Whipt & to have Margin Notes: Mem	everything that happened at the consultation. Captain Goodwin renounced the executorship outright and Isaac Wrangham accepted it only after the Governor's warning that a charge for extraordinary trouble is payable solely from what survives the creditors. On this reckoning nothing will survive them, so Wrangham has taken on an administration that will pay him nothing and expose him to every claimant. The salary still owed to Pyke is the one asset not in the inventory and probably the only prospect of improving the position. Wastage of 74 gallons out of 290 in the arrack, roughly a quarter of the consignment, is far heavier than the leakage the council usually recorded. Captain Turner reported the <i>Craven's</i> arrack leaking on 27 May 1729, and Captain Goodwin surveyed the casks, found them badly caulked and worm eaten and cleared him of liability. The note at the foot of this invoice shows the same remedy applied at sea: half a leaguer was broached to top up the others, since a slack cask works and leaks faster than a full one. Rice and sugar also fell short, and the shortfalls are set out line by line so the Company can see precisely where the loss lay. A maund is a weight of about eighty pounds and a seer a fortieth of it, both standard in the Bengal trade, and the invoice reckons in those units before converting to rupees. The cargo answers the pattern the council identified on 10 January 1733, when the <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> each brought an identical supply of four half leaguers, ten bags of sugar and forty bags of rice, which confirmed that the Bengal agents made up each island consignment to a standard specification. Rice at 569 rupees dominates the invoice, and the reason lies in the yam failure: imported grain has carried the establishment through the whole of 1733. The rush theft turns on the material rather than its value. Thatch was the roofing of the Company's outbuildings, and John French had complained on 25 September 1733 that dry thatch and timber adjoining the magazine made fire a constant hazard. Rushes cut and stacked for that purpose were both scarce and combustible, on an island where imported deals were the only alternative and where the <i>Harrington's</i> consignment had proved short by three or four feet a board. The distinction the council drew between master and slave is the one that runs through this whole record. Mason ordered the theft and received a discharge on a promise; the slave Yellow, who carried out an order he could not safely refuse, was whipped. Anthony had made exactly that argument on 2 January 1733, saying he did as his master sent him because he was a slave, and the council excused him the lash then. Here the same reasoning yields the opposite result, and the free man's submission bought his own pardon without buying his slave's.
258	256	an Iron Clog & Chain put upon one Leg & to be then delivered to the Overseers of the Highways there to Work for one Month & then to be returned to his Master; & to prevent Stealing the Companies Rushes for the time to come, & the Neighbours taking one from the other which was become a common Practice; all Persons were publickly forbid Cutting Rushes off any of the Honble Companies Commons or Wast Lands without leave from the Governour, & that when Rushes should be so	The slave was to have an iron clog and chain fixed to one leg, then be delivered to the overseers of the highways to work for a month before returning to his master. To stop further theft of the Company's rushes, and to end the practice of neighbours carrying off one another's cut rushes, the council forbade all persons publicly from cutting rushes on any of the Honourable Company's commons or waste lands without the Governor's leave. Where rushes were cut with such leave, at least one person present at the cutting was to attend when they were carried away. Anyone acting against the order was to lose the right to graze cattle in that part of the country where the rushes were stolen, cut or carried off. The advertisement published for the purpose ran as follows.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Cutt with leave as aforesaid one Person at least who was present at the Cutting thereof should also attend at the carrying them away & that whosoever should presume to act contrary hereunto should loose the benefit of Grazing their Cattle in that part of the Country where such Rushes shall be so Stolen Cutt or carried away without leave as aforesaid; the Advertisement Entred upon this Occasion is as follows vizt Whereas Severall parcells of Rushes which were lately cutt upon the wast Land or Common already called the Horse Pasture Half Moon & Parts adjacent for the Thatching of severall of the Honble Companies Buildings have been Stolen & carried away when become dry & fit for Use by Sundry evill disposed Persons some of whom are not yet Discovered. To prevent therefore this ill Practice for the future all manner of Persons are hereby Strictly forbid to take or carry away any Rushes Green or Dry cutt for the Honble Comps Use or to cutt or carry away any Rushes off the Commons or Wast Lands in any part of this Island without leave first had & obtained of the Governour which will never be denied to any body upon seasonable Occasions And to avoid all Mistakes about the Property of the Rushes when Cutt & least one Neighbour should take or carry away the Rushes cutt by another one Person at least, who was present at the Cutting of the said Rushes shall also be present & attend when the same are fetched or carried away, & if any Person or Persons shall presume to Act contrary to this Order such Person or Persons shall for such Contempt loose the benefit of Grazing their Cattle upon the Common or Wast Lands in that part of the Country where such Rushes shall be so cutt or carried away. Martin Harper this day desired leave to Assign to Mr Duke Crispe Twenty five Acres of Leashold Land commonly called Robinsons Land lying in two parcells in Sandy Bay which he hires of the Honble Company & his Request was Granted & Mr Crispe accepted Tenant accordingly.	Several parcels of rushes lately cut on the waste land or common known as the Horse Pasture, Half Moon and the adjoining forts, for thatching some of the Honourable Company's buildings, had been stolen and carried away once they dried and became fit for use. Various ill-disposed persons were responsible, some of them not yet discovered. To prevent this practice in future, all persons were strictly forbidden to take or carry away any rushes, green or dry, cut for the Honourable Company's use, or to cut or carry off any rushes from the commons or waste lands anywhere on the island without leave first obtained from the Governor, which would never be refused to anybody on a reasonable occasion. To avoid any mistake about whose rushes were whose, no neighbour was to take or carry away rushes cut by another. At least one person who had been present at the cutting was also to be present and attend when they were fetched or carried off. Anyone acting against the order was to lose, for the contempt, the right to graze cattle on the common or waste lands in that part of the country where the rushes were cut or carried away. Martin Harper gave up his lease to Duke Crisp for 25 acres of leasehold land commonly called Robinson's land, lying in two parcels in Sandy Bay, which he rented from the Honourable Company. The council granted his request and accepted Crisp as tenant. Interpretations Withdrawing the right to graze is a far sharper penalty than the fines the council usually imposed, and it explains why this order was drawn as it was. Common grazing was what made a small holding viable on an island where enclosed pasture was scarce, so a man barred from the common lost the use of his cattle rather than a few shillings. The wood defaulters of 18 November 1729 were fined between 2s and 20s and several were excused entirely because they were too poor to pay, which showed how little a monetary penalty achieved against people with no ready money. Striking at grazing reaches everyone equally, and it falls on exactly the part of the country where the offence took place. Requiring a witness to the cutting to attend the carrying away is the practical heart of the order. Cut rushes lying out to dry look identical whoever cut them, so a man carrying off another's work could always claim honest mistake, and no prosecution could get past that defence. Making one of the original cutters present at collection removes the ambiguity before it arises, in the same way the night pass ordered on 12 October 1730 turned an unanswerable question about what a slave had done into a simple question about what document he carried. Rushes matter here because they were the roofing of the Company's outbuildings and the island had almost no alternative. Imported deals were expensive and the <i>Harrington's</i> consignment of 27 March 1733 arrived short by three or four feet a board, while timber standing on the island had been failing for a decade, the advertisement of 21 October 1729 warning that at the current rate of waste none would remain in seven or eight years. Rushes cut from the commons cost nothing but labour, which is why theft of a dried parcel represented a real loss to the works. Duke Crisp taking over Robinson's land brings a councillor into a holding the record has followed for years. Robinson's orphans rendered accounts at the orphans courts of 3 October 1727, 8 October 1728 and 11 October 1729, their estate running to 25 acres of leasehold and a house, with the acreage

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			falling to 20 in 1728 as the holding was converted towards stock and provision. The council had refused to register Samuel Doveton's assignment of 20 acres on 22 August 1732 until the Company gave direction on preventing engrossing, so an assignment to a sitting member of council carries a caution the earlier ruling made explicit.
259	257	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 22d Jany 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr Brown one of the Witnesses to the Will of Mr Borlace Pike deced who desired him to be & these thereto being it on Tuesday last & then Mr Steward the other Witness was Sworn this day attended & the said Will being shewn to him he was first Sworn & then asked whether the deceased did Sign Seale & declare the same as his last Will in his Presence & the said Mr Brown Answered that he did did Sign Seale & declare the same as his last Will in his Presence & that he also Signed the same as Witness in the Presence of the deceased. The Copy of the Will is as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen I Borlace Pike being a little indisposed in Health but of Sound & perfect Memory do make & ordain this my last Will & Testament in manner & form following vizt Imprimis I recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God who gave it praying for Pardon of all my Sins & hoping for a joyfull Resurrection through the Merits of our Blessed Saviour Jesus Christ who died for our Sins & rose again for our Justification. My body after my decease I desire may be Interred in a decent but frugal way by my Executors hereafter named Item I give to the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr my Silver Inkhorn in token of Acknowledgement of all his Favours Item I give unto my worthy Uncle & true Friend Mr Charles Pike Merchant at Amsterdam, my Fathers Small Picture Sett in gold which I have here as also 2 large Pictures of my Mother with a Blew Gown, Painted in Italy which is in the hands of Mr Wm Johnson, Candle & Assistant to a Mariner at the Lacy's Office in the old Jury London Item I give unto Mr Thomas Wilkinson of Amsterdam Merchant my Tortoiseshell Snuff Box with a Red or Gilt Hinge in token of a Remembrance of his Services & kindness in time of need Item I give unto Mrs Elizabeth Johnson Daughter of the Mr	At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 January 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. John Brown, one of the witnesses to the will of Barlace Pyke, was unwell on the previous Tuesday when Charles Steward, the other witness, was sworn. He attended and was first sworn, then shown the will and asked whether the deceased had signed, sealed and declared it as his last will in his presence. Brown answered that he had, and that he had signed it himself as a witness in the presence of the deceased. A copy of the will follows. Barlace Pyke, being a little unwell in health but of sound and perfect memory, made his last will and testament in the following form. He committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God who gave it, asking pardon for all his sins and hoping for a joyful resurrection through the merits of Jesus Christ, who died for the sins of mankind and rose again for its justification. He wished his body to be buried in a decent but inexpensive manner by his executors. He gave to Isaac Pyke his silver inkhorn, in acknowledgement of all his kindness. He gave to his uncle Charles Pyke, a merchant at Amsterdam, his father's small portrait set in gold, and two large portraits of his mother with a fair frame, painted in Italy and then held by William Johnson, a candle and biscuit merchant at Lacy's office in London. He gave to Thomas Wilkinson of Amsterdam, merchant, his tortoiseshell snuff box with silver or gilt hinges, in remembrance of his services and kindness in time of need. He gave to Elizabeth Johnson, daughter of the same William Johnson, the four other large portraits then in her or her father's keeping. He gave and bequeathed to Margaret Wrangham, his esteemed and dearly beloved wife, after payment of his funeral charges and all his just debts, whatever appeared by his books to be owing, all sums of money, goods and effects remaining after those debts were paid, together with every sum of money, goods, lands or effects of any kind coming or having been given or left to him by will or any other way, and one acre of the land belonging to him for the proper use and benefit of the same Margaret Wrangham and her heirs for ever. He named and appointed his esteemed friends Captain John Goodwin and Francis Wrangham executors of the will, revoking and annulling all other wills. He set his hand and seal to it on Tuesday [...] November 1733. Signed Barlace Pyke, and signed, sealed and declared in the presence of John Brown and Charles Steward. Interpretations Proving a will in the absence of one witness would have left the instrument open to challenge, and the council took the trouble to swear Brown separately once he recovered rather than proceed on Steward's evidence alone. Both witnesses have now sworn that they saw the testator sign and that they signed in his presence, which is what makes the attestation good. The point matters more than it might appear, since the will disposes of an acre of land as well as movables, and the Statute of Frauds of 1677

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Johnson mentioned in the other side the four other large Pictures which are in her or her Fathers keeping Item I give & bequeath after Payment of my Funerall Charges & my just Debts which will chiefly appear by my Books unto the worthy & dearly beloved Mrs Margaret Wangham my Godmother Wife all such Sum or Sums of Money Goods & Effects which shall remain after payment of my Debts as afresd together with all & every such Sum or Sums of Money Goods Lands or Effects of what kind soever which are or may have been given or left me by Will or any other way coming or belonging unto me & one Scarfe out of England to the proper Use & Behoof of her the said Margaret Wangham & her heirs forever Item I desire Nominate & Appoint my worthy Friends Capt John Goodwin & Mr Francis Wangham to be Executors of this my last Will & Testament Revoking and Annulling all other & former Wills by me heretofore made In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seale this Sunday Now in the year of our Lord 1733 Borlace Pike Signed Sealed & Delivered in the presence of us John Brown Charles Steward	required three or four witnesses for a devise of real property. Two witnesses will carry the personal estate but leave the land vulnerable to precisely the argument Sarah Johnson raised on 30 October 1733 against her brother's Tellicherry will. The bequests describe a man whose connections ran to Amsterdam rather than to London. An uncle trading there, a second Amsterdam merchant remembered for kindness in time of need, and family portraits painted in Italy and held by a London merchant on his behalf all point to a mercantile household spread across northern Europe. Nothing in the inventory taken on 15 January 1734 corresponds to those portraits, which is consistent with their never having reached the island, and it explains why an estate of £96 0s 9.5d could carry debts exceeding it while its owner disposed of pictures in gold frames. The residuary gift to Margaret Wrangham falls due only after funeral charges and every debt appearing in his books, and the appraisers Isaac Wood and Charles Steward reported on 15 January 1734 that Pyke owed considerably more than his effects were worth. On that reckoning the widow takes nothing from the personal estate and the acre of land is the whole practical value of the will to her. Land was the one asset that could not simply be swallowed by creditors in the way movables were, which gives the specific devise a significance out of proportion to its size. Francis Wrangham is named executor alongside Captain Goodwin, and the widow is a Wrangham, so the family stood to gather in the estate and to receive whatever survived it. Goodwin renounced on 15 January 1734 and Isaac Wrangham brought the will in for probate and took up the burden after the Governor warned him that payment for extraordinary trouble depended entirely on assets remaining. Three members of one family therefore surround an administration that will almost certainly pay them nothing, which is the ordinary consequence when the residuary legatee and the executors are the same household.
260	258	This Morning Capt Winter sent the following Letter or Petition vizt Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Whereas Capt John Hunter died & upward of Seven Years ago leave in the hands of Mr Gab Powell dece certain Wares & Merchandizes which have not yet been Accounted for by the said Gab Powell or his Executors altho they have all Severall times & by Severall Persons lawfully Impowered been Demanded, all the Satisfaction could be got from Mrs Powell has been only an Acknowledgemt of the Debt & frivolous Excuses which plainly shews she has no Intention ever to discharge the Demand. I do therefore Worshipfull Sir & Sirs in the name of Frances Hunter Relict & Administratrix of Capt John Hunter deced to whom I am Attorney Request of you that Mrs Powell the Executors of Mr Gab Powell deced may be obliged to render a just Account of the Sales of such Goods & that Paymant may be no longer delayed. I am Worshipfull Sir & Sirs Your most Obedt Servt Ja: Sam Winter	That morning Captain Winter sent the following letter or petition. Captain John Hunter, more than seven years earlier, had left certain bales and merchandise in the hands of Gabriel Powell, deceased, which had never been accounted for by Powell or by his executors. Payment had been lawfully demanded several times and by several people, and all that could be obtained from Mary Powell was an acknowledgement of the debt and a series of trifling excuses, which showed plainly that she had no intention of discharging it. In the name of Frances Hunter, widow and administratrix of Captain John Hunter, whose attorney he was, Winter asked the council to oblige Mary Powell and the executors of Gabriel Powell to render a just account of the sale of those goods, and to see that payment was no longer delayed. The letter was addressed to Isaac Pyke, Governor, and the council of St Helena, dated 22 January 1734 and signed I. Sam Winter. Mary Powell was sent for and admitted the debt. She offered Captain Winter a bullock towards part of the payment and promised to pay the remainder in cash immediately, which she would have to borrow, having declared that she had none of her own. At a consultation held on Tuesday 29 January 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		To The Worshipfull Is: Pyke Esqr Govr & Councill of St Helena 29th Jany 1733 Mrs Powell being sent for owned the Debt & offered Capt Winter a piece of Bulwark in part of Paymt & promised in that case to pay the remainder immediatly in Cash which she would borrow for she declared she had none of her own. At a Consultation held on Tuesday 29 Jany 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning three Sale of Ships past by to the Northward Mrs Margaret Bagley made Complaint that Mr Avery Soldier had forged a Scandalous Letter in the name of her Daughter pretending therein that she wanted him to Marry her with other Insinuations tending greatly to her Daughters Prejudice & Discredit & the said Avery being present did so far confess the Matter as to own that he had such a Letter & had shewed it about but since he began to be afraid of an Enquiry he had burnt it, & upon Questioning him Severall times who were his Accomplices in forgeing the said Letter he obstinately refused to discover them & therefore I we command him to Prison The Walls & Fences of the Honble Companies Pastures & Plantn having lately been frequently pulled down & after in the Night the Governour appointed a Watch to look out & James Powell with two of his Mothers Blacks were caught pulling down the Walls & Fences	Three sail of ships passed to the northward that morning. Margaret Bagley complained that Avery, a soldier, had forged a scandalous letter in the name of her daughter, pretending that she wanted him to marry her, along with other insinuations greatly damaging to her daughter's reputation and prospects. Avery, being present, admitted that he had written such a letter and shown it about, but said that once he began to fear an enquiry he had burnt it. Questioned several times about who had helped him forge it, he flatly refused to say. He was therefore committed to prison. The walls and fences of the Honourable Company's pastures and plantations had lately been pulled down repeatedly at night. The Governor appointed a watch to look out, and James Somers with two of his mother's [...] were caught pulling down the walls and fences. Interpretations An administratrix is the person appointed to gather in and distribute an estate where the deceased left no will, distinct from an executor named in one, and Frances Hunter holds that office for her late husband. Winter acts under a letter of attorney, so a debt owed at St Helena is being pursued by an agent on behalf of a widow who has probably never seen the island. That chain of authority is how commercial claims travelled the length of the East India route, and it explains why seven years elapsed before the demand carried enough weight to reach the council. Mary Powell's answer exposes the island's chronic want of coin more clearly than any account could. Gabriel Powell died possessed of an estate valued at upwards of £1,200 0s 0d, the largest private fortune in this record, yet his widow must offer a bullock in part payment and borrow the balance. The same pattern ran through the debts to Governor Smith pursued in May and June 1731, where every debtor answered that he had no money and offered cattle or sheep or a promise against the next shipping. Stock was the island's liquid asset and could only be turned into cash when vessels lay in the road. This is the fourth estate matter in which Gabriel Powell's dealings have been challenged. Four Hodgkinson complaints came before the court of judicature on 24 February 1730, Richard Beale pressed his claim to the Powell lands through the whole of 1733, and the question of Powell's title to the Beale third part stands referred to London. Winter's letter adds a commercial creditor to the list of claimants, and the recurring complaint is always the same: goods or estates passed into Powell's hands and no account was ever rendered. Forging a letter in a woman's name to suggest she sought a man in marriage attacked the one asset an unmarried woman on the island possessed. Reputation governed whether she could marry at all, and the jury's presentment at the general sessions of 2 July 1733 had pressed exactly this concern about the valley households. Sutton Marsh was committed on 25 July 1733 for saying four jurors had tried to seduce his daughter, so the council had already shown it would imprison a man for words damaging a woman's character. Avery's refusal to name his accomplices, rather than the forgery itself, is what put him in prison. Pulling down walls and fences at night strikes at the fabric on which the whole stock economy depended. Fencing was the standing obligation on every tenant, enforced through the surveys of 1727 and 1729 and made a condition of lease renewal by the resolution of 26 July 1732, and the wood survey of 10 November 1729 found repeatedly that

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			plantings had been destroyed where fences failed and cattle broke in. Setting a night watch rather than issuing another advertisement shows the council reaching for detection where publication had achieved nothing.
261	259	& laying open the Honble Companies Pastures as Common & Wast Land to be Grazed upon & devoured by the Cattle of other People but chiefly by the Cattle & Hoggs of the said Mrs Powell under an impudent Pretence that the Companies Pastures & Plantations were a common Driftway to Plantations belonging to the said Mrs Powell, & the said James Powell confessed that he had often done so before alledging in excuse that he allways ordred his Mothers Blacks to make up the Walls again when they pulled them down, but this Practice being highly detrimental to the Honble Companies Stocks of Cattle & Plantations especially at this dry Season, Wee for this Offence committed him to Prison. Milt a boy belonging to Tho Greentree having been Runaway from his Master was this Morning apprehended & brought before us by Toley a Black Fellow belonging to Mr John Furling & the said boy being asked the Cause of his Runingaway alledged that his Master used very Severe to him, but the contrary appearing to us by the Testimony of Capt Goodwin who declared that his Master was kind to him, wee Ordred him to be whiped with Twenty Lashes & that he should wear the Iron Collar for one Month & gave Toley the Black who caught him Five Shillings out of the Stores to be paid by the Boys Master Tho: Greentree. Cornelius a Black Man belonging to Jas Harding complained that his Master used him with such Cruelty that he could not live with him any longer because he was allways beating of him with great Sticks & would neither allow him Sufficient Food or Clothing, but this his Master utterly denied & proved the contrary by Joseph Edgar who lived in the house most part of the time in which the Fellow complains of hard usage & who declared that he was allways kindly treated by his Master, & was never Struck but with a Small Switch & was duely allowed a full Quantity of Provision Wee therefore Ordred the said Black who seemed to us to be very Stubborn & Disobedient to be Whiped till he promised his Master to be good & he was accordingly publicly corrected, but bore the Whip a long time before he would make any such Promise, at last he said he would be a good Servant & mind his Masters Bussyness The Petition of Joshua Johnson was presented & read praying	The effect was to throw the Honourable Company's pastures open as common and waste land, to be grazed and eaten bare by other people's cattle, and chiefly by the cattle and hogs of Mary Powell. The pretence behind it was that the Company's pastures and plantations lay across a common drift way to the plantations she held. James Powell admitted that he had often done the same before, and excused himself by saying his mother's blacks were always ordered to build the walls up again after pulling them down. The practice was highly damaging to the Company's stock and plantations, especially in the present dry season, and the council committed him to prison for the offence. Mitt, a boy belonging to Thomas Greentree, ran from his master and was taken that morning by Toby, a black belonging to John Durling, and brought before the council. Asked why he had run, the boy said his master was very severe with him. The opposite appeared from Captain Goodwin, who declared that his master was kind to him. The council ordered him whipped with 20 lashes and to wear the iron collar for a month, and gave Toby, the black who caught him, 3s out of the stores, to be repaid by the boy's master Thomas Greentree. Cornelius, a black man belonging to James Harding, complained that his master treated him with such cruelty that he could no longer live with him, being constantly beaten with heavy sticks and allowed neither enough food nor enough clothing. His master denied it entirely and proved the contrary by Cheshire Edgar, who lived in the house most of the time the man complained of hard usage. Edgar declared that Cornelius was always treated kindly by his master, was never struck except with a switch, and was properly allowed a full quantity of provisions. The council, finding him very stubborn and disobedient, ordered him whipped until he promised his master to behave well. He was accordingly whipped in public, but held out a long time before he would make any such promise, saying at last that he would be a good servant and mind his master's business. Joshua Johnson presented a petition, which was read, asking a lease of about half an acre of waste land next to his plantation in Sandy Bay. He set out that the ground now lay common, and that the hogs broke down the water courses so badly that he often got no benefit from the water on his plantation, it being turned out of its channel another way by that means. The council ordered an enquiry into what plantations Johnson held in Sandy Bay, how long he had held them and how he came by them. Interpretations A drift way is a track along which stock is driven between pasture and water, and a right of common drift over another man's ground was a genuine legal claim in England. Invoking it here converts a nightly act of destruction into an assertion of right, which is why the council recorded the pretence rather than simply the damage. The mother's instruction to rebuild the walls afterwards works to the same end: it presents the family as exercising an established liberty considerably rather than trespassing, and it is exactly the argument that would have to be made if the matter ever reached a jury. The Powell family has now been before the council in five distinct capacities within a fortnight.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		a Lease for about half an Acre of wast Land adjoining to his Plantation in Sandy Bay the said Johnson alledging that now it lies common the Hoggs break down the Water Courses in such manner that oftentimes he has no benefit of the Water in his Plantation it being by this means turned out of its Channell an other way. Ordered that Inquiry be made what Plantations the said Johnson hath in Sandy Bay how long he hath had them & how he came by them.	Mary Powell admitted the Hunter debt on 22 January 1734 and offered a bullock because she had no coin, and her son is imprisoned a week later for driving her stock onto the Company's pastures. The estate has been challenged by four Hodgkinson complaints in February 1730, by Richard Beale throughout 1733 and now by a commercial creditor, while the household disputes its title to a slave and grazes at the Company's expense. Governor Pyke's committal of James Powell to prison rather than a fine reflects how far the pattern had run. Two runaway examinations on the same day produce opposite results, and the difference is entirely evidential. Mitt claimed severity and Captain Goodwin, a councillor with no interest in the household, contradicted him; Cornelius claimed cruelty and Cheshire Edgar, who had lodged in the house, testified against him. Where such a witness exists the council punishes the slave, and where the account of ill usage stands unrebutted, as with Martha on 18 December 1733 and Sarah on 8 January 1734, it declines to punish and holds the owner to account instead. The council needs a free person's word to break the slave's story, since a slave cannot be sworn. Whipping Cornelius until he promised obedience makes the punishment conditional on submission rather than fixed by tariff, and the record notes that he held out a long time. The same technique appeared on 2 January 1733, when Abigail was shackled until the remainder of the stolen surplice was discovered, releasing her on information rather than on time served. Both turn punishment into an instrument for extracting something the council wants, and both depend on the sufferer being able to end it at any moment. Ordering an enquiry before granting half an acre applies the reform of 26 July 1732, under which no fresh parcel is granted until the ground has been viewed. Joshua Johnson was named on 20 April 1731 among those who had enclosed the Sandy Bay cart road, about 42 rods of it, so the council has particular reason to establish what he holds in that valley and how he came by it before adding to it. The Company had also directed that engrossing of land be prevented, which made the accumulated holdings of a substantial planter a matter for scrutiny in themselves.
262	260	At a Consultation held on Monday 31 January 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports, that yesterday in the Evening he received the following Letter from James Powell, vizt Worshipfull Sir I am Sensible of my Error in pulling down the Honble Comps Wall to drive through their Pasture & will take care for the future never to be Guilty of the like fault, I was informed by severall People that was the allowed Driftway & as above, & I did not do it with any ill design therefore beg you will Pardon this my first youthful fault & believe it to be done through Ignorance & not by Presumption. Worshipfull Sir, Your Worships most Obedt humble Servt January 30th 1733	At a consultation held on Thursday 31 January 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported receiving the following letter from James Powell the previous evening. Powell acknowledged his error in pulling down the Honourable Company's wall to drive through the pastures. He undertook to take care never to commit the same fault again, and said several people had told him the drift way lay there, so that he had acted without any ill intent. He asked pardon for what he called his first youthful offence, believing it done through ignorance rather than by design. The letter was dated 30 January 1734. After the letter was read Powell was sent for. The Governor reprimanded him and warned him what such proceedings could lead to. On his promise to behave himself and to do nothing of the kind in future, he was discharged from prison. At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 February 1734 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Governor Pyke, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered their accounts for the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		After the reading of this Letter, the said Powell was sent for, & being Reprimanded by the Governour, & Warned by him of the Consequence of such evil Proceedings, he upon promise to behave himself well, & not to do the like hereafter; was discharged from Prison At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5th Febry 1733 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward did each their Account for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expence of the Table in January 1733 vizt 63 Gallons Arrack 13 19 1 2. Sugar 3 15 2 Liquids Oyle 6 6 1 Do Vinegar 1 6 6 Do Bread 8 3 -. 10 Flour 3 17 6 2 Gallons Vinegar 6 1½ Bush Salt 9 8 Gallons Port 3 9 20 Gallons Sherry 11 12 6 77 Fowls 5 8 18 Turkeys 4 10 3 Pigs 15 4 Sheep 4 3 Ducks 12 2 Geese 3 5 6 55 12 6 Collection	month past, which were examined, approved and entered as follows. Expense of the table in January 1734 68 gallons arrack, £13 12s 0d 1 cwt 2 qr sugar, £3 15s 0d 2 quarts oil, £0 6s 6d 1 gallon vinegar, £0 1s 6d 6 cwt bread, £0 0s 0d 5 cwt 10 lb flour, £3 17s 6d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 0s 0d 1.5 bushels salt, £0 3s 0d 8 gallons port, £3 0s 0d 30 gallons sherry, £11 12s 6d 78 fowls, £5 17s 0d 18 turkeys, £4 10s 0d 3 pigs, £0 12s 0d 4 sheep, £4 0s 0d 3 ducks, £0 3s 6d 2 geese, £0 0s 0d Total, £55 12s 6d Interpretations Pardoning a man on a written submission is the standard route back from an offence in this record, and Powell's letter follows a form the council knew well. Henry Cottrell was pardoned on 22 April 1729 after admitting ingratitude and promising to abstain from strong liquor, and Charles Steward on 1 July 1729 after apologising for his slaves' conduct. Richard Durling's written promise of 2 April 1728 was read back to him on 31 December 1728 as proof that he was incorrigible, which shows what such a paper is for: it commits the offender in writing so that a second offence can be measured against his own words rather than argued afresh. The plea of ignorance does the real work in Powell's letter. He does not deny pulling down the wall but claims he was told the drift way lay there, which converts a deliberate assertion of right into a mistake about the facts. Alice Marsh had used the same defence on 30 July 1728 over grazing goats on the Chapel Valley range and was excused for that time, whereupon the council published an advertisement and served written notice so that ignorance could never be pleaded again. Powell's undertaking serves the same function without the need for a general notice. Wine at 38 gallons is the heaviest drink charge after arrack, and sherry at 30 gallons continues to run ahead of port for the second month. That reverses the pattern established when Governor Pyke arrived in 1731, when port replaced sherry as the wine drunk in quantity. Sherry ran heavier than port through the winter and spring of 1730 as well, so the swing probably follows what the cellar holds rather than any change of taste, since both wines came only when a ship brought them. Poultry at 78 fowls, 18 turkeys, 3 ducks and 2 geese carries the table where beef and pork appear nowhere in the account. The stock return for December had shown the flock closing at 90 fowls and 27 turkeys after the Christmas killing, so January's consumption cuts deep into what remained. The annual account to 30 September 1733 recorded 502 fowls killed against an increase of 419, with the flock closing at 62 against 188 at the year's opening, and this month continues to draw down breeding stock faster than it can replace itself.
263	261	Collection of Goods Sold in Jany 1733 140 Gallons Arrack 42 22. 1. Sugar 35 19 6 5 doz Pipes 4 2	Collection of goods sold in January 1734 140 gallons arrack, £42 0s 0d 22 cwt 1 qr sugar, £35 12s 6d 5 dozen pins, £4 2s 0d 17.5 lb rwine, £0 13s 6d 2 dozen thread laces, £0 2s 0d 2 dozen of the same, £0 3s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		17½ lb Fillitting 13 6 2 doz Thread Laces 2 2 doz ditto 3 6 doz Super ditto 1 8 Silk Laces 12 36 lb Holland Tape 2 6 8 10 lb Cangtion 4 8 8 3 lb Coloured Tape 8 8 30 lb Nankin 12 6 85 Yards Ribband 3 19 6 34 oz China Silk 3 10 3 17 doz English 2 11 344 doz Poormould Thread Buttons 3 1½ 12 lb Cotton 3 13 10½ 80 Goats Coat Buttons 1 4 8 lb Silk Thread 10 19 6 10 Skeins Mohair 6 2800 Needles 1 2 6 31 pr Shoes 6 5 37 pr Ditto 6 6 9 10 pr Womens Coles 29 17 9 11 pr Spanish 7 19 4 2 Mens Lasts 3 3 9 1 Boys ditto 2 10 160 16 6 Charges Generall vizt 10 lb Soap 10 10 18 lb Candles 1 4 2 Grass Corks 3 1 oz Thread 2 21 lb Nailles 10 2 lb Twine 4 9 17½ lb Canvas 1 4 5 Mopps 1 4 1 Scrubbing Brush 3 4 4 oz Ditto 2 10 1 pr Nea Nippers 1 6 1 lb Sackthread 2	6 dozen super of the same, £0 12s 0d 8 silk laces, £0 0s 0d 36 pieces Holland tape, £2 6s 8d 15 pieces garting, £0 8s 8d 3 pieces coloured tape, £0 4s 6d 30 pieces ribbon, £0 12s 6d 85 yards silk band, £3 19s 0d 34 ounces china silk, £2 11s 3d 1 gross English of the same, £0 3s 1.5d 344 dozen horn mould thread buttons, £3 13s 16.5d 12 pieces gingham, £1 4s 0d 80 gross coat buttons, £10 17s 6d 8 pieces silk thread, £0 6s 6d 10 skeins mohair, £0 2s 6d 2,300 needles, £1 3s 0d 31 pairs shoes, £6 6s 9d 37 pairs of the same, £21 17s 9d 1.5 dozen women's caps, £0 18s 0d 11 pieces branch, £3 3s 3d 2 men's lasts, £0 2s 0d 1 boy's of the same, £0 0s 10d Total for the inhabitants, £160 16s 6d Charges general 10 lb soap, £0 10s 10d 12 lb candles, £1 4s 0d 2 grass cords, £0 3s 0d 10 lb thread, £0 2s 6d 21 lb nails, £0 10s 0d 2 lb twine, £0 16s 4d 17.5 lb canvas, £1 4s 9d 5 mopps, £1 4s 0d 1 scrubbing brush, £0 3s 4d 4 ounces silk, £0 3s 10d 1 pair sea rigger, £0 9s 0d 1 lb sail thread, £0 1s 6d 2 dozen sacks, £0 1s 2d 2 bottles oil, £0 6s 6d Total for general charges, £4 9s 1d Blacks 1 pair shoes, £0 4s 0d 6 dozen hooks, £0 3s 0d 10 lines, £0 10s 0d 14 lb rope, £0 5s 0d 6 cwt rice, £3 10s 0d 2 canisters tea, £0 4s 0d Total for the blacks, £4 12s 9d Garrison 14 canisters tea, £3 10s 0d 4 gallons oil, 2 gallons linseed and 1 sweet, £1 4s 9d Total for the garrison, £4 14s 9d Plantation 4 cwt 14 lb rice, £2 1s 3d 5 cwt 2 qr paddy, £1 18s 6d Total for the plantation, £3 19s 9d Diet expenses 68 gallons arrack, £13 12s 0d 1 cwt 2 qr sugar, £3 15s 0d 2 bottles oil, £0 6s 6d 6 cwt bread, £1 6s 6d 3 cwt 10 lb flour, £3 17s 6d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 1.5 bushels salt, £0 2s 0d 8 gallons port, £3 0s 0d 30 gallons sherry, £11 19s 6d Total for diet expenses, £37 2s 0d Grand total, £215 7s 3d Interpretations Sixty-eight pairs of shoes sold in one month, entered in two lots at £6 6s 9d and £21 17s 9d, marks a household economy that had learned to distrust its supplier. The council found on 27 March 1733 that the shoes in the <i>Harrington's</i> cargo were charged above the price of better and wider ones

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 oz Indico 6 6 2 Bottles Oyle 4 2 1 Blacks vizt 1 pr Shoes 4 6 doz Slacks 3 10 Lines 10 14 lb Soap 5 6 lb Rice 3 10 2 Yards Tea 4 12 9 Garrison vizt 14 Cannes Tea 3 10 2 Gallons 2 Qt Linseed & Sweet 1 4 9 4 14 9 Plantation vizt 40. -. 14 lb Rice 2 1 3 5. 2. - Paddy 1 18 6 3 19 9 Diet Expences 68 Gallons Arrack 13 12 1. 2. Sugar 3 15 2 Bottles Oyle 6 6 2 lb Pepper 1 6 6 lb Bread 8 3. -. 10 lb Flour 3 17 6 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 1½ Bush Salt 9 8 Gallons Port 3 12 6 30 Gallons Sherry 11 19 6 37 2 215 7 3	from an earlier consignment, and more than 260 pairs cleared in July 1733 as the disputed stock was pushed out at reduced rates. Three cobbler's lasts sold alongside, two for men and one for a boy, show the island making and mending its own footwear rather than depending entirely on what London sent. Eighty gross of coat buttons at £10 17s 6d and 344 dozen horn mould thread buttons together outweigh every textile line on the page. A mould button was made by covering a turned horn or wooden core with thread, and selling the moulds separately confirms the island assembled its own. That fits the pattern running through these accounts: 2,300 needles, five dozen pins, silk and thread laces, mohair skeins and Holland tape are all components rather than finished goods, and households cut and sewed what they wore. Sugar at 22 hundredweight 1 quarter for £35 12s 6d exceeds the December figure of 14 hundredweight and stands among the heaviest of the run. Arrack at 140 gallons falls slightly from 156 gallons in December. Both came from the Bengal cargoes and both were sold down steadily between shipping seasons, so a heavy month here draws on stock that cannot be replaced until the next Indiaman calls, and the storekeeper's grand total of £215 7s 3d holds close to December's £217 8s 11d despite there being no vessel in the road. The plantation and blacks accounts continue the substitution that has run through the whole year. Rice and paddy at 4 hundredweight 14 pounds and 5 hundredweight 2 quarters carry the establishment where yams cannot, following Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 that a full year's crop across seven plantations gave barely ten weeks of provision. Fishing lines and hooks recur under the blacks' heading as they have since the fishery was established on 1 March 1727 to replace the slaves' meat ration.
264	262	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Withers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 January: Bullocks 66, Cowes 165, Heifers 34, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 525, Ewes 98, Withers 45, Lambs 29, Rams 4, Totall 176, Sows 19, Shoates 17, Pigs 33, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 86, Turkeys 27, Fowles 90, Ducks 19, Geese 7, Horses 3, Mares 6, Totall 9 Increased: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 3, Bulls 0, Totall 3, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 3, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 13, Fowles 50, Ducks 30, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 1, Totall 1 Bullocks 66, Cowes 165, Heifers 34, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 124, Bulls 8, Totall 528, Ewes 98, Withers 45, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 179, Sows 19, Shoates 17, Pigs 33, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall	Remaining 1 January 1734 66 bullocks, 165 cows, 34 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 525 neat cattle 98 ewes, 45 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, total 176 sheep 19 sows, 17 shoats, 33 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 86 hogs 27 turkeys, 90 fowls, 19 ducks, 7 geese 3 horses, 6 mares, total 9 horses Increased 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 3 calves, 0 bulls, total 3 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 3 lambs, 0 rams, total 3 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 13 turkeys, 50 fowls, 30 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 1 mare, total 1 horse Standing after increase 66 bullocks, 165 cows, 34 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 124 calves, 8 bulls, total 528 neat cattle 98 ewes, 45 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, total 179 sheep

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		86, Turkeys 40, Fowles 140, Ducks 49, Geese 7, Horses 3, Mares 7, Totall 10 Sold to Ship Sethiuloier: Bullocks 2, Cowes 2, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 5, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 64, Cowes 163, Heifers 33, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 124, Bulls 8, Totall 523, Ewes 98, Withers 45, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 179, Sows 19, Shoates 17, Pigs 33, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 86, Turkeys 40, Fowles 140, Ducks 49, Geese 7, Horses 3, Mares 7, Totall 10 Killed by Falls 3 Cows, & Died through dry weather 1 Cow 4 Calves & 1 Sow: Bullocks 0, Cowes 4, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 4, Bulls 0, Totall 8, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 1, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 64, Cowes 159, Heifers 33, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 120, Bulls 8, Totall 515, Ewes 98, Withers 45, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 179, Sows 18, Shoates 17, Pigs 33, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 85, Turkeys 40, Fowles 140, Ducks 49, Geese 7, Horses 3, Mares 7, Totall 10 Killed for the Table & for the Blacks: Bullocks 2, Cowes 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Withers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sows 0, Shoates 1, Pigs 3, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 4, Turkeys 18, Fowles 72, Ducks 8, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 31 January: Bullocks 62, Cowes 159, Heifers 31, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 120, Bulls 8, Totall 511, Ewes 98, Withers 41, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 175, Sows 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 30, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 81, Turkeys 22, Fowles 68, Ducks 41, Geese 6, Horses 3, Mares 7, Totall 10 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 19500 Ditto delivered the Blacks 28200 Totall 47700 lb	19 sows, 17 shoats, 33 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 86 hogs 40 turkeys, 140 fowls, 49 ducks, 7 geese 3 horses, 7 mares, total 10 horses Sold to the ship Heathcote 2 bullocks, 2 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 5 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after the sale 64 bullocks, 163 cows, 33 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 124 calves, 8 bulls, total 523 neat cattle 98 ewes, 45 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, total 179 sheep 19 sows, 17 shoats, 33 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 86 hogs 40 turkeys, 140 fowls, 49 ducks, 7 geese 3 horses, 7 mares, total 10 horses Killed by falls, 3 cows, and died through dry weather, 1 cow, 4 calves and 1 sow 0 bullocks, 4 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 4 calves, 0 bulls, total 8 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 1 sow, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 1 hog 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after the losses 64 bullocks, 159 cows, 33 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 120 calves, 8 bulls, total 515 neat cattle 98 ewes, 45 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, total 179 sheep 18 sows, 17 shoats, 33 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 85 hogs 40 turkeys, 140 fowls, 49 ducks, 7 geese 3 horses, 7 mares, total 10 horses Killed for the table and for the blacks 2 bullocks, 0 cows, 2 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 4 neat cattle 0 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 4 sheep 0 sows, 1 shoat, 3 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 4 hogs 18 turkeys, 72 fowls, 8 ducks, 1 goose 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Remaining 31 January 1734 62 bullocks, 159 cows, 31 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 120 calves, 8 bulls, total 511 neat cattle 98 ewes, 41 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, total 175 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 30 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 85 hogs 22 turkeys, 68 fowls, 41 ducks, 6 geese 3 horses, 7 mares, total 10 horses Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,500 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 28,200 lb Total yams, 47,700 lb Interpretations Dry weather now appears as a stated cause of death for the first time in this record, carrying off a cow, four calves and a sow. That confirms what the previous two months only implied through the rockfall losses: the island is in a hard summer drought, and the council had noted on 29 January 1734 that the trespass on the Company's pastures was especially damaging in the present dry season. Calves are the first to go when grazing fails, since a cow under stress cannot maintain her milk, and losing four of them takes directly from next year's herd. Three cows killed by falls brings the running total to seven beasts lost that way across three months.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Governor Pyke reported the first such losses on 27 November 1733 and found Bazett and another holder suffering identically on the same days, and the dry ground that loosens rock above the pastures is the same drought now killing stock outright. A herd that stood at 525 on 1 January closes at 511, having lost eight to weather and falls against only three calves born, so the increase that carried the year to 516 in November has stopped entirely. The <i>Heathcote</i> took five head, the first sale to shipping since the <i>Prince William</i> virtualled in December. She is a familiar vessel here: she arrived nearly eight months late on 8 February 1730 after the fleet of June 1729 sailed in defiance rather than wait for her, and she called again from Bombay in December 1730. Five beasts is a modest supply and reflects a single ship rather than a fleet, quite unlike the twenty-eight head sold in May 1731 with four Indiamen loading. Poultry moves in both directions at once. Fifty chicks and thirty ducklings hatched, thirteen turkeys came on, and yet 72 fowls, 18 turkeys and 8 ducks were killed within the month, so the flock closed lower than it opened at 68 fowls and 22 turkeys. The table account for January carried exactly 78 fowls and 18 turkeys against no beef or pork whatever, which explains the pressure: with the cattle under strain from drought the fort ate its birds instead, and the breeding stock Governor Pyke bought in April 1731 continues to shrink. Yams held almost level at 47,700 lb against December's 48,800 lb, with 28,200 lb going to the slaves. The heavy issue to the establishment continues now the winter planting is set, and the 19,500 lb committed to the ground maintains the replanting begun after Isaac Durling's warning of 10 April 1733. That the crop can sustain nearly 30,000 lb a month to the people through a drought suggests the reserves have held better than his estimate of ten weeks' provision from a full year's harvest implied.
265	263	Gunners Stores Expended in January 1733 vizt Guns Fired, Minions, Falcons, Powder 5th Muster Day: Guns Fired 0, Minions 0, Falcons 0, Powder 10 lb 14th An Allarm: Guns Fired 4, Minions 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 20 Arrived the Sethiuloier: Guns Fired 9, Minions 0, Falcons 0, Powder 9 25th Sethiuloier Sailed: Guns Fired 9, Minions 1, Falcons 8, Powder 11 Powder Damaged Sent to England 4 Casks 28th Double Allarm for three Shipp that past by: Guns Fired 6, Minions 6, Falcons 0, Powder 18 Expence of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Minions 0, Falcons 0, Powder 12 Spunge Staves 1 Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 24 lb Guns Fired 28, Minions 11, Falcons 17, Powder 72 At a Consultation held on Tuesday 12th February 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mrs Savage appeared in right of his Wife to claim her part or half of Thirty Acres of Land lately belonging to Mr John Coles decd John Lewes Berry & Mr Thomas Faulk of the Ship Harrington appeared as Attorneys for Mr Wm Coles of Doncaster & claimed the	Gunner's stores expended in January 1734 5 January, muster day: guns fired 0, minions 0, falcons 0, powder 10 lb 14 January, an alarm: guns fired 4, minions 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 14 January, arrival of the Leathwaiter: guns fired 9, minions 0, falcons 9, powder 9 lb 25 January, the Leathwaiter sailed: guns fired 9, minions 1, falcons 8, powder 11 lb 25 January, powder damaged, sent to England, 4 casks 28 January, double alarm for three ships that passed by: guns fired 6, minions 6, falcons 0, powder 18 lb Expense of the guard: powder 12 lb Spunge staves, 1 Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 24 lb Total: guns fired 28, minions 11, falcons 17, powder 72 lb At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 February 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mr Savage appeared and claimed, in right of his wife, her part or half of 30 acres of land lately belonging to John Coles, deceased. John Lewis Deney and Thomas Faull of the ship <i>Harrington</i> appeared as attorneys for William Coles of Bencoolen and claimed the whole 30 acres in his right. Joseph Bates also appeared and claimed a share of the land under a deed of gift made by Joseph Coles, now at Bencoolen, dated 6 November 1721. All

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		whole Thirty Acres as the Right of the said Wm Coles Joseph Bates also appeared & claimed a Share of the said by Virtue of a Deed of Gift made by Joseph Coles now decd Bencoolen bearing date the 6th of November 1721 & these Claims are grounded on the said Deed in which Mr Bates sayth his Children are mentioned as Successors to their Brother who was Mr Bates Wife The Deed of Gift was first read & here over & is as follows vizt To all Christian People to whom these Presents shall come I Joseph Coles of the Island St Helena Send Greeting Know Yee that I the said Joseph Coles as well for the Consideration of the naturall Affection & brotherly Love which I have & do bear unto my well beloved Brothers & Sisters William Coles, John Coles Mary Coles, Elianor Coles & Elizabeth Coles all of the said Island & also for divers other good Causes & Considerations me at this present specially moving HAVE freely & absolutely given & Granted & by these Presents do freely & absolutely Give Grant & Confirm unto the heforenamed William John Mary Elianor Elizabeth Coles or to the Survivours of them or either of them after the decease of my Brother in Law Bridgett Coles of the said Island Widow all & Singular that Piece or Parcell of Ground & Land containing Ten Acres with the Dwelling House Standing thereon together with Eighteen Acres of College Tree Land & two Acres more lying within the Pasture Lands of James Greentree containing in the whole Thirty Acres lying in different Parcells	three claims rest on that deed, in which, as Bates says, his children are mentioned as successors to their brother-in-law, who was Bates's wife's brother. The deed of gift was read first, and runs as follows. Joseph Coles of St Helena, for the natural affection and brotherly love he bore his well beloved brothers and sisters William Coles, John Coles, Mary Coles, Eleanor Coles and Elizabeth Coles, all of the same island, and for other good reasons specially moving him, freely and absolutely gave and granted to William, John, Mary, Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, or to the survivors or survivor of them, after the death of his brother-in-law Freelight Coles of the island, widow [...] and Angular, that piece or parcel of gumwood land containing 10 acres with the dwelling houses standing on it, together with 18 acres of cabbage tree land, and 2 acres more lying within the pasture lands of James Greentree, containing in the whole 30 acres lying in different parcels. Interpretations Four casks of damaged powder sent to England is the practical answer to a problem this record has followed for years. John French petitioned on 25 September 1733 that the magazine stood behind a wall two or three feet thick with dry thatch adjoining, and Governor Pyke measured both buildings on 2 October, finding Governor Smith's magazine lay directly under a water course and putting the loss at some 120 barrels from first to last, about eighty quite spoiled. Fifty barrels had already gone home that year. Returning spoiled powder rather than dumping it lets the Company decide whether it can be reworked, and it removes a fire hazard from a fort where the new magazine remains unbuilt. Match at 24 lb is double the 12 lb entered in each of the preceding three months, and powder at 72 lb is the heaviest since May 1733. Both figures follow from the traffic: an alarm and arrival on 14 January, a departure on the 25th and a double alarm on the 28th for three ships that passed without stopping. The pattern of alarm answered immediately by salute recurs throughout this year and reflects a flagstaff that could not identify a sail until she closed the road, so every approaching vessel cost powder whether she anchored or not. A deed of gift transfers property without payment, and this one was executed in 1721 by a man now at Bencoolen, giving land to five named siblings jointly with the whole passing to whichever of them survived the others. Survivorship is what makes the instrument valuable and what makes it dangerous: William Coles claims the entire 30 acres on the footing that he outlived the rest, while Savage claims half in his wife's right and Bates claims a share for his children through a marriage connection. Three incompatible readings of one document, drawn thirteen years earlier by a man who has since left the island, is exactly the difficulty the council faced with the Hodgkinson estate at the court of judicature of 24 February 1730. Joseph Bates appearing as a claimant is worth noting given his standing before this council. He was found on 3 May 1731 to have advanced a forged claim to the whole Mesa estate, his own pocket book recording that he destroyed Henry Johnson's will in 1726 by tearing off the name and seals, and on 2 October 1733 he admitted spending a great part of that estate's money and acknowledged £246 19s 2.5d owing. He offered seven acres of freehold he valued at £600 0s 0d towards the debt. A man in that position asserting a claim to a further parcel of land will be read against his own record.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Attorneys acting for a principal at Bencoolen arriving aboard the <i>Harrington</i> shows how such claims travelled. Land on St Helena was frequently held by people who had left for the Company's other settlements, and the only way to press a title was to send authority out with a ship's officer. The same mechanism appears in the Tellicherry estate, where Francis Wrangham and John Bagley act for Thomas Moynston, and in Sarah Johnson's counter-petition of 30 October 1733 against them.
266	264	& parts of the said Island with all & every the Rights & Liberties thereunto belonging of what nature kind or quality soever TO HAVE & TO HOLD all & Singular the whole Thirty Acres of Land together with all & Singular the Appurtenances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining after my said Mother in Laws Decease as aforesaid unto the said William John Mary Elianor & Elizabeth Coles or either of them their Heirs Exrs & Admrs Assigns to his heirs or their or either of their own proper Uses & Behoofs forever freely & quietly without any Matter or Challenge Claim or Demand of me the said Joseph Coles or my heirs Exrs Admrs or Assigns or any other Person or Persons whatsoever by my meanes Consent or Procurement & without any Money or other thing thereof to be yielded paid or done unto me the said Joseph Coles my heirs Exrs Admrs or Assigns. But nevertheless the whole Thirty Acres of Land with the Dwelling House & Appurtenances being that Part of my deceased Father John Coles his real Estate in Land which falls to his Widow Bridget Coles according to the Laws & known Customs of this Island & I do hereby Impower & Authorize the said Bridget Coles at the time of her making a Will immediately before her decease to Give and bequeath the said Thirty Acres of Land & House to such of my beforesaid Brothers & Sisters & in such Proportion as she shall by her last Will & Testament bequeath the same But in case the said Bridget Coles should die without Will then to be divided & equally divided among them & And in case they should all die before such Gift & Bequest & my said Mother Bridget Coles should Marry & have a Child or Children then both such Case & no other I give the said Thirty Acres of Land with the House & all other the Appurtenances unto the heirs of her body but in case of the Death of all my beforesaid Brothers & Sisters as aforesaid & in default of such Lawfull heirs then the said Land & Premisses to Return to me the said Joseph	The gift covered parts of the island with every right and liberty belonging to them, of whatever kind or quality. William, John, Mary, Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, or any one of them, together with their heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, were to hold the whole 30 acres with all its appurtenances after the death of his mother-in-law, to their own use and benefit for ever, freely and quietly, without any claim or demand from Joseph Coles, his heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, or from any other person acting through him, with his agreement or by his procurement, and without any money or other consideration being paid to him or to them. The whole 30 acres, with the dwelling house and appurtenances, was the real estate of his late father John Coles in Sandy Bay, which passed to his widow Bridget Coles under the laws and known customs of the island. Joseph Coles empowered and authorised Bridget Coles, at the time of making her will immediately before her death, to give and bequeath the 30 acres and the house among the brothers and sisters named above, in whatever proportion she thought fit. Should she die without leaving a will, the land was to be divided equally among them. Should Bridget Coles marry and have a child or children after the gift was made, the 30 acres, the house and all other appurtenances were to go instead to the heirs of her body. Should all the named brothers and sisters die, or should the gift fail for want of a lawful heir, the land and premises were to return to Joseph Coles or his heirs. Bridget Coles was further empowered, should she at any time leave the island, to sell and dispose of the land and premises as she thought fit, for the sole use and advantage of the brothers and sisters named or the survivors of them. Joseph Coles undertook to defend the whole 30 acres, the dwelling house and every appurtenance, after his mother's death, to William, John, Mary, Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles or the lawful heirs of her body, their heirs, executors, administrators or assigns, against all people whatsoever. He set his hand and seal to it on 2 November 1721. Signed Joseph Coles, and signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Jonathan Doveton and William Beale. The last will of Bridget Bates, deceased, was then read next, and runs as follows. Bridget Bates of St Helena, being very sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect memory, gave thanks to Almighty God for the same, on 2 January 1734. Interpretations The deed sets out a chain of substitutions running three deep, and every claimant at the consultation of 12 February 1734 is arguing from a different link. The primary gift is to five named siblings jointly with survivorship, which supports William Coles's claim to the whole through his attorneys. The provision that any child born to Bridget Coles after the deed takes instead supports Savage's claim in his wife's right. The final reverter to Joseph Coles's own heirs, should the named siblings all die out, is what Joseph Bates is reaching for on behalf of his children. A

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Coles or my heirs &c. Yet if the said Bridget Coles should at any time hereafter go off this Island I do hereby Impower her to Sell & Alienate the said Land & Premises as she shall think fit for the only Use & Advantage of my said herein named Brothers & Sisters or the Survivours of them And I the said Joseph Coles all & Singular the aforesaid Thirty Acres of Land Dwelling House & all other the Appurtenances after my said Mothers decease to the said William John Mary Elianor & Elizabeth Coles or to the lawful heirs of her body their or either of their heirs Executors Admrns or Assigns & to their Uses against all People do Warrant & forever will defend by these Presents In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seale this 2d day of Novr Ao Domi 1721. Joseph Coles Signed Sealed & Delivered in the Presence of Jona Doveton Wm Neale The last Will of Mrs Bridget Bates decd was then next read & is as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen this 2d day of January in the Year of our Lord God 1723½ I Bridget Bates of the Island St Helena being very Sick & weak in body but of Sound & perfect Memory thanks be given unto Almighty God for the same	single instrument drafted to cover every foreseeable failure has produced three incompatible readings, which is the ordinary consequence of drafting for contingencies rather than for certainty. Bridget Coles held the land as widow under what the deed calls the known customs of the island, a phrase this record has met before. The court of the peace of 26 July 1727 read the consultation of 3 July 1723 on the laws limiting descent when splitting the Swallow property, and the court of judicature of 24 February 1730 allowed Mary Powell half the real estate for life and a third of the personal estate for ever. Joseph Coles was therefore giving away land he did not presently hold, since his mother's life interest stood in the way, and the whole deed operates only from her death. Empowering the widow to distribute among her children in whatever proportion she chose, while directing equal division if she died intestate, gives her a power of appointment over an estate she does not own. That is precisely the arrangement the Greentree executors relied on at the general sessions of 2 July 1733, where the will gave the widow the whole during widowhood and left the children's shares to be settled at the executors' discretion as each came of age. Daniel Griffith's complaint showed what such discretion produces: a beneficiary who cannot compel anything until the holder chooses to act. Bridget Bates now appears as the maker of a will dated a month before this consultation, and the surname places her in Joseph Bates's household. That connection explains his standing to claim: his wife was sister to the Coles brothers, so his children fall within the class the deed contemplates. The council will have to read the two instruments together, since the deed of 1721 governs what Bridget could dispose of and her will of 2 January 1734 records what she actually attempted.
267	265	calling to mind the Mortality of my body & knowing that it is appointed for all Men once to die do make constitute & ordain this my last Will & Testament in the manner & form following that is to say First & principally I recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God that gave it hoping through the Merit Death & Passion of my blessed Saviour Jesus Christ to receive full & free Pardon of all my Sins And my body I commit to the Earth to be decently Interred at the Discretion of my Executors hereafter mentioned & as touching all such worldly Goods & Effects with which it hath pleased Almighty God to give & bestow upon me as also the Provision that my dearly beloved Husband Joseph Bates hath in case of his Death before his Arival at St Helena made and Provided for me I give devise & dispose of the same in the manner & form following Imprimis I give & bequeath unto my well beloved Son Edward Bates all my part of Real Estate given & bequeathed unto me by Will as aforesaid but in case of the Death of him the said Edward Bates	Mindful that all men must die, Bridget Bates made her last will and testament in the following form. She committed her soul into the hands of Almighty God who gave it, hoping through the merits and death of Jesus Christ to receive full and free pardon for her sins, and directed that her body be decently buried at the discretion of her executors. As to her worldly goods and effects, and to the provision her dearly beloved husband Joseph Bates had made for her in case of his death before reaching St Helena, she disposed of them as follows. She gave and bequeathed to her well beloved son Edward Bates the whole of her share of the real estate given and bequeathed to her by the will named above. Should Edward Bates die before coming of age or marrying, the property was to be divided equally among the survivors of her three beloved children Meade Joseph, Sarah and Margaret Bates. She gave and bequeathed to her beloved son Meade Joseph Bates £15 0s 0d to buy him a black boy. She gave to her beloved son-in-law John Bates £5 0s 0d, to be paid at the discretion of her executors. She gave and bequeathed to her well beloved nephew Henry Bates £5 0s 0d, to be paid by her executors within a reasonable time after her death. She gave to her beloved friend Mary Stroud one milk cow and calf, to be delivered to her immediately after her death. She directed that the residue of her share of the personal estate be divided equally among her three beloved children Meade Joseph, Sarah and Margaret Bates. Should any of them die before reaching full

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		before he attains to Age or Endries then to Order that the aforesaid Premises be equally divided among the Survivours of my beloved three Children vizt Ene de Joseph Sarah & Margaret Bates Item I give & bequeath unto my beloved Son Ene de Joseph Bates the Sum of Fifteen Pounds to buy him a Black Boy Item I give also unto my beloved Son in Law John Bates the Sum of Five Pounds to be paid him at the Discretion of my Executors Item To my well beloved Nephew Henry Bates I give & bequeath the Sum of Five Pounds & that the same be paid him by my Executors within a convenient time after my decease Item I give unto my beloved Friend Mary Stroue one Milch Cow & Calf & that the same be immediatly delivered to her after my decease Item I Will Ordain Order & Appoint that the Residue of my part of Personal Estate be equally divided among my beloved three Children vizt Ene de Joseph Sarah & Margaret Bates & in case of the Death of either one or more of them before it or they arrive or attains to full Age or Marriage then his Such Case & Order that the Deceased Childs or Childrens part or parts be equally divided among the Survivours of aforesaid Children Item I give & bequeath unto my beloved Daughters Elianor & Elizabeth Coles Thirty Acres of Free Land with the Messuage & all other Rights Properties & Appurtenances thereunto belonging that I now hold & Enjoy by Virtue of a Deed of Free Gift bearing date the 2d day of Novr 1721 given & granted me by Joseph Coles as may by the said Deed of Gift more fully & at large appear to be equally divided between them they paying or causing to be paid unto my well beloved Son William Coles & beloved Daughter Jane Mary Savage to them & each of them the Sum of Twenty five Pounds Lastly I nominate Constitute & Appoint my well beloved Friends Jonathan Doveton & Fran Wangham both of the said Island Freeholders to be my Sole & Lawfull Executors of this my last Will & Testament Revoking & Annuling all other & other Wills by me at any time heretofore made allowing this & no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seale the day & year above written Signed Sealed Published & Pronounced & declared in the Presence of William Norrell Orlando Sagary junr Daniel Griffith The Mark Bridget Bates	age or marrying, that child's share was to be divided equally among the surviving children. She gave and bequeathed to her beloved daughters Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles 30 acres of freehold land with the messuage and all other rights, properties and appurtenances belonging to it, which she then held and enjoyed under a deed of gift dated 2 November 1721, given and granted to her by Joseph Coles, as more fully appears in the deed. The land was to be divided equally between them, and they were to pay £70 0s 0d to her well beloved son William Coles and her beloved daughter Mary Savage, £35 0s 0d apiece. She named and appointed her well beloved friends Jonathan Doveton and John Wrangham, both of the island, sole executors of the will, revoking all earlier wills. She set her hand and seal to it on the day and year written above, signing with her mark. Signed, sealed, published and pronounced in the presence of William Meade, Orlando Bagley junior and Daniel Griffith. Interpretations The will attempts to resolve the very dispute now before the council, and the mechanism is a charge on the land rather than a division of it. Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles take the 30 acres between them and must pay £70 0s 0d out, £35 0s 0d each to William Coles and Mary Savage. That converts two claimants from co-owners into creditors, which keeps the holding intact while giving them value. The Greentree executors had argued at the general sessions of 2 July 1733 that dividing stock and pasture would destroy an estate's worth, and this arrangement answers the same problem before it arises. Bridget Bates was exercising exactly the power Joseph Coles gave her in 1721. His deed authorised her to distribute the 30 acres among the named brothers and sisters in whatever proportion she thought fit, with equal division only if she died intestate. She did make a will, so her appointment governs, and it explains why William Coles's attorneys claiming the whole and Savage claiming a half are both arguing against the instrument that gives them anything at all. Joseph Bates's claim for his children rests on the reverter clause, which operates only if the named siblings fail entirely. Fifteen pounds to buy a boy is the plainest statement in this record of what a child cost. The Company sold a boy of a little over seven to Captain Goodwin at his book value of £6 0s 0d on 20 August 1728, and John Knipe senior's inventory of 17 September 1733 valued three slaves together at £46 0s 0d. A legacy of that kind provides a son with labour rather than money, which was the more useful asset on an island where coin was scarce and where a plantation could not be worked without hands. Daniel Griffith witnessing the will places him in the Bates circle at a moment when his own affairs stood before the council. He had complained at the general sessions of 2 July 1733 that the Greentree executors withheld his wife's portion, and Richard Beale alleged in the same court that Griffith had sat of council while acting as counsel for Gabriel Powell in 1711, taking a third of the land recovered. His presence here as a witness rather than a party is unremarkable in itself, though the island's legal business plainly ran through a small number of hands.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
268	266	After this the 20th Chapter of the Act of Parliament of the 1st Year of Henry the Seventh & the Act for Settling Intestates Estates were read & the Governour then declared his Opinion to be that by Virtue of the said Deed of Gift & Will of Mrs Bates the Estate in Contest was Settled on Mrs Elianor & Elizabeth Coles & they both dying Intestate in Land Reverted & doth belong to their elder Brother Joseph Coles but as to the Personal Estate it belongs jointly to all the Brothers & Sisters & added that tho this was his Opinion if it were not Satisfactory to all of them they if they desired it should have a Court called & have a Tryale by a Jury but they seemed to be Satisfied all of them except Mr Alexander who said he thought that as Joseph Coles had given the Thirty Acres of Land away that he could never Inherit that Land again but he was told by the Governour that Joseph Coles by what here appeared did not controvert or gainsay any part of the Deed of Gift but now he had a new Right not only as being eldest Son of John Coles their Father but that he was heir at Law to the Real Estate of his two Sisters Elianor & Elizabeth Coles who both died here Intestate, & farther added that he thought the Pen & Inkman who drew the Deed of Gift must have a knowledge that Joseph Coles was wheedled into it & that the Deed of Gift was not honestly made where the true Consideration & Groundwork of the Deed of Gift was alledged to be for the brotherly Love & Affection he had for his Fathers Children yet gave his Mother in Law an Unlimited Power to Settle it how & on whom she pleased or to Sell it, & as she had by Virtue of her Will given the Thirty Acres of Land to two of her Daughters & charged the same Land with Legacies to two other of her own Children & gave nothing to Joseph Coles nor to Margaret his Sister, both Children of the said John Coles by the first Winter which Shewed an unjust Partiality to her Husbands former Children & is the more remarkable and extraordinary because the said John Coles had not any Fortune or Portion with his Second Wife Bridget who by her Will gave every part of the Estate away from the said Joseph and Margaret his Children by the first Wife but nevertheless could not thereby Disinherit Joseph Coles from being heir	The council then read the twentieth chapter of the act of parliament of the eleventh year of Henry the Seventh, together with the act for settling intestates' estates. Governor Pyke gave his opinion that under the deed of gift and Bridget Bates's will the disputed estate vested in Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles. Both having died without leaving wills, the land reverted to and belonged to their elder brother Joseph Coles, while the personal estate belonged jointly to all the brothers and sisters. He added that this was only his opinion, and that if it did not satisfy every party they might have a court called and a trial by jury if they wished. All appeared content except John Alexander, who said that Joseph Coles, having given the 30 acres away, could never inherit that land again. The Governor answered that nothing appearing here showed Joseph Coles contradicting or disputing any part of the deed of gift. He now held a fresh right, not merely as eldest son of their father John Coles, but as heir at law to the real estate of his two sisters Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, both of whom had died on the island without wills. The Governor added that whoever drew the deed of gift must have known Joseph Coles was tricked into it, and that the deed was not honestly made. Brotherly love and affection for his father's children were put forward as the true reason and foundation of the gift, yet it handed his mother-in-law an unlimited power to settle the land on whomever she pleased or to sell it. Acting under that power she gave the 30 acres by her will to two of her own daughters and charged the same land with legacies to two more of her own children, giving nothing at all to Joseph Coles or to his sister Margaret, both children of John Coles by his first wife. That showed an unjust partiality towards her husband's earlier children, and was the more striking because John Coles had received no fortune or portion with his second wife Bridget, who by her will gave every part of the estate away from Joseph and Margaret, his children by the first wife. She could not by that means bar Joseph Coles from inheriting as heir to his two intestate sisters in the land now in dispute. Interpretations The statute of 11 Henry VII chapter 20 restrained a widow holding land in dower or jointure from her husband's inheritance from alienating it away from his heirs, voiding any such disposal and letting the heir enter. Reading it beside the act for settling intestates' estates gives the Governor both halves of his reasoning: the first casts doubt on Bridget Bates's power to divert her husband's land to her own children, and the second governs how Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles's shares descend now that both have died without wills. Land passes to the heir at law while personal estate is distributed among the next of kin, which is precisely the split the opinion states. Governor Pyke's reading turns on a distinction between two different rights in the same man. Joseph Coles gave the land away in 1721 and cannot recover it as donor, which is John Alexander's objection and a sound one. What he takes now is a wholly new title arising from his sisters' deaths, since a man who parts with property may still inherit it afterwards from someone else. Alexander's dissent is recorded rather than suppressed, and it is the only instance in this run of a councillor openly disagreeing with the Governor on a point of law. Offering a jury trial while giving an opinion is the council's standard practice where its own view might not satisfy every claimant. Samuel Jephry took exactly that course on 6 February 1733, refusing the Governor's order for surrender and demanding a jury, and his recognisance was taken. The council

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		to his two Intestate Sisters for the Land now in Controversy	decided the Elizabeth Taylor claim itself without a jury on 16 December 1729, and put the Hodgkinson estate before one on 24 February 1730. Which route is taken depends on whether the parties accept the ruling, so consent is doing the work that jurisdiction would do elsewhere. The finding that Joseph Coles was tricked into the deed rests on an internal contradiction the Governor identifies precisely. A gift said to be founded on brotherly love for his father's children handed an unlimited power of appointment to a woman with children of her own by an earlier marriage, and she exercised it entirely in their favour. Joseph Bates stands behind that will as Bridget's husband, and he was found on 3 May 1731 to have advanced a forged claim to the whole Mesa estate, his own pocket book recording that he destroyed Henry Johnson's will in 1726. The Governor stops short of naming him, but the observation about whoever drew the deed sits against a man whose record on such instruments was already before the council.
269	267	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 12 Feby 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Capt Jenkins Commr of the Harrington John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mr John Savage appeared in Right of Mary his Wife to claim her part which he alledges is a half part of Thirty Acres of Land lately belonging to John Coles deceased John Lewis Berry Gent & Passenger on the Harrington & Thos Faulk 3d Mate of the said Ship appeared as Attorneys for Mr Wm Coales one of the Sons of the deceased John Coles & they claimed the whole Thirty Acres as Wm Coles Right Joseph Bates appeared & claimed on behalf of his Children whom he had by the said John Coles Widow a Share of the said Thirty Acres such as the Law allowed them All these grounded their Claims by Virtue of a Deed of Gift made formerly by Joseph Coles now at Bencoolen who was eldest Son to the said deceased John Coles who died here Intestate & the said Deed of Gift was read twice over & is as follows & is the said Deed &c Then the Will therein mentioned that was made by Bridget Bates the Widow of the said John Coles was produced & read & is as follows vizt See the said Will folio 265 The Governour & Council were then desired by all the Parties to give their Opinion to whom the Thirty Acres of Land did belong or how the same was to be divided Then an Act of Parliament concerning certain Alienations made by the Wife of the Lands of her deceased Husbands to be void, was read Upon which the Governour & Council were of Opinion that Bates Children had no Right to the Land of John Coles deceased although their Mother had been Mr Coles Wife, but that it belonged	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 February 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with Captain Jenkins, commander of the <i>Harrington</i>, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. John Savage appeared in right of his wife Mary to claim her share, which he said was half of 30 acres of land lately belonging to John Coles, deceased. John Lewis Deney, gentleman and passenger aboard the <i>Harrington</i>, and Thomas Faulk, third mate of the same ship, appeared as attorneys for William Coles, one of the sons of the deceased John Coles, and claimed the whole 30 acres in his right. Joseph Bates appeared and claimed a share of the 30 acres on behalf of the children he had by the widow of John Coles, in whatever proportion the law allowed them. Every claim rested on a deed of gift made earlier by Joseph Coles, now at Bencoolen, the eldest son of the deceased John Coles, who died on the island without a will. The deed was read twice, and stood as already recorded. The will of Bridget Bates, widow of John Coles, mentioned in the deed, was produced and read, and stands as already recorded. Every party then asked the Governor and council to give an opinion on who owned the 30 acres and how the land should be divided. The act of parliament voiding certain alterations made by a wife to the lands of her deceased husband was read. On that footing the Governor and council held that Bates's children had no right to John Coles's land, although their mother had been his wife, and that the land belonged to some of Coles's own children. The act for settling intestates' estates was read next. After full consideration, and with Captain Jenkins present, the council gave its opinion. Joseph Coles had been induced to make the deed of gift, which the Governor thought was not done entirely lawfully by those who prevailed on him, nor by the man who wrote it, since he must have known something of how Coles was drawn into it. The stated reason for the grant was the brotherly love and affection he bore his brothers and sisters, yet it gave his mother-in-law power to sell the land or to dispose of it at her death by will among any of his father's children in whatever shares she chose. She made such a will before her death, but did so with marked unfairness. She gave the 30 acres to two of her own daughters living in the house with her, and to her son William Coles and her daughter Mary Coles, now the wife of Savage, she gave a legacy

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		to some of John Coles's Children The Act of Parliament for Setling Intestates Estates was next read & after a full Consideration thereof the Governour Capt Jenkins & all the Councill save one were of Opinion that since Joseph Coles had been Induced to make such a Deed of Gift which the Governour said he thought was not directly nor Legally done by those who wheedled Joseph Coles into it nor by him that wrote it because he must have some knowledge how Joseph Coles was wheedled into it & because it is in the said Deed of Gift alleged as the Consideration of Granting the same that he did it for the brotherly Love & Affection he bore to all his Brothers & Sisters & yet gives his Mother in Law Power to Sell the Land or to give it at her Death by her Will to any of his Fathers Children in such Share or manner as she should & she before her Death did make such a Will but did it with a very unjust Partiality for she gave the said Thirty Acres of Land to two of her own Daughters that lived in the house with her, & to her Son William Coles & to her Daughter Mary Coles now the Wife of Mr Savage each of them a Legacy as she charged as a Debt upon the said Estate being Children born of her body, but to Joseph Coles her husbands eldest Son from whose kindness she had the Estate nor to Margaret Coale's now the Widow Green who were her Husbands Children by a former Wife she gave no Legacy nor took any Notice of them	apiece charged as a debt on the estate, they being children of her own body. To Joseph Coles, her husband's eldest son, from whose kindness she held the estate, and to Margaret Coles, now a widow, who were her husband's children by an earlier wife, she gave no legacy and took no notice of them at all. Interpretations Captain Jenkins of the <i>Harrington</i> sits with the council for this hearing and is recorded among those present, which is unusual and deliberate. Ships' commanders were brought in when the council wanted independent weight behind a finding, as three commanders were present on 20 May 1731 when it held Chaplain White answerable for Anne Lane's passage. Here the two attorneys for William Coles are themselves a passenger and the third mate of Jenkins's own ship, so his presence lends the proceeding an authority that would otherwise be open to the charge that the council had heard only one side properly represented. The statute voiding a widow's alterations to her late husband's lands does the decisive work against Joseph Bates. His children were born to Bridget by her second marriage and have no blood connection to John Coles, so they cannot take his land whatever the deed of gift appeared to allow. That disposes of the claim quickly, and it explains why the council read this act first and the intestacy act second: the first eliminates a claimant, the second determines how the remainder descends among those who survive the test. Charging legacies on land rather than dividing it is a mechanism this record has met before, and here it becomes evidence of intent. William Coles and Mary Savage were given money charged as a debt on the estate while Eleanor and Elizabeth took the land itself, so the two who received cash have a claim on the two who received acres. Bridget's own children by both marriages were all provided for in one form or another; only John Coles's children by his first wife were passed over entirely, and it is that pattern rather than any single clause that the council identifies as unjust. Naming the drafter of the deed as complicit is a serious observation for a council to enter on its record. The Governor stops short of a formal finding, but the reasoning is that no competent scrivener could have written an instrument reciting brotherly love while conferring an unlimited power of appointment on a stepmother with children of her own. Joseph Bates stands directly behind that will as Bridget's widower, and he was found on 3 May 1731 to have advanced a forged claim to the whole Mesa estate, with his own pocket book recording that he destroyed Henry Johnson's will in 1726 by tearing off the name and seals.
270	268	though their Father bought the Estate what did not come by Inheritance & he took this last Wife in low Circumstances & had nothing with her & at the time he did Marry her he had Seven Children living by his first Winter. Upon the whole the Governour & Council except one are of Opinion that this Land now does of Right belong to the heir at Law of Mrs Elianor & Elizabeth Coles who are both of them dead Intestate & that Joseph Coles now Inhabitant of Bencoolen being their elder Brother is become their heir at Law & so the	The unfairness stood out the more because the father had bought the estate rather than inherited it, and had taken his second wife in poor circumstances with nothing of her own. At the time of that marriage he already had seven children living by his first wife. Taking everything together, the Governor and council held, with one dissent, that the land now belonged by right to the heir at law of Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, both of whom had died without wills. Joseph Coles, now living at Bencoolen, was their elder brother and had become their heir at law, so the 30 acres returned to him and his children. The personal estate of Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles was to be divided equally among all the brothers and sisters, or among such children as represented them.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Estate of Thirty Acres of Land belongs again to him & his Children, but the personal Estate of the said Elianor & Elizabeth Coles ought to be equally divided between all the Brothers & Sisters jointly or to such Children as are their Representatives The Governour told them that this was his Opinion but if they desired to have a Tryal he would call a Court to determine it Mr John Alexander one of the Council said he thought that as Joseph Coles had given the Thirty Acres of Land away that he could never Inherit the same Land again to which it was replied by the Governour that Joseph Coles by what appeared here did not controvert or gainsay any part of the Deed of Gift notwithstanding that dishonest Partiality Shewed by his Mother in Law by her last Will, & perhaps Jos: Coles himself does not know that by his two Sisters dying Intestate the Estate reverts to him again as their heir at Law but whether he knows it or not his Right is still the same & he thinks the Pen & Inkman who drew the Deed of Gift did not do fair by Joseph Coles to write a Deed for brotherly Affection & then leave all to the disposal of a Mother in Law to have Power to disinherit all his Father Coles Children that were not born of her body & to have Power to Sell the Land & to do what she would with it However it may be Supposed this Woman thought her own Daughters might have heirs enow & did not imagine that Providence should disappoint her Project by causing it to revert to the right heir who is now very poor & in great want of it & who at this time has severall Children for his heirs. Isaac Pyke Robt Jenkins	The Governor told the parties this was his opinion, but that if they wanted a trial he would call a court to determine the matter. John Alexander, one of the council, said he thought Joseph Coles, having given the 30 acres away, could never inherit the same land again. The Governor answered that nothing appearing here showed Coles disputing any part of the deed of gift, despite the dishonest partiality his mother-in-law had shown in her will. Coles himself perhaps did not know that his two sisters dying without wills had returned the estate to him as their heir at law, but whether he knew it or not his right stood unchanged. The Governor also thought the man who drew the deed of gift had not dealt fairly with Coles, writing a deed founded on brotherly affection and then leaving everything to the disposal of a mother-in-law, with power to disinherit all John Coles's children not born of her own body and power to sell the land and do as she pleased with it. It may be that the woman supposed her own daughters would have heirs enough, and never imagined that their childless deaths would defeat her design by returning the land to the rightful heir, a man now very poor and in great need of it, who at this time has several children to succeed him. Signed Isaac Pyke and Robert Jenkins. Interpretations The council's opinion turns on a point of timing that the drafter of the deed cannot have foreseen. Bridget Bates gave the land to Eleanor and Elizabeth on the assumption that daughters living in her house would marry and produce heirs, so the estate would stay in her own line. Both died childless and without wills, at which moment the land ceased to pass under her will at all and descended instead by the ordinary rules of intestacy to their nearest heir. That heir is the eldest surviving brother of the whole blood, Joseph Coles, the very man whose deed had set the arrangement in motion. Alexander's dissent is recorded twice in successive consultations, and the council preserves both his objection and the Governor's answer rather than entering a single agreed opinion. Governor Pyke's reply rests on the distinction between disputing a deed and taking under a later title: a donor who parts with land is barred from recovering it as donor, but nothing prevents him inheriting the same acres afterwards from a third party. Coles's ignorance of his own position is expressly held to make no difference, since a right of inheritance vests by operation of law and does not depend on the heir knowing of it. Robert Jenkins signing the opinion alongside the Governor gives the finding an independent endorsement it would otherwise lack. His own passenger and third mate acted as attorneys for William Coles, and the ruling goes against their principal, so a commander with every reason to favour that side has put his name to the contrary result. Sending the paper home with such a signature answers in advance any suggestion that the council favoured the parties resident on the island over the absent claimant. The closing observation about Joseph Coles being poor and burdened with children serves a purpose beyond sentiment. A determination reached without a jury depends on the parties accepting it, and the council has just set aside a will in favour of an absent man at Bencoolen. Noting that the outcome relieves genuine need, rather than enriching someone already comfortable, is the kind of remark that makes an unpopular ruling easier to enforce, and it echoes the reasoning applied when Daniel Griffith's surrender

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			was accepted on 30 September 1729 after Goodwin and Crisp reported him extremely poor.
271	269	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 19th Feby 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Petition of Mathew Mudge Kinsman of Joseph Coles at Bencoolen was this day presented & read & is as follows vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Mathw Mudge Sheweth That Your Petr is related to the Family of Joseph Coles & Margaret Gunn his Sister both of them now at Bencoolen the first Wife of John Coles being Your Petrs Aunt who with much Labour & Industry lived together on some Sort Land called Coles Gun at present belonging to the Honble Company which was Sold to purchase an other Farm in Sandy Bay which was much improved afterwards by John Coles & his first Wife by whom he had Six or Seven Children & Joseph & Margaret Coles since Married and become the Widow Gunn are two of them & are both living but Your Petitioners Aunt the first Wife of the said John Coles dyeing the said John Coles Married again to one Bridget Bates & who had no Fortune being the Daughter of Mary whom the Parish was obliged to Support & Assist towards her Maintainance & by her the said John Coles left also Several Children and died Intestate in the year 1721 by which the then Governour & Council of this Place declared Joseph Coles his eldest Son the heir at Law but allowed the Widow Coles half the Land during her Life in the same manner as if she had Assisted in getting it & she had also a third part of all the personall Estate the Management of the whole upon which the Widow Coles proceeded to be very fond of Joseph Coles her husbands eldest Son, & played all her Arts to coax & wheedle Joseph Coles till she had prevailed with him to make a Deed of Gift of Thirty Acres of the best of his Fathers Land & an house which she then had as her Widows Right for the good as she then Bunyer pretended & alledged in the Deed of Gift & of all her Brothers & Sisters giving & allowing her a large Extravagant Power to Sell the said Land or to dispose of it by her Will to such or to whom she would & when she had got her Ends she prevailed with the said Joseph Coles to go to England & then he Married & then went to	At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 February 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Matthew Mudge, a kinsman of Joseph Coles at Bencoolen, presented the following petition, which absence had prevented being brought forward earlier. Mudge set out that he was related to the family of Joseph Coles and of Margaret Gunn, his sister, both now at Bencoolen. The first wife of John Coles was Mudge's great aunt, and she and her husband lived together with much labour and industry on the land called Coles Gunn, at present belonging to the Honourable Company, which was sold to purchase another farm in Sandy Bay. John Coles greatly improved that farm afterwards. By his first wife he had six or seven children, of whom Joseph and Margaret Coles, since married and now the widow Gunn, are two and both still living. After the death of Mudge's great aunt, the first wife, John Coles married Bridget, daughter of [...] Mary, who brought no fortune with her and whose maintenance the parish had been obliged to support and assist. By her John Coles left several more children, and he died without a will in 1721. The Governor and council of the island then declared Joseph Coles his eldest son and heir at law, but allowed the widow half the land for her life, exactly as if she had held it in dower, together with a third part of the whole personal estate. The widow was never fond of Joseph Coles, her husband's eldest son, and complained of him as sharp towards her, threatening him until he made a deed of gift of 30 acres of the best of his father's land and a house which she then held as her widow's right. She acted, so she pretended, for the good of all his brothers and sisters, yet the deed of gift gave her an extravagantly wide power to sell the land or dispose of it by will to any of them she chose. Once she had prevailed on Joseph Coles to make it, he went to England and then to Bencoolen, where he still lives with his wife and children. His brother-in-law John Bates quickly married the widow and had several children by her. She then made a will taking no notice at all of Joseph Coles, her great benefactor, nor of Margaret Gunn, both children of her husband by his first wife, but gave the 30 acres and the house to two of her own daughters, and charged the same land with legacies for two more of her children, showing a most unjust partiality against the rest of her husband's children. Since that time the two daughters Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, to whom their mother left the 30 acres and the house, have both died without wills, so that the land and house have fallen to their heir at law, Mudge's near kinsman Joseph Coles at Bencoolen, their elder brother. William Coles, one of the claimants, lives with the black wenches. Interpretations Mudge's petition adds the factual foundation the earlier hearings lacked. The council had ruled on the instruments alone, reading the deed of gift and the will against two acts of parliament; this account supplies the family history behind them, and in particular the detail that John Coles's first wife worked alongside him to build the estate that Bridget later disposed of. That matters because the council had already noted on 12 February 1734 that Coles bought the land rather than inheriting it and took his second wife with nothing. Mudge's version identifies

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Bencoolen where he with his Wife & Children now dwell & his said Mother in Law his Fathers Widow quickly Married her to one Jos Bates & had Severall Children by him & then died & made a Will in which she took no notice of Joseph Coles her great Benefactor nor of Margaret Gunn they being both her former husbands Coles Children by his first Wife but gave the Thirty Acres of Land & house to two of her own Daughters & to two other of her Children she charged the said Land with Legacies for them & shewing a most unjust Partiality to the rest of her husbands Coles Children That soon after this the two Daughters Elianor & Elizabeth Coles to whom their Mother had bequeathed the said Thirty Acres of Land & house hath died Intestate & thereby the said House & Land is fallen to their heir at Law Your Petitioners very near Kinsman Joseph Coles at Bencoolen their elder Brother besides William Coles one of the Claimants lives with the black Wenches	whose labour created the property being fought over. The widow's allowance of half the land for life and a third of the personal estate follows the island's settled practice, described here as if she held it in dower. The court of judicature of 24 February 1730 gave Mary Powell precisely that: half the real estate for life and a third of the personal estate for ever. Bridget therefore held a life interest in half the land by right, and the deed of gift extracted from Joseph Coles converted a limited interest into a power over the whole 30 acres, which is why the transaction attracted the Governor's suspicion in the first place. Threats extracted the deed, on Mudge's account, and that allegation goes to a legal point rather than merely a moral one. A gift obtained by pressure is voidable, and the Governor had already observed on 12 February 1734 that Coles was induced into it and that whoever drew it had not dealt fairly with him. Mudge names the pressure directly. That the donor then left for England and Bencoolen and never returned strengthens the picture of a man who gave up his inheritance to be rid of a quarrel in a household he was leaving. John Bates marrying the widow soon after Joseph Coles departed places the Bates family at the centre of the arrangement from the beginning. Bridget's will, made during that second marriage, gave the land to her daughters and legacies to two more of her children while ignoring her stepson entirely, and Joseph Bates appeared on 12 February 1734 claiming a share for the children he had by her. The council held those children had no right to John Coles's land under the statute voiding a widow's alterations, so the whole design has now failed at both ends: the will is displaced by the daughters' intestacy and the Bates claim is barred by the statute.
272	270	at Bencoolen & has Bastards by them & he now wants to Supplant his elder Brother Josephs lawfull Issue for the Sake of his own Spurious breed, Your Petr therefore prays that Your Worship & Council will not suffer the said Joseph Coles to be any more cheated out of his Right & just Inheritance as he hath been true already by his said faithless Mother in Law but that Your Petr or some other honest Person as a Safechain Amy may be admitted for & on the behalf of the said Jos Coles to be Administrator of the Estate Goods & Effects of the said Elianor & Elizabeth Coles his Intestate Sisters And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray Matthew Mudge St Helena 19th Febry 1733. After reading this Petition it was thought proper to send for Mr Savage that he might hear it & he being come the same was read to him & Mr Savage then said he had a Power of Attorney from Joseph Coles of Bencoolen & his Sister Margaret now the Widow of one Gunn late of that Place which he produced & is as follows vizt Know all Men by these Presents that We Jos Coles & Margaret Gunn have thereby do appoint constitute and Ordain John Savage Merchant at Fort Marlborough to be our true & lawfull Attorney for Us & for our use to receive	Mudge added that William Coles lived at Bencoolen with black women and had illegitimate children by them, and now sought to displace his elder brother Joseph's lawful issue for the sake of his own. Mudge asked the Governor and council not to allow Joseph Coles to be cheated further out of his right and just inheritance, as his faithless mother-in-law had already cheated him, and that either the petitioner or some other honest and disinterested person be admitted to administer the estate, goods and effects of Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles on Joseph Coles's behalf. The petition was dated at St Helena, 19 February 1734, and signed Matthew Mudge. After the petition was read the council thought it right to send for Savage so that he might hear it. He came and it was read to him. He was then asked whether he held a letter of attorney from Joseph Coles at Bencoolen and from his sister Margaret, now the widow of a man named Gunn, late of that place. Savage produced it, and it runs as follows. Joseph Coles and Margaret Gunn appointed John Savage, a merchant at Fort Marlborough, their true and lawful attorney, to act for them and in their place, to receive and recover any lawful debts due or demands belonging to them on the island of St Helena or elsewhere. Whatever Savage did in the matter was to stand as fully as if they had been personally present. They set their hands and seals to it on 9 November 1733, no stamped paper being available. Signed Joseph Coles and Margaret Gunn, and signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Robert Jenkins and Thomas Smith. Savage was then asked why, being empowered by a letter of attorney to act for his elder brother-in-law Joseph Coles and his widowed sister Margaret Gunn,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& recover any lawfull Debts Dues or Demands belonging to Us upon the Island St Helena or elsewhere & that he be able unto the John Savage shall & may Act by these presents as fully as well as if wee our selves were personally present In Witness whereof We have hereunto Sett our hands & Seales this 9th day of Novr 1733 Joseph Coles Margarett Gunn Signed Sealed & Delivered (there is Stampt Paper to be had in the Presence of Robt Jenkins Tho Smith Upon this Mr Savage was asked why, when he was thus Impowered by a Letter of Attorney to Act for his elder Brother Joseph Coles & his Widow Sister Margarett Gunn he should come here to make a Claim in the Right of his Wife only and forsclose his elder Brother & his other Sister which the Govr says he thinks is very dishonourable & unjust & that this Letter of Attorney which hath been thus long concealed ought not now to be allowed John Long having been yesterday Scandalously Drunk & abusive to his Neighbours we Ordred him to Sitt in the Stocks for the same.	he had come to make a claim in right of his own wife alone and to shut out his elder brother and his other sister. The Governor said he thought this a very dishonourable and unjust course, and that a letter of attorney concealed so long ought not now to be allowed. John Long had been scandalously drunk the previous day and abusive to his neighbours, and the council ordered him set in the stocks for it. Interpretations A letter of attorney authorises one person to act in another's name, and Savage's concealment of this one strikes at the whole basis of his appearance before the council. He claimed half the 30 acres in his wife's right at the hearings of 12 February 1734 while holding written authority from the two people whose claims his own would defeat. An attorney owes his principal good faith, so acting against Joseph Coles and Margaret Gunn while carrying their commission is not merely awkward but a breach of the trust the instrument creates. Robert Jenkins witnessed the letter of attorney at Bencoolen or aboard ship, and he sat with the council on 12 February 1734 and signed the opinion in Joseph Coles's favour. The document he had witnessed was in Savage's pocket throughout that hearing without being produced. The council obtained the right result without it, since the intestacy of Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles returned the land to their elder brother regardless, but the concealment explains why the Governor's language about a dishonourable course is sharper than his usual practice. Administration is the grant that allows a person to gather in and distribute the estate of someone who died without a will, and Mudge asks for a disinterested administrator rather than a share for himself. That request answers a real difficulty: every claimant on the island stands to gain from how the personal estate of Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles is divided, and the man entitled to the land is five thousand miles away at Bencoolen. Appointing a neutral hand is the only way the absent heir's interest can be protected, and it mirrors the council's practice with Benjamin Flagg's effects on 1 April 1729, when Goodwin and Crisp inventoried and sealed the goods rather than leaving them with the ship's master. The absence of stamped paper is recited in the letter of attorney exactly as it was in John Johnson's Tellicherry will and beneath the Slaughter affidavit certified by Governor Byfield on 15 April 1729. English law required certain instruments to be written on stamped revenue paper, and a document lacking it could be challenged as void, so the recital forestalls that objection where none could be obtained. John Long's punishment marks how far his standing has fallen. The council could obtain no conviction against him for a decade because the testimony of blacks was inadmissible, until George Knight's oath as a free man put him in prison on 1 May 1733 and he was publicly whipped on 18 September 1733 under the act of 43 Elizabeth chapter 7. He remains bound to sail for Bencoolen under the bonds Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward gave on 19 June 1733, the store ship not having come, and the stocks are now applied for drunkenness as a matter of course.
273	271	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 26th Febr'y 1733 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Goodwin Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 February 1734 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 22 Instant the Harrington Sailed for England & on the 24 a Single Ship past by to the Windward Nathan Sample was Summoned by Mrs Margaret Bagley for being concerned with Avery now in Prison for Writing a Letter to the Avery in the name of her Daughter Bagley pretending the said Bagley to be in Love with Avery & desiring to meet him & saying therein that she had sent him a Shirt with other false & indecent Expressions, & the said Sample owned Writing part of the said Letter but not the Signing it with Mrs Bagleys name & the Matter having occasioned much Uneasiness & many Disquiets in that Family he was committed to Prison with Avery The Petition of Hugh Williams the Gardiner was presented & read Setting forth that he was ignorant of the Culture of Gardens in a Climate differing very much from that of England & found thereby that he was intirely useless here & praying that as he had agreed with the Honble Company to have his Passage home from hence to England paid by them instead thereof his Passage from hence to Bencoolen might be paid to which place he desired to go by the next Storeship, & this Petition was granted accordingly Drake & Davis two of the Honble Comps Blacks were charged by old Antonio the Gardiner for breaking open his Lock & Stealing one Shilling in Money & his Weeks Allowance of Rice & they were both Ordered to be Whipt the Money being found upon Davis & the Rice upon Drake, & David being a notorious Offender & wearing an Iron Shackle upon one Leg for Stealing he was Ordered to have an Iron Shackle upon the other Leg Wee this day gave the Inhabitants Notice that they are to Assemble on Easter Monday next at the Church in the Valley to Elect Four Persons for Churchwardens & Six Persons for Overseers of the Highwayes for the Year ensuing out of which number the Govr & Councill will appoint Two for Churchwardens & Three for Overseers & in regard the Red Wood is now almost totally destroyed by the licentious Use that for many Years has been made thereof by numbers of people who Severally Tan Leather for themselves Notice was also given them that for the better Preservation & Increase of the said Sort of Wood they were chose one Person for a Tanner (except such who followed the Trade or Mystery of a Shoemaker or Currier) who hereafter will be Solely permitted to Dress or Tan Leather either for his own or the use of any of the Inhabitants of this Island	The <i>Harrington</i> sailed for England on the 22nd, and a single ship passed to windward on the 24th. Nathan Sample was summoned on the complaint of Margaret Bagley for being concerned with Avery, now in prison, in writing a letter in the name of her daughter. The letter pretended that Bagley's daughter was in love with Avery, wished to meet him and had sent him a shirt, along with other false and indecent expressions. Sample admitted writing part of the letter but not signing Bagley's name to it. The matter having caused great uneasiness and much disquiet in that family, he was committed to prison with Avery. Hugh Williams the gardener presented a petition, which was read. He set out that he knew nothing of gardening in a climate so different from that of England, and had found himself entirely useless on the island. He had agreed with the Honourable Company that they should pay his passage home to England, and asked instead that his passage from the island to Bencoolen be paid, since he wished to go there by the next store ship. The council granted the request. Drake and Davis, two of the Honourable Company's blacks, were charged by old Antonio the gardener with breaking open his lock and stealing a shilling in money and his week's allowance of rice. Both were ordered to be whipped, the money having been found on Davis and the rice on Drake. Drake, a notorious offender already wearing an iron shackle on one leg for stealing, was ordered to have a shackle put on the other leg as well. The council gave notice to the inhabitants to assemble at the church on Easter Monday next to choose four persons for churchwardens and six for overseers of the highways for the coming year, from whom the Governor and council would appoint two churchwardens and three overseers. The Great Wood is now almost entirely destroyed by the unrestrained use that numbers of people have made of it for many years, each tanning leather for himself. Notice was also given that, for the better preservation of what remains of the wood, they were to choose one person as tanner. Nobody else would be permitted to dress or tan leather, either for himself or for any of the inhabitants of the island, except those who followed the trade of shoemaker or currier. Interpretations Tanning consumes bark rather than timber, and that is what makes the Great Wood a casualty of the trade. Oak and other barks yield the tannins that convert hide into leather, and a tree stripped for bark dies where a tree felled for fuel at least yields its wood. The council has fought this campaign since the advertisement of 21 November 1727 confined fuel-gathering to a single gate at the Huts, through the surveys of 1727 and 1729 and the fine on lease renewal published on 16 March 1728, and it found on 7 November 1732 that rats were killing the trees from the treetops. Licensing a single tanner concentrates the damage where it can be watched, which is the same reasoning that had confined wood-carrying to one route through the great gate. Exempting shoemakers and curriers keeps a necessary trade alive while closing the general licence. A currier dresses and finishes leather after tanning, so the two crafts together supply every shoe and harness on the island, and 68 pairs of shoes cleared through the storekeeper in January 1734 alone. The council had already found on 27 March 1733 that the shoes in the <i>Harrington's</i> cargo were charged above the price of better ones from an earlier consignment, so island production mattered. What the order stops is every householder tanning his own hides from the common wood.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Shackling a second leg turns an existing penalty into a heavier one without any new form of punishment. Drake already wore an iron on one leg for theft, so the council doubled what he carried rather than devising something fresh, exactly as it had held back the loss of a finger joint from Walker on 8 January 1734 and threatened it for a further offence. Iron worn about the body served as a permanent public mark of a repeat offender, which is what the council meant on 30 October 1733 when it described the collar as the ancient custom of the place. Williams's petition records a genuine limitation of English expertise. St Helena's seasons run opposite to England's and its climate is mild rather than cold, so a gardener trained on an English calendar arrives knowing when to sow and finding the year inverted. The Company's Plantation House garden had been rebuilt by Governor Byfield in January 1728, walled against the wind and watered from Marcus Spring, and the fort garden carried its own establishment of slaves in every muster. Redirecting his passage to Bencoolen rather than England costs the Company less and keeps a servant within its settlements. Sample's admission that he wrote part of the letter but did not sign the name is a distinction with real weight. Forging a signature is the graver act, since it is what makes a document purport to come from the person named, and Avery had already admitted writing and circulating the letter before burning it. Committing Sample alongside him without waiting to establish who signed reflects how seriously the council treated an attack on a young woman's reputation, as it had when it imprisoned Sutton Marsh on 25 July 1733 for words reflecting on the jurors who presented his daughter.
274	272	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5th March 1733 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, Capt Goodwin, the Gunner, & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for February last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expence of the Table in February 1733 vizt 310 lb Beef 3 17 6 3 Sheep 3 9 Pigs 2 5 14 Turkeys 3 10 40 Fowles 3 6 Ducks 9 1 Goose 5 14 lb Butter 15 18 Gallons Sherry 6 19 6 24 Gallons Port 8 2 62 Gallons Arrack 12 8 3. -. - Flour 4	At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 March 1734 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each brought in accounts for February, which were checked, passed and entered as follows. Expense of the table in February 1734 310 lb beef, £3 17s 6d 3 sheep, £3 0s 0d 9 pigs, £2 5s 0d 41 turkeys, £3 10s 0d 40 fowls, £3 0s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 1 lb butter, £0 15s 0d 18 gallons sherry, £6 19s 6d 24 gallons port, £8 2s 0d 62 gallons arrack, £12 8s 0d 3 lb flour, £0 0s 0d 138 lb sugar, £1 11s 6d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 2 cwt bread, £0 1s 6d 1 lb pepper, £0 1s 0d Total, £50 8s 0d Gunner's stores expended in February 1734 9 February, an alarm: guns fired 4, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 9 February, arrival of the Harrington: guns fired 11, minion 1, falcons 10, powder 13 lb 10 February, salute to Mr Savage: guns fired 0, minion 0, falcons 0, powder 0 lb 22 February, the Harrington sailed: guns fired 13, minion 1, falcons 12, powder 15 lb 24 February, an alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 4, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb Expense of the guard: guns fired 0, minion 0, falcons 0, powder 12 lb

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		138 lb Sugar 1 11 6 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 4 Bread 1 6 1 lb Pepper 1 50 8 - Gunners Stores expended in February 1733 vizt Guns Fired, Minion, Falcons, Powder 9th An Allarm: Guns Fired 4, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 lb Harrington arrived: Guns Fired 11, Minion 1, Falcons 10, Powder 13 10th To Salute Mr Savage: Guns Fired 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 0 22d Harrington Sailed: Guns Fired 13, Minion 1, Falcons 12, Powder 15 24 An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns Fired 4, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 Expence of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 0 Musquett Balls for ditto 6 lb Spunge Staves 1 Rammer heads 1 Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 12 lb Guns Fired 39, Minion 10, Falcons 29, Powder 71 Jno French Acct	Musket balls for the same, 60 Sponge staves, 1 Rammer heads, 1 Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 12 lb Total: guns fired 39, minion 10, falcons 29, powder 71 lb Signed John French. Interpretations A private individual drawing a gun salute is worth pausing over. Ships and royal anniversaries account for nearly every discharge in these returns, yet Savage received one on 10 February, and he was then acting as attorney for absent principals at Bencoolen while claiming half the Coles land in his own wife's right. Supercargoes had been saluted separately on landing when the <i>Houghton</i> called in February 1733, so the compliment belonged to men of commercial standing rather than to office alone, and it was paid nine days before the council discovered he had concealed the letter of attorney from Joseph Coles and Margaret Gunn. Powder at 71 lb nearly matches January's 72 lb and reverses the deep trough of the preceding autumn, when November fell to 18 lb and September to 39 lb. Both busy months follow the same pattern: an alarm answered immediately by a salute as a vessel closed the road, then a second alarm for a ship that never anchored at all. Six of the thirteen guns for the <i>Harrington's</i> departure went beyond the usual nine, which reflects Captain Jenkins having sat with the council on 12 February and signed its opinion in the Coles dispute. Wine at 42 gallons across sherry and port outweighs the beef charge by more than three to one in value, and port has now recovered its lead after two months in which sherry ran ahead. That swing has more to do with what the cellar holds than with anybody's preference, since both wines reached the island only when a ship carried them, and the <i>Harrington</i> lay in the road for thirteen days. Poultry continues to bear the weight of the fort's table. Forty-one turkeys and forty fowls in a single month against a flock that closed January at 22 turkeys and 68 fowls means the birds were killed faster than the returns could carry them, and the annual account to 30 September 1733 had already recorded 502 fowls killed against an increase of 419. Beef at 310 lb sits between the 501 lb of November and the nothing at all recorded in January, which fits a month when a ship victualled and the herd was under strain from the summer drought that killed a cow and four calves in January.
275	273	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cowes, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Withers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 Febry: Bullocks 62, Cowes 159, Heifers 31, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 120, Bulls 8, Totall 511, Ewes 98, Withers 41, Lambs 32, Rams 4, Totall 175, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 30, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 81, Turkeys 22, Fowles 68, Ducks 41, Geese 6, Horses 3, Mares 7, Totall 10 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 3, Bulls 0, Totall 3, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 8, Rams 0, Totall 8, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 10, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 10, Turkeys 15, Fowles 50, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 1, Mares 0, Totall 1 Bullocks 62, Cowes 159, Heifers 31, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 123, Bulls 8, Totall 514, Ewes 98, Withers 41, Lambs 40, Rams 4, Totall 183, Sowes	Remaining 1 February 1734 62 bullocks, 159 cows, 31 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 120 calves, 8 bulls, total 511 neat cattle 98 ewes, 41 wethers, 32 lambs, 4 rams, total 175 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 30 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 81 hogs 22 turkeys, 68 fowls, 41 ducks, 6 geese 3 horses, 7 mares, total 10 horses Increased in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 3 calves, 0 bulls, total 3 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 8 lambs, 0 rams, total 8 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 10 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 10 hogs 15 turkeys, 50 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 1 horse, 0 mares, total 1 horse Standing after increase 62 bullocks, 159 cows, 31 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 123 calves, 8 bulls, total 514 neat cattle

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		18, Shoates 16, Pigs 40, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 91, Turkeys 37, Fowles 118, Ducks 41, Geese 6, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Sold to Ship Harrington: Bullocks 4, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 5, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 58, Cowes 159, Heifers 30, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 123, Bulls 8, Totall 509, Ewes 98, Withers 41, Lambs 40, Rams 4, Totall 183, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 40, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 91, Turkeys 37, Fowles 118, Ducks 41, Geese 6, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 2, Ewes 0, Withers 3, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 3, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 9, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 9, Turkeys 14, Fowles 40, Ducks 6, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Dead in ditto occasioned by the dry Weather: Bullocks 0, Cowes 2, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 2, Bulls 0, Totall 4, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 58, Cowes 159, Heifers 28, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 123, Bulls 8, Totall 507, Ewes 98, Withers 38, Lambs 40, Rams 4, Totall 180, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 31, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 82, Turkeys 23, Fowles 78, Ducks 35, Geese 5, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Remg 28th Febry: Bullocks 58, Cowes 157, Heifers 28, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 503, Ewes 98, Withers 38, Lambs 40, Rams 4, Totall 180, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 31, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 82, Turkeys 23, Fowles 78, Ducks 35, Geese 5, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 21000 lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 25800. Totall 46800 lb	98 ewes, 41 wethers, 40 lambs, 4 rams, total 183 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 40 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 91 hogs 37 turkeys, 118 fowls, 41 ducks, 6 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Sold to the ship Harrington 4 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 5 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after the sale 58 bullocks, 159 cows, 30 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 123 calves, 8 bulls, total 509 neat cattle 98 ewes, 41 wethers, 40 lambs, 4 rams, total 183 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 40 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 91 hogs 37 turkeys, 118 fowls, 41 ducks, 6 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Killed in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 2 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 2 neat cattle 0 ewes, 3 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 3 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 9 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 9 hogs 14 turkeys, 40 fowls, 6 ducks, 1 goose 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Died in the month, caused by the dry weather 0 bullocks, 2 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 2 calves, 0 bulls, total 4 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Remaining 28 February 1734 58 bullocks, 157 cows, 28 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 503 neat cattle 98 ewes, 38 wethers, 40 lambs, 4 rams, total 180 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 31 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 82 hogs 23 turkeys, 78 fowls, 35 ducks, 5 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Yams expended at the several plantations, 21,000 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 25,800 lb Total yams, 46,800 lb Interpretations Drought is now the standing cause of loss and appears as a named heading for the second month running. Two cows and two calves died of it in February after a cow and four calves in January, so eight beasts have been carried off by the weather in two months. The herd has fallen from 525 on 1 January to 503 here, its lowest point since the autumn, and the drop is entirely weather and consumption rather than sales, since only ten head went to shipping across both months. The rockfalls reported from 27 November 1733 belong to the same dry spell, loose ground above the pastures giving way as the soil dries out. Calving has all but stopped. Three calves in January and three in February follow twenty-five in November and nineteen in December, which is a collapse of roughly eighty-five per cent in the birth rate over two months. Cows under nutritional stress cease to conceive and abort what they carry, so the drought is taking from the herd twice over: the animals it kills outright and the calves that are never

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			born. The consequences will show in the yearling and heifer columns a year hence. Sheep and hogs behave quite differently from the cattle. The flock rose on eight lambs and the herd of hogs on ten pigs, and neither shows a single death from the weather. Both graze and root closer to the ground than cattle and need far less water, which is why goats had once been the island's most resilient stock before their destruction was completed in February 1731. With the goat column gone from these returns entirely, sheep and pigs now carry the burden of providing meat when the cattle falter. The <i>Harrington</i> took five head before sailing on 22 February, matching exactly what the <i>Heathcote</i> took in January. A single Indiaman victualling draws lightly on the herd compared with the twenty-eight head sold in May 1731 when four ships lay in the road together. Nine hogs killed in the same month, against pork appearing on the table since June 1733, confirms the substitution the yam failure forced: pigs breed several times faster than cattle and can be killed without touching a breeding herd already under strain. Yams held near their level at 46,800 lb, with 25,800 lb reaching the slaves. That the establishment can still draw better than 25,000 lb a month through a drought suggests the replanting begun after Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 has taken hold, and the 21,000 lb committed to the ground continues to build the next crop rather than feed the present one.
276	274	Collection of Goods Sold &c in Feby 1733 124 Gallons Arrack 37 4 17½ Yards Broad Cloth 16 8 34½ Mrs Canvas 20 17 1 2 Irons 10 116 Buckhandle Knives 3 7 8 16 Pruning Knives 17 4 17 Tortoise Penknives 8 9 2 Ivory 8 6 5 pr Glass Trifats 9 6 16 pr Spade Steel Ditto 1 5. 3. Cordage 10 lb $\wp$ do 11 10 24½ lb Patna Chints 20 10 2 lb Madrass ditto 2 2 133 2 4 Charges Generall vizt 24 lb Candles 2 8 8½ lb Soap 9 3 1 Mrs Canvas 1 9 1 oz Thread 3 9 2 Bushells Salt 18 3 lb Tea 15 4 15 2 Blacks vizt 3 pr Salted Shoes	Collection of goods sold and delivered in February 1734 124 gallons arrack, £37 4s 0d 17.5 yards broad cloth, £16 8s 0d 547.5 lb canvas, £24 17s 1d 9 hones, £0 10s 0d 116 buckhandle knives, £3 7s 8d 16 pruning knives, £0 17s 4d 17 tortoiseshell penknives, £0 8s 9d 2 ivory of the same, £0 4s 6d 5 pairs glass insets, £0 2s 6d 16 pairs spade steel of the same, £1 0s 0d 5 cwt 3 qr cordage, 10 lb of the same, £11 10s 0d 24.5 pieces Patna chintz, £24 10s 0d 2 pieces Madras of the same, £2 2s 0d Total for the inhabitants, £133 2s 4d Charges general 24 lb candles, £2 8s 0d 8.5 lb soap, £0 9s 3d 1 lb canvas, £0 1s 0d 1 ounce thread, £0 3s 9d 2 bushels salt, £0 18s 0d 3 lb tea, £0 15s 0d Total for general charges, £4 15s 0d Blacks 3 pairs salted shoes, £0 13s 0d 6 dozen hooks, £0 3s 6d 17 lines, £0 6s 0d 5 cwt 1 qr rice, £2 12s 6d Total for the blacks, £3 15s 0d Garrison 8 canisters tea, £2 0s 0d 4.5 gallons rape oil, £1 1s 3d 1 black lanthorn, £0 2s 3d 1 Hamburgh line, £0 2s 8d Total for the garrison, £3 5s 2d Plantation 2 garden spades, £0 15s 0d 24 lb rope, £0 8s 10d 1 pruning knife, £0 1s 6d 28 lb nails, £1 1s 4d 3 cwt rice, £2 10s 0d 6 cwt paddy, £2 2s 0d Total for the plantation, £6 18s 8d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		12 6 doz Slacks 2 6 6 Lines 6 5 Pr Rice 2 12 6 3 10 Garrison vizt 8 Cannes Tea 2 4¾ Gallons Rape Oyle 1 3 1 Back Lanthorn 2 3 1 Hamburgh Line 2 8 3 5 2 Plantation vizt 2 Garden Spades 15 24 lb Rope 8 10 1 Pruning Knife 1 6 28 lb Nailles 1 1 4 3 lb Rice 2 10 6 lb Paddy 2 2 6 18 3 Diet Expences 62 Gallons Arrack 12 8 3. -. - Flour 3 15 1. 1. 10 lb Sugar 1 12 6 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 2 lb Bread 1 6 1 lb Pepper 1 18 Gallons Sherry 6 19 6 24 Gallons Port 9 6 34 10 6 116 6 10 Richard Goodwin & Els: Nicholls Widow Executors of the last Will of Edward Nicholls decd presented the said Will desiring the same might be Proved & the same was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto Stephen Suffolk Kent Robt Gurling & Daniel Griffith who being Sworn declared that	Diet expenses 62 gallons arrack, £12 8s 0d 3 cwt flour, £3 15s 0d 1 cwt 1 qr 10 lb sugar, £1 12s 6d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 6 lb pepper, £0 1s 6d 1 lb pepper, £0 1s 0d 18 gallons sherry, £6 19s 6d 24 gallons port, £9 6s 0d Total for diet expenses, £34 10s 6d Grand total, £186 6s 10d Richard Goodwin and Edmund Nicholls, executors of the last will of Edmund Nicholls, deceased, presented it and asked that it be proved. The council agreed. The will was proved on the oaths of the witnesses Stephen Lufkin junior, Robert Gurling and Daniel Griffith, who swore and declared that they [...] Interpretations Patna chintz at 24.5 pieces and £24 10s 0d is the heaviest textile line of the month and the second heaviest charge on the whole account. It came printed from the Bengal interior and reached the island through the same cargoes that brought the arrack and sugar, and it was the fashionable cotton of the period, worn and used for hangings alike. Two pieces of Madras chintz appear beside it at a much lower unit value, which reflects the coarser Coromandel printing against the finer Patna work. More than a hundred knives sold in one month, in four distinct grades, records an island equipping itself for both work and display. Buckhandle knives with horn grips at 116 are the everyday article; sixteen pruning knives belong to the plantations; and the seventeen tortoiseshell and two ivory penknives are cutting tools for trimming quills, so they mark the households that wrote letters and kept books. Ivory had come through the storekeeper in bulk in October and December 1733, and here it appears worked into finished goods. Canvas at 547.5 lb repeats the pattern of the preceding months and again attaches to the boats. Every cargo, cask and passenger passed between ship and shore through open craft, and the heavy seas of late December that carried away the Lemon Valley crane and shifted the rocks beneath the fort tank would have destroyed sails and covers along the whole coast. Cordage at 5 hundredweight 3 quarters belongs with it, as does the Hamburgh line issued to the garrison. Broad cloth at £16 8s 0d for 17.5 yards works out at more than eighteen shillings a yard, far above any other cloth in these accounts, and marks it as the fine dense felted wool used for a gentleman's coat. Barlace Pyke's inventory of 15 January 1734 valued a whole olive-coloured suit at £2 10s 0d, so a coat's worth of this cloth cost several times what a finished second-hand suit fetched. Only a handful of households on the island would have bought at that price. Rice and paddy continue at 8 hundredweight across the blacks' and plantation accounts, the milled grain feeding the establishment and the husked grain the stock. Yams issued in February came to 46,800 lb with 25,800 lb reaching the slaves, so imported grain still fills the gap Isaac Durling identified on 10 April 1733, when he reckoned a whole year's crop across seven plantations at barely ten weeks of provision.
277	275	the deceased did publish & declare the same as his last Will in their Presence & hearing The said Executors also delivered an Inventory & Valuation of	The witnesses swore that the deceased had published and declared the document as his last will in their presence and hearing. The executors also delivered an inventory and valuation of Edmund Nicholls's estate and effects,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the Estate & Effects of the said Edmond Nicholls as the same was Appraised by Messrs Fra Wangham & Charles Steward who upon their Oaths declared that they had valued and Appraised the same according to the best of their Skill and Judgement, but wee did not finally allow or accept of the said Inventory as perfect & exact, because Edmond Nicholls a little before he died boasted that he had twenty head of Cattle Bullocks & offered such a number to the Commandeers before in the Inventory which by the date appears to be taken within Six Months after he had tendred them to Sale, which was in May last, there is not so much as one Bullock mentioned, & therefore before wee would suffer the said Executors to be Sworn to the truth of the said Inventory wee Ordred them to make Strict Inquiry into this Matter & to attend again on this day fortnight. The said Will & Inventory are as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen. This 24th day of July in the Year of our Lord 1728 I Edmond Nicholls of the Island St Helena Freeholder being Sick & weak in body but of Sound & disposing Mind & Memory thanks be given unto God for the same do for avoiding Controversies after my decease make Publish & declare this my last Will & Testament in manner following that is to say First I recommend my Soul to God that gave it & my body I commit to the Earth, as for & concerning my Worldly Estate after my Debts & funerall Charges are fully paid & Satisfied I give devise & dispose thereof as followeth Imprimis I give & bequeath unto my dearly beloved Wife Elizabeth the third part of my personall Estate as likewise all my Household Linen of what kind or Sort soever to be quietly enjoyed by her & her heirs forever & the half of my real Estate during her natural Life & then to descend to my beloved Children hereafter mentioned Item I give & bequeath unto my well beloved Children vizt John & George Nicholls the remaining part of my personal, together with the other half of my real Estate to be equally divided among them at the time of Age or Marriage but with this Exception that John Nicholls my eldest Son have the refusal of all that piece or Parcell of Freehold Land now lying & being in that place called Longstone Ward & that my other Son George have a part in these Land equivalent thereunto Item In case of the Death of my said Children before they arrive or attain to full Age or Marriage then I desire unto my beloved Wife the	appraised by Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward. Both swore that they had valued and appraised it to the best of their skill and judgement. The council declined to accept the inventory as complete or exact, because Nicholls had boasted shortly before his death that he owned twenty head of fat bullocks and had offered that number to the ships' commanders. The inventory, drawn about six months after he tendered them for sale in May last, listed nothing like that figure and did not so much as name a single bullock. Before allowing the executors to swear to its truth, the council ordered them to make strict enquiry and to attend again in a fortnight. The will and inventory follow. Edmund Nicholls of St Helena, a freeholder, being sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect understanding and memory, made his last will and testament on 24 July 1733. He gave thanks to God for that clarity of mind, wishing to avoid disputes among his relatives after his death. He committed his soul to God who gave it and his body to the earth. As to his worldly estate, after his debts and funeral charges were fully paid and satisfied, he disposed of it as follows. He gave and bequeathed to his dearly beloved wife Elizabeth the third part of his personal estate, together with all his household linen of whatever kind or sort, to be quietly enjoyed by her and her heirs for ever, and half of his real estate for the duration of her life, after which it was to pass to his children named below. He gave and bequeathed to his well beloved children John and George Nicholls the remaining part of his personal estate, together with the other half of his real estate, to be divided equally between them when they came of age or married. John Nicholls, his eldest son, was excepted from that division so far as concerned all that piece or parcel of enclosed land then lying and being at a place called Tompostone Wood, and his other son George was to have an equivalent share in another parcel of land. Should both children die before coming of age or marrying, his wife was to enjoy half of the whole estate, real and personal, freely and absolutely at her own disposal at her death, and the other half was to be divided equally among his beloved sisters Mary Nicholls, Jane Nicholls and Sarah Knight. Should Sarah Knight die without issue, her share was to pass to the survivors of the sisters. He named and appointed his beloved and trusted friend Richard Goodwin his executor and his beloved wife Elizabeth Nicholls his executrix, revoking all earlier wills and confirming this as his last. He set his hand and seal to it on the day and year written above. Signed Edmund Nicholls, and signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of Stephen Lufkin, Robert Girling and Daniel Griffith. A copy of the inventory follows. Interpretations Twenty fat bullocks missing from an inventory is a substantial fraud rather than a clerical slip. The council had fixed the beef price at 25s the hundredweight on 17 December 1729 to protect the inhabitants' margin over the 20s charter-party rate, so twenty finished beasts represented perhaps a tenth of a modest estate's whole value. Nicholls tendered them to the commanders in May 1733, when eight vessels passed through the road, and the appraisers found nothing of them six months later. Either they were sold and the proceeds concealed, or they were moved out of the estate before the appraisal. Refusing to let the executors swear until they had made enquiry protects them as much as it protects

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		half of all my Estate both real & personal to be freely & absolutely at her disposal & the time of her decease, & the other half to be equally divided among my beloved Sisters vizt Mary Nicholls & Sarah Knight but if it should so happen that she the said Sarah Knight die without Issue then do I order that her Share or Dividend revert to the Survivour or Survivours of my aforesaid Sisters Lastly I nominate & Appoint my beloved & trusty Friend Richd Goodwin, my Executor & my beloved Wife Eliz: Nicholls Executrix of this my last Will & Testament hereby revoking all former & other Wills by me at any time heretofore made, Ratifying & Confirming this & no other to be my last Will & Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seale the day & year above written Edmund Nicholls Signed Sealed & Delivered in the Presence of Stephen Suffolk Robt Gurling Daniel Griffith Copy of the Inventory vizt	the beneficiaries. An executor who swears to a false inventory is personally answerable for what was left out, and Richard Goodwin is executor alongside the widow, who is the party best placed to know where the cattle went. The council had applied the same caution to Joseph Bates over the Mesa estate, where he affirmed two inventories differing in sixteen articles on 25 September 1733 and had to be told that both could not be true. The will follows the island's customary division almost exactly. A third of the personal estate absolutely and half the real estate for life is the widow's standing entitlement here, awarded to Mary Powell at the court of judicature of 24 February 1730 and set out again in Matthew Mudge's account of the Coles settlement on 19 February 1734. Making that customary share the express gift of the will rather than leaving it to operate by law removes any argument about what she takes. Singling out one parcel for the eldest son while promising the younger an equivalent elsewhere shows a testator trying to keep a working holding whole. Splitting a plantation destroys its value, as the Greentree executors argued at the general sessions of 2 July 1733 when they said dividing the stock and pasture would ruin the estate. Naming the wood parcel to John and compensating George from other ground achieves an equal division in value without cutting the land in two.
278	276	An Inventory of the Estate of Edmond Nicholls decd taken & Appraised by Fran Wangham & Charles Steward November 20th 1733 Household Goods vizt 1 Feather Bed 1 Bolster, 2 Pillows, Sarose Curtains Quilt & Bedstead 7 10 1 ditto, 1 Bolster, 2 Pillows, 1 Blanket, 1 Counterpaine Noddle Bed & Bedstead 5 10 1 ditto half Feathers half Flocks, 1 Bolster, 1 Pillow 1 Quilt & Bedstead 3 1 large Blanket 15 2 Small do 15 1 Small Scrutoire 1 1 Box 12 1 Small do 3 1 Tea Chest 1 1 Trunk 10 1 do 3 1 do 3 1 oval Table 15 1 do 5 1 Square Table 2 4 old Cane Chairs	An inventory of the estate of Edmund Nicholls, deceased, taken and appraised by Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward on 26 November 1733. Household goods 1 feather bed, 1 bolster, 2 pillows, loose curtains, quilt and bedstead, £7 10s 0d 1 of the same, 1 bolster, 2 pillows, 1 blanket, 1 counterpane, noddle bed and bedstead, £5 10s 0d 1 half feather and half flock bed, 1 bolster, 1 pillow, 1 quilt and bedstead, £3 0s 0d 1 large blanket, £0 15s 0d 2 small blankets, £0 15s 0d 1 small escritoire, £1 12s 0d 1 box, £0 3s 0d 1 small box, £0 3s 0d 1 sea chest, £1 10s 0d 1 trunk, £0 5s 0d 1 trunk, £0 3s 0d 1 trunk, £0 15s 0d 1 oval table, £0 5s 0d 1 table, £0 9s 0d 1 square table, £0 12s 0d 4 old cane chairs, £0 9s 0d 1 old leather chair, £0 4s 0d 2 baskets, £0 13s 0d 2 gardavins, £1 8s 0d 1 tumbling glass, £0 8s 0d 1 form tub, £0 6s 0d 2 washing tubs, £0 5s 0d 2 old tables and a piggin, £0 2s 0d 1 looking glass, £0 6s 6d 1 glass mug, £0 3s 6d 4 wine glasses, £0 3s 0d 1 grindstone, £0 8s 0d old pieces, £0 1s 6d 2 new of the same, £0 1s 6d 1 old stove, £0 5s 0d 2 hatchets, £0 10s 0d 1 old bedstead, £0 10s 0d 2 pewter basins, £0 7s 0d 6 of the same, plates, £0 2s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		12 1 old Leather do 2 2 Baskets 2 2 Garboys 10 1 Tomling Peice 1 1 Bruin Tub 8 2 Washing Tubs 6 2 old Table & Piper 5 1 Looking Glass 2 1 Glass Mug 6 4 Wine Glass 6 1 Grindstone 3 6 Sold Pitares 3 2 new do 8 1 old Stove 6 2 Fireshels 1 6 1 old Bedstead 6 2 Pewter Basons 5 6 ditto Plates 10 2 Small do Soop Dishes 10 1 do Chamber Pott 7 5 China Dishes 2 22 do Plates 15 2 ditto Bowles 10 11 do Cupps & do Saucers 7 1 do Tea Cannister 5 1 do Jar 1 6 1 do Tea Table 2 1 Earthen Tea Pott 4 1 Tea Kettle 2 6 6 Silver Tea Spoons Tongs & Strainer 12 1 pr Brass Candlesticks 1 2 6 1 brass Mortar & Pestle 8 1 pr Candlesticks White Mettle 6 1 Bason & Heaters 10 5 Small earthen Jarrs 12 6 Knives & 6 Forks 10 2 Iron Meat Potts 9	2 small of the same, soap dishes, £0 15s 0d 1 of the same, chamber pot, £0 10s 0d 5 china dishes, £0 7s 0d 22 of the same, plates, £0 5s 0d 2 of the same, bowls, £0 2s 6d 11 of the same, cups and saucers, £0 2s 6d 1 of the same, tea canister, £0 4s 6d 1 of the same, jar, £0 2s 6d 1 of the same, sea table, £0 12s 0d 1 earthen tea pot, £0 2s 6d 1 tea kettle, £1 2s 6d 6 silver teaspoons, tongs and strainer, £0 8s 0d 1 pair brass candlesticks, £0 6s 0d 1 brass mortar and pestle, £0 10s 0d 1 pair candlesticks, white metal, £0 12s 0d 1 box and 4 heaters, £0 10s 0d 5 small earthen jars, £0 9s 0d 6 squares and 4 forks, £1 10s 0d 2 iron meat pots, £0 5s 0d 1 small of the same, £0 0s 0d Interpretations Three beds account for £16 0s 0d of the goods listed so far, which is more than the whole of the tableware, and that reflects genuine scarcity rather than luxury. Feathers had to be gathered or imported, and the graduated quality of the three beds tells its own story: one full feather, one described only by its bolster and counterpane, and one half feather and half flock, flock being shredded cloth waste used to eke out the better filling. Barlace Pyke's inventory of 15 January 1734 valued his entire bedding at £3 0s 0d, so Nicholls kept a substantially better furnished house. A gardavin is a case fitted to carry bottles securely, and two of them at £1 8s 0d sit alongside a sea chest and a table described as a sea table. Together with the boxes and trunks they mark a household equipped for the sea rather than merely for the land, which fits an island where every household item arrived by ship and where movement between the Company's settlements was routine. Barlace Pyke's inventory carried two old sea chests and three cases of pint bottles on the same principle. Silver teaspoons with tongs and a strainer, a tea kettle at £1 2s 6d, a china tea canister and eleven cups and saucers make tea the best equipped activity in this house as it was in Pyke's. The kettle alone is valued above every table in the inventory. Tea reached St Helena directly from Canton in the homeward China ships, and the storekeeper issued it to the garrison at 8 canisters in February 1734, so the island drank it earlier and more cheaply than English households of similar standing. An escritoire at £1 12s 0d is the single most valuable article after the beds and indicates a man who kept papers under lock. That is consistent with a freeholder holding land in more than one parcel, with a will distinguishing Tompstone Wood from other ground, and it sharpens the council's difficulty over the missing bullocks: a man who kept a writing desk probably kept accounts, and those accounts would show where twenty fat beasts went between May and November 1733.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Small do 1 10 5	
279	277	Brought over 1 Yam Pott 1 5 10 Spits 4 1 Tin Dripping Pan 1 1 Saw 2 1 Corner Cupboard 10 40 7 6 1 pr Silver Shoe Buckles 12 1 pr ditto Knee Buckles 12 1 Silver Spoon 6 1 pr Gold Sleeve Buttons 15 In Cash 1 15 4 30 Cattees Bohea Tea 6 1 Cattee Green 3 6 3 - 3 pr Ballipore Gingham 1 10 1 pr Courtbroad Gingham 15 1 pr Alljar 1 5 1 pr Chints 1 1 pr White Cloth 1 10 1 pr China Gause 1 10 17 10 10 Cowes 40 3 Cowes & 3 Calves 17 10 8 Yearlings 14 50 4 Steirs 8 1 Heifer 2 10 1 Bull 5 37 10 3 Ewe Goates 1 10 8 8 Sowes 8 4 ditto 3 6 Barrows 4 10 4 Shoates 2 8 7 Ditto 2 2 18 Pigs 3 12 6 Hoggs 5 10	Brought over, £40 7s 6d 1 yam pot, £1 5s 0d 16 jars, £0 4s 0d 1 tin dripping pan, £0 1s 0d 1 saw, £0 2s 0d 1 corner cupboard, £0 10s 0d 1 pair silver shoe buckles, £0 12s 0d 1 pair of the same, knee buckles, £0 12s 0d 1 silver spoon, £0 6s 0d 1 pair gold sleeve buttons, £0 15s 0d In cash, £1 15s 0d Total, £4 0s 0d 30 catties bohea tea, £6 0s 0d 1 cattie green tea, £0 3s 0d Total, £6 3s 0d 3 pieces Baltimore gingham, £1 10s 0d 1 piece of the same, four thread gingham, £0 15s 0d 1 piece allejar, £1 5s 0d 1 piece shirts, £1 0s 0d 1 piece white cloth, £1 10s 0d 1 piece china gauze, £1 10s 0d Total, £7 10s 0d 10 cows, £40 0s 0d 3 cows and 3 calves, £17 10s 0d 8 yearlings, £14 10s 0d 0 steers, £8 0s 0d 1 heifer, £2 10s 0d 1 bull, £5 0s 0d Total, £87 10s 0d 3 ewe goats, £1 10s 0d 8 sows, £8 0s 0d 4 of the same, £3 0s 0d 6 barrows, £4 10s 0d 4 shoats, £2 8s 0d 7 of the same, £2 2s 0d 18 pigs, £3 12s 0d 6 hogs, £5 10s 0d Total, £29 2s 0d 1,000 yams, £1 0s 0d 8,000 of the same at 15s, £6 0s 0d 86,000 of the same at 10s, £43 0s 0d 14,000 of the same at 6s, £4 4s 0d Total, £54 4s 0d 10 turkeys, £2 12s 0d 37 chickens of the same, £0 18s 0d 60 fowls of the same, £4 5s 0d 60 chickens, £1 10s 0d 9 ducks, £11 3s 0d 5 small of the same, £2 6s 0d Total, £10 0s 0d Blacks 1 black man named Plymouth, £25 0s 0d 1 of the same named Stepney, £20 0s 0d 1 boy named Stanley, £15 0s 0d 1 of the same, Andrew, £10 0s 0d 1 woman named Sarah and child, £25 0s 0d 1 girl, £10 0s 0d 1 of the same, £6 0s 0d 1 of the same, £4 0s 0d Total, £115 0s 0d Interpretations Seven slaves and a child at £115 0s 0d form the largest single block in the inventory, ahead of the cattle at £87 10s 0d and the yams at £54 4s 0d. The valuations follow the pattern this record shows elsewhere: adult men at £20 0s 0d and £25 0s 0d, boys graded downward by age to £4 0s 0d, and a woman with her child valued as one asset at £25 0s 0d. John Knipe senior's inventory of 17 September 1733 put three slaves at £46 0s 0d and Bridget Bates

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		29 2 1000 Yams 1 8000 do @ 15 lb 6 86000 do @ 10 40 40000 do @ 6 4 4 54 4 10 Turkeys 2 12 37 ditto Chickens 18 60 do Fowles 4 5 3 60 Chickens 1 10 9 Ducks 11 3 5 Small do 2 6 10 Blacks vizt 1 Blackman named Plimouth 25 1 do named Stenney 20 1 Boy Stanky 15 1 ditto Andrew 10 1 Woman named Sav & Child 25 1 Girle 10 1 ditto 6 1 ditto 4 115 -	left £15 0s 0d for her son to buy a boy, so these figures sit squarely with the island's going rates. Yams appraised by the thousand and graded by price make a standing crop into a valued asset, which no English inventory would show. Eighty-six thousand at 10s the thousand form the bulk, with older roots at 15s and the youngest at 6s, exactly the scale used for John Knipe's crop on 17 September 1733. That grading reflects how long each planting has to run before it can be lifted, and it explains why a plantation could not simply be divided between heirs without destroying its worth. The cattle here are the heart of the council's difficulty. Nicholls boasted of twenty fat bullocks in May 1733 and offered them to the commanders, yet this appraisal of 26 November 1733 lists ten cows, three cows with calves, eight yearlings, a heifer and a bull, and not one bullock anywhere. Steers appear with a value of £8 0s 0d and no number entered against them. The whole herd stands at £87 10s 0d, less than the missing beasts alone would have fetched at the 25s the hundredweight the council fixed on 17 December 1729. Three ewe goats are a curiosity worth noting. The inhabitants voted on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat on the island, the Company's own herd was extinguished by February 1731 and the column dropped from the stock returns, yet private animals evidently survived. Feral goats persisted on St Helena long after this period, so the vote never cleared the island of them, and here is documentary proof that goats were still being kept and valued three years after the destruction was ordered. Thirty catties of bohea, roughly forty pounds of black tea from the Wuyi hills, is a striking quantity for a private household and worth more than the whole of the cloth listed beside it. Allejar was a striped mixed silk and cotton from India and china gauze a fine transparent silk, both reaching the island directly through the eastern cargoes. Nicholls held them as pieces rather than made-up garments, which suggests stock kept for trade or exchange as much as for his own family's use.
280	278	Brought over Land & Houses 47 Acres & 2 Acres of Land Land of the Honble Company 95 6 - A House & Blacks House on ditto 55 150 6 40 Acres of Freehold Land 50 Half a House at the Fort 30 80 Sundry Drs to the Estate 8 44 594 6 6 The Estate Drs to Sundry amtg to 176 5 4 Clear Estate 418 1 2 F Wingham Cha: Steward Richd Tinsley made Complaint that Thomas Greentree had forceably Stopped the Hole in a Wall through which the Water hath allways run into the Complainants Plantation to his great Prejudice, the said Greentree was thereupon Summond & attending	Brought over Land and houses 47 acres and 2 acres of land held of the Honourable Company, £95 6s 0d A house and blacks' house on the same, £55 0s 0d, total £150 6s 0d 10 acres of freehold land, £50 0s 0d Half a house at the fort, £30 0s 0d, total £80 0s 0d Sundry debts due to the estate, £8 14s 0d Total, £594 6s 6d Debts owing from the estate, £176 5s 4d Clear estate, £418 1s 2d Signed Francis Wingham and Charles Steward Richard Insley complained that Thomas Greentree had forcibly stopped a hole in a wall through which the water had always run into Insley's plantation, greatly to his loss. Greentree was summoned and the matter examined. It appeared from the evidence of Joshua Johnson, his son, Jonathan Higham junior and John Hale that Greentree had acted without any right. He promised that he would not stop or divert the water course in future, and that the water should always run in its usual channel, undertaking to leave the hole in his wall open as it had been before the complaint was made. He was then dismissed. Benjamin Beale presented a petition, which was read, asking to be discharged. He set out that while he was on guard his slave had neglected his plantation and let it fall into ruin and decay, to his great loss and damage. The Governor granted the request.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		accordingly wee Examined the Matter & it appearing by the Testimony of Joshua Johnson, & his Son, Jona: Highamburgh & Jno Nale that the said Greentree had done Unlawfully he promised that for the future he would not Stop or divert the Water Course but that it should hereafter run in its usual Channell & would allways leave & keep the hole in his Wall clear & open as it used to be before this Complaint was made & was thereupon dismissed The Petition of Benj: Beale was this day presented & read praying to be discharged alledging that whilst he was upon Guard his Black neglected & suffered his Plantation to go to Ruin & decay to his great Loss & Damage & his Petition was granted accordingly Richard Avery & Nathan Sample having begd Pardon & given Satisfaction to Mrs Bagley & her Daughter for Slandering & Defaming of her they were this day both discharged from Prison being first Severely Reprimanded by the Governour We this day executed a Deed to Benjamin Pledger for Ten Acres of Freehold Land lying at the head of Sharks Valley according to the Resolution of the 13th of Novr last no Person having laid any Claim thereto.	Richard Avery and Nathan Sample asked pardon and made satisfaction to Margaret Bagley and her daughter for slandering and defaming her. Both were discharged from prison after a severe reprimand from the Governor. The council executed a deed to Benjamin Pledger for 10 acres of freehold land at the head of Shirke Valley, following the resolution of 1 November last, no person having laid any claim to it. Interpretations The estate closes at £418 1s 2d clear, and the land and houses alone account for £230 6s 0d of the gross figure. That places Nicholls well above John Knipe senior, whose whole estate came to £199 13s 6d against debts of £106 1s 8d on 17 September 1733, though far below James Greentree's £1,255 7s 9d gross of 25 July 1733. What makes the reckoning provisional is the council's refusal on 5 March 1734 to accept the inventory as complete, twenty fat bullocks having been offered to the commanders in May 1733 and appearing nowhere in the appraisal. Water rights on St Helena carried more weight than in England because the island's supply ran in narrow channels down steep valleys, and a wall built across a course could cut off a neighbour entirely. The council had granted Jonathan Higham junior four acres on 27 January 1730 only with a covenant to leave the head of the spring open for the neighbourhood, and Joshua Johnson complained on 29 January 1734 that hogs broke down his water courses. Requiring Greentree to reopen the hole rather than fining him restores the position without punishing, which is how the council usually resolved a dispute between neighbours who must go on living beside each other. Beale's petition exposes the cost of garrison duty to a small holder. Guard service took a man away from his ground for days at a time, leaving the plantation to a slave who had no reason to labour without supervision, and the same difficulty had produced Norwood's request on 13 November 1733 to run a boat, refused because a soldier could not be spared from his post. Discharging Beale rather than compensating him is the cheaper answer and reflects an establishment already stretched, John Durling having reported on 27 February 1733 that only 80 men remained among 180 slaves, many worn out. Avery and Sample walk free after roughly five weeks in prison, and the council took the same course it applied to William Slaughter on 1 April 1729 and to John Long on 22 May 1733: submission and satisfaction to the injured party rather than a fine or corporal punishment. What ends the matter is the reparation made to Margaret Bagley and her daughter, since the injury was to reputation and only a public retraction could repair it. Pledger's deed completes the limitation procedure the council opened on 13 November 1733, when it advertised his intention by beat of drum and fixed 13 February 1734 as the bar to any claim. The same method had settled Isaac Wood's title on 7 August 1733 with 2 November as its cut-off. Publishing an intention and extinguishing every silent objection after a fixed date is the only way a good title could be manufactured on an island where original deeds were routinely lost and where, as John Alexander told the council on 16 November 1730, holders had commonly neglected to register them at all.
281	279	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 12th March 1733 at Plantation House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 March 1734 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Benjamin Pledger presented a bill of sale made to him by John and Naomi Bradley for eight rods of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Benjamin Pledger presented a Bill of Sale made to him from John & Naomi Bradley of Eight Rod & Ground in length & Six in Breadth desiring the same might be Registered for greater Security thereof & the same was Ordred to be Registered accordingly The said Pledger also prayed that wee would grant him a Deed for two parcells of Freehold Land vizt Five Acres which he bought in the Year 1720 for the Sum of £100 of Jos: Suffolk decd who whom it came by Vertue of his Marriage with Ann one of the Daughters of Robert Bett decd & for the of an Acre which he the said Pledger lately bought of John & Naomi Bradley, alledging that the original Deeds for the said Parcells of Land are Mislaide or lost & after acquainted us that the Buildings & Boundings of the said Five Acres of Land are through Ignorance or Mistake falsely & erroneously laid down & prayed that in order to the staking of a new Deed the said Five Acres of Land might be new Surveyed Ordered that Capt Goodwin do as soon as conveniently he can new Survey the said Five Acres of Land & make Report how the same doth truely Butt & Bound & that when he hath made Report thereof the Petition of the said Pledger be taken into farther Consideration The Governour Reports that Seing the great necessity there is of keeping up the Honble Companies Plantations & that for the Reasons mentioned in Consultation of the 10th of April last the Plantation called Fishers ought to be thrown up & fallow for a few Years & finding a great Ginnyworth in a Plantation which he hath lately bought of Capt Goodwin and which Seven Years ago cost him Two hundred & Ten Pounds though now the Governour hath bought it for Seventy five Pounds as appears by the Deed of Contract which hereafter follows & thinks that these Plantations of the Honble Companies may be made ready to joyn together so that it is a cheap & good Bargain for them & will Answer fully what was promised lately in Paying off Robinsons Land & this hardly coming to one third of the Money & this the Governour says is acting in the Honble Companies behalf as far as they can wee all know & to be a matter of Truth wee the more chearfully Agree to confirm the Bargain & not meddle with Robinsons Land by which the dying out of Grass is Saved to the Honble Compy	ground in length and six in breadth, and asked that it be registered for his greater security. The council ordered it registered. Pledger also asked for a deed covering two parcels of freehold land, five acres in all, which he bought in 1720 for £100 0s 0d from Joseph Lufkin, deceased, and which had come to Lufkin through his marriage to Ann, one of the daughters of Robert Bell, deceased. Both parcels lay near the land he had lately bought from John and Naomi Bradley. He said the original deeds for the two parcels had been mislaid or lost, and told the council that the boundaries and bounds of the five acres had been set down wrongly and incorrectly through ignorance or mistake. He asked that a fresh deed be drawn recording the true limits. The council ordered Captain Goodwin to view the five acres as soon as he conveniently could, to make a report on its true extent and bounds, and to take Pledger's petition into further consideration once that report was made. The Governor reported the great need of keeping up the Honourable Company's plantations, and that for the reasons entered in the consultation of 10 April last the plantation called Perkins ought to be left fallow for some years, having been drained of a great deal of its goodness. A plantation lately bought from Captain Goodwin, which cost him £200 0s 0d seven years earlier though it carries seven acres, had now been bought by the Governor for £75 0s 0d, as appears by the deed of contract that follows. He thought these plantations could readily be joined to the Company's own, so that it was a cheap and good bargain for them, and he had performed fully what he promised in paying Robinson lately, the sum hardly coming to one third of the money. In acting for the Company he said, in the matter of truth, the more he had for his money the better he knew his duty. He agreed to confirm the bargain and not to meddle with Robinson's ability, and said the dying out of leases was said to be the Company's land. A copy of Jonathan Higham's assignment of his lease of seven acres of land to John Goodwin follows. Jonathan Higham junior, a free planter and inhabitant of St Helena, for £200 0s 0d in good current money of the island paid to him at or before the sealing and delivery of the instrument by Captain John Goodwin, gentleman, acknowledged the receipt of it and declared himself fully paid and contented, and released and discharged the administrators by the instrument. With the leave and consent of the Governor and council of the island, he assigned to John Goodwin, his heirs, executors and administrators, all his right, title, interest, challenge and demand in the seven acres of gumwood land named above, with the dwelling house, stock, half of Gumwood Land, outhouses, walls, fences, party fences and every water course, and all the appurtenances belonging to it or in any way pertaining, of whatever nature or kind. Interpretations Perkins has been the council's central provisioning problem since Isaac Durling reported on 10 April 1733 that it was almost exhausted, its soil worn thin and washed off the stony slopes, and that it would need a year of fallow and manure before it could be planted again. Its capacity had fallen to 12,000 lb of yams against Sandy Bay's 340,000 lb across the seven Company plantations. Buying replacement ground rather than merely resting the old is the practical answer to an establishment that consumed 25,800 lb of yams in February alone. The price tells the story of the island's land market. Ground that cost Captain Goodwin £200 0s

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Copy of Jonathan Highams Assignment of his Lease for 1720 Acres of Land to John Goodwin Gent vizt Know all Men by these Presents that Jonathan Higham junr of this Island St Helena Free Planter & Conveyance for & in Consideration of the Sum of Two hundred & Ten Pounds in good Current Money of the said Island to me in hand paid at or before the Ensealing & Delivery hereof by Capt John Goodwin of the said Island Gent the Receipt of which I do hereby Acknowledge & my Self therewith to be fully paid & contented Do for me my heirs Executrs & Administrators by these Presents & with the Leave & consent of the Worshipfull the Governour & Councill of this Island Assign Sett & make over unto the beforenamed Capt John Goodwin his heirs Executors & Administrators all my Right Title Interest Challenge & Demand in & to the within mentioned Seven Acres & a half of Gumwood Land with one Dwelling House Stock of Cattle Stone Walls Fences party Fences & any other Buildings Water Water Courses & all & every the Appurtinances thereunto belonging or in any wise appertaining of what nature kind or	0d seven years earlier now changes hands at £75 0s 0d, a fall of nearly two thirds. Land values had been sustained by the shipping trade, and the council recorded on 30 May 1731 that the inhabitants subsisted wholly on the small profits made from the Company's vessels. A collapse of this order suggests either exhausted soil or a shortage of buyers with ready money, which the debtors to Governor Smith had demonstrated repeatedly when every one of them answered that he had no coin. Governor Pyke's insistence on stating what he paid, and on making clear that he acted for the Company rather than himself, reflects a real hazard. A governor buying land and selling it on to his employers stands open to the charge of profiting from his office, and the Company had already directed that engrossing of land be prevented, the council refusing to register Samuel Doveton's assignment of 20 acres on 22 August 1732 until London gave direction. Entering the price, the earlier price and the reasoning on the record is the only protection available at five months' distance from the Court of Committees. A bill of sale registered for greater security answers the difficulty John Alexander described on 16 November 1730, that holders had commonly neglected to register deeds once delivered, which is why the register could not support half the island's titles. Pledger has now come to the council three times in five months over the same neighbourhood: the limitation notice published on 13 November 1733, the deed granted on 5 March 1734 after no claim was made, and now a fresh boundary survey. Rebuilding a title parcel by parcel through public advertisement and official measurement is slow, but it produces a record that will survive the loss of any private paper.
282	280	Quality soever for & during all the remaining Term & Time of the within mentioned Lease under the same Conditions therein Specified & contained hereby Excluding my Self my heirs Exrs & Admrs from any farther Claim or Demand whatsoever In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seale this 17th day of November Anne Domni 1726. Signed Sealed & Delivered in the Presence of M Van Aersten Caleb Davis Mark Jonad Higham junr Copy of Mr Goodwins Assignment of the said parcell of Land Sold to the Honble Company made under Jona Highams Assignmt vizt Know all Men by these presents that I John Goodwin of the Island St Helena Gent: for the Consideration of the Sum of Seventy five Pounds to me this day in hand paid by Isaac Pyke Esqr Governour of the said Island for & on the behalf of the Honble the united Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies HAVE by these Presents, DO for my Self my heirs Exrs & Admrs Sell & Assign & make over unto them the said Honble Company & their Successours all my Right Title & Interest to the abovementioned	The assignment covered every quality of interest for the whole remaining term of the lease named in it, on the same conditions set out there, and shut out Higham himself, his heirs, executors and administrators from any further claim or demand of any kind. He set his hand and seal to it on 17 November 1726. Signed Jonathan Higham junior, and signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of M. Van Oosten and Caleb Davis, who signed with his mark. A copy of Captain Goodwin's assignment of the same parcel of land to the Honourable Company follows, made under Higham's assignment. John Goodwin of St Helena, gentleman, for the sum of £75 0s 0d paid to him that day by Isaac Pyke, Governor of the island, on behalf of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, assigned and made over to the Company and its successors all his right, title and interest in the seven acres and a half of leasehold land named above, together with every building, structure, yam and water standing or growing on it, and all other commodities and appurtenances belonging or pertaining to it, to be held by the Company and its successors. He set his hand and seal to it on 31 December 1733. Signed John Goodwin, and signed, sealed and delivered in the presence of John Brown and Isaac Wood, the words standing and being having first been inserted between the lines. At St Helena on 31 December 1733, Goodwin acknowledged receiving from Governor Pyke the sum of £25 0s 0d in full payment and satisfaction for his right and interest in seven acres and a half of leasehold land, with every building and structure standing on it and all other commodities belonging to it, sold by him that day to the Honourable United

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Seven Acres & half of Leasehold Land together with all Edifices Buildings, Yams, & Waters thereon Standing & being & all other the Conveniencies & Appurtinances thereunto belonging or Appertaining To have and to hold unto them the said Honble Company & their Successours In Witness whereof I have hereunto Sett my hand & Seale this 31 Day of Decr 1733 Signed Sealed & Delivered the Words (thereon Standing & being) being first Interlined in the Presence of John Brown Isaac Wood Jno Goodwin St Helena 31 Decr 1733 Received of the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr of the said Island the Sum of Twenty five Pounds in full Paymt & Satisfaction for my Right & Interest to Seven Acres & half of Leasehold Land with all the Edifices & Buildings thereon Standing & being & all other Commodities thereunto belonging by me this day Sold to the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Witness my hand. Jno Goodwin The Governour Reports that a Wench named Mercey was delivered of a Girle last Week called Mary Ordered that the said Girle be entred in the Books.	Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies. Signed John Goodwin. The Governor reported that a slave woman named Mercy was delivered of a girl called Mary the previous week. The council ordered the birth entered in the books. Interpretations A chain of two assignments takes the parcel from Higham to Goodwin in 1726 and from Goodwin to the Company in 1733, and reading them together explains why the council recorded both in full. Land held on lease from the Company could not simply be sold: each transfer required the Governor and council's consent, and Higham's instrument recites that leave expressly. Copying the whole chain into the consultation book creates the register that private deeds so often failed to supply, since John Alexander had reported on 16 November 1730 that holders commonly neglected registration once a deed was delivered. The interlineation noted at the foot of Goodwin's assignment is a formal safeguard rather than a scribal aside. Words inserted between the lines after execution could be used to alter a deed, so the practice was to record before the witnesses signed that the addition was already there. Naming the two words in question closes off any later suggestion that yams and water were added to the conveyance after the parties agreed, which matters because a standing crop and a water course were the most valuable things on the ground. Yams standing on the land pass with it as part of the purchase, which is a distinctively island provision. Edmund Nicholls's inventory of 26 November 1733 valued a standing crop at £54 4s 0d graded by age from 15s the thousand down to 6s, and John Knipe senior's at £7 10s 0d on the same principle. Buying seven and a half acres with the crop already in the ground gives the Company food it does not have to wait a season for, which is the point when Perkins has been exhausted and the establishment drew 25,800 lb of yams in February alone. The recorded consideration differs between the assignment and the receipt, the first naming £75 0s 0d and the second £25 0s 0d, and both were copied into the book without reconciliation. Governor Pyke had told the council on 12 March 1734 that he paid a fraction of what the ground had cost Goodwin seven years earlier, and that he wanted the record to show he acted for the Company rather than himself. Entering both instruments as they stand, alongside his own statement of the bargain, leaves the Court of Committees in London to make what it will of the figures.
283	281	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 19th March 1733 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday the Wyndham & Compton arrived here from China & brought us the following Supply vizt Invoice ^W Wyndham Esqr vizt Chinaware 1 Chest vizt Dishes & Plates blue & White 4 Setts each 5 Dishes & 20 Plates 4 8 - Plates blue & White 100 3 Cupps large ditto 380 4 8	At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 March 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> arrived the previous day from China and brought the following supply. Invoice of the Wyndham China ware, 1 chest 4 setts, each 5 dishes and 20 plates, blue and white dishes and plates, selling price 31s 6d each sett, 4 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 100 plates, blue and white, selling price 6d each, 3 tael 0 mace 0 candareens 380 large cups, selling price 3d each, 4 tael 8 mace 0 candareens 200 sneakers, selling price 4d each, 4 tael 0 mace 0 candareens Total for the china ware, 16 tael 6 mace 0 candareens

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Sneakers ditto 200 4 16 6 Tea 1 Chest of 105 Canisters of new 100 Cattes vizt Bohea 50 Cattes Single 50 ditto 100 Cattes 16 Sales 32 6 Invoice  Compton vizt Chinaware 1 Chest vizt Bowles Coloured & Gold 100 10 Bowles blue & White 100 10 Cupps & Saucers do 200 4 Tea Potts 18 9 24 9 Tea 1 Chest of 105 Canisters vizt Bohea 50 Cattes Single 50 do 100 Cattes 16 Sales 40 9 Richard Goodwin & Elizabeth Widow of Edmond Nicholls decd this day attended according to the Order of the 5th instant & laid before us an additional Inventory of the Estate of the deceased there being Exceptions made in the said Consultation to the Inventory by them then delivered because a Small time before Mr Nicholls died he declared to Capt Bootham & Avery that he had a great Stock of Cattle for Sale twenty head of large fatt full grown Bullocks but could not get vent for them and that he therefore should be obliged to Sell them at a lower Rate than the common Price that his might disparage of them In the Inventory Exhibited on the 5th instant there is mention made only of 13 Cowes 3 Calves 8 Yearlings 4 Steers 1 Heifer 1 Bull in all 29 head but no Account of any Bullocks for which reason the Truth of the said Inventory was Questioned & this day they amended the said Inventory & brought in an Acct of four Bullocks more Valued at £24 & being asked the reason why they had not brought in a full & true Acct before few Answered that Jno Nicholls had removed four head of Cattle of Mr Craft & Mr Johnson & that they had Sett a part these	Tea, 1 chest of 105 canisters, net 100 catties Bohea, 50 catties Single, 50 canisters, 100 catties Total for the tea, 16 tael 0 mace 0 candareens Total invoice, 39 tael 6 mace 0 candareens Invoice of the Compton China ware, 1 chest 100 bowls, coloured and gilt, selling price 2s 6d each, 10 tael 0 mace 0 candareens 100 bowls, blue and white, 10 tael 0 mace 0 candareens 200 cups and saucers, selling price 2d each, 4 tael 0 mace 0 candareens 18 tea pots, selling price 12d each, 0 tael 9 mace 0 candareens Total for the china ware, 24 tael 9 mace 0 candareens Tea, 1 chest of 105 canisters Bohea, 50 catties Single, 50 canisters, 100 catties Total for the tea, 16 tael 0 mace 0 candareens Total invoice, 40 tael 9 mace 0 candareens Richard Goodwin and Elizabeth, widow of Edmund Nicholls, made the enquiry ordered on 5 March and laid before the council an additional inventory of the estate. Several additions were made to the inventory delivered earlier, since a short time before Nicholls died he told Captain Beacham and several others that he had a great stock of cattle for sale, twenty head of large fat black bullocks, but could find no buyer for them, and would therefore be obliged to sell them at a lower rate than the common price, which greatly displeased him. The inventory exhibited on 5 March named only 13 cows, 3 calves, 8 yearlings, 4 steers, 1 heifer and 1 bull, 29 head in all, with no account of any bullocks. The council questioned the truth of that inventory, and the executors this day brought in a further four bullocks valued at £24 0s 0d, so that they had still not brought in a full and true account. Asked why, the widow Nicholls said she had removed four head of cattle to Mr Craft and Mr Johnson, and that they had since sold three or four. Interpretations Sneakers are small drinking cups for punch or spirits, and their appearance in bulk beside 380 large cups and 200 cups and saucers shows the China trade supplying the island's drinking as much as its dining. Both invoices are reckoned in tael, mace and candareens, the money of account used at Canton, with the selling prices entered in sterling in the margin so the storekeeper could price the goods for the island. The <i>Townshend</i> landed a chest of 640 pieces in March 1727 and the <i>Caesar</i> another in March 1729, so blue and white ware had become ordinary in modest households, and Edmund Nicholls's own inventory listed twenty-two china plates. Bohea and single tea are both black teas from the Wuyi hills of Fujian, single being the coarser and cheaper grade, and each ship carried an identical chest of 105 canisters. That uniformity mirrors what the council found on 10 January 1733, when the <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> each brought exactly the same supply of arrack, sugar and rice, confirming that the Company's agents made up island consignments to a fixed specification rather than to any assessment of local demand. The bullock enquiry has now produced its first admission. Nicholls told Captain Beacham and others shortly before his death that he held twenty fat beasts and could find no buyer, which fixes both the number and the fact that they remained unsold. The executors have produced four, valued at £24 0s 0d, and the widow accounts for four more as having

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			been moved to Craft and Johnson, who have since sold three or four. Twelve therefore remain unexplained, and the council's refusal to accept the first appraisal on 5 March 1734 is vindicated. Removing cattle from an estate before the appraisers see it defeats the whole purpose of an inventory, which exists to fix what is available for creditors and for division among heirs. The estate stood at £176 5s 4d in debts against a clear £418 1s 2d, so twenty bullocks at the £6 0s 0d apiece now being allowed would have altered that balance materially. Joseph Bates had produced two inventories differing in sixteen articles over the Mesa estate, and Goodwin and Crisp reported on 18 September 1733 that £291 1s 6.5d in cash was wanting, so the council had recent experience of exactly this pattern.
284	282	four head of Cattle to pay them again in kind Mr Goodwin also said he was Attorney to Mr Crafford & he thought Mr Nicholls being joint Attorney with him they had Power to lend them & Mr Goodwin farther added that he thought Mr Craffords Land would not maintain all the Stock therefore lent them & being asked whether Mrs Mary Nicholls had not borrowed one of Craffords Cattle said he did not know, but this being a gross & Unlawfull way of Storestealing the Markett & equally prejudicial to the Honble Company, to the Owners of Shipping & to all the Inhabitants of this Island it is time to peet an End to this unfair Practice before it spreads farther & the Secretary was Ordered to prepare heads of what is proper to be done upon this Occasion & to lay the same before us on Tuesday next At a Consultation held on Thursday 28 March 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday the Wyndham & Compton Sailed for England The Governour Reports that having just cause to Suspect from what happened in Consultation of the 5th & 19 instant that great Injustice had been done to James Crafford & other People now absent in England or India who have Lands & Stocks of Cattle at this Place by those whom they have appointed Trustees for the Management of their Estate, appointed Messrs Crispe & Furling to view the Pastures & Fences & to take an Account the respective Marks & Sorts of Cattle they should find in the Lands of James Crafford & they this day made the following Report vizt Wee being appointed by the Governour to view the Condition of the Pastures & Fences & of the Land belonging to James Crafford	The widow undertook to return four head of cattle in kind. Richard Goodwin said he was attorney to Crafford, and thought that Nicholls, being joint attorney with him, had authority to lend the beasts. He added that Crafford's land would not maintain all the stock, and that the animals were therefore lent for that reason. Asked whether Mary Nicholls had borrowed any of Crafford's cattle, he said he did not know. Since this practice is a gross and unlawful way of stealing the marks, and is equally damaging to the Honourable Company, to the owners of the shipping and to every inhabitant of the island, it is time to put an end to so unfair a practice before it spreads further. The secretary was ordered to prepare notes of what should properly be done in the matter and to lay them before the council the following Tuesday. At a consultation held on Thursday 28 March 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> sailed for England the previous day. The Governor reported that what had happened at the consultation of 5 March gave him just cause to suspect that great injustice had been done to James Crafford and to other people now absent in England or India who hold lands and stocks of cattle on the island. Those owners had appointed trustees to manage their estates, and the Governor named Crisp and Durling to view the pastures and fences and to take an account of the number, marks and sorts of cattle they found on Crafford's land. Both attended that day and made the following report. Appointed by the Governor to view the condition of the pastures and fences of the land belonging to James Crafford, and to take an account of the number, sorts and marks of the cattle they found there, they examined the ground that day. They found the pastures of Benjamin Beale and of Crafford lying open to one another, the fences between Beale's land and Crafford's having been thrown together, each man having agreed to graze an equal number of cattle there. The fence between Crafford's land and Beale's is quite down in many places, as are the fences of that part of Crafford's land adjoining some of the pastures belonging to Mr Powell, who has thereby gained every unfair advantage over both the others. He actually feeds 21 head of cattle in the pastures belonging to Beale and Crafford, which wants only one of double the number of both the others. Interpretations Stealing the marks means altering or exploiting the brands and earmarks by which ownership of free-ranging cattle was established. On an island without

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& to take an Account of the number & Marks of the Cattle we should find therein this day repaired thither & found that the Pastures of Benjamin Beale & the said Crafford were by General between the said Beale & the Trustees of the said Crafford were laid together each having agreed to graze thereon an equal number of Cattle & accordingly the Fence between the Land of Crafford & Beale is quite down in many Places as are also the Fences of that part of Mr Craffords Land which is contiguous to some of the Pastures & grounds of Mr Powell who thereby has great & very Unfair Advantages over both the others & actually feeds Twenty one head of Cattle in the Pastures of the said Beale & Crafford which wants but one of double the number of both the	continuous fencing, a beast's mark was its title deed, and a herd lent between attorneys, mingled on open pasture and sold on by a third party leaves no way of proving who owned what. The council's alarm is proportionate: if marks cease to be reliable, every transaction in cattle becomes unenforceable, and cattle were the island's chief liquid asset, as the debtors to Governor Smith showed in 1731 when every one of them offered stock instead of coin. The council names three injured parties, and the ordering is revealing. The Company loses because its own herd grazes the same country; the shipowners lose because the charter party bound commanders to buy beef at 20s the hundredweight and a corrupted market makes supply unreliable; and the inhabitants lose because their whole margin lay in the five shillings between that rate and the 25s minimum the council fixed on 17 December 1729. A practice that undermines proof of ownership therefore strikes at the island's only export trade. Absentee proprietors present a structural weakness this record has met repeatedly. Land and stock at St Helena belonging to men in England or India could only be managed through trustees or attorneys, and the whole arrangement depends on those agents acting honestly at five months' distance from any complaint. John Savage was found on 19 February 1734 to have concealed a letter of attorney from Joseph Coles while claiming against him, and the Coles land itself turned on a deed extracted from a donor who then left for Bencoolen. Goodwin's answer here, that a joint attorney had power to lend, states the difficulty exactly: two agents acting together can bind an absent principal to arrangements he would never have made. Powell grazing 21 head on ground belonging to Beale and Crafford, nearly double what both proprietors put there together, is the sharpest finding in the survey. Fences down in many places allowed his stock to flow onto the neighbouring pastures at no cost to himself, and the family's record makes the pattern familiar: James Powell was imprisoned on 29 January 1734 for pulling down the Company's walls to drive stock through, and Mary Powell admitted the Hunter debt on 22 January 1734 while pleading she had no money. Enclosure that others maintain and a neighbour exploits is a slow transfer of value, and it takes a formal view of the ground to make it visible.
285	283	others put together & yet his Pasture which by the breaking down of the Fences now lies in common with the rest doth not amount to more than one Seventh part of the Land of the others Ship Saving between them Sixty Acres of good Pasture Land & the only Nine Acres & those too very bad & the number Sort & Marks of the Cattle we found therein are as follows vizt Cattle belonging to Mrs Powell 1 Red Bullock 1 Small Steer 1 Heifer 4 Cowes 14 Yearlings Cattle belonging to Mr Crafford 4 Red Bullocks the left Ear of both in Nichols Mark 1 Black ditto the right Ear cropt off 1 large high Bullock both Ears cropt off 1 Brindled Bullock both Ears cropt off 3 Young Bullocks in Mr Craffords own Mark vizt a Swallow Fork in each Ear 1 Bull ditto	The surveyors found that Powell's own pasture had been thrown together with the rest through the broken fences, so that it now lay in common with them and amounted to no more than a seventh part of the others' land. He kept between sixty acres of good pasture land and held only nine acres of his own, and those very bad. The numbers, sorts and marks of the cattle found there were as follows. Cattle belonging to Mr Powell 1 red bullock 1 small steer 1 heifer 4 calves 14 yearlings Cattle belonging to Mr Crafford 4 red bullocks, the left ear of both in Nicholls's mark 1 black bullock, the right ear cropped off 1 large black bullock, both ears cropped off 1 spotted bullock, both ears cropped off 3 young bullocks in Crafford's own mark, a swallow fork in each ear 1 bull of the same 1 cow of the same

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Cow ditto 1 large Pied Bullock both Ears cropt & an half Mark under the Right Ear 1 Bullock found dead in the Pastures 1 Calf without any Mark Cattle belonging to Mr Beale 2 Cowes, a nor Notch in the right Ear the left Ear of the other cropped & the right in Mrs Powells Mark 3 Steers marked with a Crop in the right Ear & a Notch on the under Side & an half Fork in the under Side of the left Ear 1 Calf ditto 1 Heifer ditto 3 Calves marked with a Crop & a Slit in the right Ear & two half Forks in the left Ear 1 Steer ditto Cattle belonging to Mr Steward 1 Brown Cow with a hole in the left Ear & an half Fork in the right Cattle belonging to Mrs Powell 21 Head Ditto to Mr Crafford 11 Ditto Ditto to Mr Beale 11 Ditto Ditto to Mr Steward 1 Ditto 44 head Ordered that Benj: Beale & Richard Goodwin Trustee of James Crafford be Summoned to attend as soon as the Ship now in the Roads is Sailed to Answer for Suffering the Fences of the Land abovementioned to go to Ruin & decay The Petition of Isaac Wood Ensign in behalf of himself & the rest of the Officers & Soldiers appointed to do Duty with him at the Fort called King Williams Fort was presented & read Setting forth that the Guard House at the said Fort was built many years ago but very slightly & ill done at first & is now fallen all to peices & then not being sufficient Covering to Screen the Sick or those with them from the Injury & Inclemency of the Weather either by Day or Night & the Rest at this Season of the Year usually falling on heavy Showers followed with much hasty Sultry Weather & Suveat of his People have already been violently Seized with the Bloody Flux & their Lives thereby exposed to Imminent danger solely for want of necessary Lodging & convenient Shelter & praying that a new Gward Room might be	1 large pied bullock, both ears cropped and a half slash under the right ear 1 bullock found dead in the pastures 1 calf without any mark Cattle belonging to Mr Beale 2 cows, a swallow fork in the right ear, the left ear of the other cropped, and the right ear in Powell's mark 3 steers marked with a crop in the right ear and notched on the under side, and half a slash on the under side of the left ear 1 cow of the same 1 heifer of the same 3 calves marked with a crop and a slit in the right ear and two half slashes in the left ear 1 steer of the same Cattle belonging to Mr Steward 1 brown cow with a hole in the left ear and a half slash in the right Cattle belonging to Mr Powell, 21 head Cattle belonging to Mr Crafford, 14 head Cattle belonging to Mr Beale, 11 head Cattle belonging to Mr Steward, 1 head Total, 44 head The council ordered Benjamin Beale and Richard Goodwin, trustees of James Crafford, to be summoned to attend as soon as the ship then in the road had sailed, and to answer for allowing the fences of the land named above to fall into ruin and decay. Isaac Wood presented a petition on behalf of himself and the rest of the officers and soldiers appointed to duty with him at the fort gate. He set out that King William's Fort had been built many years earlier but very slightly and poorly done at first, and had now fallen entirely to pieces, having no roof or covering sufficient to shelter the officers or men from the injury and inclemency of the weather by day or night. Both fort and buildings, at that season of the year usually facing heavy showers, were flooded with much haste, and Sergeant Mitchell Sweazy of the men there had already been violently seized with the bloody flux. Their lives were severely exposed to imminent danger, solely for want of proper lodging and convenient shelter. He asked that a new guard room might be [...] Interpretations The ear marks are the whole point of the survey and the reason it was set down in this detail. A crop is a squared cut across the ear tip, a swallow fork a V notch, a slash a lengthwise cut and a hole a punched perforation, and every owner registered his own combination. Free ranging cattle carried no other proof of title, so the marks functioned as portable deeds, and the council's alarm on 19 March 1734 about stealing the marks becomes concrete here. Four of Crafford's red bullocks carried Nicholls's mark in the left ear, which placed beasts belonging to the estate under investigation in Crafford's tally. Cropping both ears entirely destroys the mark it replaces. Three of Crafford's bullocks carried no identifiable owner's device because their ears had been cut away, and that is precisely how a marked animal is laundered into an unmarked one. The calf entered without any mark at all belonged to the same problem, since an unmarked beast on open ground belonged to whoever claimed it first. The council was looking at the mechanism of the fraud rather than merely its result. Powell's position was now measured rather than asserted. He held nine acres of poor ground, grazed 21 head, and did so on sixty acres of good pasture belonging to Beale and Crafford whose fences lay down. That is a seventh of the land carrying nearly half the stock, and it cost him nothing while the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			other two bore the whole burden of maintaining ground he used. The family's record runs consistently in this direction: James Powell was imprisoned on 29 January 1734 for pulling down the Company's walls, and Mary Powell had admitted the Hunter debt on 22 January while pleading she had no coin. The bloody flux is dysentery, and naming a sergeant already stricken turned a complaint about a leaking roof into a matter of survival. Fluxes recur through this record: Samuel Jephry's letter of 6 March 1727 described the disease being checked at first appearance, and the surgeon Gibson was accused of hastening deaths by putting sufferers to bed. Men standing guard through the wet season without a roof were the likeliest to fall to it, and the guard at Banks's had gone three days without fresh water in December 1732, so the fort's outposts were chronically ill provided. Summoning the trustees only once the ship in the road had sailed reflected a settled priority. Every hand was needed while a vessel lay at anchor, since the whole island's trade passed through open boats in a few days, and the council had adjourned the quarter court on 24 June 1730 for the same reason. The fence enquiry could wait; the shipping could not.
286	284	others put together & yet his Pasture which by the breaking down of the Fences now lies in common with the rest doth not amount to more than one Seventh part of the Land of the others Ship Saving between them Sixty Acres of good Pasture Land & the only Nine Acres & those too very bad & the number Sort & Marks of the Cattle wee found therein are as follows vizt Cattle belonging to Mrs Powell 1 Red Bullock 1 Small Steer 1 Heifer 4 Cowes 14 Yearlings Cattle belonging to Mr Crafford 4 Red Bullocks the left Ear of both in Nichols Mark 1 Black ditto the right Ear cropt off 1 large high Bullock both Ears cropt off 1 Brindled Bullock both Ears cropt off 3 Young Bullocks in Mr Craffords own Mark vizt a Swallow Fork in each Ear 1 Bull ditto 1 Cow ditto 1 large Pied Bullock both Ears cropt & an half Mark under the Right Ear 1 Bullock found dead in the Pastures 1 Calf without any Mark Cattle belonging to Mr Beale 2 Cowes, a nor Notch in the right Ear the left Ear of the other cropped & the right in Mrs Powells Mark 3 Steers marked with a Crop in the right Ear & a Notch on the under Side & an half Fork in the under Side of the left Ear 1 Calf ditto 1 Heifer ditto 3 Calves marked with a Crop & a Slit in the right Ear & two half Forks in the left Ear 1 Steer ditto Cattle belonging to Mr Steward 1 Brown Cow with a hole in the left Ear & an half Fork in the right	The surveyors found that Powell's own pasture had been thrown together with the rest through the broken fences, so that it now lay in common with them and amounted to no more than a seventh part of the others' land. He kept between sixty acres of good pasture land and held only nine acres of his own, and those very bad. The numbers, sorts and marks of the cattle found there were as follows. Cattle belonging to Mr Powell 1 red bullock 1 small steer 1 heifer 4 calves 14 yearlings Cattle belonging to Mr Crafford 4 red bullocks, the left ear of both in Nicholls's mark 1 black bullock, the right ear cropped off 1 large black bullock, both ears cropped off 1 spotted bullock, both ears cropped off 3 young bullocks in Crafford's own mark, a swallow fork in each ear 1 bull of the same 1 cow of the same 1 large pied bullock, both ears cropped and a half slash under the right ear 1 bullock found dead in the pastures 1 calf without any mark Cattle belonging to Mr Beale 2 cows, a swallow fork in the right ear, the left ear of the other cropped, and the right ear in Powell's mark 3 steers marked with a crop in the right ear and notched on the under side, and half a slash on the under side of the left ear 1 cow of the same 1 heifer of the same 3 calves marked with a crop and a slit in the right ear and two half slashes in the left ear 1 steer of the same Cattle belonging to Mr Steward 1 brown cow with a hole in the left ear and a half slash in the right Cattle belonging to Mr Powell, 21 head Cattle belonging to Mr Crafford, 14 head Cattle belonging to Mr Beale, 11 head Cattle belonging to Mr Steward, 1 head

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Cattle belonging to Mrs Powell 21 Head Ditto to Mr Crafford 11 Ditto Ditto to Mr Beale 11 Ditto Ditto to Mr Steward 1 Ditto 44 head Ordered that Benj: Beale & Richard Goodwin Trustee of James Crafford be Summoned to attend as soon as the Ship now in the Roads is Sailed to Answer for Suffering the Fences of the Land abovementioned to go to Ruin & decay The Petition of Isaac Wood Ensign in behalf of himself & the rest of the Officers & Soldiers appointed to do Duty with him at the Fort called King Williams Fort was presented & read Setting forth that the Guard House at the said Fort was built many years ago but very slightly & ill done at first & is now fallen all to peices & then not being sufficient Covering to Screen the Sick or those with them from the Injury & Inclemency of the Weather either by Day or Night & the Rest at this Season of the Year usually falling on heavy Showers followed with much hasty Sultry Weather & Suvcat of his People have already been violently Seized with the Bloody Flux & their Lives thereby exposed to Imminent danger solely for want of necessary Lodging & convenient Shelter & praying that a new Gward Room might be	Total, 44 head The council ordered Benjamin Beale and Richard Goodwin, trustees of James Crafford, to be summoned to attend as soon as the ship then in the road had sailed, and to answer for allowing the fences of the land named above to fall into ruin and decay. Isaac Wood presented a petition on behalf of himself and the rest of the officers and soldiers appointed to duty with him at the fort gate. He set out that King William's Fort had been built many years earlier but very slightly and poorly done at first, and had now fallen entirely to pieces, having no roof or covering sufficient to shelter the officers or men from the injury and inclemency of the weather by day or night. Both fort and buildings, at that season of the year usually facing heavy showers, were flooded with much haste, and Sergeant Mitchell Sweazy of the men there had already been violently seized with the bloody flux. Their lives were severely exposed to imminent danger, solely for want of proper lodging and convenient shelter. He asked that a new guard room might be [...] Interpretations The ear marks are the whole point of the survey and the reason it was set down in this detail. A crop is a squared cut across the ear tip, a swallow fork a V notch, a slash a lengthwise cut and a hole a punched perforation, and every owner registered his own combination. Free ranging cattle carried no other proof of title, so the marks functioned as portable deeds, and the council's alarm on 19 March 1734 about stealing the marks becomes concrete here. Four of Crafford's red bullocks carried Nicholls's mark in the left ear, which placed beasts belonging to the estate under investigation in Crafford's tally. Cropping both ears entirely destroys the mark it replaces. Three of Crafford's bullocks carried no identifiable owner's device because their ears had been cut away, and that is precisely how a marked animal is laundered into an unmarked one. The calf entered without any mark at all belonged to the same problem, since an unmarked beast on open ground belonged to whoever claimed it first. The council was looking at the mechanism of the fraud rather than merely its result. Powell's position was now measured rather than asserted. He held nine acres of poor ground, grazed 21 head, and did so on sixty acres of good pasture belonging to Beale and Crafford whose fences lay down. That is a seventh of the land carrying nearly half the stock, and it cost him nothing while the other two bore the whole burden of maintaining ground he used. The family's record runs consistently in this direction: James Powell was imprisoned on 29 January 1734 for pulling down the Company's walls, and Mary Powell had admitted the Hunter debt on 22 January while pleading she had no coin. The bloody flux is dysentery, and naming a sergeant already stricken turned a complaint about a leaking roof into a matter of survival. Fluxes recur through this record: Samuel Jephry's letter of 6 March 1727 described the disease being checked at first appearance, and the surgeon Gibson was accused of hastening deaths by putting sufferers to bed. Men standing guard through the wet season without a roof were the likeliest to fall to it, and the guard at Banks's had gone three days without fresh water in December 1732, so the fort's outposts were chronically ill provided. Summoning the trustees only once the ship in the road had sailed reflected a settled priority. Every hand was needed while a vessel lay at anchor, since the whole island's trade passed through open boats

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			in a few days, and the council had adjourned the quarter court on 24 June 1730 for the same reason. The fence enquiry could wait; the shipping could not.
287	285	of Poultry as Ducks, Geese, Turkeys, Fowles, Pigeons and Rabbits together with all Sorts of Fruits Roots & Garden Trade are to pass & be Sold without any Account to be given thereof the Design of this being only to prevent all fraudulent & Unfair Dealings in these private Sales of Cattle in the common Market which of late hath been so much complained of, & by no means to hinder any Agent or Trustee from Selling the Cattle or other live Stock of any Person now absent, to do which such Agent or Trustee will be always at full Liberty provided they duly Enter in the Tally Book the Name or Names of the true Owners of all such Cattle to be Sold as aforesaid & shall conform themselves to the other Rules above Specified. This Paper being read was taken into Consideration & being found agreeable to the Honble Companies ancient Rules & Orders the Governr & Councill approved thereof & Ordered the same to be published on Saturday next & to be then affixed at the usual Place for the Notice and Guide of all Persons concerned. On Sunday last the Devonshire Capt Prince arrived here directly from Bengale & brought us a Supply from the particulars of which according to the Invoice are as follow vizt 2 half Legers Batavia Arrack of each 80 Gallons is 160 Gallons @ 80 Ms ʔ Sugar 80 Batta 10 ʔ Cent 8 8 8 42 Bags fine Rice of 61. 2. 12 @ 1. 2. ʔ Ms 80 Batta 10 ʔ Cent 8 8 8 10 Bags Sugar Seesinda of 14. 2. 13 @ 4. 8 Ms ʔ Md 90 Batta 10 ʔ Cent 9 9 9 Doosettees 1 Bale contg 60 lb 30 & 2 @ 55 Rs ʔ Corge 165 1 ditto 75. 24 & 2 @ 45½ ditto 154 11 319 11 2 Chests Wax Candles of Wt is 2. 2. 19 @ curr Rs 35 ʔ Md 140 734 11 Charges Merchandize 39 - 9 Rupees 773 11 9	Poultry of every kind, including ducks, geese, turkeys, fowls, pigeons and rabbits, together with all sorts of fruit, roots and garden produce, might be sold freely with no account rendered. The whole purpose of the order was to stop the fraudulent and unfair dealing in private sales of cattle in the common market, of which there had lately been so much complaint. Nothing in it was meant to prevent an agent or trustee from selling the cattle or other livestock of any absent person. Such an agent or trustee remained entirely free to do so, provided he entered in the tally book the name or names of the true owners of every beast to be sold, and observed the other rules set out above. The paper was read and considered. Finding it consistent with the Honourable Company's long established rules and orders, Governor Pyke and the council approved it and directed that it be published on the Saturday following and then fixed in the usual place, so that everyone concerned might take notice of it and be guided by it. The <i>Devonshire</i>, Captain Prince, arrived the previous Sunday directly from Bengal and brought a supply, the particulars of which are entered from the invoice as follows. 2 half leaguers of Batavia arrack, each 80 gallons, 160 gallons in all at 80 maunds per gallon, selling price 8s per gallon, 80 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, total 88 rupees 42 bags of fine rice, 61 maunds 2 seers 12 [...] at 1 maund 2 seers per maund, selling price 12s 6d per 100, 80 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, total 88 rupees 10 bags of Tresundee sugar, 14 maunds 2 seers 13 [...] at 4 maunds 8 seers per maund, selling price 6d per lb, 90 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, total 99 rupees Doosettees, 1 bale containing 60 pieces, 30 by 2, at 55 rupees per corge, selling price 9s per piece, 165 rupees 1 bale of the same, 75 pieces, 24 by 2, at 45.5 rupees per corge, selling price 7s per piece, 154 rupees 11 annas, total 319 rupees 11 annas 2 chests of wax candles, gross weight 2 cwt 2 qr 19 lb at 25 lb per cwt, selling price 2s per lb, 140 rupees Total, 734 rupees 11 annas Charges merchandise, 39 rupees 0 annas 9 pies Total, 773 rupees 11 annas 9 pies Interpretations Exempting poultry, fruit and garden produce from the registration requirement shows the council targeting the fraud precisely rather than regulating the market generally. A hen or a basket of roots cannot be marked, changes hands for a few pence and could never sustain the kind of laundering the survey of 28 March 1734 exposed, where bullocks had their ears cropped away to destroy the owner's device. Cattle alone carry a registered mark and a value worth stealing, so cattle alone need a tally book. The provision protecting agents and trustees answers the difficulty that produced the enquiry in the first place. Richard Goodwin claimed on 19 March 1734 that he and Edmund Nicholls, as joint attorneys for James Crafford, had authority to lend the beasts, and the whole confusion of marks followed from stock passing between men acting for absent owners. Requiring the true owner's name in the book keeps the agent's power to sell intact while making the beneficial ownership visible, which is the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			only check available when the proprietor is in England or India. Doosetees were plain cotton piece goods from Bengal, sold by the corgie, a unit of twenty pieces standard throughout the Indian trade. The two bales differ in dimension and price, one measuring 30 by 2 at 55 rupees the corgie and the other 24 by 2 at 45.5 rupees, so the council was buying two grades of the same cloth. At 319 rupees 11 annas the textiles form the largest part of this consignment, well ahead of the provisions, which is unusual for an island supply and reflects the storekeeper's steady sales of cloth to households that made up their own clothing. Wax candles at 140 rupees for two and a half hundredweight are a luxury within a working cargo. Tallow candles served ordinary purposes and appear month after month in the storekeeper's general charges, but wax burns cleanly without smoke or smell and was reserved for the council chamber and the fort's better rooms. The table accounts of 1730 carried wax candles as a separate monthly charge, heavy through the estate suit season, so the Company supplied them deliberately for formal business.
288	286	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 2d April 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mezrey Daughter of John Long made complaint that her Father had beat her & turned her out of Doors without any Offence or Provocation given on her part & the said Long attending upon this Occasion he was called in & asked why he treated her with such Severity & to justify himself produced the following Letter vizt Dear Sir March the 29 1734 This with my kind Love to You & this my ungratefull Father has used you so ungratefully as he had done shall thought that You would have slipped me so & you very well know that I may not have a Moment when you was at our house so that your taking no Notice of me has made me a great deal worse for now I find I am slighted & used by you & my People too for you take no more Notice of me than if I was a Wretch which almost breaks my heart for did not You Slight me I would not value my Father nor Mother a Straw upon that Score for if you did but Love me I should not care & so I do telling you that Some me once but now I believe your mind is far from it so believe I shall have a very hard Task to go through so I wish that Unhappy Minut that I came into the World I had died for then I have I should have been happy for should you not perform your promise, I must be obliged to live with my Parents so that it would break my heart tho I think it is almost broke already for I have a sad Pain all over my Limbs but a far	At a consultation held on Tuesday 2 April 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mercy, daughter of John Long, complained that her father had beaten her and turned her out of doors without any offence or provocation on her part. Long attended and was asked why he had treated her so severely. To justify himself he produced the following letter. The letter, dated 29 March 1734, was addressed to a dear sir. Mercy Long wrote that her father had used her as ungratefully as he had used the recipient, and that she believed he had slighted her because he knew she was not able to marry. When the recipient was at their house her father took no notice of him, which she thought had made her a great deal worse. She now found herself slighted by him too, since he took no more notice of her than if she were a stranger, which almost broke her heart. Had it not been for the recipient's slighting her she would value neither her father nor her mother on that account, and had he not left her she would not care. He had told her once that he loved her, but she now believed his mind was far from it. She said she would have a very hard task to go through in finishing the unhappy business that had come into her head, and hoped that from then on she would have been happy for him. Should he not perform his promise she must be obliged to live with her parents, and it would break her heart, since she thought it was almost broken already for what she had seen all over. Her fears were the greater in her mind because her mother, wherever she went, could persuade her father to try whether he could break the match off. Should the recipient prove as constant to her as she would be to him, she would lay her body upon the place to break the match off. She would add no more at present but rest his constant lover and kind friend till death. Signed Mercy Long. After the letter was read the council sent for the person to whom it was directed, and asked whether he was willing to marry Mercy Long, and whether he was already married or not. He answered that he had never married in his life to any lady, either there or anywhere else, and offered to make oath of it. He was willing to marry Mercy Long, with her father's consent, as soon as he could meet with a captain who would give him a passage to England, where he would be able to work for his own living. Long and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		greater in my Mind for my Mother do refuse she can to perswade my Father to try if he cant break the Match off, but if you will prove as constant to me as I shall do to you I will lay my body upon the Place to break the Match off so I shall add no more at present but rest your constant Lover & Sincere Friend to death Mezrey Long After reading this Letter John Anstings late Soldier the Person to whom it was directed was called in & asked whether he was willing to Marry the said Mezrey Long or whether he was already Married or not, & he Answered that he never was Married in his Life to any Body either here or any where else & offered to make Oath thereof & was willing to Marry the said Mezrey Long with her Fathers consent as soon as he could meet with a Captain, who would give her a Passage to England he being able to work for his own & the said Long & his Daughter both agreeing to this Proposal they were addressed to the ale house & &c & strengthened & warned not to Visit his Mistress but in Company of her Father or Mother. Wm Connolly Sailor late belonging to the Wyndham Capt Lyell Commander being asked the reason for deserting his Ship sayth that he was ashore with the Coxswain & then & staid two days longer than he had leave for which the Mate Mr Shooten threatened to Whip him & therefore because he would not be whipt he left the Ship & his Wages which was Sixteen Months pay, being told the Culprit would have pardoned him if he had gone on board before the other Men and he said no his Comrade did go on board & the Mate ordered him to be whipt & he was whipt & upon which he heard he was Resolved never to go on board again, being asked what Brothers two or who are said to belong to his Ship he says he knows nothing of them for he had himself alone & is not acquainted with them James Warren late of the Ship Wyndham aged about Seventy Years	his daughter both agreed to the promise, and they were addressed as engaged. He was strictly warned not to visit his mistress except in the company of her father or mother. William Connelly, a sailor belonging to the <i>Wyndham</i>, Captain Lyell commander, being asked why he was leaving the ship, said he was aggrieved with the boatswain, having stayed two days longer than he had leave for, for which the mate ordered Mr Shooten to whip him. He therefore left, because he would not be whipped, and lost his wages, which came to sixteen months' pay. Being the culprit, he would have persuaded him if he had gone on board before the other men, and he said no, his comrade also being on board. The mate ordered him to be whipped when he was whipped enough, and he heard he was resolved never to go on board again, being afraid what the other two men who are said to belong to the ship had said. He knows nothing of them, for he did himself alone and is not acquainted with them. James Warren, late of the ship <i>Wyndham</i>, aged about seventy years [...] Interpretations The council's remedy runs entirely through the father's authority rather than through any legal finding. Long beat his daughter and turned her out, yet the proceeding does not punish him, it settles the marriage that caused the quarrel. Extracting an oath that the suitor is unmarried, obtaining the father's consent and forbidding visits without a parent present converts a domestic assault into a supervised engagement, which is the same technique Governor Pyke applied to Samuel Lisle's runaway daughter on 8 January 1734 and to the Marsh estate on 11 July 1732, settling by arrangement what a court would only have inflamed. The suitor's poverty is the practical obstacle the arrangement has to work around. He can offer nothing until he finds a commander willing to carry him home, where he might earn a living, and until then Mercy Long faces returning to the parents who beat her. A woman on the island had no independent means, and the whole letter turns on that: she fears an unfulfilled promise not from sentiment alone but because it leaves her with nowhere to go, exactly as Anne Lane deposed on 22 May 1731 that being a stranger she had nowhere to go when Chaplain White turned her out. John Long's presence here completes a decade of the council's dealings with him. Every earlier proceeding failed because the testimony of blacks was inadmissible against him, until George Knight's oath as a free man put him in prison on 1 May 1733, his own sons informed against him over the stolen fowls in June, and he was publicly whipped on 18 September 1733 under the act of 43 Elizabeth chapter 7. He remains bound by Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward's twenty pound bonds to sail for Bencoolen when a store ship comes, and he was set in the stocks for drunkenness on 19 February 1734. Sixteen months' pay forfeited is the standing price of desertion at an intermediate port. Company wages fell due only on a ship's safe return to England, so a man who left at St Helena lost everything accumulated on the voyage, and the council recorded those sums because they measured how far conditions aboard had driven the men. Benjamin Jones of the <i>Frances</i> gave up eighteen months on 24 April 1733 after describing a captain who beat the crew, and the standing penalty ashore was three months' hard labour without wages, which suited an establishment John Durling had reported at only 80 working men out of 180 slaves.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
289	287	years being Examined why he left the said Ship sayth that he & Frances Hastings being to look after the Boats & some of the Comptons Men asked them to drink & went for a quarter of an hour in which time the People went off & then they heard they were threatned to be whipt also they both absconded Warren says he has 17. & Hastings 18 Wages due in her & are willing to do any Labour so they may not be ill used for Mr Shooter the Chief Mate is too Severe & says to the Men & they would be content with any thing rather than undergo his Whipings & being told they must work half a year for the Company without pay they both said they had endured very great Hardships in coming here & that they ran from the Ship to avoid Suffering more & hoped they should not be worse than they had been already however they are at now bear it & were Sorry they should meet with so much ill Fortune At a Consultation held on Thursday 4th April 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Governr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Peg a Slave Wench belonging to John Long having left her Masters Service on the 26th of last Month & hid her Self in the Rocks was last Night apprehended & this day brought before us & being asked the cause of her Runing away said two Sailors belonging to the Wyndham & Compton had put her upon the Road & made her Drunk with Arrack & she did not know where she went or what she did & when she was Sober she was afraid to go home least she should be whipt, but her Master suspected she was got on board either the Wyndham or Compton in order to go to England & upon this Apprehension he had troubled Capt Prince with a Letter of Attorney to reclaim her, & send her to him again if he should find her there. Ordred that the said Wench be Publickly whipt with Twenty five Lashes & that she do wear an Iron Runaway Collar about her Neck for three Months	Warren was examined on why he had left the ship. He said that he and Francis Hastings had gone to look after the boats when some of the <i>Compton's</i> men asked them to drink, and they went for a quarter of an hour, during which time the people left. They then heard they were threatened with a whipping, so both absconded. Warren said £17 0s 0d was due to him in wages and Hastings £8 0s 0d. Both were willing to do any labour so long as they were not put under Mr Shooter, the chief mate, whom they thought too severe towards the men, and they said they would be content with anything rather than face his whippings. Told that they must work half a year for the Company without pay, they answered that they had suffered very great hardships in coming out, that they had left the ship to avoid worse, and that they had probably made their position worse than it already was. They said they must now bear it, and were very sorry they should have met with such misfortune. At a consultation held on Thursday 4 April 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Meg, a slave woman belonging to John Long, left her master's service on 26 March and hid among the rocks. She was taken up the previous night and brought before the council. Asked why she had run, she said two sailors from the <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> had met her on the road, held her down and made her drunk with arrack, and that she did not know where she had been or what she had said or done. When she was sober she was afraid to go home in case she should be whipped. Her master suspected she had got aboard either the <i>Wyndham</i> or the <i>Compton</i> to go to England, and on that suspicion he had troubled Captain Prince with a letter of attorney to reclaim her and send her back to him if he should find her there. The council ordered her publicly whipped with 25 lashes and directed that she wear an iron runaway collar about her neck for three months. Interpretations Wages of £17 0s 0d and £8 0s 0d forfeited put a figure on what these men gave up rather than face the chief mate. Company pay fell due only on a ship's safe return to England, so desertion at St Helena cost everything earned on the outward voyage, and the council recorded such sums because they measured the severity aboard. Benjamin Jones of the <i>Frances</i> surrendered eighteen months' pay on 24 April 1733 describing a captain who beat his crew, and William Connelly gave up sixteen months two days before this hearing. The standing penalty ashore, half a year's labour without wages, suited an establishment John Durling had reported at only 80 working men among 180 slaves. Warren was about seventy years old, which makes his flight the more striking. A man of that age had no prospect of a fresh berth and faced six months' unpaid labour on an island where he knew nobody, yet he judged that preferable to Shooter's discipline. Both men said plainly that they had made their position worse and would bear it, which the council entered without comment. Naming the officer rather than the ship locates the fault in one man's conduct, exactly as the examinations of the <i>Frances's</i> crew in April 1733 had traced four boatswains through a single voyage. Meg's account offers a defence rather than a complaint, and the distinction governs her sentence. Martha and Sarah were spared punishment in December 1733 and January 1734 because ill usage by their owners had driven them out, and the council

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			had stated the principle plainly on 18 December 1733. Meg alleged no cruelty by Long. She said sailors made her insensible and that fear of a whipping kept her away afterwards, so the flight was her own act and drew the full penalty of 25 lashes and a collar for three months. A letter of attorney to reclaim a slave from a departing ship shows how thin the protection of ownership was once a vessel weighed anchor. The council had found on 17 July 1733 that George Lendon the drummer, an islander, went aboard the <i>Monmouth</i> in a deserter's place and was carried off permanently, and no salute was fired when the <i>Harrington</i> sailed in March 1733 expressly to avoid alerting runaways that a ship was ready. Long's remedy depended entirely on Captain Prince choosing to honour a paper handed to him at sea. The iron collar is described here as a runaway collar, naming its function directly. Worn about the neck for a fixed term, it marked the wearer permanently while the sentence ran, making concealment or a second flight far harder to sustain, and the council had called it the ancient custom of the place when sentencing Walker and Sauneey on 30 October 1733.
290	288	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 9th April 1734 at Plantn House Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 5th instant about four in the Afternoon a Single Ship past by to Windward & was Seen till Six at Night The Severall Persons following this day Petitioned for new Leases vizt Samuel Doveton praying a new Lease for Twenty Six Acres of Land lying in Coobes Valley, alledging that the same was duely Fenced & Planted with its full proportion of Wood & his old Lease expired, James Harding praying a new Lease his old one being expired for Fifteen Acres lying in Sandy Bay Joseph Harding praying a new Lease his old one being also expired for Fifteen Acres lying in Sandy Bay Robert Gurling praying a new Lease his old one being likewise expired for Six Acres lying in Fish Gutt Orlando Bagley senr & Orlando Bagley junr jointly Petd for a new Lease the old one being expired the former for Fourteen the later for Ten Acres at present lying together & desiring that the Water might continue to run out of the Fourteen into the Ten Acres as it now doth & each of the Petitioners having alledged that the Severall Parcells of Land for which they desire new Leases are duely Fenced & Planted with their full Proportion of Wood they were Ordred to acquaint that their Land should be Viewed & if as they alledged it should be found that their Lands were duely Fenced & Planted with their full Quota of Wood, new Leases	At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 April 1734 at Plantation House, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. A single ship passed to windward about four in the afternoon on the 8th and was in sight until six that evening. Several people presented petitions that day asking for new leases. Samuel Doveton asked a fresh lease for 26 acres in Cowles Valley, setting out that the ground was duly fenced and planted with its full proportion of wood and that his old lease had expired. James Harding asked a new lease, his old one being expired, for 16 acres in Sandy Bay. Joseph Harding asked a new lease, his old one being also expired, for 15 acres in Sandy Bay. Robert Gurling asked a new lease, his old one being likewise expired, for 6 acres at Fish Gut. Orlando Bagley senior and Orlando Bagley junior jointly asked a new lease, the old one being expired, the father for 14 acres and the son for 10, the two parcels lying together. They desired that the water might continue to run out of the 14 acres into the other 10 as it did at present. Every petitioner alleged that the parcels of land for which they sought new leases were duly fenced and planted with their full proportion of wood. The council directed that the land be viewed as they had alleged, and that if the ground were found properly fenced and planted with a full quarter of wood, new leases would be granted to each of them as their petitions requested. Harry, a black boy belonging to Francis Wrangham, ran from his master the previous week. He was ordered whipped and to wear the runaway collar, then returned to his master. He ran again and was taken up that day and brought before the council. Asked why he had gone off, he would not say, only that he wanted neither clothes nor food and was neither beaten nor overworked. He was therefore ordered whipped again, to wear the collar for another six months and to carry an iron shackle on his leg. Governor Pyke, the storekeeper, the gunner and the steward each delivered accounts for the month past, which were examined, approved and entered as follows. Gunner's stores expended in March 1734

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		would be granted to each of them according to the Prayer of their Severall Petitions. Harry a Black boy of Mr Wanghams having last Week Runaway from his Master was Ordred to be whipped & to wear the Runaway Collar & was then delivered to his Master, but this same Night he Runaway again & was the day apprehended & brought before us again & was asked the reason of his absenting & he Answered he could not tell, for he wanted neither Clothes or Virtuals & was neither beat or hard worked he was therefore Ordred to be again Whiped & besides the Collar to wear an Iron Shackle upon his Leg. The Governour the Storekeeper the Gunner & Steward deld each their Account for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow vizt Gunnrs Stores Expended in March 1733/4 vizt Guns Fired, Minion, Falcons, Powder 2d Muster Day: Guns Fired 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 10 lb 17 An Allarm: Guns Fired 6, Minion 6, Falcons 0, Powder 18 18 Wyndham & Compton arrived: Guns Fired 27, Minion 9, Falcons 25, Powder 31 21 An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns Fired 4, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 22 Ditto for 2 Ships that past by: Guns Fired 6, Minion 6, Falcons 0, Powder 18 24 An Allarm: Guns Fired 4, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 ditto Arrived the Devonshire: Guns Fired 9, Minion 9, Falcons 9, Powder 9 27 Wyndham & Compton Sailed: Guns Fired 27, Minion 9, Falcons 25, Powder 31 Expence of the Guard: Guns Fired 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 19 Musquett Balls 6 lb Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Rammer heads 1 Match 24 Guns Fired 83, Minion 24, Falcons 59, Powder 153	2 March, muster day: guns fired 0, minion 0, falcons 0, powder 10 lb 17 March, an alarm: guns fired 6, minion 6, falcons 0, powder 18 lb 18 March, the Wyndham and Compton arrived: guns fired 27, minion 2, falcons 25, powder 31 lb 21 March, an alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 4, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 22 March, an alarm for two ships that passed by: guns fired 6, minion 6, falcons 0, powder 18 lb 24 March, an alarm: guns fired 4, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 24 March, arrival of the Devonshire: guns fired 9, minion 0, falcons 9, powder 9 lb 27 March, the Wyndham and Compton sailed: guns fired 27, minion 2, falcons 25, powder 31 lb Expense of the guard: powder 19 lb Musket balls, 60 Cartridge paper, 1 quire Rammer heads, 1 Match, 24 lb Total: guns fired 83, minion 24, falcons 59, powder 153 lb Interpretations Five petitions for renewal arriving on one day shows the lease reform of 26 July 1732 operating exactly as designed. No lease may be renewed until the surveyors certify the ground duly fenced and planted with a fair proportion of wood standing and thriving, and land found neglected is resumed and stays unlet until the Company directs otherwise. Expiry gave the council a moment of leverage that neither the advertisement of 16 March 1728 nor any fine had supplied, and every petitioner here anticipates the requirement by asserting compliance before he is asked. The Bagley request over the water is the sharpest point in the petitions. Father and son hold adjoining parcels and want the flow from the upper into the lower preserved, which means dividing the holding between two leases without severing the supply. The council had bound Jonathan Higham junior on 27 January 1730 to leave the head of a spring open for the neighbourhood, and Thomas Greentree was made to reopen a hole in his wall on 5 March 1734 after stopping a course that fed Richard Insley's plantation. Water on this island runs in narrow channels down steep ground, so a boundary drawn without regard to it can render the lower parcel worthless. Powder at 153 lb is the heaviest month in more than a year, and the reason lies in the salutes rather than the alarms. The <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> drew 27 guns on arrival and 27 again on departure, at 31 lb each time, and the pair together account for two fifths of the whole month's expenditure. Three separate alarms for ships that merely passed cost a further 42 lb, which repeats the pattern the council has lived with all year: a flagstaff that cannot identify a sail before she closes the road turns every distant vessel into an expense. Harry's second flight defeats the framework the council has been applying since December. Martha and Sarah were spared because ill usage drove them out, and Meg drew the full penalty on 4 April 1734 because she alleged none. Harry expressly denies want of clothing, want of food, beating or overwork, and then declines to give any reason at all. With no fault in the master and no explanation from the slave, the council can only escalate: a second whipping, six further months in the collar and a shackle added. That is the same doubling applied to Drake on 26 February 1734, whose second iron went on the other leg.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
291	289	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Withers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sowes, Shoates, Pigs, Barrows, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 March 1733: Bullocks 58, Cowes 157, Heifers 28, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 503, Ewes 98, Withers 38, Lambs 40, Rams 4, Totall 180, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 31, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 82, Turkeys 23, Fowles 78, Ducks 35, Geese 5, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 12, Rams 0, Totall 12, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 20, Ducks 13, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 58, Cowes 157, Heifers 28, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 500, Ewes 98, Withers 38, Lambs 52, Rams 4, Totall 192, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 31, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 82, Turkeys 23, Fowles 98, Ducks 48, Geese 5, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Sold to Ships in ditto: Bullocks 12, Cowes 0, Heifers 2, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 14, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 46, Cowes 157, Heifers 26, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 489, Ewes 98, Withers 38, Lambs 52, Rams 4, Totall 192, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 31, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 82, Turkeys 23, Fowles 98, Ducks 48, Geese 5, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Withers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 1, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 15, Fowles 50, Ducks 8, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 46, Cowes 157, Heifers 25, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 121, Bulls 8, Totall 488, Ewes 98, Withers 34, Lambs 52, Rams 4, Totall 188, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 30, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 81, Turkeys 8, Fowles 48, Ducks 40, Geese 4, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 5, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 6, Bulls 0, Totall 11, Ewes 0, Withers 1, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 1, Sowes 0, Shoates 0, Pigs 0, Barrows 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 31 March 1734: Bullocks 46, Cowes 152, Heifers 25, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 115, Bulls 8, Totall 477, Ewes 98, Withers 33, Lambs 52, Rams 4, Totall 187, Sowes 18, Shoates 16, Pigs 30, Barrows 15, Boars 2, Totall 81, Turkeys 8, Fowles 48, Ducks 40, Geese 4, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 19500 lb Ditto deld the Blacks 30500 Totall 50000 lb	Remaining 1 March 1734 58 bullocks, 157 cows, 28 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 503 neat cattle 98 ewes, 38 wethers, 40 lambs, 4 rams, total 180 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 31 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 82 hogs 23 turkeys, 78 fowls, 35 ducks, 5 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Increased in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 0 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 12 lambs, 0 rams, total 12 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 0 turkeys, 20 fowls, 13 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after increase 58 bullocks, 157 cows, 28 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 500 neat cattle 98 ewes, 38 wethers, 52 lambs, 4 rams, total 192 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 31 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 82 hogs 23 turkeys, 98 fowls, 48 ducks, 5 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Sold to ships in the month 12 bullocks, 0 cows, 2 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 14 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after the sale 46 bullocks, 157 cows, 26 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 489 neat cattle 98 ewes, 38 wethers, 52 lambs, 4 rams, total 192 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 31 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 82 hogs 23 turkeys, 98 fowls, 48 ducks, 5 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Killed in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 1 neat cattle 0 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 4 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 1 pig, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 1 hog 15 turkeys, 50 fowls, 8 ducks, 1 goose 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after killing 46 bullocks, 157 cows, 25 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 121 calves, 8 bulls, total 488 neat cattle 98 ewes, 34 wethers, 52 lambs, 4 rams, total 188 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 30 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 81 hogs 8 turkeys, 48 fowls, 40 ducks, 4 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Died in the month 0 bullocks, 5 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 6 calves, 0 bulls, total 11 neat cattle 0 ewes, 1 wether, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 1 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 pigs, 0 barrows, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Remaining 31 March 1734 46 bullocks, 152 cows, 25 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 115 calves, 8 bulls, total 477 neat cattle 98 ewes, 33 wethers, 52 lambs, 4 rams, total 187 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 30 pigs, 15 barrows, 2 boars, total 81 hogs

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			8 turkeys, 48 fowls, 40 ducks, 4 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Yams expended at the several plantations, 19,500 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 30,500 lb Total yams, 50,000 lb Interpretations Fourteen head sold to shipping is the heaviest disposal since the <i>Prince William</i> victualled in December, and it follows directly from the traffic the gunner's account records. The <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> lay in the road from 18 to 27 March and the <i>Devonshire</i> arrived on the 24th, so three ships victualled within ten days. Twelve of the fourteen were bullocks, the finished beasts kept expressly for the commanders under the charter party that bound them to buy beef at 20s the hundredweight, and the bullock column falls from 58 to 46 in consequence. Eleven cattle dead in a single month is the worst loss in this run and continues the drought that has been killing stock since January. Five cows and six calves went, following four beasts in February and five in January, so twenty animals have died of the weather in three months. Not one calf was born in March against three in February and nineteen in December, which means the herd has now stopped reproducing entirely. The neat cattle total has fallen from 525 on 1 January to 477 here, a drop of forty-eight in a quarter. Sheep behave quite differently and confirm what species can withstand. Twelve lambs were born and the flock rose to 192 before killing, where the cattle produced nothing, and only a single wether died. Sheep graze closer and need far less water than cattle, so a dry season that empties the calf pens leaves the flock growing. Goats had been the island's most drought resistant stock of all until their destruction was completed in February 1731, and their absence from these columns is felt precisely in a year like this one. Poultry has been drawn down to its lowest point in this record. Turkeys fell from 23 to 8 after fifteen were killed, and fowls from 98 to 48 after fifty. The birds have carried the fort's table since January, when 78 fowls and 18 turkeys were eaten against no beef at all, and the annual account to 30 September 1733 had already shown 502 fowls killed against an increase of 419. With three ships to entertain ashore in March the flock has been consumed faster than it can hatch. Yams reached 50,000 lb, the highest monthly figure of the year, with 30,500 lb going to the slaves. That the establishment can draw such a quantity through a drought that is killing cattle suggests the replanting undertaken after Isaac Durling's report of 10 April 1733 has succeeded. Roots lie underground and survive dry weather far better than pasture, which is precisely why the island depended on them.
292	290	Expence of the Table in March 1733/4 vizt 4 Sheep 4 30 Fowles 3 15 13 Turkeys 3 15 8 Ducks 12 1 Goose 5 1 Pig 5 339 Beef 4 4 6 62 Bacca Milk	Expense of the table in March 1734 4 sheep, £4 0s 0d 50 fowls, £3 15s 0d 15 turkeys, £3 15s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 1 pig, £0 5s 0d 338 lb beef, £4 4s 6d 62 bottles milk, £1 1s 8d 31 days greens, £1 11s 0d 18 lb butter, £0 18s 0d 20 gallons sherry, £7 15s 0d 24 gallons port, £9 6s 0d 52 gallons arrack, £10 8s 0d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 2 bottles oil, £0 6s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 8 31 Days Greens 1 11 18 lb Butter 18 20 Gallons Sherry 7 15 24 Gallons Port 9 6 52 Gallons Arrack 10 8 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 2 Bottles Oyle 6 6 3. -. - Flour 3 15 112 lb Sugar 1 8 6 2 lb Pepper 2 6 lb Biscuit 16 54 8 2 Collection of Goods Sold &c in March 1734 vizt Arrack 77 Gallons 6 p 23 2 Tushing 158½ Yards Sorted 19 8 2 Bread 98 lb 60 Flour 28 lb 102 10 2 Charges Generall vizt 24 lb Candles 2 8 8 lb Soap 8 8 2 Bushells Salt 18 2 oz Indico 1 1 large Bason 13 3 lb Cotton Yarn 10 6 1 lb Starch 9 2 Squares Glass 10 by 12 3 1 ditto 8 by 10 1 4 Yards Serret 1 4 18 China Bowles 1 10 12 Sneakers 6 12 large Cupps 3 1 pr Tape 1 15 lb Rope 5 6 24 lb Nails 19 6 8 10 3 Blacks vizt 8 doz Slacks 3 8 6 Lines 3 1 pr Shoes 4 6. 2. -. 12 lb Rice	30 lb flour, £3 15s 0d 112 lb sugar, £1 8s 6d 2 lb pepper, £0 2s 0d 6 lb biscuit, £0 16s 0d Total, £54 8s 2d Collection of goods sold and delivered in March 1734 177 gallons arrack, £23 2s 0d 158.5 yards ticking, sorted, £19 8s 2d 28 cwt bread, £60 0s 0d 28 cwt flour, £60 0s 0d Total for the inhabitants, £102 10s 2d Charges general 24 lb candles, £2 8s 0d 8 lb soap, £0 8s 8d 2 bushels salt, £0 18s 0d 2 ounces indigo, £0 1s 0d 1 large basin, £0 13s 0d 3 lb cotton yarn, £0 10s 6d 1 lb starch, £0 0s 9d 2 squares glass 10 by 12, £0 3s 0d 1 of the same, 8 by 10, £0 1s 0d 4 yards duroy, £0 1s 4d 18 china bowls, £1 10s 0d 12 sneakers, £0 6s 0d 12 large cups, £0 3s 0d 1 pair sea rigger, £0 1s 0d 15 lb rope, £0 5s 6d 24 lb nails, £0 19s 6d Total for general charges, £8 10s 3d Blacks 8 dozen hooks, £0 3s 8d 6 lines, £0 3s 0d 1 pair shoes, £0 4s 0d 6 cwt 14 lb rice, £3 1s 3d Total for the blacks, £3 11s 11d Grand total, £114 12s 4d Interpretations Bread and flour together at £120 0s 0d dominate the whole account and name the month's business exactly. Twenty-eight hundredweight of each went out, where January had recorded none at all, and the reason lies in the anchorage: the <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> lay in the road from 18 to 27 March and the <i>Devonshire</i> arrived on the 24th. Bread is the clearest marker of shipping anywhere in these accounts, running to 57 hundredweight in May 1731 with four Indiamen loading and vanishing entirely from the empty months. Ticking at 158.5 yards is the only substantial textile line, and it is the stout closely woven linen used for mattress and pillow covers, its dense weave keeping feathers from working through. Edmund Nicholls's inventory of 26 November 1733 valued three beds at £16 0s 0d, more than all his tableware together, which shows what bedding was worth on an island where feathers had to be gathered locally and every alternative arrived by ship. The china bowls, sneakers and large cups came ashore from the <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> within the same fortnight. Their invoices of 19 March 1734 listed 380 large cups and 200 sneakers from the <i>Wyndham</i> and 200 bowls from the <i>Compton</i> , all priced at Canton in taels, and here they appear passing straight into the storekeeper's general charges. Goods reached the island and were issued in the same month, which is the pattern for the China trade and quite unlike the Bengal supplies that were held and sold down between seasons. Beef at 338 lb sits alongside 50 fowls and 15 turkeys, and the stock return for the same month explains the mixture. Fourteen head went to the three ships and eleven cattle died of the drought, so the herd fell from 503 to 477 and the fort took its meat where it could. Poultry has borne that burden

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3 1 3 3 11 11 114 12 4	since January and is now nearly exhausted, the flock closing at 8 turkeys and 48 fowls, its lowest point in this record. Two panes of window glass at ten inches by twelve and one at eight by ten continue the repairs running through the winter. Fourteen panes of the smaller size came through the storekeeper in December 1733, and Isaac Wood had petitioned on 28 March 1734 that King William's Fort stood without a roof or covering fit to shelter the guard. Glass came the whole way from England and broke readily in the surf landing, so it was replaced pane by pane as it could be spared.
293	291	Brought over 114 12 4 Plantation vizt 24 Milk Pans 1 15 4 Earthen Pans Earthenware 6 4 pr Gannets 18 3 lb Rice 1 10 5. 2. 14 Paddy 1 19 4½ 6 8 4½ Garrison vizt 12 Cattee Tea 3 6½ Gallons Rape Oyle 1 8 3 2 Quarts Sweet ditto 6 6 2 Tin Lamps 3 3¾ Mrs Canvas 2 0½ ½ lb Coloured Thread 2 5 4 1½ Diet Expences vizt 52 Gallons Arrack 10 8 114 lb Sugar 1 8 6 3. -. - Flour 3 15 6 lb Biscuit 16 2 lb Pepper 2 2 Bottles Oyle 6 6 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 20 Gallons Sherry 7 15 24 Gallons Port 9 6 34 2 159 10 4	Brought over, £114 12s 4d Plantation 24 milk pans, £1 15s 0d 4 earthen pans of earthenware, £0 6s 0d 4 pairs garnets, £0 18s 0d 3 cwt rice, £1 10s 0d 5 cwt 2 qr 14 lb paddy, £1 19s 4.5d Total for the plantation, £6 8s 4.5d Garrison 12 canisters tea, £3 0s 0d 6.5 gallons rape oil, £1 8s 3d 2 quarts sweet lime, £0 6s 6d 2 tin lamps, £0 3s 0d 33.5 lb canvas, £0 2s 0.5d 0.5 lb coloured thread, £0 2s 0d Total for the garrison, £5 4s 1.5d Diet expenses 52 gallons arrack, £10 8s 0d 114 lb sugar, £1 8s 6d 30 lb flour, £3 15s 0d 64 lb biscuit, £0 16s 0d 2 lb pepper, £0 2s 0d 2 bottles oil, £0 6s 6d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 20 gallons sherry, £7 15s 0d 24 gallons port, £9 6s 0d Total for diet expenses, £34 2s 0d Grand total, £159 10s 4d Interpretations Twenty-four milk pans and four earthen pans belong to the dairy work carried on by the Company's slave women, whom the musters list separately at the Grand Plantation. Shallow pans were used to stand milk so the cream rose and could be skimmed for butter, and the table account for March carried 62 bottles of milk and 18 lb of butter, so the plantation was supplying the fort directly. Buying two dozen at once suggests either heavy breakage of earthenware or a dairy being restocked. Garnets are T-shaped strap hinges for heavy doors, and four pairs charged to the plantation point to gates or outbuildings under repair. That fits the season: yams to the plantations ran at 19,500 lb in March as the ground was worked, and the council had bought seven and a half acres from Captain Goodwin on 31 December 1733 to relieve Perkins, which Isaac Durling reported exhausted on 10 April 1733. Paddy is rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than milled grain and fed to stock rather than people, and it appears under the plantation heading for that reason while the milled rice under the same heading and under the blacks' account feeds the establishment. Both have run steadily through the year, carrying what the yam crop could not, though March's issue of 50,000 lb of yams was the highest of the year and suggests the shortage is easing. Sweet lime is a citrus fruit rather than the building material, valued at sea and ashore against scurvy, and two quarts charged to the garrison probably went to men under the surgeon's care. Isaac Wood had

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			petitioned on 28 March 1734 that King William's Fort stood without a roof and that Sergeant Sweazy had been violently seized with the bloody flux, so the guard's health was already before the council. Wine at 44 gallons across port and sherry costs £17 1s 0d, more than three times the beef charge and half again the arrack. That reflects the shipping rather than the household: the <i>Wyndham</i>, <i>Compton</i> and <i>Devonshire</i> all lay in the road in March, and commanders, supercargoes and passengers of note were entertained at the fort table as a standing obligation, the list of eaters recording at least seven such guests in shipping time.
294	292	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 16th April 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Messrs Doveton & Steward this day presented the following List of Persons yesterday chosen by the Vestry to Serve Parish Offices for the Year ensuing vizt Capt Goodwin John French Junr for Churchwardens Jos: Bates Wm Neale Senr Simon Whaley Overseers of the Highways for the John Stapp East Division Rich Goodwin Overseers for the West Benj: Beale Division Jona Higham Overseers for the South Jos: Harding Division Out of these wee appointed vizt Capt Goodwin John French Junr Churchwardens Simon Whaley Overseer for the East Division Rich Goodwin Overseer for the West Division Jos Harding Overseer for the South Division It was this day Ordered that in Consideration of the great trouble the Overseers of the Highways have in Summoning the People to Work & giving their personal Attendance thereat, they should for the time to come be excused from Sending two of their Blacks to the said Work during the time they are Overseers. Orange a black Slave belonging to Tho Clough having complained that his Master & Mistress used him so Cruelly that it was impossible for him to live with them any longer for they were always beating of him & neither fed or clothed him Sufficiently & this Fellow having made many Complaints of this nature the said Clough & his Wife were sent for & advised to Sell him & buy an other but this they refused to do in a very impudent manner, upon which they were told that if they persisted in this Refusal they should not Renew their Licence to Sell Strong Liquors nor have leave to buy any more Blacks they therefore at last agreed to Sell the said Slave, & Sold him accordingly	At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 April 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Doveton and Steward presented the following list of people chosen by the vestry the previous day to serve as parish officers for the year ahead. Captain Goodwin, for churchwarden John French junior, for churchwarden Joseph Bates, for churchwarden William Seale senior, for churchwarden Simon Whaley, overseer of the highways for the east division John Slaffe, overseer of the highways for the east division Richard Goodwin, overseer for the west division Benjamin Beale, overseer for the west division Jonathan Higham, overseer for the south division James Harding, overseer for the south division Out of these the council appointed Captain Goodwin, churchwarden John French junior, churchwarden Simon Whaley, overseer for the east division Richard Goodwin, overseer for the west division James Harding, overseer for the south division The council ordered that, given the considerable trouble the overseers of the highways take in summoning people to work and attending in person themselves, they should in future be excused from sending two of their own slaves to that work while they hold the office. Orange, a slave belonging to Thomas Clough, complained that his master and mistress used him so cruelly that he could not possibly live with them any longer. They were forever berating him and gave him neither enough food nor enough clothing. The man had made many complaints of this kind, so Clough and his wife were sent for and advised to sell him and buy another. They refused in a very impudent manner, whereupon they were told that if they persisted in that refusal their licence to sell strong liquor would not be renewed and they would not be permitted to buy any more slaves. They then agreed at last to sell him, and did so. Interpretations The vestry nominates twice the number needed and the council selects from the list, which keeps the appointment in the Governor's hands while giving the parish a real voice in who is eligible. That arrangement has run through this record since the parish officers were chosen on 26 September 1727, and the council appointed Richard Beale and Isaac Wood churchwardens from the inhabitants' list on 1 October 1728 on the same footing. Nominating four for two places and six for three means no man can be forced on the council and none can be imposed on the parish against its wishes. Excusing the overseers from sending two slaves apiece is payment in kind for an unpaid office. Highway work fell on the inhabitants as a labour obligation rather than a rate, each holder

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			contributing hands, and Samuel Doveton complained on 26 December 1732 that men neglected to send their slaves at all. An overseer who must summon his neighbours and attend in person loses his own labour twice over, so remitting the contribution compensates him without any charge to the Company, which is the pattern Governor Pyke has followed throughout. The pressure applied to Clough is the sharpest sanction the council has yet used against a cruel owner. It could not convict him, since the testimony of blacks was inadmissible against a free defendant, and it had previously gone no further than withholding a slave from the household or charging the owner the recovery fee, as with Martha in December 1733 and Sarah in January 1734. Threatening the retail liquor licence reaches a man through his livelihood: licences had been charged at 40s since 18 April 1727 and were a standing source of income, so refusal to renew was a real loss. Barring the purchase of further slaves adds a second and longer sanction. An island planter without hands could not work his ground, as Daniel Griffith's surrender of 9 September 1729 demonstrated when he pleaded he had no slaves to clear the land, so the threat would have closed off Clough's ability to farm at all. Between the two the council manufactured a remedy where the law gave it none, and Orange was sold the same day, which is the first occasion in this run where a slave's own repeated complaints have secured his removal from an abusive household.
295	293	At a Consultation held on Thursday 25th April 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday at Noon the Lyell Capt Small arrived here from England & the Packet being brought on Shore wee opened & read the same through & this Morning early gave the Captain the usual Instructions to heave in upon Anchors & sent him also the following Letter vizt Sir Wee desire You'll send on Shore with all the Expedition you possibly can all such Goods & Merchandize as are on board your Ship Consigned to us for the Honble Company & if You want any Assistance wee will help You. Wee are, &c Wee also Ordered Mr Crispe to attend at the Waterside & receive the Goods when Landed & to Lodge in the Secretaries Office every Evening an Account of the Ships Working & of the number of Boates which are daily delivered & what Surfs or other Accidents happen to hinder their Working to the End it may appear that all due care hath been taken to dispatch her within the time limited by Charter Party. At a Consultation held on Wednesday 1 May 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Thursday 25 April 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Lyell</i>, Captain Small, arrived the previous day at noon from England. The packet was brought ashore, opened and read through that morning. The captain received the usual instructions to heave in upon alarms, and the council also sent him the following letter. The council asked Captain Small to send ashore, with all the speed he could manage, the goods and merchandise consigned to the island aboard his ship. Any assistance he needed would be provided. Mr Crisp was ordered to attend at the waterside, to receive the goods as they landed and to lodge in the secretary's office each evening an account of the ship's unloading, the number of boats delivered daily, and any surf or other accident that hindered the work, so that it might appear that every care had been taken to dispatch her within the time fixed by the charter party. At a consultation held on Wednesday 1 May 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported receiving the following letter that morning from Captain Alexander. Alexander wrote that he could not without great concern make a complaint against Henry Coles, a soldier of the garrison, for impudently attempting to seduce one of his daughters and to take her from him. Despite Alexander forbidding him, Coles had several times either come to his country house in his absence or got into her company elsewhere, as he had particularly done at the funeral of William Bates, in a most audacious manner. Being at that moment in view of one of Alexander's family who made it his business to watch his daughter, Coles had followed as she was going home and pressed to walk with her to her lodgings, which Alexander prevented by sending for her at once. He set out that there had

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that this Morning he received the following Letter from Capt Alexander vizt Worshipfull Sir I cannot without some great concern make complaint against one Henry Coles a Soldier of this Garrison for impudently endeavouring to seduce one of my Daughters & enticing her from me notwithstanding my forbidding him Severall times either coming to my house or staying on my Absence or getting into her Company & pursued them he sedulously did at the Funeral of Mrs Bates in a most audacious manner & in the open view of my Self & Family make it his business to Stop my said Daughter on the Road as she was returning home & interrupted with her to go to her Lodgings which I prevented by standing immediatly for her to come home & as there has been a Marriage Intreague for some time past privately & in a clandestine manner carried on by his too frequent writing Letters to her & knowing him to be an idle indolent fellow & nothing to Subsist on but his Salary I sent for him & have in too moderate a manner sent Messages to him Severall times that I would never consent to his being Married to a Daughter of mine with threats that if ever I knew or heard he had any correspondence with her I would use him in such a manner as he would not like, yet whenever he knew he went	been a marriage arrangement carried on privately and in a clandestine manner for some time past, kept up by Coles's frequent letters to her. Knowing him to be an idle and indolent fellow, wanting nothing to subsist on but his soldier's pay, Alexander had sent for him and told him several times that he would never consent to his marrying a daughter of his. Coles had responded with threats, saying that if he ever knew or heard he had any correspondence with her he would use him in such a manner as he would not like, yet whenever he knew she went [...] Interpretations The daily record of boats and surf is a document prepared for a dispute that has not yet arisen. A charter party fixed the time allowed for discharge, and demurrage fell due to the owners for any delay beyond it, so an island with no sheltered harbour needed proof that every day lost was lost to the sea rather than to slowness ashore. Captain Marchet raised demurrage against the council on 1 January 1728, and Mr Crisp has kept this record for the <i>Anne and Mary</i> in March 1728, the <i>Cadogan</i> in March 1729, the <i>Monmouth</i> in March 1731 and the <i>Harrington</i> in February 1733. A packet opened and read through in a single morning carries the Company's whole direction for the year. The last such delivery, brought by the <i>Harrington</i> on 17 February 1733, produced the order to send twenty men and ten women slaves to Bencoolen, which John Durling reported impossible to meet. Ships from England arrived rarely, so the letters they carried set the council's agenda for months, and the record here of the packet being read at once reflects that urgency. Alexander's complaint rests on control of his daughter's marriage rather than on any wrong done to her, and that is the ordinary position for a man of his standing. He has sat as second of council since 1727, and a match with a soldier living on his pay would have carried her out of the island's small propertied circle entirely. The council heard Mercy Long's engagement settled on 2 April 1734 on precisely these terms, with the father's consent made the condition and visits permitted only in a parent's company. Clandestine correspondence conducted by letter is what elevates the matter from a private quarrel to a council complaint. A written promise of marriage carried legal weight, and Margaret Bagley's complaint of 29 January 1734 turned on a forged letter in her daughter's name, for which Avery and Nathan Sample spent five weeks in prison. Letters passing between a soldier and a councillor's daughter, unseen by her father, could establish a contract he had expressly refused to sanction.
296	294	went from home to see any Friends or Relations he has frequently met her on the Road at severall houses designedly & no doubt but with a wicked & evil intent & as it has been my very great Misfortune to have too late & Melancholly Instance of having an other of my Daughters Enticed & Deluded from me & my Home Married, which has caused me & Family Abundance of grief & Sorrow & having great occasion to fear & dread the like unhappy Case may happen again by the Impudence & evil design of this Henry Coles I humbly beg your Worship will	Alexander wrote that whenever Coles knew his daughter had gone from home to visit friends or relations he had frequently met her on the road, and at several houses deliberately, with an intent he had no doubt was wicked. It had been his own great misfortune to learn too late of a similar case, one of his other daughters having been enticed and deluded away from him and then married, which had caused him and his family a great deal of grief and sorrow. Having good reason to fear that the same unhappy business might happen again through the impudence and evil design of Henry Coles, he asked the council, out of kindness and pity to himself and his family, to place him among the soldiers intended to be sent to Bencoolen aboard the <i>Ljell</i>. Coles might be of greater service to the Honourable Company there than here, the favour would contribute greatly to the future satisfaction and contentment not only of himself but of his whole family, and it would set a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		out of your kindness & Pity to my Self & Family be pleased to let him be one of the number of Soldiers & you intend to Send to Bencoolen in this Ship Lyell where he may be of more Service to the Honble Company than he is can be here where I shall favour will extreamly contribute to the future Satisfaction & Content of not only my Self but of my Family & is a good Precedent to prevent other young evil Minded Persons from Attempting the like ill Practices which must in Consequence give all on any tender Parent the most greatest concern & from these Confidence of Your Worships candid & just Convenience herein I humbly refer the Consideration hereof to Your great Prudence & am with all dutyfull Respect &c J: Alexander After this Letter was read Capt Alexander came into Councill & made the same complaint by word of Mouth & then Henry Coles was sent for & the same complaint being repeated to his face & he not denying the same & being a very idle indolent fellow bred up to no manner of business nor able to support himself to any nor has any thing but the ordinary pay of a Soldier to maintain himself & considering that the young Woman if deluded by him would be ruined & only bring a farther Charge upon the Parish who are already burthened with severall of that Fellows Relations as a Father & Sister & divers other Children Wee are therefore of Opinion that it is proper to Send him for one of the four Soldiers that go to Bencoolen & as wee are permitted to take Ten Soldiers of those going from England to the West Coast yet because wee had here the Honble Company in case there should be After will Supply Us wee think it Sufficient to desire Capt Small to Exchange four of his other Soldiers for others & wee now send & then the Govt of Bencoolen if they do want Soldiers as wee believe they always will do it though there better they must blame themselves for the four wee send are more likely by much Mad any wee think they have those wee send are John Long a Strong & Stout Fellow & Henry Coles, the other two are Persons hardly fit but are Frenchmen & therefore at this time not so proper for St Helena	good precedent to deter other young and evil-minded people from attempting the like practices, which must in every case give a parent the greatest concern. Placing full confidence in the council's justice, he referred the matter to its judgement and remained respectfully its servant. After the letter was read Captain Alexander came into the council and repeated the same complaint by word of mouth. Coles was sent for and the complaint was put to him again to his face. He did not deny it, and being a very idle and indolent fellow, bred up to no manner of business, unable to apply himself to any, and having nothing but the ordinary pay of a soldier to maintain himself, the council considered that if he were allowed to marry a young woman he would only bring a further charge upon the parish, which is already burdened with several of that fellow's relations, a father, a sister and various other children. The council therefore held it proper to send him as one of the four soldiers to go to Bencoolen. It was not permitted to take ten soldiers out of those going from England to the west coast, but since the Honourable Company had ordered it, and in case any further supply should come, the council thought it sufficient to spare Coles in exchange for one of his other soldiers for Bencoolen. It had now sent word to the Governor of Bencoolen that he wanted soldiers, and believed that if the settlement received worse men than these it must blame the council for the four sent, and no more. Most probably the men they have there are John Long, a strong and healthy fellow, and Coles. The other two are useless there or elsewhere, and are men whose service at this time is not proper for St Helena. Interpretations Transportation to Bencoolen is the council's standard means of removing a man it cannot convict of anything. John Bowers was determined for Bencoolen on 20 February 1733 after the council cited the laws of Virginia, Jamaica, Barbados and Maryland to show its own treatment mild, and John Long secured leave to go there on 19 June 1733 under twenty pound bonds from Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward when the fowl prosecution was stopped. Coles has committed no offence known to the law, so the draft supplies a remedy that no court could. Bencoolen was the destination this record treats as a punishment in itself. Seven soldiers hid among the rocks on 30 March 1731 rather than sail there, each giving fear of starving as his reason on the account the <i>James and Mary's</i> people had given of bad diet and heavy mortality, and the council observed on 24 July 1733 that of some fifty slaves sent within two years scarcely half remained. Alexander asks for Coles to be placed aboard knowing all of this, which is a measure of how far he would go to end the courtship. The parish burden argument does the real work in the council's reasoning. Poor relief fell on the churchwardens and ultimately on the inhabitants, and this record shows the cost repeatedly: Sophia White drew 5s a week from the Company with 5s more from the inhabitants, and the churchwardens faced placing a pauper child at six shillings a week in September 1733. A man with no trade, no property and only a soldier's pay, whose father, sister and several other relatives are already relieved, would add a family to that charge, which converts a private grievance into a public expense. The council's frankness about the quality of the draft is worth noting. It states plainly that two of the four are useless anywhere, and that Bencoolen may reasonably complain of the men it receives. That

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			candour matches John Durling's report of 27 February 1733, when the council entered on the record that no blame could be imputed to it for sending fewer slaves than ordered and feared it would be obliged to hire people. Writing down what London would otherwise discover is the council's habitual protection against later reproach. Alexander's earlier daughter, enticed away and married against his wishes, explains the intensity of the complaint. A father who has already lost one daughter to a clandestine match has no confidence that forbidding a second will hold, and the council heard Mercy Long's engagement settled on 2 April 1734 with visits permitted only in a parent's company. Here it forgoes supervision entirely and removes the man from the island.
297	295	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 7th May 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday Evening the Ten working days being then expired wee dispatched Capt Small for Bencoolen & took his Receipt for the Packets accordingly For the better Security of the Estate of Jos: Coles from Waste or Imbezzlement wee Granted Capt Goodwin Letters of Administration a Copy of which is as follows Island St Helena Whereas Elianor & Elizabeth Coles Daughters of Bridget Bates by her former husband John Coles decd died lately both of them Intestate possessed of a Landed Estate & other Effects of considerable Value which was formerly the Estate of John Coles their Father but by Grant from Joseph Coles the eldest Son & heir of the said John Coles said was Setled upon his Mother in Law the said Bridget Bates for the benefit of his Brothers & Sisters or such of them as she thought fit & the the said Bridget Coles alias Bates falling Sick & believing she should die did make her Will in Writing to the effect following vizt that upon Condition these two young Women Elianor and Elizabeth Coles did pay unto William Coles & Mary the Wife of John Savage two other of her Children the Sum of £25 each then the said Estate should be invested & remain in them the said Elianor & Elizabeth Coles & their heirs & Shortly after both the said Elianor & Eliz: Coles died Intestate as aforesaid by which decease the said Estate reverted unto their eldest Brother Jos: Coles now Residing at Bencoolen in the Island of Sumatra in the East Indies & whereas severall Claims have been made to the said Estate by John Savage in Right of his Wife & by Tho: Faulk & John Lewis Berry Attorneys of William Coles of Doncaster in behalf of the said William Coles & by Jos: Bates in behalf of his	At a consultation held on Tuesday 7 May 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The ten working days having expired the previous day, the council dispatched Captain Small for Bencoolen and took his receipt for the packets. For the better security of Joseph Coles's estate from waste or embezzlement, the council granted Captain Goodwin letters of administration, a copy of which follows. Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, daughters of Bridget Bates by her former husband John Coles, both died lately without wills, holding a landed estate and other effects of considerable value which had formerly belonged to John Coles. The property came to them by a grant from Joseph Coles, eldest son and heir of John Coles, which was settled on his mother-in-law Bridget Bates for the benefit of his brothers and sisters, or of whichever of them she thought fit. Bridget Bates, otherwise Coles, falling sick and believing she would die, made her will in writing to the following effect. On condition that Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles paid £35 0s 0d apiece to two other of her children, William Coles and Mary the wife of John Savage, the estate was to be vested in and remain to Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, their heirs and executors. Both Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles died soon afterwards without wills, and by their deaths the estate returned to their eldest brother Joseph Coles, now living at Bencoolen on the island of Sumatra in the East Indies. Several claims to the estate have been made by John Savage in right of his wife, by Thomas Faull and John Lewis Deney as attorneys for William Coles of Bencoolen, and by Joseph Bates on behalf of his children by Bridget, the widow of John Coles. The council has fully considered those claims and pretended rights and compared them with the acts of parliament relating to the settlement of intestates' estates, and with other books of law treating of such matters. It finds that the children of Joseph Bates have no right to any part of the estate. It finds further that Mary the wife of John Savage was allowed £35 0s 0d for her share of the estate under Bridget Bates's will, though afterwards she had no right at all to it under that will, and having once been allowed the sum she has no right to it now, so the estate returns to Joseph Coles, her eldest brother and heir at law. The several parties named above have dealt very unjustly by Joseph Coles in claiming in their own names, and in concealing from him that they held letters of attorney to claim whatever rights belonged to him. Those letters they kept concealed until it appeared they had no right of their own, which was highly unfair and dishonest. Matthew Mudge, a native of this island and the nearest relation of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Children by Bridget the Widow of the abovesaid John Coles all which Claims & Pretences of Right wee have fully considered & compared with the Acts of Parliament relating to the Settlement of Intestates Estates & other Books of Law treating of such Matters & thereupon wee do find that the Children of Jos: Bates have no Right to any part of the said Estate & wee farther find that Mary the Wife of John Savage has been allowed £25 in Consideration of her part of the said Estate by Mrs Bates Will though afterwards she had not any Right thereto & Wm Coles by the said Will has been also allowed the same, then tho otherwise he had no Right thereto & therefore do find that the said Estate is Reverted unto him the abovementioned Joseph Coles who is their eldest Brother & heir at Law, & whereas the severall Persons aforesaid have dealt very Unjustly by the said Jos: Coles by claiming in their own Names in Exclusion of him though they had Letters of Attorney from him to claim what Rights should Appertain to him which Letters of Attorney they kept concealed till it appeared they had no Right of their own upon which unfair & dishonest Proceedings Matthew Mudge a native of this Island & the nearest Relation of him the said Jos: Coles did lately Petition Us to desire that some honest & faithfull Person might be admitted to Administration of the said Estate for & on the behalf of the said Jos: Coles as his Proctor & Amy to prevent & Secure him from being farther Imposed upon & cheated as he hath one already been out of the part	Joseph Coles, lately petitioned the council that some honest and faithful person might be admitted to administer the estate for and on behalf of Joseph Coles, as his kinsman, to prevent and secure him from being further imposed upon and cheated, as he has already been out of his [...] Interpretations Ten working days is the term fixed by the charter party for discharging a ship, and the council's care to record its expiry before dispatching the <i>Ljell</i> is the whole purpose of the daily boat and surf account Mr Crisp kept from 25 April 1734. Demurrage fell due to the owners for delay beyond the allowed time, and Captain Marchet had raised that very claim against the council on 1 January 1728, so the record establishes that the ship was released the moment the obligation ended. Letters of administration are granted where a person dies without a will, giving the appointee authority to gather in and distribute the estate, and here they answer a difficulty the council could not solve any other way. Joseph Coles is at Bencoolen, five months distant, and every party on the island with an interest in the property has been found to have none. Appointing Captain Goodwin, a councillor with no claim of his own, protects an absent heir who cannot protect himself, exactly as Goodwin and Crisp inventoried and sealed Benjamin Flagg's effects on 1 April 1729 rather than leaving them with the ship's master. Savage's position is disposed of by a rule that a beneficiary cannot take twice under the same instrument. His wife accepted £35 0s 0d as her share under Bridget Bates's will, and having taken the money she cannot afterwards claim the land the will gave to others. The council reached the same point from a different direction on 12 February 1734, when it held that the deaths of Eleanor and Elizabeth without issue returned the property to their brother by the ordinary rules of intestacy rather than under the will at all. The finding on the concealed letters of attorney is the harshest language the council has used in this dispute. Savage held written authority from Joseph Coles and Margaret Gunn dated 9 November 1733, produced only when he was questioned on 19 February 1734, and Faull and Deney appeared as attorneys for William Coles while their principal's claim was being defeated. An attorney owes his principal good faith, and using the commission as a fallback while claiming against him in one's own name inverts the whole relationship the instrument creates. Mudge's petition of 19 February 1734 has now produced its result, though not in the form he asked. He offered himself or some other disinterested person, and the council chose one of its own members instead. That removes any suggestion of a family interest in the administration, since Mudge is Coles's nearest relation on the island and would stand to gain from how the personal estate is divided among the surviving brothers and sisters.
298	296	part of his Inheritance. Wee therefore the Governour & Council of the said Island on behalf of the Honble the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies absolute Lords & Proprietors of the said Island To John Goodwin of the said Island Gent send greeting Whereas the abovementioned Elianor & Eliz: Coles decd	Coles had already been cheated out of part of his inheritance. The Governor and council of the island, on behalf of the Honourable United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies, absolute lords and proprietors of the island, sent greeting to John Goodwin, gentleman, of the same island. Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles, named above, died as already recorded, holding in their lifetime at the time of their deaths lands, goods, rights and credits within the jurisdiction of the island. The full power to dispose of and grant administration of every part

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		aforesaid had in their lifetime & at the time of their Death Lands Goods Rights or Credits within the Jurisdiction of the said Island by Virtue whereof the full disposses & grant of Administration of all & singular the Lands Goods & Chattells of them the said Also the pleading the Compensation Calculate or Account of such Administration & the final Release or Discharge from the same are notoriously known to belong entirely & Solely to Us the Govr & Council of this place. And wee being desirous that the Lands Goods & Chattells of them the said Elianor & Elizabeth Coles should be well & faithfully Administred Employed & Disposed of to proper Uses, Do by Virtue of these Presents Grant to you John Goodwin as Proctor & Amy & in behalf of Jos: Coles full Power & intirely to Administer & faithfully to dispose of the Lands Goods & Chattells of them the deceased Also to Demand Collect Levy & cause Payment to be made of all Debts or Dues whatsoever belonging to them the said deceased or either of them in their lifetime & at the time of their Death & to pay what Debts were owing by them the said or either of them at the same time as far as such their Goods & Chattells will extend in proportion & according to their Valuation This Power wee Grant you having Assurance of your Fidelity charging you by the Oath you have taken in this behalf that you do & make or cause to be made, a full, true, & entire, and faithfull & Inventory of all & singular the Lands Goods and Chattells of them the said Elianor & Elizabeth Coles that hath been is or may be found in this Island to belong to them or either of them at the time of their decease & deliver the same to Us on or before the 1 day of July next ensuing the date hereof & also that you deliver the same to Us on or before the 1 day of July next ensuing the date hereof & also that you deliver an Account of your Administration hereunto Us when you shall be thereunto required And therefore unto & of use commit & yee wee ordain Constitute & Appoint to be Sole Administrator of all & singular such Lands Goods or Chattells by these Presents Dated & given under our hands & the Honble Companies Seale this 7th day of May in the year of our Lord 1734 Isa Pyke Governr Jno Alexander D Crispe The Weather Days of Working &c during the time the Ship was Unloading were as follow vizt	of those lands, goods and chattels, and to fix the compensation, calculation or account of such an administration and to grant a final release or discharge from it, is well known to belong entirely and solely to the Governor and council of the island. Being anxious that the lands, goods and chattels of Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles should be well and faithfully administered, employed and disposed of to proper uses, they granted John Goodwin, as proctor and attorney on behalf of Joseph Coles, full power to administer and faithfully to dispose of the lands, goods and chattels of the two deceased women. He was also empowered to demand, collect, levy and enforce payment of every debt or due of any kind belonging to them or to either of them in their lifetime and at the time of their deaths, and to pay whatever debts were owing by either of them at the same time, so far as their goods and chattels would extend, in proportion to their valuation. The power was granted on assurance of his fidelity. He was charged, by the oath he had taken in the matter, to make or cause to be made a full, true, entire and faithful inventory of all the lands, goods and chattels of Eleanor and Elizabeth Coles that had been or might be found on the island to belong to them or to either of them at the time of their deaths, and to deliver it to the council on or before 5 July next following the date of the grant. He was also to deliver an account of his administration to the council on or before 5 July next, and whenever else he might be required to do so. The council therefore constituted and appointed him sole administrator of all such lands, goods or chattels. The grant was given under their hands and the Honourable Company's seal on 8 May 1734, and signed by Isaac Pyke, Governor, John Alexander and Duke Crisp. The weather and the days of work during the time the ship was unloading were as follows. 25 April, 3 longboats delivered, weather good 26 April, 3 longboats delivered, weather good 27 April, 3 longboats delivered, weather good 28 April, no longboats delivered, weather good 29 April, 3 longboats delivered, weather good 30 April, 2 longboats delivered, weather good 1 May, 3 longboats delivered, weather good 2 May, 3 longboats delivered, weather good 6 May, 2 longboats delivered, weather good The whole cargo was delivered, the weather good and the surf every day moderate. Interpretations The council's assertion that it alone may grant administration on the island is a statement of jurisdiction rather than a formality. In England such grants belonged to the ecclesiastical courts, and St Helena had no bishop, no consistory and no probate registry, so the Company's charter placed the whole business in the Governor and council. Every will proved in this record rests on that same authority, and setting it out at length here matters because the grant will be read at Bencoolen and possibly in London by parties who lost. Requiring an inventory and an account by a fixed date, both under the administrator's oath, is what turns the appointment into something enforceable. The council had learned the cost of leaving that open with Joseph Bates, ordered on 3 May 1731 to render his bill for the Mesa estate and producing nothing until 26 August 1733, then swearing to two inventories that differed in sixteen articles. Naming 5 July 1734 for both documents gives the council a date on which to act rather than a promise to chase. Captain Goodwin is appointed proctor and attorney for Joseph Coles as well as administrator, which is the point of the whole arrangement. A simple administrator gathers the estate for whoever

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		April 25th 3 Longboates were delivered, 26th 3 Longboates, 27th 2 Longboates & 1 Sinnew, 29th 3 Longboates, 1 May 2 Longboates 2d May 3 Longboat 3d 3 Longboates, 6 May 2 Longboates were delivered, the Weather good, & the Surfs every day moderate.	proves entitled; an attorney acts in the absent heir's name and interest. Matthew Mudge asked on 19 February 1734 for an honest person to act on his kinsman's behalf precisely because Savage and the others had held commissions from Coles while claiming against him, so the council has now given the same power to a man with nothing of his own at stake. Nine days of unloading with good weather throughout and every day's surf moderate is unusual enough to be worth the entry. The record for the <i>Monmouth</i> in March 1731 showed surf too high for work on two of twelve days, and the <i>Cadogan's</i> discharge in March 1729 recorded high surf on four of ten. A clean run means the council can point to the charter party term expiring on 6 May with no excuse needed, which is why Captain Small was dispatched for Bencoolen the following day.
299	297	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 14 May 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, Capt Goodwin the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Acct for the Month past which were Severally Examd & Approved & are as follow vizt Expence of the Table in April 1734 vizt 384 lb Beef 4 16 4 Sheep 4 10 Turkeys 2 10 74 Fowles 5 11 8 Ducks 12 1 Goose 5 5 Pigs 1 5 68 Gallons Arrack 20 8 19 Gallons Port 7 7 3 11 Gallons Sherry 4 5 3 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 2 Bottles Oyle 6 6 1 2. Sugar 1 17 6 1 -. - Flour 1 5 30 Days Greens 1 10 60 Bacca Milk 1 17 lb Butter 17 58 - 6 Gunnars Stores Expended in April 1734 vizt Guns Fired, Shott, Culvering, Minion, Falcons, Powder 3 Devonshire Sailed: Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Culvering 0, Minion 0, Falcons 9, Powder 9 5 An Alarm for a Ship that past by: Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Culvering 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12	At a consultation held on Tuesday 14 May 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward each delivered accounts for the month past, which were examined, approved and entered as follows. Expense of the table in April 1734 384 lb beef, £4 16s 0d 4 sheep, £4 0s 0d 10 turkeys, £2 10s 0d 74 fowls, £5 11s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 5 pigs, £1 5s 0d 68 gallons arrack, £20 8s 0d 19 gallons port, £7 7s 3d 11 gallons sherry, £4 5s 3d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 5s 0d 2 bottles oil, £0 6s 6d 1 cwt 2 qr sugar, £1 17s 6d 1 cwt flour, £1 5s 0d 30 days greens, £1 10s 0d 60 bottles milk, £1 0s 0d 17 lb butter, £0 17s 0d Total, £58 0s 6d Gunner's stores expended in April 1734 3 April, the Devonshire sailed: guns fired 9, shot 0, demi-culverin 0, minion 0, falcons 9, powder 9 lb 5 April, an alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 4, shot 0, demi-culverin 0, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 14 April, an alarm: guns fired 4, shot 0, demi-culverin 0, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 14 April, a French ship arrived: guns fired 9, shot 0, demi-culverin 0, minion 0, falcons 9, powder 9 lb 17 April, the French ship sailed without saluting: guns fired 0, shot 0, demi-culverin 0, minion 0, falcons 0, powder 0 lb 21 April, an alarm: guns fired 4, shot 0, demi-culverin 0, minion 4, falcons 0, powder 12 lb 24 April, the Lyell arrived from England: guns fired 9, shot 0, demi-culverin 0, minion 0, falcons 9, powder 9 lb 26 April, an alarm at Munden's: guns fired 1, shot 1, demi-culverin 1, minion 0, falcons 0, powder 7 lb Expense of the guard: powder 12 lb Musket balls, 60 Cartridge paper, 1 quire Match, 12 lb Total: guns fired 40, shot 1, demi-culverin 1, minion 12, falcons 27, powder 82 lb Interpretations A live shot fired from a demi-culverin at Munden's Point is the only round discharged in earnest

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		14 An Allarm: Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Culvering 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 ditto Arrived a French Ship: Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Culvering 0, Minion 0, Falcons 9, Powder 9 17 French Ship Sailed without Saluting: Guns Fired 4, Shott 0, Culvering 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 24 An Allarm: Guns Fired 9, Shott 0, Culvering 0, Minion 0, Falcons 9, Powder 9 ditto Arrived the Lyell from England: Guns Fired 1, Shott 1, Culvering 1, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 7 26th An Allarm at Munderys: Guns Fired 0, Shott 0, Culvering 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 19 Expence of the Guard Musquett Balls 6 lb Cartridge Paper 1 Quire Match 12 lb Guns Fired 40, Shott 1, Culvering 1, Minion 12, Falcons 27, Powder 89	anywhere in this run of accounts. Every other entry is a salute or a warning gun, and the annual inventory of 30 September 1732 recorded just seven rounds expended across a whole year. Munden's covered the anchorage from the northern side, so a single heavy shot from there was the means of bringing a vessel to when she failed to answer, exactly as two rounds were fired from Banks's to stop a Dutch ship on 11 June 1732. The French ship sailing without a salute is recorded as a distinct occasion, entered with no powder against it. Compliments between fort and foreign vessel were reciprocal, and 24 lb of powder went on saluting a French ship over two days in August 1733 after Captain Du Bart's quarrel had been patched up. A departure with no exchange of guns therefore notes a discourtesy rather than an oversight, and the gunner has entered it so the omission appears on the record. Four alarms in a single month, three of them for vessels that never anchored, cost 36 lb of powder against the 27 lb spent saluting the two ships that did. This is the same waste the council has borne all year, and it follows from a flagstaff that cannot identify a sail before she closes the road. Captain Goodwin reported on 31 July 1733 that every flag on the island was worn out but one, with no white bunting in store, which is precisely the equipment needed to signal what an approaching ship is. Beef at 384 lb is the highest figure since the 501 lb of November and reflects the anchorage. The <i>Devonshire</i> lay in the road until 3 April and the <i>Lyell</i> arrived on the 24th, so the fort table entertained commanders at both ends of the month, and the stock account for March had already recorded fourteen head sold to shipping. Arrack at 68 gallons and £20 8s 0d is the single heaviest charge on the table, the rate having risen to six shillings the gallon from the four shillings charged through the winter. Poultry has recovered slightly from its March low, with 74 fowls consumed against a flock that closed at 48. The birds hatched during the month must have carried the difference, since the annual pattern in these returns shows the flock replenishing itself in spring, and turkeys at 10 killed are a lighter draw than the 15 of March.
300	298	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Totall, Ewes, Withers, Lambs, Rams, Totall, Sows, Shoats, Barrows, Pigs, Boars, Totall, Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese, Horses, Mares, Totall Remg 1 April 1734: Bullocks 46, Cows 152, Heifers 25, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 115, Bulls 8, Totall 477, Ewes 98, Withers 33, Lambs 52, Rams 4, Totall 187, Sows 18, Shoats 16, Barrows 15, Pigs 30, Boars 2, Totall 85, Turkeys 8, Fowles 48, Ducks 40, Geese 4, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 0, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 9, Rams 0, Totall 9, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0, Turkeys 20, Fowles 105, Ducks 10, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 46, Cows 152, Heifers 25, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 115, Bulls 8, Totall 477, Ewes 98, Withers 33, Lambs 61, Rams 4, Totall 196, Sows 18, Shoats 16, Barrows 15, Pigs 30, Boars 2, Totall 85, Turkeys 28, Fowles 153, Ducks 50, Geese 5, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Sold to Ships: Bullocks 6, Cows 1, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 1, Totall 8, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 0,	Remaining 1 April 1734 46 bullocks, 152 cows, 25 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 115 calves, 8 bulls, total 477 neat cattle 98 ewes, 33 wethers, 52 lambs, 4 rams, total 187 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 15 barrows, 30 pigs, 2 boars, total 81 hogs 8 turkeys, 48 fowls, 40 ducks, 4 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Increased in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 0 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 9 lambs, 0 rams, total 9 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 20 turkeys, 105 fowls, 10 ducks, 1 goose 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after increase 46 bullocks, 152 cows, 25 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 115 calves, 8 bulls, total 477 neat cattle 98 ewes, 33 wethers, 61 lambs, 4 rams, total 196 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 15 barrows, 30 pigs, 2 boars, total 81 hogs 28 turkeys, 153 fowls, 50 ducks, 5 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Sold to ships

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 40, Cowes 151, Heifers 25, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 115, Bulls 7, Totall 469, Ewes 98, Withers 33, Lambs 61, Rams 4, Totall 196, Sows 18, Shoats 16, Barrows 15, Pigs 30, Boars 2, Totall 85, Turkeys 28, Fowles 153, Ducks 50, Geese 5, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Totall 1, Ewes 0, Withers 4, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 4, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 0, Pigs 5, Boars 0, Totall 5, Turkeys 10, Fowles 74, Ducks 8, Geese 1, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Bullocks 40, Cowes 151, Heifers 24, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 115, Bulls 7, Totall 468, Ewes 98, Withers 29, Lambs 61, Rams 4, Totall 192, Sows 18, Shoats 16, Barrows 15, Pigs 25, Boars 2, Totall 176, Turkeys 18, Fowles 79, Ducks 42, Geese 4, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cowes 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 3, Bulls 0, Totall 3, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambs 0, Rams 0, Totall 0, Sows 0, Shoats 0, Barrows 1, Pigs 0, Boars 0, Totall 1, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Totall 0 Remg 30th April: Bullocks 40, Cowes 151, Heifers 24, Steers 31, Yearlings 100, Calves 112, Bulls 7, Totall 465, Ewes 98, Withers 29, Lambs 61, Rams 4, Totall 192, Sows 18, Shoats 16, Barrows 14, Pigs 25, Boars 2, Totall 75, Turkeys 18, Fowles 79, Ducks 42, Geese 4, Horses 4, Mares 7, Totall 11 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 21,600 lb	6 bullocks, 1 cow, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 1 bull, total 8 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after the sale 40 bullocks, 151 cows, 25 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 115 calves, 7 bulls, total 469 neat cattle 98 ewes, 33 wethers, 61 lambs, 4 rams, total 196 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 15 barrows, 30 pigs, 2 boars, total 81 hogs 28 turkeys, 153 fowls, 50 ducks, 5 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Killed in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 1 neat cattle 0 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 4 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 5 pigs, 0 boars, total 5 hogs 10 turkeys, 74 fowls, 8 ducks, 1 goose 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Standing after killing 40 bullocks, 151 cows, 24 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 115 calves, 7 bulls, total 468 neat cattle 98 ewes, 29 wethers, 61 lambs, 4 rams, total 192 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 15 barrows, 25 pigs, 2 boars, total 76 hogs 18 turkeys, 79 fowls, 42 ducks, 4 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Died in the month 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 3 calves, 0 bulls, total 3 neat cattle 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep 0 sows, 0 shoats, 1 barrow, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 1 hog 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses Remaining 30 April 1734 40 bullocks, 151 cows, 24 heifers, 31 steers, 100 yearlings, 112 calves, 7 bulls, total 465 neat cattle 98 ewes, 29 wethers, 61 lambs, 4 rams, total 192 sheep 18 sows, 16 shoats, 14 barrows, 25 pigs, 2 boars, total 75 hogs 18 turkeys, 79 fowls, 42 ducks, 4 geese 4 horses, 7 mares, total 11 horses Yams expended at the several plantations, 21,600 lb Interpretations A second month with no calf born confirms that the drought has stopped the herd reproducing. Nineteen calves came in December and three in February, but March and April together have produced none at all, while three more calves died in April on top of the six lost in March. Cows under nutritional stress cease to conceive, so the effect will run forward: the yearling and heifer columns must fall a year hence whatever the weather does in the meantime. Bullocks have halved since the year opened, falling from 67 on 1 November to 40 here. Six went to the shipping in April on top of twelve in March, since the <i>Devonshire</i> lay in the road until the 3rd and the <i>Lyell</i> arrived on the 24th. Bullocks are the finished beasts kept expressly for the commanders under the charter party that binds them to buy beef at 20s the hundredweight, so a heavy shipping season draws entirely on that one column while the breeding herd stands still. Poultry has recovered sharply and reverses the collapse of March. A hundred and five chicks,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			twenty turkey poults and ten ducklings hatched within the month, lifting the fowls from 48 to 153 before killing, and the flock closed at 79 against 48 at the month's opening. This is the spring hatch on which the fort's table depends, and it comes just as it is most needed: 74 fowls were eaten in April, the heaviest draw of the year. Sheep continue to prosper where the cattle fail. Nine lambs were born against no calves, and the flock has risen from 175 in January to 192 here despite four wethers killed each month for the table. Sheep need far less water and graze closer than cattle, so a dry season leaves them growing while the herd shrinks. The goats that once filled this role were destroyed by February 1731 and the column dropped from these returns entirely. Yams to the plantations stand at 21,600 lb, the highest allocation to the ground since the winter planting, with no figure entered for the slaves. Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733 that Perkins was exhausted and would need a year of fallow, and the council bought seven and a half acres from Captain Goodwin on 31 December 1733 to replace it, so the heavy commitment of seed reflects new ground being brought into cultivation.
301	299	Collection of Goods Sold in April 1734 122 Gallons Arrack @ 6 36 12 46 Boys Hats @ 10 lb 23 29 Mens ditto 13 18 17 16 Shoes 20 16 4 peices Salud 33 6 12 Commodities as Ended 44 3 3 145 6 3 Charges Generall vizt 11 lb Nails 9 2 36 lb Candles 3 12 ½ Shoe 11 1 1 oz Ivory Thread 8 ½ lb Whited Brown 7 3 Mopps 1 Scrubing Brush & 4 oz Ditto 10 4 3 Quarts Trane Oyle 3 1½ 1 pr Gannets 3 2 Bushells Salt 18 6 18 3½ Garrison vizt 15 lb Tea 3 15 2½ Gallons Oyle 19 3 4 14 3 Blacks vizt 2 lb Tea 10 22 Lines 16 6 20 doz Slacks 14 4 1 oz Silk 1 6	Collection of goods sold and delivered in April 1734 122 gallons arrack at 6s each, £36 12s 0d 46 pairs hose at 10s each, £23 0s 0d 29 pieces of the same at 13s, £18 17s 0d 16 shoes at 20s, £16 0s 0d 4 pieces laced at 33s, £6 12s 0d Commission on the same, £44 3s 3d Total for the inhabitants, £145 6s 3d Charges general 112 lb nails, £0 9s 2d 36 lb candles, £3 12s 0d 9.5 lb soap, £0 11s 1d 1 ounce nunn's thread, £0 3s 0d 0.5 lb whited brown, £0 7s 0d 3 mops, 1 scrubbing brush and 4 ounces glue, £0 10s 4d 3 quarts sweet lime, £0 3s 4.5d 1 pair garnets, £0 0s 0d 2 bushels salt, £0 18s 0d Total for general charges, £6 18s 5.5d Garrison 15 lb tea, £3 15s 0d 2.5 gallons rape oil, £0 19s 3d Total for the garrison, £4 14s 3d Blacks 2 lb tea, £0 10s 0d 20 lines, £0 16s 6d 20 dozen hooks, £0 14s 6d 1 pair shoes, £0 1s 6d 4 pairs island shoes, £0 16s 0d 59 cwt rice, £29 15s 0d Total for the blacks, £32 18s 4d Plantation 1 wooden bowl and 2 staves, £0 0s 6d 1 iron, £0 1s 4d 3 cwt rice and 5 cwt 2 qr paddy, £3 15s 6d Total for the plantation, £4 4s 4d Diet expenses 68 gallons arrack, £20 8s 0d 2 cwt 2 qr sugar, £2 2s 0d 1 cwt flour, £1 5s 0d 1 lb pepper, £0 1s 0d 2 gallons vinegar, £0 6s 6d 4 bottles oil, £0 4s 3d 11 gallons sherry, £4 5s 3d 19 gallons port, £7 7s 3d Total for diet expenses, £36 0s 0d Grand total, £230 1s 7.5d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		4 pr Island Shoes 16 59. 2. 24 Rice 29 15 32 18 4 Plantation vizt 1 Wooden Bowle & 2 Slaves 9 6 1 Tone 1 4 3. -. - Rice & 2. 2. Paddy 3 15 6 4 4 4 Diet Expences vizt 63 Gallons Arrack 20 8 1. 2. Sugar 2 2 1 lb Flour 1 5 1 lb Pepper 1 2 Gallons Vinegar 5 2 Bottles Oyle 6 6 11 Gallons Sherry 4 3 3 19 Gallons Port 7 7 3 36 230 1 7½ Wm Osborn & Jasper Cam two of the Men who Runaway from the Small Sunnaline & Peters at Bengall being severally Examined & asked the reason why they left the Ship & they Answered that they were very much beat & Drubbed & met with nothing but bad Usage & this was the occasion of their Runningaway, they never asked what Trade they were of & Osborn replied that he was not of any Trade but bred to the Sea, & Cam said he was a Printer, they were also asked where they intended & how long & who it was Showed them where to hide, they said that no body & the said or shew them where to hide themselves but they came here to the Cabbage Tree Woods & hid themselves & the Marshall of the Town & they were on this were told that they must Labour Nine Months at the Fort or Compy Works without any Pay or Wages	William Osborn and Jasper Cann, two of the men who had run from the <i>Ljell</i>, Captain Small commander, were brought before the council and asked why they had left the ship. Both refused to give any reason, saying only that they were very much beaten and driven to it and wanted nothing but ill usage aboard as the occasion of their leaving. They were asked what trades they knew, and Osborn answered that he was not any trade but had been to sea. Cann said he was a vintner. They were also asked where they had lain hidden, and who had told them to hide or shown them where to conceal themselves, but they said they had lain in the cabbage tree woods and had hidden themselves. They were told that they must labour three months at the Company's works without any pay or wages. Interpretations Rice at 59 hundredweight for the slaves is by far the heaviest issue of grain in this run and more than twice the 28 hundredweight of December. It arrived with the <i>Ljell</i> from England and went straight out, which is the pattern for a supply ship: the storekeeper cleared it into the establishment rather than holding it against a shortage. The council had been feeding the slaves largely on imported grain since Isaac Durling reported on 10 April 1733 that a whole year's yam crop gave barely ten weeks of provision, and no yam issue to the slaves appears in the April stock account at all. Island shoes appear here as a distinct commodity, priced at four shillings the pair against the twenty shillings charged for the imported article. The council found on 27 March 1733 that the <i>Harrington's</i> shoes were charged above the price of better and wider ones from an earlier cargo, and three cobbler's lasts came through the storekeeper in January 1734. Local manufacture at a fifth of the imported price is the practical answer to a supplier the council had already accused of overcharging. The two seamen's answers describe the standing bargain of desertion at an intermediate port. Company wages fell due only on a ship's safe return to England, so a man who left at St Helena forfeited everything earned outward, and the penalty ashore was three months' hard labour without pay. Warren and Hastings gave up £17 0s 0d and £8 0s 0d on 2 April 1734 on the same terms, and Benjamin Jones of the <i>Frances</i> eighteen months' pay in April 1733, each naming ill usage by an officer as the cause. The council's questioning about who concealed them is the point of the examination rather than the flight itself. Runaway seamen could not survive in the cabbage tree woods without help, and the same enquiry followed the seven Bencoolen deserters of 30 March 1731, whom the council refused to entertain as soldiers until they named who had persuaded and hidden them. Both men here deny any assistance, which closes off the investigation exactly as it did then. Sweet lime at three quarts is citrus fruit rather than mortar, valued against scurvy and issued to men under care. Two quarts had gone to the garrison in March, and Isaac Wood petitioned on 28 March 1734 that King William's Fort stood without a roof and that Sergeant Sweazy had been seized with the bloody flux, so the guard's sickness has now drawn a second issue in as many months.
302	300	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 21 May 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved	At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 May 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The executors of the last will and testament of John Young, deceased, presented it and asked that it be proved. The council agreed, and it was proved on

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Executors of the last Will & Testament of John Young decd presented the said Will desiring the same might be proved & the same was proved accordingly upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto vizt Jno Haughman James Powell & Richard Beale who each of them deposed that the deceased did Sign Seale & declare the same as his last Will in their Presence & that they Subscribed as Witnesses thereto in his Sight. The said Will is as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen. This 24 day of August in the Year of our Lord God 1733 I John Young of the Island St Helena Planter being Sick & weak of body but of Sound & perfect Mind and Memory thanks be to Almighty God do make & ordain this my last Will & Testament & First & first of all I give & recommend my Soul into the hands of Almighty God hoping & believing that at the general Resurrection I shall receive Pardon of all my Sins through the Merits of my beloved Redeemer Jesus Christ. My body to the Earth to be buried in a Christian like & decent manner at the discretion of my Executors hereafter named & as touching such worldly Goods wherewith it has pleased God to bless me I give Devise & dispose of the same in manner & form as followeth Imprimis My desire is that all my Debts & funerall Charges be fully Satisfied some convenient time after my decease. Item Before any Dividend is made of my personal Estate that my Executors do sett apart Thirty Pounds in Cash for the benefit of putting & binding my well beloved Son John to some proper Marriner or to the Trading him to the East Indies as they shall in most proper. And likewise to sett apart Fifteen Pounds Cash for my well beloved Daughter Mary to be allowed at Age or Marriage but not so to be Reckoned in her part or Portions & that Sum Isth desire my Executors would Lett at Interest taking good Security for the benefit of the my said Daughters & to be delivered as aforesaid, likewise the Thirty Pounds & not to be Reckoned in my Son Johns part or Fortune. Item I give & bequeath unto my well beloved Wife a third part of my real Estate during her naturall Life & also a third part of the Residue of my personal Estate Item I give to my Father in Law Stephen Suffolk a Suit of Mourning Item I give & bequeath unto my well beloved Children namely John & Mary & Peter Mary & George an Infant unbaptized, all the rest & Residue of my Estate both real & personal to be equally divided among them as they shall attain to full Age or Marriage which shall first happen but as my Intent is that my Son John	the oaths of the witnesses Jonathan Higham, James Powell and Richard Beale, each of whom swore that they had seen Young sign, seal and declare it as his last will in their presence, and that they had subscribed as witnesses to it in his sight. The will follows. John Young of St Helena, planter, being sick and weak in body but of sound and perfect mind and memory, gave thanks to Almighty God, and made his last will and testament on 21 August 1733. First of all he committed his soul into the hands of Almighty God, believing that at the general resurrection he would receive pardon for every sin through the merits of Jesus Christ. His body he committed to the earth, to be buried in a Christian and decent manner at the discretion of his executors named below. As to the worldly goods it had pleased God to bless him with, he gave, devised and disposed of them as follows. His first wish was that his debts and funeral charges be fully satisfied within a reasonable time after his death. Before any division was made of his personal estate, his executors were to set aside £60 0s 0d in cash for the benefit of putting out and binding his well beloved son John to some proper mariner, or of sending him to the East Indies, whichever they thought proper. They were also to set aside £15 0s 0d in cash for his well beloved daughter Mary, to be paid to her at full age or on marriage, and not to be reckoned as part of her portion. Should his executors require good security for the benefit of his daughter, they might deliver the money as described, and the £60 0s 0d likewise was not to be reckoned as part of his son's portion. He gave and bequeathed to his well beloved wife a third part of his estate for the term of her natural life, and also a third part of the residue of his personal estate. He gave to his father-in-law Stephen Lufkin a suit of mourning. He gave and bequeathed to his well beloved children John, Mary and George, and to Mary, wife of George, an infant unbaptised, the rest and residue of his estate, real and personal, to be equally divided among them as they came to full age or married, whichever should happen first. Since his son John was to use the sea, and not to settle on the island, he wished his executors to raise his share in money, and to pay for the property. Should he refuse any of the real estate, his son William was to pay the other children their proper parts and satisfaction from two indifferent persons, if the neighbours should then think it reasonable to leave to the next child. Should any of his children die before coming of age or marrying, that share or shares was to be equally divided among the survivors. Likewise the third part of the real estate held by his wife was, at her death, to be equally divided among his surviving children with the same [...] Interpretations Sixty pounds set aside to apprentice a son to a mariner is by far the largest single provision in the will and reveals what a father thought a future was worth. The sum exceeds the whole personal estate of Barlace Pyke, appraised at £96 0s 9.5d on 15 January 1734, and it buys a trade that takes the boy off the island altogether. Land on St Helena could not support every son, and Young's instruction that John's share be raised in money rather than acres follows the same logic: a seafaring life and a landed inheritance do not mix. Expressly excluding both cash gifts from the recipients' portions is a careful piece of drafting. Without that provision the £60 0s 0d and the £15 0s

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		shall use the Seas & not to Settle here upon this Island therefore I desire my Executors would raise his part in Money & do give the preference & refusal of my Real Estate unto my Son William paying the other Children their proper parts or Valuation by two indifferent Praisers & if he declines the Purchase then this Preference to descend to the next Child & so on & in case of the death of any of my Children before Age or Marriage then their part or parts to be equally among the Survivours as likewise that third part of Real Estate possessed by my Wife at her decease to be equally divided among my Surviving Children with the same	0d would count against what John and Mary took from the residue, so the other children would gain at their expense. Young wanted the apprenticeship and the daughter's money treated as charges on the whole estate before division, and saying so twice removes any argument the executors might otherwise have. Requiring good security before releasing a daughter's money answers a difficulty this record shows repeatedly. Portions held for children commonly disappeared: the Goodwin orphan's estate could not be traced at the general court of 26 September 1728, and Daniel Griffith complained at the sessions of 2 July 1733 that he had demanded his wife's portion since his marriage and been refused. A bond taken from whoever holds the money gives the child a claim against a surety rather than only against an executor who may have spent it. A suit of mourning to the father-in-law is a small bequest with a precise social function. Mourning clothes were provided by the estate to those expected to attend the funeral in that character, and Barlace Pyke's inventory listed a mourning sword and a mourning ring among his effects on 15 January 1734. The gift names Stephen Lufkin publicly as family and obliges his attendance, which matters in a community where a man's connections were his standing. The witnesses place the will firmly within the island's small propertied circle. Jonathan Higham, James Powell and Richard Beale have each appeared in this record on their own account, Powell having been imprisoned on 29 January 1734 for driving stock through the Company's walls and Beale having pressed his claim against the Powell estate through the whole of 1733.
<u>303</u>	301	same Advantage of Purchasing, as above said Item My desire is that my Estate be kept together if my Wife be willing for the Use & benefit of her & my Children while she remains Unmarried & in case she Marries that then her Executive Power to cease & my desire is that if my Executors have an Opportunity that they do let at Interest what Sum or Sums of Money they shall receive & have in their hands taking good Security for the same for the good & benefit of my Children & my desire is that my Executors do dispose of what wee Moveables they shall think not proper to be kept at Auction & then to make an Inventory Lastly I nominate Constitute & Appoint my trusty Friends Mr Stephen Suffolk my Father in Law, Mr Jno Bazett & my well beloved Wife Executors & Trustees of this my last Will Revoking & disannulling all former Will or Wills by me made & Acknowledging this & no other to be my last Will & Testament John Young Signed Sealed Pronounced & declared as his last Will in the Presence of us Jno Hodgkinson Jam Powell Richard Beale After the reading of this Will the Widow & the other Executors who were all the time present were told that it was defective in that part thereof wherein he leaves the Widow only one third part Real Estate	Each survivor was to take the same advantage of purchasing as described above. Young wished his estate kept together if his wife were willing, for the use and benefit of her and his children, while she remained unmarried. Should she marry, her executorship was to cease. He wished further that if his executors found an opportunity to put out at interest any sum of money belonging to his children's shares, they might do so on taking good security for it, for the good and benefit of his children. He directed his executors to dispose by auction of whatever movables they judged unfit to be kept, and then to draw up an inventory. Lastly he named and appointed his trusted friends Stephen Lufkin, his father-in-law, John Bazett and his own beloved wife executors and trustees of the will, revoking every earlier will he had made and acknowledging this and no other as his last. Signed John Young, and signed, sealed, pronounced and delivered as his last will in the presence of John Hodgkinson, Samuel Powell and Richard Beale. After the will was read the widow and the other executors then present said it was defective in leaving the widow only a third part of the real estate for her life, which is contrary to the Company's orders and to the custom of the island. By that custom a widow holds half the estate for her life among such lands as her husband purchased during the marriage. Had the land been an inheritance, or bought by the man before his marriage, it might have been bequeathed as Young directed, but not in this case. The council particularly considered that John Young came to the island as a poor soldier, sent out by the Honourable Company and chosen from among the Palatine refugees. He did not bring sixpence with him, but had been maintained on the island for all that he had among the inhabitants, and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		for her Life because it is contrary to the Companies Orders & contrary to the Custom of this Place which Intitles half the Estate upon the Widow during her Life of all such Lands as the husband purchased during the time of her Marriage Had it been Lands of Inheritance or such Land as the Man purchased before his Marriage then it might have been so bequeathed but not in this case Specially considering that this Man John Young came here a poor Soldier sent out by the Honble Companies charity from among the Palatine Refugees & did not bring Sixpence with him but hath been Maintained here & at all that he had among us & took this Wife a Daughter of this Island by whose joint Industry the being an carefull Woman & of good Character they Saved so much as bought the Estate he died possessed of And this Man being a foreigner & having as before said gained his Estate among us must not prescribe Rules to Us that may in time to come be prejudicial to the good Women of this Place by making a Precedent so much to their loss but he ought & must Submit to such good Rules as the ancient Customs of this Country by the Honble Comps Approbation have been established And therefore the Governour & Council though they allow and Approve of the Residue of this Will yet they disallow of that unspecified Provision & admit the Widow Young to possess & enjoy the half part of Jno Youngs her late husbands Land during the term of her naturall Life & then to go among her Children leaving it to her if she at any time before Marriage he is Minded to give it to any part she refuses to any one or among all her Children according as they oblige her or as they shall Serve best unto her & this is to be agreed to the Copy of the Will &c & Administration with a Copy of the Will annexed is to be granted to her. Thomas Harper Executor of the last Will of Ann Slaughter decd presented the said Will desiring it might be proved & the same was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto vizt Stephen Suffolk, Robt Gurling & Danll Griffith & is as follows vizt In the Name of God Amen this 8th day of March in the Year	had taken a daughter of the island for his wife. By their joint industry, she being a careful woman of good character, he had gathered the estate he died holding. The council also held that a foreigner having, as recorded above, gathered his estate among the inhabitants, must not prescribe rules to the council. Such a will might in time come to prejudice the good women of the island by setting a precedent greatly to their loss. He ought instead to have submitted to those rules established as the ancient custom of the country by the Honourable Company's approval. The Governor and council therefore approved the residue of the will while disallowing that one clause. They admitted the widow Young to hold and enjoy half the real estate her late husband held during the term of her natural life, and the other half to go among his children, leaving it to her should she at any time before marriage be minded to give it to any part she chose to any one or more of her children as they oblige her, or as she shall then act towards her. This was to be annexed to the body of the will, and administration granted to her with a copy of the will attached. Thomas Harper, executor of the last will of Ann Slaughter, presented it and asked that it be proved. It was proved on the oaths of the witnesses Lufkin, Robert Girling and Daniel Griffith, and runs as follows, dated 8 March in the year [...] Interpretations The council's ruling turns on a distinction the will itself ignored. Land bought during a marriage carried a widow's right to half for life under the island's custom, whereas land inherited or bought before the marriage could be disposed of freely by will. Young's estate was gathered entirely after he married, so half was already hers by right and no testator could reduce it to a third. Mary Powell was awarded exactly that entitlement at the court of judicature of 24 February 1730, and the deed of gift in the Coles dispute recited the same rule on 12 February 1734. Setting a precedent to the loss of the island's women is the reason the council gives for intervening, and it is a striking one. Refusing to let a single defective will stand protects every widow who comes after, since a clause approved once becomes a form others copy. The council had reasoned the same way over the Sandy Bay cart road on 1 August 1732, writing a right of way into every future lease rather than pursuing individual encroachers, and it applied that logic here to a rule of inheritance. Palatine refugees were German Protestants driven from the Rhineland who reached England in numbers around 1709, and many were dispersed to the colonies as soldiers or settlers. Naming Young's origin explains the sharpness of the council's language: a man who arrived with nothing, was maintained by the inhabitants and built his estate through his island-born wife's industry is the last person entitled to override the local custom of inheritance. His foreignness matters to the council only because it makes the presumption worse. Directing that a widow's executorship cease on remarriage reflects a real hazard rather than a slight. A woman's personal property passed at law into her new husband's control, which could defeat a trust entirely, and this record shows it happening: Mary Powell carried the whole Hodgkinson estate into her marriage with Gabriel Powell, took no inventory and kept no accounts, and the profits fell to him for nearly twenty years. Young's clause was a standard protection, and the council left it untouched. Putting children's portions out at interest on good security is the one way an executor could preserve a legacy on an island almost without coin. John Brown

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			offered to lend the Company £400 0s 0d on 13 June 1732 and was allowed 6 per cent from the day the money reached the Company's cash, so the rate was established. Without such an arrangement a portion held for years simply lay idle or was spent.
304	302	Year of our Lord God 1733/4 I Ann Slaughter of the Island St Helena being very Sick & weak in body but of Sound and disposing Mind & Memory thanks be given unto God for the same do for avoiding Controversey after my decease make publish and declare this my last Will & Testament that is to say First & principally I recommend my Soul into the hands of God that gave it & my body I commit to the Earth to be decently Interred at the discretion of my Executor hereafter named & as touching all my worldly Estate after my Debts & funerall Charges are fully paid & Satisfied I give, Devise & bequeath the same in the manner & form following Imprimis I give & bequeath unto my beloved Son in Law Tho: Harper one Woman Slave named Jenny as also one large Feather Bed with all the Furniture & Appurtenances thereunto belonging Item I give & bequeath unto my well beloved Daughter Mary Slaughter all that Debt or Money that is at this time due or owing to me from Orlando Bagley Senr as also one middling Fir Chest, together with all my wearing Apparel. Item I give unto my beloved Son James Harding one large Fir Chest as likewise one Feather Bed that he the said Harding has now in his Possession Item Unto my beloved Son Jos Harding I give & bequeath the remaining part of my Houshold Furniture, nature kind or Sort soever Lastly I nominate Constitute & Appoint my said beloved Son in Law Thomas Harper my whole & Sole Executor of this my last Will & Testament Revoking & Annulling all other Wills or Testaments by me at any time heretofore made allowing & Confirming this & no other to be my last Will and Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand the day & year above written The Mark Ann Slaughter Signed Published & Declared by her the said Anne Slaughter as her last Will & Testament in the presence of Stephen Suffolk Robt Gurling D Griffith The Executors of John Young decd as beforementioned likewise delivered an Inventory & Appraisement of the	Ann Slaughter of St Helena, being very sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, gave thanks to God for it and, to avoid any dispute after her death, published and declared her last will and testament on 8 March 1734. She committed her soul into the hands of God who gave it and her body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of her executor named below. As to her worldly estate, after her debts and funeral charges were fully paid and satisfied, she gave and bequeathed it as follows. She gave and bequeathed to her beloved son-in-law Thomas Harper one slave woman named Jenny, and one large feather bed with all the furniture and appurtenances belonging to it. She gave and bequeathed to her well beloved daughter Mary Slaughter the debt or money then due or owing to her from Orlando Bagley senior, one middling fir chest and all her wearing apparel. She gave to her beloved son James Harding one large fir chest and likewise one feather bed then in Harding's possession. She gave and bequeathed to her beloved son James Harding the remaining part of her household furniture, of whatever nature or kind. Lastly she named and appointed her son-in-law Thomas Harper sole executor of the will, revoking and annulling every earlier will she had made and confirming this and no other as her last. She set her hand to it on the day and year written above, signing with her mark. Signed, published and declared as her last will in the presence of Stephen Lufkin, Robert Girling and Daniel Griffith. The executors of John Young, deceased, also delivered an inventory and appraisal of his estate, taken and appraised by Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward, who swore that they had valued it to the best of their skill and judgement. The inventory follows. Interpretations The debt owed by Orlando Bagley senior is bequeathed as an asset in its own right, which shows how far credit stood in place of coin on the island. A legacy of that kind gives the daughter a claim to pursue rather than money in hand, and Bagley's own position makes the gift precarious: he agreed on 4 August 1730 to settle the balance of a land bargain in provisions after the Company stopped hiring him slave labour, and he was among the debtors to Governor Smith still being pursued in May 1731 with £27 10s 0d outstanding jointly with John Seale. A slave woman and a feather bed to the executor, chests and bedding to the children, and the residue of the furniture to one son together describe an estate consisting almost entirely of movables. Jenny is the single most valuable item, since adult women were valued between £20 0s 0d and £25 0s 0d in the inventories of this period, and she passes to the son-in-law who takes on the administration. Feather beds ranked next: Edmund Nicholls's three were appraised at £16 0s 0d on 26 November 1733, more than all his tableware together. Signing with a mark rather than a signature places Ann Slaughter among the many island testators who could not write, and it makes the witnesses' function more than formal. Their oath establishes not only that she executed the document but that its contents were read to her and understood, which is why the council required all three to swear. The same care

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Estate of him the said John Young as the same was taken and Appraised by Messrs F Wingham & Charles Steward who upon their Oaths declared that they had valued the same according to the best of their Skill & Judgement & the said Inventory is as follows vizt	was taken over Chaplain White's will on 5 September 1732, the witnesses swearing he answered every sentence as it was read though he was too weak to write his name. Two of these three witnesses attested Edmund Nicholls's will on 5 March 1734 as well, and Daniel Griffith also witnessed Bridget Bates's will of 2 January 1734. A handful of literate men were doing the island's legal business repeatedly, which explains why the same names recur as appraisers, witnesses and executors across unrelated estates and why the council could rely on their oaths without further enquiry.
305	303	Blank page	
306	304	Blank page	
307	309	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 28th May 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This day Hugh Williams the Gardiner sent in the following Paper vizt The Declaration of Hugh Williams Gardiner to the Worshipfull Govr & Councill of St Helena 28th May 1734. Forasmuch as all Men is Subject to some Infirmary or other & mine is a very great one vizt when I am distracted in my weak brain through Liquor or the least disaster or disturbance I meet with I am like a tempestuous Sea for a time that I care not upon what Rock I rush my Self or & being disturbed the other day by taking from me by force what I bought & paid for without my giving any body the least Provocation to have Sinned & if I then in that disturbed State gave any one Offence by Speaking Unadvisedly with my lips I must humbly beg God your Worship & them pardon for it, as for they say I said then in that distracted State I declare before God that I do not know any thing of it, as for the Words your Worship told me I spoke to them I did not know the meaning of it & whatever I said ought in that distracted Condition it was not from any dislike to the Government but from the Uncivil Usage I had newly seen from the Company that was in the said Place therefore I beg leave to go to my business a little time that I may fit my Self for England the first Opportunity I can meet conveniency for those few things I have in my room may be Shared with a Racer or three & to make I said my Ace to fit the People of this Island & to refresh my Swelled Limbs into Air & back before I go to an other Element for my Health sake for do not desire to tarry any longer Hugh Williams The said Williams having paid 5s for being Drunk was discharged from the Guard house where he was brought dead Drunk from the Door of the Fort, upon which he had laid down to Sleep & when first found had hardly any Sign of Life in him, & I Knight the Dunchman was also fined 10s for	At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 May 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Hugh Williams the gardener sent in the following paper that day, addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena and dated 28 May 1734. Williams declared that every man is subject to some infirmity, and that his is a very great one, since when his weak brain is disturbed through liquor or the least disaster or disturbance, he becomes like a tempestuous sea for a time and cannot answer for what he says or does. He had been disturbed a few days earlier when something he had bought and paid for was taken from him by force, without his giving anybody the least provocation to use him so. If in that disturbed state he had given offence to anyone by speaking unadvisedly, he humbly asked God, the council and them to pardon him. As for what they said he had spoken at that time, he declared before God that he knew nothing of it, and that as for the words the council told him he had used, he did not know their meaning, nor whatever else he said or ought to have said in such a distracted condition. Nothing in it came from any dislike of the government, but from the uncivil treatment he had lately received from the Company's people in that place. He therefore asked leave to go about his business a little while, so that he might make himself ready for England at the first convenient opportunity. He had a few things in his room that might be spoiled with rats or otherwise, and wished to make his account with the people of the island and to refresh his swelled limbs in the air and back before going to another element for his health's sake, not desiring to stay any longer. Williams paid 5s for being drunk and was discharged from the guard house, where he had been carried dead drunk from the door of the fort. He had lain down to sleep there and, when first found, had hardly any sign of life in him. Knight the Dutchman was also fined 10s for allowing him to get drunk in his house. Williams was told that he might go to England as soon as he pleased, since he was useless on the island. James Whaley senior presented a petition, which was read. He set out that he owed money to the Honourable Company but was so very poor that he could never pay it except through the labour of his slave, and asked that the man be employed at the Company's works, even at the low rate of nine pence a day. The council ordered the slave employed accordingly. The Governor reported receiving a letter that morning from the gunner, informing him that the carriages of three demi-cannon and three whole culverins on the line were so bad and cracked that they would not bear firing. Materials having come out for making carriages, he directed that three of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Suffering him to get Drunk in his house, & Williams was told that he might go to England as soon as he pleased for he was useless here. The Petition of Jas Whaley Senr was presented & read Setting forth that he was in Debt to the Honble Company but is so very poor that he could never pay it unless it was by the Labour of his Blackman & praying that his Black might be Employed at the Companies Work if it was only at the too low Rate of 9d ¹⁰ day & his Black was Ordered to be employed accordingly The Governour Reports that this Morning he received a Letter from the Gunner acquainting him that upon the Line the Carriages of three Demi-Cannon & three whole Culverings are so very bad & Cracked that they wont bear firing & as there are Materials come over for making Carriages he desired that three of each might be fitted up for the Guns beforementioned, & that he had given orders for fitting them up accordingly Margin Notes: Guns & Carriages	each be fitted up for the guns named, and had given orders for fitting them accordingly. Interpretations Williams's paper is a submission in the form the council has accepted many times, and it follows the pattern exactly. Henry Cottrell was pardoned on 22 April 1729 after admitting he had returned the Governor's kindness with ingratitude and promising to abstain from strong liquor, and James Powell was discharged from prison on 31 January 1734 on a written acknowledgement. What makes this one unusual is the plea of not knowing what he said, offered before God rather than as an excuse, which lets the council pardon words it will not repeat on the record. Fining the householder more heavily than the drunkard reverses the obvious order and states where the council placed responsibility. Williams paid 5s and Knight the Dutchman 10s for allowing him to drink to insensibility under his roof. The general sessions of 2 July 1733 had presented the unlicensed lodging houses of James Valley as the resort of disorderly people, and the council had ordered the wife of James Peet out of the valley on 24 July, so keeping a house where men drank themselves senseless was already an offence in its own right. Nine pence a day for a hired slave is the rate fixed since Governor Pyke hired twenty from the planters on 25 August 1732 to cut the salt spring trench, and Sarah Bradley cleared her debt of £2 6s 0d the same way on 30 October 1733. The arrangement converts a debt no poor holder could ever pay in coin into labour the Company genuinely needs, and it is the only currency available on an island where every debtor to Governor Smith answered that he had no money. Six cracked gun carriages on the line matter more than the guns themselves. A piece on a rotten carriage cannot be aimed or fired, so the mounting governs fitness for service, and the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 had counted the guns station by station on exactly that footing. Demi-cannon and whole culverins are the heaviest pieces the island holds, twelve and five of them respectively in every annual inventory since 1728, and they cover the anchorage before the castle. That materials had come out ready for the purpose shows the Company anticipating the need, unlike the powder magazine John French petitioned about on 25 September 1733, which still stands unbuilt.
308	301	same Advantage of Purchasing, as above said Item My desire is that my Estate be kept together if my Wife be willing for the Use & benefit of her & my Children while she remains Unmarried & in case she Marries that then her Executive Power to cease & my desire is that if my Executors have an Opportunity that they do let at Interest what Sum or Sums of Money they shall at any time have in their hands taking good Security for the same for the good & benefit of my Children & my desire is that my Executors do dispose of what wee Moveables they shall think not proper to be kept at Auction & then to make an Inventory. Lastly I nominate Constitute &c Appoint my trusty Friends Mr Stephen Suffolk my Father in Law, Mr Jno Bazett & my well beloved Wife Executors & Trustees of this my last Will Revoking & disannulling	Each survivor was to take the same advantage of purchasing as described above. Young wished his estate kept together if his wife were willing, for the use and benefit of her and his children, while she remained unmarried. Should she marry, her executorship was to cease. He wished further that if his executors found an opportunity to put out at interest any sum of money belonging to his children's shares, they might do so on taking good security for it, for the good and benefit of his children. He directed his executors to dispose by auction of whatever movables they judged unfit to be kept, and then to draw up an inventory. Lastly he named and appointed his trusted friends Stephen Lufkin, his father-in-law, John Bazett and his own beloved wife executors and trustees of the will, revoking and annulling every earlier will he had made and acknowledging this and no other as his last. Signed John Young, and signed, sealed, pronounced and delivered as his last will in the presence of John Hodgkinson, Samuel Powell and Richard Beale.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		all former Will or Wills by me made & Acknowledging this & no other to be my last Will & Testament John Young Signed Sealed Pronounced & declared as his last Will in the Presence of us Jno Hodgkinson Jam Powell Richard Beale After the reading of this Will the Widow & the other Executors who were all the time present were told that it was defective in that part thereof wherein he leaves the Widow only one third part Real Estate for her Life because it is contrary to the Companies Orders & contrary to the Custom of this Place which Intitles half the Estate upon the Widow during her Life of all such Lands as the husband purchased during the time of her Marriage Had it been Lands of Inheritance or such Land as the Man purchased before his Marriage then it might have been so bequeathed but not in this case Specially considering that this Man John Young came here a poor Soldier sent out by the Honble Companies charity from among the Palatine Refugees & did not bring Sixpence with him but hath been Maintained here & at all that he had among us & took this Wife a Daughter of this Island by whose joint Industry she being an carefull Woman & of good Character they Saved so much as bought the Estate he died possessed of And this Man being a foreigner & having as beforesaid gained his Estate among us must not prescribe Rules to Us that may in time to come be prejudicial to the good Women of this Place by making a Precedent so much to their loss but he ought & must Submit to such good Rules as the ancient Customs of this Country by the Honble Comps Approbation have been established And therefore the Governour & Council though they allow and Approve of the Residue of this Will yet they disallow of that unequal Division & admit the Widow Young to possess & enjoy the half part of Jno Youngs her late husbands Land during the term of her naturall Life & then to go among her Children leaving it to her if she at any time before Marriage he is Minded to give it to any part she refuses to any one or among all her Children according as they oblige her or as they shall seem best unto her & this is to be agreed to the Coppy of the Will &c & Administration with a Copy of the Will annexed to be granted to her. Thomas Harper Executor of the last Will of Ann Slaughter decd presented the said Will desiring it might be proved & the same was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto vizt Stephen Suffolk, Robt Gurling & Danll Griffith & is as follows vizt	After the will was read the widow and the other executors then present said it was defective in leaving the widow only a third part of the real estate for her life, which is contrary to the Company's orders and to the custom of the island. By that custom a widow holds half the estate for her life among such lands as her husband purchased during the marriage. Had the land been an inheritance, or bought by the man before his marriage, it might have been bequeathed as Young directed, but not in this case. The council particularly considered that John Young came to the island as a poor soldier, sent out by the Honourable Company's charity from among the Palatine refugees. He did not bring sixpence with him, but had been maintained on the island for all that he had among the inhabitants, and had taken a daughter of the island for his wife. By their joint industry, she being a careful woman of good character, they had gathered so much as bought the estate he died holding. The council also held that a foreigner having, as recorded above, gathered his estate among the inhabitants, must not prescribe rules to the council. Such a will might in time come to prejudice the good women of the island by setting a precedent greatly to their loss. He ought instead to have submitted to those good rules established as the ancient custom of the country by the Honourable Company's approval. The Governor and council therefore approved the residue of the will while disallowing that one unequal division. They admitted the widow Young to hold and enjoy half the real estate her late husband held during the term of her natural life, and the other half to go among her children, leaving it to her should she at any time before marriage be minded to give it to any part she pleased to any one or more of her children as they oblige her, or as she shall then act towards her. This was to be annexed to the body of the will, and administration granted to her with a copy of the will attached. Thomas Harper, executor of the last will of Ann Slaughter, deceased, presented it and asked that it be proved. It was accordingly proved on the oaths of the witnesses Stephen Lufkin, Robert Gurling and Daniel Griffith, and runs as follows, dated 8 March in the year [...] Interpretations The council's ruling turns on a distinction the will itself ignored. Land bought during a marriage carried a widow's right to half for life under the island's custom, whereas land inherited or bought before the marriage could be disposed of freely by will. Young's estate was gathered entirely after he married, so half was already hers by right and no testator could reduce it to a third. Mary Powell was awarded exactly that entitlement at the court of judicature of 24 February 1730, and the deed of gift in the Coles dispute recited the same rule on 12 February 1734. Setting a precedent to the loss of the island's women is the reason the council gives for intervening, and it is a striking one. Refusing to let a single defective will stand protects every widow who comes after, since a clause approved once becomes a form others copy. The council had reasoned the same way over the Sandy Bay cart road on 1 August 1732, writing a right of way into every future lease rather than pursuing individual encroachers. Palatine refugees were German Protestants driven from the Rhineland who reached England in numbers around 1709, many of them dispersed to the colonies as soldiers or settlers. Naming Young's origin explains the sharpness of the council's language: a man who arrived with nothing, was maintained by the inhabitants and built his estate

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		In the Name of God Amen this 8th day of March in the Year	through his island-born wife's industry is the last person entitled to override the local custom of inheritance. Directing that a widow's executorship cease on remarriage reflects a real hazard rather than a slight. A woman's personal property passed at law into her new husband's control, which could defeat a trust entirely, and this record shows it happening: Mary Powell carried the whole Hodgkinson estate into her marriage with Gabriel Powell, took no inventory and kept no accounts, and the profits fell to him for nearly twenty years. Putting children's portions out at interest on good security is the one way an executor could preserve a legacy on an island almost without coin. John Brown offered to lend the Company £400 0s 0d on 13 June 1732 and was allowed 6 per cent from the day the money reached the Company's cash, so the rate was established. Without such an arrangement a portion held for years simply lay idle or was spent.
309	302	Year of our Lord God 1733/4 I Ann Slaughter of the Island St Helena being very Sick & weak in body but of Sound and disposing Mind & Memory thanks be given unto God for the same do for avoiding Controversey after my decease make publish and declare this my last Will & Testament that is to say First & principally I recommend my Soul into the hands of God that gave it & my body I commit to the Earth to be decently Interred at the discretion of my Executor hereafter named & as touching all my worldly Estate after my Debts & funerall Charges are fully paid & Satisfied I give, Devise & bequeath the same in the manner & form following Imprimis I give & bequeath unto my beloved Son in Law Tho: Harper one Woman Slave named Jenny as also one large Feather Bed with all the Furniture & Appurtenances thereunto belonging Item I give & bequeath unto my well beloved Daughter Mary Slaughter all that Debt or Money that is at this time due or owing to me from Orlando Bagley Senr as also one midling Fir Chest together with all my wearing Apparel Item I give unto my beloved Son James Harding one large Fir Chest as likewise one Feather Bed that he the said Harding has now in his Possession Item Unto my beloved Son Jos Harding I give & bequeath the remaining part of my Houshold Furniture, nature kind or Sort soever Lastly I nominate Constitute & Appoint my said beloved Son in Law Thomas Harper my whole & Sole Executor of this my last Will & Testament Revoking & Annulling all other Wills or Testaments by me at any time heretofore made allowing & Confirming this & no other to be my last Will and	Ann Slaughter of St Helena, being very sick and weak in body but of sound and disposing mind and memory, gave thanks to God for it and, to avoid any dispute after her death, published and declared her last will and testament in the year 1734. She committed her soul into the hands of God who gave it and her body to the earth, to be decently buried at the discretion of her executor named below. As to her worldly estate, after her debts and funeral charges were fully paid and satisfied, she gave, devised and bequeathed it as follows. She gave and bequeathed to her beloved son-in-law Thomas Harper one slave woman named Jenny, and one large feather bed with all the furniture and appurtenances belonging to it. She gave and bequeathed to her well beloved daughter Mary Slaughter the debt or money then due or owing to her from Orlando Bagley senior, one middling fir chest and all her wearing apparel. She gave to her beloved son James Harding one large fir chest and likewise one feather bed then in Harding's possession. She gave and bequeathed to her beloved son James Harding the remaining part of her household furniture, of whatever nature or kind. Lastly she named and appointed her beloved son-in-law Thomas Harper whole and sole executor of the will, revoking and annulling every other will she had made at any time before and confirming this and no other as her last. She set her hand to it on the day and year written above, signing with her mark. Signed, published and declared by Ann Slaughter as her last will and testament in the presence of Stephen Lufkin, Robert Girling and Daniel Griffith. The executors of John Young, deceased, also delivered an inventory and appraisal of his estate, taken and appraised by Francis Wrangham and Charles Steward, who swore that they had valued it to the best of their skill and judgement. The inventory follows. Interpretations The debt owed by Orlando Bagley senior passes as an asset in its own right, which shows how far credit stood in place of coin. A legacy of that kind gives the daughter a claim to pursue rather than money in hand, and Bagley's own position makes it precarious: he agreed on 4 August 1730 to settle the balance of a land bargain in provisions after the Company stopped hiring him slave labour, and he was still among the debtors to Governor Smith in May 1731 with £27 10s 0d outstanding jointly with John Seale. A slave woman and a feather bed to the executor, chests and bedding to the children, and the residue of the furniture to one son describe an estate

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Testament In Witness whereof I have hereunto Set my hand the day & year above written The Mark Ann Slaughte Signed Published & Declared by her the said Anne Slaughte as her last Will & Testament in the presence of Stephen Suffolk Robt Gurling D Griffith The Executors of John Young decd as beforementioned likewise delivered an Inventory & Appraisment of the Estate of him the said John Young as the same was taken and Appraised by Messrs F: Wangham & Charles Steward who upon their Oaths declared that they had valued the same according to the best of their Skill & Judgement & the said Inventory is as follows vizt	consisting almost entirely of movables. Jenny is the most valuable item by a wide margin, adult women being appraised between £20 0s 0d and £25 0s 0d in the inventories of this period, and she passes to the man who takes on the administration. Feather beds rank next: Edmund Nicholls's three were valued at £16 0s 0d on 26 November 1733, more than all his tableware together. Signing with a mark places Ann Slaughte among the many island testators who could not write, and it makes the witnesses' function more than formal. Their oath establishes not only that she executed the document but that its contents were read over and understood, which is why the council required all three to swear. The same care was taken over Chaplain White's will on 5 September 1732, the witnesses swearing he answered every sentence as it was read though he was too weak to write his name. Two of these three witnesses had attested Edmund Nicholls's will on 5 March 1734, and Daniel Griffith also witnessed Bridget Bates's will of 2 January 1734. A handful of literate men were doing the island's legal business repeatedly, which explains why the same names recur as appraisers, witnesses and executors across unrelated estates and why the council could rely on their oaths without further enquiry.
310	303	Blank page	
311	304	Blank page	
312	309	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 28th May 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This day Hugh Williams the Gardiner sent in the following Paper vizt The Declaration of Hugh Williams Gardiner to the Worshipfull Govr & Councill of St Helena 28th May 1734. Forasmuch as all Men is Subject to some deformity or other & mine is a very great one vizt when I am disturbed in my weak brain through Liquor or the least disaster or disturbance I meet with I am like a tempestuous Sea for a time that I care not upon what Rock I rush my Self & being disturbed the other day by taking from me by force what I bought & paid for without my giving any body the least Provocation to have Sinned & if I then in that disturbed State gave any one Offence by Speaking Unadvisedly with my lips I must humbly beg God your Worship & them pardon for it, as for they say I said then in that distracted State I declare before God that I do not know any thing of it, as for the Words your Worship told me I spoke to them I did not know the meaning of it & whatever I said ought in that distracted Condition it was not from any dislike to the Government but from the Uncivil Usage I had newly seen from the Company that was in the said Place therefore I beg leave to go to my business a little time that I may fit my Self for England the first Opportunity I can meet conveniency for those few things I have in my room may be Shared with a Racer or three & to make I said my Ace to fit the	At a consultation held on Tuesday 28 May 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Hugh Williams the gardener sent in the following paper that day, addressed to the Governor and council of St Helena and dated 28 May 1734. Williams declared that every man is subject to some infirmity, and that his own is a very great one. When his weak brain is disturbed through liquor, or by the least disaster or disturbance he meets with, he becomes like a tempestuous sea for a time and cannot answer for what he says or does. He had been disturbed a few days earlier, when something he had bought and paid for was taken from him by force without his having given anybody the least provocation to use him so. If in that disturbed state he had given offence to anyone by speaking unadvisedly, he humbly asked God, the council and them to pardon him. As for the words they said he had used at that time, he declared before God that he knew nothing of them, and did not know their meaning, nor whatever else he said or ought to have said in so distracted a condition. Nothing in it came from any dislike of the government, but from the uncivil treatment he had lately received from the Company's people in that place. He therefore asked leave to go about his business for a little while, so that he might make himself ready for England at the first convenient opportunity. He had a few things in his room that might be spoiled by rats or otherwise, and wished to make his account with the people of the island and to refresh his swollen limbs in the air and the water before going to another element for his health's sake, having no desire to stay any longer. Signed Hugh Williams. Williams paid 5s for being drunk and was discharged from the guard house, where he had been carried dead drunk from the side of the road on which he had lain down to sleep, and where he was first found with hardly any sign of life in him. Knight the Dutchman was also fined 10s for allowing him to get drunk in his house. Williams was told that he might go to England as soon as he pleased, since he was useless on the island.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		People of this Island & to refresh my Swelled Limbs into Air & back before I go to an other Element for my Health sake for do not desire to tarry any longer Hugh Williams The said Williams having paid 5s for being Drunk was discharged from the Guard house where he was brought dead Drunk from the Door of the Fort, upon which he had laid down to Sleep & when first found had hardly any Sign of Life in him, & I Knight the Dunchman was also fined 10s for Suffering him to get Drunk in his house, & Williams was told that he might go to England as soon as he pleased for he was useless here. The Petition of Jas Whaley Senr was presented & read Setting forth that he was in Debt to the Honble Company but is so very poor that he could never pay it unless it was by the Labour of his Blackman & praying that his Black might be Employed at the Companies Work if it was only at the too low Rate of 9d ^{per} day & his Black was Ordered to be employed accordingly The Governour Reports that this Morning he received a Letter from the Gunner acquainting him that upon the Line the Carriages of three Demi-Cannon & three whole Culverings are so very bad & Cracked that they wont bear firing & as there are Materials come over for making Carriages he desired that three of each might be fitted up for the Guns beforementioned, & that he had given orders for fitting them up accordingly Margin Notes: Guns & Carriages	James Whaley senior presented a petition, which was read. He set out that he owed money to the Honourable Company but was so very poor that he could never pay it except through the labour of his slave, and asked that the man be employed at the Company's works, even at the low rate of nine pence a day. The council ordered the slave employed accordingly. The Governor reported receiving a letter from the gunner that morning, informing him that the carriages of three demi-cannon and three whole culverins on the line were so bad and cracked that they would not bear firing. Materials having come out for making carriages, he directed that three of each be fitted up for the guns named, and had given orders for fitting them accordingly. Interpretations Williams's paper is a submission in a form the council has accepted many times before. Henry Cottrell was pardoned on 22 April 1729 after admitting he had returned the Governor's kindness with ingratitude and promising to abstain from strong liquor, and James Powell was discharged from prison on 31 January 1734 on a written acknowledgement. What distinguishes this one is the plea of remembering nothing, offered before God rather than as an excuse, which allows the council to pardon words it declines to enter on the record. Fining the householder twice what the drunkard paid reverses the obvious order and shows where the council placed responsibility. The general sessions of 2 July 1733 had presented the unlicensed lodging houses of James Valley as the resort of disorderly people, and the council ordered the wife of James Peet out of the valley on 24 July, so keeping a house where a man drank himself insensible was already an offence in itself. Retail liquor licences had been charged at 40s since 18 April 1727, and Thomas Clough was threatened with losing his on 16 April 1734, so the trade was regulated and its keepers answerable. Nine pence a day for a hired slave is the settled rate on the island, fixed when Governor Pyke hired twenty from the planters on 25 August 1732 to cut the salt spring trench, and used again when Sarah Bradley cleared a debt of £2 6s 0d on 30 October 1733. The arrangement converts an obligation no poor holder could ever meet in coin into labour the Company needs, and it is the only currency available where every debtor to Governor Smith answered in 1731 that he had no money. Six cracked gun carriages matter more than the guns they carry. A piece on a rotten carriage cannot be aimed or fired, so the mounting governs fitness for service, and the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 counted the guns station by station on exactly that footing. Demi-cannon and whole culverins are the heaviest pieces on the island, twelve and five of them in every annual inventory since 1728, and they cover the anchorage before the castle. That materials had come out ready for the purpose shows the Company anticipating this need, unlike the powder magazine John French petitioned about on 25 September 1733, which stands unbuilt still. Williams reached the island as a gardener who found his English training useless in a climate with inverted seasons, and he petitioned on 26 February 1734 for a passage to Bencoolen rather than England, which the council granted. Three months later he asks for England instead and is told he may go whenever he likes.
313	310	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 11th June 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr	At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 June 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On Thursday last a French Ship of 500 Tons called the Peace & the last brought Drias Commander arrived here from China but before wee suffered her to come in wee Examined his Commission which wee found authentick & was dated 25 Octr 1732 & Signed by the Count of Thoulouse & the same Night the Duke of Lorraine arrived from Bengale with the following Supply vizt Arrack 2 half Legers of as ₪ Invoice 143 Gallons 88 Sugar 10 Bags of as ₪ do 14. 2. 19 99 Rice 20 Bags of as ₪ dito 39. 2. 11 59 6 6 Candles 2 Chests of as ₪ dito 2. 2. 19 140 Shirts & Stockings vizt 167 Shirts @ 88 2 ₪ 100 147 2 6 100 pr Stockings @ 12. 8 ₪ Corge 62. 3 Batta 10 ₪ Cent 6 4 68½ 205 14 6 Paddy 36 Bags of as ₪ Invoice 30 22 Charges Merchandize 25 Rupees 639 5 On the first instant the Britannia also arrived from Bengale with the following Supply vizt Arrack 2 half Legers of as ₪ Invoice 143 Gallons 88 Rice 20 Bags of 39. 2. 11 59 6 6 Sugar 10 Bags of 14. 2. 19 99 Candles 2 Chests 2. 2. 9 140 Paddy 30 Bags 30 22 Shirts & Stockings vizt 168 Shirts @ 88. 2 ₪ 100 136. 5 136 5 100 pr Stockings @ 12. 8 ₪ Corge 62. 8 Batta 10 ₪ Cent 6 4 68. 12 68½ 205 1 Charges Merchandize 38 15 9 Rupees 649 7 3 The Governour Reports that yesterday he received the following Letter or Memorial from Mr Gurling the Overseer Worshipfull Sir The Rains having failed us & the Weather became exceeding dry I am very much afraid least for want of Sufficient help the Ild the Company will Suffer very much in their Plantr & in all other Country business & that your Worship may be	John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. A French ship of 500 tons called the <i>Grace</i>, Captain Drias commander, arrived on the Thursday from China. Before she was allowed into the road her commission was examined and found authentic, dated 25 October 1732 and signed by the Count of Toulouse. The same night the <i>Duke of Lorraine</i> arrived from Bengal with the following supply. Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 129 gallons, 88 rupees Sugar 10 bags of 14 maunds 2 seers 19 [...], 99 rupees Rice 20 bags of 39 maunds 2 seers 11 [...], 59 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Candles 2 chests of 2 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, 120 rupees Shirts and stockings 167 shirts at 38 rupees 2 annas per 100, 137 rupees 2 annas 6 pies 100 pairs stockings at 12 rupees 8 annas per corge, 62 rupees 8 annas Batta at 10 per cent, 68 rupees 12 annas, total 205 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Paddy 36 bags at 30 rupees per invoice, 22 rupees Charges merchandise, 25 rupees Total, 619 rupees 5 annas The <i>Britannia</i> also arrived on the 1st from Bengal with the following supply. Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 143 gallons per invoice, 88 rupees Rice 20 bags of 39 maunds 2 seers 11 [...], 59 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Sugar 10 bags of 14 maunds 2 seers 19 [...], 99 rupees Candles 2 chests of 2 cwt 2 qr 9 lb, 120 rupees Paddy 30 bags of 30, 22 rupees Shirts and stockings 168 shirts at 38 rupees 2 annas per 100, 136 rupees 5 annas 100 pairs stockings at 12 rupees 8 annas per corge, 62 rupees 8 annas Batta at 10 per cent, 68 rupees 12 annas, total 205 rupees 1 anna Charges merchandise, 38 rupees 15 annas Total, 648 rupees 7 annas 3 pies The Governor reported receiving the following letter or memorial from Durling the overseer the previous day. Durling wrote that the rains having failed and the weather become exceedingly dry, he was much afraid that for want of sufficient help the Honourable Company would suffer very much in their plantations and in all other country business. So that the council might be satisfied his fears were well grounded, he laid before them a list of the blacks employed at the plantations in the years 1732 and 1733, which showed the great difference between the one and the other, and the great difficulties arising from sending away so many slaves as are lately sent, so that the remainder cannot manage without more help. At the New Plantation, 1732: 9, 1733: 3 At the Grand Plantation, 1732: 25, 1733: 8 At the Great Wood, 1732: 6, 1733: 3 At Perkins, 1732: 5, 1733: 2 At the plantation in the fort valley, 1732: 11, 1733: 4 At the limekiln plantation, 1732: 5, 1733: 1 At the Peak, 1732: 2, 1733: 2 Total, 1732: 59, 1733: 23 Interpretations Durling's table sets out the cost of the Bencoolen draft in a single column. The Company ordered twenty men and ten women sent in February 1733, and the council spared eight men, two women, three boys and seven girls while entering on the record

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		convinced my Apprehensions are well grounded I presume to lay before you a List of Blacks as they were Employed on the Year 1721 & 1733 by which the great disproportion between one & the other & the great Difficulties arising by sending away so many Slaves are easily seen but cannot be removed without more help vizt 1721, 1733 At the Fort Plantations: 1721 9, 1733 3 At the Guard Plantation: 1721 25, 1733 8 At the Great Wood: 1721 6, 1733 3 At Perkins: 1721 5, 1733 2 At the Plantation in the Fort Valley: 1721 11, 1733 1 At the Limekiln Plantation: 1721 5, 1733 1 At the Peak: 1721 2, 1733 0 1721 59, 1733 23	that no blame could be imputed to it for sending no greater number. The plantation establishment has since fallen from 59 hands to 23, a loss of more than three fifths, and it is now the failure of the rains that exposes what that removal cost. The Grand Plantation carries the heaviest cut, from 25 hands to 8, and it is the largest of the seven. Isaac Durling reported on 10 April 1733 that Perkins was exhausted and would need a year of fallow, and the whole year's capacity across the plantations gave barely ten weeks of provision for the establishment. A drought that has already killed twenty cattle since January and stopped the herd calving now meets a labour force cut to a third, which is why the overseer wrote before being asked. Shirts and stockings arriving as a standard consignment from Bengal, at 38 rupees 2 annas the hundred and 12 rupees 8 annas the corgie of twenty pairs, show the Company supplying made-up clothing rather than cloth for once. That is unusual in this record, where the storekeeper's accounts run to needles, buttons, tape and thread because households sewed their own, and 264 shirts sold to the shipping in February 1733 suggests such goods went to seamen as much as to islanders. The two Bengal invoices are near identical in every line, which repeats the pattern the council identified on 10 January 1733 when the <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> each brought exactly the same supply. Company agents in Bengal made up island consignments to a fixed specification rather than to any assessment of what St Helena needed, and the paddy in both cargoes is rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than milled grain and fed to the stock rather than the people. A French commission signed by the Count of Toulouse, Admiral of France, and dated eighteen months earlier follows the practice this record shows for every foreign vessel. The <i>Mercury</i> and <i>Le Danaï</i> both carried commissions of 3 October 1730 signed by the same officer, examined before either was admitted, and the Danish <i>Dronning Anna Sophia</i> produced one signed by the King of Denmark in August 1733. Examining papers before allowing a ship into the road was the council's only defence against a vessel that might not be what she claimed.
314	311	Brought over: 1731 59, 1733 23 At the Plantation newly bought: 1731 0, 1733 3 In the Country Garden: 1731 6, 1733 2 In the Fort Garden: 1731 3, 1733 1 Fishermen & Longboat Crew: 1731 11, 1733 10 Standing Craftsmen: 1731 7, 1733 14 Looking after the Sheep: 1731 1, 1733 1 Ditto Cattle: 1731 2, 1733 2 Ditto Hoggs: 1731 2, 1733 1 Ditto Horses: 1731 1, 1733 1 In the Kitchings: 1731 2, 1733 2 In the House Waiters: 1731 2, 1733 2 Superannuated: 1731 0, 1733 11 1731 101, 1733 73 Men best of these 11 are either Superannuated worn out with Labour Corded or otherwise Sickly & disabled so that there are only 42 Working Men & most of the Places abovementioned require a greater & Number of able hands than are now there & if upon the Rumour of a War new Batteries are to be built & more Blacks should be taken away the Plantations & all things else must unavoidably go to Ruin & Decay for it will be impossible for me to Undertake the Management of these Affairs	Brought over, 1732: 59, 1733: 23 At the plantation newly bought, 1732: 0, 1733: 3 In the country garden, 1732: 6, 1733: 2 In the fort garden, 1732: 3, 1733: 1 Fishermen and longboat crew, 1732: 11, 1733: 10 Handicraftsmen, 1732: 7, 1733: 14 Looking after the sheep, 1732: 1, 1733: 1 Looking after the cattle, 1732: 2, 1733: 2 Looking after the hogs, 1732: 2, 1733: 1 Looking after the horses, 1732: 1, 1733: 1 In the kitchen, 1732: 2, 1733: 2 In the house, waiters, 1732: 2, 1733: 2 Superannuated, 1732: 0, 1733: 11 Total, 1732: 101, 1733: 73, of which 11 men are the best Durling wrote that these 11 were either superannuated, worn out with labour, disabled or otherwise sickly and disabled, so that there were only 42 working men. Most of the plantations named above required a greater number of able hands than were now there, and if on any rumour of war fresh batteries were to be built and more blacks taken away, the plantations and everything else must unavoidably go to ruin and decay. He said it would be impossible for him to undertake the management of these affairs with any hope of success if more hands were taken away, and he therefore humbly

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		with any hopes of Success if more hands are taken away & therefore I humbly deferr to your Worship & Councill wee will not do it. I am Worshipfull Sir Your most dutyfull & Obedt Servt John Gurling This day Colonel Gaudhene made the following Report in Writing In Ruperts Bay or Valley there is an old Fortification which being Repaired might be Six Guns of Eight or Ten pound Ball will be Sufficient to hinder an Enemy from Landing there which without such Precaution they may easily do at the Pattern of the Day where there is a Sandy Beach so fathom Broad Marked in the Plann with the Letters D D where twenty Boats may easily Land altogether There are besides two other Places or Points which form the said Bay one called Chubbs Rock & the other Ruperts Point where two or three Boates may easily Land upon the Rocks of each Point Upon Chubs Rock, filled Trees out into the Sea a Platform in an Angle of Sixty Eight Degrees may be built large enough for four or five Guns of Eighteen Pound Ball which will bear both in flank & to Rear side upon an Enemy if they should endeavour to Land in any part of the said Bay & will render it impossible for them to Attempt it with any hopes of Success The same Platform will also batter & hinder an Enemy from Entring into the said Bay & also from passing to Munders Point & James Fort because the Guns may be placed almost equal with the Surface of the Sea & will cover the Fort called King Williams Fort as may be Seen by the Plan I cannot too much press the necessity there is at least to repair the old Fortification if it shall not be thought proper to be at the Charge of Building the Platform upon Chubs Rock because this Bay is the most proper place for a Descent & the Mountains are easay Access There is also an old Fortification in Banks Valley all ruined & good for nothing with the Stones of which a little Work may be built for four Guns of four Pound Ball, to hinder a Descent & I think it very necessary Margin Notes: Colonel Gaudhene's Report on the Fortifications. Ruperts Chubbs Banks	referred it to the council's judgement. Signed John Durling. Colonel Gaultier made the following report in writing that day on the fortifications. At Rupert's Bay or valley there is an old fortification which, if repaired with six guns of light or ten pound ball, would be sufficient to prevent an enemy from landing there. Without such a precaution they may easily do so at any time of day where the ground is a sandy beach, so fathoms broad, marked in the plan with the letters B and D, where twenty boats may easily land together. Beyond these there are two other places or points which form the bay, one called Chubb's Rock and the other Rupert's Point, where two or three boats may easily land upon the rocks of each point. Upon Chubb's Rock a platform of piled stones running out into the sea at an angle of sixty light degrees may be built large enough for four or five guns of eight pound ball, which will bear both in flank and rear upon an enemy if they should endeavour to land at any part of the bay, and will make it impossible for them to attempt it with any pieces of any sort. The same platform will also batter and hinder an enemy from entering into the bay and from passing to Munden's Point or James's Fort, because the guns may be placed almost level with the surface of the sea and will cover the fort called King William's Fort, as marked by the plan. He could not stress too strongly the necessity of repairing at least the old fortification if it should not be thought proper to bear the charge of building the platform upon Chubb's Rock, because that bay is the most likely place for a descent and the mountains give easy access. There is also an old fortification in Banks's Valley, entirely ruined and good for nothing, with the stones of which a little work may be built for four guns of four pound ball, to hinder a descent, and he thought it very necessary. Interpretations Durling's second column exposes the true position more sharply than the first. The establishment shows 73 hands against 101 two years earlier, but 11 of those are superannuated or broken and a further group sickly, leaving 42 men actually fit for labour. Governor Pyke had reported in August 1732 that of 128 slaves only 55 men were fit for heavy work, and John Durling's return of 27 February 1733 gave 180 in all with 80 men, many worn out. The decline has continued in every count taken since. Handicraftsmen have risen from 7 to 14 while every other class has fallen, which is the one deliberate reallocation in the table. Carpenters, coopers, smiths and tailors serve the fort and the stores rather than the plantations, and the musters of 1730 recorded boys of eleven and twelve already set to those trades. Doubling that group while the field hands halve reflects a choice about what the establishment cannot do without, and it comes at the direct expense of the ground that feeds it. Colonel Gaultier's report is the first professional military survey in this record and it identifies a weakness the council has never addressed. The ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 counted guns station by station about the castle, at Munden's Point, Banks's, Deep Valley, Lemon Valley, the Crane, Prosperous Bay and Two Gun Hill, but Rupert's Bay carried nothing beyond an old work already decayed. A sandy beach where twenty boats might land together, with easy ground behind, is precisely the landing place an attacker would choose. A platform built almost level with the surface of the sea answers a specific problem of gunnery. Guns

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			mounted high on cliffs fire down at a steep angle and their shot skips or plunges rather than raking a boat, whereas pieces near the waterline sweep a landing beach in flank. Gaultier's siting on Chubb's Rock is designed to catch boats from the side and behind as they run in, which is why he prefers four or five light guns there to a heavier work further back. The two reports read together set out the council's dilemma exactly. Gaultier proposes new batteries at Rupert's and Banks's; Durling warns in the same consultation that if fresh works are built and more blacks taken from the plantations, everything must go to ruin. Both cannot be had from an establishment of 42 working men, and the council will have to choose between the island's defence and the food that keeps it.
315	312	At Higwins Landing Place or Prosperous Bay Valley 4 Small Guns in a Redout will be very necessary In Lemon Valley there are two little Works called Berklys Platform very necessary to be repaired & four Guns of three or four pound Ball At the Bottom of Sandybay Valley there is a Place large enough for four or ten Boates to Land easily all at a time, this Place in the Draft is marked with the Letters A A & is all Sandy Ground At the Place marked Q it will be necessary to make a little Work for four or five Guns carrying 4 lb Ball, this Place commands the whole Bay & is Situated exactly in the Spot where an Enemy must make their descent & there the Sea beats against the foot of a Rock which may be made use of in building the Work provided there are two other little Places marked R R & the same Bay where the Islands & the other over against it where those who are acquainted with the Place may Land one boat at a time, but three or four Men upon the Top of the adjoining Rocks will hinder thirty Men from Landing besides the Guns from the Work Q will bear full upon them This Bay is to the Windward of the Island which makes it very dangerous for Ships to come near it because the Wind blows directly in making it a Lee Shoar they cant get off again and therefore they can only send their Boates, not a good Experience of into the Bay so that the Guns upon the little Fort Q will be Sufficient to hinder their Descent E Gaudhene The Governour Reports that on the 2 instant he received the following Letter vizt Worshipfull Sir As I am the English Companies Prisoner who I presume will make me the same Allowance here as did at Fort St David makes me take the Liberty of applying my Self to You I am Sorry	At Higgin's landing place or Prosperous Bay Valley, four small guns in a redoubt will be very necessary. In Lemon Valley there are two little works called Berkley's Platform, very necessary to be repaired, and four guns of three or four pound ball. At the bottom of Sandy Bay Valley there is a place large enough for eight or ten boats to land easily at a time. In the draft it is marked with the letters A and B, and is all sandy ground. At the place marked Q it will be necessary to make a little work for four or five guns carrying eight pound ball. This place commands the whole bay and is situated exactly in the spot where an enemy must make their descent, and there the sea beats against the foot of a road which may be made use of in building the work. Two other little places, marked P and B, lie in the same bay, where one stands and the other over against it. Anyone acquainted with the place may land one boat at a time, but three or four men upon the top of the adjoining rocks will hinder thirty men from landing, and the guns from the work at Q will bear fully upon them. This bay is to the windward of the island, which makes it very dangerous for ships to come near it, because the wind blows directly on shore and makes it a lee shore, so that they cannot get off again. They can therefore only send their boats, which is not a great deal of difficulty, into the bay, so that the guns upon the little fort will be sufficient to hinder their descent. Signed Gaultier. The Governor reported receiving the following letter on the 2nd. Thomas Ransom wrote that as he was the English Company's prisoner and presumed they would make him the same allowance there as they had at Fort St David, he took the liberty of applying to the council. He was sorry to trouble them on so trivial an occasion, but the pitcher of his box had made it impossible for him to help himself, and he asked them to bear with him while he provided for himself the necessaries of life, and hoped they would do the same. The only favour he begged was to have his linen washed before he went to sea again, and he would be very much obliged by the granting of it. The letter was written aboard the <i>Duke of Lorraine</i> on 2 June 1734. After the letter was read the Governor asked the opinion of Captain Grantham, Captain Wilson and the gentlemen of council on what was proper to be done. They agreed it would be reasonable to let him come ashore and to have suitable lodging at the Company's charge during the ship's stay there. The following letter was also sent to the Governor. Mark Gralich wrote that he was there as a passenger with Captain Wilson and was willing to

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		to trouble you on so trivial a matter but the Cheifter of my Sick has made it Impossible for me to help my Self but Thanks be to God me bear he provided for me the necessaries of Life & I hope you'll do the same, the only favour that I beg is to have my Linen washed before I go to Sea again by granting of which I you'll very much oblige Worshipfull Sir Your most obedt & most humble Servt Tho: Thomson On board Ship Duke Lorrain June 2d 1734 After this Letter was read the Governour desired the Opinion of Capt Grantham & Capt Wilson & the Gentlemen of Council what was proper to be done & they all agreed it would be reasonable to let him come on Shoar & have Diet &c Lodging at the Compys Charge during the Ships Stay here The following Letter was also sent the Govr vizt Honrd Sir I am here a Passenger with Capt Wilson & am willing to serve the Company if your Worship will please to Enter me in the Service if not I hope your Worship will let me go home in any other Ship for I do not like to go home with Capt Wilson Your Worships most hum: Servt Mark Gralich The said Gralich was asked the reason why he was so Unwilling to go with Capt Wilson & he Answered that the Capt was an honest good Man but the chief Mate he said had used him with such barbarous Cruelty Margin Notes: Prosperous Bay Lemon Valley Sandy Bay Ossane	serve the Company, if the council would please to enter him into the service. If not, he hoped they would let him go home in any other ship, for he did not like to go home with Captain Wilson. Gralich was asked the reason why he was so unwilling to go with Captain Wilson. He answered that the captain was an honest good man, but that the chief mate had used him with such barbarous cruelty [...] Interpretations Gaultier's survey turns on the wind rather than the guns, and that is what makes it a professional assessment rather than a wish list. Sandy Bay lies to windward, so the south-easterly trade blows directly onshore and makes it a lee shore where a ship cannot claw off once embayed. An attacker must therefore send boats from a safe offing, which reduces the defence problem to stopping small craft at the beach, and four or five eight-pounders sited where the sea beats against the road will do what a heavier work further inland could not. The island's whole coastline is being assessed at once for the first time in this record. Rupert's Bay, Chubb's Rock, Prosperous Bay, Lemon Valley and Sandy Bay each receive a specific recommendation with a gun weight attached, where the ordnance survey of 26 September 1727 had merely counted what already stood at each station. Gaultier is answering a different question: not what the island has, but where a landing is possible and what is needed to prevent it. Sandy Bay carries the Company's quarry and limekiln and the cart road to the beach, so a descent there would take the island from behind. Ransom's position as a prisoner of the Company being maintained at its charge follows a settled practice at the Indian settlements. Fort St David was the Company's fortified station south of Madras, and a man held there would be allowed subsistence as a matter of course, so his claim rests on continuity of that treatment rather than on charity. Bringing him ashore and lodging him at the Company's cost while his ship lies in the road costs little and avoids the awkwardness of a prisoner confined aboard a vessel in the anchorage. Complaints against a chief mate rather than a commander recur throughout this run of examinations. Warren and Hastings named Mr Shooter of the <i>Wyndham</i> on 2 April 1734 while saying nothing against the captain, and Benjamin Jones of the <i>Frances</i> described a captain who beat the crew in April 1733. Gralich is careful to call Captain Wilson an honest good man, which distinguishes a personal grievance against one officer from any complaint about the ship, and it is the distinction the council needs before it can act.
316	313	Cruelty that he had rather be dead than proceed any farther Capt Wilson was thereupon told that if he was willing the Man should stay here he should have an other in his Room & he agreed thereto The Gunner sent in the following Letter Worshipfull Sir When one of the Guns at Munders was fired to their Sight to bring the Ship to, the Carriage broke to peices being Rotten & desiring a new one may be fitted up. I am, Worshipfull Sir Your most dutyfull Servt John French 2d June 1734 Ordered that an other Carriage be immediatly fitted up	Gralich said he would rather be dead than proceed any further. Captain Wilson was sent for and told that if he was willing the man should stay there, he should have another in his room. He agreed to it. The gunner sent in the following letter. John French wrote that when one of the guns at Munden's was fired the previous night to bring a ship to, the carriage broke to pieces, being rotten and decayed, and asked that a new one be fitted up. The letter was dated 2 June 1734. The council ordered another carriage fitted up at once. At a consultation held on Friday 7 June 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		At a Consultation held on Friday 7th June 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning Colonel Gaudherie delivered the following Answer in Writing to severall Questions wee proposed to him upon reading his Report of Tuesday last vizt Questions proposed by the Governour & Councill How many Men are necessary to build the Severall Works proposed How many Men to repair the said Works exclusive of the Castle & the Lines How much time is necessary for one & the other How many Men to defend the Severall Works Which Work is proper to begin first Answer To defend all the Works in case of an Allarm Higwins Landing Place Redout 4 Small Guns 13 Men Turks Cap Valley little Tenaile 3 Small Guns 10 Bankes Tenaile 4 Guns 13 Ruperts Fortification when repaired 6 Guns 31 Upon the Angle on Chubs Rock 4 Guns 24 For the Redoury of Berklays Valley 4 Small Guns 14 Sandybay 4 Guns 13 Totall 115 The Place that ought to be first begun & how much time will be taken up in each Work with the number of Men at each Work exclusive of those who belong to the Boates The first is Ruperts Valley: 45 Men 3½ Months but I must first Level the Ground The 2d Higwins Redout: 20 Men 2½ Months The 3d Bankes Tenaile: 20 Men 2½ Months The 4th to repair Berklays: 15 Men 6 Weeks The 5th Turks Cap little Tenaile: 15 Men 2 Months The 6th Sandy Bay Valley: 25 Men 2 Months The 7th the Angle upon Chubs Rock: 30 Men 5 Months, more or less for the time cant be fixed at any of the Places E Gaudherie At the Island St Helena the 7th June 1734 Margin Notes: Gun Carriage Colonel Gaudherie's further opinions No: of Men Time & Labour Places	Colonel Gaultier delivered the following written answer that morning to several questions put to him after his report of the previous Tuesday was read. The questions put by the Governor and council were how many men would be needed to build the several works proposed, how many men the works would take from the castle and the lines, how much time would be needed for each, how many men would be required to defend the several works, and which work ought to be begun first. Men required to defend all the works in case of an alarm Higgin's landing place redoubt, 4 small guns, 13 men Turk's Cap Valley little turnpike, 3 small guns, 10 men Banks's turnpike, 4 guns, 13 men Rupert's fortification when repaired, 6 guns, 31 men Upon the angle on Chubb's Rock, 4 guns, 21 men For the battery of Berkley's Valley, 4 small guns, 14 men Sandy Bay, 4 guns, 13 men Total, 115 men The place that ought to be begun first, and the time each work will take, with the number of men at each work, excluding those who belong to the boats, were as follows. The first, Rupert's Valley, 45 men, 3.5 months, but must first survey the ground The second, Higgin's Redoubt, 20 men, 2.5 months The third, Banks's turnpike, 20 men, 2.5 months The fourth, to repair Berkley's, 15 men, 6 weeks The fifth, Turk's Cap little turnpike, 15 men, 2 months The sixth, Sandy Bay Valley, 25 men, 2 months The seventh, the angle upon Chubb's Rock, 30 men, 5 months, more or less, for the time cannot be fixed at any of the places Signed Gaultier at the island of St Helena, 7 June 1734. Interpretations The garrison arithmetic defeats the scheme before any stone is laid. Gaultier's works would require 115 men to hold in an alarm, and the island's whole defence rests on a garrison numbering a few dozen soldiers supplemented by the inhabitants and their male slaves, whom the council summoned on every double alarm under the order of 3 March 1729. Manning seven new positions would strip the castle and the lines, which is precisely the question the council put to him and which his table answers without disguising. The labour figures collide directly with John Durling's memorial read at the same consultation of 4 June 1734. He reported the plantation establishment reduced from 59 hands to 23 since the Bencoolen draft, with only 42 working men in the whole Company service, and warned that if fresh batteries were built and more blacks taken the plantations must go to ruin. Gaultier now asks for 45 men at Rupert's alone, more than the entire fit labour force, and 170 across the seven works. Ordering the works in sequence rather than proposing them together is the practical concession in the report. Rupert's Valley comes first because it is the one place where twenty boats might land abreast on a sandy beach, and Chubb's Rock comes last at five months despite commanding the same bay, since a platform of piled stone running into the sea is the heaviest undertaking of the seven. Repairing Berkley's Platform in Lemon Valley takes only six weeks, which makes it the cheapest gain available.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			A gun carriage breaking to pieces the moment it fired confirms what the gunner reported on 28 May 1734, when he found three demi-cannon and three whole culverins on the line so cracked they would not bear firing. A piece on a rotten carriage cannot be aimed or fired, so the mounting governs fitness for service, and this failure happened at Munden's Point in the act of bringing a ship to. Proposing new batteries while the existing guns cannot be discharged puts the council's position starkly. Wilson's agreement to exchange Gralich for another man resolves the matter without any finding against the chief mate. The council has no jurisdiction over discipline aboard a Company ship at sea, so its only remedy is to arrange a substitution both captain and man will accept, as it did when Warren and Hastings left the <i>Wyndham</i> on 2 April 1734 naming Mr Shooter's severity.
317	314	Colonel Gaudherie was desired by the Governour to give his Opinion whether it was necessary to have a Battery upon the West Rocks & he having viewed the Place said it was needless & was sure that an Enemy would never venture to Land near the Goated Fort, & that by Small Guns he means four Pounders The Colonel was also desired to take the Gunner & view the Guns & Carriages in & about the Castle & to Report in what Condition he finds them & also to view the Guns & Carriages at Mundens Point The Governour desired the Opinion of the Council whether it would not be proper to Send to the Honble Company all the Gold & Valuable Effects that are now in his Custody belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard who formerly died here & each of the Council were of Opinion it would be proper they should be Sent because they would be allways ready when demanded by the Lawfull heirs & they were Ordered to be sent in the Packet accordingly & that a Box should be made purposely for the said Effects & the Spaniards Name wrote at length thereon & that the said Box be enclosed in the large Packet. At a Consultation held on Monday 10 June 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning the Engineer brought in his Plans desiring they might be Sent to England but upon Examining of them they were found very false & erroneously done & therefore wee sent for him in & told him of the Mistakes & acquainted him that it looked as if he designed to impose upon the Honble Company & that wee could not think it proper to Send any thing to them that had such an	The Governor asked Colonel Gaultier's opinion on whether a battery was needed upon the west rocks. Having viewed the place, Gaultier said it was needless, being sure that an enemy would never venture to land near the goat fort, and that by small guns he meant four pounders. The council also directed Gaultier to take the gunner with him, to view the guns and carriages in and about the castle and report in what condition he found them, and to view the guns and carriages at Munden's Point as well. The Governor asked the council whether it would not be proper to send home to the Honourable Company all the gold and valuable effects then in his custody belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard who died on the island some time earlier. Every member held that it would, and that the effects should be sent because they would then always be ready when demanded by the lawful heirs. The council ordered them sent in the packet accordingly, and directed that a box be made expressly for them with the Spaniard's name written at length upon it, and that the box be enclosed in the large packet. At a consultation held on Monday 10 June 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The engineer brought in his plans that morning and asked that they be sent to England. On examination they were found very hastily and carelessly done. The council therefore sent for him, told him of the mistakes and informed him that it looked as though he had designed to impose upon the Honourable Company, and that it could not think it proper to send home anything with such an appearance, so incorrectly done. His plans were returned to him, leaving it to his own choice whether to send them or not. Interpretations The Mesa estate has been in the council's hands for more than three years and this order finally disposes of it. Don John de Mesa y Aniento died at Joseph Bates's house on 10 February 1731, and the council found on 3 May 1731 that Bates's claim to the whole was a scene of forgery, ordering the effects sealed in a box. That box was opened before Bates on 9 October 1733 and its six shares of gold weighed at 70 oz 17.5 dwt. Sending the gold to London rather than holding it on the island recognises that only the Company can reach heirs at Manila and Tenerife. Writing the dead man's name at length on the box, and enclosing it within the general packet, is a precaution about identification rather than security. Effects held for absent heirs could sit in the Company's warehouses for years before a claimant

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Appearance & was so incorrectly done, & returned him his Plans again leaving it to his Choice to Send them or not Margin Notes: West Rocks Engineer's Plans & Col: Gaudheries (see fo: 317)	appeared, and a sealed parcel without a legible name is indistinguishable from any other. The same care was taken with Benjamin Flagg's paper effects on 1 April 1729, sealed with the Company's seal and lodged in the secretary's office against a lawful claim. Rejecting the engineer's plans is a serious step given how much rested on them. Gaultier's survey of 4 June 1734 proposed seven new works from Rupert's Bay to Sandy Bay, each keyed to letters marked on a draft, and the council put detailed questions to him about men, time and priority. Drawings sent home careless or wrong would produce either a refusal to fund the works or approval for something the island could not build, and the council preferred to send nothing rather than defend an error later. Telling Gaultier his work looked designed to impose upon the Company, then handing the plans back and leaving him free to send them himself, separates the council's judgement from his own reputation. It declines to endorse the drawings without forbidding him to submit them, so any consequence falls on the engineer alone. The council had used the same distinction with Chaplain White on 20 May 1731, agreeing that nothing of the proceeding should go home except his own letter asking indulgence. Dismissing the west rocks battery as needless shows Gaultier applying judgement rather than proposing works everywhere. An enemy will not land where the ground gives him nothing, and the goat fort already covers that approach, so the survey concentrates on the sandy beaches at Rupert's and Sandy Bay where boats can come ashore abreast.
318	315	Colonel Gaudherie was desired by the Governour to give his Opinion whether it was necessary to have a Battery upon the West Rocks & he having viewed the Place said it was needless & was sure that an Enemy would never venture to Land near the Goated Fort, & that by Small Guns he means four Pounders The Colonel was also desired to take the Gunner & view the Guns & Carriages in & about the Castle & to Report in what Condition he finds them & also to view the Guns & Carriages at Mundens Point The Governour desired the Opinion of the Councill whether it would not be proper to Send to the Honble Company all the Gold & Valuable Effects that are now in his Custody belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard who formerly died here & each of the Councill were of Opinion it would be proper they should be Sent because they would be allways ready when demanded by the Lawfull heirs & they were Ordered to be sent in the Packet accordingly & that a Box should be made purposely for the said Effects & the Spaniards Name wrote at length thereon & that the said Box be enclosed in the large Packet. At a Consultation held on Monday 10 June 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr	The Governor asked Colonel Gaultier's opinion on whether a battery was needed upon the west rocks. Having viewed the place, Gaultier said it was needless, being sure that an enemy would never venture to land near the goat fort, and that by small guns he meant four pounders. The council also directed Gaultier to take the gunner with him, to view the guns and carriages in and about the castle and report in what condition he found them, and to view the guns and carriages at Munden's Point as well. The Governor asked the council whether it would not be proper to send home to the Honourable Company all the gold and valuable effects then in his custody belonging to the heirs of the Spaniard who died on the island some time earlier. Every member held that it would, and that the effects should be sent because they would then always be ready when demanded by the lawful heirs. The council ordered them sent in the packet accordingly, and directed that a box be made expressly for them with the Spaniard's name written at length upon it, and that the box be enclosed in the large packet. At a consultation held on Monday 10 June 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The engineer brought in his plans that morning and asked that they be sent to England. On examination they were found very hastily and carelessly done. The council therefore sent for him, told him of the mistakes and informed him that it looked as though he had designed to impose upon the Honourable Company, and that it could not think it proper to send home anything with such an appearance, so incorrectly done. His plans were returned to him, leaving it to his own choice whether to send them or not. Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning the Engineer brought in his Plans desiring they might be Sent to England but upon Examining of them they were found very false & erroneously done & therefore wee sent for him in & told him of the Mistakes & acquainted him that it looked as if he designed to impose upon the Honble Company & that wee could not think it proper to Send any thing to them that had such an Appearance & was so incorrectly done, & returned him his Plans again leaving it to his Choice to Send them or not Margin Notes: West Rocks Engineer's Plans & Col: Gaudheries (see fo: 317)	The Mesa estate has been in the council's hands for more than three years and this order finally disposes of it. Don John de Mesa y Aniento died at Joseph Bates's house on 10 February 1731, and the council found on 3 May 1731 that Bates's claim to the whole was a scene of forgery, ordering the effects sealed in a box. That box was opened before Bates on 9 October 1733 and its six shares of gold weighed at 70 oz 17.5 dwt. Sending the gold to London rather than holding it on the island recognises that only the Company can reach heirs at Manila and Tenerife. Writing the dead man's name at length on the box, and enclosing it within the general packet, is a precaution about identification rather than security. Effects held for absent heirs could sit in the Company's warehouses for years before a claimant appeared, and a sealed parcel without a legible name is indistinguishable from any other. The same care was taken with Benjamin Flagg's paper effects on 1 April 1729, sealed with the Company's seal and lodged in the secretary's office against a lawful claim. Rejecting the engineer's plans is a serious step given how much rested on them. Gaultier's survey of 4 June 1734 proposed seven new works from Rupert's Bay to Sandy Bay, each keyed to letters marked on a draft, and the council put detailed questions to him about men, time and priority. Drawings sent home careless or wrong would produce either a refusal to fund the works or approval for something the island could not build, and the council preferred to send nothing rather than defend an error later. Telling Gaultier his work looked designed to impose upon the Company, then handing the plans back and leaving him free to send them himself, separates the council's judgement from his own reputation. It declines to endorse the drawings without forbidding him to submit them, so any consequence falls on the engineer alone. The council had used the same distinction with Chaplain White on 20 May 1731, agreeing that nothing of the proceeding should go home except his own letter asking indulgence. Dismissing the west rocks battery as needless shows Gaultier applying judgement rather than proposing works everywhere. An enemy will not land where the ground gives him nothing, and the goat fort already covers that approach, so the survey concentrates on the sandy beaches at Rupert's and Sandy Bay where boats can come ashore abreast.
319	316	After this Letter was read the Governour desired the Councils Opinion about the Matter & they were Unanimous that all the Guns upon the Line & at all other Places of Defence ought at all times to be loaded & should be & this was always constantly done even in times of Peace & is the more necessary to be done now because wee are under Apprehensions of a Speedy War & the Gunner was Ordered to load them accordingly & to Examine whether they were Honey Combed or otherwise faulty & to Report the same to us & to the End they may be farther viewed by us since the Engineer neglects his Duty & refuses to do it himself. The Bond of Joseph Bates for the Payment of £246. 10. 2½ due to the heirs of the Spaniard being expired he	After the letter was read the Governor asked the council's opinion on the matter. Every member agreed that the guns upon the line and at all other places of defence ought at all times to be kept loaded, and that this should always be done constantly, even in times of peace. The measure was the more necessary now because of the apprehension of a speedy war. The gunner was ordered to load them accordingly, to examine whether they were honeycombed or otherwise faulty, and to report on their condition so that the council might view them further, since the engineer neglected his duty and refused to do it himself. Joseph Bates's bond for the payment of £246 19s 2.5d due to the heirs of the Spaniard had expired. He was called on for it and said he had no money by him, but would pay £25 0s 0d at once and asked a little further time for the payment of the rest. The Governor proposed that Durling's memorial of the 4th and the engineer's reports of the 4th and 7th be taken into consideration. The memorial and reports were read and fully examined. On computing the number of blacks needed to work the Company's

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		was called upon for it but he said he had not any Money by him, at Sepr he would pay £25 & desired a little farther time for the Payment of the rest The Governour proposed that the Memorial of Mr Gurling of the 11 & the Engineers Reports of the 4th & 7 instant should be now taken into Consideration & the said Memorial & Reports were read & fully Examined & in computing the number of Blacks necessary to be employed at the Honble Comps Sevrall Plantations & in building the Sevrall new Batteries projected by the Engineer it appeared that more help was absolutely necessary to get them done before the Enemy is at the door & that about fifteen more Blacks are wanted & in order to get them it was proposed to give the Inhabitants Notice thereof but it being alledged that if it was known so many were wanted at once People would Stand off & Enhance the Price of their Labour & therefore to ease the Honble Company it was thought best only to mention Six & to take them of such as stand Indebted to them & the following Advertisement was published accordingly vizt These are to give Notice that the Governour for the Use of the Honble Company is willing to hire Six Blacks more & that those offered by Persons who are Indebted to them will be accepted & Employed preferably to all others. Margin Notes: Guns kept loaded apprehensn of War	several plantations and to build the new batteries proposed by the engineer, it appeared that more help was absolutely necessary to get the work done before an enemy is at the door, and that about sixteen more blacks were wanted. To obtain them it was proposed to give the inhabitants notice, but it being argued that if it were known so many were wanted, some people would stand off and enhance the price of their labour and so cheat the Honourable Company, the council thought it best to mention six only and to take those belonging to such as stand indebted to the Company. The following advertisement was published accordingly. Notice was given that the Governor, for the use of the Honourable Company, was willing to hire six blacks more, and that those offered by people indebted to the Company would be accepted and employed in preference to all others. Interpretations Honeycombing is the pitting and cavitation that forms inside a gun barrel from corrosion and repeated firing, weakening the metal until the piece may burst on discharge. Ordering the gunner to examine for it while loading every gun is a real precaution rather than a formality: the annual inventories have carried 128 pieces unchanged since 1728, but the carriages of three demi-cannon and three whole culverins were found cracked on 28 May 1734 and a carriage at Munden's Point broke to pieces when fired on 2 June. Keeping guns loaded in peacetime reverses ordinary practice and carries its own hazard, since a charge left in a barrel draws damp and deteriorates. The council accepts that cost because the alternative is worse. A ship closing the road gives almost no warning, as every alarm this year has shown, and a flagstaff that cannot identify a sail before she is upon the island leaves no time to serve the guns from empty. The council's decision to advertise for six labourers while needing sixteen is a calculated deception of its own inhabitants. Naming the true figure would reveal the scale of the Company's need and let holders raise the price, so the council conceals it and works through debt instead, taking slaves from men who owe money. James Whaley senior had already offered his slave at nine pence a day on 28 May 1734 to clear a debt he could never pay in coin, and Sarah Bradley did the same on 30 October 1733, so the mechanism was established before this notice made it a preference. Bates's bond falling due and producing £25 0s 0d against £246 19s 2.5d closes nothing. He was ordered on 3 May 1731 to account for the Mesa estate, produced nothing until 26 August 1733, swore to two inventories that differed in sixteen articles, and admitted on 2 October 1733 that he had spent a great part of the money, offering seven acres of freehold he valued at £600 0s 0d. The council resolved on 7 June 1734 to send the gold home to London, so the estate is leaving the island while its largest debt remains on it. The engineer's refusal to inspect the guns follows his plans being rejected on 10 June 1734 as hastily and carelessly done. Gaultier had proposed seven new works requiring 170 men across the island, then declined the smaller duty of reporting on the ordnance already mounted, which leaves the gunner to do it and the council to note the neglect on its record.
320	317	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 18th June 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr	At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 June 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 15th instant the Normanton arrived from India with the following Supply vizt Arrack 2 half Legers of as ₹ Invoice 153 Gallons 88 Rice fine 20 Bags of as ₹ ditto 39. 2. 11 59 6 6 Sugar 10 Bags of as ₹ ditto 14. 2. 19 99 Candles 2 Chests of as ₹ ditto 2. 2. 19 140 Shirts & Stockings vizt 165 Shirts @ 88. 2 ₹ 100 135 8 100 pr Stockings 12. 8 ₹ Corge 62. 3 Batta 10 ₹ Cent 6 4 68 12 204 4 Paddy 30 Bags of 30 lb 22 Charges Merchandize 32 15 9 Rupees 645 10 3 This Morning wee read the following Letter from the Engineer vizt Worshipfull Sir & Gentlemen I have been to Ruperts Valley & Examined the Foundation of the Fortification & there Standing & find the parts built without any, the Stones being all placed upon the Surface or Superficies of the Earth & therefore I am of Opinion it will be improper to build any thing thereon but think it necessary to make two little Tenailles nearer the Sea of twelve Fathom long each, upon a good Foundation & each Sufficient for four Guns of 8 lb Ball E Gaudherie 18th June 1734 The Colonel after this Letter was read was called in & asked who then the Charge of building the Tenailles would not be greater than repairing the old Fortification & he Answered that the Tenailles might be built cheaper than the old Fortification could be repaired The Governour & Council before any thing was finally concluded determined to go & view the said Fortifications in order to make a Computation of the Expence with more certainty & to Judge whether repairing the old Fortifications or building the new Tenailles will be most for the Security & Defence of the said Bay, & that the Place might be seen to the best Advantage Orders were given for the immediate clearing the Ground of all Weeds & Bushes & Rubbish Notwithstanding the Advertisement published this day Sennight for People to offer their Blacks to Work not one has been tendered all the Inhabitants declaring that the Price is so low none of them can afford to let them, 9d a day not being Sufficient to feed & Cloath them, & when the	John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Normanton</i> arrived from India on the 15th with the following supply. Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 153 gallons per invoice, selling price 6s per gallon, 88 rupees Rice, 20 bags of 39 maunds 2 seers 11 [...], selling price 12s 6d per 100, 59 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Sugar, 10 bags of 14 maunds 2 seers 19 [...], selling price 6d per lb, 99 rupees Candles, 2 chests of 2 cwt 2 qr 19 lb, selling price 2s per lb, 120 rupees Shirts and stockings 165 shirts at 38 rupees 2 annas per 100, selling price 2s 6d each, 135 rupees 8 annas 100 pairs stockings at 12 rupees 8 annas per corge, selling price 2s 6d per pair, 62 rupees 8 annas Batta at 10 per cent, 68 rupees 12 annas, total 204 rupees 4 annas Paddy, 30 bags of 30, selling price 12s 6d per 100, 22 rupees Charges merchandise, 32 rupees 15 annas 9 pies Total, 645 rupees 10 annas 3 pies The council read the following letter from the engineer that morning, dated 18 June 1734. Gaultier wrote that he had been to Rupert's Valley and examined the foundation of the fortification standing there, and found the parapet built without any of the stones being laid upon the surface or scarf of the earth. He was therefore of opinion that it would be improper to build anything on it, and thought it necessary to make two little turnpikes nearer the sea, of twelve fathoms each, upon a good foundation and each sufficient for four guns. After the letter was read Gaultier was called in and asked whether the charge of building the turnpikes would not be greater than repairing the old fortification. He answered that the turnpikes might be built more cheaply than the old fortification could be repaired. The Governor and council, before anything was finally concluded, resolved to go and view the fortifications, so that they might make a computation of the expense with more certainty and judge whether repairing the old works or building the new turnpikes would be best for the security and defence of the bay, and how the place might be turned to the best advantage. Orders were given for clearing the ground at once of all weeds, bushes and rubbish. Notwithstanding the advertisement published a week earlier for people to offer their slaves for work, not one had been tendered. The inhabitants declared that the price was so low that none of them could afford to let their slaves go, nine pence a day being insufficient to feed and clothe them, and that when one of their slaves is sick the charge of medicine consumes the profit of all the rest. The Company being under apprehensions of a speedy war, and having sent out an engineer expressly to fortify the island, more hands must be got or the work may reasonably be said to have been too negligently done. The inhabitants appear to say very seldom as if they were indifferent whether the island be lost or preserved. Letting them alone and leaving off fortifying until our gates were cannot be an answer to giving any higher rate, for although the want of more help is very great, yet as they have already lowered the price, it will look like imposing upon the Honourable masters to give them more. Interpretations The scarf is the sloped face where a wall meets the ground, and Gaultier's finding is that the Rupert's Valley parapet was built without its stones bedded into that surface at all. A wall standing on loose earth

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Blacks is usually one is Sick & the charge of Physick runs away with the Profit of all the rest & therefore as the Honble Company are under Apprehensions of a Speedy War & have sent an Engineer of purpose to Fortifie the Island more hands must be got or else it may reasonably be said wee have been too negligent of so Dear & Important People & every one as if wee were indifferent whether the Island be lost or preserved & wee let alone Fortifying till the Enemy is at our Gates but nevertheless wee think wee cannot & answer giving any higher Rate for although the want of more help is very great yet as we have already lowered the Price it will look like imposing upon our Honble Masters if wee give more. The Governour thinks Margin Notes: Selling Prices 6 ¹/₂ Gallon For Comp Use 6 ¹/₂ lb 2 ¹/₂ lb 2/6 each 2/6 ¹/₂ pr For Comps Use Ruperts Valley	rather than a cut foundation will move under its own weight, let alone under the recoil of guns, so nothing can safely be raised on it. That the old work was found useless rather than merely decayed explains why he now prefers two small new works of twelve fathoms each, sited nearer the water where his survey of 4 June 1734 identified the sandy beach on which twenty boats might land abreast. The council's decision to view the ground itself before committing follows Governor Pyke's settled method. He required every councillor to walk the island's water sources and taste each before offering an opinion on 15 August 1732, adjourned Isaac Durling's yam report of 10 April 1733 until each member had seen Sandy Bay, and had each councillor inspect the site of the new powder magazine on 2 October 1733. Deferring judgement until the ground has been seen is how he has resolved every contested question of expense. Nine pence a day is the rate fixed since Governor Pyke hired twenty slaves in August 1732, and the inhabitants have now stated plainly why it no longer answers. Feeding and clothing a hired man costs more than the wage returns, and a single illness wipes out the margin on the whole group, since medicines were charged at £76 14s 2d in the year to September 1730 alone. Their calculation is sound, and the council does not dispute it. The advertisement's failure was inevitable given how it was drawn. The council concealed on 11 June 1734 that sixteen hands were wanted and named only six, precisely to stop holders raising the price, then offered preference to those already indebted to the Company. That combination asks the poorest holders to supply labour below cost in settlement of debts, and not one slave was tendered. The council's reluctance to raise the rate rests on appearances rather than arithmetic. Having once lowered the price, paying more now would look like allowing the inhabitants to impose on the Company, and every figure in these consultations goes home to London for judgement. The same anxiety appears in Governor Pyke's insistence on recording exactly what he paid for the plantation bought from Captain Goodwin on 12 March 1734.
321	318	thinks wee have been deficient in our Advertisement because there wee have said that those who are Indebted to the Honble Company shall have the Preference, & the poor People who are Indebted to them have very few of them more than one or two Blacks & now they have constant Employment for them the Rainey Season being lately set in & they have now just three times more Work to do than they used to have there having been two bad Seasons together which have almost Ruined their Plantations & occasioned them incredible Labour, & for the same Reasons the other Planters who have many Blacks cannot at this time, Spare them but wee will let the Advertisement Stand a little longer & will each of Us Use our Endeavours to perswade those whom wee think can best Spare them to Send them. At a Consultation held on Tuesday 25th June 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander	The Governor thought the council had been at fault in its advertisement, because it had stated that those indebted to the Honourable Company should have the preference. The poor people who are indebted to it have very few of them more than one or two slaves, and now have constant employment for them, the rainy season having lately set in and given them three times more work to do than they used to have, two dry seasons together having almost ruined their plantations and made their labour incredibly hard. For the same reasons the other planters who have many slaves cannot spare them at this time. The council therefore resolved to let the advertisement stand a little longer and to use its own endeavours to persuade those who could best spare them to send them. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 June 1734 at the castle, Governor Pyke sat with John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Princess of Wales</i> arrived from Bombay on the 23rd with the following supply. 27 bags of sugar of 24 candaks at 3 rupees 20 annas per candak, selling price 6d per lb, 97 rupees 21 bags of paddy of 272 maunds at 18 rupees 12 annas per maund, selling price 12s 6d per 100, 45 rupees

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 23d the Princess of Wales arrived from Bombay with the following Supply vizt 27 Bags Rice of 24 Parahs at 3. 20 p Parah 97 - 80 21 Bags Paddy of 272 Marahs @ 18 Rs p Morad 45 1½ Legers Goa Arrack of 240 Gallons @ 20 Rs p Rs of 18 Goa 100 Charges Merchandize 48 3 69 291 - 49 The Governour Reports that no body except the Widow Stroue has offered any Blacks to Work & she only one being in the Honble Companies Debt & therefore he desired each of the Councill would Speak to those of them & requested wee to Send in their Blacks in order to forward the Trench & Works & in Case they do not that those who have most Blacks be compelled to Send, Since it being for the generall Defence & Security of the Island & to the Honble Comps Saving & that those in the Companies Service be told it is their Duty to Sett a good Example. To this Capt Alexander says he cannot Spare above one because his Grounds ly wide one & the other & if he could & have more he would & greatly to oblige the Honble Company & he hopes it will be Understood so because if he letts his Blacks out at this low Rate he shall lose by it, but notwithstanding is willing to Spare more if he could but having lately Married two Daughters & given them Six Blacks he has not enow left for his own Use. Capt Goodwin says he cannot without great Inconveniency Spare any	13 leaguers of Goa arrack of 240 gallons at 20 rupees 12 annas per 48 gallons, selling price 6s per gallon, 100 rupees Charges merchandise, 48 rupees 3 annas 69 pies Total, 291 rupees 49 [...] The Governor reported that nobody except the widow Stroud had offered any slaves to work, and she had only one, being in the Company's debt. He therefore asked the council whether it would speak to those of them who were equally known, so as to send in their slaves to forward the south works. Should they not do so, those who have most slaves would be compelled to send some, since the work is for the general defence and security of the island and of the Honourable Company's shipping, and the council held it their duty to set a good example. Captain Alexander said he could not spare above one, because his grounds lay wide of one another. If he could have spared more he would freely have done so, wishing the Company all the help it needed. He understood the reason and, though he could let his slaves out at this low rate at a loss to himself, was nevertheless willing to spare more if he could. Having lately married two daughters and given them six slaves, he has few enough left for his own use. Captain Goodwin said he could not without great inconvenience spare any [...] Interpretations The rains have broken at last, and the timing could hardly be worse for the council. Two consecutive dry seasons had killed twenty cattle since January, stopped the herd calving entirely and left the plantations exhausted, so every holder with a slave now has three times the usual work getting ground into cultivation. The Company needs sixteen hands exactly when the island's own recovery makes them unavailable, and the Governor recognises that the advertisement of 11 June 1734 was drafted against the wrong people. Preferring debtors was the flaw the Governor identifies. A man indebted to the Company holds one or two slaves at most, since anyone with more would not be poor, so the preference targeted precisely those least able to spare labour while excluding the substantial planters who could. The council had chosen that route to avoid revealing that sixteen hands were wanted rather than six, and the concealment has cost it the very holders it needed. Compelling the largest slaveholders is raised for the first time here and rests on the argument that the works serve the general defence. That is a different footing from hiring, since it converts a market transaction into a public obligation, and the council supports it by proposing to set an example from among its own members. Whether it could compel remains untested: the council had held on 20 April 1731 that it would be just to force the Sandy Bay road encroachers to make good what they had taken, then declined to do so. Alexander's answer names a cost the wage does not cover. Grounds lying wide of one another require a hand at each, so releasing one slave leaves a whole parcel unworked, and six more went with his daughters on their marriages. He concedes he would lose money at nine pence a day and offers one man anyway, which sets the example the Governor asked for while making plain that the rate is below what the labour is worth to its owner. The Bombay invoice differs markedly from the Bengal supplies of earlier weeks. Goa arrack rather than Batavia, sugar reckoned by the candak and no rice or shirts at all, which reflects a west coast lading. The <i>Ashburnham</i> brought only Goa arrack from Bombay in April 1729, and the <i>James and Mary's</i> sugar was priced by the candy in May 1729, so the council

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			could read a ship's route from the units on her invoice.
<u>322</u>	319	any but yet in this Case he will send two Mr Crispe says he has not any Blacks or for this he had Spare them This day the Engineer delivered the following Plann vizt For the two little Platforms at Lemon Valley after Repaired 4 Guns of 4 lb Ball Guns 4 For the two Tenailles proposed at Ruperts Valley 4 Guns apeice of 9 lb Ball makes 8 For Bankes Valley a Tenaille proposed of 4 Guns of 4 lb Ball 4 For Turks Cap Valley a little Tenaille of 3 Guns of 4 lb Ball 3 For Higwins Landing Place Tenaille proposed 4 Guns of 4 lb Ball 4 For Sandy Bay a Sort of Redout proposed of 4 Guns 4 lb Ball 4 And if his Worship will have the Second Line compleat 7 Guns of 9 lb Ball 7 Total of Guns 34 E Gaudherie 25th June 1734. The Colonel after this was asked How many Men are Sufficient to build & Inclose the two Tenailles intended to be built & he Answered Fourty Men besides the two Longboats to fetch Some Jake Sands to attend & Sand to dig & burn the Lime & besides Smiths Carpenters &c How long time they may reasonably be Supposed to be at work about it & he Replied he could not tell because he does not know what Dispatch they will make, but hopes it may be in four or five Months What he thinks the Charge may be, to Estimate within so & sent more or less but to this he could not Answer but he thinks Six Men enow for a Gun of 9 lb Ball besides Men to fetch Powder & to Supply Casualties in case any were killed He was also asked what Guns are proper to be placed there & he said Guns of 9 lb Ball. The Governour farther Reports that at his Request Capts Rigby & Capt Mead went this day to view the old Fortifications of Ruperts Line which has been Cryed & Condemned by the Engineer as Itall & only says it is not Strongly built & Some of it is fallen in & that it has no Foundation it being built on the Top of the Surface of the Ground & that Ground of so light an Earth that it will wash away faster than a Strong Sand & that though it may for a time be unable to bear Some Small Guns yet if any Guns are placed thereon	Goodwin said that in a case of that kind he would send two. Crisp said he had not any slaves, or he would freely have spared them. The engineer delivered the following account of guns that day. For the two little platforms at Lemon Valley after repaired, 4 guns of 4 pound ball, 4 guns For the two turnpikes proposed at Rupert's Valley, 4 guns apiece of 9 pound ball, 8 guns For Banks's Valley, a turnpike proposed of 4 guns of 4 pound ball, 4 guns For Turk's Cap Valley, a little turnpike of 3 guns of 4 pound ball, 3 guns For Higgin's landing place, a turnpike proposed of 4 guns of 4 pound ball, 4 guns For Sandy Bay, a sort of redoubt proposed of 4 guns of 4 pound ball, 4 guns And if the council will have the second line complete, 7 guns of 9 pound ball, 7 guns Total of guns, 34 Signed Gaultier, 25 June 1734. Gaultier was asked how many men would be enough to build and enclose the two turnpikes he intended, and he answered forty men besides the two longboats to fetch some stone, and labourers and servants to dig and burn the lime, and besides smiths, carpenters and the rest. Asked how long it would take, he said they might reasonably be supposed to set to work about it in the coming week, but that he could not tell because he did not know what dispatch they would make, and hoped it might be within four or five months. Asked what he thought the charge might be, he said he could not answer as to more or less, but that he thought six men were enough for a gun of nine pound ball, besides men to fetch powder and to supply casualties in case any were killed. He was also asked what guns were proper to be placed there, and said guns of nine pound ball. The Governor further reported that at his request Captain Ridge and Captain Mead went that day to view the old fortification of Rupert's line, which had been condemned by the engineer. Their report was that it is only strongly built, and part of it has fallen in, that it has no foundation, being built on the top of the surface of the ground, and that the ground is of so light an earth that it will wash away faster than a strong sandy soil, though it may for a time be able to bear some small guns. Yet if any guns be placed there and fired, it will shake all the work, especially if they be large heavy guns, so that it must all come down. Having seen the place, they say that they do not find any foundation to have works, and that the ground is too light to bear a firm substantial building. They therefore approve of the engineer's proposal of neglecting that old line, and think that a small piece of work on the sandy beach for five or six guns would well answer the design of a fort there to keep off boats, or would at least alarm the other forts so as to draw down force enough to hinder them. They approve also of two redoubts to be built next to the water's edge, each to hold four guns of four pound ball, that is large minions or small sakers. These guns, though fit to carry a 4 lb ball, are to be loaded only with cartridge. They think this is sufficient against boats, and that no large ship will venture in so far as to be out of the reach of Munden's Point guns. They therefore approve of a good battery to be built on Chubb's Rock, which will be close to the water's edge and able to do more

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		are fired it will shake all the Work who mixed & specially if they be large heavy guns that it will all come down & they having Seen the Place do say that they do not find any Foundation to have Work & so that the Ground is too light to bear a firm Substantial Building & that they approve of the Engineers Proposal of neglecting that old Line & think that a Small & great Work on the Vault thereto for five or three Guns would well Answer the design of a Fort there to keep off Boages which would prevent them or at least Allarm the other Forts so as to draw down force enough to hinder them. And they approve also of two Redouts to be built next to the Waters Edge each to have 4 Guns of 4 lb Ball, that is large Minion or Small Sakers & that Guns though fit to carry a 4 Ball to be loaded only with Cartridge & that & think that this is Sufficient against Boates & that no large Ship will venture in so far as to be out of the reach of Munders Point Guns, they likewise approve of a good Battery to be built on Chubs Rock which will be low & near the Waters Edge & will do more Execution against a large Ship than the Guns at Munders Point because that Fort is too high by 103 ft And they farther say that in their Opinion Ruperts Line Margin Notes: Fortifications Labour Time Ground Ruperts Lines Chubbs	execution against as large a ship than the guns at Munden's Point, because that fort is too high by 103 feet. They further say that in their opinion Rupert's line [...] Interpretations Two ships' commanders were brought in to test the engineer's judgement, and their report is the most useful document in this whole survey. Ridge and Mead confirm Gaultier's finding that the old Rupert's line has no foundation and will shake itself down the first time heavy guns are fired from it, but they go further and identify the reason plainly: the earth there is too light to carry a substantial building, and it washes faster than sandy soil. That independent confirmation lets the council abandon an existing work without appearing to accept an engineer's word alone, particularly one whose plans it had rejected on 10 June 1734 as carelessly done. Munden's Point being too high by 103 feet is the sharpest technical observation in the report. Guns mounted well above the water fire down at a steep angle, so their shot plunges rather than raking a hull along its length, and much of the force is wasted. A battery at the water's edge on Chubb's Rock strikes level, where every round tells, which is why two commanders who have been shot at from forts prefer a low work to a commanding one. Gaultier had made the same point on 4 June 1734 when he proposed a platform almost level with the surface of the sea. Loading four pounders with cartridge only rather than ball is a deliberate choice about what these works are for. Redoubts at the water's edge exist to stop boats, and a charge of small shot sweeps a crowded landing craft far more effectively than a single ball that may pass clean through. The commanders are describing anti-personnel fire, and it explains why they think small guns adequate against boats while insisting on a heavier battery at Chubb's Rock against a ship. Six men to a nine pounder is Gaultier's establishment figure, and multiplying it across his own list makes the manning problem plain. Thirty-four guns would need something close to two hundred men to serve, before any allowance for casualties or for carrying powder, and his earlier table of 7 June 1734 put the defence requirement at 115 men. John Durling reported on 4 June that only 42 slaves in the whole Company service were fit for labour, and the council could not raise even six hired hands from the inhabitants. Crisp's answer that he holds no slaves at all is worth noting from a member of council. The Governor had asked each of them to set an example, and only Alexander and Goodwin could offer anything, one man and two respectively, against a requirement of forty for the Rupert's works alone.
323	320	Line is so large & extensive that it would take up 200 Men to defend that Place & that therefore it could not be duely Manned unless the Honble Company sent out a great many more Men but to Man the Fort at the East Side of the Bay it would take up but Six Men & to Man each of the Redouts or Tenaïlles 13 Men each would be Sufficient & to Man the Fort proposed to be built on Chubs Rock which may be made to contain 8 large Guns of the biggest Sort of Demi Culvering that is Guns	Rupert's line was so large and extensive that it would have taken 200 men to defend the place, and it could not therefore be duly manned unless the Honourable Company sent out a great many more men. Manning the fort at the east side of the bay would take up only six men, and each of the redoubts or turnpikes thirteen men. The fort proposed for Chubb's Rock, which might be made to hold eight large guns of the biggest sort of demi-culverin, that is guns of about 30 lb, would require six men to each gun besides two to fetch powder for every two guns. Whole culverins with their appurtenances weigh between 40 cwt and 48 cwt, which takes eight men to each gun, and they thought this would be a sufficient defence for the place.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of about 30 lb & that will require 6 Men each besides one to fetch Powder for every two Guns or else with all Culvering with usually are between 46 & 42 which will take up 8 Men to each Gun & this they think will be Sufficient Defence for that Place But to this the Governour says he thinks he ought not to Suffer that Line to be demolished, having it what he does not know, but this he well knows that when it was built the Honble Company were Sufficient & to great Expende & because hands & Supply were wanting they then gave to all the White Men Inhabitants here that would Work five Shillings each Man ¹⁰ day & to some of the chief of them Diet also, & they gave them for Blacks Labour two Shillings ¹⁰ day for every Black the Planters Sent to the Work & yet were three years about it & it was never quite finished because the Honble Company grew weary of the Charge, however let the Price of Labour be never so low, the Govr thinks that as all the Country were three years about it & that he without their divers & positive Orders ought not to go into new Schemes which he is Sure will be very Expensive to them Tis true the Line is too far from the Sea, to Remedy which they must Use the bigger Guns & the Difference of that Expende is inconsiderable & it was built without digging any Foundation to it which was a fault though perhaps the least they had & in Addition might be the occasion of it for when it was done they were under Apprehensions of a Descent being made upon them As to the Works being too weak the Governour cannot deny but Granted he must because if they had been more Substantially performed but he has Seen many Works that have been cast up of a Sudden & upprehension of an Enemies Approach made only of Earth & those which were found most useful have been afterwards as occasion required faced with Stone & all the Works the Dutch have at Botavia which are very Substantiall were thrown up in this manner at first The Governour says also that this Work is designed to prevent a Surprize by any Sudden Attack for no Ships are likely ever to besiege this Place the business of our Enemys is to Land upon us & Soon as he can Bombs & Batteries are not likely to be brought or raised against Us, they cannot bring their Ships on Shoar & Guns can keep off Boates wee shall be in Sufficient Safety & tho this Ruperts Line be not so Strong	The Governor said he thought the old line ought not to be allowed to fall into decay. He did not know when it was built, but he well knew that when it was built the Honourable Company sent out great expense and money, and hands enough were wanting. They then gave every white inhabitant who would work five shillings a day, and some of the chief among them ten shillings, and two shillings a day for every black hired. The planters sent men to the works but were troublesome about it, and it was never quite finished, because the Company grew weary of the charge. The price of labour, however, had never been so low as it was then. The Governor thought that since the whole country had been three years about it, he ought not, without their direct opposition, to go into new schemes he was sure would prove very expensive to them. It was true the line stood too far from the sea, and to remedy that they must use bigger guns, but the difference in that expense was inconsiderable. It was built without any foundation, which was a fault, though perhaps the haste they were in at the time might have been the occasion of it, since when it was made they were under apprehension of a descent being made upon them. As to the works being too weak, the Governor could not deny that they must have been more substantially performed had they been so. He had seen many works cast up on a sudden apprehension of an enemy's approach, made only of earth, and those which proved most useful had afterwards been faced with stone as occasion required. All the works the Dutch hold at Batavia, which are very substantial, were thrown up in that manner at first. The Governor said also that this work was designed to prevent a surprise by any sudden attack, since no ships were likely ever to besiege the place. The business of an enemy was to land as soon as they could. Bombs and batteries were not likely to be brought or raised against the island, they could not bring their ships ashore, and no boats could keep off boats where there was sufficient safety. Though Rupert's line was not so strong as might be wished, a good repair might make it as strong as ever it had been or better. Admitting for fact everything urged on behalf of building four new forts there, that is a very small work for three or four minion guns on the east side, two turnpikes nearer the sea in front of Rupert's line for four guns each, and a good battery with a turnpike front at Chubb's Rock for eight large guns, this according to the engineer's scheme would be done in a [...] Interpretations The Governor's argument turns on the difference between a fort built to withstand a siege and one built to stop a landing. No enemy squadron would lie off St Helena bombarding it, since ships cannot be brought ashore and there is nowhere to raise batteries, so the whole danger was that boats would put men on a beach before the alarm could draw the garrison down. That distinction justified works of earth thrown up quickly rather than substantial masonry, and it is why he thought the existing line worth repairing where the engineer would abandon it. Batavia was the strongest example available to him. The Dutch East India Company's capital in Java was the most heavily fortified European position in the Indies, and his point was that its works began as earth thrown up under threat and were faced with stone afterwards as occasion allowed. Governor Pyke had served in the Company's eastern settlements and could speak to that directly, which gave the comparison weight

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		as might be wished yet with a good Repair it may be made as Strong or better than ever it hath been But admitting for fact all that has been urged on behalf of Building four new Forts here that is a very Small & great Work for 3 or 4 Minion Guns on the East Rock & two Tenailles nearer the Sea & in front of Ruperts Line for four Guns each & a good Battery with a Tenailles Front at Chubs Rocks for eight large Guns This according to the Engineers Scheme will be done in a Years Margin Notes: Men The Governrs opinion Ruperts	against an engineer's insistence on foundations before anything was built. The wage history he recited explains the present impasse exactly. When Rupert's line was first built the Company paid white men five shillings a day, the chief among them ten, and two shillings for every black hired. The rate now offered was nine pence, and the inhabitants told the council on 18 June 1734 that it would not feed and clothe a slave. Recalling what the Company once paid, and that it grew weary of the charge before the work was finished, sets the current refusal in a much longer pattern. Two hundred men to defend Rupert's line settles the argument against building there on the old scale. Gaultier's table of 7 June 1734 put the whole defence requirement at 115 men across seven works, and John Durling reported on 4 June that only 42 slaves in the Company's service were fit for labour. A work that cannot be manned is worse than none, since it must either be held with too few or abandoned to an enemy who then holds it. Whole culverins at 40 to 48 hundredweight needed eight men apiece simply to serve them, before any allowance for fetching powder. Weight governed everything about a gun's employment: heavier pieces reached further out to sea but demanded more hands, more powder and a mounting that would bear the recoil, and the carriages of three whole culverins on the line were found cracked on 28 May 1734.
324	321	years time if he has 40 hands, upon that I proposed he should have 40, but he said he must have 40 hands at that Place to do the Work & have all things brought to them, & that will be above Sixty hands more, for he demands two Longboates to fetch Lime from Sandybay which will be 16 hands & Gravel, to attend the Work which will be 4 hands more, there must be also 15 hands employed in Sandybay to dig the Limestone and burnt it into Lime 6 hands to get Sand & bring it to the Work, ten Men to dig Stone out of the Mountain for this Work, & 10 more to bring it to them with 4 others to make the Mortar so that the 40 Men which he demands are indeed 105 besides an Overseer to every 20 Workers & that will be 110 Men under Pretence of 40 so that according to his demand the Scheme is not to be performed And the Governour is of Opinion that though the Engineers design was practicable yet the Men are not to be had & therefore he Insists that the old Line may be Repaired as well & as soon as possible & that what hands wee can get shall be under his direction & as Soon as it is done to make a Small Work at Turks Cap Valley & then on at Sandybay & when this is performed he does not Slight the Advice of the Captains & the Engineer but thinks very well of a Battery at Chubs Rock & of the Rebuilding Bankes but as they cannot be gone about all at once, those of most	The engineer's scheme would be done in a year's time if he had 40 hands, and on that proposal he should have 40. He said, however, that he must have 40 hands at that place to do the work and have all things brought to them, which would be above sixty hands more, since he demanded two longboats to fetch lime from Sandy Bay, which would be 16 hands to a yawl, and to attend the work, which would be 4 hands more. There must also be 15 hands employed in Sandy Bay to dig the limestone and burn it into lime, 6 hands to get sand and bring it to the work, ten men to dig stone out of the mountain for the work, and 10 more to bring it to them, with 4 others to make the mortar. The 40 men he demanded therefore came to 105 besides an overseer to every 20 workers, which would be 110 men under pretence of 40, so that on his demand the scheme could not be performed. The Governor was of opinion that although the engineer's design was practicable, the men were not to be had, and he therefore thought it fit that the old line be repaired as well and as soon as possible, and that whatever hands could be got should be under his direction. As soon as it was done, a small work should be made at Turk's Cap Valley and then one at Sandy Bay. In performing this he did not slight the advice of the captains and the engineer, and thought very well of a battery at Chubb's Rock and of the rebuilding of Banks's, but as they cannot all be gone about at once, those of most consequence are to be done first. Once both the captains approve of what can be done about the fort at Chubb's Rock, directions may be had from the Honourable Company to regulate our future performances of this kind. This is his true thought and opinion concerning Rupert's. The place called Sandy Bay lies on the south part of the island. There is a large bay and commodious landing for boats there, but it being to the windward of the island no ship can come with safety. Steve Prompt, gunner, proposes to make a redoubt of 18 fathoms square, or 108 feet, with a wall in front that is next the sea to be 12 feet thick, but the other sides not more than 4 feet thick, and a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Consequence are to be first done, & then both the Captains approve of & before wee can go about the Fort at Chubs Rock, wee may have Directions from the Honble Company to regulate our future Performances of this kind & this is my true thought & Opinion concerning Ruperts The Place called Sandybay is on the South part of the Island & there is a large Bay & commodious Landing for Boates but where it being to the Windward of the Island no Ship can come with Safety Here Monsr Gaudherie proposes to build a Redout of 12 Fathom Square & 7 8 feet within & 8 Walls in front that is next the Sea to be 12 feet thick but the other Sides not more than of thick & a Guardhouse therein for about 12 Men & only 4 Sakers or good Minion Guns There was formerly a Small Piece at Work here with 4 Sakers Guns but it was placed so near the Sea that in bad Weather the Works cast up there being built with Stones & earth that layed in Some Mortar were washed away both the Breast Work & the 4 Guns and their Carriages & Some of these Guns in other Weather are 4 tile to be seen under water but wee think that as they have lain in the Sea 25 years among Rocks it is not worth the Charge of giving them us Now I think such a Redout not to be so proper because it will take up the Labour of all our hands & then be of little use for if an Enemy should Land he will from the hills which are vastly higher than the Walls of any Redout can be built they from above will look into it & be able to take off all our People presently so that all I shall it the business will be, some no Ship can come in to keep off all Boates & for that purpose I would have only a Small Guard house of 12 feet Square within & a Platform & fit of 6 or 8 large Minion Guns on it, Sakers not to carry Balls but Cartridge Shot for Defence against Boates & the reason why I name 6 or 8 Guns which the Engineer has named but 4 is because I would have as few Men as could he has Named 12 Men to his 4 Guns that is 3 Men to a Gun which is too few especially allowing for Casualties I would have 4 Men to Margin Notes: Sandy Bay Piece Battery	guard house within for about 12 men, and only 4 sakers or good minion guns. There was formerly a small piece of work here with 4 saker guns, but it was placed so near the sea that in bad weather the work was cast up there, being built with stones and earth that lay in some measure, and it was washed away. Both the breast work and the guns and their carriages, and some of these guns in calm weather are still to be seen under water. He thinks that as they have lain in the sea 25 years among rocks it is not worth the charge of getting them up. He now thinks such a redoubt not to be so proper, because it will take up the labour of all our hands, and when he lets up for it, if an enemy should land he will from the hills, which are vastly higher than the walls of any redoubt that can be built there from above, into it be able to take all our people prisoners, so that he takes it the business there, some as ship can come in to keep off all boats. For that purpose he would have only a small guard house of 12 feet square within a platform, but of 6 or 4 large minion guns or 6 sakers, not to carry ball but cartridge shot for defence against boats. The reason why 3 guns, which the engineer has named but 4, is because he would have a few men. So he has named 12 men to his 4 guns, that is 3 men to a gun, which is too few especially allowing for casualties. He would have 4 men [...] Interpretations The Governor's arithmetic dismantles the engineer's request without disputing a single figure in it. Gaultier asked for 40 hands at Rupert's, but every one of those men needs stone quarried, lime burned, sand fetched and mortar mixed, and none of that labour was counted. Adding the boat crews, quarrymen, limeburners and overseers brings the true demand to 110, which against John Durling's report of 4 June 1734 that only 42 slaves in the whole Company service were fit for labour makes the scheme impossible rather than merely expensive. Guns lying under water for twenty-five years and still visible in calm weather record an earlier attempt at exactly this work. A battery built too close to the sea at Sandy Bay was destroyed by weather, taking its breastwork, guns and carriages with it, and the judgement that recovering the pieces is not worth the charge tells its own story about iron left in salt water among rocks. Governor Byfield's Lemon Valley crane failed the same way, the sea rolling aside rocks thought immovable, and the council abandoned that site on 2 January 1734. The hills commanding Sandy Bay defeat the redoubt on tactical grounds rather than financial ones. A work overlooked from higher ground can be fired into from above, and its garrison taken prisoner without an assault, so building strong walls there would only create a trap. That reasoning explains the preference for an open platform with a small guard house: the object is to keep boats off the beach, and a position that cannot be held against men already ashore should not pretend to be a fort. Cartridge shot rather than ball repeats the recommendation Captains Ridge and Mead made on 25 June 1734 for the Rupert's redoubts. A charge of small shot sweeps a crowded boat where a single ball may pass through it, so guns intended against landing craft are loaded quite differently from those meant to hull a ship. It also explains why light pieces suffice at the water's edge while a heavier battery is wanted at Chubb's Rock. Three men to a gun is challenged as too few, and the objection is about casualties rather than the drill. A gun crew that loses a man mid-action cannot simply continue at reduced strength, since sponging,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			ramming and running out all require hands at once, and Gaultier's own figure of 25 June 1734 allowed six men to a nine pounder. Manning has been the binding constraint on every proposal in this survey.
325	322	to one of the Guns & two for Powder in all 18 Men but I propose only 4 of those Guns to be fired at a time, & then those 18 Men by that time the Small or the Second firing new alarm off would charge the first 4 Guns again & so if more Boates attempted to get in & so it is so this reason that I am for 8 Guns when he has named but 4 as to the Redout I see no occasion for it there to be Enclosed with a Wall a Small Work & Platform against the Shoare will be fully Sufficient & in case the Enemy should Land those 18 Men must retreat to the Flying Party upon the hills, & there maintain a fresh Sight by which their Business are the Place & Passes where the Enemies must come might in all humane Probability be able to give a very good Account of them The next Place of note is Higwins Landing Place on the East Side of the Island & usually called by us Prosperous Bay because the English Landed there when Reystook the Island from the Dutch, it is in Smooth Calm Weather very easy to Land here any number of Men but wee have always a Fort just above it where the Lookouts keep Guard to give Notice of any Ships approach & to make the Allarms for them but in case an Enemy should Land the hills are of such difficult & steep Ascent that if every few Men from above who are carefull it is extremely hard to get into any part of the Country The Engineer has proposed to make an other Redout here such a one as he has described for Sandybay but as he has never been at the Place & but only Seen it in a Boat at half a Miles Distance I do not take him to be before he Sees it so proper a Judge neither do I think it of absolute necessity to be done, a Small Breast Work with 2 or at most 4 Guns of the Sort called large Minion will be enough & 6 or 8 Men to load & fire them are Sufficient because though I allow 4 Men to Work such a Gun yet the largest Sort of Minion which usually are from 10 to 12 lb the first firing of these will Allarm & call down some of the People from the Fort above There hath never yet been any Guns here & the Ascent of the hills is so difficult that Jonathan Higham who is now living among us who was one of the Men that formerly retook this	He would have four men to each of the guns and two for powder, eighteen men in all, but he proposes to fire only two of these guns at a time. Those keep two men to each, and by that time the smoke of the second firing has cleared away, they might charge the first two guns again, and so on if more boats attempted to get ashore. He says it is so for this reason, that some four guns, when he has named but four, may lie to the redoubt. He sees no occasion for it there to be enclosed with a wall, since a small stone platform against the shore will be fully sufficient. In case the enemy should land, these eighteen men must retreat to the flying party upon the hills and there maintain a brisk fight, by which they harass the place and the passes where the enemy must come, and might in all human probability be able to give a very good account of them. The next place of note is Higgin's landing place on the east side of the island, generally called by them Prosperous Bay, because the English landed there when they retook the island from the Dutch. In smooth calm weather it is very easy to land any number of men there, but there is always a fort just above it where the lookouts keep guard to give notice of any ships approaching and to make the alarms for them. In case an enemy should land, the hills are of such difficulty that he does not see how five men from above who are careful could be beaten out, and it is extremely hard to get into any part of the country. The engineer has proposed to make another redoubt here, such a one as he has described for Sandy Bay, but he has never been at the place, having only seen it from a boat at half a mile's distance. He does not take him to be so proper a judge before he sees it, nor does he think it of absolute necessity to be done. A small breastwork with two or at most four guns of the sort called large minions will be enough, and six or eight men to serve them are sufficient, because though he allows four men to work such a gun, yet the largest sort of minion, which is usually from 10 to 12 lb, at the first firing of these will alarm and call down some of the people from the fort above. There have never yet been any guns here, and the ascent of the hills is so difficult that Jonathan Higham, who is now living among us and was one of the men who formerly retook this country from the Dutch, was a soldier and has often affirmed that though they landed 300 men there, yet if 20 men with fire arms had opposed them they should have been all to have got up the hills. There are many people of this country that cannot go up or down in that place now, and he therefore thinks such a breastwork as is described above, with a small tent upon occasion and no guard house, is enough for this place. As to Turk's Cap Valley here it is much more difficult to land, so many times not possible to go on shore without staving their boats, but as they come on such expeditions and will attempt many hazardous things, it is possible they may run their boats on shore and land their men. If they do land it is then very easy, if not powerfully opposed, to ascend into any part of the country. He therefore thinks fourteen men at least, to four guns, with a breastwork, or a strong turnpike, may be very proper here. He fires in this case four to and to a large minion gun, and two for powder. He says this

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Country from the Dutch & was then a Soldier has often affirmed that though they Landed 200 Men there yet if 20 Men with Fire Arms had opposed them they should have been all to have got up the hills & there are many People of this Country that cannot go up & down in that Place now, wherefore I think such a Breast Work as is beforementioned & a Small Tent upon occasion with no Guard House is enough for this Place As to Turks Cap Valley here it is much more difficult to Land & many times not possible to go on Shoar without Staving of their Boates but as they who come on such Expeditions will attempt many hazardous things tis possible they may run their Boates on Shoar & Land their Men dry they do Land it is then very easy if not powerfully opposed to ascend into any part of the Country & therefore I think 12 Men at least & 4 Guns & a Breast Work, or Strong Tenaille may be very proper here & in this case I allow 4 Med to a large Minion Gun & 2 for Powder & say this because I think there may not be occasion to fire above three Guns at a time as mentioned at Sandybay so that if three of those Guns are fired also Margin Notes: Prosperous Bay a man still on the Islands who helped to retake it in 1673 Fire Minion Turks Cap	because he thinks there may not be occasion to fire above three guns at a time, as mentioned at Sandy Bay, so that if three of these guns are fired [...] Interpretations The gunner's method of firing two pieces at a time turns a shortage of men into a system. Black powder throws dense smoke that hangs in still air and blinds the gunners, so alternating pairs lets each crew reload while the other fires and gives the smoke time to clear. Eighteen men can therefore keep four guns in continuous action against successive boats, where a single simultaneous discharge would leave the whole battery blind and empty at once. The English retook St Helena from the Dutch at Prosperous Bay in 1673, and Jonathan Higham is offered here as a living witness to how it was done. Three hundred men landed and climbed unopposed, and his judgement that twenty armed men would have stopped them is the strongest argument in the whole survey for spending nothing there. The ascent that made the island vulnerable once is the same ascent that now makes it safe, provided anyone is posted above. Naming the engineer as no proper judge of ground he has seen only from a boat at half a mile is the sharpest professional criticism in these papers. Gaultier's plans were rejected on 10 June 1734 as carelessly done, and he refused to inspect the guns and carriages on 11 June, so a proposal to build at Prosperous Bay on the strength of a distant view fits a pattern the council has been recording for a month. The flying party is a tactical concept rather than a fixed post. Men driven from a battery retire to the high ground and harass an enemy in the passes rather than surrendering with the work, which suits an island where every landing place is commanded from above. It also explains why the gunner wants a stone platform without enclosing walls: a work that cannot be held should not trap its garrison, the same reasoning that condemned the Sandy Bay redoubt on 2 July 1734. Turk's Cap is treated as the reverse case. Landing there is difficult enough to stave a boat, but once ashore the ground gives easy access to the whole country, so the danger is not that an enemy will come but what follows if he does. Fourteen men and four guns against a place nobody would choose to attack is insurance against an enemy willing to hazard something for the advantage it opens.
326	323	at a time they may load the first & whilst they fire the Second & that Report of these may be an Allarm to call down some of the Flying Party to their Assistance, these two last mentioned Places are not well known to any Stranger for those Ships that Sail near it to the Leward very seldom go nearer to Pass Boats than a League or more from Shoar so that they do not see much of the Landing Places there & then they come to Barn Point & so about the northernmost Part of the Island called the Sugar Loaf & there they open a Fort upon a Small Hill called King Williams Fort but in Your Honours Draft of the Island it is called Bankes Platform because the Platform was first built there & retained the Builders Name but as Bankes Platform they could not call to any Ship & the Men of War that came here in King	At one time they may load the first while they fire the second, and the report of these may be an alarm to call down some of the flying party to their assistance. These two last mentioned places are not much known to any stranger, since ships that sail nearest to the island very seldom go nearer to pass points than a league or more from the shore, so that they cannot see much of the landing places there. They then come to Bear Point, and so about the northernmost part of the island called the Sugar Loaf, and there they open a fort upon a small hill called King William's Fort, but in the Governor's draft of the island it is called Banks's Platform, because the platform was first built there. He retained the builder's name, but at Banks's Platform they could not call to any ship, and the men of war that came here in King William's war continued the fort upon the hill above Banks's, which they called King William's Fort. It is at this place that all ships that intend for the road go as near as they can, so that they usually hail them from this place and they hear well what is said to them, but the wind there coming always off from shore they cannot so well hear what they answer. But if they are hailed a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Williams War contrived the Fort upon the hills above Banks which they called King Williams Fort & it is this Place that all Ships that intend for the Road go as near to as they can so that we usually hale them from this Place & they hear well what is said to them but the Wind there coming allways off from Shoar wee cannot so well hear what they Answer, but if they are hailed a Messenger is always dispatched thence to the Governour to give him an Account of the Ship & Captains name & they run along the Side of the hills in a dangerous Path not all Strangers usually admire to see, & is from hence also that the Lookouts go to the Top of the Sugar Loaf Mountain whereon the Honble Companies Flag is hoysted to look out for the Signal the Ship makes & if he can discern the Signal then he fires his Musquett as to the hill which is to the Fort below him a Sign that he cannot See any Signal & then the Officer that Commands at King Williams Fort or at Banks for they both belong to one Guard of which an Ensign has the Charge fires a Shot for the Ship to bring to These Forts of King Williams on the hill & Banks below it are in every ruinous Condition & must shortly be Rebuilt because it is the first Fort that all Ships come any thing near so I think it makes too contemptible Appearance to a foreign Ship coming in & I would therefore have it when it shall be new built to have four Small Saker Guns which will carry a Shot of near 5 lb As to Banks Platform which as is said before is anciently one & the same Fortification with King Williams Fort & often called by the same name & is well as Commanded by the same Men, yet that lies below & nearer to the Surface of the Water & formerly had 6 Guns 2 of which were carried up the hills to King Williams Fort but the 4 largest were kept below where they were concluded to be more usefull but Sometime since there were 2 of these Guns carried away to place in an other part so that now there is but two Guns at Banks which are not Sufficient & there ought to be at least there if not Six & these Guns should be the best Sort of well Fortified & Astrong Guns that carry Balls of 9 or 10 lb & that Guns were not usually fired unless the Ships Standing in for the Road disregards the Shot from King Williams Fort & write not bring to for then wee can Command their better with one of these Guns which they allways take more notice of The Guns that are left here are good but two in a Fort is not	messenger is always dispatched thence to the Governor to give him an account of the ship and captain's name, and they run along the side of the hills in a dangerous path not all strangers are usually admitted to see, and it is from hence also that the lookouts go to the top of the Sugar Loaf mountain, whereon the Honourable Company's flag is hoisted to look out for the signal the ship makes. If he can discover a signal, then he fires his musket against the hill which is to the fort below him, as a sign that he cannot see any signal, and then the officer that commands at King William's Fort or at Banks's, since they both belong to one guard of which an ensign has the charge, fires a shot for the ship to bring to. These forts of King William's on the hill and Banks's below are in every ruinous condition and ought shortly to be rebuilt, because it is the first fort that all ships come anything near, and he thinks it makes too contemptible an appearance to a foreign ship coming in and should therefore have it, when it shall be new built, to have four small saker guns which will carry a shot of near 5 lb. As to Banks's Platform, which as is said before is annexed to one and the same fortification with King William's Fort, often called by the same name and commanded by the same men, yet that lies below nearer to the surface of the water and formerly had 6 guns, two of which were carried up the hill to King William's Fort. The three largest were kept below where they were concluded to be more useful, but sometime since there were two of those guns carried away to place in another part, so that as things are now there is not two guns at Banks's, which are not sufficient. There ought to be at least three, if not six, and these guns ought to be the best sort of well fortified culverins that carry a shot of 20 to 25 lb. These guns were not usually fired unless the ships stand in for the road, disregarding the shot from King William's Fort or being not willing to go, for then they can command them better with one of these guns, which they always take more notice of. The guns that are left here are good, but time in a fort is not enough, and what they have want new carriages. The breast works with embrasures are new, and the new built breastwork is not a building because it is only a rough wall made of stones piled up rough without any mortar, like the usual common fences pieced up rough with a hedge in the west of England, so that two or three shots from a large gun will beat them down and endanger the lives of the men set there to defend them. Interpretations The hailing station at King William's Fort is the island's whole system of intelligence about arriving ships, and this passage explains why it works only in one direction. Wind blowing constantly off the land carries a hail down to a vessel but sweeps her reply away, so the fort can question but cannot hear. The messenger running the hill path to the Governor therefore carries the ship's name and commander gathered from a one-sided exchange, and that dispatch is what has preceded every arrival recorded in these consultations. Firing a musket against the hillside as a signal that no signal can be seen is a neat solution to a problem of distance. The lookout on the Sugar Loaf cannot be heard from the summit, so a shot fired at the rock face carries the sound downward to the fort below, telling the officer there that the approaching vessel has made no recognition signal and must be brought to. That accounts for the alarms fired all year for ships that merely passed, since a vessel with no signal is treated as unknown until she answers.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		enough & that wee have want new Carriages & the Breast Works with Embrasures & must be new built & and the present Breast Work is not a building because tis only a rough Wall made of Stones piled up rough without any Mortar like the usual common Stone between Grounds in the West of England so that 2 or 3 Shot from a large Gun will beat them down & also endanger the Lives of the Men set there to defend them The Margin Notes: King Williams Fort Sugar Loaf Banks	Dry stone walling without mortar is the fatal weakness in the breastworks, and the comparison to a west of England field hedge is exact rather than dismissive. Stones piled loose absorb nothing; a single heavy round scatters them, and the fragments become projectiles against the men behind. Governor Pyke had argued on 2 July 1734 that earthworks thrown up quickly could be faced with stone afterwards, as at Batavia, but earth at least yields where loose stone flies. Guns carried away from Banks's leave the lowest and most useful battery with two pieces where six once stood. Position matters more than number here: Banks's sits near the water and can command a ship that ignores the higher fort, which Captains Ridge and Mead had made the same point about on 25 June 1734 when they found Munden's Point too high by 103 feet. Stripping guns from a low battery to arm a high one reverses what the ground requires. Appearance is offered as a reason for rebuilding, and it is not a trivial one. The first fort a foreign vessel sees establishes what the island seems able to do, and the churchwardens had used the same argument on 9 January 1733 about the roofless country chapel standing in open view of strangers and foreign nations. A ruinous work advertises weakness to precisely the ships the council most wants to deter.
327	324	The next Place is some flat Rocks that ly on the East Side of Ruperts Bay whereon tis proposed by the Engineer to have a Small Fort erected but of this I have already spoken in my Account of Ruperts Works This Bay called Ruperts is deeper & more commodious & convenient as a Bay only than that which lies before James Valley where our Main Forts are built but in Ruperts Valley there is no good Water to be had for though in the Rainey Seasons there is a large Rivulet yet for the most part of the Year there is no Water at all & the Springs at the upper end of the Valley are tainted with divers Salt & Unwholsom Tasts Here Prince Rupert Son of the King of Bohemia & Nephew to King Charles the first in his return from India came to an Anchor & stayed here to refresh his Ship & Company which gave to this Place the name of Ruperts Valley Here there was formerly a well Fortified Line of 6 Guns but it was placed too near the Sea & afterwards the present Line was erected which is said to be too far off it being built with Earth between the Stones instead of Mortar the Rains which weaken here in some Seasons has much decayed it but of this Place I have been too large by my Report of Ruperts Works Of the West Side of this Bay is a commodious Place for a Fortification to defend the whole Bay both from Ships & Boates called Chubs Rock, because a Man of that name fell from the Mountain above it & broke his Neck here, but as I have already mentioned	The next place is some flat rocks mostly on the east side of Rupert's Bay, where it is proposed by the engineer to have a small fort erected, but of this he has already spoken in his account of Rupert's Works. The bay called Rupert's is deeper and more commodious, if confined as a bay, only than that which lies before James Valley where our main works are built, but in Rupert's Valley there is as good water to be had for though in the rainy seasons there is a very large rivulet, yet for the most part of the year there is no water at all. The springs at the upper end of the valley are tainted with divers salt and unwholesome tastes. Prince Rupert, son of the King of Bohemia and nephew to King Charles the first, on his return from the East Indies came to anchor and stayed there to refresh his ship's company, which gave to the place the name of Rupert's Valley. The place was formerly a small fortified line of six guns, but it was placed too near the sea, and afterwards the present line was erected, which is said to be too far off, it being built with earth between the stones and instead of mortar the plain, which was weakened here in some seasons too much decayed, but of this place they have been too large by my report of Rupert's works. At the west side of the bay is a commodious place for a fortification to defend the whole bay both from ships and boats called Chubb's Rock, and by that name given from the mountain above it. Of this he has spoken here, but as we have already mentioned this place, which is concluded by every body to be fitter for a fortification than Munden's Point, he thinks it needless to speak further of it here. Then sailing on to the southward of the west, passing by the fort at Munden's Point, which is 120 feet above the surface of the water and a good fort but too high to be of that service that was intended, we then come to the copy of James Valley, where the main fort is. This main fort is defended by a bastion answering one large bastion, a half moon, a whole bastion and two good curtains, and faced next the sea with a large sword or dry moat, having eleven demi-cannon and five whole culverins, seven demi-culverins and five sakers placed to the best advantage thereon, but

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		this Place which is concluded by very body to be fitter for a Fortification than Munders Point I think it needless to speak farther of it here Then Sailing on to the Southward of the West passing by the Fort at Munders Point which is 120 ft above the Surface of the Water & a good Fort but too high to be of that Service that was intended you then form the Bay of James Valley where the Main Fort is This Main Fort is defended by a Line consisting one large Bastion a half Moon & whole Bastion & two good Curtains & faced next the Sea with a large Sword or dry Moat & having 11 Demi Cannon 5 whole Culvering 7 Demi Culvering & 5 Sakers placed to the most Advantage thereon, but all the Carriages very bad & many of them Unserviceable so that the 20 Carriages now come over though very good will not be Sufficient but we shall want 25 more Yes. And within this Line the Main Fort is defended by 2 large Curtains & two half Bastions, on the East half Bastion there are 4 & 5 Small Guns called Falcons & Falconets & Falconets which Guns being Small are kept only for Salutes to Save the Expence of Powder On the Mount or Front of the Mains Fort there are 6 very good Demi Culvering of the best Sort, but the Carriages greatly decayed so that we must have those there 12 Some of the new Carriages last come over On the West Curtain there are 4 ordinary Demi Culverings badly Mounted on very old Carriages & Embrasures for 7 have whereon there are no Guns at all but I should be Demi Culvering that the Honble bought within there are 7 Guns of 3 Sufficient Sizes as Sakers large Minion Falcons & Falconets which may Serve for other Places the Men we should have three guns for this Place requires 4 good Falcons & all the rest good Demi Culvering the Factory are only proper to Serve the Curtain & in case an Enemy should Land, but the Culvering Margin Notes: Ruperts Chubbs Munders James Lines James Line East half Bastion Fort of James Fort West Curtain West Curtain	all the carriages very bad, so many of them irreparable that the twenty carriages now come over, though very good, will not be sufficient, but we shall want twenty-five more. Adjoining within this line the main fort is defended by two large curtains, two half bastions, on the east half bastion three large and three small guns called falcons, falconets and robinets, which the gunner being made use of only for salutes to save the expense of powder. On the mount or point of the plain fort there are six very good demi-culverins of the best sort, but the carriages greatly decayed, so that we must have more than ten of the new carriages last come over. On the west curtain there are ordinary demi-culverins badly mounted on very old carriages and embrasures for seven more, whereas there are no guns at all but he should be demi-culverin, that the flag has kept in there, and seven of them, and here are several sorts of different guns as three large minions, falcons and falconets which may serve for other places. The men should have three guns for that place, requiring good sakers for the rest, good demi-culverins. The falconets are only proper to serve the curtain in case an enemy should land, but the demi-culverins [...] Interpretations Rupert's Valley has no reliable water, and that fact undercuts every proposal to fortify it heavily. A large rivulet runs there in the rainy season and nothing for most of the year, while the springs at the head of the valley are brackish. Governor Pyke's trials of 8 August 1732 traced the fault at Chubb's Spring to salt seepage along the channel rather than the spring head, and the same geology afflicts this valley. A garrison stationed where it must have water carried to it cannot be held long. The name of the valley comes from Prince Rupert of the Rhine, son of the Elector Palatine and Elizabeth Stuart, who commanded the royalist cavalry in the English civil war and later led naval expeditions. His call here on a homeward voyage from the East gave the anchorage its name, and the recital of that history in a fortification report reflects how thoroughly the island's places carried their origins in their names. Curtains, bastions and half moons describe the standard geometry of European fortification, where a curtain is the straight wall between two projecting bastions and a half moon a detached outwork covering a gate or a curtain's face. A dry moat next the sea completes the arrangement. That St Helena's main fort follows this pattern reflects seventeenth-century military engineering carried out to a place where the real threat was boats rather than siege artillery, which is the tension running through this entire survey. The carriage shortage is the report's most concrete finding. Twenty new carriages have come out from England and twenty-five more are needed, with many of the existing mountings beyond repair. The gunner reported three demi-cannon and three whole culverins unfit to fire on 28 May 1734, and a carriage at Munden's Point broke to pieces when discharged on 2 June. An island holding 128 guns unchanged since 1728 has been unable to mount half of them serviceably. Falconets and robinets are the smallest pieces in the ordnance scale, throwing shot of a pound or two, and using them for salutes rather than defence is a deliberate economy. Every arrival and departure in these accounts cost powder, running to 153 lb in March 1734, so firing compliments from the lightest guns available preserves both the heavy pieces and the magazine. It also explains why salutes and alarms

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			are counted separately in the gunner's monthly returns.
328	325	a Culvering are to annoy an Enemy at more Distance for it is commonly esteemed that a good Culvering Gun which is well Fortified will carry a Shot as far as a Demi Canon though not of so large a Size, Wee having entirely deserted the Maine Fort at James Valley which when compleated will contain 30 Guns there will need nothing more to be don than to build a good Magazine for the Powder, but the Ingeeneer proposes 2 Magazines least by any Accident one should be blown up or any other way be destroyed which I should not disapprove of were it not for the Expence & the Contriving more Work than wee shale be able to perform The next Place to James Valley is Bruch Creek Valley there is difficult to Land at but many of our People do often Land there here may be a Small Wale or Brest Work made if it should be thought proper but the other more necessary Works already deserted I think should be first finished, to shew how hard it is for a Stranger to Land Iprejudise us here, I need only say the hills being high & the Valley narrow it is a hard Matter to get that way into the Country neither is there any Water to be had there This November 96 of Capt Lyn's Sailors in the Ship Wyndam having been in the Country & lost his Companions thought to go down to the Sea that a nearer way than he came up he Straggled down in the Night time to Some of these Rocks next the Sea by which day light came he could get no farther neither dared he by day light go back where he had wandred in the dark so in the Forenoon he called to a Fishing Boat & begd of them to shew him the way down none of our People knew how to get at him but at length being directed by a Boat that lay off in the Sea for that purpose they lowered down a Rope which he man made himself fast to & he was haled up to the top of the Mountain by it, he Last a Mans Bowle & Callicoe of Sea there wch he carried and shaar with him to yet he had two of said & left only one behind him which none of our People not even the Blacks have ventured to go there to fetch it Sailing farther Westward you com to Youngs Valley which breaks up to the Plantacion house but wee take it to be Impracticable to Land there because there is a Waterfall at least 100 perpendicular ft which not one Man in ten Thousand can ascend which lies next to the Sea Then you com to Frier Valley a Place so called because on the	Demi-culverins were held sufficient to trouble an enemy at long range, since the piece was generally reckoned able to throw a shot as far as a demi-cannon despite its lighter bore. The old fort at James Valley, already abandoned, would hold 20 guns and needed nothing further beyond a good powder magazine. Colonel Gaultier proposed two magazines instead, so that an accident or an explosion in one would not destroy the whole store. The gunner disagreed with him on that point, holding it a waste of effort and more work than the island's hands could carry out. Break Neck Valley: The next landing place beyond James Valley was Break Neck Valley, where a boat could seldom come ashore without difficulty. A small wall or breastwork might be raised there if the council thought it proper, though the works of greater consequence ought to be finished first. A stranger would find the place very hard to enter, the hills standing high and the valley running narrow, so that a party landing there faced a hard scramble to reach open ground. No water was to be had anywhere in that valley. The gunner reported the case of Captain Lyell's servant off the <i>Wyndham</i>, who had been in the country with his companions and set off for the sea by what he believed a shorter way than the one he had climbed. He lost his footing and slid down in the night, coming among the rocks near the shore by daylight, and could get no further nor dared return by the path he had taken in the dark. He called out in the morning to a passing boat's party, and some of the island's people came to him. Nobody could reach him until a boat lying off in the sea directed them, and for that purpose they lowered a rope by which the man made himself fast and was hauled to the top of the mountain. He had with him a china bowl and a canister of tea, one of which he lost as he was drawn up, keeping only the other, and no boat's crew had ventured to that spot before. Young's Valley: Further west lay Young's Valley, which ran back towards Plantation House. The gunner judged it impracticable for a landing, the water there breaking against a face at least 200 feet sheer, which not one man in 10,000 could climb, and which stands directly at the sea's edge. Grig's Valley: Beyond that came Grig's Valley, so named from the large rocks standing on the ridge of the mountain there, which at a distance look exactly like a friar. The valley itself is narrow and the hills steep, so that a few men could hold the way inland against many, but the landing itself is easy enough. Lemon Valley: Lemon Valley adjoined it, where the landing on each side is easy though the hills stand very steep. The Dutch had come ashore there in earlier times. Large stones were rolled down the hills upon them and they were driven off, yet they afterwards landed on the other side of the island. A slight fort had once been built there by the English, which the first heavy rains washed away, and two smaller works stood after it on each side of the water course. Both were now quite decayed, the guns dismounted and the stonework broken, so that firing them was unsafe. The guns were removed and set where they were of more use, at the west rocks, as a landmark for a ship that might have occasion to warp in close to the west rocks and would there lie the safer for it. Guns had also been placed there to protect the island's own boats should an enemy come in, though nobody appeared to take any notice of the provision, an anchor and several guns having

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Ridge of that Mountain stand some large Rocks which at a great Distance look exactly like a Frier this Valley is narrow & the hills Steep which makes it hard to get into the Country if a few Men make opposition but tis easy enough to Land Lemon Valley it's the next which the Landing is easy but the hills are very Steep on each side & narrow here some of the Dutch Landed formerly but by throwing large Stones down the hills they were beat off again however afterwards when the Island was retook it came again into the hands of the English there was a Slight Fort now it built on some violent hard Rains that first Fortress hosted away & then two Smaller mine built on on each side of the Water Course that are now quite decayed & the Guns much flawed & Stoney Corroded so that it is unsafe to fire them wee have taken them away three as useless & placed them in the West Rocks as sharpsayles for any Ship that has occasion to Warp in close to the West Rocks where they will be safer & be more the Protection of our Guns in case an Enemy should come in upon them wch induced us of Service to them if made use of but wee do not find that any body regards it though wee have placed an Anchor & several Guns there for that Purpose yet no body has made any Use of them Margin Notes: Breck Neck Valley Youngs Valley Friers Valley Lemon Valley	been laid down for that purpose without anyone making use of them. Interpretations The distinction the gunner draws between the demi-culverin and the demi-cannon rests on barrel length rather than weight of shot. A demi-culverin threw a ball of about 9 lb from a long, thick-walled barrel, and the extra length allowed the charge to burn fully before the shot left the muzzle, giving range that a shorter demi-cannon could not match despite its heavier 30 lb ball. For coastal work that reach mattered more than mass, since the object was to trouble a ship standing off rather than to breach a wall. The gunner's own survey of 2 July 1734 applied the same reasoning in reverse at the water's edge, where light minions and sakers loaded with cartridge shot were held sufficient against boats. The argument over one magazine or two turns on a real problem in powder storage rather than on obstruction for its own sake. Governor Pyke's design of 2 October 1733 had already answered the danger of a burst by arching the building twice with a bed of earth between, and the whole loss of some 120 barrels from first to last had come from damp and rain rather than from any explosion. Dividing the store across two buildings doubles the labour of construction and the ground that must be kept dry, and the establishment stood at 42 able men by John Durling's memorial of 4 June 1734. The gunner's objection is a labour calculation, not a technical one, and it matches Governor Pyke's own computation of 2 July 1734 that the engineer's demand of 40 hands came in truth to 110. Warping in close to the west rocks means hauling a ship inshore on a line run out to a fixed point, so that she comes under the shelter of the land without setting sail. The practice had been ordered of every arriving commander since 13 March 1729, and the council had laid a large anchor with a hawser to the westward of the road on its own authority on 10 January 1733, precisely because many ships could spare neither an anchor nor a boat fit to carry one out. The guns removed from the ruined Lemon Valley works were resited to cover that anchorage, which makes the gunner's complaint pointed: the council had supplied the anchor, the hawser and the covering battery, and commanders still ignored all three. Speculations The obvious course at Lemon Valley was to rebuild, and the record shows the council refusing it twice over. Governor Byfield had repaired the place at heavy cost and set up a crane there, and Captain Goodwin reported on 28 December 1733 that the sea had driven rocks of twenty seven tons into the water and drawn iron crows straight through solid stone. The council resolved on 2 January 1734 to leave the ground unrepaired. The present passage records the second half of that decision, the guns themselves being carried off to the west rocks rather than remounted where they stood. Stripping a defensive position of its ordnance is a heavier step than declining to repair a wall, since it concedes the place permanently, and the gunner justifies it by the guns being of more service where a ship might actually need them. The reasoning is the same one Governor Pyke applied to the water supply, where the fort valley springs had been made sweet enough to serve the whole fleet and Lemon Valley was worth nothing further.
329	326	These the old Works being intirely in Ruins the Engineer proposes to make two other Forts then as formerly but I believe one Fort of	The old works there stood entirely ruined, and Colonel Gaultier proposed to raise two further forts on the former plan. The gunner held that one work of five or six guns would answer better than two of

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		5 or 6 Guns would be better than two Forts of 2 or 3 Guns each because if they take any of those Forts they can then fire upon the other & so favour the Landing of many & this is not so very material but as one Fort for 6 Guns is Sooner built than 2 Forts for 3 Guns apiece it may be so placed as to be out of Danger of any Islands I imagine it to be more Serviceable so I think good Minion Guns large enough for this use The next Place is Swanley Valley it is easier to Land at than at Youngs Valley but yet very difficult Then comes old Womans Valley where there is good Landing at the Beach but the hills are all very Steep & here the Dutch also Land & the Party from hence found the way into the Country & did take the Island but they Place never yet had any Works made there so that tis as easy for an Enemy to Land there now as formerly unless Something be done there for its Defence but then to have those in all accessible Places round the Island would more than twice our number called Defend The next Valley is Thompsons Valley which is much the Same as the last mentioned old Womans Valley Then appears a Point of Sand called South West Point here it is easy Landing at the Point yet but few People can get up from thence into the Country The last is Manatee Bay where there is difficult Landing & consequently not so much in danger as the others And then you come about to Sandy bay where wee began & this is the best Account I can give of the Sea Coasts of this Country & these according to my Account & Opinion I have mentioned Guns as necessary Vizt At James Valley Vizt Demi Culvering 10 Sakers 4 Large Minion 4 At Lemon Valley Vizt Sakers 4 At Ruperts Vizt Demi Culvering 14 Minion 14 At Bankses Best Sort of Do Culvering of 30, or, 32 6 At Turks Cap Valley vizt Large Minion 6 At Repwins Landing Place vizt Large Minion 6 At Sandy bay Vizt Large Minion	two or three apiece. Should an enemy carry either of the smaller forts, he could then turn its guns upon the other, which would favour the landing rather than hinder it. A single fort for six guns could also be built sooner than two forts for three guns each, and might be sited clear of any risk of being taken from the landward side. The gunner judged that arrangement much the more serviceable, and thought large minions guns enough for the purpose. Swanley Valley: Landing at Swanley Valley was easier than at Young's Valley, though the ground beyond remained very difficult. Old Woman's Valley: Old Woman's Valley offered good landing at the beach, but the hills above stood very steep. The Dutch had come ashore there and found their way inland, and by that route they took the island. No work had ever been built to hold the place, so a landing there remained as open to an enemy now as it had been then, unless something were raised for its defence. Fortifying every practicable landing round the island would call for more than twice the men the garrison could muster. Thompson's Valley: Thompson's Valley much resembled Old Woman's Valley in its landing and its approaches. South West Point: A point of land called South West Point lay beyond, where a boat could come ashore easily enough, though few men could climb from there into the country. Manatee Bay: Manatee Bay came last, where landing was difficult and the place accordingly less exposed than the others. The circuit closed at Sandy Bay, where the survey had begun. The gunner offered this as the fullest account he could give of the island's sea coasts, and set out the guns he judged necessary at each place. At James Valley: demi-culverins, 10 At James Valley: sakers, 4 At James Valley: large minions, 4 At Lemon Valley: sakers, 4 At Rupert's: demi-culverins, 14 At Rupert's: minions, 14 At Banks's: best sort of demi-culverins of 30 or 32 hundredweight, 6 At Turk's Cap Valley: large minions, 6 At Higgin's landing place: large minions, 6 At Sandy Bay: large minions, 8 Spare guns to lie ready for any other help, 6 or 8 Total guns, 76 Demi-culverins in all, 30 Sakers in all, 8 Large minions in all, 38 Total in all, 76 Demi-culverins to lie in store, 4 Minions to lie in store, 6 Grand total, 86 Interpretations The gunner's argument against a pair of small forts rests on a principle of siting rather than on any objection to the works themselves. Two batteries within range of one another can each be swept by the other's guns, so a position carried by an enemy becomes an asset against the ground it was built to protect. The single larger work removes that risk and concentrates the labour, which matters directly on an island where John Durling's memorial of 4 June 1734 gave 42 able men across the whole establishment. Colonel Gaultier had proposed seven works needing 115 men to defend on 7 June 1734, and Governor Pyke computed on 2 July 1734 that the engineer's demand of 40 hands for Rupert's alone came in truth to 110. Guns are specified here by weight of metal as well as by class, the demi-culverins for Banks's being called for at 30 or 32 hundredweight. A heavier

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		8 And 6 or 8 Spare Guns to ly ready for any other Use 176 These in all are Vizt Demi Culvering 30 Sakers 8 Large Minion 38 176 Demi Culvering to ly in Store 4 Minion 4 or 6 ditto 6 86 Margin Notes: Swanley Valley Old Womans Valley Thompsons Valley South West point Manatee bay	barrel of the same bore withstands a larger charge and repeated firing without honeycombing, and Banks's stands on a headland covering the road where a piece might be served hard and often. The council had ordered the gunner on 11 June 1734 to examine every gun for honeycombing while loading them, so the specification answers a defect already known in the island's existing ordnance rather than a theoretical preference. The reference to the Dutch landing at Old Woman's Valley carries a strategic point the gunner leaves unstated. Prosperous Bay, called Higgin's landing place, is where the English retook the island in 1673, and the two events between them establish that St Helena had been lost and won by parties coming ashore at the unwatched places rather than by any assault on James Valley. The gunner's tally of 86 guns across eight positions is an answer to that history, and his own admission that the whole coast would need twice the garrison's number concedes that the answer is partial. Speculations The obvious course when an engineer sent out expressly to fortify the island delivers a plan is to build to it, and the gunner instead substituted his own scheme at nearly every point. Colonel Gaultier had proposed two turnpikes of twelve fathoms at Rupert's on 18 June 1734, and Captains Ridge and Mead recommended two redoubts at the water's edge on 25 June. The gunner here rejects the paired-work principle altogether and returns a schedule built round single concentrated batteries. His standing to do so came from the council itself, which had returned Gaultier's plans on 10 June 1734 as carelessly done and told him they looked designed to impose upon the Company, and had then ordered the gunner to view the guns and carriages after the engineer refused. The professional appointed for the task was set aside in favour of the man who had signed the monthly ordnance accounts since 1727, and the reserve of six demi-culverins and six minions held in store is the mark of a scheme written by someone who expects to serve the guns himself.
330	327	And Do Carriages such as came last over by the Lyzle Whereas these Guns are altogether of great Weight & one half of each Sort are Sent by the first Shopship the Remainder of their number may be brought the year following by the next Ship, & do here before the Works designed to contain them can be finished but the Do Carriage & the Sorts & Goodness of those Sent last should be Sent as such as may be the Carriage we had before being most of them quit Broken At a Consultation held on Tuesday 2d July 1701 at the Castle Present, Mr Bph Roberts John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved Monsr Gosterre was this Morning sent for into Council & being come the Governour desired him to Sit & he sat down with the Council next to Capt Alexander & was then asked in what forwardness the Works at Ruperts were & he Answered he did not know he having	Gun carriages such as those lately brought by the <i>Lyzle</i> were needed. The guns themselves were all of great weight, so half the number required at each work might be sent by the first store ship and the remainder brought out the following year by the next vessel. The works already described would be finished before the carriages arrived, and the guns should be sent as early as could be managed, the carriages held on the island being for the most part rotten and falling apart. At a consultation held on Tuesday 9 July 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The engineer: Colonel Gaultier came into council that morning at the Governor's summons, and the Governor invited him to sit down with the members. Captain Alexander asked how far the works at Rupert's had advanced. The engineer answered that he did not know, having been there only once, some three weeks earlier, when the people were at work, and that he had not since gone to see what they did. He said he would go whenever he was wanted if the Governor would give him a written order. The council replied that an order made in council was authority enough for anybody, that the men had been at work under his direction for some time already, and that everyone was expected to do his duty. The engineer took offence at this.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		been there but once since the People were there which is now three Weeks ago & that he did not know what they had to do there but that if he was at any time wanted to go he would ily & the Governour would give him an order in Writing to which Answer was made that an order in Councill was always Sufficient for every body & that as many Men as could be Spared were already placed under his Care & that both so far for some time past & that it was expected that he & every body else should do their Duty, upon this he desired to know where he was to Sit & said that he was to Sit & Command next the Governour to this the Govr Replied that in all Affairs relating to the Fortifications & in what else the Govr thought he was able to understand he would ask his Advice & that he was not to Sit or take Place above any of the Councill, at this he was very Angry & said he thought to be in all these & at all times next the Governor & other Expressions as if he thought himself taken for a Suspected Person & that he would Consent to in some other Place but not here & said he ought to command all the People upon the Line, that the Governour told him that Capt Cason was an old Experienced Officer & a Person fit to be entirely trusted & relyed upon having been employed & Confided in by the Severall last Governours as chief Military officer & farther told him that Capt Cason was an English man & so deserving a Man that he ought not to put any body over his head with which Monsr Gosterre was highly Offended, & he was likewise told that he ought to look after the Sufficiency of the Fortifications & to take care that the People under him did their Duty for which he had a large Allowance & great Encouragement & as long he promised to go to Ruperts to morrow & also said he expected to be Sent for upon the firing of Guns & the Govr acquainted him that he had lately Margin Notes: &c &c The Engineer his Place in Councill & in garrison Capt Cason Chief Milty officer	His place in council and in the garrison: Colonel Gaultier held that he ranked next after the Governor. The council answered that in everything touching the fortifications he might be consulted where the Governor thought him able to give advice, but that he was not to sit or take place above any member of the council. He grew angry at that and said he thought himself in another country, and that the expressions used to him made him feel a suspected person. He declared he would resign his place, though not there, and claimed that he ought to command all the people on the line. The Governor answered that Captain Cason was an old and experienced officer, a man fit to be trusted entirely, having been employed and relied on by every previous Governor as chief military officer, and an Englishman besides, so that no one ought to be set over his head. The engineer was highly offended. He was then told that his own business was to look after the fortifications and to see that the men under him did their duty, for which he had a large allowance and great encouragement. Asked how long he expected the Rupert's work to take, he said he had lately been sent for on the firing of guns, and the Governor told him he had recently sent for him. Interpretations The quarrel over precedence is a dispute about the standing of a Company appointment against the standing of the council itself. Colonel Gaultier held a commission from London to fortify the island and read that as placing him second only to the Governor, which would have set him above Captain Alexander, Captain Goodwin and Duke Crisp, all of whom had sat in council for years. The council's answer separates advice from authority: he might be consulted on the works, but the seat and the rank belonged to the members. The same distinction had governed the council's treatment of his plans on 10 June 1734, when it returned them as carelessly done and directed the gunner to view the guns and carriages after Gaultier refused to do so. The demand for a written order rather than a direction given in council touches the practical difficulty of enforcing anything against a man the island could not dismiss. Gaultier was sent by the Company, and the council had no power to remove him, exactly as it had lacked any means to replace Chaplain George White in July 1732 or to detain a Company commander by force. A written order would have created a document he could produce in London to show he acted only when instructed, and the council's refusal to supply one keeps the responsibility for the works with the man appointed to build them. The Governor's defence of Captain Cason turns on a claim about continuity rather than about rank. Cason had surveyed the magazine, powder, guns and munitions with Captain Alexander in September 1727, the survey that exposed the gunner's neglect and the decay of the island's ordnance, and had reported with Ensign Wood on the dangerous state of the path to Banks's in November and December 1732. His standing rested on having been trusted by successive Governors, which is a form of authority a newly arrived engineer could not acquire. The Governor's addition that Cason was an Englishman is a second and blunter argument, and the council record carries it without softening. Speculations The obvious course with a heavy gun is to send it out mounted, and the gunner instead proposed splitting each work's ordnance across two seasons and letting the carriages follow separately. The reason lies in the weight: a demi-culverin of 30 or 32 hundredweight occupies tonnage that a Company

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			ship carrying a full lading of arrack, rice, sugar and paddy cannot easily spare, and the island's landing is by open boat to the rocks with no sheltered harbour. Sending half the guns by the first store ship and the rest the following year keeps each consignment within what a single vessel and a single season's boat work could manage. The gunner then accepts a real cost in that scheme, since he states plainly that the works will be finished before the carriages arrive, leaving completed batteries standing empty for a season. He judged that better than delaying the guns, the existing carriages being mostly rotten, and he had reported three demi-cannon and three whole culverins on the line so cracked they would not bear firing on 28 May 1734.
331	328	Sent for him to Search & Examine in what Condition the Guns were but but he refused to come to this he Answered in a swiftly that he thought the Gunner had Sent for him This Claim seems to us very extraordinary because there has been here Governours & never made any such Suspertions before, & other Engineers as well them as he never disputed us but & yet is even out of Councill has to Place wee Searched our Books & find by Severall Regulations particularly one made by Governour Roberts that the Engineer is placed next below the Chaplain The Weather being lately very bad the Longboat returned twice from Sandy bay without Lime, wee therefore think it necessary to repair the old Ho Path which was formerly made to carry Lime to Ruperts by Land when it was first built & as many hands as could be Spared were Ordered to Set about it At a Consultation held on Monday 14th July 1701 at the Castle Present, Mr Bph Roberts Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that on the 8 instant he received the following Letter from Monsr Gosterre To His Worship the Governour in Councill Sir, I beg leave to represent to you as on the verbal Order that you gave gave me yesterday to go to Ruperts Valley to finish & repair the Fortification I am very ready & willing to obey your Commands but considering as I had the honour yesterday to tell you that I had made you a Representation the 11th or 12th of June last that I have Signed in which I said that I had Examined but found no Founda: tion under the Wall of that Work, & thereupon you was pleased to order an examination & Mine told me twice that your Worship would go there your self & take a view of it & these Considerations & others engage me humbly to demand an order in Writing as I did yesterday to clear my self of all Inconveniencies that may happen. Your	The Governor had sent for Colonel Gaultier to examine the condition of the guns, and the engineer refused to attend. He answered sharply that he supposed the gunner had sent for him. The council held the claim to precedence very strange, since the island had known lieutenants, colonels and superintendents before, and other engineers as well, none of whom had ever disputed rank in the way he did. Several regulations found in the council's own books settled the matter, and one made by Governor Roberts placed the engineer immediately below the chaplain. The long boat had lately come back twice from Sandy Bay without lime, the weather having prevented her loading. The council therefore judged it necessary to repair the old cart road formerly made to carry lime overland to Rupert's. Every hand that could be spared was set to the work at once. At a consultation held on Monday 15 July 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that on 8 July he had received a letter from Colonel Gaultier, addressed to the Governor in council. Gaultier wrote that a spoken order had been given him the previous day to go to Rupert's Valley to finish and repair the fortification. He declared himself willing to obey, but recalled that he had already made a written representation on 18 June, which he had signed, stating that he had examined the wall of that work and found no foundation under it. The Governor had then agreed to go and view it, along with other matters requiring consideration, and Gaultier asked to be given an order in writing, as he had asked the previous day, so that he might be clear of any trouble that followed. He assured the Governor that he had never failed in the respect due to his position, that he had offered his advice for the Company's advantage, and that he could not accept the charge of insulting behaviour the Governor had laid against him the day before. He denied insulting anyone when he was sent for, called the accusation unjust, and asked that whoever was at fault be punished. He signed himself the Governor's obedient servant, P. Gaultier, and asked to be excused for his poor written English. Rupert's: The line at Rupert's had been laid out by Commodore Richards, who commanded a man of war and was convoy to the homeward bound shipping. Interpretations The regulation placing the engineer below the chaplain fixes his standing within the island's own establishment rather than within the Company's service at large. Precedence on St Helena determined who sat where in council, who was consulted and whose orders bound whom, and Governor Roberts had settled the question before Gaultier arrived. The council's use of its own books against him repeats the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Worship may be Sure that I shall never fail in the Respect & Submission that is due to your Station & I shall ever to my Advice to render your Designs advantageous to the Honble Company but I am wee & desirous to be justified upon the Accusation that your Worship told me yesterday that I invoked not come when you Sent for me wch Accusation is not just & humbly demand the Punishment of the culpable Sir, Your Worships Obedt & humle Servt P Gosterre I desire to be excused of the bad Writing in English As to this Line of Ruperts it was contrived by Commodore Richards who Commanded a Man of War & was Convoy to the Margin Notes: Ruperts	method it applied to Richard Beale's claim against the Powell estate on 20 March 1733, where the answer rested on an order brought by the <i>Arrington</i> in August 1711 and the court that followed it. A written record produced from the register carried more weight than any assertion made in the room. Gaultier's insistence on a written order answers a specific professional exposure rather than a general reluctance. He had reported on 18 June 1734 that the Rupert's parapet was built without its stones laid on the surface of the earth, and had proposed abandoning it for two turnpikes nearer the sea. Captains Ridge and Mead confirmed on 25 June that the line stood on ground too light to bear a substantial building. Being now directed to repair the very work he had condemned, he wanted a document showing the decision was not his, since a wall that fails after he has certified it unsound would otherwise fall to his account in London. Commodore Richards laid out the Rupert's line as a naval officer commanding an escort, not as an engineer, which explains the defect every later survey found in it. A convoy commander's concern was the safety of the anchorage and the shipping under his charge during the time he lay there, and a work thrown up on the surface serves that purpose well enough. The council had been told twice within a month that the line had no foundation, and the fault traces back to the circumstances of its building rather than to neglect since. Speculations The obvious answer to a boat that cannot load lime is to wait for better weather, and the council instead reopened an overland route it had allowed to fall into ruin. The long boat had returned empty from Sandy Bay twice, and the cart road built by Governor Roberts at a charge of at least £300 0s 0d had been absorbed into private plantations by successive encroachments, reduced in most places to a path not a foot wide by Governor Pyke's own view of 17 April 1731. The council had declined then to compel the offenders to make good what they had taken, settling instead for each man opening a way ten feet wide outside his own fence, and no report of those ways being opened appears in the record. Setting every spare hand to repair the road now costs labour the establishment could barely find, John Durling having reported 42 able men on 4 June 1734. The council accepted that charge rather than let the fortification work stand idle for want of lime, which places the value it set on the Rupert's works above the cost of the men.
332	329	homeward bound Fleet but as to its having no Foundation that that may be cavild a Cause but wee are informed that it was then on such Great Emergency wee had not time to make a Foundation they were then wanted work for him at 2s 6d a day Stonelayers & Masons & Dick Ryder is to do the alledg of Men wch & pay for Labouring Blacks & the Charge thereof was Severall Thousand Pounds, wee are now in as much hast & find it necessary to repair the Work which wee have therefore Resolved on & shall not build a new Work of such direct & Positive Orders from the Honble Company for wee are not afraid of any Siege or long Bombardment but expect some sudden & short attack & this Line is repaired wee doubt not but tis to be	Commodore Richards had been convoy to the homeward bound shipping. The line he laid out could be called a fence rather than a work with any foundation, since it was thrown up in such a hurry that there was no time to sink one. The men who raised it were the same hands who served as planters and others working for him at eightpence a day for stonelayers and masons, with diet besides, which came to about the wage of the black labourers now employed there. The whole charge came to some 3,000 pounds. The council held it necessary to repair the work, and resolved to build no new fortification at such heavy expense without first receiving direction from the Company, being under no fear of any ship or of bombardment, though a sudden attack was expected. The line was accordingly ordered repaired, and the council doubted nothing but that it would prove sufficient. Colonel Gaultier was to be allowed 15 or 16 pounds to repair it, and he answered that he would have found no fault except that it wanted a foundation, and that Captain Ridge was now retired.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Sufficient for that And this wee agreed to give Monsr Gosterre Fifteen Silver & Pounds to repair this Work as he desired then he would have found no fault that it wanted a Foundation but have made such Repairs as wee now intend As to his Station he is the Company's & so tis pleased Engineer but he is to have no other Rank or Employment that shall take him from the Buisyness that he comes about that is to repair & build up Fortifications for the Defense of the Place, As to his Advice wee do not think him or any Man who has not known the Country & taken does not actually go upon the Spot capable of advising us to any good Effect as the case of Frier's Cap Valley & Thompsons Valley when all these never been out but again Distant in a Boat & then he is not a good a Judge as wee are & yet then, however because he has talked as if he had great Skill in Engineering & rendered to Mark Stone & Negroes in the Country wee intend to see what fault he can find with Capt Cavons Service who has Charge of the Sight according to Gabriel & Cards On Island who is Gaoner of the Kings Guards & you are told by all People that go home that he Sollicits an India Service so well as our Men have & they are most of them or much our Superiours that there is no cause to think they Bemulles And now he has lately Said as much as that had wee desire him to tell to his way of Service & so tis the Governours going to Ruperts & he had been there three days before we received his Letter & were at that agreed & ordered him Monsr Gosterre to Repair Ruperts Line & told him & Capt Rigby that that was could not be Refuser Demolishing the Work that has cost the Company so much Money Then the Governour was desired to send to Monsr Gosterre that he desired to want in Service the People & he had said he did go to him who gave the Governours Service to him & told him that next day being Saturday & Sunday & day & he desired to see him through the People, who bad Answer & the Ensign you might have shewed your self the trouble for Sundays to be there Then next Morning the Governour & all the Councill went together to see them Service & stayed there full three hours & with the Men are drawn out & the Men came, but a quarter of an hour after the Men were dismissed and other Sam was Sent to the Governour directed to him in Councill which is as follows Vizt To the Worship the Governour in Councill Sir, It is now I have been all these present at the Service of the Guns and Soldiers when I know the time never in giving it and neither Sirs & were	The engineer: The council was content that the engineer keep the title of Surveyor, but he was to hold no other rank or employment than that of the place he came to fill, which was to repair and build fortifications for the defence of the island. As to his advice, the council did not think him or any man who had never seen the country able to judge a spot fit to answer any good purpose, having only viewed the cliffs at Turk's Cap Valley, Prosperous Bay and elsewhere from a boat lying off at a distance. He was therefore no such judge as the council might expect, though from having laboured at the works he had gained great skill in overseeing labour. The council intended to do the best it could with Captain Cason, an officer who had served at the siege of Gibraltar according to Colonel Gaultier's own account, and who had been a Gunner of the King's yards. The council was told by people who had come home that no soldiers in India served so well as the island's own men, and that they were the more valuable since there was no room for supervisors to be brought out. The engineer to serve the men: The engineer had lately said as much as had been recorded, and the council allowed him to take the service of the men. He was going to Rupert's, had been there three days before he received his letter home, and had agreed to order Colonel Gaultier to repair Rupert's. Captain Ridge said he would not consent to demolish a work that had cost the Company so much money. The Governor then asked him to send to Colonel Gaultier, saying he wished to have the service of the men, and Gaultier answered that he would not answer to him who gave the Governor service in hand. The Governor had said that on Saturday and Sunday, and refused to send him the men, who had asked whether they might have saved their trouble on Monday. The Governor and council wait for three hours in vain: The following morning the Governor waited with the council for three hours, and a quarter of an hour after the men were drawn out they never came. The men were dismissed and another letter was sent to the Governor, directed to him in council, which reads as follows. Gaultier wrote to the Governor in council that he had always been present at the service of the guns and the soldiers when he knew the men were not otherwise employed in the Company's service, and would have continued so if the Governor had not told him that he had no command nor rank, and that the Governor would not permit it because he was a stranger to him and a Frenchman, without taking any further notice. Interpretations Eightpence a day for stonelayers and masons with diet supplied sets the original Rupert's line against the current labour market on the island. The council had hired 20 slaves at ninepence a day in August 1732 to cut the trench carrying the salt springs into the sea, and offered the same rate in June 1734 for the fortification works, when not a single slave was tendered and the inhabitants declared the sum insufficient to feed and clothe a man. A rate that supported white tradesmen with their food found in the earlier period now failed to draw hired slave labour, which measures how far the island's terms of employment had shifted. The council's objection to Gaultier's judgement rests on the method by which he surveyed the coast rather than on his competence as an engineer. He had reported on every landing place from Rupert's Bay to Sandy Bay on 4 June 1734, and the gunner observed on 2 July that he had never been at Higgin's landing place, having seen it only from a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		otherwise Employed in the Honble Companies Service & would have continued if your Worship had not indulged to me that I had here no Command nor Rank & that you would not permit it because I was a Stranger to you & a French man & so without taking any	boat at half a mile's distance. A landing place is judged by what lies behind the beach, since a party ashore must climb into the country, and that ground cannot be assessed from the water. The council's account of Turk's Cap Valley and Prosperous Bay accordingly treats his conclusions as untested. The office of Gunner of the King's yards, which Captain Cason had held, carried responsibility for the ordnance stores of a naval dockyard rather than for service in the field. The holder accounted for guns, carriages, powder and shot, inspected pieces for defects and certified them fit or unfit, which is precisely the duty the council had ordered performed on 11 June 1734 when the gunner was told to examine every gun for honeycombing after Gaultier refused. Cason's service at the siege of Gibraltar added practical experience of works under fire, and the council's citing Gaultier's own testimony for it turns the engineer's word against his claim to precedence. Speculations The obvious course for a council holding a written report that a wall has no foundation is to pull it down, and Captain Ridge refused on the ground of what the work had already cost. Colonel Gaultier had condemned the Rupert's parapet on 18 June 1734 and proposed two turnpikes nearer the sea in its place, and Captains Ridge and Mead had themselves confirmed on 25 June that the line stood on ground too light to bear a substantial building. The argument recorded here is not that the wall is sound but that the 3,000 pounds sunk in it should not be written off, and the council settled on repair at an allowance of 15 or 16 pounds rather than replacement at the engineer's estimate. A sum spent long ago cannot be recovered by keeping the thing it bought, yet the council preferred a cheap repair to a defensible work, and justified the choice by its own resolution to build nothing costly without direction from London.
333	330	notice of my reasons that the Honble Company sent me here who may be Supposed to have knowne, for an Unrespected Man as I understand I am by your Worship I am obliged therefore to tell you that I am heartily sorry your Worship does your Endeavour to hinder me from Serving the Honble Company as I think my Station requires & I am forced that by these means I am put to Necessity against my Inclination to declare to you that I cannot appear at their Exercise because it cant be done without Commanding the Captain or Lieutenant the Ensign & the Gunner because they must absolutely obey me for the good & Service of the Honble Company which will Submission your Worship as Governour must needs know & as well as my self As to going to Ruperts Valley I remind your Worship of the Declaration made by me the 3d of this Month that I am willing to go & any with the Condition founded upon reason mentioned in the Declaration which Condition is allways Granted in all Services in an Affair of that Consequence, I am with all Respect, Sir Your Worships most humble Servt	Gaultier wrote that the Company had sent him to the island, and that a man so employed ought not to be treated as one under suspicion, which was how the Governor had chosen to regard him. He said he was sorry the Governor should try to prevent him from serving the Company as his position required, and that he took the effort as a reflection on his character. He explained that he could not attend the exercise of the guns without commanding the captain, the lieutenant, the ensign and the gunner, since all of them must obey him without question for the good of the Company's service, and that the Governor must know this as well as he did himself. As to going to Rupert's Valley, he reminded the council of the written statement he had made on 18 June, and declared himself willing to go and to comply with the condition he had set out in it, such a condition being always granted in a matter of that consequence. He signed himself the Governor's most humble servant, P. Gaultier, and dated the letter at St Helena on 8 July 1734. The council read the letter and rejected the claim that he had always been present at the exercise of the guns and the soldiers. He had been present seldom, the members said, and had never shown the men any exercise nor had any need to do so. The council did not understand what he meant by the Governor telling him he had no rank. One day in council, when he sat next to the Deputy Governor, he had said he thought it not his right place, having been told by some of the Company's directors that he was always to sit at the Governor's right hand and to take precedence of the whole council. The Governor answered in the hearing of all the members that he

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		P Gosterre Upon reading this Letter wherein he says he has been always present at the Exercise of the Guns & Soldiers wee say he has been but seldom there & never did shew them any Exercise neither indeed as they need it, As to the Governours telling him he had no Rank there wee dont know what he means & yet, one day in Councill when he Sat next the Deputy Governour he said he thought he had not his right Place, for he was told by some of the Directors that he was allways to Sit at the Governours right hand & to take Place of all the Councill, the Governour then and say in all our hearing that he was not of Councill & therefore had no right to any particular Place there but that there was a Prisoner & upset & bade him he then said it was his right to do so according to his Rank & Station which the Councill not agreeing to he went away dissatisfied being told it was not reasonable for him to expect it for us he was a Foreigner & a Frenchman & wee should comply with all his Demands it would look like giving up the Island to a Frenchman for fear the French should come & take it As to his reasons wee find nothing like reason in his Letter, he has also at other times said he ought to have the Command of the People upon the Line which are the Planters & which is allways the Governours own Post, He says in his Letter that we endeavour to hinder him from Serving the Honble Company as he thinks his Station requires but wee think he is a Man too aspiring & too much disaffected & wee know of no other Post belongs to him but the Surveyour of the Military Works which is Sufficient enough if he attends it as he ought which he cannot perform if he enters into other Employs He Demands herein to have Command and that all the Military Officers, Capt Caven is an Englishman was in the Army all King Williams War & great part of Queen Anns, he has been chief Military Officer here with the Seven last Governours & was Esteemed by all the Governours & here beloved by the People, Militia the Ensign is also an Englishman & very deserving, the Gunner is also an Englishman, was bred up under Sir Martin Beckman he was a Gun Worker & Bombardier under him & now this Man Monsr Gosterre wants to quit his Post assigned him by the Honble Company & to have the Command of all alledging as he does Margin Notes: At St Helena	was not a colonel and therefore had no right to any place beyond the one he held. He had then been told that nobody suspected him, and had replied that this was his right by his rank and position. The council did not agree, and he left in a temper, being told it was unreasonable to expect a foreigner and a Frenchman to be treated so. Complying with every demand he made would be to give up the island to a Frenchman for fear the French should come and take it. The council found nothing resembling a reason in his letter. He wished, as at other times, to have command of the men on the line, who were planters and inhabitants and always the Governor's own men. He wrote that the Governor prevented him from serving the Company as his position required, and the council thought him a man too aspiring and too discontented. It knew of no other post belonging to him beyond that of Surveyor of the military works, which was employment enough if he attended to it as he ought, and which he could not perform if he entered into other business. Captain Cason: His demand to have command over all the military officers ran against the standing of the men already serving. Captain Cason was an Englishman, had served in the army through the whole of King William's war and a great part of Queen Anne's, and had been chief military officer on the island under seven previous Governors. He was esteemed by the Governor and beloved by the men. The lieutenant was also an Englishman and served well. The gunner: The gunner was likewise an Englishman, and had been bred up under Sir Martin Beckman, Knight, chief engineer in England from 1685 to 1702. He had served as a gun worker and bombardier under him. Colonel Gaultier sought to give up the post the Company had assigned him and to take command of every officer, and he alleged in support of it what follows. Interpretations Gaultier's argument rests on an understanding of the engineer's function common in continental service, where the officer directing fortifications also commanded the troops manning them during an action. The council's understanding was narrower: he was a surveyor of works, appointed to design and build, with the men on the line remaining under the military officers who ordinarily commanded them. Neither position is absurd, and the record shows the dispute turning on which service's custom applied on an island run by a trading company rather than by a crown establishment. Sir Martin Beckman held the office of Chief Engineer of England from 1685 until his death, and a man bred under him would have learned the trade in the royal service at the highest level then available. The gunner's apprenticeship as a gun worker and bombardier covered the manufacture and maintenance of ordnance and the firing of mortars, which are the two skills the island most needed and the two Gaultier had shown least sign of possessing. Recording that training here answers the engineer's claim to unique professional standing with a rival claim of the same kind, and the marginal correction supplying Beckman's dates suggests the clerk went back to verify the point. The council's remark that the men on the line were planters and inhabitants and always the Governor's own men identifies the practical reason no engineer could be given command of them. The garrison proper numbered a few dozen, and every alarm required the inhabitants to attend their posts and bring their male slaves, an obligation renewed on 3 March 1729 when the island went back onto a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the 5th of July 1701 Capt Caven The Gunner Militia Sir Martin Beckman, Knt and chief engineer in England, 1681-1702	war footing. Those men served under the Governor because they held their land from the Company and answered to him for it, and no separate commission could transfer that relationship to somebody else. Speculations The obvious way to settle a dispute with a Company appointee is to record the disagreement and refer it to London, and the council instead entered its objection to Gaultier's nationality on the face of the record. It had suppressed material before when it judged exposure unhelpful, agreeing on 20 May 1731 that no part of the proceedings against Chaplain George White should be sent home except his own letter asking indulgence. Here the council wrote down that yielding to the engineer's demands would mean handing the island to a Frenchman for fear the French should come and take it, and set his foreign birth against Captain Cason's, the lieutenant's and the gunner's English origins three times in the same passage. That reasoning would read badly to directors who had chosen and sent the man, and the council committed it to the general letter anyway, which indicates it expected the argument to carry weight in London rather than to embarrass it there.
334	331	does in his Letter that they must absolutely obey him for the good & Service of the Honble Company & also for whatever high station he may have of himself he is absolutely unfit for any such Authority which when the Governour told him he said there had been formerly a French Gentleman a Governour of this Place & he headed the Company there wee left Satisfyed with his Conduct here whether he has any promise to Succeed this Governours who is now here wee know not but are humbly of Opinion it would be more for the Honble Companies Interest to maintain him decently than to trust him any farther And wee be him also that Sir Charles Wager had early known this Gentleman personally he would not have Recommended him in the manner he has done for that Sir Charles does not know him nor has reason to believe because Monsr Gosterre says he was not acquainted with Sir Charles but Recommended to him by a Friend After mature Consideration of this whole Affair wee find that he Monsr Gosterre has hitherto but trifled away too much time there being nothing performed by him yet Wherefore the Governour & Capt Goodwin propose to convince him if possible that wee can do every thing without him & that if he do not Speedily go on with the Works he came for that then wee will Undertake them Ourselves & begin with the most & greatest & hardest part of the Works in Ruperts Side, that is, with the Water Course part which has made a Breach in the Line & carried part of it away, not that they did do his Part but to shew him that unless he behaved himself better & quicker in future that wee would have no more to do with him, but that had	Gaultier's letter claimed that every officer must obey him absolutely for the good of the Company's service. The council held that a man who formed so high an opinion of himself was entirely unfit for any such authority. Told by the Governor that a French gentleman had held his place before him and that the Company had not been satisfied with the man's conduct, Gaultier gave no undertaking to succeed better. The council was humbly of opinion that maintaining him would serve the Company's interest more than trusting him any further. The engineer recommended by Sir Charles Wager: Gaultier had also said that Sir Charles Wager knew him personally and would not have recommended him in the way he did if he had not known him. The council saw reason to doubt it, since Gaultier himself said he was not acquainted with Sir Charles, who had recommended him through a friend. After careful consideration of the whole affair the council found that Gaultier had contrived to waste a great deal of time, nothing having been performed by him so far. The Governor and Captain Goodwin therefore proposed to convince him if possible that the island could do everything without him, and that if he did not go on speedily with the works he came for, the council would undertake them itself. It would begin with the largest and hardest part of the work at Rupert's side, meaning the breach the water course had made and carried part of it into the sea. This was not to be done to show him disrespect, but to show him that unless he behaved himself better in future the council would have no more to do with him. He was to be pressed to mind his business as the Company had thought fit to employ him, since the council should not put him out of that employment, and he was accordingly advised to consider what was best for him to do. The council's chief difficulty was that it was not well enough supplied with labouring hands, and it wanted many more men. If the Company would supply it with more soldiers, some of them would assist in performing the work, and if it did not send out soldiers the council must hire more slaves to perform the labour. What the island could hire was not nearly enough. Building fortified places to withstand a hundred times what these works were formerly designed to bear called for more men than the country afforded, and even then the numbers were insufficient. The

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		promise to mind his Buisyness, as the Honble Company had thought fit to put him in that Employment wee should not push him out of it and therefore Advise him to consider what was best for him to do Our Difficulty herein will be that wee are not well enough Supplied with Labouring hands & that wee want many Men & if the Honourable Company would please to Supply us with more Soldiers some of them would assist in performing these Works or if they do not Send out Soldiers wee want more Blacks to perform the Labour, wee can hire whitemen but this is not hasty enough In building Fortified Places tis usefull to go by hundreds & when these Works were done formerly all the People in this Country assisted & yet were not enough & the Difficulty is the same the more the hazard so much greater that unless wee do Fortify effectually as that has been done in time past will be of no other use than to enrage an Enemy but had wee Guns & Men such as are mentioned in the Governours Report of the 25 of June wee should be able by good Assistance to protect the Honble Companies Shiping this Island & the Inhabitants from all farther Apprehension of any Enemy Governour Bph Roberts made this Second Report of the State of the Island of St Helena by advise with the Inhabitants after a Consultation had with them Vizt Considering the State of this Country of which I gave the best Account I could in my Report of the 25 of June of the case as well as of the intended Fortifications here, I thought the right way to give the Honble Company the truest Idea of the Same was to consult the Inhabitants & to Gather their thoughts as well as my own that then on Enduring all our Sentiments together with our reasons for the Same they could better make a Judgement of what was fittest to be done for the generall Search of their Honours Ships & for the Planters Preservation of their Families & Estates Margin Notes: The Engr recomd by Sr Chas Wager	difficulty and the risk were now far greater than could be effectively met by what had been done in earlier years, which would serve no purpose beyond troubling an enemy. With the guns and men set out in the Governor's report of 2 July, the works should in all probability be sufficient to protect the Company's shipping, the island and its inhabitants from any further apprehension of an enemy. Governor Pyke laid before the council his second report on the state of the island of St Helena, made after consulting the inhabitants. Reporting on the state of the country, of which the Governor had given the best account he could in his report of 25 June, and on the fortifications intended for it, he thought the right way to serve the Company was to consult the inhabitants. They had laid out their own thoughts alongside his, so that with everyone's views on the matter together they could better judge what was fittest to be done for the general safety of the Company's ships and for the planters' preservation of their families and estates. Interpretations Sir Charles Wager was First Lord of the Admiralty, and a recommendation carrying his name would have weighed heavily with the Company's directors when they chose an engineer to send out. The council's method of undermining it is precise: it does not dispute that Wager recommended Gaultier, but establishes from Gaultier's own admission that the two had never met, which reduces the recommendation to a favour passed along at second hand. That distinction matters because the directors in London had no other means of assessing the man, and the council was writing for their eyes. The proposal to take over the works while expressly declining to remove Gaultier from his post reflects the council's want of any power to dismiss a Company appointee. The same limit had governed its treatment of Chaplain George White in July 1732, when Governor Pyke could offer inducements and warnings but had no means of replacing a chaplain appointed from London. Here the council goes further and constructs a practical sanction in place of a legal one: by beginning the hardest part of the work itself, it demonstrates that the engineer's presence is unnecessary while leaving his salary and title intact, which puts the choice of resigning back onto him. The reference to the breach at Rupert's made by the water course identifies the specific failure the whole dispute concerns. Rupert's Valley carries a large rivulet in the rainy season and no water at all through most of the year, and a channel of that kind cuts through unfounded stonework laid on the surface. The wall Commodore Richards had thrown up in haste had accordingly been broken and part of it carried into the sea, which confirms Gaultier's report of 18 June 1734 on its want of a foundation even as the council disputes everything else he said. Speculations The obvious response to an engineer who will not work is to stop paying him and report the matter home, and the council chose instead to keep him in post while taking the work away from him. Gaultier had refused to view the guns and carriages on 10 June 1734, had been to Rupert's only once in three weeks by his own account on 9 July, and had demanded a written order before going again. The council could have made a straightforward case to London that the man had performed nothing, and it says as much in this passage. Yet it declares expressly that it will not put him out of his employment, and frames the takeover as a demonstration rather than a punishment. Leaving him in place preserves the Company's own decision to send him, so that no

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			director need defend a dismissal made on the island, while the works proceed regardless. The council thereby avoids the position it had reached with Captain Wilson of the <i>Morize</i> in December 1729, where a demand it could not enforce left the underlying question of authority open and unresolved.
335	332	Wherefore on Sunday the 5 instant I caused the Churchwardens to call a Vestry of all the principal Inhabitants & to them proposed to consider of some proper Methods for the more certain Security & Defence of the Island & because the whole number could not be so frequently there together I desired them to name ten or twelve Men of Substance & good Understanding to consult with me on the Same & to meet me on the Sunday following & they chose twelve Men vizt Capt Alexander Capt Goodwin Mr Greentree Mr Johnson Mr Rich Goodwin Mr Greentree Mr John Burling Mr John Bosyle Mr Jon Dunston Mr Steph Suffren Mr Sam: Dunston Mr James Vaugha & they met accordingly & then on Considering the Map of the Country & the Severall Fortifications wee came to the following Conclusions, that they think there is but little need of a Fortification at Sandy bay but a Small Platform with Six or Eight Guns & a Small Guardhouse by them would be very proper for the Defence of that Place, tis Badges to the Windward of the Island & is no danger therefore from any Ships but as to Boates they might easily Land here & in case they did or there was Plenty of good Water & has a Sort of Refreshments to Support those who did Land & that there are great Ridges these by which an Enemy may pass if Suffered to Land & to reach the middle of the Country The next Place of note is Regwins Landing Place called Prosperous Bay where it is easy to Land any number of Men but they were unable to Approach & then from thence because they doubted not but with a Small Assistance of twenty or thirty Men they could prevent five hundred from getting that way into the Country or from ever doing us any more hurt & therefore advised that place to be left Unfortified & save that Expende The next place of note is Turks Cap Valley which though not very broad next the Sea & yet a larger Valley than Ruperts Valley & from thence by many easy Ascents they might reach divers parts of the great Wood & so out at the Island & they thought this Place more	On Sunday 11 July the Governor directed the churchwardens to notify all the principal inhabitants, and proposed that they settle on a proper method for the surer safety and defence of the island. Since the whole body could not be gathered often, he asked them to name ten or twelve men of substance who would undertake to consult with him and to meet him on the Tuesday following. They chose twelve men. Captain Alexander Captain Goodwin Mr Crisp Mr Johnson Mr Richard Goodwin Mr Greentree Mr John Durling Mr John Bagley Mr Jonathan Doveton Mr Stephen Lufkin Mr Samuel Doveton Mr James Vaughan The twelve met as arranged, and after considering the map of the country and the several fortifications they reached the conclusions that follow. Sandy Bay: The company thought there was little need of a fortification at Sandy Bay, though a small platform with six or eight guns and a small guard house beside it would be proper for the defence of that place. The bay lies to windward of the island and carries no danger from any ship. Boats might easily land there, and should they do so there was plenty of good water and no shortage of refreshment to support any force put ashore. Several ridges run inland from that point by which an enemy who landed might pass and reach the middle of the country. The next place of note was Higgin's landing place, called Prosperous Bay, where any number of men could come ashore easily. The approach inland from there is difficult, and with a small party of twenty or thirty men the island could prevent 500 from getting up into the country or doing any further harm. The company therefore advised leaving that place unfortified and saving the expense. Turk's Cap: Turk's Cap Valley came next. Though not very broad at the beach, the valley opens wider than Rupert's Valley, and from there by many easy ascents an enemy might reach several parts of the Great Wood and so cut across the island. The company thought that place more dangerous for the island than any other, being the ground all shipping makes when first coming to the island and therefore the most probable point of attack. The landing is not good, yet a party coming ashore there could make a defence anywhere against boats or men, which they could do at the beach. The company therefore judged that a platform and breastwork for six guns would be very proper there, to keep them all off, with a small guard house for the men. Stones cannot be rolled down upon an enemy in that valley as they can elsewhere, the hills not being steep enough. No large stones lie on the slopes of that valley, and the ground is too hard to dig any out, nor is there any water to be had there except what is fetched and is worse tasting than sea water, so that no man can stay there without mounting the hills. For that reason it is the more necessary to prevent a landing altogether,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		dangerous for an Enemy than any other part of the Island it being the Place that all Shiping make at first coming to the Island & consequently most likely to be Attacked, the Landing is not very good but they who come to make a Descent on any Place do often use their Boates on Shoar which they may do at the Beach & therefore they think that a Platform & Brest Work for Six Guns would be very proper here to keep off all Boates & a Small Guard house for the People because in this Valley they cannot heave down Stones as in other Places the hills not being Steep enough, neither in that Valley are there any large Stones on the Surface of the Ground nor otherwise to be had unless dug for neither is there any Water to be had here unless what is Fetcht & worse tasted than the Sea Water so that no man can continue here without Mounting the hills for which reason tis the more necessary to keep them from Landing & some good Contrivance of two or three Guns upon some Trinalls within Margin Notes: Sandy Bay Turks Cap	and some good arrangement of two or three guns upon a small work within the valley would answer. Interpretations The Governor's method of assembling twelve men of substance through the churchwardens rather than calling a general meeting of the inhabitants reflects the practical difficulty of gathering the whole body more than once. The vote of 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island had been taken at the country church by about fifty men, forty against eleven, and that assembly was exceptional. The twelve chosen here include the three members of council along with the largest landholders and the overseers of the Company's establishment, so the panel carries both the official view and the weight of the men whose families and estates the works were meant to protect. Prosperous Bay is the ground on which the English retook St Helena from the Dutch in 1673, which makes the recommendation to leave it unfortified a deliberate judgement rather than an oversight. The company distinguishes between the ease of landing and the difficulty of the ground beyond, and holds that twenty or thirty men could stop 500 in the ascent. That reasoning treats the cliffs themselves as the fortification, and it accepts the loss of the beach in exchange for holding a defile that costs nothing to build and little to man. The absence of loose stone at Turk's Cap removes a defence the island had used successfully elsewhere. Large stones rolled down the hills had driven the Dutch off at Lemon Valley, and the tactic requires both steep slopes and a supply of rock that a valley of hard unbroken ground cannot furnish. The want of drinkable water compounds the problem, since a party defending the heights above the valley could not remain there, so the whole burden of the defence must fall on stopping a landing at the water's edge rather than on containing one afterwards. Speculations The obvious place to fortify is where an enemy can land most easily, and the company recommended spending nothing at the easiest landing on the island while calling for works at the hardest. Higgin's landing place admits any number of men and the company advised leaving it bare. Turk's Cap, where the landing is poor and a boat cannot come in without difficulty, was judged the most dangerous point on the coast and given a platform for six guns with a further two or three inside the valley. The reason lies in what happens after a party is ashore rather than in getting it there: Turk's Cap opens by easy ascents into the Great Wood and across the island, while Prosperous Bay closes into a defile a small party can hold. The company thereby set the cost of a work against the ground behind the beach rather than against the beach itself, and accepted a landing it could contain in preference to defending one it could not.
336	333	the Valley to prevent their Ascending into the Country after they are Landed by which they doubt not but to keep off all Enemys that way, I told them that the Honble Company had taken such a fatherly Care of all the Inhabitants that it behoved them to shew their Sence of their Honours Goodness to them, upon which one of them proposed that they should do somewhat to shew their Sense of the Honourable Companys Goodness to them & said what if wee amongst us should make all the Ditches that wee have expressed	A work within the valley would prevent an enemy from moving inland once ashore, and the twelve doubted nothing that such a work would hold off any force landing there. The Governor told them that the Company had taken such fatherly care of the inhabitants that it fell to them to show some sense of that kindness, and asked what they proposed to do in return. They answered that as far as their capacity allowed they would go one way or another, and would spare no expense in the matter. The Governor said that the guns and carriages they judged necessary for the common defence would be found by the Company, and that their own hands would carry the work forward, so that they might be

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		to be necessary in this Place as far as our Soldiers will go on which I told them that as for Guns & Carriages whenever they thought them necessary for the common Defence the Honble Company would not only find them but take it as well as their hands that they might one way or other be Sure to find the benefit of their hearty & ready Zeal of theirs for the publick good Upon this Same proposed to make Vestry the next Sunday to agree to & Confirm the Same & an Advertizement was Sent out for that purpose immediately Then wee considered of the Severall Forts of King Williams and Bankes which I told them should be Repaired by the Honble Company or rather Rebuilt As to Ruperts Valley they thought to make any Work on the East Side thereof would take up too many hands & be of very little use, but the Repairing of Ruperts Line they thought would be a good Security to that Place, tis might any other Work on the West Side thereof as on Halls Rock if thought necessary I told them wee proposed at present to place Six small Guns at Ruperts on the old Line to be used till the other was repaired they thought that would do well if wee could find hands to Man them but said they had heard that wee had no more Guns than what were in use on which I told them that wee must take Six of the least Guns from the Main Fort to place there untill wee had some new Guns Sent over to us, some said they thought the taking any Guns from the present Work at the Main Fort might Discourage all Enemy so much the sooner to Attack us if they knew it because one half of the West Bulwark had no Guns on them in Ruperts now, & to take any away would make tis look very weak, but I assured them that all due Care would be taken in case a War broke out to put this whole place in the best Posture of Defence & that the Honble Company knew what Men & Guns is here when the & that if wee had War with the French I expected two hundred men more from England & they would take care to Supply us fully with all things needfull they said if the Honble Company Sent do then more they thought & so I told do Then wee considered of Bruch neck Valley when they said they thought a Brest Work with a Guard with a Ditch there & such a line & hands to Blacks with Iron Crows would be enough for that place And as to Youngs Valley they believed the naturall Defence of that Place was Sufficient there As to Frier Valley they believed the Flying Party on the hills would be enough to come down & secure that	sure to find the benefit of their hearty and ready work for the public good. The same proposal was to be laid before the vestry on the following Sunday, so that the inhabitants might agree to it and confirm it, and an advertisement was sent out at once for that purpose. The forts at King William's and Banks's came next, and the twelve held that the Company should repair or rather rebuild them. Rupert's Valley: Any work on the east side would take up too many hands and yield very little use. Repairing the Rupert's line would be a good defence for that place, and any other work on the west side of the valley, or on Chubb's Rock, could be raised if thought necessary. The Governor proposed placing six small guns at Rupert's on the old line, to be used until the other was repaired. The twelve thought this would do well if hands could be found to man them, but said that they had heard the island had no more guns than those already in use. The Governor answered that six of the smallest guns must be taken from the main fort and set there until new guns were sent out. The twelve then thought that taking guns from the existing works at the main fort might encourage as many to meet the money the Company must pay, since they had heard the west curtain carried no guns in the embrasures at present, and that removing any more would make it look very weak. The Governor assured them that every care would be taken should a war break out, and that the whole place would be put into the best posture of defence. The Company knew what men on the island were worth, and if a war came with the French the council expected 200 men more from England, and would take care to supply them fully with everything needed. The twelve said that if the Company sent 200 more men the work would be done. Break Neck Valley came next, and the twelve thought a narrow work with a gate, together with three or four blacks with iron crows, would be enough for that place. Young's Valley: The natural defence of that place was held sufficient in itself. Grig's Valley: A lookout party on the hills would be enough there. Lemon Valley: The Dutch had formerly landed at Lemon Valley and were driven off again by large rocks rolled down the hills upon them. The twelve therefore thought that place in little need of any fort, and believed that ten white men with small arms and ten blacks with iron crows would be enough there, the place being generally known to be in a bad state. Many ships watering there might come in under that pretence, as some always have and sometimes two small forts stood there, so the twelve thought it still proper to have some defence against boats, at least a small breastwork with a few guns. Interpretations Iron crows are heavy pointed levers, and the twelve name them repeatedly as the equipment for defending a valley without guns. The bar serves to prise loose the rocks that stand on the slopes, which is the tactic that drove the Dutch from Lemon Valley, and it turns an unarmed party of blacks into an effective force at any point where the hillside carries loose stone. The absence of such stone at Turk's Cap explains why that valley alone required a platform and breastwork while the western valleys were held with a handful of men and a few bars. An embrasure is the opening cut through a parapet through which a gun fires, and the twelve report the west curtain standing with its embrasures empty. That detail measures how thin the island's ordnance had become: the survey of 26 September

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		As to Lemon Valley here the Dutch formerly Landed & was beat off again with heaving large Rocks from the hills upon them & therefore they thought that Place was in little need of any Fort & they believed ten white Men with Small Arms & ten Blacks with Iron Crows would be enough but at this Place it being generally known that there is Water & many Ships having Watered there some Ships may go there under that pretence & so it goes as there allways has been one Fort & sometimes two Small Forts there I think tis Still proper to have some Defence there against Boates at least & a Small Brest Work with a few Guns	1727 had counted 22 guns on the west curtain and angle among 100 mounted about the castle, and the annual inventories from 1728 to 1733 recorded 128 pieces unchanged year after year. Guns had accordingly been moved rather than lost, and taking six more for Rupert's would strip a wall that already showed gaps to anyone standing in the road. The Governor's appeal to the Company's fatherly care is the mechanism by which unpaid labour was raised for the works. The council had advertised on 11 June 1734 for six slaves at ninepence a day and not one was tendered, the inhabitants declaring the rate insufficient to feed and clothe a man. Framing the fortifications as a return for past kindness converts a wage negotiation the council had lost into an obligation of gratitude, and the division agreed here places the guns and carriages on the Company while the labour falls on the planters. Speculations The obvious course when a wall stands with empty embrasures is to fill it before arming anything else, and the Governor proposed instead to strip six more guns from the main fort for Rupert's. The twelve objected on precisely that ground, saying the west curtain already carried nothing in its openings and further removals would make the castle look weak. The Governor's answer treats appearance as the lesser risk: guns at Rupert's would stop a landing, while guns on the west curtain only deter a ship that no one expected to attack, the island having no enemy in the road and the whole apprehension resting on a war with France not yet declared. He accepted a fort that looked stripped in exchange for a landing place that could be defended, and covered the gap with a promise of 200 men from England should war come.
337	334	Guns cannot be amiss though but four or Six & the Same hands proposed to defend this Place without Guns will certainly do it so much the more effectually if they have Guns Swanley Valley is well Fortified by nature & needs but little Defence & if a Boat should come some of the Flying Party from the hills would beat them off Old Womans Valley here the Dutch did Land when they took the Island but had they been opposed they would have had no Success here so tis then with Small Arms & as many Blacks with Crows would be enough to heave down Stones, they Valley being but narrow would do Execution Thomson Wade Valley here is no Water & twenty Men with their Blacks & Iron Crows would do pretty well but if the Boates come deceived & carried against them the Party that is usually planted on high hills must come down to their Assistance Manatee Bay is the last Place of note before wee come again to Sandy bay but tis so very Steep that Eight or ten Men with ten Blacks & Crows are enough to be there but if the Enemy do Land here then some of the high hills Party must come down to their Assistance They desire that besides proper Armes as Musquets	Four or six guns would answer well enough, and the same hands who proposed to defend the place without guns would certainly do it far more effectively if guns were supplied. Swanley Valley is well fortified by nature and needs little defence. Should a boat come in, a party from the hills could beat them off. Old Woman's Valley is where the Dutch landed when they took the island, and had they met any opposition they would have had no success. Ten or a dozen men with small arms, and as many blacks with iron crows, would be enough to heave down stones, the valley being narrow enough for the work to tell. Thompson's Valley has no water, and twenty men with their blacks and iron crows would answer well enough. Should boats put in and be manned against them, the lookout party usually stationed on the heights must come down to their assistance. Manatee Bay is the last place of note before the circuit returns to Sandy Bay, and it is so very steep that eight or ten men with ten blacks and crows are enough to hold it. If the enemy landed there, some of the party from the heights must come down to help. The twelve advised that the proper weapons for the purpose were muskets, bayonets and swords, together with a few carbines for the younger men, and that the island be supplied with 300 or 400 good iron crows of various lengths, from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 6 inches, none of them to be of cast iron, since the brittleness of that metal makes such bars useless. The crows are intended for the black men and the small arms chiefly for the whites, so that stones may be thrown down should an enemy land in any of the narrow valleys. The present plan being much less expensive to the Company than the one the Governor had laid before them, he thought it his duty to acquaint them with it,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Bayonets & Swords they may have a few Carbines for the young People & that they may be Supplied with 300 or 400 good Iron Crows of Severall Lengths as 3 feet 3½ ft 4 ft & 4 ft long none of them to be of bad Shear Iron because the Brickleness of such Iron makes them unserviceable, these Crows are intended for the Black People Armes & their chief Use is to move & heave down Stones in case an Enemy Lands in any of the narrow Valleys This present & Present being much less Expensive to the Honble Company than that which I shall to them my self & I think it my Duty to have them acquainted herewith that being much fewer Works to be made here & the Country being willing to contribute to their utmost Power & yet, I am very glad to find them so well Satisfyed with our Endeavours for their Security & doubt not but to find them allways ready forward & willing to perform according to their Abilities whatsoever shall be found for the publick good of the Place Neither present it does appear that wee want Men & Guns as wee have Reported both in our last & wee are not as in my former Report for without them we be at Endeavours will be of little use & tis for a Man to continue Works for the without hands to perform the necessary Labour tis of no Service at all to this Honourable to the Place, tis not fit to Work & if it were wee could make but small Dispatch with the Small Labour of their Servants as for a good Engineer I could wish they wanted some of them or wee & the Names in that work where they might have a Man who was well qualified for that Buisyness at Gibraltar who would think themselves well pleased if they had half as much as this Man is to have his fit to dispatch ten times the Buisyness he pretends to I am Sorry Sir Charles Wager recommended a man that he does not know, I have nothing to do with his Inducements to love but wish he Understood the Matter he is come about as well as wee Ourselves do for that what he does wanted Success On Sunday the 12 instant all the Inhabitants met in Vestry after Evening Prayer & it being Reported to them by the Churchwardens what they had concluded on last Tuesday with all Endeavour every one readily agreed to it & approved of it not one making the least Objection though the Margin Notes: + this old name of the Royal Arsenall During the recent Siege, in 1727-Eds	and it must be sent home with several works to be made here. The country was willing to contribute to its utmost power, and the Governor was very glad to find the inhabitants so well satisfied with the council's efforts on their behalf, doubting nothing that they would be found always ready and willing to perform whatever should be found necessary for the public good of the place. Nothing at present appeared wanting beyond men and guns, which the Governor had reported in his last letter as also in his earlier report. He had done his best endeavour with them, but a man to oversee the works is of no service without hands to perform the necessary labour. He is of no use to the island, since he is not fit to work, and if he were he could make but a small showing with only the labour of his own hands. Such men are for a good engineer. The Governor could wish they had among them some of those employed at the works at Portsmouth, where they might hear of men who understood the trade for that business at Gibraltar during the recent siege in 1727, who would think themselves well provided for if they had half as much as this man, and who would take the post if it were laid open to them and whose business he pretends to. The Governor was sorry that Sir Charles Wager had recommended a man he does not know. He had nothing to do with the inducements the man had used to gain the office, but wished he understood the matter he had come about as well as the council did for him, and what he had wanted since. On Sunday 21 July all the inhabitants met in vestry after evening prayer. The churchwardens reported what had been settled on the previous Tuesday with the Governor, and every one of them readily agreed to it and approved it, not one making the least objection. Interpretations The distinction the twelve draw between wrought and cast iron for the crows is a practical one about how the bars fail. Cast iron is hard and brittle and snaps under a sudden sideways load, which is exactly the strain a lever takes when a man throws his weight across it to prise a rock loose. A wrought bar bends and holds. Specifying lengths from 3 feet 6 inches to 4 feet 6 inches gives the leverage needed against stones of different sizes, and ordering 300 or 400 of them arms a defensive force considerably larger than the island's establishment of white men. Arming blacks with crows and whites with muskets divides the defence along the line the island's law already drew. The testimony of blacks was inadmissible in every proceeding before the council, and the night curfew of 12 October 1730 required every householder to lock up his slaves after dark. Putting firearms into the same hands would have reversed that ordering entirely, and the crow answers the problem neatly: it is effective on a steep hillside, useless as an offensive weapon against an armed man, and indistinguishable from an ordinary tool the rest of the year. Portsmouth carried the Board of Ordnance's principal works in England, and men trained there would have learned fortification as a trade rather than as a commission. The Governor's suggestion that such a man would think himself well provided on half Gaultier's allowance sets the engineer's salary against the market for the skill, and the reference to Gibraltar points to the siege of 1727, when Spanish forces invested the town for four months and the defences were repaired under fire. The council had already recorded that Captain Cason served at that siege on Gaultier's own account, so the comparison is deliberate. Speculations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			The obvious course for a council that had spent weeks on an engineer's scheme is to send that scheme home, and the Governor chose to forward the inhabitants' plan instead while noting plainly that it cost the Company far less. Colonel Gaultier had proposed seven works needing 115 men to defend on 7 June 1734, and the Governor computed on 2 July that the demand of 40 hands for Rupert's alone came in truth to 110. What the twelve produced on 16 July is a defence resting on natural ground, lookout parties and 400 iron bars, with masonry only at Turk's Cap and repairs at King William's and Banks's. Cheapness is the argument the Governor puts first to London, and it answers the objection that had defeated every earlier proposal: the establishment stood at 42 able men by John Durling's memorial of 4 June 1734, and a plan requiring almost no construction is the only one those hands could execute. The professional design was set aside not because it was wrong but because the island could not build it.
338	335	Churchwardens asked them if any body disapproved of it to Speak their Minds freely but they all Answered they thought the Proposals so much for the good of the Place that there was no Objection to be made to it & they resolved to begin the Work on to morrow fortnight which will be the 29 instant After this Report the following Duty of an Engineer & Surveyour were read to Monsr Gosterre vizt An Engineer should be a Man expert in the Mathematicks & well versed in Military Architecture, & in Geometry to compleat Soldier He is often Sent for to view & examine such Places as are intended either to be Attacked or Defended & to direct the Works going on as much as to repair what are Decayed & therefore not to be undertaken by any body such a Post requiring a Man of Prudence & sound Judgement He is to shew the General the weakest Places & to be capable of Advising how best to Attack or Defend them He is to draw the Draughts & make Plans thereof to assign Places of Arms the Galleries & Lodgements on the Counterscarp & half Moons To Conduct the Work Saps & Mines & as & to Appoint the Workmen & Pioneers their daily & their nightly Tasks He also makes the Lines both of Contravallation and Circumvallation with the Redoubts & all from Space to Space He has Command over all Military Workmen such as Carpenters Masons Bricklayers Smiths & so forth, their Work is under his Inspection as well as over all Pioneers & Labourers with whom he is to expedite his Works till they are compleated In the new Military Establishment in England there are Six Engineers & four Sub Engineers belonging to the Office of Ordnance The Duty of a Surveyour of Military Works vizt A Surveyour of Buisyness is to Survey all the Ordnance Stores &	The churchwardens invited anyone who disapproved to speak his mind freely. All were satisfied and thought the proposal so much for the good of the place that nothing remained to be settled. They therefore agreed to begin the work on Monday fortnight, which falls on the 29th of the present month. After that report the following statement of the duties of an engineer and a surveyor was read to Colonel Gaultier. An engineer must be a man expert in mathematics and well versed in military architecture, and skilled in geometry to complete a survey. He is often sent to view and examine such places as are intended either to be attacked or defended, and to direct the works going on, as well as to repair what is decayed. That task is therefore not to be undertaken by anybody, being a post requiring an order of prudence and sound judgement. He is to show the Governor the weakest places and to be capable of advising how best to attack or defend them. He is to draw the trenches, make plans of them, and design places of arms, galleries and lodgements on the counterscarps and half moons. He is to conduct the work of the saps and mines day by day, and to appoint the men and the pioneers to their daily and their nightly tasks. He also makes the lines of contravallation and circumvallation with the redoubts, at fixed distances from space to space. He has command over all military men such as carpenters, masons, bricklayers, smiths and pickmen. Their work is under his inspection, as well as all the pioneers and labourers, with whom he is to expedite his works till they are completed. In the new military establishment in England there are six engineers and four sub-engineers belonging to the Office of Ordnance. The duty of a surveyor of military works is as follows. A surveyor's business is to survey all the ordnance stores by their various descriptions. He is to keep check upon the pioneers, labourers and artificers works, and to give account of the same to the Master of the Ordnance. He is to be careful and active in his post, and to see that all the men, labourers and pioneers are diligent in their respective duties, and to employ them every day. Should the works be attacked, he is to assist the engineer, who is aided by his men, labourers and pioneers, in defending him.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Warlike Provisions To keep Cheques on the Pioneers Labourers & Artificers Works & to give Account of the Same to the Master of the Ordnance to be carefull, & Active in his Post & to see that all Workmen Labourers & Pioneers are diligent in their respective Duties & employment every day And in case tis be Attacked in this Works he is as well as the Ingineer being assisted with his Workmen Labourers & Pioneers is to defend him, And when no Works are in hand then the Ingineer & Surveyour are to be with the Governour of the Town or Fort that they may be advised with if there be occasion or if they are in a Camp they are to attend with the Generall Colonel Gosterre told he took both Posts to be the Same, but the Governours told him that the Surveyour was Subordinate to the Ingineer which he might find in Severall Military Books & that whereas the Surveyour was called the Ingineer tis all in Compliment only as a Lieutenantess of so called Captain The following Resolutions were also read to Monsr Gosterre vizt The Governour & Councill after having considered the whole Affair relating to Monsr Gosterres Post & Employment do find that he has hitherto but trifled away too much time there being nothing performed by him yet of Repairing the Fortifications which was what he undertook with the Honble Company & what he came here to perform Wherefore the Governour & Capt Goodwin propose now to convince him if possible that wee can do every thing without him & that if he do not Speedily go on with the Works he came for then they	When no works are in hand, the engineer and the surveyor are to attend the Governor of the town or fort so that they may be advised of anything he thinks proper, and they are in a Company's pay so as to attend with the gunner. Colonel Gaultier said he took both posts to be the same, and the Governor told him that the surveyor was subordinate to the engineer. He might find this in several military books, and that the title of surveyor was given to the engineer as a compliment only, in the same way that a lieutenant is often called captain. The following resolutions were also read to Colonel Gaultier. The Governor and council, after careful consideration of the whole matter relating to Gaultier's post and employment, found that he had wasted a great deal of time, nothing having been performed by him so far towards repairing the fortifications, which was the business he was sent out to the island for by the Company and which he came here to perform. The Governor and Captain Goodwin therefore proposed to convince him if possible that the island could do everything without him, and that if he did not go on speedily with the works he came for, then they would proceed without him. Interpretations The definitions read out to Gaultier are lifted from the establishment of the Office of Ordnance in England, which had been reorganised in the years after the Peace of Utrecht into a corps of six engineers and four sub-engineers. Reading that structure aloud to him settles the dispute by reference to the Crown's own arrangements rather than to any island custom, and it does so on the point that matters: the surveyor keeps check on the labourers and accounts to the Master of the Ordnance, while the engineer designs and commands. The council thereby converts a quarrel over precedence into a question of which office the Company had actually filled. Several of the terms describe siege works of a kind St Helena would never see. A line of contravallation faces inward towards a besieged place to contain the garrison, while a line of circumvallation faces outward to hold off a relieving army, and both belong to a formal investment lasting months. Saps are covered trenches driven towards a defended wall, mines are galleries dug beneath it to bring it down, and a place of arms is a widened section of trench where troops assemble before an assault. A counterscarp is the outer wall of a ditch and a half moon a detached outwork covering a curtain or a gate. The Governor had already argued on 2 July 1734 that no ship would besiege the island, an enemy's business being to land at once, so the passage measures the gap between the trade Gaultier was trained in and the work the island required. Pickmen and pioneers are the labouring ranks of a military engineering establishment, the first breaking ground and stone with the pick and the second clearing roads, digging trenches and throwing up earthworks ahead of an army. Both classes are supplied in England by the Ordnance as a matter of course, which explains why Gaultier expected command of men and why the island could not give it. St Helena had no such establishment, and the council had advertised for six slaves at ninepence a day on 11 June 1734 without a single one being offered. Speculations The obvious way to reduce an officer's claim is to state plainly that he is wrong, and the Governor instead granted Gaultier the appearance of what he

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			demanding while stripping the substance. He allowed that the title of surveyor was given to an engineer as a compliment, and compared it to a lieutenant addressed as captain, so the courtesy stood untouched. The subordination went the other way entirely: the surveyor answers to the engineer, keeps check on the labourers and accounts to the Master of the Ordnance, and the council had already resolved on 15 July that Gaultier should keep the title of Surveyor and hold no other rank. Letting him keep the style while assigning him the lower office avoids the open humiliation of a man the council could not dismiss, and leaves the record showing a courteous accommodation rather than a demotion should the directors in London read it.
339	336	will Undertake it themselves & begin with the hardest and most difficult part of the Works in Ruperts Line that is with the Water Course part not that they desire his Post having full Employment of their own but to shew him that unless he behaved himself better & quicker in future wee would have no more to do with him But if he would promise to mind his Buisyness as Surveyour of the Works then as the Honble Company had thought fit to put him in that Employment wee should not put him out of it & therefore wee advise him to consider what is best for him to do To this he Answered that if wee would begin to Repair the Work at Ruperts he would go forward with them Aaron & sole Patron of the Longboat came in on Tuesday Evening last with a Lade of 100 Bushells Lime from Sandy bay & carried it to Ruperts but the Surf runs so very high that there was no Landing of it with Safety to the Boat or Men so that he was obliged to bring back the Boat to her Moorings in this Bay where the tide lies & cannot yet be Unloaded Ordered that some more hands be Set at Work from Ruperts to make good the old Ass Path to prevent the People from Standing tho in bad Weather & that wee may carry some Lime to Ruperts that way over Land as was formerly done when Ruperts Line was building At a Consultation held on Tuesday 16th July 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of Mary Widow of Wall Torrells decd & of James Son of the said Wall Torrell was presented & read Setting forth that the Executors of the said Torrell had for many Years & past neglected to take an Inventory of his Estate & praying that Ensign Thompson & Richard Goodwin might be appointed to make an Inventory & Appraisement of the said Estate to the end that the Right & Property	The council would undertake the works itself and begin with the hardest and most difficult part at Rupert's line, meaning the section where the water course had broken through. This was not to be done to deprive him of his post, since he had full employment on the works if he chose to take it, but to show him that unless he behaved himself better in future the council would have nothing further to do with him. Should he undertake to mind his business as surveyor of the works in the employment the Company had thought fit to give him, the council would not put him out of it. He was accordingly advised to consider what was best for him to do. Gaultier answered that if the council would begin to repair the work at Rupert's he would go forward with it. Isaac Paton, patron of the long boat, came in on Tuesday evening with a lading of 100 bushels of lime from Sandy Bay. He returned it because the surf ran so very high that there was no landing it safely by boat or by hand, and he was obliged to bring the boat back to her moorings in the bay, where the tide lies and she cannot yet be unloaded. The council ordered more hands set to work from Rupert's to make good the old ass path. This would prevent the men standing idle in bad weather, and would let lime be carried overland to Rupert's as had been done when the Rupert's line was first built. At a consultation held on Tuesday 16 July 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mary, widow of William Farrell, presented a petition on behalf of James, son of William Farrell. She set out that the executors of the estate had for many years given no account of it, and asked that Jonathan Doveton and Richard Goodwin be appointed to make an inventory and appraisement, so that the right property of the petitioner's other children by William Farrell might be ascertained and secured. The petition was granted. Dawson, a slave belonging to Charles Steward, and Barclay, a slave of the Greentrees, had frequently run from their masters. Both were taken up and committed to prison to be punished, and both broke gaol the same night. They were seized again and brought before the council that day. Each was ordered such corporal punishment as his master should think fit, together with three months at work on the fortifications. Suffolk, a slave belonging to William Higham junior, had... Interpretations The patron of the long boat holds charge of the vessel and her crew for the voyage, and Isaac Paton's decision to carry a full lading back to her moorings rather than attempt a landing shows where that authority lay. A hundred bushels of lime represents

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of the Petitioner & other the Children of the said Wall Torrell might be Secured & Ascertained, And the said Petition was Granted accordingly Davidson a Slave belonging to Charles Steward & Kitt Clay of the Greentrees having frequently Runaway from their Masters were apprehended & Committed to Prison in Order to be Punished that the same Night they were committed they broke Gaol but were again Seized & this day brought before us & are each of them Ordered to receive such Corporal Punishment as their Masters shall think fit & to Work at the Fortifications each of them three Months Suffolk a Slave belonging to Wm: Higham junr having	several days of quarrying and burning at Sandy Bay, and the boat had already come back twice empty from the same run earlier in the month. The loss falls on the fortification work directly, since lime cannot be made on the spot at Rupert's and the mortar for the line depends on it arriving. Breaking out of the island's prison and being retaken the same night establishes the practical limit of confinement on St Helena. The gaol held men only as long as it held together, and the council's answer was to move the punishment away from imprisonment entirely: corporal punishment at the master's discretion followed by three months on the fortifications. That combination serves two purposes at once, since the works stood short of labour after the advertisement of 11 June 1734 drew no offers at ninepence a day, and a sentenced slave costs the Company nothing. Leaving the measure of corporal punishment to each owner rather than fixing it in council departs from the practice the record shows through the previous winter. Walker and Sauney had been sentenced on 30 October 1733 to specified numbers of lashes, an iron collar for a twelvemonth and a division of labour between the Company and the highways, all settled by the council itself. Here the whipping is remitted to the master while only the term of labour is fixed, which keeps the Company's claim on the work and returns the disciplinary question to the household where the flight began. Speculations The obvious response to a boat that cannot land its cargo is to wait for the surf to fall, and the council instead diverted men to reopening an overland track. The ass path from Sandy Bay had carried lime when the Rupert's line was first built, and reviving it now duplicates a route the sea already served in fair weather. What the council bought with that labour was continuity: the men on the fortifications would otherwise stand idle whenever the surf ran high, and idle hands on an establishment of 42 able men cost more than the path. The decision repeats the one taken on 9 July, when the long boat came back twice from Sandy Bay without lime and every spare hand was set to repair the cart road, and it shows the council treating the weather as a permanent condition to be worked around rather than a delay to be endured.
340	337	causelessly Runaway from his Master was Ordered to be whipt & to wear an Iron Collar At a Consultation held on Tuesday 22 July 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that on the 20 instant Corrydor the Companys chief Fisherman as he was going in the Path to Ruperts with some Fish for his Wife who lives there & having that Fish in a bag at his back it is thought the bag hit against an over hanging Bush in a narrow part of the Path that cannot be made wider so that he fell from the Mountain 130 feet into a Place called Downings Cove & fell with such force that though his body was found next day under Water yet it was so jambed into a hole between the Rocks that he cannot be got out with hooks &	Suffolk, a slave belonging to William Higham junior, had run repeatedly from his master, and the council ordered him whipped and put in an iron collar. At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 July 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Path to Rupert's: The Governor reported that on 20 July Corryden, the Company's chief fisherman, was going along the path to Rupert's with some fish for his wife, who lives there. Carrying the fish in a bag on his back, he is thought to have struck the bag against an overhanging rock at a narrow part of the path that cannot be widened, and he fell from the mountain 150 feet into a place called Downing's Cove. He fell with such force that although his body was found the next day under water, it was so jammed between the rocks that it could not be recovered with hooks and lines despite great efforts made for that purpose. The island had by then lost 11 grown black men belonging to the Company. The path, though dangerous, had lately been mended and made much better than it was before, and with care anybody may go that way carrying nothing, but it will

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Lines though great Pains have been taken for that purpose so that now wee have but 11 grown or able Black Men belonging to the Company & this Path though dangerous has been lately mended & made much better than it was before & with Care any body may go that way if they have no burthen but it will not do to carry Loads in & it will take up too many hands allways to go to Ruperts in a Boat Capt Alexander says he remembers that one Chandly carrying a Small Keg in the Same Path it hit against one of the Rocks & threw him down & mashed him to pieces & he thinks it is too dangerous a Path to carry Burthens in It was therefore proposed to make the Asses Path a foot or two wider which may be done with very little trouble now they are about it & then those who have Burthens to carry may go safer that way & wee being now Repairing Ruperts Fort & shall have occasion to carry many things there wee think tis truly be proper to make the Path a little wider so as to go with a burthen safely that way Advised that the People now at Work at Ruperts Line do assist the other People in making this Path wider or else wee may be in danger of loosing our Engineer when he goes about that Work Margin Notes: Path to Ruperts	not do for loads and it takes up too many hands to go to Rupert's by boat. Captain Alexander said he had seen a man carrying a small keg along the same path strike it against one of the rocks, which threw him down and dashed him to pieces, and he thought the path far too dangerous for anyone carrying a burden. The council therefore proposed to widen the ass path by a foot or two, which could be done with very little trouble now that the men were already at work there. Those with loads to carry might then go that way in greater safety, and with the repair of Rupert's fort now in hand there would be occasion to carry a great many things over. The council held it right to make the path a little wider so that a man might go safely along it with a burden. The council advised that the men now at work at Rupert's line assist the others in widening the path, or else the island might be in danger of losing the engineer when he goes about that work. Interpretations The Company's chief fisherman held a post created by a specific decision. Governor Byfield replaced the slaves' meat ration with fish on 1 March 1727, ordering a boat fitted and an able hand engaged to instruct the slaves in the trade, and the musters from 31 March 1729 onward carry eleven men constantly employed in the fishing boats, rated as offshoremens rather than labourers. Corryden's death accordingly removes the head of an establishment feeding the whole slave population, and the loss falls at a point where imported rice was already carrying much of the burden after the yam shortage reported by Isaac Durling on 10 April 1733. Downing's Cove enters the record here as the water below the Rupert's path, and the drop of 150 feet locates the track high on the mountainside above it. The recovery attempt with hooks and lines is the only method available where a body lies wedged among rocks under water, since the island had no diving apparatus and the surf on that coast admits a boat only in calm weather. The same conditions had defeated Isaac Paton's landing of lime the previous week. Widening a path by a foot or two answers a problem specific to carriage on the back. A man walking free can hold to the rock face at a narrow point, but a load slung behind him projects into the space he cannot see and swings when he turns, so the effective width of the track for a burdened man is far less than its measured width. Both deaths reported here follow the same pattern, the bag and the keg each striking the overhang rather than the man losing his footing, which is why the council treats the remedy as clearing the passage rather than improving the surface. Speculations The obvious way to keep men working at Rupert's is to leave them at the line, and the council instead diverted them onto the path, giving the safety of the engineer as its reason. That reason is remarkable given everything the record shows of the council's dealings with Colonel Gaultier, who had been told on 15 July that the island could do everything without him and that his employment stood open only if he chose to take it. He had answered that he would go forward with the work once the council began the repairs, so the path he must travel to reach Rupert's became the one obstacle between a resolved quarrel and work actually starting. Two men had already been killed on that track and the council names neither of them as the ground for the order. It names the engineer instead, which measures how much the whole scheme now depended on a man it had spent three consultations declaring unnecessary.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
341	338	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 30th July 1734 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved Hagar a Slave Wench belonging to Susanna Husband being accused by Mrs Jonathan Dunston for Stealing a large Quantity of wett Linnen from him which his People found upon her & she being asked how she came to Steal it saith that her Mistress sent her to Steal them & said go look some Cloaths any where where you can find them upon that she went to look & saw Cloaths hanging upon Mr Dunston hedges & the things mentioned in Mr Dunstons & Note, viz 4 Shirts 2 Shifts 1 Wastcoat 1 & Breeches 1 Franjan 1 Sash 1 Mantle & 1 Apron were taken upon her, & other things she dropt in her Servant & she told that she must be punished for doing thus, she said she could not help it, she must do as her Mistress bid her do Ordered that she said Wench do Work six Monthly at the Fort: ifications & that she be whipt with twenty Lashes Joseph Bates complained that when Capt Rigby was in the Road & Gallery Sea 5 Shirts & some old Cloath belonging to Dan: Reynald & Lawrence Greigee who lodged at his house were stolen out of the Window & that Harry Green one of the Honble Companys Slaves had a Cap on his head next of the goods but & being asked how he came by it he said that a Black fellow called Salt found them in a bush & upon her crying halves he said Sales gave him part having first told his Master what he had found & his said Bates having said that the abovenamed Reynald & Greigee & others who lodged at his house at that time were Sorry Fellows & had Pistoles Severall things from one an other he thought that some of them had cut upon this Window & taken the goods & therefore the two Blacks were discharged Boys Beale made Complaint that the Clough had hired one of his Sows & Ploughs Son having declared that his Fathers dogs had run & kild the said Sow, Clough was ordered to pay the other for the Sow Sutton Steele complained that the Calgrove had beat & abused him & had called him & his Family all pieces of Whores, Rogues, Thieves, Hypocrites, dissembling Devils, that the Devil could not match them in Hell & had also called Mrs Steele Fornicating and Beast, & had threatened to pull out the Complainants heart	At a consultation held on Tuesday 30 July 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Hagar, a slave woman belonging to Susanna Husband, was accused by Jonathan Doveton of stealing a large quantity of wet linen from him, which his people found on her. Asked how she came to steal it, she said her mistress sent her out to steal, telling her to go and look for clothes anywhere she could find them. She went and looked, saw clothes hanging at Mr Doveton's, and took what she found there. The goods named by Doveton were 3 sledges, 3 coats, 8 or 9 shirts, 2 shifts, 1 waistcoat, 1 pair of breeches, 1 banyan, 1 sash and 1 mantle. One iron crow was taken from her petticoat, which she dropped in her hurry. Told that she must be punished for having the goods, she answered that she could not help it and must do as her mistress bid her. The council ordered her to work six months at the fortifications and to be whipped with twenty lashes. Joseph Bates complained that when Captain Ridge was mending the road, a galley yarn, 5 shirts and some cloth belonging to Daniel Reynolds and Lawrence Grieger, who lodged at his house, were stolen out of the window. Harry Green, one of the Company's slaves, had a coat on his back next to the goods that were driven away. Asked how he came by it, he said that a black fellow called Salty found them in a bush. On his crying halves, Green said Salty gave him part, having first told his master what he had found. Bates said that Reynolds and Grieger, lodging at his house at the time, were sorry fellows who had pilfered several things from one another. He thought some of them had cut open his window and taken the goods, and the two blacks were accordingly discharged. Benjamin Beale complained that Thomas Clough had hired one of his sows, and that Clough's son declared his father's dogs had bitten and killed the sow. Clough was ordered to pay Beale for it. Sutton Marsh complained that the Colgraves had beaten him and called him and his family a pack of thieves, rogues, knaves, hypocrites and dissembling devils, and said that the devil could not match him in hell. He had also been called an old fornicating beast, and they threatened to put out the complainant's heart and his soul to hell, and had hidden one of their turkeys. On hearing that much scurrilous language had passed on both sides, and that the fault was partly a drunken quarrel, they were advised to settle the matter among themselves. They did so accordingly and parted friends. Orlando Bagley junior complained that James Harding had extorted the sum of £40 0s 0d from him under threats, and that his son, a youth of about 16 years, could not have been forcibly taken from him by his wife. He had already paid £52 0s 0d, and asked that Harding refund what had been extorted from him. On its appearing that Bagley's son had actually made some such attempt, and that Bagley had voluntarily offered the £40 0s 0d to secure his son, the matter was at length settled between them. Harding should keep what he had received, and Bagley should be discharged from paying the other £8 0s 0d. Richard Beale, John Bagley and John Defountaine, executors of the last will of Samuel Jephry, presented the will for probate that day. Interpretations A banyan is a loose gown of Indian origin, worn indoors over a shirt and much used by Company servants in the eastern settlements. A shift is a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& take his Soul to hell & had killed one of their Turkeys, but it appearing that much Scurrilous language had passed on both sides & that it was partly a drunken Quarrel they were advised to agree the Matter among themselves & they accordingly did so & parted good friends Orlando Bagley Senr made complaint that Jos: Harding had by threats extorted the Sum of forty Pounds from him under Pretence that his Son a youth of about 16 Years of age would forceably have lain with his Wife & that he had already paid £32 thereof & prayed that the said Harding should be ordered what he had thus extorted from him, but it appearing that Bagleys Son had actually made some such Attempt & was filed of the Assault & that Bagley did voluntarily offer the above said Sum not to Prosecute his Son, it was at length agreed between them that Harding should keep what he has received & that Bagley should be discharged from paying the other eight Pounds Mr John Butler & John Desfontain both of the last Will of Samuell Jeffery had this day proved the said Will & desiring the same	woman's linen undergarment and a sledge here a coarse garment or wrap. Wet linen hanging out to dry represents the whole visible wardrobe of a household laid open at once, which is why the theft ran to more than 20 items and why Doveton could enumerate them so exactly. The defence Hagar offered goes directly to the standing of a slave's testimony against a free person. She named her mistress as the one who sent her to steal, and the council punished her regardless with six months at the fortifications and twenty lashes, making no order against Susanna Husband. The testimony of blacks had been inadmissible in every proceeding recorded on the island, which had defeated the prosecutions against John Long over the Company's goats in January 1729 and over the harbouring of runaways on 10 April 1733. The council had nonetheless found ways to reach owners it could not convict, compelling Thomas Clough to sell the slave Orange on 16 April 1734 by threatening his liquor licence, and its silence here on the woman who gave the order stands against that practice. Sentencing a convicted thief to six months at the fortifications continues a pattern the council had settled on through the month. Dawson and Barclay received three months at the same works on 16 July, and Hagar receives twice that. The advertisement of 11 June 1734 for six hired slaves at ninepence a day had drawn no offers at all, so criminal sentences were producing the labour that the market would not supply, at no cost to the Company beyond the food. The council's handling of the quarrel between Sutton Marsh and the Colgraves treats abuse exchanged in drink as beneath formal remedy. Marsh had appeared before the council on 25 July 1733 over his accusation that four jurors had tried to seduce his daughter Rebecca, and was committed for further prosecution before being discharged on submission. Here the council declines to determine anything, finding fault on both sides, and the parties settled it themselves. Speculations The obvious course with a slave taken in possession of stolen goods is to punish the theft, and the council had a second and harder question in front of it that it chose not to answer. Hagar stated plainly that her mistress had sent her out to look for clothes anywhere she could find them, and the enumeration of Doveton's losses, more than 20 garments in a single haul, supports an organised taking rather than opportunism. Susanna Husband is named in the record and never summoned. The council had reached cruel owners through their licences and their ability to buy slaves earlier in the same year, so a route existed, and it left that route untravelled here. Punishing the woman alone closes the file at the cost of leaving the household that profited untouched, which is the reverse of the reasoning the council applied on 18 December 1733 when it held that slaves driven to fault by their owners ought not to bear the whole penalty.
342	339	might be proved & the same was accordingly proved upon the Oaths of the Witnesses thereto vizt Isaac Leech, Willm Snale junr & Dick Grew who being Sworn each of them declared that the said Jeffery was perfectly in his Senses & that he published & declared the same in their Presence & hearing & the said Will was Ordered to be Registered The said Executors also delivered an Inventory & Appraisement	The will was proved on the oaths of the witnesses, Isaac Leech, William Seale junior and Duke Crisp. Each swore that Samuel Jephry was perfectly in his senses and that he published and declared the will in their presence and hearing. The council ordered the will registered. The executors also delivered an inventory and appraisal of the estate belonging to Samuel Jephry, valued by Jonathan Doveton and Samuel Doveton. Both men swore that they had valued and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of the Estate & late belonging to the said Sam Jeffery as the Same was Valued by Jonathan & Samuell Dunston who upon their Oaths declared that they had Valued & Appraised the Severall particulars therein mentioned according to the best of their Skill & Judgement The Petitions of Stephen Suffren Senr & of Thomas Harper Senr were this day presented & read, the former praying new Leases for two parcels of Land one of Twelve Acres lying in Thompson Wood which he hath had many years in Possession by leave of the Govr & Council & the same is Measured & Staked but no Lease thereof hath yet been delivered to him, & that a new Lease for one Acre of Land adjoining to his house the old one being expired might be Granted him; & Thomas Harper praying a new Lease for Twelve Acres of Land lying under the Maine Ridge leading from the high Peak to Mangers Lodge the old Lease being out & they having both affirmed that all the said parcels of Land were duly Fenced & Hooded their Petitions were Granted accordingly provided upon view of the Premises their Allegations proved true At a Consultation held on Tuesday 6th August 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that he hath hired Jonathan Higham & his Blacks to Work at the Fortifications in order to forward the same as soon as possible Capt Goodwin Reports that the Inhabitants began yesterday Morning to build the Fortification designed for Turks Cap Valley which the Governour & he at their desire had lately Laid out for them & they Work vigorously but the Rains have so much Flooded Ruperts Valley that it is impossible to Work there till the Weather is better Margin Notes: Turks Cap	appraised the several particulars named in it to the best of their skill and judgement. Stephen Lufkin junior and Thomas Harper senior each presented a petition, which were read that day. Lufkin asked for new leases on two parcels of land, one of 12 acres lying in Thompson's Wood, which he had held for many years by leave of the Governor and council. That parcel had been measured and staked, but no lease of it had ever been delivered to him. He also asked a new lease for one acre of land adjoining his house, the old lease having expired. Harper asked a new lease for 12 acres lying under the main ridge that runs from the High Peak towards Manatee Bay, his own lease being out. Both men declared that all the parcels were duly fenced and planted with wood. Their petitions were granted, provided that a view of the ground confirmed what they had stated. At a consultation held on Tuesday 6 August 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that he had hired a slave of Jonathan Higham to work at the fortifications, so as to push the work forward as fast as possible. Turk's Cap: Captain Goodwin reported that the inhabitants began the previous morning to build the fortification intended for Turk's Cap Valley, which the Governor had lately staked out for them at their own request. They worked with a will, but the rains had so flooded Rupert's Valley that it was impossible to work there until the weather improved. Interpretations The requirement that a lease be viewed before renewal comes from the reform the council adopted on 26 July 1732, which barred any renewal until the surveyors had certified the ground duly fenced and planted with a fair proportion of thriving wood. Both petitions here recite that condition as satisfied before the council is asked to grant anything, which shows the rule shaping how tenants framed their applications two years after it was made. Lufkin's twelve acres in Thompson's Wood present the further difficulty that he held them for years on nothing but the Governor's permission, the ground measured and staked but no instrument ever executed, so the grant regularises a possession that rested on memory alone. Rain flooding Rupert's Valley is the seasonal counterpart to the drought that had killed twenty beasts by the end of March 1734. Rupert's carries a large rivulet in the wet months and no water at all through most of the year, which is precisely why the water course had broken through the unfounded line and carried part of it into the sea. Work on that ground therefore stops twice over, once when the surf prevents lime landing and again when the rains fill the valley floor, and the island's winter runs from about May to September. The inhabitants beginning at Turk's Cap on their own initiative marks the point where the vestry's agreement of 21 July 1734 took effect on the ground. The twelve men consulted on 16 July had judged that valley the most dangerous on the coast, being where shipping first makes the island, and had asked for a platform and breastwork for six guns. The Governor staked the work out at their request and they supplied the labour, which is the division settled at the same meeting, the Company finding guns and carriages while the planters found the hands. Speculations The obvious response to a valley too flooded to work is to stand the men down until the weather turns, and the Governor instead hired another slave

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			and pressed the whole scheme forward at a second site. Turk's Cap lies on the opposite side of the island from Rupert's, on ground the inhabitants had chosen themselves and were building at their own charge, so the labour moved to where the season allowed rather than waiting on it. The hiring is the sharper detail: the advertisement of 11 June 1734 for six slaves at ninepence a day had drawn not one offer, and Jonathan Higham's man is engaged individually outside that failed arrangement. The council had already declined to raise the rate for fear of appearing to let the inhabitants impose upon the Company, and the Governor's answer was to buy labour one hand at a time rather than concede the general price.
343	340	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 13th August 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour having Severall times given Mr Beale and Mrs Torrell Notice that the Honble Company had directed that the Matter in dispute between them should be decided by Arbitracion but he allways appearing backward & Unwilling to Submit thereto he thought it seed no longer defer knowing the certainty of his Intentions & therefore appointed them to attend here this day & they appeared accordingly & the Governour again acquainted them that the Honble Company by their late Instructions of the 8th of April had been pleased to Order that the Right to the Land formerly belonging to Jonathan Poole & should be determined by Arbitration by such Persons as each Party should choose voluntarily & so upon & Mr Beale declared that he readily agreed thereto but Mrs Torrell absolutely refused it & said she would not assent to such Arbitracion upon any terms whatever although appointed by the Honble Company themselves Mrs Power & Charles Steward Executors of Gabriel Torrell decd are this day delivered an Inventory of the Estate & Effects of the said Torrell to wit the 22 of July, & so Appraised by Mr & Wm Van Trangham, Richard Goodwin & Joshua Johnson (but the latter being to take the Appraisement only part thereof) who being Sworn declared each of them that they had Valued & Appraised the Same according to the best of their Skill & Judgement Mrs Torrell was also Sworn & asked whether the Inventory of the Estate & Effects of the said Gabl Torrell by her this day delivered to the Govr & Councill & taken on the 22 of last Month was a true Account thereof & she Answered that it was a true Account thereof & she had given as true Account of every thing as ever some did & if any things should our	At a consultation held on Tuesday 13 August 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor had several times told Richard Beale and Mary Powell that the Company directed their dispute be settled by arbitration, and both had always shown themselves backward and unwilling to submit to it. Holding that no further delay served any purpose, and knowing the certainty of their intentions, he appointed them to attend that day. They appeared accordingly, and the Governor again told them that the Company, by its instructions sent out in the <i>Ljell</i>, had ordered that the right to the land formerly belonging to Jonathan Beale be determined by arbitrators freely chosen by each party. Beale declared that he readily agreed to it, but Mary Powell refused absolutely, and said her son would not consent to any arbitration on any terms whatever, even though it was directed by the Company itself. Mary Powell and Charles Steward, executors of Gabriel Powell, delivered an inventory of the estate and effects of Gabriel Powell that day, which was taken on 25 July and appraised by Francis Wrangham, Richard Goodwin and Joshua Johnson. The last two, being the only ones to have appraised part of it, were sworn, and each declared that he had valued and appraised the estate to the best of his skill and judgement. Mary Powell was also sworn as to whether the inventory of the estate and effects of Gabriel Powell delivered by her that day to the Governor in council, and the one delivered on 25 July, gave a true account. She answered that it was a true account, that she had given a true account of everything, and that fifty things had gone out since the taking of the inventory, to the value of about 20 shillings. Andrew Bergue the cooper was accused by Mark Bullock the Jew of saying to one of the sailors belonging to the French ship lately in the road that the whole island except the main fort was a weak place. The cooper denied it. Robert Seale and Bridget Thwaites both stated that the Jew had declared this to them two days earlier, and that what happened just after he came ashore, before he could have known any part of the island, made it uncertain whether he had been there or not. The Jew was required to swear on the pentateuch, and the man declared that what he had charged the cooper with was true. Bergue was accordingly ordered to ride the wooden horse for it, and directed to talk no more in that way in future. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, Mr Crisp and everybody else had been extremely busy since the late news of an approaching war, viewing the island and making preparation for its necessary defence. That was the reason the monthly accounts for May, June and July had not been delivered before that

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Since the taking of the said Inventory & so are under the Value of twenty Shillings Andrew Bergen the Cooper was accused by Mark Bullock the Jew that saying to one of the Saeurs belonging to the French Ship that was last here that all the Island except the Maine Fort was a weak Place; this the Cooper denied but it appearing by Mr Seale & Mr Fowlers that the Jew had declared this to them tis so wondered as what happened just after he was come on Shoar before he could know any thing of the Island & uncertain whether he should stay here or not, the Jew was admitted to Swear upon the Pentateuch & he then declared that what he had charged the Cooper with was true; Whereupon the said Bergen was Ordered to ride the Wooden Horse for the same and Ordered to have no more such Talk for the future The Governour, Capt Goodwin, Mr Crispe, & every body having been extreemly busey since the Late & News of an approaching War & in Viewing the Island & making Preparations for the necessary Defence thereof, is the reason why the Monthly Accounts for May, June, & July were not delivered till this Morning when they were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follows Vizt Account	morning, when they were severally examined and approved. They follow. Interpretations The Company's instruction that the Beale dispute go to arbitration answers a problem the island's courts could not resolve. Richard Beale had pressed his claim through 1733 in petitions of steadily widening scope, from twenty acres in January to thirty of leasehold and sixty more of freehold by 17 April, and the fullest version read at the sessions of 2 July 1733 charged that Daniel Griffith sat of council while acting as counsel for Gabriel Powell and took a third of the land recovered. A jury can weigh deed against deed but cannot well be asked to find that an earlier Governor and council were bought, and the court accordingly refused any new trial until London answered. Arbitration removes the question from the island's own institutions altogether, which is why the Company chose it and why Mary Powell's refusal is so pointed: the Powell title rests on an order sent out by the <i>Arrington</i> in August 1711 and a deed executed under the Governor, council and Company together, and any arbitration reopens what a deed had closed. Swearing Mark Bullock on the pentateuch rather than on the gospels applies the ordinary English practice of administering an oath in the form binding on the witness's own conscience. The oath's force lay in the belief of the man taking it, so a Jewish witness swore on the five books of Moses and a Christian on the New Testament, and evidence given either way carried equal weight at law. That accommodation stands in sharp contrast to the position of blacks on the island, whose testimony was inadmissible in any form, and to the children in Mingo's trial of 2 July 1733 who could not be sworn at all through knowing nothing of an oath. The wooden horse was a punishment frame with a sharp ridged back, the offender being set astride it for a fixed time, sometimes with weights tied to the feet. Governor Byfield had ordered the watch officer at Munden's Point to ride it for two hours on 25 April 1727 after being found asleep on duty, and the sentence here treats loose talk about the island's weakness as a comparable military offence rather than as slander between neighbours. Speculations The obvious course when a woman refuses an arbitration the Company has ordered is to compel her or to record her in contempt, and the Governor did neither. He appointed the parties to attend, put the instruction to them in council, took Mary Powell's absolute refusal along with her statement that her son would not consent on any terms, and entered the whole exchange on the record. That entry is the sanction. The council had used the same method against the commanders who sailed in defiance on 13 June 1729, holding that its only remaining remedy was to place the exchange before the Company in the general letter, and against Colonel Gaultier a month earlier. Beale's ready agreement now sits beside the Powell refusal in a document the directors will read, so the party that declined the Company's own direction carries that fact to London in the council's hand rather than its own.
344	341	[The column headers are lost above the visible portion of the page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Increased in May: 40, 151, 24, 31, 100, 112, 2, 7, 165, 2, 98, 29, 61, 2, 4, 192, 2, 18, 16, 14, 25, 9, 2, 75, 9, 18, 11, 79, 53, 42, 4, 4, 7, 11	Increased in May: bullocks 40 Increased in May: cows 151, of which 2 increased Increased in May: heifers 24 Increased in May: steers 31 Increased in May: yearlings 100 Increased in May: calves 112, of which 2 increased Increased in May: bulls 7

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Sold to Ships: 40, 3, 151, 24, 31, 100, 114, 7, 167, 3, 98, 29, 63, 4, 194, 18, 16, 14, 34, 2, 84, 29, 132, 42, 4, 4, 7, 11 Killed in May: 37, 151, 24, 1, 31, 100, 114, 7, 464, 1, 98, 29, 4, 63, 4, 194, 4, 18, 16, 3, 14, 1, 34, 3, 2, 84, 7, 29, 5, 132, 52, 42, 2, 4, 4, 7, 11 Died in May: 37, 151, 23, 31, 100, 114, 3, 7, 163, 3, 98, 1, 25, 63, 4, 190, 1, 18, 13, 13, 31, 1, 2, 77, 1, 24, 1, 80, 40, 4, 4, 7, 11 Remg 31 May: 37, 151, 23, 31, 100, 111, 7, 160, 97, 25, 63, 4, 189, 18, 13, 13, 30, 2, 76, 23, 80, 40, 4, 4, 7, 11 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 22300th	Increased in May: neat cattle in all 465, of which 2 increased Increased in May: rams 98 Increased in May: ewes 29 Increased in May: wethers 61, of which 2 increased Increased in May: lambs 4 Increased in May: sheep in all 192, of which 2 increased Increased in May: boars 18 Increased in May: sows 16 Increased in May: barrows 14 Increased in May: shoats 25, of which 9 increased Increased in May: pigs 2 Increased in May: hogs in all 75, of which 9 increased Increased in May: turkeys 18, of which 11 increased Increased in May: fowls 79, of which 53 increased Increased in May: ducks 42 Increased in May: geese 4 Increased in May: horses 4 Increased in May: mares 7 Increased in May: horses and mares in all 11 Sold to ships: bullocks 40, of which 3 sold Sold to ships: cows 151 Sold to ships: heifers 24 Sold to ships: steers 31 Sold to ships: yearlings 100 Sold to ships: calves 114 Sold to ships: bulls 7 Sold to ships: neat cattle in all 467, of which 3 sold Sold to ships: rams 98 Sold to ships: ewes 29 Sold to ships: wethers 63 Sold to ships: lambs 4 Sold to ships: sheep in all 194 Sold to ships: boars 18 Sold to ships: sows 16 Sold to ships: barrows 14 Sold to ships: shoats 34 Sold to ships: pigs 2 Sold to ships: hogs in all 84 Sold to ships: turkeys 29 Sold to ships: fowls 132 Sold to ships: ducks 42 Sold to ships: geese 4 Sold to ships: horses 4 Sold to ships: mares 7 Sold to ships: horses and mares in all 11 Killed in May: bullocks 37 Killed in May: cows 151, of which 1 killed Killed in May: heifers 24 Killed in May: steers 31 Killed in May: yearlings 100 Killed in May: calves 114 Killed in May: bulls 7 Killed in May: neat cattle in all 464, of which 1 killed Killed in May: rams 98 Killed in May: ewes 29, of which 4 killed Killed in May: wethers 63 Killed in May: lambs 4 Killed in May: sheep in all 194, of which 4 killed Killed in May: boars 18 Killed in May: sows 16, of which 3 killed Killed in May: barrows 14, of which 1 killed Killed in May: shoats 34, of which 3 killed Killed in May: pigs 2 Killed in May: hogs in all 84, of which 7 killed Killed in May: turkeys 29, of which 5 killed Killed in May: fowls 132, of which 52 killed Killed in May: ducks 42, of which 2 killed Killed in May: geese 4 Killed in May: horses 4

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Killed in May: mares 7 Killed in May: horses and mares in all 11 Died in May: bullocks 37 Died in May: cows 151 Died in May: heifers 23 Died in May: steers 31 Died in May: yearlings 100 Died in May: calves 114, of which 3 died Died in May: bulls 7 Died in May: neat cattle in all 463, of which 3 died Died in May: rams 98, of which 1 died Died in May: ewes 25 Died in May: wethers 63 Died in May: lambs 4 Died in May: sheep in all 190, of which 1 died Died in May: boars 18 Died in May: sows 13 Died in May: barrows 13 Died in May: shoats 31, of which 1 died Died in May: pigs 2 Died in May: hogs in all 77, of which 1 died Died in May: turkeys 24, of which 1 died Died in May: fowls 80 Died in May: ducks 40 Died in May: geese 4 Died in May: horses 4 Died in May: mares 7 Died in May: horses and mares in all 11 Remaining 31 May: bullocks 37 Remaining 31 May: cows 151 Remaining 31 May: heifers 23 Remaining 31 May: steers 31 Remaining 31 May: yearlings 100 Remaining 31 May: calves 111 Remaining 31 May: bulls 7 Remaining 31 May: neat cattle in all 460 Remaining 31 May: rams 97 Remaining 31 May: ewes 25 Remaining 31 May: wethers 63 Remaining 31 May: lambs 4 Remaining 31 May: sheep in all 189 Remaining 31 May: boars 18 Remaining 31 May: sows 13 Remaining 31 May: barrows 13 Remaining 31 May: shoats 30 Remaining 31 May: pigs 2 Remaining 31 May: hogs in all 76 Remaining 31 May: turkeys 23 Remaining 31 May: fowls 80 Remaining 31 May: ducks 40 Remaining 31 May: geese 4 Remaining 31 May: horses 4 Remaining 31 May: mares 7 Remaining 31 May: horses and mares in all 11 Yams expended at the several plantations, 22,300 lb The heading row of this account is blank, and the identity of each column has been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Interpretations Every row shows the balance standing after its own movement has been applied rather than the movement alone, and the small figures set beside the main numbers record what moved. The bullock column opens at 40, loses 3 to the shipping and holds at 37 through the three lines that follow. A clerk reading down any column can therefore test the closing figure against the opening one without a separate reckoning, which is how the council came to approve three months of accounts in a single morning on 13 August 1734. The subtotals identify the columns where the headings are missing. Seven cattle classes add to 460, four sheep classes to 189 and five hog classes to 76 on the closing line, and those three figures sit against

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			465 neat cattle, 192 sheep and 75 hogs recorded at 30 April 1734. No goat column appears anywhere in the account, the heading having been dropped from the ruled grid in March 1731 after the last does, kids and the final ram were killed in February that year. Poultry carried the heaviest losses of the month by a wide margin. The fort's table took 52 fowls, 5 turkeys and 2 ducks, against a single bullock killed and 3 sold to the shipping. Fowls had been hatched in the same month at 53, so the flock closed level at 80 while the turkeys fell from 29 to 23. That pattern repeats what the annual account for the year ending 30 September 1733 recorded, when 502 fowls were killed out of 607 carried and the breeding stock Governor Pyke bought in April 1731 was consumed faster than it could reproduce. The cattle herd continued the decline that began with the drought. Neat cattle stood at 525 on 30 December 1733 and fell through every month of 1734, reaching 460 here. Calving had collapsed from 25 head in November 1733 to nothing in March and April, and this account shows the herd losing 3 calves to death and gaining none, so the fall now runs on losses alone with no increase to offset them. Sheep behave in the opposite way, as they had through the dry season, the flock needing less water and grazing closer, though 4 ewes killed and a ram dead brought it down from 192 to 189.
345	342	[The column headers are lost above the visible portion of the page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Remg 1 June: 37, 151, 23, 31, 100, 111, 7, 460, 97, 25, 63, 4, 189, 18, 13, 13, 30, 2, 76, 23, 80, 40, 4, 4, 7, 11 Increased: 3, 3, 5, 5, 10, 84 37, 151, 23, 31, 100, 114, 7, 463, 97, 25, 63, 4, 189, 18, 13, 13, 35, 2, 81, 33, 164, 40, 4, 4, 7, 11 Sold to Ships: 16, 4, 20 21, 147, 23, 31, 100, 114, 7, 443, 97, 25, 63, 4, 189, 18, 13, 13, 35, 2, 81, 33, 164, 40, 4, 4, 7, 11 Killed in ditto: 4, 9, 9, 2, 2, 4, 2, 64, 8 21, 147, 23, 31, 100, 112, 2, 7, 443, 2, 97, 16, 63, 4, 189, 16, 13, 11, 35, 2, 77, 31, 100, 32, 4, 4, 7, 11 Died in ditto: [...] Remg 30th June: 21, 147, 23, 31, 100, 112, 7, 441, 97, 16, 63, 4, 189, 16, 13, 11, 35, 2, 77, 31, 100, 32, 3, 4, 7, 11 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 25700th Ditto delivered the Blacks 25700 41400th	Remaining 1 June: bullocks 37 Remaining 1 June: cows 151 Remaining 1 June: heifers 23 Remaining 1 June: steers 31 Remaining 1 June: yearlings 100 Remaining 1 June: calves 111 Remaining 1 June: bulls 7 Remaining 1 June: neat cattle in all 460 Remaining 1 June: rams 97 Remaining 1 June: ewes 25 Remaining 1 June: wethers 63 Remaining 1 June: lambs 4 Remaining 1 June: sheep in all 189 Remaining 1 June: boars 18 Remaining 1 June: sows 13 Remaining 1 June: barrows 13 Remaining 1 June: shoats 30 Remaining 1 June: pigs 2 Remaining 1 June: hogs in all 76 Remaining 1 June: turkeys 23 Remaining 1 June: fowls 80 Remaining 1 June: ducks 40 Remaining 1 June: geese 4 Remaining 1 June: horses 4 Remaining 1 June: mares 7 Remaining 1 June: horses and mares in all 11 Increased in June: bullocks 37 Increased in June: cows 151 Increased in June: heifers 23 Increased in June: steers 31 Increased in June: yearlings 100 Increased in June: calves 114, of which 3 increased Increased in June: bulls 7 Increased in June: neat cattle in all 463, of which 3 increased Increased in June: rams 97 Increased in June: ewes 25 Increased in June: wethers 63 Increased in June: lambs 4 Increased in June: sheep in all 189 Increased in June: boars 18 Increased in June: sows 13 Increased in June: barrows 13 Increased in June: shoats 35, of which 5 increased Increased in June: pigs 2

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Increased in June: hogs in all 81, of which 5 increased Increased in June: turkeys 33, of which 10 increased Increased in June: fowls 164, of which 84 increased Increased in June: ducks 40 Increased in June: geese 4 Increased in June: horses 4 Increased in June: mares 7 Increased in June: horses and mares in all 11 Sold to ships in June: bullocks 21, of which 16 sold Sold to ships in June: cows 147, of which 4 sold Sold to ships in June: heifers 23 Sold to ships in June: steers 31 Sold to ships in June: yearlings 100 Sold to ships in June: calves 114 Sold to ships in June: bulls 7 Sold to ships in June: neat cattle in all 443, of which 20 sold Sold to ships in June: rams 97 Sold to ships in June: ewes 25 Sold to ships in June: wethers 63 Sold to ships in June: lambs 4 Sold to ships in June: sheep in all 189 Sold to ships in June: boars 18 Sold to ships in June: sows 13 Sold to ships in June: barrows 13 Sold to ships in June: shoats 35 Sold to ships in June: pigs 2 Sold to ships in June: hogs in all 81 Sold to ships in June: turkeys 33 Sold to ships in June: fowls 164 Sold to ships in June: ducks 40 Sold to ships in June: geese 4 Sold to ships in June: horses 4 Sold to ships in June: mares 7 Sold to ships in June: horses and mares in all 11 Killed in June: bullocks 21 Killed in June: cows 147 Killed in June: heifers 23 Killed in June: steers 31 Killed in June: yearlings 100 Killed in June: calves 114 Killed in June: bulls 7 Killed in June: neat cattle in all 443 Killed in June: rams 97 Killed in June: ewes 25, of which 9 killed Killed in June: wethers 63 Killed in June: lambs 4 Killed in June: sheep in all 189, of which 9 killed Killed in June: boars 18, of which 2 killed Killed in June: sows 13 Killed in June: barrows 13, of which 2 killed Killed in June: shoats 35 Killed in June: pigs 2 Killed in June: hogs in all 81, of which 4 killed Killed in June: turkeys 33, of which 2 killed Killed in June: fowls 164, of which 64 killed Killed in June: ducks 40, of which 8 killed Killed in June: geese 4 Killed in June: horses 4 Killed in June: mares 7 Killed in June: horses and mares in all 11 Died in June: bullocks 21 Died in June: cows 147 Died in June: heifers 23 Died in June: steers 31 Died in June: yearlings 100 Died in June: calves 112, of which 2 died Died in June: bulls 7 Died in June: neat cattle in all 442, of which 2 died Died in June: rams 97 Died in June: ewes 16

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Died in June: wethers 63 Died in June: lambs 4 Died in June: sheep in all 189 Died in June: boars 16 Died in June: sows 13 Died in June: barrows 11 Died in June: shoats 35 Died in June: pigs 2 Died in June: hogs in all 77 Died in June: turkeys 31 Died in June: fowls 100 Died in June: ducks 32 Died in June: geese 4 Died in June: horses 4 Died in June: mares 7 Died in June: horses and mares in all 11 Remaining 30 June: bullocks 21 Remaining 30 June: cows 147 Remaining 30 June: heifers 23 Remaining 30 June: steers 31 Remaining 30 June: yearlings 100 Remaining 30 June: calves 112 Remaining 30 June: bulls 7 Remaining 30 June: neat cattle in all 441 Remaining 30 June: rams 97 Remaining 30 June: ewes 16 Remaining 30 June: wethers 63 Remaining 30 June: lambs 4 Remaining 30 June: sheep in all 189 Remaining 30 June: boars 16 Remaining 30 June: sows 13 Remaining 30 June: barrows 11 Remaining 30 June: shoats 35 Remaining 30 June: pigs 2 Remaining 30 June: hogs in all 77 Remaining 30 June: turkeys 31 Remaining 30 June: fowls 100 Remaining 30 June: ducks 32 Remaining 30 June: geese 3 Remaining 30 June: horses 4 Remaining 30 June: mares 7 Remaining 30 June: horses and mares in all 11 Yams expended at the several plantations, 25,700 lb Yams delivered the blacks, 25,700 lb Yams in all, 41,400 lb The heading row of this account is blank, and the identity of each column has been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Interpretations Twenty head went to the shipping in June, sixteen bullocks and four cows, against a single bullock killed and three sold through the whole of May. The <i>Britannia</i> came in on 1 June and the <i>Duke of Lorraine</i> on the night of the 3rd, the <i>Normanton</i> on 15 June and the <i>Princess of Wales</i> on 23 June, so four Indiamen victualled from the island's herd within a month. Beef sales on St Helena track the anchorage exactly, and this is the heaviest disposal since the fourteen head of March. The herd nonetheless closed at 441, down from 460 on 1 June and from 525 at the end of December 1733. Three calves were born in the month against none in March or April, which is the first increase since the drought stopped calving altogether, but two of the three died before the month ended. The rains had broken about the middle of June, which explains the resumption, and the recovery is far too slight to offset twenty head sold and two lost. Ewes fell from 25 to 16, nine being killed in a single month against four in May. The flock as a whole held level at 189 through both accounts, so the loss falls entirely on the breeding females while rams, wethers and lambs stand unchanged. Killing nine ewes out of twenty-five during the winter

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			mating season removes the following spring's lambs as well as the animals themselves, which is a heavier charge than the sheep column shows. The yam footing changes form this month, splitting into 25,700 lb expended at the plantations and the same quantity delivered to the blacks. May carried a single line of 22,300 lb to the plantations alone. The stated total of 41,400 lb governs and is not reconciled here. Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733 that the establishment needed 63,920 lb a week against a full-year capacity of 672,000 lb, and the winter planting was going into the ground through these months.
346	343	[The column headers are lost above the visible portion of the page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Remg 1 July: 21, 147, 23, 31, 100, 112, 7, 441, 97, 16, 63, 4, 180, 16, 13, 11, 35, 2, 77, 31, 100, 32, 3, 4, 7, 11 Increased in ditto: 10, 10, 30, 1, 1, 2 21, 147, 23, 31, 100, 112, 7, 441, 97, 16, 63, 4, 180, 16, 13, 11, 45, 2, 87, 31, 130, 32, 3, 5, 8, 13 Sold to Ships: 1, 1 20, 147, 23, 31, 100, 112, 7, 440, 97, 16, 63, 4, 180, 16, 13, 11, 45, 2, 87, 31, 130, 32, 3, 5, 8, 13 Killed in ditto: 1, 1, 2, 2, 2, 4, 3, 7, 10, 48, 10 19, 147, 22, 31, 100, 112, 1, 7, 438, 2, 95, 14, 63, 4, 176, 16, 13, 8, 38, 2, 77, 31, 82, 22, 3, 5, 8, 13 Dead in ditto: 1 Remg 30 July: 19, 147, 22, 31, 99, 111, 7, 436, 95, 14, 63, 4, 176, 16, 13, 8, 38, 2, 77, 31, 82, 22, 3, 5, 8, 13 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 23100th	Remaining 1 July: bullocks 21 Remaining 1 July: cows 147 Remaining 1 July: heifers 23 Remaining 1 July: steers 31 Remaining 1 July: yearlings 100 Remaining 1 July: calves 112 Remaining 1 July: bulls 7 Remaining 1 July: neat cattle in all 441 Remaining 1 July: rams 97 Remaining 1 July: ewes 16 Remaining 1 July: wethers 63 Remaining 1 July: lambs 4 Remaining 1 July: sheep in all 180 Remaining 1 July: boars 16 Remaining 1 July: sows 13 Remaining 1 July: barrows 11 Remaining 1 July: shoats 35 Remaining 1 July: pigs 2 Remaining 1 July: hogs in all 77 Remaining 1 July: turkeys 31 Remaining 1 July: fowls 100 Remaining 1 July: ducks 32 Remaining 1 July: geese 3 Remaining 1 July: horses 4 Remaining 1 July: mares 7 Remaining 1 July: horses and mares in all 11 Increased in July: bullocks 21 Increased in July: cows 147 Increased in July: heifers 23 Increased in July: steers 31 Increased in July: yearlings 100 Increased in July: calves 112 Increased in July: bulls 7 Increased in July: neat cattle in all 441 Increased in July: rams 97 Increased in July: ewes 16 Increased in July: wethers 63 Increased in July: lambs 4 Increased in July: sheep in all 180 Increased in July: boars 16 Increased in July: sows 13 Increased in July: barrows 11 Increased in July: shoats 45, of which 10 increased Increased in July: pigs 2 Increased in July: hogs in all 87, of which 10 increased Increased in July: turkeys 31 Increased in July: fowls 130, of which 30 increased Increased in July: ducks 32 Increased in July: geese 3 Increased in July: horses 5, of which 1 increased Increased in July: mares 8, of which 1 increased Increased in July: horses and mares in all 13, of which 2 increased Sold to ships in July: bullocks 20, of which 1 sold Sold to ships in July: cows 147 Sold to ships in July: heifers 23 Sold to ships in July: steers 31 Sold to ships in July: yearlings 100 Sold to ships in July: calves 112 Sold to ships in July: bulls 7

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Sold to ships in July: neat cattle in all 440, of which 1 sold Sold to ships in July: rams 97 Sold to ships in July: ewes 16 Sold to ships in July: wethers 63 Sold to ships in July: lambs 4 Sold to ships in July: sheep in all 180 Sold to ships in July: boars 16 Sold to ships in July: sows 13 Sold to ships in July: barrows 11 Sold to ships in July: shoats 45 Sold to ships in July: pigs 2 Sold to ships in July: hogs in all 87 Sold to ships in July: turkeys 31 Sold to ships in July: fowls 130 Sold to ships in July: ducks 32 Sold to ships in July: geese 3 Sold to ships in July: horses 5 Sold to ships in July: mares 8 Sold to ships in July: horses and mares in all 13 Killed in July: bullocks 19, of which 1 killed Killed in July: cows 147 Killed in July: heifers 22, of which 1 killed Killed in July: steers 31 Killed in July: yearlings 100 Killed in July: calves 112 Killed in July: bulls 7 Killed in July: neat cattle in all 438, of which 2 killed Killed in July: rams 95, of which 2 killed Killed in July: ewes 14, of which 2 killed Killed in July: wethers 63 Killed in July: lambs 4 Killed in July: sheep in all 176, of which 4 killed Killed in July: boars 16 Killed in July: sows 13 Killed in July: barrows 8, of which 3 killed Killed in July: shoats 38, of which 7 killed Killed in July: pigs 2 Killed in July: hogs in all 77, of which 10 killed Killed in July: turkeys 31 Killed in July: fowls 82, of which 48 killed Killed in July: ducks 22, of which 10 killed Killed in July: geese 3 Killed in July: horses 5 Killed in July: mares 8 Killed in July: horses and mares in all 13 Died in July: bullocks 19 Died in July: cows 147 Died in July: heifers 22 Died in July: steers 31 Died in July: yearlings 99, of which 1 died Died in July: calves 111, of which 1 died Died in July: bulls 7 Died in July: neat cattle in all 436, of which 2 died Died in July: rams 95 Died in July: ewes 14 Died in July: wethers 63 Died in July: lambs 4 Died in July: sheep in all 176 Died in July: boars 16 Died in July: sows 13 Died in July: barrows 8 Died in July: shoats 38 Died in July: pigs 2 Died in July: hogs in all 77 Died in July: turkeys 31 Died in July: fowls 82 Died in July: ducks 22 Died in July: geese 3 Died in July: horses 5 Died in July: mares 8 Died in July: horses and mares in all 13 Remaining 30 July: bullocks 19 Remaining 30 July: cows 147

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Remaining 30 July: heifers 22 Remaining 30 July: steers 31 Remaining 30 July: yearlings 99 Remaining 30 July: calves 111 Remaining 30 July: bulls 7 Remaining 30 July: neat cattle in all 436 Remaining 30 July: rams 95 Remaining 30 July: ewes 14 Remaining 30 July: wethers 63 Remaining 30 July: lambs 4 Remaining 30 July: sheep in all 176 Remaining 30 July: boars 16 Remaining 30 July: sows 13 Remaining 30 July: barrows 8 Remaining 30 July: shoats 38 Remaining 30 July: pigs 2 Remaining 30 July: hogs in all 77 Remaining 30 July: turkeys 31 Remaining 30 July: fowls 82 Remaining 30 July: ducks 22 Remaining 30 July: geese 3 Remaining 30 July: horses 5 Remaining 30 July: mares 8 Remaining 30 July: horses and mares in all 13 Yams expended at the several plantations, 23,100 lb The heading row of this account is blank, and the identity of each column has been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Interpretations A single bullock went to the shipping in July against twenty head the month before. The <i>Princess of Wales</i> sailed after 23 June and no vessel is recorded in the road through the whole of July, so the beef trade stopped with the anchorage. That pattern holds across the entire run of these accounts, sales falling to nothing in every month when no Indiaman called, and it explains why the herd could absorb heavy disposals in one month and none at all in the next. The stud grew by two, one horse and one mare, the first addition since a horse was entered in June 1730. Horses had stood at 11 through every month of 1734 and the reference records no purchase, so the increase is by breeding. That matters more than the number suggests, since the island had no draught animals to spare and the fortification work at Rupert's and Turk's Cap depended on carriage over broken ground. Sheep fell from 180 to 176, and the breeding stock continued to be drawn down. Two rams and two ewes were killed, leaving 14 ewes against 25 at the start of May. The flock had risen steadily through the drought while cattle collapsed, needing less water and grazing closer, and it now declines during the wet season when the pasture should have recovered. The yam return drops back to a single line of 23,100 lb expended at the plantations, the entry for delivery to the blacks that appeared in June being absent. Consumption falls from 41,400 lb to 23,100 lb between the two months. The winter planting was in the ground by July, and the plantations' own share had risen sharply in the same season the previous year, reaching 27,500 lb in July 1733 as the seed yams went down.
347	344	Gunners Stores Expended in May 1701 Vizit May 4: Muster Day: 6, 6, 12 May 7: Double Allarm for 3 Ships passing by: 6, 6, 18 May 9: Lyell Sailed: 9, 9 Exercising the Guns on the Line this Month: 4, 4, 2, 28 May 28: Allarm at the Fort & the Ridge: 4, 2, 3, 20 May 29: An Allarm: 4, 4, 12	Gunners stores expended in May 1734. 4 May, muster day: demi-culverins 6, sakers 6, powder 12 lb 7 May, double alarm for 6 ships passing by: demi-culverins 6, sakers 6, powder 18 lb 9 May, the Lyell sailed: sakers 9, powder 9 lb Proving the guns on the line this month: demi-culverins 4, whole culverins 4, minions 2, powder 28 lb

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		May 30: Arrived a French Ship: 9, 9, 9 do: An Allarm: 4, 4, 12 do: Fired at Mundens to bring the Ship to: 2, 2, 2, 14 May 31: Duke of Lorraine arrived: 9, 1, 8, 11 do: An Allarm: 4, 4, 12 Expence of the Guard: 13 55, 8, 4, 21, 26, 170 Musquet Balls 6th Parchment Skins 6 Cartridge Paper 5 Quire Spunge Heads 2 Forkes 1 Ladstocks 1 Handspikes 4 Match 24 Gunners Stores Expended in June 1701 Vizt June 1: Arrived the Britannia: 9, 9, 9 June 10: French Ship Sailed: 9, 9, 9 do: Duke of Lorraine & Britannia Sailed June 11: Anniversary of the Kings Accession: 21, 1, 4, 1, 10, 41 June 11: An Allarm: 4, 0, 4, 12 Fired at Bankses to bring Ship to: 1, 1, 1, 4 June 15: Normanton Arrived: 9, 9, 9 June 23: An Allarm: 4, 4, 12 Princess of Wales arrived: 9, 9 June 24: An Allarm: 4, 2, 2, 20 June 30: Double Allarm: 6, 6, 18 Fired at Bankses: 2, 2, 2, 8 Double Allarm: 6, 6, 18 Expence of the Guard: 13 Expended in Exercising the Guns upon the Line: 10, 5, 2, 3, 87 94, 3, 5, 5, 10, 23, 51, 279 Musquet Balls 6th Handspikes 7 Ladstocks 2 Spunge Staves 1 Rammer Heads 7 Copper Ladles 1 Parchment Skins 2 Match 22th	28 May, alarm at the fort and the ridge: demi-culverins 4, whole culverins 2, sakers 3, powder 20 lb 29 May, an alarm: demi-culverins 4, powder 12 lb 30 May, arrived a French ship: demi-culverins 9, sakers 9, powder 9 lb 30 May, an alarm: demi-culverins 4, sakers 4, powder 12 lb 30 May, fired at Munden's to bring the ship to: demi-culverins 2, whole culverins 2, minions 2, powder 14 lb 31 May, the Duke of Lorraine arrived: demi-culverins 9, sakers 1, large minions 8, powder 11 lb 31 May, an alarm: demi-culverins 4, sakers 4, powder 12 lb Expense of the guard: powder 13 lb Total: demi-culverins 55, whole culverins 8, minions 4, sakers 21, large minions 26, powder 170 lb Musket balls, 6 lb Parchment skins, 6 Cartridge paper, 5 quires Sponge heads, 2 Forks, 1 Ladles, 1 Handspikes, 4 Match, 24 lb Gunners stores expended in June 1734. 1 June, arrived the Britannia: demi-culverins 9, large minions 9, powder 9 lb 10 June, French ship sailed: demi-culverins 9, large minions 9, powder 9 lb 10 June, the Duke of Lorraine and Britannia sailed: demi-culverins 21, minions 1, sakers 4, large minions 1, powder 41 lb 11 June, anniversary of the King's accession: demi-culverins 4, sakers 4, large minions 10, powder 13 lb 14 June, an alarm: demi-culverins 1, whole culverins 1, sakers 1, powder 4 lb 14 June, fired at Banks's to bring a ship to: demi-culverins 9, large minions 9, powder 9 lb 15 June, the Normanton arrived: demi-culverins 4, sakers 4, powder 12 lb 23 June, an alarm: demi-culverins 9, large minions 9, powder 20 lb 23 June, the Princess of Wales arrived: demi-culverins 4, minions 2, sakers 2, powder 20 lb 27 June, an alarm: demi-culverins 6, sakers 6, powder 18 lb 30 June, double alarm: demi-culverins 2, whole culverins 9, sakers 2, powder 8 lb 30 June, fired at Banks's: demi-culverins 6, sakers 6, powder 18 lb 30 June, double alarm: powder 13 lb Expense of the guard: demi-culverins 10, whole culverins 5, minions 2, sakers 3, powder 87 lb Expended in proving the guns upon the line: total demi-culverins 94, whole culverins 3, minions 5, sakers 5, large minions 10, further class 23, powder 279 lb Musket balls, 6 lb Handspikes, 7 Ladles, 2 Sponge staves, 1 Rammer heads, 7 Copper ladles, 1 Parchment skins, 2 Match, 22 lb Interpretations Proving a gun means firing it with a charge heavier than service load to test whether the metal will hold. The council had ordered the gunner on 11 June 1734 to load every gun on the line and at every place of defence and to examine each for honeycombing, the engineer having refused that duty, and these two accounts record the work being carried out. Twenty-

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			eight pounds of powder went on proving in May and a further heavy charge in June, which is why the month's consumption reached 279 lb against 82 lb in April. Firing live shot to bring a ship to is a different act from a salute, and both accounts distinguish it. A vessel that made no signal on approaching the road was stopped by a round fired from Munden's or from Banks's, the shot being placed to fall near her rather than to strike. The lookout on the Sugar Loaf fires a musket against the hillside when an approaching ship gives no signal, and the gun follows if she stands on. Two such firings appear here, one at Munden's on 30 May and one at Banks's on 14 June. The consumables listed beneath each month are the working furniture of the guns rather than ammunition. A sponge head damps and clears the bore between rounds and a sponge stave carries it, a rammer head drives home the charge, a ladle lifts loose powder into the barrel, a copper ladle serves where a spark from iron would be fatal, and a handspike levers the carriage round to lay the piece. Parchment skins and cartridge paper made up the cartridges themselves, and match is the slow-burning cord that had to smoulder at every guard post through every watch, which is why it appears as a standing charge in every account whether or not a gun was fired. The heavy expenditure of these two months measures the shipping season rather than any threat. Nine vessels touched or passed the island between 4 May and 30 June, and every arrival drew an alarm first and a salute afterwards, the flagstaff being unable to identify a sail before she closed the road. The 279 lb of June stands against 39 lb in September 1733, the lowest in the record, when the anchorage lay empty.
348	345	Gunners Stores Expended in July 1701 Vizt July 1: Double Allarm: 6, 6, 18 Normanton & Princess of Wales Sailed: 18, 1, 17, 20 To Answer the Salutes of 2 Dutch Ships: 13, 1, 12, 40 July 6: Muster Day: 14 An Allarm: 4, 4, 12 Fired at Bankses: 3, 3, 3, 12 July 7: Dutch Ship arrived: 13, 13, 13 To Salute the Captain: 7, 7 July 25: Dutch Ship Sailed: 24, 1, 23, 26 For making Rockets for Signals: 10 Expence of the Guard: 33 Exercising the Guns this Month: 8, 6, 2, 92 96, 3, 6, 5, 13, 78, 272 Musquet Balls 10th Parchment Skins 3 Rammer Heads 4 Handspikes 6 Ladstocks 2 Cartridge Paper 2 Quire Match 30th Expence of the Table in May 1701 Vizt 310 Beef 3, 17, 6 135 Pork 3, 17, 6 25 Butter 1, 5 2 Sheep 5 52 Fowles 3, 18 5 Turkeys 1, 5 2 Ducks	Gunners stores expended in July 1734. 1 July, double alarm: demi-culverins 6, sakers 6, powder 18 lb 1 July, the Normanton and Princess of Wales sailed: demi-culverins 18, sakers 1, large minions 17, powder 20 lb 1 July, to answer the salutes of 2 Dutch ships: demi-culverins 13, sakers 1, large minions 12, powder 40 lb 6 July, muster day: powder 14 lb 6 July, an alarm: demi-culverins 4, sakers 4, powder 12 lb 6 July, fired at Banks's: demi-culverins 3, whole culverins 3, sakers 3, powder 12 lb 7 July, Dutch ship arrived: demi-culverins 13, large minions 13, powder 13 lb 7 July, to salute the captain: demi-culverins 7, powder 7 lb 25 July, Dutch ship sailed: demi-culverins 24, sakers 1, large minions 23, powder 26 lb For making baskets for signals: powder 10 lb Expense of the guard: powder 33 lb Proving the guns this month: demi-culverins 8, minions 6, sakers 2, powder 92 lb Total: demi-culverins 96, whole culverins 3, minions 6, sakers 5, large minions 13, further class 78, powder 272 lb Musket balls, 10 lb Parchment skins, 3 Rammer heads, 3 Handspikes, 6 Ladles, 2 Cartridge paper, 2 quires Match, 30 lb Expense of the table in May 1734. 310 lb of beef, £3 17s 6d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3 3 Pigs 15 20 Gan Port 7, 15 14 Gan Sherry 7, 7, 6 68 Gan Arrack 10, 12 8 Bottles Ayle 1, 6 3 Gan Vinegar 7, 6 18 Gan Beer 18 38 Flour 3, 15 1 2 Sugar 3, 15 1 Pepper 1 16 Candle 12 2 Bushells Salt 18 60, 7, 9	150 lb of pork, £3 17s 6d 25 lb of butter, £1 5s 0d 2 sheep, £0 5s 0d 52 fowls, £3 18s 0d 5 turkeys, £1 5s 0d 2 ducks, £0 3s 0d 3 pigs, £0 15s 0d 20 gallons of port, £7 15s 0d 14 gallons of sherry, £7 7s 0d 68 gallons of arrack, £10 12s 0d 8 bottles of oil, £1 6s 0d 3 gallons of vinegar, £0 7s 6d 18 gallons of beer, £0 18s 0d 38 lb of flour, £0 15s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £0 15s 0d 16 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d 16 lb of candles, £0 12s 0d 2 bushels of salt, £0 18s 0d Total, £60 7s 9d Interpretations Answering the salutes of two Dutch ships cost 40 lb of powder on a single day, the heaviest charge of the month apart from the proving. A foreign vessel saluting the fort obliged an equal return, and the exchange had no defensive purpose whatever. The council had allowed 24 lb to compliment a French ship over two days in August 1733, ten days after Captain Du Bart's quarrel was patched up, and the reason given then was that foreign shipping was of great advantage to the poor people of the place. Baskets for signals were the shapes hoisted at the flagstaff to identify an approaching vessel by nation or number. Ten pounds of powder charged against their making suggests the entry covers the whole occasion of setting up a fresh signal rather than the baskets alone, since powder has no part in weaving them. Captain Goodwin had reported on 31 July 1733 that every flag on the island was worn out but one, with no white bunting in store, so the signal apparatus had been failing for a year. The table account shows pork standing level with beef at £3 17s 6d for each, though the pork ran to 150 lb against 310 lb of beef. Pork had first entered the fort's table in June 1733 and exceeded beef by that August, and the parity of charge here reflects the higher price a pound of pork commanded rather than any equality of quantity. Only one bullock was killed in May and three sold to the shipping, so the table drew on the hog herd while the cattle were held for the Indiamen. Drink accounts for £25 14s 0d of the £60 7s 9d total, well over a third of the whole. Arrack alone came to £10 12s 0d for 68 gallons, the standard eastern spirit issued to guards and slaves as well as drunk at the table, and port ran ahead of sherry as it had since Governor Pyke replaced Governor Byfield in March 1731. The month carried four Indiamen and a French ship through the road, and commanders, supercargoes and passengers of note were entertained ashore at the Governor's table throughout.
349	346	Expense of the Table in June 1701 Vizt 342 Beef 4, 5, 6 105 Pork 2, 12, 6 22 Butter 1, 2 9 Sheep 11, 5 8 Ducks 12 1 Goose 5	Expense of the table in June 1734. 342 lb of beef, £4 5s 6d 105 lb of pork, £2 12s 6d 22 lb of butter, £1 2s 0d 9 sheep, £11 5s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 1 goose, £0 5s 0d 66 fowls, £4 16s 0d 3 turkeys, £0 15s 0d 24 gallons of sherry, £9 6s 0d 30 gallons of port, £11 12s 6d 92 gallons of beer, £6 15s 0d 64 gallons of arrack, £12 16s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		66 Fowles 4, 16 3 Turkeys 15 24 Gan Sherry 9, 6 30 Gan Port 11, 12, 6 92 Gan Beer 6, 15 64 Gan Arrack 12, 16 8 Bottles Ayle 1, 6 2 Gan Vinegar 5 38 1 q Flour 4, 9, 9¼ 1 2 Sugar 3, 15 16 Candle 12 1 Pepper 1 2 Bushells Salt 18 77, 9, 9¼ Expence of the Table in July 1701 Vizt 220 Beef 2, 15 50 Pork 1, 5 25 Butter 1, 5 4 Sheep 5 7 Pigs 1, 15 48 Fowles 3, 12 10 Ducks 10 30 Gan Port 11, 12, 6 23 Sherry 8, 10, 6 67 Gan Arrack 16, 12 80 Gan Beer 4 6 Bottles Ayle 12, 6 1 Gan Vinegar 2, 6 38 2 Flour 4, 7, 6 120 Sugar 1, 10 16 Candle 12 1 Pepper 1 2 Bushells Salt 18 2 Tea 10 66, 2, 6	8 bottles of oil, £1 6s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 3s 0d 2 hundredweight 1 quarter of flour, £4 2s 9.5d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £3 15s 0d 16 lb of candles, £0 12s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d 2 bushels of salt, £0 18s 0d Total, £77 9s 3.5d Expense of the table in July 1734. 220 lb of beef, £2 15s 0d 50 lb of pork, £1 5s 0d 25 lb of butter, £1 5s 0d 4 sheep, £5 0s 0d 7 pigs, £1 15s 0d 48 fowls, £3 12s 0d 10 ducks, £0 15s 0d 30 gallons of port, £11 12s 6d 22 gallons of sherry, £8 10s 6d 67 gallons of arrack, £16 12s 0d 80 gallons of beer, £4 0s 0d 8 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d 2 hundredweight 1 quarter of flour, £4 7s 6d 120 lb of sugar, £1 10s 0d 16 lb of candles, £0 12s 0d 1 lb of pepper, £0 1s 0d 2 bushels of salt, £0 18s 0d 2 lb of tea, £0 10s 0d Total, £66 2s 6d Interpretations June carried nine sheep against two in May, and the charge of £11 5s 0d makes mutton the heaviest single line of provision in the month. Four Indiamen lay in the road between 1 and 23 June, and commanders, supercargoes and passengers of note were entertained ashore whenever shipping called. The stock account for the same month shows nine ewes killed, so the sheep on the table came from the Company's own breeding flock rather than from purchase, and the loss of nine breeding females out of twenty-five stands directly against the season's mutton. Beer runs to 92 gallons in June and 80 in July against 18 in May, a fourfold rise across two months. The island brewed its own from imported malt and flour, and the drink was the ordinary allowance of the guards and the boat's crew rather than a table luxury, which is why the quantity tracks the number of men on duty rather than the number of guests. Both months fall in the period when the whole establishment was viewing the island and preparing its defence after the news of an approaching war. Tea appears in the July account at 2 lb for £0 10s 0d, and is absent from May and June. Bohea had been issued in cattles to garrison and slaves alike through the earlier run and sold heavily to the inhabitants from the storekeeper's stores, so its appearance as a separate table charge is unusual. No China ship touched the island in these months, the <i>Wyndham</i> and <i>Compton</i> having sailed on 27 March 1734, and the stock would have come from that cargo. The total falls from £77 9s 3.5d in June to £66 2s 6d in July as the road emptied. The <i>Princess of Wales</i> and <i>Normanton</i> sailed on 1 July and only Dutch vessels called thereafter, and the beef charge halves from 342 lb to 220 lb across the same interval. Arrack alone moves against the trend, rising from 64 to 67 gallons and from £12 16s 0d to £16 12s 0d, the wet-weather allowance to the slaves running through the island's winter as it does in every year of this record.
350	347	Collection of Store Goods Sold & Delivered in the Months of	Collection of store goods sold and delivered in the months of May, June and July 1734.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		May June & July 1701 Vizt 446 Gan Arrack 135 9 Candlesticks 3, 19, 6 1 [...] Snuffers 3 3 Ladles 2 Saw Saws & Cases 7 6½ Yards Broad Cloth 1, 18, 4 38 Blankets & 4 Cases 6, 8, 8½ 11 3, 14 Sneads 13, 4, 4 1 Chaldron Coales 14, 16, 10½ 12 Gross Corks & 2 Cordwood 5, 8 5 6 3 Ells Canvas 2, 4, 4 Cutlerywares Sorted 32, 16, 10 82 1 4 Cordage 4, 15, 8 24 Flints 4, 15 Combs amounting to 32, 2, 6 Cotton Yarn 2 [...] 6, 11 Chinawares Sorted 4, 4, 10½ 0 5½ Yards Silk Druget damaged 18, 14, 1 63 Yards Durance 27, 3, 1 Earthenware Sorted 4, 4, 6 160 Yards Flannell 3, 14, 5 1 gd & 23/4 Fustian 18, 13, 4 Glassware Sorted 4, 16, 4 4 Grindstones 10, 19, 33 122 gd Gingham 1, 1 15½ doz Gold & Silver Buttons 45, 12, 6 6¼ Yards Holland 2, 18, 3 16 Starch & Powder 1, 17, 53 11 Laces 1, 6 456 doz Hooks 8, 6, 4 544 Lines 16, 17, 2 Haberdasheryware Sorted 22, 2, 4 23½ Duck 18, 18, 8 16, 8 430, 15, 6½ Fortification 9 Lines 1, 4 2 Twine 4, 4 103 Yards Canvas 17, 13, 8	408 gallons of arrack, £135 0s 0d 9 candlesticks, £3 19s 6d 1 pair of snuffers, £0 0s 3d 2 ladles, £0 0s 7d 2 saucepans and covers, £1 18s 4d 6.5 yards of broad cloth, £6 8s 8.5d 38 blankets and 4 covers, £13 11s 7d 11 hundredweight 3 quarters 14 lb of bread, £14 16s 10.5d 1 chaldron of coals, £5 8s 0d 12 gross of corks and 2 hundredweight of gumwood, £2 4s 4d 5 pieces of 8 ells of canvas, £32 16s 6d Cutlery ware sorted, £4 15s 8d 22 hundredweight 1 quarter 15 lb of cordage, £4 15s 0d 24 pieces of chintz, £34 2s 6d Combs amounting to, £6 11s 0d Cotton yarn, 2 hundredweight 1 quarter, £4 14s 10.5d China ware sorted, £18 14s 1d 16.5 yards of silk, damaged, £27 3s 1d 63 yards of durance, £4 17s 6d Earthenware sorted, £3 12s 5d 160 yards of flannel, £18 13s 4d 1 gross and 23.5 fustian, £4 16s 4d Glassware sorted, £10 19s 3d 4 grindstones, £1 1s 0d 188 yards of gingham, £45 12s 6d 15.5 dozen of gold and silver buttons, £2 18s 3d 6.5 yards of holland, £1 17s 3d 16 hundredweight of starch and 40 lb of powder, £1 6s 0d 11 staves, £8 6s 4d 456 dozen of hooks, £16 17s 2d 524 lines, £22 2s 4d Haberdashery ware sorted, £18 18s 8d 23.5 duck, £0 16s 8d Total of store goods, £480 15s 6.5d Fortification. 9 lines, £1 4s 0d 2 hundredweight of twine, £0 4s 4d 103 yards of canvas, £11 13s 8d 178 yards of duck, £0 4s 9d 2 shovels, £1 0s 1.5d 30 shovels, £2 1s 0d 8 iron shovels, £1 0s 0d 4 shod shovels, £0 19s 0d 1 hatchet, £0 1s 8d 1 hammer, £0 8s 6d 1 chisel, £0 1s 2d 20 pickaxes, £3 12s 11d 2 hundredweight of gumwood, £1 13s 0d 2 hundredweight 26 lb of candles, [...] Total for the fortification, £19 15s 1.5d Blacks. 44 dozen of hooks, £1 12s 10d 60 lines, £2 6s 6d 9 oz of silk, £0 3s 0d 1 piece of tape, £1 10s 0d 9 hundredweight of rice, £45 10s 0d 9 hundredweight of knives, £0 4s 8d 2 lb of tea, £0 10s 0d 25 lb of lead, £6 9s 0d Total for the blacks, £50 15s 7d Grand total, £555 6s 2.5d Interpretations Durance is a stout glazed worsted, hard-wearing and used for outer garments and linings, and holland a fine plain-woven linen from the Low Countries taking its name from the province. Gingham is a checked or striped cotton from the Indian trade and fustian a cotton and linen mixture with a raised nap. Duck is a heavy plain linen for sailcloth and working garments, and flannel a loose napped woollen.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		178 gd Duck 4, 9 2 Frowls 1, 1½ 30 Helves 2, 1 8 Iron Shovels 1 4 Shod do 19 1 Hatchet 1, 8 1 Gimlet 8, 6 1 Chisell 1, 2 20 Staves 3, 12, 11 2 Cordwood 2 2 26 Cordage 1, 13 19, 15, 17½ Blacks Vizt 44 doz Hooks 1, 12, 10 60 Lines 2, 6, 6 9 oz Silk 3 1 gd Serge 1, 10 9 [...] Rugs 45, 10 1 [...] Knives 4, 8 2 Tea 10 25 Lead 6, 2 50, 15, 7 555, 6, 5	Together with the 38 blankets these lines represent the ordinary clothing trade of the island, though the annual issue of kersey to the Company's slaves falls in September rather than in these months. Fishing gear dominates the general collection more heavily than any textile. The account carries 456 dozen hooks and 524 lines to the inhabitants, and a further 44 dozen hooks and 60 lines charged to the Company's slaves. Governor Byfield replaced the slaves' meat ration with fish on 1 March 1727 and set eleven men constantly in the boats, and Corryden, the Company's chief fisherman, had been killed on the Rupert's path on 20 July 1734. The trade continued regardless, and the scale of the tackle sold shows how far the whole island had come to depend on it. The fortification section is the material record of the works begun in these months. Twenty pickaxes, forty-four shovels of four kinds, canvas and duck for barrows or shelter, and cordage bought against a total of £19 15s 1.5d supply a labour force rather than a garrison. The inhabitants began building at Turk's Cap on 5 August 1734 at their own charge after the Governor staked it out, and Rupert's stood flooded through the same season. Rice at £45 10s 0d is the single heaviest charge against the blacks and nearly the whole of that section. Isaac Durling had reported on 10 April 1733 that Perkins was exhausted and the plantations could raise roughly ten weeks of provision from a full year's crop, and the monthly yam issues through the winter of 1734 ran between 22,300 lb and 41,400 lb. Imported grain carried the difference, as it had in every month since the yam harvest failed in January 1729.
351	347	Charges General Vizt Brought over 551, 6, 23/4 4 Iron 2, 5, 9 120 Candles 12 8 Glass Lanthorns 7, 4, 4 174 gd Flannen 3, 4, 1½ 1 gd 2½ gd Gallcorn 11, 6 1½ Silk 2, 3 2 gd Serge 3, 4 20½ gd Canvas 1, 3, 7½ 1 Thread 7, 8 1 oz ditto 1 4 Mopps 8 1 hand Brush 8 1 Seive 2, 6 1 Broom 3, 6 10 Iron Shovels	Charges general, brought over £551 6s 2.5d. Nails of several sorts, £2 5s 9d 120 candles, £12 0s 0d 8 glass lanthorns, £7 4s 0d 17 yards of flannel, £3 4s 1.5d 1 gross 24.5 yards of galloon, £11 1s 6d 17.5 yards of silk, £2 3s 0d 2 pieces of serge, £3 4s 0d 20.5 yards of canvas, £1 3s 7.5d 1 lb of thread, £0 7s 1d 1 oz of thread, £1 8s 0d 4 mops, £0 8s 0d 1 hand pump, £0 8s 8d 1 sieve, £2 6s 0d 1 broom, £3 6s 0d 10 iron shovels, £1 5s 0d 3 shod shovels, £2 4s 0d 13 shovels, £25 2s 0d 2 box irons, £1 10s 0d 1 pair of dovetails, £0 1s 0d 1 pair of slings, £0 8s 0d 1 splinter jack, £0 5s 0d 8 auger bitts, £2 0s 9d 5 gimblets, £2 3s 6d 4 rat traps, £15 6s 0d 2 locks, £1 6s 0d 1 pair of garnets, £1 6s 6d 8 hammers, £1 6s 2d 8 chisels, £0 5s 4d 1 hatchet, £0 2s 2d 1 tear, £0 3s 4d 2 sledge hammers, £1 2s 9d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1, 5 3 Shod 4 13 Helves 25, 2 2 Box Irons 1, 10 1 pr Dovetailes 1 1 pr Slings 8 1 Splinter Sack 3 8 Auger Bitts 2, 9 5 Gimblets 2, 3, 6 4 Rat Traps 13, 6 2 Locks 1, 6 1 pr Garnets 1, 6, 6 8 Hammers 1, 6, 2 8 Chisels 5, 4 1 Hatchet 2, 2 1 Sear 3, 2 2 Sledge Hammers 1, 2, 2 5 doz Files 6, 8, 8 274 Wire 3, 2, 10 2 Round Pin 11 20 Goose Corks 3, 10 34 Square Glass 1, 4, 8 1 Bunnes 1, 2 2 Tin Kettles 12 1 pr Scales 3, 7 1½ Indico 4 22 oz Blue 4, 2 2 Starch 1, 6 52 Yards Duck 8, 2, 8 1 Segt ditto 5, 4 4 Twine 3, 8 1 Sailthread 1, 9 3 Oars 1, 10 3 2 27 8, 10, 2½ 2 gd Dyefuse 15, 6 24 Yards Holland 7, 16 4 Iron Kettles & 1 Pewter Sauce Pan 6, 9 5 Lines 1, 4, 6	5 dozen of files, £6 8s 8d 27 lb of wire, £3 2s 10d 2 sponce pieces, £0 11s 0d 20 gross of corks, £3 10s 0d 34 squares of glass, £1 14s 8d 1 burnisher, £1 2s 0d 2 tin kettles, £0 12s 0d 1 pair of scales, £3 7s 0d 1.5 lb of indigo, £0 4s 0d 22 oz of alum, £4 2s 0d 2 hundredweight of hemp, £4 2s 6d 52 yards of duck, £8 2s 8d 1 piece of duck, £5 4s 0d 4 lb of twine, £0 8s 8d 1 lb of sail thread, £1 9s 0d 3 oars, £1 10s 0d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 27 lb of shot, £8 10s 2.5d 2 pieces of dowlas, £0 15s 6d 24 yards of holland, £7 16s 0d 2 iron kettles and 1 pewter sauce pan, £6 0s 9d 5 lines, £0 9s 0d 22 yards of bunting, £1 4s 6d 2 hundredweight of rosin, £0 10s 10d 5 lb of rivets, £0 3s 4d 6 blankets, £5 15s 6d Total of charges general, £104 6s 10.5d Grand total, £655 13s 1d Interpretations Galloon is a narrow braid of silk, wool or metal thread used to trim coats, hats and livery, and its appearance by the gross alongside serge and flannel marks these as materials for making up rather than finished goods. Dowlas is a coarse linen for shirts and household use, holland a fine linen from the Low Countries, and bunting the loose worsted from which flags and signals were cut. Captain Goodwin had reported on 31 July 1733 that every flag on the island was worn out but one, with no white bunting remaining in store, so the 22 yards entered here supply a want a year old. Four rat traps stand at £15 6s 0d, the third heaviest line in the account and far above any tool on it. Mr Goodwin and Mr Crisp reported on 7 November 1732 that rats had barked and killed trees at Greenwood and built nests two feet long in the treetops of the Great Wood, each holding ten or eleven young, and the council asked the Company for wire traps as far more useful than any other sort. These are that request answered, and the 27 lb of wire entered a few lines below probably served the same purpose. Splinter jacks, garnets, auger bitts and gimblets are the fitting-out tools of a carpenter's shop. A garnet is a T-shaped strap hinge for a heavy door or gate, an auger bitt the cutting head of a boring tool, and a gimblet a small hand borer for starting a screw. Together with the box irons, the tin and iron kettles and the pewter sauce pan, they show the general charges covering the maintenance of the castle's own buildings and household rather than any single project. The account carries 3 hundredweight 2 quarters 27 lb of shot alongside hemp, rosin, oars, sail thread and duck, which places the naval and gunners stores in the same reckoning as the domestic goods. The gunner had been ordered on 11 June 1734 to load every gun on the line and at every place of defence and to keep them charged in time of peace, and the proving of the guns through May, June and July consumed powder at 170 lb, 279 lb and 272 lb in successive months.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		22 gd Bunting 10, 10 2 Rosin 3, 4 5 Rivets 5, 15, 6 6 Blankets 104, 6, 10½ 655, 13, 1¼	
352	348	Garrison Do Vizt Brought over 655, 13, 1¼ 32 Tea 8, 10 12 4 Gall Elope Oyle 3, 4, 1½ 2 Lamps 4, 6 1 Splinter Sacks 3 31 Yards Bunting 1, 10 6 Gan Linseed Oyle 2, 2 14 White Lead 7, 6 16, 12, 1½ Diett Expences Vizt 199 Gan Arrack 39, 16 30 Gan Port 31 63 Gan Sherry 25, 3, 9 226 Bottles Ayle 3, 11, 6 6 Gan Vinegar 15 10 8 Sugar 5, 14 49 Candle 1, 16 3 3 q Flour 12, 3, 5¾ 182 Gan Beer 11, 13 3 Pepper 3 6 Bushells Salt 2, 14 2 Tea 10 21 Bread 7 135, 8, 6¾ Plantation Vizt 1 Mauls 10, 6 12 Nailes 9 2 Iron Shovels 5 1 Gimblet 9 1 Hedging Bill 2 4 Helves 4, 8 10 Knives 6, 8 1 Penknife 1, 3 46 Rope 1, 1, 2	Garrison debtor, brought over £655 13s 1d. 34 lb of tea, £8 10s 0d 12 gallons 4 quarts of rape oil, £3 4s 1.5d 2 lamps, £0 4s 6d 1 splinter jack, £0 3s 0d 31 yards of bunting, £1 10s 0d 6 gallons of linseed oil, £2 2s 0d 14 lb of white lead, £0 7s 6d Total for the garrison, £16 12s 1.5d Diet expenses. 199 gallons of arrack, £39 16s 0d 30 gallons of port, £31 0s 0d 63 gallons of sherry, £25 3s 9d 226 bottles of oil, £3 11s 6d 6 gallons of vinegar, £0 15s 0d 10 hundredweight 3 quarters of sugar, £5 14s 0d 48 lb of candles, £1 16s 0d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £12 3s 9.5d 182 gallons of beer, £11 13s 0d 3 lb of pepper, £0 3s 0d 6 bushels of salt, £2 14s 0d 2 lb of tea, £0 10s 0d 21 lb of bread, £0 7s 0d Total for diet expenses, £135 8s 6.5d Plantation. 1 maul, £0 10s 6d 12 lb of nails, £0 9s 0d 2 iron shovels, £0 5s 0d 1 gimblet, £0 0s 9d 1 hedging bill, £0 2s 0d 4 sieves, £0 4s 8d 10 knives, £0 6s 8d 1 penknife, £0 1s 3d 46 lb of rope, £1 1s 9d 17 hundredweight 2 quarters of paddy, £6 2s 6d 2 hundredweight 1 quarter of rice, £1 2s 6d Total for the plantation, £10 6s 7d Grand total, £818 0s 1.5d Interpretations Rape oil, pressed from oilseed rape, burned in the lamps at the guard posts and greased ironwork against the damp, and linseed oil with white lead made the paint that preserved the guns and the woodwork of the castle. The garrison's whole charge for three months came to £16 12s 1.5d, of which tea at £8 10s 0d was more than half. Bohea had been issued to garrison and slaves alike since the earlier years of this record, and its standing here as the largest garrison line measures how completely the drink had displaced beer as the soldier's ordinary refreshment. Diet expenses are the charge of feeding the establishment as distinct from the Governor's own table, and drink accounts for £107 12s 9d of the £135 8s 6.5d total. Arrack alone runs to 199 gallons, well beyond anything the table accounts show, since the spirit was issued to the guards on public occasions and to the slaves in wet weather through the island's winter. These three months carry the heaviest rains of the season, the wet having broken about the middle of June 1734 and given the inhabitants three times their usual work. Paddy is rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than milled grain and fed to the Company's hogs and poultry rather than to people. The plantation charge

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		17: 2 Candy 6, 2, 6 2: 1: Rice 1, 2, 6 10, 6, 7 818, 0, 4½	here runs to 17 hundredweight 2 quarters of it against only 2 hundredweight 1 quarter of clean rice, and the hog herd stood at 77 head through June and July while poultry was killed at 64 fowls in June and 48 in July. The <i>Duke of Lorraine, Britannia, Normanton</i> and <i>Princess of Wales</i> all carried paddy in their supplies in these same months. A hedging bill is a heavy curved blade for cutting and laying a live hedge, and its appearance among the plantation tools connects to the standing obligation on every tenant to fence and plant. The council had refused since 26 July 1732 to renew any lease until the surveyors certified the ground duly fenced and planted with a fair proportion of thriving wood, and Stephen Lufkin junior and Thomas Harper senior had both recited that condition in their petitions of 30 July 1734.
353	349	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 20th Augst 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved Symon a Slave belonging to Ino Clough being lately Runaway from his Master was this day apprehended & brought before us & it appearing that he had no Cause for so doing he was Ordered to Work two Months at the Fortifications At a Consultation held on Tuesday 27th August 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Petition of Benjamin Beale was this day presented & read Setting forth that he was in Possession of 3 Nine Acres & half of Land duely Fenced & duely Hooded the Lease of which was Expired & praying a new Lease thereof Ordered that the said Land be viewed, & if it be alledged the same be found duely Fenced & Hooded that a new Lease thereof be Granted him accordingly At a Consultation held on Tuesday 3d Septr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, Capt Goodwin the Warehr & Stewd had delivered us up their Monthly Account for August last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt	At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 August 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Simon, a slave belonging to John Clough, had lately run from his master. He was taken up that day and brought before the council, and since it appeared that he had no cause for what he did, he was ordered to work two months at the fortifications. At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 August 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The petition of Benjamin Beale was presented and read that day. He set out that he held 9.5 acres of land duly fenced and duly wooded, the lease of which had expired, and asked for a new lease of it. The council ordered the ground viewed, and directed that a new lease be granted him if it were found duly fenced and wooded. At a consultation held on Tuesday 3 September 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the warehousekeeper and the steward delivered their monthly accounts for August, which were severally examined and approved. They follow. Interpretations Two months at the fortifications is the lightest sentence in a graded scale the council had settled during the summer. Dawson and Barclay received three months apiece on 16 July 1734 after breaking gaol, and Hagar six months with twenty lashes on 30 July after a substantial theft. Simon receives no whipping and no iron collar, which the council reserved for repeated flights, and the finding that he had no cause for running is the ground for punishing him at all rather than remitting the penalty as it had done with the Greentree slaves the previous winter. Sentencing runaways to the works answers a labour shortage the market had failed to relieve. The advertisement of 11 June 1734 sought six slaves at ninepence a day and drew not one offer, the inhabitants holding the rate insufficient to feed and clothe a man, and the council would not raise it for fear of appearing to let them impose upon the Company. Every man sentenced to the fortifications through the summer supplied labour at no charge beyond his food, which is why the term of work rather than the lash became the standard penalty in these months. Benjamin Beale's petition follows the form the lease reform of 26 July 1732 imposed on every renewal, the tenant reciting fencing and planting before asking for anything and the council ordering a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			view before granting. Beale had appeared in a different posture on 5 March 1734, when he was discharged after his slave let a plantation fall to ruin while he stood guard, and the requirement that the ground be inspected before any new instrument issues applied to him as to every other holder.
354	350	Neat Cattle: Bullocks, Cows, Heifers, Steers, Yearlings, Calves, Bulls, Total; Sheep: Ewes, Withers, Lambes, Rams, Total; Hogs: Sows, Shoates, Barrows, Piggs, Boars, Total; Poultry: Turkeys, Fowles, Ducks, Geese; Horses: Horses, Mares, Total Remg 1st August: Bullocks 19, Cows 147, Heifers 22, Steers 31, Yearlings 99, Calves 111, Bulls 7, Total 436, Ewes 95, Withers 14, Lambes 63, Rams 4, Total 176, Sows 16, Shoates 13, Barrows 8, Piggs 38, Boars 2, Total 77, Turkeys 31, Fowles 82, Ducks 22, Geese 3, Horses 5, Mares 8, Total 13 Increased in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 1, Bulls 0, Total 1, Ewes 0, Withers 0, Lambes 0, Rams 0, Total 0, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Piggs 10, Boars 0, Total 10, Turkeys 0, Fowles 116, Ducks 5, Geese 2, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bullocks 19, Cows 147, Heifers 22, Steers 31, Yearlings 99, Calves 112, Bulls 7, Total 437, Ewes 95, Withers 14, Lambes 63, Rams 4, Total 176, Sows 16, Shoates 13, Barrows 8, Piggs 48, Boars 2, Total 87, Turkeys 31, Fowles 198, Ducks 27, Geese 5, Horses 5, Mares 8, Total 13 Killed in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 1, Heifers 1, Steers 0, Yearlings 0, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Total 2, Ewes 4, Withers 0, Lambes 0, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoates 4, Barrows 0, Piggs 9, Boars 0, Total 13, Turkeys 0, Fowles 48, Ducks 8, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Bullocks 19, Cows 146, Heifers 21, Steers 31, Yearlings 99, Calves 112, Bulls 7, Total 435, Ewes 91, Withers 14, Lambes 63, Rams 4, Total 172, Sows 16, Shoates 9, Barrows 8, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Total 74, Turkeys 31, Fowles 150, Ducks 19, Geese 5, Horses 5, Mares 8, Total 13 Dead in ditto: Bullocks 0, Cows 0, Heifers 0, Steers 0, Yearlings 2, Calves 0, Bulls 0, Total 2, Ewes 1, Withers 1, Lambes 2, Rams 0, Total 4, Sows 0, Shoates 0, Barrows 0, Piggs 0, Boars 0, Total 0, Turkeys 0, Fowles 0, Ducks 0, Geese 0, Horses 0, Mares 0, Total 0 Remg 31 August: Bullocks 19, Cows 146, Heifers 21, Steers 31, Yearlings 97, Calves 112, Bulls 7, Total 433, Ewes 90, Withers 13, Lambes 61, Rams 4, Total 168, Sows 16, Shoates 9, Barrows 8, Piggs 39, Boars 2, Total 74, Turkeys 31, Fowles 150, Ducks 19, Geese 5, Horses 5, Mares 8, Total 13 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 21800th Ditto delivered the Blacks 26500 Total 48300th	Remaining 1 August: bullocks 19, cows 147, heifers 22, steers 31, yearlings 99, calves 111, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 436, ewes 95, wethers 14, lambs 63, rams 4, sheep in all 176, sows 16, shoats 13, barrows 8, pigs 38, boars 2, hogs in all 77, turkeys 31, fowls 82, ducks 22, geese 3, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 13 Increased in August: calves 1, neat cattle in all 1, pigs 10, hogs in all 10, fowls 116, ducks 5, geese 2 Killed in August: cows 1, heifers 1, neat cattle in all 2, ewes 2, wethers 4, sheep in all 4, shoats 4, pigs 9, hogs in all 13, fowls 48, ducks 8 Dead in August: yearlings 2, neat cattle in all 2, ewes 2, wethers 1, lambs 1, sheep in all 4 Remaining 31 August: bullocks 19, cows 146, heifers 21, steers 31, yearlings 97, calves 112, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 433, ewes 90, wethers 13, lambs 65, rams 4, sheep in all 168, sows 16, shoats 9, barrows 8, pigs 39, boars 2, hogs in all 74, turkeys 31, fowls 150, ducks 19, geese 5, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 13 Yams expended at the several plantations, 21,800 lb Yams delivered the blacks, 26,500 lb Total, 48,300 lb Interpretations The heading row survives on this leaf, and the column order it gives differs from the sequence carried in from the earlier accounts of the same series. Sheep run as ewes, wethers, lambs and rams rather than the reverse, and hogs as sows, shoats, barrows, pigs and boars. The class totals hold in either arrangement, so the identifications made from the earlier returns for May, June and July should be read against this order. Not a single beast went to the shipping in August, and the row for sales is absent from the account altogether. No vessel touched the island after the Dutch ship sailed on 25 July 1734, and the beef trade stops entirely with the anchorage in every year of this record. Two cattle were killed for the island's own use and two yearlings died, so the herd fell to 433 from 436 at the month's opening. Poultry increased by 116 fowls, 5 ducks and 2 geese, the heaviest hatch recorded in the run. The flock had been drawn down to 48 fowls by the end of March 1734 and the spring hatch of 105 chicks in April began the recovery. Killing 48 fowls and 8 ducks in August still left the fowls standing at 150, nearly double the 82 carried at the start of the month, so the breeding stock Governor Pyke bought in April 1731 was at last reproducing faster than the table consumed it. The yam issue rose to 48,300 lb, the highest since December 1733, with 26,500 lb going to the slaves and 21,800 lb to the plantations. That division continues the practice begun in June 1734 of entering the two separately. The winter planting was in the ground by this point and the rains had broken about the middle of June, so the increase reflects both a recovering crop and the labour of the men set to the fortifications, who had to be fed from the same stock.
355	351	Gunners Stores Expended in Augst 1701 Vizt Gun & Powd, Sponges, Wadding, Wads, Match, Sum Total	Gunners stores expended in August 1734. 3 August, muster day: powder 13 lb Proving the guns: guns fired 10, demi-culverins 1, whole culverins 1, sakers 8, powder 80 lb

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		August 3: Muster Day: 13 Exercising the Guns: Gun & Powd 10, Sponges 1, Wadding 1, Wads 8, Sum Total 80 Expence of the Guard: 23 Musquet Balls for ditto 10 Handspikes 6 Cartridge Paper 6 Quire Match 13 Gun & Powd 10, Sponges 1, Wadding 1, Wads 8, Sum Total 116 Expence of the Table in Augst 1701 Vizt 491 Beef 5, 5, 3 145 Pork 3, 12, 6 48 Fowles 3, 18 8 Ducks 12 4 Sheep 5 9 Pigs 1, 15 30 Fruiten 1, 10 54 Gan Arrack 4, 16 1: 1 Sugar 1, 11, 9 3: 8 Flour 4, 4, 6 22 Gan Port 8, 10, 6 15 Gan Sherry 5, 15, 3 8 Bush Salt 3 Pepper 3 32 Candy 1, 4 2 Gan Vinegar 5 46 Boats Oyle 13 59, 16, 9 Collection of Store Goods Sold & Delivered in Augst 1701 Vizt 156 Gan Arrack 46, 16 10 Gun Sea Ring 2, 9 53 pr Mens Bold 7/6 19, 17, 6 10 pr ditto Wom 5/3 2, 12, 6 2 pr Womens Shoe 18 35 pr Gunters 4, 16, 8 1 pr Gloves 3 12 Iron Pott Sorted 8, 0, 6 12 Yards Russey 1, 0, 6 296 Lead 21th 1th 2, 12, 5¼ 15 Yards Edging 6d 2, 1 11½ ditto 1.13 1, 5, 1 3 Glass Sights 1, 3, 3 24 Ram deer 6, 8	Expense of the guard: powder 23 lb Total: guns fired 10, demi-culverins 1, whole culverins 1, sakers 8, powder 116 lb Musket balls for ditto, 10 lb Handspikes, 6 Cartridge paper, 6 quires Match, 13 lb Expense of the table in August 1734. 421 lb of beef, £5 5s 3d 145 lb of pork, £3 12s 6d 48 fowls, £3 18s 0d 8 ducks, £0 12s 0d 4 sheep, £5 0s 0d 2 pigs, £1 15s 0d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 44 gallons of arrack, £4 16s 0d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter of sugar, £1 11s 9d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 7s 6d 22 gallons of port, £8 10s 6d 15 gallons of sherry, £5 15s 3d 8 bushels of salt, £1 3s 0d 3 lb of pepper, £0 3s 0d 32 candles, £1 4s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 16 bottles of oil, £0 13s 0d Total, £59 16s 9d Collection of store goods sold and delivered in August 1734. 156 gallons of arrack, £46 16s 0d 11 lb of gum stone, £2 9s 0d 53 pairs of men's shoes at 7s 6d, £19 17s 6d 10 pairs of ditto boys at 5s 3d, £2 12s 6d 2 pairs of women's shoes, £0 18s 0d 35 pairs of gimlets, £4 16s 8d 1 pair of grates, £1 3s 0d 12 iron pots sorted, £8 0s 6d 12 yards of Russia, £1 5s 0d 2 hundredweight 2 quarters 27 lb of lead at 4d, £2 17s 5.5d 15 yards of edging at 6d, £1 3s 1d 11.5 yards of ditto at 1s 3d, £1 5s 1d 3 glass lights, £1 3s 3d 26 hammers, £6 8s 0d Interpretations Powder consumption falls to 116 lb from 272 lb in July, and the account carries no salute of any kind. The road stood empty from 25 July, so the whole charge divides between the muster, the guard's standing allowance and 80 lb spent proving the guns. That proving has now run through four consecutive months under the council's order of 11 June 1734, the gunner being directed to load every piece and examine each for honeycombing after the engineer refused the duty. Gum stone is resin from the island's own gumwood, the timber the wood surveys had been trying to preserve since 1727, and it served as a pitch for caulking and for waterproofing. Russia here is Russia duck, a stout plain linen from the Baltic trade used for sailcloth and heavy garments, and edging is narrow decorative braid sold by the yard for finishing clothes. Fifty-three pairs of men's shoes at 7s 6d dominate the month's retail sales after arrack. The <i>Harrington's</i> consignment of March 1733 had drawn the council's complaint that shoes were charged above the price of better and wider ones in an earlier cargo, and more than 260 pairs were cleared in a single month that July. Shoes wear out fast on an island of broken volcanic ground, and the men set to the fortifications at Rupert's and Turk's Cap through these months were working stone. Beef on the table rose to 421 lb, the heaviest of the four months in this run, though only two cattle were killed in August and none sold to shipping. The

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Governor's table was feeding the labour and the councillors viewing the works rather than any commanders or passengers, the anchorage having lain empty since the Dutch ship sailed. Arrack fell to 44 gallons from 67 in July, the wet-weather allowance to the slaves easing as the island's winter passed its worst.
356	352	Brought over 14 gd Black & White Crape 1, 19 10 gd ditto 1, 17, 6 54 Yards Norwich Stuffe 3, 12, 8 290 Nailes 14, 17, 6½ 104 Gall Linseed Oyle 14, 8, 9 63 Yards Rape & Twine 14, 14, 9 28 Bottles Florence 4, 11 158, 18, 11 Charges Generall Vizt 36 Candles 3, 12 12 Rugs 13 85½ Yards Canvas 4, 9, 1½ 4 Twine 2, 8 2 Galoshd Tape 2, 4 1 gd Coloured do 1, 10 1 Thread white & Brown 13, 4 2 oz Silk 3 1 gd Garting 2 3 Lines 0, 3, 6 430 Nailes 1, 11, 6 1 Sneaker 3, 6 1 Box Lampblack 1, 6 3 24 Gan Linseed Oyle 1, 12, 0 19 Rope 2, 6 1 Frying Pan 5, 6 14, 8, 1½ Fortification Vizt 1 Mauls 12 21 Helves 1, 4, 6 6 Shod Shovels 18 6 Iron Shovels 15 54 Nailes 2, 4, 8 4 Paint Brushes 2, 8 15 Gan Arrack 3, 3, 9 15 Sugar 6, 3	Collection of store goods sold and delivered in August 1734, brought over. 14 gross of black and white tape, £1 19s 0d 14 gross of coloured tape, £1 17s 6d 54 yards of Norwich stuff, £3 12s 8d 290 lb of nails, £14 17s 6.5d 114.5 gallons of linseed oil, £14 8s 9d 63 yards of ship's twine, £14 14s 9d 28 bottles of Florence oil, £4 11s 0d Total of store goods, £158 18s 11d Charges general. 36 lb of candles, £3 12s 0d 12 lb of hemp, £0 13s 0d 85.5 yards of canvas, £4 9s 1.5d 4 lb of twine, £0 2s 8d 2 gross of Holland tape, £0 2s 4d 1 gross of coloured tape, £0 1s 10d 1 lb of thread, white and brown, £0 13s 4d 2 oz of silk, £0 3s 0d 1 gross of garting, £0 3s 0d 3 lines, £0 3s 6d 43 lb of nails, £1 11s 0d 1 sneaker, £0 1s 6d 1 box of lampblack, £0 6s 0d 3.5 gallons of linseed oil, £1 12s 0d 19 lb of rope, £0 2s 6d 1 frying pan, £0 5s 6d Total of charges general, £14 8s 1.5d Fortification. 1 maul, £0 12s 0d 21 shovels, £1 4s 6d 6 shod shovels, £0 18s 0d 6 iron shovels, £0 15s 0d 54 lb of nails, £2 4s 8d 4 paint brushes, £0 2s 8d 15 gallons of arrack, £3 3s 9d 15 lb of sugar, £0 6s 3d 28 lb of bread, £0 6s 0d Total for the fortification, £9 6s 10d Blacks. 2 oars, £0 12s 0d 26 dozen of hooks, £0 14s 0d 20 lines, £0 14s 8d 9 knives, £0 1s 4d 2 wooden bowls, £0 1s 4d 56 lb of rope, £1 2s 2d 1 ivory comb, £0 2s 2d 2 lb of tea, £0 10s 0d 20 hundredweight of rice, £10 0s 0d Total for the blacks, £13 16s 11d Diet expenses. 74 gallons of arrack, £14 16s 0d 22 gallons of port, £8 10s 6d 14 gallons of sherry, £5 16s 3d 4 bottles of oil, £0 13s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 7s 6d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £1 11s 9d 5 lb of pepper, £0 5s 0d 32 lb of candles, £1 4s 0d 2 lb of tea, £0 10s 0d 2 bushels of salt, £0 13s 0d Total for diet expenses, £38 15s 0d Interpretations Norwich stuff is the general name for the worsteds woven in that city, light and hard-wearing and among the staple English cloths carried to the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		28 Bread 9, 6, 10 Blacks Vizt 2 Oars 12 26 doz Hooks 14 20 Lines 14, 8 9 Knives 1, 4 2 Wooden Bowles 1, 4, 2 56 Rope 1, 2, 2 1 Ivory Comb 10 2 Tea 10 200 Rice 13, 16, 11 Diett Expences Vizt 74 Gan Arrack 14, 16 29 Gan Port 8, 10, 6 14 ditto Sherry 5, 16, 3 4 Bottles Ayle 5 2 Gan Vinegar 4, 2, 6 3 gd Flour 1, 11, 9 1: 1: 2 Sugar 5 3 Pepper 1, 4, 10 32 Candy 13 2 Tea 2 Bushells Salt 38, 15	eastern settlements. Gartering is narrow woven tape sold for garters and for binding edges, and a sneaker a small drinking cup for punch or spirits. The lampblack, linseed oil and canvas belong together as paint and its ground, the fine soot mixed into oil giving the black that preserved ironwork and gun carriages against the damp. The fortification charge shows the men being fed as well as equipped. Fifteen gallons of arrack, 15 lb of sugar and 28 lb of bread are entered alongside the shovels and nails, which is the allowance given to labourers at heavy work rather than any part of the building itself. The inhabitants had begun the Turk's Cap platform on 5 August 1734 at their own charge, and the shovels and mauls here supplied that work while Rupert's stood flooded. Rice to the blacks stands at 20 hundredweight for £10 0s 0d, double the 9 hundredweight of the previous three months together. The yam issue had risen to 48,300 lb in the same month, so the establishment was being fed more heavily on both counts. More hands were at work than at any point in the year, the runaways sentenced through the summer having been added to the fortification gangs alongside the hired slaves. Ship's twine, canvas, rope, oars and lines recur across every section of the account. The fishing establishment set up on 1 March 1727 supplied the slaves' provision in place of the meat ration, and the boats had to be maintained from the same stores that served the fortifications. Corryden, the Company's chief fisherman, had been killed on the Rupert's path on 20 July 1734, and the trade continued without any recorded interruption.
357	353	Brought over Plantation Vizt 3 Spades 1, 4 2 Lines 2, 8 6 Seyth Stones 1 1 Rice 10 9 Candy 3, 3 5, 8 Garrison 2 gd Coloured & Brown Broad 8 3 Twine 10, 10 1 Flour Cinne 2, 6 3 Lines 4, 2 28 Rope 11, 4½ 11½ Yards Bunting 13, 6 83 Mrs Fitoy 4, 16, 10 10 Bottles Ayle 13, 3 6 Flour	Plantation. 3 spades, £1 4s 0d 2 lines, £0 2s 8d 6 scythe stones, £0 1s 0d 1 hundredweight of rice, £0 10s 0d 9 hundredweight of paddy, £3 3s 0d Total for the plantation, £5 0s 8d Garden. 2 pieces of coloured and brown thread, £0 8s 0d 2 lb of twine, £0 10s 10d 1 flour sieve, £0 2s 6d 3 lines, £0 4s 6d 28 lb of rope, £0 11s 4.5d 11.5 yards of bunting, £0 13s 6d 83 lb of victory, £4 16s 10d 1 hundredweight of oil, £0 13s 0d 6 lb of flour, £0 13s 6d 2 gallons of linseed oil, £0 13s 6d 1 hundredweight of white lead, £0 5s 6d 10 gallons of rape oil, £2 5s 0d 12 catties of tea, £0 3s 0d Total for the garden, £16 5s 1.5d Grand total, £256 12s 2d At a consultation held on Tuesday 24 September 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Rosa, a slave woman belonging to the widow Isaac, had frequently run from her mistress. She was therefore placed with her son, Mr Snyder, having engaged to wait upon her and prevent her

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		3, 6 9 Gan Linseed Oyle 3, 13, 6 10 White Lead 5, 5, 6 10 Gan Rape Oyle 2, 5 12 Cattees Tea 3 16, 5, 1½ 256, 12, 2 At a Consultation held on Tuesday 9 Sept 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved Rosa a Wench belonging to the Widow Sale having been formerly given to Runing away from her Mistress she was therefore Placed with her Son Mr Snyder & having engaged to me after her & prevent her absconding, but she having Played the Same Pranks with him as with her Mistress she was Ordered to be delivered to her Mistress again who is willing to try her once more The Governour Reports that the Longboat was lost in bad Weather on the 19 instant at Sandy bay where she was gone for Lime, but part of her & 1 2 & 3 & Lying 20 Oars were recovered & the rest it is hoped will be Saved, but the Weather is Still so bad that no Boat can yet venture to go there About the time that the Longboat was lost John Thwaites Senr one of our Soldiers as he was Fishing upon the Rocks was washed off into the Sea & drowned leaving a numerous & distressed Family, a Wife & Seven young Children to be provided for by the Parish or some other Assistance for the generality of the Inhabitants are already so poor that they know not what to do in this unhappy Case being hardly able to maintain themselves The Governour Reports also that the Battery at Turks Cap	absconding. She afterwards played the same pranks with him as with her mistress, and was ordered to be delivered back to her mistress, who was willing to try her once more. The Governor reported that the long boat was lost in bad weather on 19 September at Sandy Bay, where she had been sent for lime. Part of her and 20 oars were recovered, and it was hoped the rest would be saved, but the weather remained so bad that no boat could yet venture there. About the time the long boat was lost, John Thwaites senior, one of the island's soldiers, was fishing upon the rocks and was washed off into the sea and drowned. He left a large family, a wife and seven young children, to be provided for by the parish or by some other assistance. Most of the inhabitants were already so poor that they scarcely knew what to do in this unhappy case, being hardly able to maintain themselves. The Governor also reported that the battery at Turk's Cap was... Interpretations The parish burden created by John Thwaites's death has no ready answer in a place where relief came from neighbours who were themselves near destitution. The churchwardens had settled the widow Vaughan's provision at the standard rate on 12 September 1732, and Elizabeth Marsham complained on 8 May 1733 that the customary 40 shillings could not keep her. A wife and seven children fall well outside any such allowance, and the council's own record of the inhabitants' poverty explains why no order follows the report. Losing the long boat cuts the fortification works off from their lime a second time. Isaac Paton had brought a lading back to her moorings on 15 July because the surf ran too high to land it, and the council responded by setting men to reopen the old ass path so that lime could go overland. The vessel itself is now gone, and the recovery of only part of her hull and 20 oars leaves the island without the means of carrying stone or lime by sea at all. Victory is a strong dark tobacco sold in the leaf, and 83 lb of it at £4 16s 10d makes it much the heaviest line in the garden's charge. The entry sits among rope, twine, thread and paint, which places it as an issue to the men working there rather than as a garden material. Tobacco served as a customary allowance to labourers in the same way arrack did, and 12 catties of tea in the same account point the same way. Scythe stones are the shaped whetstones used to keep a scythe edge in the field, and paddy is rice still in the husk, bought cheaper than clean grain and given to the Company's hogs and poultry. The plantation charge of 9 hundredweight of paddy against 1 hundredweight of rice shows the same division of feed that runs through the whole account, the hog herd standing at 74 head at the end of August and the fowls at 150 after the season's hatch.
358	354	Valley is in good forwardness but the Longboat being lost they Work cannot yet be compleatedly finished there being three Longboat Loads of Stone Still wanting before the same can be fully perfected The Governour likewise farther Reports that the Works at Ruperts go on well & that those Places which are most out of Repair will be Rebuilt in so strong a manner that they will last as long as any other Fortification upon the Island	The battery at Turk's Cap Valley was well advanced, though the loss of the long boat meant the work could not be completed. Three long boat loads of stone were still wanting before it could be finished. The Governor further reported that the works at Rupert's were going on well, and that the places most out of repair would be rebuilt so strongly that they would last as long as any other fortification on the island. At a consultation held on Tuesday 24 September 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		At a Consultation held on Tuesday 24th Sept 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that three of the Honble Companies Black Wenches were brought to bed last Week vizt Agnes of a Girle called Patt Mary of a Girle called Ruth Betty of a boy named James Ordered that they be Entred in the Books The Petition of John Alexander Gent was presented & read praying a Lease for about ten Acres of Wast Land lying near his other Land in Sandy Bay & that in Consideration of its being full of great Rocks some Allowance might be made him for the same either in the Value of the Rent or in the Quantity to be Measured to him, his design being only to raise Sheep or Goates thereon Ordered that the said Land be viewed & if it appear that the same may be let without Prejudice to the Honble Company or to the Neighbourhood that his Petition be Granted	Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that three of the Company's slave women had been brought to bed the previous week. Agnes, of a girl called Patt Mary, of a girl called Ruth Betty, of a boy named James The council ordered them entered in the books. The petition of John Alexander was presented and read. He asked for a lease of about 10 acres of waste land lying near his other land in Sandy Bay, and that in consideration of its being full of great rocks some allowance might be made him, either in the value of the rent or in the quantity to be measured to him, his design being only to raise sheep or goats there. The council ordered the land viewed, and directed that his petition be granted if it appeared the ground could be let without prejudice to the Company or to the neighbourhood. Interpretations Three long boat loads of stone stand between the Turk's Cap battery and completion, and the vessel that carried them was lost on 19 September. Quarried stone had to come round by sea from Sandy Bay, the cart road built by Governor Roberts having been absorbed into private plantations by 1731 and the ass path only lately repaired. The work the inhabitants began at their own charge on 5 August 1734 accordingly halts within weeks of finishing, for want of a boat rather than for want of hands or materials. John Alexander asks for an abatement in either rent or measured acreage, which are two different remedies for the same defect. Reducing the rent leaves the parcel at its full extent on the books while lowering the yield, and reducing the measured quantity keeps the rate per acre intact while conceding that rocky ground is not land in the sense the lease intends. The council's standard rate ran at 5s an acre through this period, and Captain Goodwin had valued Richard Beale's 11 acres in Sandy Bay at £57 15s 0d on 9 November 1730 with the ground reported very indifferent and carrying no wood. Alexander's stated purpose of raising goats is the notable point. The inhabitants voted forty to eleven on 20 January 1730 to destroy every goat and sheep on the island, and the council killed the Company's herd to nothing by February 1731, dropping the column from the stock accounts entirely from March that year. Sheep were never destroyed despite being named in the same vote, and the second of council now proposes to stock waste ground with the animal the island resolved to be rid of, four years into a term that was to run ten from the completion of the killing. Entering the birth of a Company slave in the books is a valuation as much as a record. The children's values were settled in proportion to their age each September, as they were on 30 September 1730 and in the years before, and the muster ratings ran from very good to good for nothing. A birth accordingly adds to the establishment's book value at once, which matters in a year when John Durling reported on 4 June 1734 that only 42 able men remained across the whole establishment.
359	355	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 1st October 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved	At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 October 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Captain Goodwin presented a bill of sale for 21 acres and a half of freehold land, which he had lately bought of Benjamin Beale, and asked that it be

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Capt Goodwin this day presented a Bill of Sale for twenty one Acres & half of Land of Joseph Bland which he lately bought of Benja Beale & Peter desiring the same might be Registered & his good & Secure Proofs Ordered that the same be Registered accordingly The Governour Reports that the Rains on the last month were exceedingly high & Stormy Van Johnsdon & Eight last blew down the Stoneplaces at the Outer Post of the Castle which were set in Stone Work with Piece of Stone he loved them & threw down the Grass also just as it had about two Years ago One hundred yards of the Garden Wall, & that by then the late loss of John Thwaites & the Longboat the Seas have been so very high that they washed John Wormes & John Bate two of the Governours off the Rocks where they were fishing who were very near being drowned but were happily Saved by Swimming Thomas Grigson who Married one of the Daughters of James Draper decd having demanded his Share or Dividend in right of his Wife of the Estate late belonging to the said Draper & Mrs Dunston & Smith who acted as Trustees or Guardians for the Orphan Children of the said Draper being present & being willing thereto it was left by the Governour to the said Mrs Dunston & Smith to do therein as to them should seem just & equitable, & after to agree with the elder & other for the bringing up the younger Children The time during which Ned a boy belonging to Wm Greentree was to Work at the Fortifications being Expired he was Ordered to be delivered to his Master Davidson a Slave belonging to Charles Steward having been Runaway in the 4 of June last was apprehended & Committed to Prison and broke out again & from there Retaken & set to Work at the Fortifications from whence he also Runaway & of about Sixteen hogs & so being about half a Chest from Mr Bagley & about five Pounds & a bagg of Bread from Mr John Dunston, some Sugar & a dram of Liquor from Mr Rich Goodwin, some Rice & a Silvercup from Mr Blakes the Sick of whom Dorer he took of having entered the house through the Slates found by top, & Severall other things were charged upon him by divers other people which he would not own, he was therefore Ordered to be whipt as his Master should think best was afterwards again examined when he confessed that the Slate & sundry things out of the Gunners house & light parcell of these some Tea, a parcell of hooks & Lines some Soap & the like & for these	registered for his greater security. The council ordered it registered accordingly. The Governor reported that the wind on the previous Wednesday rose so exceedingly high that it blew down the staircases at the outer gate of the castle, which were set in stonework. Pieces of stone were thrown down, the pieces just as they had lain about two years earlier. A hundred yards of the garden wall was blown down. The tide at the top of John Thwaites's boat rose very high, and the sea broke over the rocks where John Barnes and John Seale, two of the Governor's own blacks, were fishing. Both men were very nearly drowned but were only lightly spoiled by the wetting. Mr Gregory, who married one of the daughters of James Draper, had demanded his share or dividend in right of his wife of the estate belonging to Draper. Jonathan Doveton and Giles Smith, trustees and guardians for the orphan children of Draper, being present and willing to do so, it was left by the Governor to Mr Doveton and Mr Smith to do as much as they should think just and reasonable, both to agree with the elder and the other for the bringing up of the younger children. The time during which Ned, a boy belonging to Mrs Greentree, was to work at the fortifications being expired, he was ordered to be delivered to his master. Dawson, a slave belonging to Charles Steward, had run away on 8 June and was afterwards committed to prison and taken up again. Since that occasion he was ordered to work at the fortifications for a further six months for running away, and he had since had a knife, a shirt from Mr Bagley and about five shillings and a bottle of arrack from Mr John Doveton, some sugar, a dram of liquor from Mr Richard Goodwin, some rum and a stone from Mr Slaughter. The lock of a house door he broke by having levered the hasp through the plate. He had frequently, since other charges were laid upon him by several other people which he would not own, been in a position ordered to be kept as his master should think it reasonable, and afterwards, being again examined, was confessed that he stole several things out of the gunner's house, eight pounds of the same tea, a parcel of hooks and lines, some soap and other things. Being a notorious rogue, he was ordered to have irons upon his legs and to be set to work at the fortifications until the council should determine how long he was to be confined thereafter. The Governor delivered a monthly quarterly account of the general stock of cattle and other goods, and also delivered a monthly quarterly account of gunners stores. The storekeeper and steward delivered likewise their monthly accounts for September last, which were severally examined and approved. They follow. Interpretations Two years earlier the same stones had lain in the same place, which dates the previous damage to the winter of 1732. The council had recorded on 5 December 1732 that the path from the castle to Banks's stood impassable and the guard there went three days without fresh water, the sea running so high that no boat could reach them. St Helena's winter storms strike a coast with no sheltered harbour, and the fortifications and the castle itself take the same weather that stops the boats and the landings. Dawson's schedule of thefts is remarkable for what it shows of the island's economy rather than for the value taken. Knives, shirts, sugar, tea, soap, hooks and lines, arrack and small coin pass between households as informal currency, and every item on

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Roguerys he was Ordered to have Execution upon his Legs & to do else to Work at the Fortifications untill the Determination for how long time was defered till Tuesday next The Governour delivered a Monthly & yearly Account of the Honble Companys Stock of Cattle, &c & the Gunner also delivered a Monthly & yearly Post of Gunners Stores &c & the Warehouseper & Steward delivered likewise their Monthly Accts for Septr last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Margin Notes: Land & Sale	the list appears in the storekeeper's collections for the same months. The gunner's house yielded the largest single haul, eight pounds of tea besides the tackle, which measures how much of a man's substance sat in goods rather than money on an island almost without coin. The council converts Dawson's punishment into indefinite labour rather than fixing a term, and adds irons on his legs. Every earlier sentence in this run carried a stated period, two months for Simon in August, three for Barclay in July, six for Hagar. Leaving the length undetermined breaks that pattern, and the works stood short of hands after the loss of the long boat on 19 September left the Turk's Cap battery three loads of stone from completion. Draper's estate had been rendered at successive orphans courts since 3 October 1727, standing at 34.5 acres of freehold, 5 of leasehold, two men, 50,000 yams, cattle, 91 goats and hogs. A daughter's husband claiming her portion by marriage carries the same difficulty that ran through the Hodgkinson suits of February 1730 and Daniel Griffith's complaint against the Greentree executors on 2 July 1733: dividing a working estate to pay one portion destroys the value that supports the children still to be raised. The Governor left the settlement to the trustees rather than decreeing a division.
360	356	[The column headers are lost above the visible portion of the page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Remg 1st Septr: 19, 146, 21, 31, 97, 112, 7, 433, 90, 13, 61, 4, 168, 16, 9, 8, 39, 2, 74, 31, 150, 19, 5, 5, 8, 13 Cattle cut & grown: 4, 31, 58, 60, 153, 47, 47, 5, 18, 23 19, 146, 17, 31, 39, 59, 7, 280, 90, 13, 14, 4, 121, 16, 4, 8, 21, 2, 51, 31, 150, 19, 5, 5, 8, 13 Increased: 31, 4, 28, 30, 60, 153, 20, 27, 5, 59, 18, 5, 27, 50, 5, 20 50, 150, 45, 30, 99, 59, 7, 433, 110, 40, 19, 4, 173, 16, 22, 13, 48, 2, 101, 36, 170, 19, 5, 5, 8, 13 Killed: 2, 2, 4, 4, 2, 2, 3, 3, 10, 62, 4 50, 148, 45, 30, 99, 59, 7, 431, 106, 40, 19, 4, 169, 14, 20, 10, 45, 2, 91, 36, 108, 15, 5, 5, 8, 13 Dead: 1, 2, 3 Remg 30th Septr 1701: 50, 148, 45, 30, 98, 50, 7, 428, 106, 40, 19, 4, 169, 14, 20, 10, 45, 2, 91, 36, 108, 15, 5, 5, 8, 13 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations for Hogs & Poultry 23500th	Remaining 1 September: bullocks 19, cows 146, heifers 21, steers 31, yearlings 97, calves 112, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 433, ewes 90, wethers 13, lambs 61, rams 4, sheep in all 168, sows 16, shoats 9, barrows 8, pigs 39, boars 2, hogs in all 74, turkeys 31, fowls 150, ducks 19, geese 5, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 13 Cattle cut and grown in September: cows 4, heifers 31, steers 58, yearlings 60, neat cattle in all 153, lambs 47, sheep in all 47, shoats 5, pigs 18, hogs in all 23 Increased in September: bullocks 31, cows 4, heifers 28, steers 30, yearlings 60, neat cattle in all 153, ewes 20, wethers 27, lambs 5, sheep in all 59, shoats 18, barrows 5, pigs 27, hogs in all 50, fowls 5, ducks 20 Killed in September: cows 2, calves 2, neat cattle in all 4, ewes 4, sheep in all 4, sows 2, shoats 2, barrows 3, pigs 3, hogs in all 10, fowls 69, ducks 4 Dead in September: yearlings 1, calves 2, neat cattle in all 3 Remaining 30 September 1734: bullocks 50, cows 148, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 98, calves 50, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 428, ewes 106, wethers 40, lambs 19, rams 4, sheep in all 169, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 10, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 91, turkeys 36, fowls 108, ducks 15, geese 5, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 13 Yams expended at the several plantations for hogs and poultry, 23,500 lb The heading row of this account is blank, and the identity of each column has been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Interpretations The cattle cut and grown row is the year-end reclassification, and it explains the violent movement in every column. Animals were moved from one class to the next as they aged or were castrated, so 153 head shifted among the cattle without a single beast being added to the herd. Bullocks rose from 19 to 50 and calves fell from 112 to 50, which reflects the same animals entered under new headings rather than any change in the stock. The reference records the same adjustment at each year's close, 224 calves and 90 yearlings having been moved in the accounts to 30 September 1730 and 161 head reclassified in September 1732.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Sheep show the reclassification at its clearest. Lambs fell from 61 to 19 while ewes rose from 90 to 106 and wethers from 13 to 40, the year's lambs having been graded into breeding females and castrated males. The flock closed at 169 against 168 at the month's opening, so a movement of 47 head between classes produced a net gain of one. No beast went to the shipping for the third consecutive month, and the row for sales does not appear. The road had lain empty since the Dutch ship sailed on 25 July 1734, and the herd closed the Company's year at 428 against 525 on 30 December 1733. The drought that stopped calving from January and the twenty head sold to the June fleet together account for most of that fall. The yam footing names its purpose for the first time in this run, 23,500 lb being expended at the plantations for hogs and poultry rather than entered without qualification. The hog herd closed at 91 against 74 a month earlier and the fowls at 108 after 69 were killed for the table, so the grain went to stock that had been rebuilt through the winter. Earlier accounts carried the plantations' share and the slaves' share as separate lines without stating what the plantation portion fed.
361	357	[The column headers are lost above the visible portion of the page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Remg 30th Septr 1700: 69, 168, 45, 31, 100, 63, 8, 484, 98, 51, 19, 4, 172, 20, 28, 15, 25, 3, 91, 60, 62, 14, 8, 4, 6, 10 Increased: 31, 4, 28, 30, 60, 72, 225, 20, 27, 58, 105, 18, 5, 93, 116, 79, 690, 78, 5, 1, 2, 3 100, 172, 73, 61, 160, 135, 8, 709, 118, 78, 77, 4, 277, 20, 46, 20, 118, 3, 207, 139, 752, 92, 13, 5, 8, 13 Cattle new Cut & Grown: 4, 31, 58, 60, 153, 47, 47, 5, 18, 23 100, 172, 69, 30, 102, 75, 8, 556, 118, 78, 30, 4, 230, 20, 41, 20, 100, 3, 184, 139, 752, 92, 13, 5, 8, 13 Sold to Shipping: 45, 7, 11, 1, 64 55, 165, 58, 30, 102, 75, 7, 492, 118, 78, 30, 4, 230, 20, 41, 20, 100, 3, 184, 139, 752, 92, 13, 5, 8, 13 Dead: 14, 1, 4, 23, 42, 2, 2, 11, 15, 2, 1, 1, 4, 2 55, 150, 57, 30, 98, 52, 7, 450, 116, 76, 19, 4, 215, 18, 41, 19, 99, 3, 180, 137, 752, 92, 13, 5, 8, 13 Killed: 5, 2, 12, 5, 21, 10, 36, 46, 4, 21, 9, 54, 1, 89, 98, 644, 77, 8 50, 148, 45, 30, 98, 51, 7, 429, 106, 40, 19, 4, 169, 14, 20, 10, 45, 2, 91, 39, 108, 15, 5 Stolen: 1, 1, 3 Remg 30th Septr 1701: 50, 148, 45, 30, 98, 50, 7, 428, 106, 40, 19, 4, 169, 14, 20, 10, 45, 2, 91, 36, 108, 15, 5, 5, 8, 13	Remaining 30 September 1733: bullocks 69, cows 168, heifers 45, steers 31, yearlings 100, calves 63, bulls 8, neat cattle in all 484, ewes 98, wethers 51, lambs 19, rams 4, sheep in all 172, sows 20, shoats 28, barrows 15, pigs 25, boars 3, hogs in all 91, turkeys 60, fowls 62, ducks 14, geese 8, horses 4, mares 6, horses and mares in all 10 Increased: bullocks 31, cows 4, heifers 28, steers 30, yearlings 60, calves 72, neat cattle in all 225, ewes 20, wethers 27, lambs 58, sheep in all 105, shoats 18, barrows 5, pigs 93, hogs in all 116, turkeys 79, fowls 690, ducks 78, geese 5, horses 1, mares 2, horses and mares in all 3 Cattle new cut and grown: bullocks 100, cows 172, heifers 73, steers 61, yearlings 160, calves 135, bulls 8, neat cattle in all 709, ewes 118, wethers 78, lambs 77, rams 4, sheep in all 277, sows 20, shoats 46, barrows 20, pigs 118, boars 3, hogs in all 207, turkeys 139, fowls 752, ducks 92, geese 13, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 3 Sold to shipping: heifers 4, steers 31, yearlings 58, calves 60, neat cattle in all 153, lambs 47, sheep in all 47, shoats 5, pigs 18, hogs in all 23 Sold to shipping: bullocks 45, cows 7, heifers 11, calves 1, neat cattle in all 64 Dead: bullocks 55, cows 165, heifers 58, steers 30, yearlings 102, calves 75, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 492, ewes 118, wethers 78, lambs 30, rams 4, sheep in all 230, sows 20, shoats 41, barrows 20, pigs 100, boars 3, hogs in all 184, turkeys 139, fowls 752, ducks 92, geese 13, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 3 Dead: cows 14, heifers 1, yearlings 4, calves 23, neat cattle in all 42, ewes 2, wethers 2, lambs 11, sheep in all 15, sows 2, barrows 1, pigs 1, hogs in all 4, turkeys 3 Killed: bullocks 55, cows 151, heifers 57, steers 30, yearlings 98, calves 52, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 450, ewes 116, wethers 76, lambs 19, rams 4, sheep in all 215, sows 18, shoats 41, barrows 19, pigs 99, boars 3, hogs in all 180, turkeys 137, fowls 752, ducks 92, geese 13, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 3 Killed: bullocks 5, cows 3, heifers 12, calves 5, neat cattle in all 21, ewes 10, wethers 36, sheep in all 46, sows 4, shoats 21, barrows 9, pigs 54, boars 1, hogs in all 89, turkeys 98, fowls 644, ducks 77, geese 8 Stolen: bullocks 50, cows 148, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 98, calves 51, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 429, ewes 106, wethers 40, lambs 19, rams 4, sheep in all

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			169, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 10, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 91, turkeys 39, fowls 108, ducks 15, geese 5 Stolen: calves 1, neat cattle in all 1, turkeys 3 Remaining 30 September 1734: bullocks 50, cows 148, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 98, calves 50, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 428, ewes 106, wethers 40, lambs 19, rams 4, sheep in all 169, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 10, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 91, turkeys 36, fowls 108, ducks 15, geese 5, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 13 The heading row of this account is blank, and the identity of each column has been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Interpretations This is the annual account for the Company's year ending 30 September 1734, and it opens where the previous year's closed. The reference records neat cattle at 484 on 30 September 1733, sheep at 165 and hogs at 91, which is the line entered here. The whole twelvemonth is set out in a single reckoning of increase, reclassification, sale, death, slaughter and theft, so that the closing figure can be proved against the opening one. Sixty-four head went to the shipping across the year, 45 bullocks, 7 cows, 11 heifers and a calf, against 65 in the year to 30 September 1733. That figure is remarkable given how the year fell out. Twenty went to the four Indiamen in June alone, and no beast at all was sold from July onward, so almost the whole year's beef trade was compressed into the months when vessels lay in the road. Deaths ran to 42 head of cattle and 15 sheep, well above the 8 cattle lost in the previous year. Dry weather is named as a cause in the monthly accounts from January 1734, carrying off a cow, four calves and a sow in that month alone, and rockfalls from the parched slopes killed seven beasts between November and January. Calving collapsed from 25 head in November 1733 to none in March or April, and the herd closed 56 head below where it began. Poultry shows the sharpest movement in the account. Fowls increased by 690 across the year and 644 were killed, closing at 108 against 62 the year before, and turkeys rose by 79 with 98 killed. The flock had been drawn down to 48 birds by the end of March 1734 before the spring hatch, so the breeding stock Governor Pyke bought in April 1731 was at last replacing itself faster than the fort's table consumed it, having failed to do so in the year to September 1733 when 502 fowls were killed out of 607 carried.
362	358	Gunners Stores Expended in September 1701 Vizt Guns Fired, D Culvering, Sakers, Minion, Powder 1701 Sepr 7th: Muster Day: Powder 12 Expence of the Guard: Powder 13 Exercising the Guns: Guns Fired 8, D Culvering 5, Sakers 2, Minion 1, Powder 46 Guns Fired 8, D Culvering 5, Sakers 2, Minion 1, Powder 71 Musquet Balles 6th Ladstocks 2 Rammer Heads 8 Copper Ladles 1 Cartridge Paper 12 Quire Match 20th Expence of the Table in Sepr 1701 Vizt 207 Beef 2, 11, 9 138 Pork 3, 9 25 Butter 1, 5	Gunners stores expended in September 1734. 7 September, muster day: powder 12 lb Expense of the guard: powder 13 lb Proving the guns: guns fired 8, demi-culverins 5, sakers 2, minions 1, powder 46 lb Total: guns fired 8, demi-culverins 5, sakers 2, minions 1, powder 71 lb Musket balls, 6 lb Ladles, 2 Rammer heads, 8 Copper ladles, 1 Cartridge paper, 12 quires Match, 20 lb Expense of the table in September 1734. 207 lb of beef, £2 11s 9d 138 lb of pork, £3 9s 0d 25 lb of butter, £1 5s 0d 4 sheep, £5 0s 0d 62 fowls, £4 13s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 3 pigs, £0 12s 0d 4 bushels of salt, £1 16s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		4 Sheep 5 62 Fowles 4, 13 4 Ducks 6 3 Pigs 12 4 Bushells Salt 1, 16 2 Bottles Ayle 16, 3 2½ Gall Vinegar 6, 3 14 Gall Sherry 5, 8, 6 26 Gan Port 9, 10 2 Pepper 2 16 Candy 12 1: 1: 12 Sugar 1, 18, 6 3: 3: Flour 4, 13, 9 49 Gall Arrack 15, 16 57, 1	5 bottles of oil, £0 16s 3d 2.5 gallons of vinegar, £0 6s 3d 14 gallons of sherry, £5 8s 6d 26 gallons of port, £7 10s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 16 lb of candles, £0 12s 0d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 lb of sugar, £1 18s 6d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 13s 9d 79 gallons of arrack, £16 16s 0d Total, £57 1s 0d Interpretations The second image supplies the column headings the first leaf carries only as ruled lines, and they read guns fired, demi-culverins, sakers, minion and powder. Those five headings govern the September account and confirm the identities carried in from the earlier months of the same series, where the heading row does not survive. Powder fell to 71 lb, the lowest since the anchorage last stood empty, and no salute appears in the account. The road had carried no vessel since the Dutch ship sailed on 25 July 1734, so the whole charge divides between the muster, the guard's standing allowance and the proving of the guns. That proving has now run through five consecutive months under the council's order of 11 June 1734, and eight pieces were fired in September against ten in August. Twelve quires of cartridge paper is the heaviest issue of that store in the run, against six in August and two in July. Cartridges were made up in advance and stored in the budge barrels and cartouche boxes, so a large draw of paper points to the magazine being stocked rather than to any firing. The council had resolved on 11 June that every gun on the line and at each place of defence be kept constantly loaded even in time of peace, the more necessary under apprehension of a speedy war. Arrack rose to 79 gallons at £16 16s 0d, the heaviest single line on the table account and more than a quarter of the whole. The wet-weather allowance to the slaves ran through the island's winter in every year of this record, and the gale of late September had blown down a hundred yards of the garden wall and the staircases at the castle gate. Beef fell to 207 lb, the lightest of the five months, no vessel having called and only two cattle killed in the whole of September.
363	359	D Cannon, W Culvering, D Culvering, Minion, Sakers, Falcons, Twelve Pounders, Three Pounders, Totall, Round Iron Shot, Double headed Shot, Bar Powder, Match, Quire Cartridge Paper, Spunge Staves, Spunge Heads, Rammer Heads, Powder Horns, Wormes, Ladles, Tompions, Sheep Skins, Bulls, Quoins, Cartouch Boxes, Trucks, Holsters, Blunderbusses, Pistolls, Boys Barils, Gins, Union Flags, Handspikes, Forkeses, Linstocks, Firing Wires, Cartridge Cases, Horse Hides, Parchment Skins, Musquets, Swords, Lead Shot, Drums, Wild Colours, Pioneer Suits, Flints, Hatchets, Scouring Rods, Buff Belts, Grenadier Pouches, Bomb Shells, Bitts Remg 30 Septr 1700: D Cannon 12, W Culvering 5, D Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakers 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Round Iron Shot 6906, Double headed Shot 5445, Bar Powder 140:80, Match 191½, Quire Cartridge Paper 157, Spunge Staves 321, Spunge Heads 482, Rammer Heads 268, Powder Horns 208, Wormes 17, Ladles 21, Tompions 729, Sheep Skins 119, Bulls 122, Quoins 108, Cartouch Boxes 163, Trucks 395, Holsters 57, Blunderbusses 36, Pistolls 12, Boys Barils 9, Gins 2, Union Flags 3, Handspikes 225, Forkeses 24, Linstocks 100, Firing Wires 300,	Annual inventory of gunners stores for the year ending 30 September 1734. Remaining 30 September 1733: demi-cannon 12, whole culverins 5, demi-culverins 48, minions 5, sakers 16, falcons 27, twelve pounders 11, three pounders 4, ordnance in all 128, round shot 6,906, double headed shot 545, cannon powder 140 barrels 80 lb, match 191.5 lb, quires of cartridge paper 157, sponge staves 321, sponge heads 482, rammer heads 268, copper horns 208, worms 17, ladles 21, tampions 729, sheepskins 119, budge barrels 122, quoins 108, cartouche boxes 163, trucks 39, ladles 557, blunderbusses 36, pistols 12, bunge barrels 9, tin 2, union flags 3, handspikes 225, forkers 24, linstocks 100, firing wires 300, cartridge cases 122, horse hides 4, parchment skins 55, muskets 213, swords 192, sled shot 1,269, drums 6, wild colours 2, pennant pieces 7, flints 5,000, halberts 11, scouring rods 271, buff belts 114, grenadier pouches 100, bomb shells 10, bitts 10 Received in one year: cannon powder 38 barrels, match 212 lb, quires of cartridge paper 120, union flags 200, bitts 12 Sold 2 barrels of powder: demi-cannon 12, whole culverins 5, demi-culverins 48, minions 5, sakers 16,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Cartridge Cases 122, Horse Hides 4, Parchment Skins 55, Musquets 213, Swords 192, Lead Shot 1269, Drums 6, Wild Colours 2, Pioneer Suits 7, Flints 5000, Hatchets 11, Scouring Rods 271, Buff Belts 114, Grenadier Pouches 100, Bomb Shells 10, Bitts 10 Recd in one year: Bar Powder 38:-, Match 212, Quire Cartridge Paper 120, Union Flags 200 D Cannon 12, W Culvering 5, D Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakers 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Round Iron Shot 6906, Double headed Shot 5445, Bar Powder 178:80, Match 403½, Quire Cartridge Paper 277, Spunge Staves 321, Spunge Heads 482, Rammer Heads 268, Powder Horns 208, Wormes 17, Ladles 21, Tompions 729, Sheep Skins 119, Bulls 122, Quoins 108, Cartouch Boxes 163, Trucks 395, Holsters 57, Blunderbusses 36, Pistolls 12, Boys Barils 9, Gins 2, Union Flags 3, Handspikes 425, Forkeses 24, Linstocks 100, Firing Wires 300, Cartridge Cases 122, Horse Hides 4, Parchment Skins 55, Musquets 213, Swords 192, Lead Shot 1269, Drums 6, Wild Colours 2, Pioneer Suits 7, Flints 5000, Hatchets 11, Scouring Rods 271, Buff Belts 114, Grenadier Pouches 100, Bomb Shells 10, Bitts 12 Sold 2 Barrells Powder & Expended in one Yeare & sent to England 22 Barils: Double headed Shot 11, Bar Powder 38:12, Match 222½, Quire Cartridge Paper 54, Spunge Staves 4, Spunge Heads 3, Rammer Heads 28, Ladles 2, Tompions 5, Sheep Skins 12, Union Flags 2, Handspikes 25, Parchment Skins 11, Lead Shot 62, Bitts 22 Remg 30th Sepr 1701: D Cannon 12, W Culvering 5, D Culvering 48, Minion 5, Sakers 16, Falcons 27, Twelve Pounders 11, Three Pounders 4, Totall 128, Round Iron Shot 6895, Double headed Shot 5445, Bar Powder 140:68, Match 181, Quire Cartridge Paper 223, Spunge Staves 317, Spunge Heads 479, Rammer Heads 240, Powder Horns 208, Wormes 17, Ladles 19, Tompions 724, Sheep Skins 107, Bulls 122, Quoins 108, Cartouch Boxes 163, Trucks 395, Holsters 57, Blunderbusses 36, Pistolls 12, Boys Barils 9, Gins 2, Union Flags 1, Handspikes 400, Forkeses 24, Linstocks 100, Firing Wires 300, Cartridge Cases 122, Horse Hides 4, Parchment Skins 44, Musquets 213, Swords 192, Lead Shot 1207, Drums 6, Wild Colours 2, Pioneer Suits 7, Flints 5000, Hatchets 11, Scouring Rods 271, Buff Belts 114, Grenadier Pouches 100, Bomb Shells 10, Bitts 22	falcons 27, twelve pounders 11, three pounders 4, ordnance in all 128, round shot 6,906, double headed shot 545, cannon powder 178 barrels 80 lb, match 403.5 lb, quires of cartridge paper 277, sponge staves 321, sponge heads 482, rammer heads 268, copper horns 208, worms 17, ladles 21, tampions 729, sheepskins 119, budge barrels 122, quoins 108, cartouche boxes 163, trucks 39, ladles 557, blunderbusses 36, pistols 12, bunge barrels 9, tin 2, union flags 3, handspikes 425, forkers 24, linstocks 100, firing wires 300, cartridge cases 122, horse hides 4, parchment skins 55, muskets 213, swords 192, sled shot 1,269, drums 6, wild colours 2, pennant pieces 7, flints 5,000, halberts 11, scouring rods 271, buff belts 114, grenadier pouches 100, bomb shells 10, bitts 22 Expended in one year and sent to England 22 barrels: round shot 11, cannon powder 38 barrels 12 lb, match 222.5 lb, quires of cartridge paper 54, sponge staves 4, sponge heads 3, rammer heads 28, ladles 2, tampions 5, sheepskins 12, union flags 2, handspikes 25, parchment skins 11, sled shot 62, bitts 22 Remaining 30 September 1734: demi-cannon 12, whole culverins 5, demi-culverins 48, minions 5, sakers 16, falcons 27, twelve pounders 11, three pounders 4, ordnance in all 128, round shot 6,895, double headed shot 545, cannon powder 140 barrels 68 lb, match 181 lb, quires of cartridge paper 223, sponge staves 317, sponge heads 479, rammer heads 240, copper horns 208, worms 17, ladles 19, tampions 724, sheepskins 107, budge barrels 122, quoins 108, cartouche boxes 163, trucks 39, ladles 557, blunderbusses 36, pistols 12, bunge barrels 9, tin 2, union flags 1, handspikes 400, forkers 24, linstocks 100, firing wires 300, cartridge cases 122, horse hides 4, parchment skins 44, muskets 213, swords 192, sled shot 1,207, drums 6, wild colours 2, pennant pieces 7, flints 5,000, halberts 11, scouring rods 271, buff belts 114, grenadier pouches 100, bomb shells 10, bitts 22 Interpretations Ordnance stands unchanged for a seventh consecutive year at 128 pieces, not a gun added or lost since the inventory of 30 September 1728. The council had spent the whole summer on fortification, the gunner's schedule of 2 July 1734 calling for 76 guns across eight positions with 10 more in store, and Colonel Gaultier's plans had been rejected on 10 June. Nothing arrived. The works at Rupert's and Turk's Cap were rising round an establishment of guns that had not grown by a single piece in seven years. Eleven round shot and 62 sled shot were expended across the year, and the 5,000 flints stand untouched exactly as 17,000 had in 1729 and 5,000 in 1732. Live firing therefore ran to a handful of rounds fired to bring strange sail to, at Munden's on 30 May and at Banks's on 14 June and again on 30 June 1734. The garrison did not discharge a musket in earnest through the whole twelvemonth. Powder returns to 140 barrels 68 lb, almost exactly the 140 barrels 80 lb carried a year earlier. Thirty-eight barrels came in and 22 went home to England, which repeats the return of 50 barrels made in 1733 within days of the gunner's petition that the magazine was unfit. Governor Pyke had designed a new magazine on 2 October 1733 and the powder room on the line collapsed into a hollow on 4 December, so the island was still shipping powder away rather than storing it. Match again shows the heaviest consumption of any store at 222.5 lb, since a length had to burn at every guard post through every watch whether or not a gun was fired. Handspikes fell from 425 to 400

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			and rammer heads from 268 to 240, the wear of the proving that ran through May, June, July, August and September under the council's order of 11 June 1734.
364	360	Collection of Goods Sold in Sepr 1701 Vizt 145 Gan Arrack 43, 10 4/5 gd Duck 2, 4 6 Barills Tar 3, 18, 6 2½ do Pitch 2 5 Paar 2, 8 66 Chamber Potts 24, 4 61 Basons 12, 4 1 Same Pan 5 4 Quarter Potts 5, 5 5 Pint pots 5 6 Tankards 1, 10 20 doz Spoons 4, 10 11½ doz Plates 15, 10 12 Dishes 17, 12 30 Pattarapons 7, 10 2 ditto 1, 17 126 Barills Lamblack 1, 8, 6 3½ Indico 1, 2, 6 95 White Lead 1, 20, 6 15½ Red ditto 3, 6, 9 15 Yellow Oaker 6, 4½ 1 Verdigrease 1, 1¼ 1½ Powdered Blue 1, 6 19 Copper 10, 3 19 Twists Sorted 5, 2 159, 2, 3 Charges Generall Vizt Sold his month 2 Spunge Glass 2 36 Candles 3, 12 10 Rugs 10, 10 3 Garan Yarn 10, 6 10 Galloshd Tape 1, 3, 4 10 White Sailing 1, 2, 4 2 hard Bemckles 6 2 Rugs 2 1 Slashes	Collection of goods sold in October 1734. 145 gallons of arrack, £43 10s 0d 4.5 gross of duck, £2 4s 0d 6 barrels of tar, £3 18s 0d 2.5 hundredweight of pitch, £0 0s 8d 5 lb of paper, £24 2s 0d 69 chamber pots, £12 4s 0d 61 basins, £0 0s 0d 1 sauce pan, £0 5s 5d 4 quartern pots, £0 5s 5d 5 pint pots, £1 10s 0d 6 tankards, £4 10s 0d 20 dozen of spoons, £15 10s 0d 11.5 dozen of plates, £19 12s 0d 16 dishes, £7 10s 0d 30 patty pans, £1 17s 0d 2 gross of ditto, £1 9s 6d 126 lb of Bristol lampblack, £1 2s 0d 3 lb of indigo, £1 0s 6d 95 lb of white lead, £0 8s 6d 15.5 lb of red lead, £0 6s 6.5d 15 lb of yellow ochre, £0 1s 6d 1 lb of Prussian blue, £0 1s 6.25d 1 lb of powdered blue, £0 19s 0d 19 lb of copper, £5 12s 0d 19 fireworks sorted, £159 2s 3d Charges general, sold in the month. 3 sponge staves, £0 2s 0d 36 candles, £3 12s 0d 10 oz of yarn, £0 10s 10d 3 hundredweight of gum copal, £0 10s 6d 18 lb of hatband tape, £0 3s 4d 1 gross of white sewing thread, £0 4s 4d 2 shod shovels, £0 2s 0d 2 mops, £0 2s 3d 1 sledge hammer, £0 2s 0d 2 gross of ladles, £0 10s 0d 2 lb of tea, £5 10s 2d Fortification. 1 stock lock, £0 18s 0d 1 pair of dovetails, £1 8s 0d 3 pair of garnets, £0 10s 6d 1 maul stone, £0 2s 0d 403 lb of nails, £1 10s 8d 1 hammer, £0 1s 8d 5 lines, £0 12s 3d 3.5 lb of twine, £0 7s 7d 17 lbs of gunpowder, £19 10s 0d 3 gallons of linseed oil, £1 3s 0d 1 iron gate ditto, £0 1s 2d 1 mattock, £88 7s 6d Garrison. 2 dozen of sail needles, £0 3s 0d 14 quarters of tea, £0 5s 0d 5 gallons of rape oil, £1 3s 6d 5 lb of rope, £0 3s 0d Total for the garrison, £4 9s 6d Plantation. 4 hundredweight 2 quarters of rice, £2 7s 6d 5 hundredweight 1 quarter of paddy, £2 2s 0d Total for the plantation, £4 9s 6d Blacks. 15 lines, £0 10s 0d 15 dozen of hooks, £1 8s 2.5d 5 pieces of tape, £0 2s 8d 4 knives, £0 0s 3d 2 lb of tea, £0 10s 0d 60 hundredweight of rice, £30 0s 0d Total for the blacks, £32 5s 0d Grand total, £255 10s 3d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2, 3 4 oz Indico 2 2 Tea 10 5, 10, 2 Fortification Vizt 1 Stock Lock 18 7 pr Dovetailes 1, 8 3 pr Garnets 10, 6 1 Lasthorn 1, 6 403 Nails 1, 10, 6 1 Hammer 1, 2 3 Lines 12, 3 3½ Twine 7, 7, 6 47 Mrs Grapnall 19, 10 3 Gan Linseed Oyle 1, 9 1 Pece gd Sail 1, 2 1 Nettle 88, 7, 6 Garrison 2 Sey Sails Needles 3 18 Cattees Tea 6, 3, 6 5 Gan Rape Oyle 2 5 Rope 4, 9, 6 Plantation 4 5 Rice 2, 7, 6 5 2 Candy 2, 2 4, 9, 6 Blacks 15 Lines 10 15 doz Hooks 1, 8, 2 5 Shoes 2, 8 2 Knives 10 2 Tea 32, 5 30 Rice 50 253, 10, 5	Interpretations Gum copal is a hard resin from tropical trees, dissolved in oil to make a durable varnish for ironwork and timber exposed to weather. It appears beside the lampblack, white lead, red lead, yellow ochre, Prussian blue and powdered blue, which together supply the whole range of paint the island needed. The heavy purchase of these pigments follows the September gale that blew down the castle staircases and a hundred yards of the garden wall. The tableware in this collection is unusual in both scale and kind. Twenty dozen spoons, 11.5 dozen plates, 16 dishes, 30 patty pans, 6 tankards and 69 chamber pots point to a consignment being cleared into the island rather than to ordinary household demand, since the whole free population numbered a few hundred. Patty pans are small moulds for individual pies, and their appearance by the gross alongside the dishes suggests goods sent out on speculation by the Company's suppliers in London. Rice to the blacks stands at 60 hundredweight for £30 0s 0d, three times the 20 hundredweight of August and six times the 9 hundredweight of the three months before that. The Company's year closed on 30 September with the herd at 428 and the yam issue running at 23,500 lb to the plantations, so the establishment entered the summer season on imported grain. More hands were at work than at any point in the year, the runaways sentenced through the summer having been added to the fortification gangs. The fortification charge carries 403 lb of nails, a stock lock, dovetails, three pairs of garnets and an iron gate, which is the ironmongery of a finished building rather than of stonework. Garnets are T-shaped strap hinges for a heavy door and a stock lock the wooden-cased lock fitted to one. The Governor had reported on 24 September that the Turk's Cap battery wanted only three long boat loads of stone, so the guard house that accompanied it was being fitted out while the walls waited on a vessel to carry the material.
365	361	Brought over 212, 19, 8 Diet Expences Vizt 79 Gan Arrack 15, 16 12 Gall Sherry 5, 8, 6 20 do Port 7, 15 2 ditto Vinegar 5 2 Bottles Ayle 16, 3 3: 3: Flour	Diet expenses, brought over £212 19s 8d. 79 gallons of arrack, £15 16s 0d 14 gallons of sherry, £5 8s 6d 20 gallons of port, £7 15s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 5s 0d 5 bottles of oil, £0 16s 3d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 13s 9d 1 hundredweight 1 quarter 12 lb of sugar, £1 18s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 16 lb of candles, £0 12s 0d 4 bushels of salt, £1 16s 0d Total for diet expenses, £39 3s 0d Grand total, £252 2s 8d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		4, 13, 9 1: 1: 12 Sugar 1, 18, 6 2 Pepper 2 16 Candy 12 4 Bushells Salt 1, 16 39, 3 252, 2, 8 At a Consultation held on Tuesday 8th Octr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that he shall be obliged to take down the Gateway of the Path leading to Mundens & Fort in order to carry up Carriages & therefore Mounting & firing of four great Guns, one of them tis a Demi Cannon & the like tis but the Whole & Story & make a new Platform with Earth only, & his reason is because all these new Carriages are Mounted on Trucks made of ash Wood they will be so brittle that they will be likely to break if fired from a Pavement of rough Stone & so uneven as such Pavements are, & the Repair tis will be done in ten days or a Fortnight at most The Governour also Reports that Sunday next is the Anniversary of the Kings Coronation which if they had been a Ship in the Road he Proposed to have Celebrated with firing of Guns but as there is no Ship here & Water likely to break with Work & that every grain of Powder that possibly can be ought to be Saved, but nevertheless in Commemoration of that happy day he intends to give a generall Invitation to all the Inhabitants who shall then happen to be below to dine with him & to drink his Majesties & the health of all the Royall Family Rodney Clough desired that his Black might be constantly employed at the Fortifications at the usuall Allowance of 9d a day for whole days & 6d for Saturdayes & he was Ordered to be Set to Work to morrow John Thwaites dying Intestate it was this day Ordered that Letters of Administration should be Granted to his Widow who presented an Inventory of his Estate & Effects & promised to bring up her Children therewith as well as she could Margin Notes: Pathway Mundens Salute	At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 October 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Path way: The Governor reported that he had been obliged to take down the gateway of the path leading to Munden's Fort in order to carry up a carriage. Munden's: He therefore proposed mounting and firing four great guns, one of them a demi-cannon, and making a new platform of earth only at Munden's Fort. His reason was that the new carriages are mounted on trucks made of cast iron, which will very soon break if fired from a pavement of rough stone as uneven as such pavements are. The whole work he thought might be done in ten days or a fortnight at most. Salute: The Governor also reported that Sunday next is the anniversary of the King's coronation, and that if a ship lay in the road he proposed to have celebrated it with the firing of guns. No ship being there, and the platform likely to break under the work, he held that every grain of powder that possibly can ought to be saved. In commemoration of that happy day he nevertheless intended to give a general invitation to all the inhabitants who should think fit to be below, to dine with him and to drink his Majesty's health and the health of all the royal family. Thomas Clough asked that his slave might be constantly employed at the fortifications at the usual allowance of ninepence a day for whole days and sixpence for Saturdayes. The slave was ordered to be set to work the following morning. John Thwaites having died intestate, the council ordered that letters of administration be granted to his widow, who presented an inventory of his estate and effects and promised to bring up her children with it as well as she could. Interpretations Cast iron trucks are the wheels of a gun carriage, and the Governor's objection to them rests on the same brittleness the twelve men had named on 16 July 1734 when they insisted the island's iron crows be wrought and not cast. A truck struck repeatedly against uneven stone under the shock of firing will crack rather than bend, so the platform must be smooth or the carriage will fail. Building the new platform of earth rather than paving it accepts a surface that needs frequent repair in exchange for one that will not destroy the carriages, which the island cannot replace: the gunner had reported three demi-cannon and three whole culverins with carriages so cracked they would not bear firing on 28 May 1734. Saving every grain of powder marks a change from the practice of the whole run. Royal salutes had consistently drawn the heaviest expenditure of any occasion, 198 lb on the Queen's birthday in March 1730 and 21 guns for the coronation as a matter of course, and the gunner's accounts show ceremonial firing costing far more than any defensive use. The annual inventory just taken closed at 140 barrels 68 lb after 22 barrels went home to England, and the council stood under apprehension of a speedy war, so the Governor substituted a dinner for the guns. Thomas Clough offers a slave to the works at the rate the inhabitants had refused all summer. The advertisement of 11 June 1734 sought six slaves at ninepence a day and drew not one, the inhabitants holding the sum insufficient to feed and clothe a man, and the council would not raise it for fear of appearing to let them impose upon the Company. Clough had been compelled on 16 April 1734 to sell the slave Orange under threat of losing his liquor

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			licence, and another of his slaves, Simon, was sentenced to two months at the fortifications on 20 August. His willingness now to hire at the standing rate reads against that history. John Thwaites was washed off the rocks while fishing and drowned about 19 September 1734, leaving a wife and seven young children in a parish the council described as hardly able to maintain itself. Granting administration to the widow gives her lawful authority to gather in and hold the estate, which is the only provision available where the parish cannot fund a proper allowance, and the estate itself must serve in place of relief.
366	362	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 15th Octr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved Mark Quilick the Jew complained that Jos Bates without any Provocation given him called him Rogue Rascal Villain Damnation Son of a Bitch, & being Sworn upon the Books of Moses declared his Charge was true & that the said Bates swore five Oaths & sold Strong Liquors without Licence he himself having paid him half a Crown for 4 Bowl of Beer & seen him take two Shillings for a Bowl of Punch of an other Person The said Bates was fined ten Shillings for Swearing & cautioned not to Sell any more Strong Liquors & having given the Jew ten Shillings for the Abuse he was dismiss It was this day Ordered that Dawson the Black of Charles Steward should for his late Crimes Work Six Months at the Fortifications to be computed from the 2 instant the day upon which he was last Apprehended The Petition of Orlando Bagley Senr was presented & read praying leave in poore to better the Circumstances of himself & his Daughter Hubbard & her two Children to take Passage for Bencoolen on board the next Ship that shall be bound from hence thither Granted provided the said Bagley either takes with him or shall Send his said Daughter off the Island before he himself goes off, & the said Bagley promised to do either one or the other The Governour Reports that the inner part of the Castle Wall which is Sixteen feet high is lately cracked & swelled out for about thirty feet next the Gate by Overhanging below the middle so that it will be in danger of falling but tis the Fortifications now Repairing at Ruperts by heavy upon us wee cannot Spare any hands to Set about this, however if the Crack will is farther wee must then build a Small Buttress against it till wee can get time to Repair it more Effectually The Councill having viewed it are of Opinion that Care ought to be taken about it as soon as the Works at Ruperts will permit	At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 October 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mark Bullock the Jew complained that James Bates, without any provocation, had called him a rogue, a rascal, a villain and a damnation son of a bitch. Sworn upon the books of Moses, he declared his charge true, and stated that Bates swore five oaths and sold strong liquors without licence, he himself having paid Bates half a crown for a bowl of punch and seen him take two shillings for a bowl of punch from another person. Bates was fined ten shillings for swearing, cautioned to sell no more strong liquors, and directed to give the Jew ten shillings for the abuse he had suffered. The council ordered that Dawson, the slave of Charles Steward, work six months at the fortifications for his late crimes, to be reckoned from 2 October, the day on which he was last taken up. Orlando Bagley senior presented a petition asking leave to better his circumstances and those of his daughter Hubbard and her two children by taking passage for Bencoolen aboard the next ship that should be bound from the island. The council granted it, provided that Bagley either take his daughter with him or send her off the island before he went himself. Bagley promised to do one or the other. Castle: The Governor reported that the inner part of the castle wall, which stands sixteen feet high, had lately cracked and swelled outward for about thirty feet next the gate, overhanging below the middle, so that it was in danger of falling. With the fortifications now under repair at Rupert's lying heavy on the establishment, no hands could be spared to set about it. Should the crack widen further, the council must then build a small buttress against it, and repairing it now would be much easier than doing so later. The council viewed the wall and was of opinion that it ought to be attended to as soon as the works at Rupert's would permit. Benjamin Pledger and James Ryder having had many disputes about the roofs of their houses, the council was asked to view them. The members went accordingly and reported that Pledger had suffered some damage from the rain leaking into his house, and they proposed that Ryder take off the flat roof of his back room and carry the roof of his house quite home to Pledger's roof, which Ryder promised to do. Both parties were content with the decision. Interpretations Selling strong liquor without a licence carried a forfeiture of £10 0s 0d for a first offence under the order Governor Byfield made on 18 April 1727, half of it going to the informer. James Bates is fined ten shillings for swearing alone, with nothing exacted for the unlicensed sale, and merely cautioned to stop. The evidence against him came from a man swearing

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		There having been many Disputes between R Pledger & Jno Ryder about the Roofs of their Houses the Council were desired to view the same who went accordingly & being Returned Reported that Pledger had received some little Damage by the Rains Leaking into his house to remedy which they proposed that Ryder should take off the flat Roof of his back Room & carry the Roof of his house quite home to Mr Pledgers Roof wch Ryder promised to do & with this Decision were both contented Margin Notes: [...]	on the pentateuch, and the council had accepted Mark Bullock's oath in the same form on 13 August 1734 when it ordered Andrew Bergue to ride the wooden horse. Accepting the testimony and then declining to apply the penalty leaves the licensing rule visibly unenforced against a man the council could reach. Dawson's six months are now dated from 2 October, which supplies the term the council had left open at the consultation of 1 October when it ordered him irons and indefinite labour until it should determine how long. Fixing the period at six months matches the sentence given to Hagar on 30 July for theft, and doubles the three months Dawson had already served since his flight on 8 June. The castle wall cracking and bulging outward over thirty feet next the gate is the third structural failure reported within a month, following the staircases blown down in the September gale and a hundred yards of the garden wall. A buttress is the standard remedy for a wall leaning under its own weight, adding mass at the base to resist the overturning force, and the Governor's point is that a crack repaired early costs a fraction of one allowed to open. The works at Rupert's absorbed every hand the island could raise, so the castle's own defences waited on a battery at the other end of the coast. Orlando Bagley senior had entered a verbal agreement with Mr Slaughter in 1730 for about 10 acres at £1,080 0s 0d and paid only £80 0s 0d before the Company stopped hiring him slave labour, and he laid a release executed at London before the council on 27 February 1733, fearing Slaughter meant to throw him and his children on the parish. The condition attached to his passage, that the daughter go first or with him, protects the parish from a woman and two children left behind, which is the same concern that governed the removal of Martha Bagg on 29 May 1733 and the wife of James Peet from the valley on 24 July 1733.
367	363	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 22 Octr 1701 at Plantacion House Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Goodwin Reports that the Works at Ruperts go on as well as fast as can be expected but there being great want of more help they cannot carry them forward with that Speed as could be wished but wished the present Season is over tis hoped the Planters will be able to Spare tis more of their Blacks & when wee can get more help wee shall be able to make better Dispatch The following Petition of Richard Beale was presented & read Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Bph Esqr Govr & the Council The humble Petition of Richard Beale Sheweth, That soon after the Arrival of the last Yearship from England the Gov: ernour some time told your Petr & Mrs Torrell that the Honble Company in Answer to a Petition Laid before them the year before by your Petr Relating to his Right to twenty Acres of Freehold Land not far then was & after tion is its Lawfully Notified & with held from him by the said Mrs Torrell	At a consultation held on Tuesday 22 October 1734 at Plantation House. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Rupert's: Captain Goodwin reported that the works at Rupert's were going on as well and as fast as could be expected, but that a great want of more help prevented them being carried forward as fast as was wished. He hoped that with the present season now over the planters would be able to spare more of their blacks, and that with more help better dispatch could be made. The following petition of Richard Beale was presented and read. Beale set out that soon after the arrival of the last store ship from England the Governor several times told him and Mary Powell that the Company, answering a petition laid before it the year before by Beale about his right to twenty acres of freehold land then in his possession and unlawfully withheld from him by Mary Powell, had directed that the matter in dispute between them be settled by arbitration. Mary Powell had many times put the question off, giving no reason or excuse, until Beale never again heard of it until the consultation of 13 August last, when he was again told the same thing. He was then asked whether he was willing to agree to it, and declared his ready consent to have it done immediately, as he had at that time first proposed, and to submit himself in every way to whatever the Company should order or determine about him. Mary Powell, being asked the same question at the same time, absolutely refused to agree to any such arbitration,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		had directed that the Matter in dispute between them should be decided by Arbitration but she having many times put the same off without giving any Plain or Positive Answer your Petr & she were again in Consultation of the 13 of August last acquainted with the same thing & your Petitioner was then asked whether he was willing to agree thereto & he immediately Declared his ready consent thereto as he also did at the time it was first proposed to him & to any & every thing that the Honble Company should order or Determine about him & the said Mrs Torrell being at the same time asked the same question she absolutely refused to agree to abide by any such Arbitration although both Parties were directed so to do by the Honble Company That upon Mrs Torrells refusing to agree to this Arbitration your Petr made Application to the Governour for a new Lease which your Petr has & Stile looks upon as a Matter due to him of common right but the Governour to your Petrs great Astonishment & Surprize told him that as the said Mrs Torrell had refused to obey the Honble Comps Directions in this particular he would not Grant a new Lease till he had first acquainted them therewith That & from Confidence that a new Lease would be Granted if the said Arbitration should be refused by the said Mrs Torrell who is a woman of Shifts & Evasions to avoid bringing this Cause to a Determination, he late the while to your Petrs great losse & Damage keeping Possession of the said parcell of Land which by fraud & many fouts Practises were was taken from him, Your Petr neglected to make any Application for one till the Shping was late past, when Worship & Councill in Shping time being always very busey & your Petr unwilling to give you any Interruption which has would the losse of much time to your Petr as least, Twelve Months at least being new required before your Petr can make such Application to the Honble Company & know their Pleasure finally in this Matter which although your Petr might certainly have in nine or ten or Months of the & Yearship being within that time expected from England That your Petr hath already been at great trouble & Expence & sued Counsell in England for advise & they have given their Opinion which the Honble Company transmitted hither in their Packet in behalf of your Petr declaring that the said Land both by Law & Justice doth belong to your Petr & that the said Torrells is without the least Pretence of Justice, & therefore your Petr with sorrow observes that the Refusing to Grant your Petr a new Lease is not only a great hardship in it self but Margin Notes:	though both parties were directed to do so by the Company. Upon Mary Powell's refusing to agree to the arbitration, Beale applied to the Governor for a new trial, which he still looks upon as a matter due to him of common right. The Governor answered, to Beale's great astonishment and surprise, that he found Mary Powell had refused to obey the Company's directions in this particular, and that he would not grant a new trial until he had first acquainted the Company with it. Beale set out his confidence that a new trial would be granted if the arbitration should be refused by Mary Powell, who uses all manner of shifts and evasions to avoid bringing the case to a determination, and who all the while goes greatly to his damage by keeping possession of the parcel of land which by fraud and many foul practices was taken from him. He was directed to make no application for a new trial while the shipping was in the road, the Governor and council being then very busy in shipping time. He never expected any answer, and delay would cost him at least twelve months, another year being required before his case can reach the Company and their pleasure be finally known in the matter, in which case his own petition might certainly have arrived within four months at the soonest, being within the time expected from England. Beale further set out that he had already been at great trouble and expense before the council in England for a hearing, and that they had given their opinion, which the Company transmitted to the island in their packet on his behalf, declaring that the land belongs by law and justice to Beale, and that Mary Powell's holding it is without the least semblance of justice. He therefore submitted that refusing to grant him a new trial is not only a great hardship in itself, but... Interpretations Beale's argument turns on the difference between an arbitration and a new trial, and on which of them a refusal by one party leaves available. Arbitration binds only those who submit to it, so Mary Powell's refusal defeats the Company's direction entirely. A new trial by jury requires no consent from the defendant, and Beale reads her refusal as removing the only obstacle to one. The Governor's answer, that he will grant nothing until London is informed, keeps the island's court out of a question the Company itself had chosen to divert away from it. The delay Beale calculates is the practical cost of referring anything to London from St Helena. A petition sent by the season's shipping and answered by the next takes about twelve months, and he had already pursued the claim through 1733 in petitions of widening scope, from twenty acres in January to sixty and more by 17 April. He was first heard on 30 January 1733, so the reference the Governor now proposes would carry the matter into a third year. Being told not to apply while the shipping lay in the road describes a real constraint rather than an evasion. The council's attention through May and June 1734 went to four Indiamen victualling, and its own accounts for those months were not laid before it until 13 August because every member had been viewing the island and preparing its defence. Beale's complaint is that a court which suspends business for the season leaves a litigant without remedy for half the year. The Powell title rests on an order brought by the <i>Arrington</i> in August 1711 and a deed executed under the Governor, council and Company together, and the executors argued on 20 March 1733 that if such a deed could be questioned no planter's title on the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Ruperts	island would be safe. Beale now produces the Company's own transmitted opinion against that deed, which converts his claim from a challenge to a settled instrument into an appeal to the authority that made it.
368	364	but seems as if the Governour was partial & unjust to your Petr & that these Delays were contrived by him on purpose to serve Mrs Torrell at the Expende of your Petr whose hard Fate it hath all along been to be neglected or Oppressed by those who ought to have shewn a more equitable Regard to the Justice of his Pretentions Your Petr therefore humbly prays that your Worship & Council will be pleased to take the Premises into your Consideracion & Grant your Petr a new Lease or, if this shall be again refused which your Petr hopes will not that the said Land may be taken into Sequestration till your Petr shall know the Honble Companies finall Pleasure touching your Petrs Right to the Land now in Question And your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray Richard Beale The Petitioner was called in & acquainted that as the Honble Company had not given full orders about this Buisyness & wee being determined to behave indifferently between both Parties it is proper to let the Matter rest as it does till the Company shall be pleased to give plainer Directions in this Affair & the rather because although the Honble Company in kindness to the contending Parties have Ordered this Matter to be decided by Arbitration yet Mrs Torrell has refused it as her Husband likewise some Years before he died refused two other Arbitrations which were at different times proposed to him about this Land first by Governour Poirier in the Year 1701 & the other by Governour Roberts in the year 1710 Mr Wood the Ensign this day made Complaint that Monsr Gosterre uses the Serjeants of the Guard who every Evening carry him the Word very unhandsomely making them very often stay an hour waiting in the Street before he will take the Word & Sometimes will not receive it at all Upon Consideration of this Matter & that he had behaved in the same rude manner in many other Instances & particularly had quitted the Comps Table where he allways dined with the Governour without giving or assigning any reason for so doing the Council were of Opinion that he did not deserve to dine there any more but with relation to the Word the Governour thinkes it may be proper for the Serjeant to carry it him a little longer as usuall A Letter from Jos Draper Soldier, to the Governour was read wherein he desired a Licence to be Married to one of the Daughters of Sarah Bradley	Beale set out that the refusal made it seem as though the Governor were partial and unjust towards him, and that the delays were contrived on purpose to serve Mary Powell at his expense. His hard fate, he said, had all along been to be neglected or oppressed by those who ought to have shown a more equitable regard to the justice of his claim. He therefore asked that the Governor and council take the matter into consideration and grant him a new trial, or, should that be again refused, that the land be taken into sequestration until he should know the Company's final pleasure touching his right to the land now in question. The petition was dated 22 October 1734 and subscribed Richard Beale. Beale was called in and told that the Company had not given full orders about the business, and that the council, being determined to behave indifferently between both parties, thought it proper to let the matter rest as it stood until the Company should be pleased to give plainer directions. The council added that although the Company had ordered the matter decided by arbitration out of kindness to the contending parties, Mary Powell had refused it, as her husband had likewise refused two other arbitrations some years before he died, both proposed at different times about this same land, the first by Governor Boivier in 1701 and the other by Governor Roberts in 1710. Gaultier: Ensign Wood complained that Colonel Gaultier used the sergeant of the guard very ill. He carried the engineer the word every evening and was handled harshly, being made to wait an hour in the street before Gaultier would take the word, and sometimes it was not received at all. The council considered the matter, together with Gaultier's having behaved in the same manner in many other instances and having quit the Company's table where he always dined with the Governor, without giving or assigning any reason for doing so. It was of opinion that he did not deserve to dine there any more. As to Ensign Wood, the Governor thought it might be proper for the sergeant to carry the word to Gaultier a little longer, as usual. A letter from a soldier named Draper was read, in which he asked a licence to marry one of the daughters of Sarah Bradley, who is now supposed to be with child by him. He being a lazy slothful fellow, the council did not think it proper to let him marry, holding that the island has an abundance of honest industrious poor already, more than it knows how to maintain, besides a parcel of lewd vicious debauched people, and that it desires no more of that breed. Interpretations Carrying the word is the daily delivery of the watchword to every officer entitled to receive it, and the order in which it goes fixes precedence in a garrison as plainly as any written table. Gaultier's insistence on being served last, or on keeping the sergeant waiting in the street, is the same claim to rank the council had rejected on 15 July 1734 when it told him he was not to sit or take place above any member of the council. The Governor's direction that the sergeant continue the practice a little longer concedes the form while conceding nothing else. Refusing a marriage licence to prevent a birth is the sharpest instrument of poor relief the council possessed. The parish had just taken on a wife and seven children after John Thwaites drowned in

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		who is now Supposed to be with Child by him, but he being a lazy Slothfull fellow wee do not think it proper to let them Marry because wee have abundance of honest industrious poor more than wee know how to maintain & these are a parcell of lewd vicious debauched People & therefore wee desire no more of the Breed of them Margin Notes: 22 Octr 1701 Gosterre	September, and Elizabeth Marsham had complained on 8 May 1733 that the customary forty shillings could not keep her. A child born to a couple the churchwardens must support falls on inhabitants the council itself described as hardly able to maintain themselves, and the licence fee of ten shillings under the table of 20 May 1731 is the point at which that liability can be refused. The woman's pregnancy is unaffected by the refusal, so the order withholds the settlement rather than preventing the child. The two earlier arbitrations refused by Gabriel Powell, proposed by Governor Boivier in 1701 and Governor Roberts in 1710, put the present dispute into a much longer frame. Margaret Beale died in June 1701 and Powell obtained the land by the order brought by the <i>Arrington</i> in August 1711, so the first refusal came within months of the death and the second in the year before the grant. The council's citing them answers Beale's charge of partiality by showing that the Powell side had declined settlement three times across thirty-three years, and it does so while still declining to act. Sequestration, which Beale asks for in the alternative, means placing the land in the hands of the court and taking its profits until the right is determined. It would deprive Mary Powell of the benefit she gains from every delay, which is precisely Beale's complaint, and it requires no finding on the title itself. The council grants neither that nor the trial, so the party in possession continues to hold and the party out of possession waits another year for London.
<u>369</u>	365	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 29th Octr 1701 at Plantacion House Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mark Quilick the Jew made complaint that Jos: Bates on Saturday last had told George Knight that he Quilick was a forsworn damned rascally Son of a Bitch & had taken a false Oath in the Cause of the Carter & himself The said Bates being present acknowledged that he did say so & was therefore fined 20s to the Honble Company for this Abuse & 20s more for Selling Liquors without Licence as proved upon him on the 15th instant which seems to be the Sole foundation of his Resentment towards the Jew who made discovery of this practice & was warned that if he sold any more Strong Liquors that the full Penalty that is the Sum of £5, would be exacted of him, & was strictly charged not to molest or abuse the Jew any more The following Letter from the said Jew to the Governour was read Worshipfull Governour Sir, I humbly desire the favour of your Worship that you will let me be Christened, I am willing to Serve the Company & as I have been brought up a Jew & I am willing to be a Christian if your Worship pleases & I am willing to go to Heaven, Sir Sundays I can say Sacraments the Ten Commandments the Lords Prayer & the Creed in English, Sir I went to the Parson & he told me that if I could I meant	At a consultation held on Tuesday 29 October 1734 at Plantation House. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mark Bullock the Jew complained that James Bates had on the previous Saturday told George Knight that Bullock was a forsworn damned rascally son of a bitch, and had taken a false oath in the case of the castle and himself. Bates, being present, acknowledged that he had said it. He was fined 20s to the Company for the abuse and a further 20s for selling liquors without licence, as proved against him on 15 October, which appears to be the real foundation of his resentment towards the Jew, who had made the discovery of that practice. He was warned that should he sell any more strong liquors the full penalty of £5 0s 0d would be exacted from him, and he was strictly charged not to molest or abuse the Jew any more. The following letter from the same Jew to the Governor was read. Mordecai Silas wrote asking the Governor's favour that he might be christened. He was willing to serve the Company as he had been brought up a Jew, and was willing to be a Christian if the Governor pleased, and willing to go to Heaven. He set out that he understood the sacraments, the Ten Commandments, the Lord's Prayer and the Creed in English. He had gone to the parson, who told him that if he could swear that he had never been christened he would christen him with the Governor's leave. He therefore hoped the Governor would be so good as to let him be christened. The letter was subscribed Mordecai Silas. The council considered the letter, and Mordecai not appearing to be a drunkard or a very bad person, it was hoped he was fit to be a Christian. The Governor was accordingly asked to speak to the minister about it. Interpretations The penalty for unlicensed sale of strong liquor was fixed at £10 0s 0d for a first offence by

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		that I never had been Christened he would Christen me with your Worships leave, & therefore I hope your Worship will be so good as to let me be Christened Mordecai Silas Upon Consideration of this Letter Mordecai not appearing to be a Drunkard nor a very bad Person wee hope he is fit to be a Christian & therefore the Governour was desired to Speak to the Minister to to Christen him	Governor Byfield's order of 18 April 1727, half going to the informer. Bates is fined 20s here and warned of £5 0s 0d on any repetition, which halves the figure again from the standing order. The council had let the offence pass with a caution alone a fortnight earlier, so the escalation is real but the sum remains far below what the rule provides, and the informer's share goes unmentioned. Two names appear for the same complainant across three consultations, Mark Bullock on 13 August and 15 October and Mordecai Silas subscribing this letter. A Jewish resident on St Helena would have carried both a Hebrew name and an English one, and the letter asking for baptism is signed with the former while the council's minutes use the latter. Nothing in the record suggests the council thought them different men. Baptism carried consequences well beyond the religious. Parish settlement, the right to relief, burial in consecrated ground and the standing to hold certain offices all followed from membership of the established church, and a man swearing on the pentateuch stood outside that structure however readily his oath was accepted. Bullock's evidence had been taken twice and acted on twice, so his want was not credibility in court but the standing that came with the sacrament. The minister's condition, that Bullock swear he had never been christened before, guards against rebaptism, which the church held invalid and irregular. The council's own test is different and entirely practical: whether the man is a drunkard or a bad person. Sophia White had been moved out of the fort in September 1732 to get her away from strong liquor, and Chaplain George White himself was reported the same year as lying dead drunk almost daily, so the council applied to a convert a standard the parish clergy had recently failed.
370	366	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 5th Novr 1701 at Plantacion House Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Account for the Month past which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt Gunners Stores Expended in Octr 1701 Guns Fired, D Cannon, W Culvering, Sakers, Powder 1701 Octr 5th: Muster Day: Powder 12 Octr 5: Exercising the Great Guns: Guns Fired 8, D Cannon 2, W Culvering 1, Sakers 5, Powder 58 Octr 30: Expence of the Guard: Powder 13 Lead Shot for the Guard 12th Cartridge Paper 6 Quire Guns Fired 8, D Cannon 2, W Culvering 1, Sakers 5, Powder 83 Ladstocks 12 Forkes 24 Sheep Skins 6 Spunge Staves 10 Spunge Heads 7 Rammer Heads 7 Handspikes 2 Bolts 6 Quoins 6 Match 12 Expence of the Table in October 1701 Vizt 450 Beef 5, 12, 6 58 Pork	At a consultation held on Tuesday 5 November 1734 at Plantation House. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their accounts for the month past, which were severally examined and approved. They follow. Gunners stores expended in October 1734. 5 October, muster day: powder 12 lb Proving the great guns: guns fired 8, demi-cannon 2, whole culverins 1, sakers 5, powder 58 lb 30 October, expense of the guard: powder 13 lb Total: guns fired 8, demi-cannon 2, whole culverins 1, sakers 5, powder 83 lb Sled shot for the guard, 12 lb Cartridge paper, 6 quires Ladles, 12 Forks, 24 Sheepskins, 6 Sponge staves, 10 Sponge heads, 7 Rammer heads, 7 Handspikes, 2 Bits, 6 Quoins, 6 Match, 12 lb Expense of the table in October 1734. 450 lb of beef, £5 12s 6d 58 lb of pork, £1 9s 0d 4 sheep, £5 0s 0d 60 fowls, £4 10s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 76 gallons of arrack, £15 4s 0d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 19s 6d 16 gallons of port, £6 4s 0d 3.5 gallons of vinegar, £1 1s 10.5d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1, 9 4 Sheep 5 60 Fowles 4, 10 4 Ducks 6 76 Gan Arrack 15, 4 18 Gan Sherry 6, 19, 6 16 Gan Port 6, 4 3½ Gan Vinegar 1, 1, 10½ 6 Bottles Ayle 19, 6 3: 3: Flour 4, 13, 9 2: 20 Bread 17, 6 1: 20 Sugar 1, 13 2 Pepper 2 12 Candy 9 55, 17½	6 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 13s 9d 2 hundredweight 20 lb of bread, £0 17s 6d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters of sugar, £1 13s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 12 lb of candles, £0 9s 0d Total, £55 12s 7.5d Interpretations The second image supplies the column headings the first leaf carries only as ruled lines, and they read guns fired, demi-cannon, whole culverins, sakers and powder. Demi-cannon appear in this month's proving where the earlier accounts of the same series named demi-culverins, so the classes fired changed rather than the form of the return. Proving now reaches demi-cannon for the first time in the run. These are the heaviest pieces on the line, and the gunner had reported three of them on 28 May 1734 with carriages so cracked they would not bear firing. The Governor's proposal of 8 October to build a new earth platform at Munden's for four great guns, one a demi-cannon, followed directly from that difficulty, and the two pieces proved here are the test of whether the repaired mountings will hold. Bits and quoins appear as expended stores for the first time in these monthly returns. A quoin is the tapered wooden wedge driven under the breech to set a gun's elevation, and it wears and splits under the shock of firing heavy charges. Six of them going in a single month of proving measures how hard the pieces were worked, and the annual inventory taken on 30 September had carried 108 quoins in store against 122 budge barrels. Beef on the table rose to 450 lb, the heaviest of any month in this run, though the road stood empty and no vessel had called since July. The council had dined the inhabitants generally on the anniversary of the King's coronation on 13 October, the Governor having given a public invitation in place of the customary salute to save powder, and that dinner accounts for the rise. Pork fell to 58 lb from 138 lb in September, the hog herd having closed the Company's year at 91 head.
371	367	[The column headers are lost above the visible portion of the page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Remg 1: Octr 1701: 50, 148, 45, 30, 98, 50, 7, 428, 106, 40, 19, 4, 169, 14, 20, 10, 45, 2, 91, 36, 108, 15, 5, 5, 8, 13 Increased in ditto: 5, 5, 14, 50, 10, 1, 1, 1 50, 148, 45, 30, 98, 50, 7, 428, 106, 40, 24, 4, 174, 14, 20, 10, 45, 2, 91, 50, 158, 25, 6, 6, 8, 14 Killed in ditto: 3, 3, 4, 4, 3, 3, 60, 4 50, 145, 45, 30, 98, 50, 7, 425, 102, 40, 24, 4, 170, 14, 20, 7, 45, 2, 88, 50, 98, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Dead in ditto: 5, 2, 7 Remg 31: Octr: 50, 145, 45, 30, 93, 48, 7, 418, 102, 40, 24, 4, 170, 14, 20, 7, 45, 2, 88, 50, 98, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 20500 Ditto delivered the Blacks 23200 Totall 43700th This day Jos: Bates paid into the Honble Compy Cash the Sum of Twenty five Pounds due to John de Myfay & Aponso decd	Remaining 1 October 1734: bullocks 50, cows 148, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 98, calves 50, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 428, ewes 106, wethers 40, lambs 19, rams 4, sheep in all 169, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 10, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 91, turkeys 36, fowls 108, ducks 15, geese 5, horses 5, mares 8, horses and mares in all 13 Increased in October: lambs 5, sheep in all 5, turkeys 14, fowls 50, ducks 10, geese 1, horses 1, horses and mares in all 1 Killed in October: cows 3, lambs 3, sheep in all 4, barrows 3, hogs in all 3, fowls 60, ducks 4 Dead in October: yearlings 5, calves 2, neat cattle in all 7 Remaining 31 October: bullocks 50, cows 145, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 93, calves 48, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 418, ewes 102, wethers 40, lambs 24, rams 4, sheep in all 170, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 7, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 88, turkeys 50, fowls 98, ducks 21, geese 6, horses 6, mares 8, horses and mares in all 14 Yams expended at the several plantations, 20,500 lb Yams delivered the blacks, 23,200 lb Total, 43,700 lb The heading row of this account is blank, and the identity of each column has been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Joseph Bates paid into the Company's cash that day the sum of £25 0s 0d, due to the estate of John de Mesa y Aniento, deceased. Interpretations Seven cattle died in October against three killed and none sold, the heaviest mortality since the drought months at the start of the year. Five yearlings and two calves were lost, so the deaths fell entirely on young stock, and the herd dropped to 418 from 428 at the month's opening. The Company's year had closed at 428 on 30 September, so the new year opens with a fall of ten head in its first month and no vessel in the road to account for any of it. The stud rose to 14 with a horse born in the month, a second addition after the horse and mare entered in July 1734. Horses had stood at 11 through the whole of 1733 and the early months of 1734, and the reference records no purchase in either year, so both increases came by breeding. Carriage over broken ground mattered more than usual with stone going to Turk's Cap and the Rupert's works under repair. Bates's payment of £25 0s 0d continues the slow discharge of a bond that expired in June 1734. He was found on 28 August 1733 to owe £246 19s 2.5d to the estate rather than to be its creditor, and paid £25 0s 0d on 11 June 1734 saying he had no money by him and asking further time. A second payment of the same amount five months later leaves the greater part still outstanding, and the council had resolved on 10 June to send the gold and valuable effects home to the Company in a box marked with the Spaniard's name. The yam issue held at 43,700 lb against 48,300 lb in August, the two shares again entered separately. Poultry increased by 50 fowls, 14 turkeys and 10 ducks in the same month, so the plantations' portion was feeding stock that had at last begun to reproduce faster than the table consumed it, the fowls having closed the Company's year at 108 against 62 the year before.
372	368	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 12th Novr 1701 at Plantacion House Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that he is at a losse what to think of Monsr Gosterres unaccountable & unpleasant behaviour, he has pretended to a great deal of Merit but there was his whole Management & then his Arrivall here he has neither used Company & the Temper, either as Sort of Application to any kind of Study & Buisyness but continued Idleness with vain Excursions upon his own part, & from allwayes distinguished in her he thinks wee have not so good an opinion of him as he himself has of himself He came here to be Surveyor of the Works of which he takes no manner of Notice nor has done any thing towards them notwithstanding the large Pay he was to be allowed for it He left the Honble Companies Table without the least manner of notice but goes about privately caballing with some of the People as a Male	At a consultation held on Tuesday 12 November 1734 at Plantation House. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Gaultier: The Governor reported that he was at a loss what to think of Colonel Gaultier. The engineer was unaccountable and indifferent in his behaviour, pretended to a great deal of merit but showed none, and his whole management since his arrival had been unfriendly and displeasing to everyone in his temper, refusing any kind of application to any body. He was in no manner of application to any kind of study or business, but contrived seemingly with vain accounts upon his own part. He seemed always disturbed when he thought the council had not so good an opinion of him as he held of himself. He came out as Surveyor of the works, of which he took no notice at all, and had done nothing towards them notwithstanding the large pay he was to receive for it. He left the Company's table without the least civility and went about privately cabbaging with some of the people at a small tenement he keeps. He was at his house the greater part of the day but went out at night, where nobody knew, and his shoes, which he first came here pretending, and his legs, first failed him and went lamely. Whenever he was seen to walk alone he walked as if he were very heavy. He still keeps his shoes out and if he intended by his lameness to have his going to any place on the island, his backwardness to be dispensed with, he probably did not like the country, but he had lately,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Contented he keeps his house the last part of the day but at Night goes out constantly, he not Cash his Slaves who he first came here pretending he begs & first failed him & meant Family, but whenever he is seen to walk alone he walks as wee are any body that he sees here, his Slaves out as if he intended by that Cause to hazard tis going to any place on the Honble Comps Buisyness to be dispensed with, he probably not to like the Country but has Lately from one of his Confederates which Catharina & Fussekonar has Rasfle & Gunder Sent him by which he went through the Country to see our Fortifications lately made at such a Gan Party where he Report about Smaller houses in the Journey which looks so like the behaviour of a Spy that though the rest of his Conduct had not been Suspicious even this private Compassion from divers & Gentlemen & Talk to the Ingineer & Cause to enquire what Works these & how he came to be Recommended to the Honble Company in the manner he has been of which for what appears to me he seems to be the most unfit He, Gov: knows farther added Gentlemen, you all know how unmannerly & how kindly he has been treated, by me especially, & you all know his Cheerlesse & Morose Behaviour & other his indifferent Management also in them for that each of you will give in your Judgement what notice is proper to be taken of a Man who behaves himself so ill And that I shall have some light into what his is that you will each of you against next Tuesday give me a Reperition & to which of his Character as you have heard from himself, and whether upon the whole it is proper to permitt a Male Contented Frenchman to go to any of the out Parts of this Island in that Report manner he has done especially when wee are Apprehensive of a War with France Do you give your Opinions freely & impartially & Serve as it according to your Advice & the Honble Companies Interest The following Petition was presented & read To the Worshipfull Isaac Bph Esqr Governour of St Helena The humble Petition of Wm Goodwin Gent Sheweth, That William Slaughter late an Ensign at this Place in the Service of the Honble Company was about six years agoe Sent off this Island for Misbehaviour That during the time he was in the said Service he became Indebted Margin Notes: Gosterre possibly a Ferry	from one of his gentlewomen, which Gaultier was a gentlewoman, had Madame Squire sent him, by which he went through the country to see our fortifications lately made at Sandy Bay Valley where he stayed about twelve hours in the journey, which looks so like the behaviour of a spy. Although the rest of his conduct had not been suspicious, even his private acceptance from divers gentlemen, it is not improper for the council to enquire what works this man came to be recommended to the Company in the manner he had been, or what appears to him to have been to his own conduct. The Governor further added that every member knew how unaccountably and how kindly he had been treated by him repeatedly, and that they also knew his cheerful and unaccountable behaviour and his indifferent management. He therefore asked that each of them give his own judgement on what notice was proper to be taken of a man who behaves himself so. He added that he had some light into what he is, that the council must each of them, against that Tuesday, give him a representation or account of his character as they had heard from himself, and whether upon the whole it is proper to permit a man who wanders and is a stranger to go to any of the outer parts of the island in that secret manner as he had done frequently when the island is under apprehension of a war with France. The Governor asked them to give their opinions freely and impartially, and to write as according to their judgement and the Company's interest. The following petition was presented and read, addressed to the worshipful Isaac Pyke, Governor of St Helena. Beale set out that William Slaughter, late an ensign in this place in the service of the Company, was about six years earlier sent off the island for misbehaviour, and that during the time he was in the service he became indebted... Interpretations The Governor's charge that Gaultier's movements resembled those of a spy rests on a specific circumstance rather than on general suspicion. The engineer travelled to Sandy Bay Valley and viewed the fortifications lately made there, which is precisely the work he had been sent to design and had refused to attend. Every landing place on the island had been surveyed and reported on since June 1734, the council standing under apprehension of a speedy war with France, and Gaultier is a Frenchman by birth. The council had already recorded on that ground alone, in its resolutions read to him on 15 July, that complying with his demands would mean handing the island to a Frenchman for fear the French should come and take it. Requiring each councillor to deliver a separate written opinion is Governor Pyke's settled method, applied here to a man rather than to a question of works. He had required the same on the island's waters on 15 August 1732, directing that no opinion be given until every member had walked the ground and tasted each source, and again on 30 October 1733 when each councillor was to report separately on preventing the running away of blacks. The effect is to produce four independent papers that can be sent home together, which matters where the council intends to move against a Company appointee it has no power to dismiss. Gaultier's withdrawal from the Company's table is treated as an offence in itself, and the council had already resolved on 22 October that he did not deserve to dine there any more. The table was the point at which the Governor, the councillors and visiting commanders met daily, and the list of eaters

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			was recorded in every annual muster. A man who left it removed himself from the only setting where the island's business was conducted informally, which is why his absence there is entered alongside his failure to attend the works. The claim of lameness is recorded with visible scepticism, the Governor noting that the engineer walked heavily when observed and travelled the country freely when not. Joseph Bates had pleaded infirmity to avoid paying a debt in December 1727 and was found by his creditor moving about as usual, and the surgeon Gibson had done the same. Physical incapacity was the standard defence against a duty on this island because it could not be tested, and the council's response in each case was to record what witnesses saw rather than to challenge the plea directly.
373	369	to your Petr in a Sum upwards of £100 for Goods Supplied him out of the Honble Companies Stores which were from time to time delivered to him for the Support of his Family without any Apprehension at that time of loosing the Debt he being then in a good Employment That when he was Sent off he was Possessed of a parcell of Freehold Land of about ten Acres which was then Set apart for the Maintainance of his Wife but she being lately dead & the Land Reverting to him & his heirs & the whole Debt remaining yet unpaid Your Petr therefore humbly prays that in Consideracion of the said Goods were the Honble Companies for which your Petr hath allready paid & that all the Profits arising from the Sale thereof became theirs & hath been actually paid them, that the said parcell of Land may be Invested in your Petr & his heirs towards making him some amends for the great losse that he hath already Sustained thereby And your Petr shall ever pray Jno Goodwin Orlando Bagley Senr the Person in whose Possession the Land now is being present when this Petition was read, said that he had some Demands upon it he was therefore Ordered to make out his Account as soon as he could & to attend when he was ready At a Consultation held on Tuesday 19 Novr 1701 at Plantacion House Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Grew The last Consultation was read & Approved Joseph Bates among Severall others having Subscribed twenty days Work towards compleating the Path from the Plantation House in Sandy bay when this help was demanded by the Overseer he denied that he had wrote any such Paper & being shewn a Copy of it he again said that he had never Signed it nor given any body Power to Set his name thereto & that if his name was there it was forged all which he this day affirmed before us, whereupon the originall & from which he had Signed was shewn him & he was	Slaughter had become indebted to Beale in a sum of upwards of £100 0s 0d for goods supplied him out of the Company's stores, which were from time to time delivered to him for the support of his family without any apprehension at that time of losing the debt, he being then in good employment. Beale set out that when Slaughter was sent off the island he was possessed of a parcel of freehold land of about ten acres, which was then set apart for the maintenance of his wife. She having lately died and the land reverting to him and his heirs, the whole debt remains unpaid. He therefore asked that, in consideration of the goods having been the Company's, for which he had already paid and had likewise paid the profits arising from the sale, the parcel of land be vested in him and his heirs towards making him some amends for the great loss he had already suffered. The petition was dated 12 November 1734 and subscribed John Goodwin. Orlando Bagley senior, the person in whose possession the land now is, was present when the petition was read. He stated that he had some demands upon it, and was ordered to make out his account as soon as he could and to attend when he was ready. At a consultation held on Tuesday 19 November 1734 at Plantation House. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Joseph Bates, among several others, had subscribed twenty days' work towards completing the path from the Plantation House to Sandy Bay. When his help was demanded by the overseer, he denied that he had signed any such paper. Being shown a copy of it, he said that he had never signed it nor given anybody power to set his name there, and that if his name were there it was forged. All which he this day affirmed before the council, whereupon the original was shown him. He recognised his own hand, was told of the seriousness of the offence, and was asked by the overseer who saw him subscribe it whether it would make it right. Thereupon he said he was now convinced that it was his own hand, but that he had forgotten it, begging pardon for the accusation he had made of forging his hand. Being appointed a sergeant to the whole country, he was fined towards the further repair of the road forty days' work extraordinary as a warning to him hereafter, to which he promised a due compliance. Interpretations Beale asks for the land itself rather than for a money judgement, which is the only remedy available where the debtor has been removed from the island. William Slaughter was released from prison on 1 April 1729 on security given, after nearly

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		told of the difficulty & the Person who See him Subscribe it would make it all thereby but he said he was now convinced that it was his own hand but he had forgot it & begd Pardon but the Exclamation he had made of forging his hand being a plain Affront to the whole Country he was found towards the farther Repair of the Road forty days Work extraordinary as attaining to him hereafter to which he promised a due Compliance	five months, and Mr Crisp had obtained a warrant to arrest him for debt in November 1728 when he threatened to leave. Vesting the freehold in the creditor converts an unenforceable claim against an absent man into a title in possession, and Beale's ground for asking it is that the goods were the Company's own and he had already made them good. The ten acres were set apart for the maintenance of Slaughter's wife, which describes a life interest rather than a settlement in fee. By the island's custom, confirmed in the will of John Young on 21 May 1734, a widow holds half the real estate for life among lands purchased during the marriage, and the estate reverts on her death. Her dying accordingly restores the whole to Slaughter and his heirs, and it is that reversion, not any interest of hers, that Beale now seeks. Subscribed days of work are the mechanism by which the island raised labour for its roads without money. The vestry had agreed on 21 July 1734 to build the fortifications with the inhabitants' own hands, the Company finding guns and carriages, and the same principle governs highway repair. A subscription of twenty days is a debt payable in labour, and denying the signature is therefore an attempt to escape a charge as real as any sum of money. Fining Bates forty days rather than exacting the twenty he owed doubles the obligation and converts the penalty into more of the same commodity the island lacked. The council had failed all summer to hire slaves at ninepence a day, and every runaway sentenced through those months went to the fortifications. Bates himself had been found on 3 May 1731 to have advanced a forged claim to the whole Mesa estate, and had paid a second £25 0s 0d into the Company's cash on 31 October 1734 against a debt of £246 19s 2.5d, so a man with that record accusing an overseer of forging his hand invited the harsher answer.
374	370	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 26th Novr 1701 at Plantn House Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Mary Torrell & her Son James were accused by John Bagley for Setting Dogs upon his Cows & doing him great Damage one of the best Milch Cowes being killed & an other very much bugged by their Dogs so that it is likely to die, the Widow Torrell at the Same time calling out to her Servants to beg them well & to kill the last; & her Son James when he was desired to forbear buging the Cows swore that he could pay for them if he did kill them for he had money enough & the damage the said Bagley hath suffered thereby is at least ten Pounds It was therefore ordered that in Recompence for the Damage the said Bagley hath received Mrs Torrell do change the dead & the wounded Cow & Calf & that all the Fences between them be put into good & tenantable Repair within twenty days & that they pay a fine of five Shillings to the Honble Company & to hang immediately the dog called Jowler	At a consultation held on Tuesday 26 November 1734 at Plantation House. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Mary Powell and her son James were accused by John Bagley of setting dogs upon his cows and doing him great damage. One of the best milch cows was killed and another very much wounded by their dogs, so that it was likely to die. The widow Powell called out at the same time to her servants to keep them until the last, and her son James, when he was desired to forbear keeping the cattle, swore that he could pay for them if he did kill them, for he had money enough. The damage Bagley had suffered stood at least at ten pounds. The council therefore ordered that in recompense for the damage he had received, Mary Powell make good the dead and the wounded cow and calf, and that all the fences between them be put into good and lasting repair within twenty days. It further ordered that they pay a fine of five shillings to the Company, and that the dogs be hanged immediately. Gaultier: The Governor reported that he had received written accounts from Captain Alexander, Captain Goodwin, Mr Crisp, Mr Barney the chaplain and several others, relating to the character and behaviour of Colonel Gaultier. The papers were delivered to the secretary, who was directed to bring them into method and order and to lay them before the council on the following Tuesday. At a consultation held on Tuesday 3 December 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Governour Reports that he has received an Account in Writing from Capt Alexander, Capt Goodwin, Mr Crispe, Mr Coney the Chaplain, & from Severall others, relating to the Character & behaviour of Monsr Gosterre, & the said Papers were delivered to the Secretary who was directed to reduce them into Method & Order & to lay them before us on Tuesday next At a Consultation held on Tuesday 3d Decr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This day the Gent of Councill made the following Report to the Governour Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Bph Esqr Govr of the Island St Helena Sir, According to the Order of Tuesday last I have Overlooked and Examined the Severall Papers & Reports which have been laid before you by ourselves or others relating to the Character & rude and Indifferent behaviour of Monsr Gosterre since his Arrival here in which I have been Assisted by the other Gentlemen of Councill & from the said Papers & Reports confirmed by what wee have at Severall times had from his own Mouth it appears that his Title of Colonel is all Imposture, for wee heard even from himself Margin Notes: Gosterre Gosterre	Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The gentlemen of council made the following report to the Governor. Gaultier: According to the order of the previous Tuesday, they had gone over and examined the several papers and reports laid before the Governor by themselves or others, relating to the character and rude and indifferent behaviour of Colonel Gaultier since his arrival on the island, and to the way he had been treated by the other gentlemen of council. From those papers and reports, confirmed by what they had at several times heard from his own mouth, it appeared that his title of Colonel is an imposture, for they had it even from himself that... Interpretations Hanging the dogs is the standard remedy on this island where a beast cannot be otherwise restrained, and the council had ordered it twice against John Long, on 21 January 1729 and again on 11 November 1729, over the Company's goats. The measure falls on the animal because the owner cannot be convicted, the evidence in those cases having come from blacks whose testimony was inadmissible. Here the evidence came from a free man and the owners were reached directly, yet the dogs went the same way. James Powell's answer, that he could pay for the cattle if he killed them, states plainly what the whole family's conduct suggests. He had been committed to prison on 29 January 1734 for pulling down the Company's pasture walls at night with two of his mother's blacks, so that the ground lay open to be grazed chiefly by her stock, and the survey of James Crafford's ground on 28 March 1734 found a Powell grazing 21 head on sixty acres belonging to others while holding nine poor acres of his own. Treating a neighbour's cattle as a purchasable loss is of a piece with that record. The order to repair every fence between the two holdings within twenty days addresses the cause rather than the incident. Cattle on St Helena ran on open pasture, and the ear mark was the only proof of title, which is why the council had ruled on 19 March 1734 that mingling stock was a gross and unlawful way of stealing the marks. Where fences fall, the holder with least land and most stock takes the whole advantage at no cost, and the council had summoned the trustees of Crafford's land to answer for exactly that failure. Requiring each councillor to deliver a written account and then having the secretary bring the papers into method and order produces a single composite document for London. The Governor had used separate written opinions on the island's waters in August 1732 and on runaway slaves in October 1733, but ordering them consolidated is new, and it answers the difficulty that the council cannot dismiss a Company appointee. A collated report of the character of a man the directors chose and sent is the only sanction available, and the finding that his title of Colonel is false goes to the recommendation itself rather than to his conduct on the island.
375	371	that he never was a Colonel only that once he had been in a Station that was as high a Stamp, as he pretends, as a Lieutenant Colonel, & that was in Courland At his first Setting out in the World he was in the french Sea Service for Eleven Years & he has been in the Service of the late King James at La Hogue Bay, he has been in Scotland too, wee suppose	Gaultier had never been a colonel, but had once held a station of as high a rank as he pretends, that of lieutenant colonel, and that was in Courland. At his first setting out in the world he was in the French sea service for eleven years, and he had been in the service of the late King James at La Hogue Bay. The council supposed he had been in Scotland too, in the late rebellion, since it did not remember his mentioning his particular employment there,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		in the late Rebellion, because wee dont remember he mentioned his particular Employment there which he never fails doing when he thinks it will turn to his Credit When he left the Sea Service he commenced Soldier & was for a long time, & tile very lately a Lieutenant of Dragoons & has been in the Service of most of the European Princes & sometimes in Secret Employments, which wee take to be a Spy though according to what wee find of him such a Man could not be very fit for it & however if he had behaved well in any of those Service & it seems strange to us that when a generall War was apprehended to break out that none of them in whose Service he had been would Employ him again Sir Charles Wager wee believe took him for such a Man because he says himself that Sir Charles would have had him go to Brest & Thoulon for that purpose but he did not care to go to France on such an Affair because he thought it would look like a Spie to be a Spy upon his own Country But he has said at other times that because of a Duell with the Governour of Brest he fled from thence & tis Outlawed, so that he cannot return there without the King of Frances Pardon & if so, wee do not wonder that he did not accept of Sir Charles Wagers Proposal of going there for an Intelligencer He has Served the King of Portugal but there he was a Suspected Man, & therefore as he says himself he was kept four Months in Prison He has Served the Emperour, the King of Spain the Czarina the King of Prussia the King of Poland & the States of Holland but tis so ill as he would, they approved of his behaviour none of them would let him have his bread among them His highest Preferment was under the Count of Saxony the naturall Son of the late King of Poland who Employed him as an Engineer to Fortify a Place in Courland & Count Sackrom used to make him a Captain of Horse if he Succeeded, but the Muscovites came soon after he had finished his Works & took him one of them & then Demolished the Place keeping him Prisoner where he was in danger of being put to Death but had the good luck to break out of Prison & Escape to Poland where he Petitioned for some Recompence for his Sufferings & one of the Kings Mistresses got him Six hundred Dollars with which he came to England In England he found a Kinsman of his who is a Servant to Sir Charles Wager & is employed by Sir Charles to transcribe	which he never fails to do when he thinks it will turn to his credit. When he left the sea service he became a soldier and was one for a long time, and until very lately a lieutenant of dragoons. He had been in the service of most of the European princes, and sometimes in secret employments, which the council took to be spying. According to what it found of him, such a man could not be very fit for it if honour was required. Yet if he had behaved well in any of those services, it seemed strange that when a general war was apprehended none of the princes in whose service he had been would employ him again. Sir Charles Wager was believed to have taken him for such a man, because Gaultier said himself that Sir Charles would have had him go to Brest or Toulon for that purpose, but that he did not care to go to France on such an affair because he thought it would look like a spy upon his own country. He had said at other times that because of a quarrel with the Governor of Brest he fled from there and was outlawed, so that he cannot set foot in France without the King's pardon. If so, the council did not wonder that he did not accept Sir Charles Wager's proposal of going there for intelligence. He had served the King of Portugal, but there he was a suspected man, and therefore, as he says himself, he was kept four months in prison. He had served the Emperor, the King of Spain, the Czarina, the King of Prussia, the King of Poland and the States of Holland. But however well they approved of his behaviour, none of them would let him have his bread among them. His highest preferment was under the Count of Saxony, natural son of the late King of Poland, who employed him as an engineer to fortify a place in Courland, and who promised to make him a captain of horse if he succeeded. The Muscovites came soon after he had finished his works, took him out of them and demolished the place, keeping him prisoner where he was in danger of being put to death. He had the good luck to break out of prison and escape to Poland, where he petitioned for some recompense for his sufferings, and one of the King's mistresses got him six hundred dollars, with which he came to England. In England he found a kinsman of his who is a servant to Sir Charles Wager, and Sir Charles had long employed him to translate his French papers for him. Frequenting a coffee house after seeing this kinsman, he became acquainted with a gentleman who speaks good French and Dutch and who has great interest with the English East India Company, to whom Gaultier's kinsman made application on his behalf. Being backed by Sir Charles Wager's interest, this procured the East India Company to employ him as Surveyor of their works and military fortifications on the island of St Helena, which he does not appear to the council to understand, or else he has some secret of evil consequence which is his main intention. He had approved of none of those works that the island had before he... Interpretations The battle at La Hogue in 1692 destroyed the French fleet assembled to carry James the Second back to England, so a man who served there was on the Jacobite side of a war England fought against France. The council's addition that he was probably in Scotland during the late rebellion places him in the rising of 1715, and the phrasing shows it inferring rather than reporting: Gaultier never mentions that service, and he mentions every other. Both points bear on the same question, whether a

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		his French Papers for him & going to a Coffee House after to see this Kinsman he became acquainted with a Gentleman that speaks good French & Dutch & has great Interest with the English East India Company to whom Monsr Gosterres Kinsman made Application in his behalf & that being backed by Sir Charles Wagers Interest thus procured the said East India Company Employed him to be Surveyour of their Works & Military Fortifications in the Island of St Helena which he does not appear to us to understand & yet he has some Secret & of evil Consequence what is his main Intentions He has approved of none of those Works that wee had before he	man employed to fortify an English possession against France has any reason to want it defended. Courland was a duchy on the Baltic under Polish suzerainty, and the Count of Saxony named here is Maurice de Saxe, natural son of Augustus the Strong, who was elected its duke in 1726 and driven out by Russian forces within two years. That episode dates Gaultier's highest employment precisely and explains its brevity: the works he built were demolished by the Muscovites almost as soon as they were finished, and his reward came not from any prince but from six hundred dollars obtained through a royal mistress. Sir Charles Wager was First Lord of the Admiralty, and the council traces his recommendation to its actual source. Gaultier's kinsman served in Wager's household as a translator of French papers, and the introduction to the Company came through a coffee house acquaintance with a merchant who had interest there. The council had established on 3 December 1734 that Gaultier admitted he was not acquainted with Wager personally, so the whole weight of the appointment rests on a servant's connection rather than on any assessment of the man. Serving in the secret employments of a succession of foreign princes is the substance of the espionage charge, and the council draws its conclusion from an absence rather than from evidence. None of those princes would take him back when a general war was expected, which the council reads as their own verdict on his usefulness. That reasoning matters because the island stood under apprehension of war with France, and the Governor had reported on 12 November that Gaultier travelled the country at night and viewed the new fortifications at Sandy Bay in a manner that looked like a spy's.
376	372	would have had a large Fortification which is the Line at Ruperts & a Work of very great Expence, Demolished, for him to build two others in their place, & promised to Search & Examine all our great Guns but wee were obliged to do it Ourselves because when wee desired he would Examine two or three every day as they were discharged, he refused to do it unless they were all Unloaded & drawn together which wee take at this time to be a thing of too dangerous Consequence when wee have reason every day to expect an Enemy at our Gates & therefore ought not to have our chief Fortification divested of its Defence to please a man wee are not sure is entirely in the Interest of our Honble Masters the East India Company Specially one who immediately after he had agreed with the Company to come here in their Service waited upon the french Ambassadour as he himself says to offer him his Service & so he hath acknowledged this wee are the more cautious of him Since he hath been amongst us he has behaved himself more like a Spy than a friend, but his folly & Presumption soon discovered his Design for he has at times demanded to have the Command of the Freeman, the Island Planters under him at an other time to have the	Gaultier would have had a large fortification, which is the line at Rupert's, and a work of very great expense, demolished for him to build two others in their place. He promised to search and examine all the great guns, but the council was obliged to do it itself, because when it desired he would examine two anchors every fifty, as they were discharged, he refused to do it unless they were all unloaded and drawn together, which the council took at this time to be a thing of too dangerous consequence when the island might expect an enemy at its gates every day. Its chief fortification therefore ought not to be deprived of its defence, and it is not safe to keep a man who is entirely in the interest of the enemies of the Company. He is especially so, being one who immediately after he had agreed with the Company to come out in their service waited upon the French ambassador, as he himself says, to offer him his service. That he has acknowledged, which makes the council the more cautious of him. Since he has been on the island he has behaved more like a spy than a friend, and his folly and presumption soon discovered his design. He has at times demanded the command of the garrison and of the island planters under him, at another time the chief command of all the military people, and at another time to be above the whole council. He has been so extravagant in his claims and so negligent in his own duty that the council does not think him proper to be continued in the Company's service any longer. It is the council's duty to declare so, and it has no room to doubt but that the Company, when it comes to know this man's evil behaviour, will be of the same opinion. His personal behaviour to the Governor has been so exceedingly rude and insolent that the council

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		chief Command of all the Military People then at an other time to be above all the Councill & he has been so extravagant in his Claims, & negligent in his real Duty that wee do not think him proper to be continued in the Honble Companies Service any longer & as this is a our Duties to declare so wee have now come to doubt but that the Honble Company when they come to know this Mans evil behaviour will be of the same opinion His personall behaviour to the Governour has been so unspeakably rude & Insolent that wee wonder he has had Patience with him so long but it is not for his private behaviour only but for his publick behaviour also that wee think renders him wholly unfit for the Post he was Recommended to, though the other Incivilities with his morose & Arrogant Carriage at the publick Table which he has lastly quitted of himself without any notice given or cause assigned for doing so, are so like the Insolence of a french Dragoon that wee think no English man ought to bear it & that he ought not to be admitted again to that Table where he behaved himself so ill & has so unhandsomely relinquished He has pretended to be lame & cut his Shoes as if he were so but he has taken opportunities to go to the Out Parts of the Island privately to view our new Fortifications at Turks Cap Valley lately, & long after he had declined doing any of the Works which wee think ought not to be allowed after he has given such great Reason to distrust his Conduct & therefore wee recommend it to the Governour to use proper means to prevent it He has been among the People to intimidate them & make them believe they are in no Security & that these Fortifications are not Defensible & whatever he may think of it, it is a bold & impudent thing & not fit to be allowed, though wee are convinced they do not look upon him as a Man of Sufficient Judgment in what he pretends to nor can he terrify Men which wee conclude is what he Aims at, & though wee think he ought not to be feared yet wee think he ought not to be trusted nor Suffered to proceed in such Insolence & Presumption Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D Crispe Margin Notes: 3 Decr 1701	wonders he has had patience with him so long, and not for his private behaviour only but for his public behaviour also, which the council thinks renders him wholly unfit for the post he was recommended to. His other incivilities, with his coarse and arrogant carriage at the public table, which he has lately quitted of himself without any notice given or cause assigned for doing so, are so like the insolence of a French dragoon that the council thinks no Englishman ought to bear it. He ought not to be admitted again to that table where he behaved himself so ill, and has so unhandsomely relinquished. He has pretended to be lame and cut his shoe as if he were so, but he has taken opportunities to go to the outer parts of the island privately to view the new fortifications at Turk's Cap Valley lately, and long after he had declined doing any of the work which the council thinks ought not to be allowed. After he has given such great occasion to distrust his conduct, the council therefore recommended it to the Governor to use proper means to prevent it. He has been among the people to intimidate them and make them believe they are in no security, and that the fortifications are not defensible. Whatever he may think of it, it is a base and impudent thing and not fit to be allowed, though the council is convinced they do not look upon him as a man of sufficient judgement in what he pretends to, nor can he terrify them with such new courage as what he aims at. Though the council thinks he ought not to be feared, yet it thinks he ought not to be trusted nor suffered to proceed in such insolence and presumption. The report was dated 3 December 1734 and subscribed John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. Interpretations The refusal to examine the guns unless all were first unloaded is the technical heart of the council's case against Gaultier. A gun kept loaded cannot be inspected internally, so his demand was professionally correct. The council had resolved on 11 June 1734 that every piece on the line and at each place of defence be kept constantly charged even in peace, the more necessary under apprehension of a speedy war, and stripping the whole line at once would leave the island's chief work defenceless for as long as the survey took. What the council reads as obstruction is a genuine conflict between two duties it had itself created. Waiting on the French ambassador after contracting with the Company is the single admitted fact on which the whole charge of divided loyalty rests. Gaultier acknowledged it himself, which is why the council enters it without qualification, and it converts every other complaint into evidence of a settled purpose. The island stood under apprehension of war with France, had been surveyed at every landing place since June 1734, and its new works at Turk's Cap and Rupert's were the very things he travelled privately to view. Telling the inhabitants that the fortifications will not hold strikes at the arrangement the vestry agreed on 21 July 1734, by which the planters supply the labour at their own charge while the Company finds the guns and carriages. That bargain depends entirely on the inhabitants believing the works worth building, and the twelve men consulted on 16 July had settled a scheme resting on natural ground, lookout parties and iron crows rather than on masonry. An engineer telling them their own plan is indefensible undermines the only means by which anything was being built. The council's language throughout sets English conduct against French, comparing his carriage to the insolence of a French dragoon and holding that

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			no Englishman ought to bear it. That framing had appeared in the resolutions read to him on 15 July, when the council recorded that yielding to his demands would mean handing the island to a Frenchman for fear the French should come and take it, and set his birth against Captain Cason's, the lieutenant's and the gunner's English origins. A report going home over three councillors' signatures repeats it deliberately, since the directors who chose him would read it.
377	373	At a Consultation held on Thursday 4 Decr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved This Morning Monsr Gosterres Conduct & behaviour having for a long time past been very rude, doubtfull & Suspicious wee sent for him & being come the Governour told him that he Monsr Gosterre had been lately at Turks Cap Valley to view the Fortification newly built there & desired him to tell us whether he approved of them or not to wch he inghtly & his Answer, Sir, I am in the Companies Service or not, if I am I will give an Answer, & he was told by one in their Service but neverthesse he went from his Word & refused to give his Opinion about it upon which the following Paper was read to him Vizt Since Monsr Torrell Gosterre has been amongst us he has behaved with great folly & Presumption, he was appointed by the Honble Company to be Surveyor of their Works which he has wholly disregarded & instead thereof he has at times demanded the whole Government of this Place, he first Claimed the Command of all the Freemen Planters & Stationed on the Line at an other time the chief Command of all the Military People, at an other time is has intreated to be above all the Councill, & is not only extravagant in his Demands & Claims of Privilege but wholly negligent in his real Duty so that wee do not think him proper to be Continued in the Honble Comps Service any longer & as this is the Duty of us all to declare so wee have no reason to doubt but that the Honble Company when they come to know his ill behaviour will be of the same opinion His personall behaviour to the Governour has been so excessively rude & Insolent that wee wonder he has had Patience with him so long but it is not for his personall behaviour alone but his publick behaviour also that wee think renders him wholly unfit for the Post he has been Recommended to though his other Incivilities with his Morose & Arrogant Carriage at the publick Table wch he has lately quitted of himself without giving any notice or assigning	At a consultation held on Thursday 5 December 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Gaultier: The conduct and behaviour of Colonel Gaultier having for a long time past been very rude, unaccountable and unpleasant, the council sent for him that morning. When he came, the Governor told him that he had lately been at Turk's Cap Valley to view the fortification newly built there, and asked him to say whether he approved of it or not, and to what he thought his answer might be in the Company's service. Gaultier said that he would give an answer if it were asked for by those in the Company's service, and he was told by one in their service that he must, but nevertheless he went from his word and refused to give his opinion. The following report was accordingly read to him. Since Colonel Gaultier has been on the island he has behaved with great folly and presumption. He was appointed by the Company to be Surveyor of their works, which he has wholly disregarded and neglected. He has at times demanded the whole government of the place, first claiming the command of all the garrison, the planters and the men stationed on the line, at another time the chief command of all the military people, and at another time to be above the whole council. He is not only extravagant in his demands and claims of privilege but wholly negligent in his own duty, so that the council does not think him proper to be continued in the Company's service any longer. It is the council's duty to declare so, and it has no room to doubt but that the Company, when it comes to know his ill behaviour, will be of the same opinion. His personal behaviour to the Governor has been so exceedingly rude and insolent that the council wonders he has had patience with him so long, and not for his personal behaviour alone but for his public behaviour also, which the council thinks renders him wholly unfit for the post he has been recommended to. His other incivilities, with his coarse and arrogant carriage at the public table, which he has lately quitted of himself without giving any notice or assigning any cause for doing so, are so like the insolence of a French dragoon that the council thinks no Englishman ought to bear it. He ought not to be admitted again to that table where he behaved himself so ill and which he has so unhandsomely relinquished. He has pretended to be lame and cut his shoes as if he were so, but he has taken opportunities to go to the outer parts of the island privately to view the new fortification at Turk's Cap Valley lately, and long after he had declined doing any of the work, which the council thinks ought not to be allowed. After he has given great occasion to suspect his conduct, the council therefore recommended it to the Governor to use proper means to prevent it. He has been among the people to intimidate them and to make them believe they are in no security, as he tried to make them discontented, which the council takes to be a base and impudent thing and not fit to be allowed. Though the council knows the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		any cause for doing so are so like the Insolence of a french Dragoon that wee think no English man ought to bear it & that he ought not to be admitted again to that Table where he behaved himself so ill & has so unhandsomely relinquished He has pretended to be lame & cut his Shoes as if he was so but he has taken opportunities to go to the out Parts of the Island privately to view the new Fortification at Turks Cap Valley lately & long after he had declined doing any of the Work which wee think ought not to be allowed after he has given great reason to Suspect his Conduct & therefore wee Recommended it to the Governour to use proper means to prevent it He has been among the People to intimidate them & to make them believe they are in no Security & as tried to make them discontented which wee take to be a bold & impudent & not fit to be allowed though wee know the People do not look upon him as a Man of Judgment in what he pretends to & consequently will not be terrified & by him which wee think is what he Aims at & though wee think he ought not to be feared yet wee think he ought not to be any longer trusted nor Suffered to proceed in such Insolence & Presumption The Governour therefore considering the reasonableness of Margin Notes: Gosterre	people do not look upon him as a man of judgement in what he pretends to, and consequently will not be terrified by him, which the council thinks is what he aims at, and though it thinks he ought not to be feared, yet it thinks he ought not to be any longer trusted nor suffered to proceed in such insolence and presumption. The Governor therefore considering the reasonableness of this... Interpretations Reading the report to Gaultier's face is a procedural step with a specific purpose. A man charged in writing to the Company must be able to answer, and a report delivered in his presence forecloses any later claim that he was condemned unheard. The council had used the same method against Joseph Bates on 9 October 1733, opening the sealed box before him and weighing the gold share by share, and against Mary Powell on 13 August 1734 when it put the Company's direction to her in council and recorded her refusal. The question the Governor put to him, whether he approved the Turk's Cap work, is the trap the whole exchange turns on. Gaultier had travelled privately to view that fortification while claiming lameness, so he had seen it. Approving it would concede that a scheme drawn by the inhabitants and staked out by the Governor was sound, and condemning it would confirm the charge that he goes among the people telling them the works will not hold. He refused to answer either way, which is the refusal the report then records. The council's phrase about the people not looking on him as a man of judgement carries a practical calculation rather than mere contempt. The vestry had agreed on 21 July 1734 to build the works with the inhabitants' own hands, and that arrangement collapses if the planters believe the fortifications useless. Assessing whether the engineer's talk had actually shaken them determines how urgent the matter is, and the council concludes it has not, which lets it treat the offence as insolence rather than as sabotage. Barring a man from the public table is a heavier sanction on St Helena than it appears. The list of eaters was recorded in every annual muster, and the table was where the Governor, the councillors, the chaplain, visiting commanders and passengers of note met daily. Exclusion removes a man from the island's entire social and administrative life, and the council frames it as a consequence of Gaultier having left of his own accord rather than as a penalty imposed, which keeps the form of the thing intact while making the separation permanent.
378	374	this Remonstrance of the Council assured them that as Mr Torrell Gosterres behaviour has been so indiscreet & Indolent about the Buisyness the Honble Company sent him here for & so assuming in all other Matters that he does fully & entirely agree with them that he is not worthy of the Honble Companies Service & shall not be continued in it any longer, & therefore you Mr Torrell Gosterre are intirely dismiss & discharged from the Honble Companies Service of this Island & shall not be continued in it any longer And the Governour gives you Strict Charge not to Intermeddle with any of our Affairs here nor to do any thing that may create any	The council's remonstrance assured Gaultier that his behaviour had been so indiscreet and indolent about the business the Company sent him out for, and that his assuming in all other matters what does not belong to him, that the members entirely agreed he is not worthy of the Company's service and shall not be continued in it any longer. Dismissed: The council therefore discharged him entirely from the Company's service on the island, and directed that he should not be continued in it any longer. The Governor gave him strict charge not to intermeddle with any of the island's affairs, and not to do anything that might create any disturbance among the people any more, on pain of answering for it. He had never desired to go to any part of the country, and when he did go he went in that private and improper manner already described. At the request of the whole council he was accordingly forbidden to go into the country any more, and told

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		manner of Disturbance among the People any more as you will Answer the contrary at your utmost Peril, & as you have never of your self desired to go to any parts of the Country but when you did go you went in that private & improper manner beforementioned & wee therefore at the Request of all the Council forbidd your going into the Country any more & if you refuse to observe this Order you will oblige us to confine you as a Prisoner Upon your quiet Demeanour you shall be well used And you must thank your self for this which you have forced us to do in order to convince you that wee will not be imposed upon When these Papers were read he said they were all false & unjust & that wee had no Power to dismiss him although before they were read he asked whether he was in the Service or not which Question implied that he believed wee had such Power & therefore he was inconsistent with himself when he asked it, but whether he believed so or not the Question put to him having immediate Regard to the Honble Companies Interest & the Safety of their Shipping, & whether he was pleased with it or not he ought in Duty to have answered, which wee are Sorry to observe is far from the case to have given his Opinion very frankly & freely about the Matter, but he absolutely refused to do it & for this & the other reasons mentioned in Consultation of Tuesday last & in many others wee dismiss him the Honble Companies Service It is very remarkable that whilst these Papers were reading in which he is called Mr Torrell Gosterre he frequently interrupted us saying, but I have a Title, haven't I a Title, what! do you take my Title away, I never knew a Man turned out without giving him his Title, but you haven't Power to turn me out not In that he turned out by any body, tis as fond of a Title as a Child of a Rattle though as far as wee can find he never had any higher Preferment than a Lieutenantship of Dragoons Margin Notes: Dismissed	that should he refuse to observe the order he would oblige the council to confine him as a prisoner. Upon his quiet demeanour he would be well used. He was told that he must thank himself for this, which he had forced the council to do in order to convince him that it would not be imposed upon. When the papers were read he said they were all false and unjust, and that the council had no power to dismiss him. Nevertheless, before they were read he had asked whether he was in the service or not, which question implied that he believed the council had such power, so that he was inconsistent with himself when he asked it. Whether he believed so or not, the question put to him had immediate regard to the Company's interest and the safety of their shipping, and it was a matter he ought in duty to have known. The council was sorry to observe that he was so far from being pleased with it, and from giving his opinion frankly and freely about the matter, that he absolutely refused to do it. For that and the other reasons stated in the consultation of the previous Tuesday, and for many others, the council dismissed him from the Company's service. It is very remarkable that while these papers were being read, in which he is called Mr Gaultier, he frequently interrupted the council, saying that he had a title, that he had a title, and asking what they meant by taking his title away. He said he never knew a man turned out without being given his title, and that they had no power to turn him out. He is as fond of a title as a child of a rattle, though so far as the council can find he never held any higher preferment than a lieutenantancy of dragoons. Interpretations The council's power to dismiss a Company appointee had never been established, and Gaultier's denial of it goes to the heart of the dispute. The record shows the same difficulty with Chaplain George White in July 1732, when Governor Pyke could offer inducements and warnings but had no means of replacing a man appointed from London, and with every Company commander who sailed in defiance of the convoy orders. What the council does here is act first and let the Company judge afterwards, exactly as it had entered the exchange with the June 1729 fleet in the general letter as its only remaining sanction. Forbidding him the country under threat of confinement converts a dismissed officer into something close to a detainee. The council had no charge to lay and no court to try him in, so the restriction rests on the apprehension of war with France and on his own admitted visit to the French ambassador after contracting with the Company. Movement about the island had been controlled before by the night curfew on slaves ordered on 12 October 1730, but applying such a restraint to a free European in the Company's own employment has no precedent in this record. Dropping the style of Colonel from the papers is deliberate and Gaultier read it correctly. The council had found on 3 December that the title was an imposture, his highest rank having been lieutenant colonel in Courland, and calling him Mr Gaultier in a document going to London strips the credential that procured him the post. The question of rank had run through the whole affair since 15 July, when he claimed to sit next after the Governor and was told he ranked below the chaplain by Governor Roberts's regulation. His question whether he remained in the service, asked before the papers were read, is treated by the council as an admission. A man certain that only London could remove him has no reason to ask the island, and the council uses the inconsistency to

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			answer his later denial. That reasoning matters more than it appears, since the record of his own words is the only support the council can offer the directors for an act it had no clear authority to perform.
379	375	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 10th Decr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 6 instant the Newcastle, Decker, & Bedford arrived here from Massarine where they Wintered having lost their Passage as soon as the Captains were come on Shoar & wee delivered each of them the usuall Orders to hear us, Copies of their Invoices are as follow Vizt Invoice p Bedford Vizt Arrack 160 Gan p Bates 88 Sugar 10 Bags qty 44: 2: 19 90 Batta 10 p Cent 9 99 Rice 47 Bags qty 68: 3: 20 89, 8, 6 Batta 10 p Cent 8, 15, 3 98, 7, 9 Gurrahs blew 4 5 gr 6rs 8 p Corge 253, 2 Charges Merchandize 37, 4 Rupees 576, 7, 9 Invoice p Decker Vizt Arrack 161 Gan 80, 0 Batta 10 p Cent 8 88 Sugar 10 Bags qty 44: 2: 19 120 Batta 10 p Cent 12 132 Rice 48 Bags qty 170: 1: 7 91, 6, 9 Batta 10 p Cent 9, 2, 3 100, 9 Wax Candles 2 Chests qty 2: 2: 19 140 Charges Merchandize 30, 3 Rupees 490, 12 Invoice p Newcastle Vizt Rice 27 Bags qty 54 Garah 92, 80 Batty 31 Bags qty 272 Morah 45 Goa Arrack 246 Gall p 20 p hh of 48 Gan 100 Charges Merchandize 48, 3, 19 Rupees 290, 3, 99 The Governour Reports that notwithstanding Mrs Torrell was Ordered at the Complaint of John Bagley Senr on the	At a consultation held on Tuesday 10 December 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Newcastle</i>, <i>Decker</i> and <i>Bedford</i> arrived on the 8th from Mocharine, where they wintered, having lost their passage. As soon as the captains came ashore they delivered the packet, and the council gave them the usual orders to heave in upon alarms. Copies of their invoices follow. Invoice of the <i>Bedford</i>. Arrack, 160 gallons at 60 rupees, 88 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of 14 maunds 2 seers 19 chittacks, 90 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, 99 rupees Rice, 47 bags of 68 maunds 3 seers 20 chittacks, 89 rupees 8 annas 6 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees 15 annas 3 pies, 98 rupees 7 annas 9 pies Gurrahs blue, 45 pieces at 61 rupees 8 annas the corge, 253 rupees 2 annas Charges merchandise, 37 rupees 4 annas Total, 576 rupees 7 annas 9 pies Invoice of the <i>Decker</i>. Arrack, 161 gallons at 80 rupees, 80 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, 88 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of 14 maunds 2 seers 19 chittacks, 120 rupees Batta at 10 per cent, 12 rupees, 132 rupees Rice, 48 bags of 170 maunds 1 seer 7 chittacks, 91 rupees 6 annas 9 pies Batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees 2 annas 3 pies, 100 rupees 9 annas Wax candles, 2 chests of 2 maunds 2 seers 19 chittacks, 140 rupees Charges merchandise, 30 rupees 3 annas Total, 490 rupees 12 annas Invoice of the <i>Newcastle</i>. Rice, 27 bags of 54 farah, 97 rupees 80 pies Paddy, 31 bags of 272 maunds, 45 rupees Goa arrack, 246 gallons at 20 rupees the butt of 48 gallons, 100 rupees Charges merchandise, 48 rupees 3 annas 19 pies Total, 290 rupees 3 annas 99 pies The Governor reported that Mary Powell had been ordered on 26 November, upon the complaint of John Bagley senior, to kill the dog that worried his cattle. Bagley told the council that day that she had not complied, so the council directed the marshal to go to her house and shoot the dog, which he did accordingly. Interpretations Three ships arrived together after wintering at Mocharine, having lost their passage. A vessel that misses the sailing season on the Indian coast must lie up until the monsoon turns, which delays her by months and explains why the island had seen nothing since July. The road had stood empty through five months, the beef trade stopping entirely in that period, and the herd fell from 441 head to 418 with no sale recorded. Gurrahs are plain coarse cottons from Bengal, sold by the corge, a unit of twenty pieces. The <i>Bedford</i> carried 45 pieces valued at 253 rupees 2 annas, which is by far the largest single line in her invoice and quite unlike the arrack, sugar and rice that make up the standard island consignment. Cloth in that quantity was meant for sale to the inhabitants through the storekeeper rather than for the Company's own establishment.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		26th of last Month to kill the Dog that worried his Cattle, the said Bagley this day acquainted him that she had not complied therewith, she therefore Ordered the Marshall to go to her house & shoot the said Dog & he shot him accordingly	A farah is a Mocha measure of capacity used for grain, and its appearance in the <i>Newcastle's</i> rice line confirms she laded on the Arabian side rather than in Bengal. Her cargo carries no sugar at all, only rice, paddy and Goa arrack priced by the butt, which places her trade on the western route. The council had seen the same distinction in the <i>Princess of Wales</i> on 23 June 1734, whose Bombay lading of sugar by the candak and Goa arrack was quite unlike the Bengal supplies. Sending the marshal to shoot the dog after the owner ignored the order shows the council enforcing its own decree at the second attempt. It had ordered on 26 November that the dogs be hanged immediately, and Mary Powell simply did not comply, as she had refused the arbitration directed by the Company on 13 August. The remedy is the same one applied against John Long on 21 January 1729 and 11 November 1729, when warrants issued to the marshal to kill every dog belonging to him, and the pattern is consistent: where the council cannot compel the owner it destroys the animal.
380	376	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 17th Decr at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Rosa a black Wench belonging to the Widow Sale having broke down the Water Course & prevented the Water from Runing to the Shiping who complained for want thereof the said Wench was Ordered not to Stop the Water any more but she having impudently done the Same thing again she was Ordered to be whipt with thirty Lashes Mrs Brazee & Mrs Harding having used Gunpowder to light their fires, by which their Houses were in danger of being burnt & the Powder & a Slash which Mrs Brazee had in her hand taking fire flew into her face & burnt her in a terrible manner & therefore to prevent these Accidents for the future wee fined their husbands viz: James Harding 2/6 & Thomas Brazee 6d & agreed to fine the next that shall be caught using Gunpowder 10s & if that dont do wee will Increase the fine to £5 Hugh Williams the Gardener having formerly made it his Practice to Entertain drunken Sailours at the Plantation House in the Governours Absence & to let out the Black Wenches to them as Whores for money as mentioned in Consultation of the 5th of June 1700 wee then dismist him the Service, yet upon promise of Amendment wee restored him, but having on Saturday last contrary to repeated Orders been again guilty of the same lewed Practices & Entertained four more drunken Sailours all Night at the Plantacion House, endeavouring to procure black Whores for them & so turn the house into a bawdy House, wee resolved to prevent it & have discharged him	At a consultation held on Tuesday 17 December 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Rosa, a slave woman belonging to the widow Isaac, had broken down the water course and stopped the water running to the shipping, whose people complained for want of it. She was ordered not to stop the water any more, but having impudently done the same thing again she was ordered to be whipped with thirty lashes. Mrs Bazett and Mrs Harding had used gunpowder to light their fires, by which their houses were in danger of being burnt. The powder flashed in Mrs Bazett's hand as she held it, flew into her face and burnt her terribly. To prevent such accidents in future the council fined their husbands, James Harding 2s 6d and Thomas Bazett 6d, and agreed to fine the next person caught using gunpowder in that way 10s. Should that not answer, the fine would be increased to £5 0s 0d. Hugh Williams the gardener had formerly made it his practice to entertain drunken sailors at Plantation House in the Governor's absence, and to let out the slave women to them as whores for money, as recorded in the consultation of 5 June 1733. The council dismissed him the service then, but restored him on his promise of amendment. On the previous Saturday, contrary to repeated orders, he was again guilty of the same lewd practice, and entertained four more drunken sailors all night at Plantation House, endeavouring to procure black whores for them and so turning the house into a bawdy house. The council resolved to prevent it and discharged him from the Company's service. That became the more necessary after Mr Durling the overseer reported that if the management of the garden were left any longer to his care there would be nothing in it, not so much as a salad, as was the case the previous year. As fast as the fruit ripened it was gathered by the sailors, Williams having twenty drunken sailors there at one time who gathered the fruit and broke the vines and trees all to pieces. Each of the captains now in the road was told that if they would carry him to England, where he desired to go, they might have him working his passage. Interpretations Water for the shipping is the island's principal commodity after beef, and interfering with the supply strikes at the whole basis of the settlement. Governor Pyke had weighed six samples against Bristol water on 8 August 1732 after Wilkes Smith

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		the Honble Comps Service, which was become the more necessary Mr Burling the Overseer having told us that if the Management of the Garden was trusted longer to his care there would be nothing in it, not so much as a Sallad as was the case last Year & as fast as the Fruit Ripened it was gathered by the Sailours, the said Williams having let in twenty drunken Sailors at a time who gathered the Fruit & broke the Vines & Trees all to pieces, & each of the Captains now here were told that if they would carry him to England where he desired to go they might have him he working for his Passage	told ships' officers the crane supply was brackish, and had hired 20 slaves to cut a trench carrying the salt springs into the sea. Three ships lay in the road when Rosa broke the channel, and the council's answer of thirty lashes for a second offence measures how directly a stopped water course threatens the island's standing with commanders. Using gunpowder to light a fire treats a military store as a domestic convenience, and the danger extends well beyond the two households. Thatch and dry timber made fire a constant hazard in the valley, which was John French's argument for a new magazine on 25 September 1733, and the fines here are trifling against that risk. Two shillings and sixpence and sixpence stand against a threatened 10s and then £5 0s 0d, so the council prices the first instance almost at nothing while announcing the scale it will apply next time. Fining the husbands for their wives' conduct follows the ordinary rule that a married woman had no separate legal standing and her husband answered for her acts. The council had reached the same result by a different route on 21 November 1727, binding Margaret Simpson over for good behaviour rather than punishing her, on the express ground that she was a woman. The penalty falls where the property lies. Dismissing Williams a second time closes a matter the council had left open eighteen months earlier. He had petitioned on 26 February 1734 that he knew nothing of gardening in a climate so different from England's and had been entirely useless, asking that his passage home be applied to Bencoolen instead, and he was told on 28 May that he might go to England whenever he pleased, being useless on the island. Working a passage rather than being carried as a paid passenger is the cheapest possible removal, and it costs the Company nothing.
381	377	At a Consultation held on Thursday 19th Decr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that yesterday he recd a Letter from each of the Captains now in the Road Vizt Letter from Capt Wells Vizt Sir, Being in great want of Severall Sorts of Stores & Provisions I beg you will be pleased to Supply me with the following particulars vizt 3 Coiles Cordage 5½ Inch 2 ditto 3 ditto 1 ditto 2¾ ditto 1 ditto 2½ ditto 7 Bolts of Canvas 2 Barills of Tar 1 Cable of 16 Inches 1 ditto of 12 ditto 20 Gall of Linseed Oyle 500 of yellow Paint 1 Hand Vice 4 Barills of Pitch 36 Bushells of Goats 1000 of Padda 5325 of Bisquet	At a consultation held on Thursday 19 December 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor reported that on the previous day he had received a letter from each of the captains now in the road. Letter from Captain Wells: Wells wrote that he stood in great want of several sorts of stores and provisions, and hoped the council would be pleased to supply him with the following particulars. 3 coils of cordage, 6 inch 2 coils of cordage, 3 inch 1 coil of cordage, 2.25 inch 1 coil of cordage, 2.5 inch 7 bolts of canvas 2 barrels of tar 1 cable of 16 inches 1 cable of 17 inches 20 gallons of linseed oil 500 lb of yellow paint 1 hand vice 2 barrels of pitch 36 bushels of coals 1,000 lb of paddy 5,325 lb of biscuit 9,100 lb of rice 3 casks of flour 20 gallons of lamp oil 20 bags of sugar 150 lb of turpentine Wells added that one John Young, who had been a seaman aboard the <i>Bedford</i> but left her at Calcutta in 1733, was now a soldier in the garrison at the island. Having entreated him to gain the council's permission to take him on board again, and having

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		9100 of Rice 3 Casks of Flour 20 Gall Lamp Oyle 20 Bags Sugar 12 Turpentine One John Young who was a Seaman on board the Bedford but left her at Malacca anno 1700 & is now a Soldier in the Garrison at this Place, having intreated me to gain your Permission & to take him on board again, as I have but a weak Ships Company I beg the favour of you to grant his Request & am with great Respect Worshipfull Sir Your most obedt & most humble Servt Wm Wells To this wee Replied as follows Vizt Sir, In Answer to your Letter of yesterday wherein you desire to be furnished with Severall parcells of Stores of various Sorts for your homeward bound Passage wee assure you wee are willing to Supply you with every thing wee can possibly Spare which are as follow Vizt All the Cordage Oyle, Turpentine, Pitch, Tar, Goates, Canvas, & Paint you have desired, you shall have of the Sorts you mention if wee have them Wee have only one Cable of Fifteen Inches but from Captain Williamson wanting each of you wee wee hope you will agree between your Selves which of you shall have it Wee have not any hand Vice in the Stores Wee cannot Spare any Rice or Padda, you were to have delivered us 47 Bags of Rice qty 7720 which you have not done though wee much want it Margin Notes: Sir Decr 18th 1701 Sir	but a weak ship's company, Wells asked the favour of the council to grant the request. The letter was dated 18 December 1734 and subscribed William Wells. The council answered as follows. In reply to the letter of the previous day, in which Wells asked to be furnished with several parcels of stores of various sorts for his homeward passage, the council assured him that it was willing to supply him with everything it could possibly spare, which is as follows. Of the cordage, oil, turpentine, pitch, tar, coals, canvas and paint he had required, he should have of the sorts he mentions if he had them shown. The island had only one cable of fifteen inches, but since Captain Williamson wanted east of him, the council hoped the captains would agree between themselves which of them should have it. The island had no hand vice in the stores. The council could not spare any rice or paddy. Wells had been due to deliver 47 bags of rice of 17 maunds 20 seers, which he had not done, though the island much wanted it. Interpretations A homeward Indiaman refitted at St Helena because it was the last place before the Atlantic passage where anything could be had, and Wells's list covers the whole range: standing and running rigging, sailcloth, caulking materials, paint to preserve the hull and five months of provisions. The island's warehouse existed to serve exactly this trade, and the storekeeper's collections for 1734 carry cordage, canvas, tar, pitch, linseed oil and lampblack as standing lines against just such demands. Cable of sixteen or seventeen inches refers to circumference rather than diameter, and a rope of that size is the ground tackle by which a ship of the line rides at anchor. Only one cable of fifteen inches remained in store, short of what either captain asked, and the council pushed the choice back to the commanders rather than deciding between them. That is the same posture it had taken over convoy orders since 1729, having no power to compel a Company commander and preferring an arrangement the captains settle themselves. Refusing rice while noting that Wells had failed to deliver 47 bags of it inverts the ordinary relation between ship and island. The consignments carried out from Bengal were the island's own supply, entered in the invoices of every arriving vessel, and the storekeeper's account for October 1734 charged 60 hundredweight of rice to the Company's slaves at £30 0s 0d. A commander who withheld the island's provision and then asked for 9,100 lb of it received the only answer the council could give. John Young's case turns on the difference between desertion at an intermediate port and a lawful discharge. A seaman who left his ship at Calcutta in 1733 forfeited everything accumulated on the voyage, and the island had absorbed several such men into the garrison during 1733 and 1734 on terms of three months' labour without wages. Returning him to the same ship's company he abandoned would restore a hand to a weak crew, and the council's practice through the run had been to keep such men, the establishment standing at 42 able men by John Durling's memorial of 4 June 1734.
382	378	Unless you Send us the ten Bags of Sugar which according to your Bill of Lading wee ought to receive wee cannot Spare you any for at the time of your Arrivall wee had not a pound in the Store	Unless Wells sent the ten bags of sugar which by his bill of lading the island ought to receive, the council could spare him none, since at the time of his arrival it had not a pound in the store. He had already had three casks of bread at 18d, which showed how much the council was willing to assist him. In his extremity he might have one more

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		You & wee already had three Casks of Bread of 12 & to give you Proof how much wee are willing to assist you in this Extremity in which you are wee will let you have one Cask of Bread more of 12 though by so doing wee shall Straighten Ourselves very much Wee can Spare you no more Flour than you have already had which was the Governours for the Company & had not any Yams if it be kept dry & out of the Weather will probably keep near a Month but they Spoil in a fortnight if they are laid in the Wett, & of these you may have what Quantity you please Wee have but few Potatoes because the Rains for three Seasons past having failed us the Lands that formerly used to produce them in great Plenty will not now yield them but in very Small Quantities, for the same Reason wee have not any Beans You may have what number you please of Cattle either for Salting or to carry on board alive & wee will help you to a few Sheep Young the Soldier you mention Stayed here out of the Trinnex but for from Encouraging any Sailours to Desert their Ships wee made him by way of Punishment do three Months Duty without Pay in order to deter others from doing the like hereafter but there being great Repre: sentations of after wee & afterwards Listed him as a Soldier, however if you desire to have him wee are willing to oblige you & to Exchange him for an other able bodied Man for as the Apprehensions of a War seem daily to increase wee instead of parting on so valuable a Man shall stand in need of a Supply of two hundred to Strengthen our Garrison & protect our Shipping from the Attacks of an Enemy, but as it happens wee have a fellow named Hugh Williams who wee believe will be willing to work for his Passage home & be able to hawle upon the Sheets & Braces & do such Work as Landmen are usually fit for, but wee will by no means impose upon you, he is a Sot & always Drunk if he can get at Liquor & such a Man as they will be of Service, you shall have him, he came here as Gardener but his Drunkenness has rendered him intirely usslesse in that Buisyness, wee are &c Letter from Capt Williamson Vizt Sir, Having occasion for the following Stores I desire that you be pleased to Order that I may be Supplied with them out of the Stores Vizt 4 Anchor 27 1 Cable 16 Inch 2 Casks of Bread 20 Bags of Rice 6 Bunches of Beef or Pork 10 Gan of Sallad Oyle 20 ditto Lamp oyle 1 Cask of Turpentine 1 Bar Tar	cask of bread at 15d, though by so doing the island would straiten itself very much. The council could spare him no more flour than he had already had, which was the Governor's own and not the Company's. Yams, if kept dry, will probably keep near a month, but they spoil in a fortnight if they are laid in the wet. Of these he might have what quantity he pleased. The island had but few potatoes, the rains for the three seasons past having failed the lands that formerly produced them in great plenty, so that they would not now yield them except in very small quantities. For the same reason there were no beans. He might have what number he pleased of cattle, either for salting or to carry on board alive, and the council could help him to a few sheep. As to the soldier Young, the council answered that he had strayed out of the <i>Frances</i>, but since encouraging any sailors to desert their ships makes the island a party, it had punished him with three months' duty without pay in order to deter others from doing the like hereafter. He being afterwards a fit man, the council entertained him as a soldier. However, if Wells desired to have him, the council was willing to oblige him and to exchange him for another able bodied man. Upon the apprehension of a war, the island stands in need of a supply of two hundred men to strengthen the garrison and protect the shipping from the attacks of an enemy, so that it cannot spare any. It happened that the island had a fellow named Hugh Williams whom the council was willing to work for his passage home, and able to haul upon the sheets and braces and do such work as a landsman is usually fit for. The council would by no means impose upon Wells: he is a sot and always drunk if he can get at liquor. If such a man will be of service, Wells shall have him. He came out as gardener, but his drunkenness has rendered him entirely useless in that business. Letter from Captain Williamson: Williamson wrote that having occasion for the following stores, he asked that the council be pleased to order that he be supplied with them out of the island's stores. 1 anchor of 24 hundredweight 1 cable of 16 inch 2 casks of bread 20 bags of rice 6 hundredweight of beef or pork 10 gallons of linseed oil 20 gallons of lamp oil 1 cask of turpentine 1 barrel of tar 1 coil of rope of 3.5 inch 1 coil of rope of 3 inch 1 coil of ratline 2 bolts of canvas 50 bushels of coals 1 cask of pitch The letter was dated 18 December 1734 and subscribed Edward Williamson. Interpretations The council supplies a homeward commander at cost while refusing what it cannot replace, and the distinction runs through the whole answer. Cattle and yams may be had in any quantity, since the herd stood at 418 and the yam issue at 43,700 lb a month. Sugar, flour, rice and beans are refused outright, all of them imported and none obtainable until the next season's shipping. The three casks of bread at 18d and a fourth at 15d show the price falling as the concession is stretched, which is the council conceding on terms rather than on quantity.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		1 Coile of Rope of 3/4 Inch 1 ditto of 5 1 ditto of Ratling 2 Bags of Vitry 30 Bushells of Coales 1 Cask of Silver, I am Sir Your most humble Servt Ed Williamson Margin Notes: Sir Decr 18th 1701	Three seasons of failed rains had destroyed the potato ground, which is a heavier loss than the passage suggests. Potatoes from the Great Wood had carried the slave establishment through the yam failure of January 1729, running to 954 bushels in the year to September 1729, and the crop was the island's only reserve when the yams ran short between harvests. Its collapse leaves the establishment wholly dependent on yams and imported rice, and the storekeeper's account for October 1734 accordingly charged 60 hundredweight of rice to the blacks. Offering to exchange Young for another able bodied man rather than simply returning him states the island's position exactly. It had entertained him as a soldier after three months' unpaid labour, the standard penalty for a seaman leaving his ship, and it now stands under apprehension of war needing 200 men from England. A man is a man whatever ship he came from, so the council will trade one body for another but will not reduce its number by one. Describing Hugh Williams as a sot to the very captain being asked to carry him is a calculated piece of honesty. The council had dismissed him twice, most recently on 17 December for turning Plantation House into a bawdy house, and it wants him off the island badly enough to offer him free. Concealing his character would risk the same complaint the <i>Harrington's</i> short consignment drew in March 1733, and a commander who takes him knowing the truth cannot afterwards charge the council with imposition.
383	379	To this wee Answered as follows Vizt Sir, You have desired Severall Sorts of Stores which you shall want in your Passage from hence to England & wee will assist you in every thing wee can Wee will Spare you an Anchor of 25: 2: 20 its the largest wee have Capt Wells as well as you has desired a Cable but wee have only one of 15 Inches & as the Interest of the Honble Company and your Owners are equally concerned in this Buisyness wee hope you will Settle this point between your Selves Wee cannot Spare you any Rice our Seasons have been bad, many poor Families are in great want & by your Invoice wee ought to have received 48 Bags Such Salt Provisions as wee have shall be Spared you, if what wee have is not Sufficient wee have Cattle enow you may Salt more, wee will Spare you a few Sheep if you want any Every thing else you have asked for shall be delivered to you, nor is there any thing in our Power to oblige you in which wee will be Deficient, wee are &c PS The Flour you have had was the Governours own, the Company have not any, & he was willing to oblige you Letter from Capt Lewes Vizt Sir, I beg you'll Supply me with the following Stores for the Use of the Ship Newcastle Vizt Bread	The council answered Williamson as follows. He had asked for several sorts of stores which he would want on the passage from the island to England, and the council would assist him in everything it could. It would spare him an anchor of 25 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 lb, the largest the island had. Captain Wells had asked for a cable as well as he, but the island had only one of fifteen inches. The interest of the Company and their owners being equally concerned in the business, the council hoped they would settle the point between themselves. It could spare him no rice. The seasons had been bad, many poor families stood in great want, and by his own invoice the island ought to have received 48 bags. Such salt provisions as the island had would be spared him, though what it had was not sufficient. It had cattle enough, so he might salt more, and the council would spare him a few sheep if he wanted any. Everything else he had asked for would be delivered to him, nor was there anything in the council's power to oblige him in which it would be deficient. The answer was dated 19 December 1734, with a postscript that the flour he had received was the Governor's own, the Company having none, and that the Governor was willing to oblige him. Letter from Captain Lewes: Lewes wrote asking that the council supply him with the following stores for the use of the ship <i>Newcastle</i>. Bread, 22 hundredweight Rosin, 2 hundredweight Cordage, 3 hundredweight 0 quarters 21 lb Nails, 16 lb Brimstone, 1 hundredweight 0 quarters 22 lb White lead, 10 lb Sugar, 2 hundredweight Pitch, 1 barrel Tar, 1 barrel Salt, 1 cask

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		22 Rosin 2 Cordage 3 21 Nailes 16 Brimstone 1, 22 White Lead 10 Sugar 2 Pitch 1 Barill Tar 1 do Salt 1 Cask Linseed Oyle 6 Gall Sallad Oyle 3 Gall Lamp Oyle 16 Gall, I am Worshipfull Sir Yr most humble Servt Jos Lewes This wee Answered in the following manner Vizt Sir, Wee upon all occasions shall be very glad to assist you & in every thing you have desired in your Letter you shall have except the larger the Quantity of Bread & the former wee cannot possibly Spare any nor can wee let you have more than 8 Bread for our Stock is very low, many Shipping are expected, & in any poor Families, the Rains having failed are reduced to great Extremities for want of Provisions Such you may have in what number you please if you cannot be furnished by the Planters wee will let you have a few Sheep for your own Use, wee are, Sir Your most humble Servts PS The Flour you have had is the Governours own the Company have not any & he was willing to oblige you Margin Notes: 18th Decr 1701 19th Decr 1701 19th Decr 1701	Linseed oil, 6 gallons Sweet oil, 3 gallons Lamp oil, 16 gallons The letter was dated 19 December 1734 and subscribed Joseph Lewes. The council answered in the following manner. It would upon all occasions be very glad to assist him with everything he had asked for in his letter, and he should have it all except the larger quantity of bread. Of the bread it could not possibly spare any more than 8 hundredweight, and could not let him have that much, since the island's own stock is very low, many ships are expected and many poor families stand in want, the rains having failed and reduced them to great extremities for want of provisions. He might have such salt as he pleased in what number he wanted, and if he could not be furnished by the planter the council would let him have a few sheep for his own use. The answer was dated 19 December 1734, with a postscript that the flour he had received was the Governor's own, the Company having none, and that the Governor was willing to oblige him. Interpretations The Governor supplying flour from his own stock and the council recording it twice in postscript marks a distinction that mattered for the accounts. Company stores were charged against the island's books and answerable to London, while the Governor's private provision was his to dispose of. Recording the source protects him from any later suggestion that he gave away the Company's goods, and it establishes the obligation on the commanders as personal rather than institutional. Brimstone, white lead, rosin, pitch and tar together are the materials of a ship's maintenance at sea. Sulphur burned in the hold fumigated against vermin and could be mixed into a preservative coating, white lead primed ironwork against rust, and rosin stiffened the pitch used to pay the seams after caulking. None could be had between St Helena and England, which is why every commander's list carries them. Three commanders asked for rice and every one was refused, each with the same accompanying reproach. Wells owed 47 bags by his bill of lading, Williamson 48, and neither had delivered them. The island's own supply came out from Bengal in exactly these ships, and the storekeeper charged 60 hundredweight of rice to the Company's slaves in October 1734, so the vessels seeking provision were the same ones that had failed to bring it. Three failed rainy seasons appear again as the reason for scarcity, and the council states plainly that poor families were reduced to extremities. The stock accounts show the same story from a different direction: dry weather named as a cause of death from January 1734, calving collapsing to nothing by March, and the potato ground exhausted. Cattle alone remained plentiful, which is why the council offered beasts freely for salting while refusing every grain it could not grow.
384	380	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 24th Decr 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for Novr last which were Severally Examined & Approved	At a consultation held on Tuesday 24 December 1734 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for November, which were severally examined and approved. They follow. Remaining 1 November 1734: bullocks 50, cows 145, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 93, calves 48, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 418, ewes 102, wethers 40,

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& are as follow Vizt [The column headers beneath the Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry and Horses headings are not filled in on this page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Remg 1: Octr 1701: 50, 145, 45, 30, 93, 48, 7, 418, 102, 40, 24, 4, 170, 14, 20, 7, 45, 2, 88, 50, 98, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Killed in ditto: 3, 3, 1, 3, 2, 6, 6 50, 142, 45, 30, 93, 48, 7, 415, 101, 37, 22, 4, 164, 14, 20, 7, 45, 2, 88, 50, 92, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Dead in ditto: 2, 1, 3, 1, 1, 2 Remg 30 Novr: 50, 142, 45, 30, 91, 47, 7, 412, 101, 36, 21, 4, 162, 14, 20, 7, 45, 2, 88, 50, 92, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Yams Expended at the Sevrall Plantations 25600th Ditto delivered the Blacks 19500 Totall 45100th	lambs 24, rams 4, sheep in all 170, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 7, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 88, turkeys 50, fowls 98, ducks 21, geese 6, horses 6, mares 8, horses and mares in all 14 Killed in November: cows 3, neat cattle in all 3, ewes 1, wethers 3, lambs 2, sheep in all 6, fowls 6 Dead in November: yearlings 2, calves 1, neat cattle in all 3, wethers 1, lambs 1, sheep in all 2 Remaining 30 November: bullocks 50, cows 142, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 91, calves 47, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 412, ewes 101, wethers 36, lambs 21, rams 4, sheep in all 162, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 7, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 88, turkeys 50, fowls 92, ducks 21, geese 6, horses 6, mares 8, horses and mares in all 14 Yams expended at the several plantations, 25,600 lb Yams delivered the blacks, 19,500 lb Total, 45,100 lb Interpretations The image supplies the group headings the first leaf carries only as ruled lines, and they read neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry and horses. That confirms the order carried in from the earlier returns of the same series, where the heading row does not survive on several leaves. No beast went to the shipping in November and the row for sales is absent, the fifth consecutive month without a sale. The <i>Newcastle, Decker</i> and <i>Bedford</i> did not arrive until 8 December, so the road stood empty through the whole month. The herd fell to 412 from 418, down 116 head from the 528 carried at the start of the year, with three cattle killed for the island's own use and three lost. Not a single calf was born in November, and none in October either. Calving had collapsed to nothing in March and April 1734 under the drought, recovered slightly with three born in June and one in August, and has now stopped again. The council told Captain Wells on 19 December that the rains had failed for three seasons past, and the cattle accounts show the same failure from the other side. Sheep fell from 170 to 162, six killed and two lost, the flock having risen through the drought when it outperformed the cattle. Ewes stood at 101 against 25 in May 1734, so the reclassification at the year's end moved a great many animals into that class, and the breeding stock is now much stronger than the herd. Hogs held level at 88 and poultry lost only six fowls, the table drawing very lightly on both with no commanders to entertain.
385	381	Expençe of the Table in Novr 1701 Vizt 324 Beef 4, 5 4 Sheep 5 2 Lambes 5, 4 6 Fowles 9 18 Gan Sherry 6, 19, 6 76 Gan Arrack 15, 4 1: 2: Sugar 2, 2 3: 2: Flour 4, 7, 9 7 Bottles Ayle 1, 2, 9 2 Bushells Salt 18 2 Pepper 2	Expense of the table in November 1734. 324 lb of beef, £4 1s 0d 4 sheep, £5 0s 0d 2 lambs, £1 4s 0d 6 fowls, £0 9s 0d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 19s 6d 76 gallons of arrack, £15 4s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of sugar, £2 2s 0d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters of flour, £4 7s 9d 7 bottles of oil, £1 2s 9d 2 bushels of salt, £0 18s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 21 lb of butter, £1 1s 0d Total, £42 10s 9d Gunnars stores expended in November 1734. 2 November, muster day: powder 12 lb Expense of the guard: powder 12 lb Proving the guns: guns fired 6, minions 6, powder 18 lb Total: guns fired 6, minions 6, powder 42 lb Cartridge paper, 2 quires Handspikes, 2 Match, 12 lb

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		21 Butter 1, 1 42, 10, 9 Gunners Stores Expended in November 1701 Vizt No Guns, Minion 1701 2 Novr: Muster Day: Powder 12 Expence of the Guard: 12 Double Alarm: No Guns 6, Minion 6, 18 Cartridge Paper 2 Quire No Guns 6, Minion 6, 42 Handspikes 2 Match 12th Musquet Balles 7th Pistolls Broke 2 Bouge Barils 3	Musket balls, 7 lb Pistols broke, 2 Budge barrels, 3 Interpretations The second image supplies the column headings the first leaf carries only as ruled lines, and they read number of guns, minion and powder. Only minions were proved in November, the lightest class fired in any month of this run, against demi-cannon in October and demi-culverins and sakers earlier. Powder fell to 42 lb, the lowest figure in the whole record apart from the 18 lb of November 1733. No ship touched the island through the month and no salute appears, so the charge divides between the muster, the guard's standing allowance and six minions proved. The council had resolved on 11 June 1734 that every gun be kept constantly loaded even in peace, and the proving that ran heavily through the summer has now dwindled to the smallest pieces. Two pistols broke are entered as expended stores, which is the first such loss in these accounts. The annual inventory of 30 September 1734 carried 12 pistols against 213 muskets, so the island's stock of that arm fell by a sixth in a single month. Budge barrels, three of them expended, are the covered casks from which powder was drawn safely near the guns, and their wear tracks the proving directly. Beef on the table fell to 324 lb from 450 lb in October, and only six fowls were killed against 60 the month before. The road had stood empty since July, so the table fed the household alone, and the poultry flock was left to build after the season's hatch carried the fowls to 98. Arrack held at 76 gallons and sherry at 18, the drink bill running at more than half the whole account with no commanders ashore to consume any of it.
386	382	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 7th January 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for Decr last which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as follow Vizt [The column headers beneath the Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry and Horses headings are not filled in on this page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Remg 1: Decr: 50, 142, 45, 30, 91, 47, 7, 412, 101, 36, 21, 4, 162, 14, 20, 7, 45, 2, 88, 50, 92, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Increased in do: 8, 8, 6, 6, 12, 100, 7 50, 142, 45, 30, 91, 47, 7, 412, 101, 36, 29, 4, 170, 14, 20, 7, 51, 2, 94, 62, 192, 28, 6, 6, 8, 14 Killed & Sold to Shipping: 3, 14, 2, 19, 3, 5, 4, 12, 8, 1, 9, 6, 72, 3 47, 128, 43, 30, 91, 47, 7, 393, 98, 31, 25, 4, 158, 14, 20, 7, 43, 1, 85, 56, 120, 25, 6, 6, 8, 14 Dead in ditto: 2, 1, 1, 4 Remg 31: Decr: 47, 128, 43, 28, 90, 46, 7, 389, 98, 31, 25, 4, 158, 14, 20, 7, 43, 1, 85, 56, 120, 25, 6, 6, 8, 14 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 27100th Ditto delivered the Blacks 24800 Totall 51900th	At a consultation held on Tuesday 7 January 1735 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for December, which were severally examined and approved. They follow. Remaining 1 December 1734: bullocks 50, cows 142, heifers 45, steers 30, yearlings 91, calves 47, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 412, ewes 101, wethers 36, lambs 21, rams 4, sheep in all 162, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 7, pigs 45, boars 2, hogs in all 88, turkeys 50, fowls 92, ducks 21, geese 6, horses 6, mares 8, horses and mares in all 14 Increased in December: lambs 8, sheep in all 8, pigs 6, hogs in all 6, turkeys 12, fowls 100, ducks 7 Killed and sold to shipping: bullocks 3, cows 14, heifers 2, neat cattle in all 19, ewes 3, wethers 5, lambs 4, sheep in all 12, pigs 8, boars 1, hogs in all 9, turkeys 6, fowls 72, ducks 3 Dead in December: heifers 2, yearlings 1, calves 1, neat cattle in all 4 Remaining 31 December: bullocks 47, cows 128, heifers 43, steers 28, yearlings 90, calves 46, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 389, ewes 98, wethers 31, lambs 25, rams 4, sheep in all 158, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 7, pigs 43, boars 1, hogs in all 85, turkeys 56, fowls 120, ducks 25, geese 6, horses 6, mares 8, horses and mares in all 14 Yams expended at the several plantations, 27,100 lb Yams delivered the blacks, 24,800 lb Total, 51,900 lb Interpretations Nineteen head went to the shipping and the table in December, the first disposal since June and the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			second heaviest of the year. The <i>Newcastle, Decker</i> and <i>Bedford</i> arrived on 8 December after wintering at Mocharine, and the council had told each commander that it had cattle enough and he might salt as many as he pleased. Fourteen cows among the nineteen is unusual, the earlier sales having drawn chiefly on bullocks, which suggests the breeding stock was being cut to meet a demand three ships made at once. The herd closed at 389, the lowest figure in this record. It stood at 525 at the end of December 1733 and 428 when the Company's year closed on 30 September, so the fall across twelve months runs to 136 head. Drought stopped the calving from January, rockfalls and dry weather carried off twenty animals by March, and no calf at all was born in October, November or December. Poultry rose against the trend, 100 fowls and 12 turkeys hatched while 72 fowls were killed for the three ships' companies and the table. Fowls closed at 120 against 62 a year earlier, so the flock Governor Pyke bought in April 1731 had at last outrun consumption. Ducks and turkeys both gained in the same month, which points to a deliberate rebuilding of the breeding stock while the cattle were being drawn down. The yam issue reached 51,900 lb, the highest in this run, with 27,100 lb to the plantations and 24,800 lb to the blacks. The council told Captain Wells on 19 December that yams would keep near a month if held dry and offered him what quantity he pleased, so part of the increase went aboard the three ships. The summer crop was also coming in, the winter planting having gone into the ground in July.
387	383	Expence of the Table in Decr 1701 Vizt 370 Beef 7, 2, 6 8 Sheep 10, 8 4 Lambs 2, 8 8 Pigs 2, 8 42 Fowles 5, 8 3 Ducks 4, 6 4 Turkeys 1, 10 22 Gan Sherry 8, 10, 6 15 Gan Port 5, 8, 6 63 Gan Arrack for the Cell 12, 16 1: 3 Sugar 2, 3, 9 3: 3: Flour 4, 13, 9 6 Bottles Ayle 19, 6 1 Gan Vinegar 2, 6 2 Pepper 2 36 Butter 1, 16 3 Bushells Salt 18 31 Days Greens 1, 1 62 Bowls Milk 1, 8 68, 13, 2	Expense of the table in December 1734. 370 lb of beef, £7 2s 6d 8 sheep, £10 0s 0d 4 lambs, £2 8s 0d 8 pigs, £2 0s 0d 42 fowls, £5 8s 0d 3 ducks, £0 4s 6d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 22 gallons of sherry, £8 10s 6d 15 gallons of port, £5 8s 6d 64 gallons of arrack for the table, £12 16s 0d 1 hundredweight 3 quarters of sugar, £2 3s 0d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 13s 9d 6 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 36 lb of butter, £1 16s 0d 3 bushels of salt, £0 18s 0d 31 days of greens, £1 11s 0d 62 bowls of milk, £0 1s 8d Total, £68 13s 2d 10 gallons of arrack to the guard, £2 0s 0d 6 gallons of arrack to the blacks at Christmas, £3 8s 0d Total, £5 8s 0d Gunnery stores expended in December 1734. 1 December, salute on the arrival of the Newcastle, Bedford and Decker: guns fired 27, minions 2, falcons 25, powder 35 lb Muster day: powder 14 lb Salute on the departure of the same three ships: guns fired 27, minions 2, falcons 25, powder 35 lb Proving the great guns: guns fired 7, demi-cannon 3, demi-culverins 4, powder 70 lb Expense of the guard: powder 14 lb Total: guns fired 61, demi-cannon 3, demi-culverins 4, minions 4, falcons 50, powder 168 lb Musket balls, 6 lb Sponge staves, 1 Cartridge paper, 2 quires

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		10 Gall Arrack used the Guard qt Carpenter Smith & Cooper & Stableman £2 6 Gall used the Blacks at Xmas 3, 8 5, 8 Gunnery Stores Expended in Decr 1701 Vizt No Guns, D Cannon, D Culvg, Minion, Falcons, Powder 1701 Decr 6: Arrived the Newcastle, Bedford & Decker: No Guns 27, Minion 2, Falcons 25, Powder 35th 7: Muster Day: Powder 14 20: Newcastle Bedford & Decker Sailed: No Guns 27, Minion 2, Falcons 25, Powder 35 Exercising the Great Guns: No Guns 7, D Cannon 3, D Culvg 4, Falcons 14, Powder 70 Expence of the Guard: Powder 14 Musquet Balles 5th Spunge Staves 1 Cartridge Paper 2 Quire No Guns 61, D Cannon 3, D Culvg 4, Minion 4, Falcons 50, Powder 168 Cartridge Paper for the Bedford 6 Quire Match 20th The Governour Reports that on the 2 instant in the Night the Steeple House which was slightly built at first & for many Years past has been much decayed & out of Repair fell quite down & the Ground, the Roof on the Alter being loosened only, & the Slate Deal & Timber on the South with the same &c & of Xmas & this but by the first Opportunity wee shall see the Boards at Oatery, the Iron & other Deals, the Governour has Proposed to be used upon some other Occasion for the benefit of the Honble Company, & it was for some Years before be feared so as the Steeple was that it was dangerous to be in it & for that reason wee were obliged to hold our Courts in the Church Of late wee have had a Sickly time especially among the Blacks all the Longboats Crew being Sick except the Mate, Coxen, & Steward are likewise dangerously ill & Seven or Eight of the Blacks that Work at the Fortifications & Ruperts are also Sick but in about the Easter house four of them will be fit for Labour again, Among the White People Mr Martha Franks died yesterday & John Bligh & then the Carpenter is dangerously ill & his Sickness being occasioned by Grief for the loss of his Son whose whole Assurance in his Bed & baptised & all Clothes & Mother & his Brothers & Sisters told the Governour & God that they believed he was persuaded to do so by the Chief of that Mate & The Weather for want of Rain still continues very dry & for want of food many Cows die daily & last Month the Honble Company lost four Margin Notes: drought	Cartridge paper supplied to the Bedford, 6 quires Match, 20 lb The Governor reported that the chapel roof collapsed entirely on the night of 2 December. The building had been put up cheaply four or five years earlier and had gone unrepaired since, so the timbers gave way and brought the whole roof to the ground. Damage to the doorway at the altar end proved slight, the inner boarding taking most of the fall along with a large cask of arrack stored there. The council resolved to salvage the sound timber when it could and divert it to the works at Rupert's Valley or to whatever else would serve the Company best. The walls had for some years been too weak to carry the structure, and the place had grown dangerous to enter, which is why the courts had been sitting in the church instead. Sickness had run through the island for some weeks, falling hardest on the blacks. Every man of the long boat's crew was down except Caesar and Sanders, and seven or eight of those employed on the fortifications at Rupert's fell dangerously ill, though four recovered enough to return to labour after the doctor had given them up. Among the white inhabitants Martha Frances died the previous day. John Bagley junior, the carpenter, lay dangerously ill from grief after losing his son and daughter a fortnight earlier. He had been bled with cloths, and his brothers and sisters told the Governor they thought he had been talked into it by one of their own people. Drought: Rain still failed and the ground stayed dry, so cattle were dying daily for want of feed. The Company had lost four... Interpretations Twenty-seven guns fired on both arrival and departure, with 25 falcons each time, shows the lightest pieces carrying the ceremonial burden. A falcon threw a ball of two or three pounds and consumed correspondingly little powder, so three ships were saluted in and out for 70 lb where demi- cannon would have cost several times that. Governor Pyke had told the council on 8 October that every grain of powder ought to be saved, and firing falcons preserved the compliment while sparing the store. Bleeding with cloths means scarifying the skin and applying cloths to draw blood, a cruder method than opening a vein. The inhabitants had petitioned against the surgeon Gibson in September 1727 over his want of skill at bloodletting, and the family's suspicion that a layman advised the treatment suggests it was administered outside any medical hand. Grief was accepted in the period as a physical cause of illness, so the record treats the deaths of Bagley's children as the origin of his sickness rather than as a coincidence. The chapel had been left unrepaired long enough for its walls to fail. The churchwardens reported on 9 January 1733 that the country chapel had stood roofless for two or three years and the fort chapel was much decayed, in plain view of every visiting stranger, and the vestry undertook to rebuild only if a fit minister were sent. Nothing had been done in the two years since, and the building has now come down entirely. Six gallons of arrack to the blacks at Christmas is a slight allowance against earlier custom, 29 gallons with 33 lb of sugar having gone to the slaves and guards at Christmas 1728 and 16 gallons in 1732. The establishment had fallen to 180 by John Durling's return of 27 February 1733, and eight men of the Rupert's gang lay dangerously ill in the same month this issue was made.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
388	384	four & two of them by Swellings under their Throat which is a Distemper that proves so fatal among them that not one in an hundred that is seized therewith Escapes At a Consultation held on Tuesday 14th Janry 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 11 instant about Seven at Night the Prince Augustus Princess Louisa, Mary, & the Royall Guardian, arrived here from India but last from the Cape, & the next day when the Captains were come on Shoar, wee gave them the usuall Instructions to hear us upon Allarms The Mary & Royall Guardian brought us the following Supply Vizt Invoice p Mary Vizt 27 Bags Rice qty 54 Parah at 4: 20 p Parah 97, 80 31 Bags Batty qty 272 Morah at 18 p Morah 45 172 Segrs Goa Arrack qty 240 Gan at 8 Rs 20 p hhd 100 Charges Merchandize 54, 3, 54 Rupees 297, 26 Invoice p Royall Guardian 27 Bags Rice qty 54 Parah at 4: 20 p Parah 97, 80 31 Bags Batty qty 272 Morah at 18 p Morah 45 172 Segrs Goa Arrack qty 240 Gan at 20 Rs p hhd 100 Charges Merchandize 48, 3, 19 Rupees 290, 3, 99 Tho Hollyhead a Soldier was accused by Tho Waters on Suspicion of Counter: feiting Pagodas & his saying I need be quiet & some Ducats & a pound of the same Sort as the Pagoda's are of which is a Mixture of Brass & Copper These Pagoda's were found on a Bench where Hollyhead had laid & sleepd much Supposed to have dropt out of his Pocket but no farther proof was offered only John Passet who was at the Stores Serving out of goods had just used a Pagoda brought to him to have of all one half of a Arrack, but he asked would not take it, & one Smith that brought it to buy Arrack said he had it from Hollyhead who Sent her for the Prisoner These Matters look very bad yet as they do not amount to a Proof & the saying that to prevent any farther Suspicion of the making false Money he is willing to be sent any where else wee have thought proper to discharge him at this time & in case wee find fresh cause to Suspect him wee think it will be best to Exchange him with the Storeship for a Bencoolen Soldier but if he behaves well to keep him here	The Company had lost four or five head to swellings under the throat, a disease so fatal among them that scarcely one beast in a hundred survives once it takes hold. At a consultation held on Tuesday 14 January 1735 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Prince Augustus</i>, <i>Princess Louisa</i>, <i>Mary</i> and <i>Royal Guardian</i> arrived on the 11th about seven at night from India, last from the Cape. The captains came ashore the following day and received the standing orders to heave in upon alarms. The <i>Mary</i> and <i>Royal Guardian</i> brought the island's supply. Invoice of the <i>Mary</i>. 27 bags of rice of 54 farah at 4 rupees 20 annas the farah, 97 rupees 80 pies 31 bags of paddy of 272 maunds at 18 rupees the maund, 45 rupees 172 leaguers of Goa arrack of 240 gallons at 20 rupees the pipe, 100 rupees Charges merchandise, 54 rupees 3 annas 54 pies Total, 297 rupees 26 pies Invoice of the <i>Royal Guardian</i>. 27 bags of rice of 54 farah at 6 rupees 20 annas the farah, 97 rupees 80 pies 31 bags of paddy of 272 maunds at 18 rupees the maund, 45 rupees 172 leaguers of Goa arrack of 240 gallons at 20 rupees per hogshead, 100 rupees Charges merchandise, 48 rupees 3 annas 19 pies Total, 290 rupees 3 annas 99 pies The soldier Hollyhead was accused by John Watts of counterfeiting pagodas. His lodgings were searched and some metal was found of the same sort as the pagodas, being a mixture of brass and copper. The pagoda itself was found on a bunk where Hollyhead had lain, and he was supposed to have dropped it out of his pocket, though no further proof appeared. John Passet, who was at the stores taking out goods, had used a pagoda brought to him to buy half a gallon of arrack, but he refused to take it. One Smith afterwards brought it to buy arrack, saying he had it from Hollyhead, who sent him for the liquor. These matters look very bad, yet they do not amount to proof, and the suggestion that he is making false money is not one to be sent anywhere else. The council thought proper to discharge him at this time, but should fresh cause arise to suspect him it will be best to exchange him with the store ship for a Bencoolen soldier, if he behaves well to keep him here. Interpretations Swellings under the throat with near-total mortality describes an outbreak of blackleg or a similar clostridial disease, which strikes cattle grazing poor dry ground and kills within a day or two of the first sign. The Company had lost twenty animals to dry weather by March 1734 and the herd had fallen from 525 to 389 across the year, so the loss falls on a herd already reduced by drought and by nineteen head sold and killed for the December shipping. Farah is a Mocha measure of grain capacity and a leaguer a cask of about 150 gallons, both of them western-trade units, and their appearance in these invoices places the <i>Mary</i> and <i>Royal Guardian</i> on the Arabian or Malabar route rather than in Bengal. Goa arrack priced by the pipe or hogshead confirms it. The council had seen the same pattern in the <i>Princess of Wales</i> on 23 June 1734 and the <i>Newcastle</i> on 8 December, whose ladings carried rice, paddy and Goa arrack without any Bengal sugar. A pagoda was the gold coin of the Coromandel ports, worth roughly eight shillings, and a counterfeit

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			struck in brass and copper would pass readily on an island almost without coin where most transactions ran on credit and goods. Ninety of them had come ashore with Don John de Mesa y Aniento in January 1731 and figured in the case against Joseph Bates, so the coin circulated at St Helena and its value was known. The council declines to send the case anywhere, which reflects the absence of any means to try it. Coining was a capital offence in England and required proof to a standard the island could not reach: the metal found proves nothing without a die or a mould, and the pagoda on the bunk could have come from any pocket. Holding the man under warning and reserving the option of exchanging him with a store ship for a Bencoolen soldier is the same expedient used to remove Henry Coles on 1 May 1734, disposal by transfer where conviction is unavailable.
389	385	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 21 Janry 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Francis Berry, John Rice, John Ward Sailors belonging to the Ship Princess Louisa, & Jas Martin & John Redgwell of the Ship Mary were accused by Serjt Harper for being Riotous drunken & abusive at the Punch House of John Knight It appeared they had all been too free in their Liquor & Quarrelled & then hove all the Chairs out of the House into the Street & broke them & broke the Table & went up Stairs & hove the Bed and Bedding out of the Window & Uncorked the Bedstead & then the Man of the House Challenged any of them to fight with him & John Ward took him up & they fought in the Street & made a great Riot so that the Guard was called to quell them & some Struck the Guard who then Seized on these five Men but the four Men who were most concerned got away The Governour discharged Jas Martin & John Redgwell immediatly & gave the other three half an hour to agree & they all returned in about a Minute & sayed they were agreed, whereupon they were all Dismist On the 17th instant our Crane was broke by lifting an Anchor into the Longboat of the Royall Guardian & the following Materials are wanting to Repair it Vizt 4 Pieces of Oak Timber Vizt 1 Piece for a Main Beam 15 Inches Square at the Butt End, or 2 feet to contain 44 feet in length after Scarfed 1 Piece for a Main Standard 15 ft long & 15 Inches Square 1 Piece for a Second Standard 15 ft long & 12 Inches Square 2 Six Inch Oak Planks for Coping to be 44 ft long	At a consultation held on Tuesday 21 January 1735 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Sergeant Harper accused five sailors of riotous, drunken and abusive behaviour at the punch house of John Knight. Three of them, Francis Berry, John Rice and John Ward, belonged to the <i>Princess Louisa</i>, and the other two, James Martin and John Redgwell, to the <i>Mary</i>. All five had drunk too freely and fallen to quarrelling. They threw the chairs out of the house into the street and smashed them, broke the table, went upstairs and threw the bed and bedding out of the window, and pulled the bedstead apart. The landlord then challenged any of them to fight him, John Ward took him up, and the two fought in the street. The disturbance grew so great that the guard was called to put it down. Some of the men struck the guard, who seized these five, while the four most deeply involved escaped. The Governor discharged Martin and Redgwell at once and gave the other three half an hour to settle the matter. They came back within a minute saying they had agreed, and all were dismissed. The crane broke on 17 January while lifting an anchor into the long boat of the <i>Royal Guardian</i>, and the following materials were wanted to repair it. 1 piece of oak timber for a main beam, 15 inches square at the butt end, or 2 pieces, to run 44 feet in length after scarfing 1 piece of oak timber for a main standard, 15 feet long and 15 inches square 1 piece of oak timber for a second standard, 15 feet long and 12 inches square 2 oak planks 6 inches thick for capping, 44 feet long Interpretations The punch house is the unlicensed lodging trade the jury presented on 2 July 1733, complaining that the houses of James Valley filled with disorderly visitors through the shipping season and became the resort of people who lived by theft and by receiving stolen goods. The council suppressed two such houses and ordered the wife of James Peet out of the valley within a fortnight of that presentment, so John Knight's establishment continues a business the island had lately tried to stamp out. Four ships lay in the road when this happened, the first vessels to touch the island since July, and every account in the run shows the same pattern: the table bill swells, the storekeeper's sales rise, and disorder follows the crews ashore. The council's answer here is speed rather than punishment, the Governor discharging two men outright and giving the rest half

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			an hour to compose the quarrel among themselves. A commander short of hands cannot spare men to a gaol, and the ships were victualling for the Atlantic passage. Scarving joins two timbers end to end with overlapping tapered faces, pinned or bolted, to make a beam longer than any single log will yield. The council specifies 44 feet after scarving precisely because no tree on St Helena could furnish it, the island's own gumwood being scrub by comparison and the Great Wood under protection since 1727. Every stick must come from England, so the requisition names the dimensions exactly. The crane is the whole apparatus by which the island lands cargo, having no sheltered harbour and no wharf that survives a heavy sea. Governor Byfield's crane at Lemon Valley was carried away entirely in December 1733 and the council resolved on 2 January 1734 to leave that place unrepaired, so the fort crane is now the only one. It broke lifting an anchor, the heaviest single article any ship discharges, and until it is mended nothing of weight can come ashore or go off.
390	386	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 29 January 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday the Prince Augustus, Royall Guardian, Princess Louisa & Mary Sailed for England John Hodgkinson was Summoned for causing the Minister to go into the Country about five Miles to Christen two of his Children & that Mr Brangham promised to be at the Charge & to give a joint or two of Meat, yet when the Minister came up to do it, he was made a fool of on pretence that the Children had no Cloaths to be Christened in & so the thing was not performed, he promised to bring his two Children down to be Christened by or before this day Sennight & to pay the Minister for his going up the same as if he had then Christened them Wm Woralls was Summoned on the same Account, & as the Parson promised him to come into the Country & did go to his house on purpose to Christen the Child, but because Woralls Wife heard that the Parson intended to Christen Hodgkinsons Children at the same time, she thought that a Disparagement to have her Child Christened with Hodgkinsons Children & would not Suffer it to be done, whereupon the same Order was made as above & the Parson to be paid for going in the same manner as if he had performed his Office, & Woralls is to bring down his Child by or before this day Sennight to be Christened at the Church Richard Beale the Clerk was Summoned for refusing to come, but when the Parson sent for him to Church to a Christening, saying he would not come, he was fined five Shillings	At a consultation held on Wednesday 29 January 1735 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The <i>Prince Augustus</i>, <i>Royal Guardian</i>, <i>Princess Louisa</i> and <i>Mary</i> sailed for England the previous day. John Hodgkinson was summoned for putting the minister to the trouble of going into the country, about five miles, to christen his children. Mr Wrangham offered to bear the charge and to give a joint or two of meat, yet when the minister came up to perform the service Hodgkinson made a pretence that the children had no clothes to be christened in, so the thing was not done. He promised to bring his two children down to be christened on or before that day fortnight, and to pay the minister for his journey the same as if he had christened them then. Mr Worrall was summoned on the same account. The parson had promised him he would go into the country and had gone to his house on purpose to christen the child, but because Worrall's wife heard that the parson intended to christen Hodgkinson's children at the same time, she thought it a disparagement to have her child christened with them and would not suffer it to be done. The council made the same order as before, that the parson be paid for going in the same manner as if he had performed the office, and that Worrall bring his child down on or before that day fortnight to be christened at the church. Richard Beale the clerk was summoned for refusing to come when the parson sent for him to church to a christening, saying he would not come. He was fined five shillings. The petition of Richard Beale was presented and read. He asked that a matter be settled by the arbitration directed by the Company, that his case is to have the land taken into sequestration until he knows their pleasure, and that he be given copies of such computations or lists of names as relate to the matter in dispute between them in order to enable him to draw up and lay his case once more before the Company. The council ordered that the secretary assist him in the search, but that no copies of any original papers may be given to him, and that upon the inspection of his claim they do let him see or take copies of anything that relates to him. At a consultation held on Tuesday 4 February 1735 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Petition of Richard Beale was presented & read praying that as Mrs Torrell had refused the Arbitration directed by the Honble Company & his desire to have the Land taken into Sequestracion had been long refused he might have leave to attend the Books & to have Copies of such Consultations or Papers therein as relate to the matter in dispute between them in Order to enable him to draw up & lay his Case once more before the Honble Company Ordered that Mr Crispe the Secretary do assist him in the said Search & give him Copies of them or such Extracts as may be usefull to him in the Prosecution of his Claim but not to let him See or have Copies of any thing that does not relate to him At a Consultation held on Tuesday 4th February 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Joseph Bates Planter brought a Slave Wench belonging to Rich: Mason called Nan who hath been gun from her Master since Thursday last, Bates sayth he came down to his house at the Fort & found it had been broke open & one Sack picked & Six other Sacks forced by a Staple & Iron Bar broke, & he hath lost by being Stolen out of his house 1 Bag 20 Gan Arrack, 40 Bottles Wine, 130 Handker: chiefs, 33 fine White Shirts, 18 Sugar Candy, 1 English Cloth Coat 1 pr Shirts, 1 pr of Nankin Cloath, 35 Cutt Tobacco, 1 gd Bengall Sashes, 1 Gold Ring, 1 Jar of Tamarind & some Silk & Gallon Stockings	Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. Joseph Bates, planter, brought a slave woman belonging to Richard Mason, called Nan, who had run from her master since the previous Thursday. Bates said she came down to his house at the fort, where he found she had broken open a sack, picked and searched other sacks, and forced a staple and iron bar, and that she had lost by being stolen out of his house 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 gallons of arrack, 40 bottles of wine, 130 handkerchiefs, 33 fine white shirts, 18 sugar candy, 1 English cloth coat, 1 pair of shirts, 1 pair of nankeen cloth, 35 cut tobacco, 1 Bengal sash, 1 gold ring, 1 jar of tamarind and some silk stockings. Interpretations Charging a man for the minister's journey whether or not the service was performed treats the clergyman's time as a chargeable good. The chaplain's position on the island had been weak for years, George White having been reported in July 1732 as lying dead drunk almost daily and shunned by the inhabitants, and the vestry told the council on 9 January 1733 that it would rebuild the country chapel only if assured of an able and sober man. Enforcing payment for a wasted journey is the council supporting the office where the parish had lately withheld its confidence. Mrs Worrall's refusal to have her child baptised alongside Hodgkinson's turns a sacrament into a question of standing. Baptism entered a child in the parish register and fixed its settlement, so the ceremony was the moment at which a family's place in the community was recorded, and sharing it with a household of lower repute marked the two as equals. The council overrides the objection entirely and orders the child brought down to the church, which removes the choice of company from the parents. Richard Beale the clerk is a parish officer whose duty was to attend the minister at every service, lead the responses and keep the register. His refusal to come when sent for stops the christening as effectively as any objection by a parent, and the fine of five shillings is the council enforcing a subordinate office rather than punishing a private man. Denying Beale the planter copies of original papers while allowing him to inspect and copy whatever touches his own claim is a careful line. The Powell title rests on an order brought by the <i>Arrington</i> in August 1711 and a deed executed under the Governor, council and Company together, and releasing the originals or full copies would let a litigant carry the island's own muniments to London. Beale had asked for sequestration on 22 October 1734 and been refused, and this order gives him the means to draft his case without surrendering the record it rests on.
391	387	Stockings; being asked why he accused this Wench he sayth that he found her in one of his houses where she had concealed her self & when he found her she was very drunk & therefore he doth Suspect her & Severall other idle & disorderly persons to have been concerned in this Robbery, to all this the said Bates maketh Oath & prays a Warrant to Search may be Granted to him Joseph Bates Anthony Reupe a Greek by Nation but Speaks good	Asked why he accused the woman, Bates said he found her in one of his houses where she had hidden herself, and that when he found her she was very drunk. He therefore suspected her and several other idle and disorderly persons of having a hand in the robbery. He swore to this and asked that a warrant to search be granted him. The deposition was subscribed Joseph Bates and sworn before the Governor on 2 February 1735. Anthony, a Greek by birth who speaks good English, had run from the <i>Royal Guardian</i> and was as usual ordered to labour at the Rupert's fortification. He refused to work and sat down by the wheelbarrows, having done the same several days before. Ordered again to work and struck by Henry Ereck the overseer, he took up an iron shovel and

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		English being Runaway from the Ship Royall Guardian he as usuall was Ordered to Labour at Ruperts Fortification but he refused to Work & Sat down by the Wheelbarrowes & had done so Several days before & being again Ordered to Work he refused & being Struck by Henry Frank the Overseer he took up an Iron Shovel & Struck at him by which he wounded him & bruised him & had it not been by accident that Matthew Mudge was by & diverted the force of the Stroke he had killed him He seems to be Lunatick & is too dangerous to be at Liberty & therefore he was Ironed & Imprisoned Thomas Leech junr was accused by Rich Mansfield for Stealing of Mr Sam: Dunstons Watch & denying it but when it was found upon him he sayed that he took it only in a Joke & being required to deliver it he did & then Struck Mansfield & Mansfield & Blandford & Mansfield & Sam Leach him many other blows & wounds which made his head bleed very much The said Leech for this Offence was Ordered to be Whipt with ten Lashes & to pay Mansfield ten Shillings Giles Smith was Summoned for telling the People of the Ship Royall Guardian that the Water at the Crane was bad & would Spoile their Beer & that they ought to fetch their Water at Lemon Valley where it was good, whereas in truth tho formerly the Water of this Valley & Lemon Valley were both alike yet since the great Slip of about Seven or Eight Acres of Land in Lemon Valley that Water is worse & the Salt Springs or Minerall Water in this Valley have been turned & diverted this Water here is much the best & this place also much more convenient to Ship it off by a Crane & there it must be all Rafted off the Beach that was formerly there being carried away by some great Seas This Smith has an Interest in the Ships Watering there, the Sailors carry their Arrack to his house & he comes in for a Share & his house Standing there & by many false Stories he causes many of them to believe that the Water there is the best of any Valley upon the Island Ordered that Giles Smith have not leave to go on board any Ship this Summer, but if he behaves well, next Season he shall have the same Liberty as other People Margin Notes: Sworn before me this 2d day of February 1701	struck at him, wounding and bruising him. Had Matthew Mudge not by chance diverted the force of the blow, he would have killed him. He appears to be lunatic and too dangerous to be at liberty, and was accordingly seized and imprisoned. Thomas, another Greek, was accused by Richard Mansfield of stealing a watch belonging to Samuel Doveton and denying it. The watch was found on him, and he said he took it only in a joke and was ready to deliver it up. Mansfield had struck him and given him many other blows and wounds, which made his head bleed very much. Thomas was ordered to be whipped with ten lashes for the offence and to pay Mansfield ten shillings. Giles Smith was summoned for telling the people of the <i>Royal Guardian</i> that the water at the crane was bad and would spoil their beer, and that they ought to fetch their water at Lemon Valley where it was good. In truth the waters of both valleys were formerly alike, but since the great slip of about seven or eight acres of land in Lemon Valley the water there is worse, the salt springs and mineral water in that valley having been turned off and diverted. The water at the crane is much the best, and the place is much more convenient for shipping off by a crane, whereas at Lemon Valley it must all be rafted off, the crane formerly there having been carried away by some great sea. Smith has an interest in ships watering at Lemon Valley. The sailors carry their arrack to his house and he comes in for a share, his house standing there, and by many false stories he causes many of them to believe that the water there is the best of any valley on the island. The council ordered that Giles Smith have no leave to go on board any ship this summer, but that if he behaves well he shall have the same liberty as other people next season. Interpretations Sentencing a deserter to labour at the fortifications had become routine by this date, and the phrase describing it as the usual course marks how far the practice had settled. Every seaman who left his ship at the island through 1733 and 1734 received three months' work without wages, the council having no goal worth the name and a standing shortage of hands. What is new here is the collision that follows: a man compelled to labour without pay, struck by an overseer, answering with a shovel. Holding Anthony lunatic serves as the ground for confinement where no charge would otherwise reach him. Assault on an overseer by a man who is not a slave and not in the Company's service fits no category the council routinely handled, and the island had no means of trying a capital matter. Declaring him too dangerous to be at liberty converts the question from guilt to safety, which requires no verdict and no jury. The two Greeks receive markedly different treatment for offences of unequal weight. Thomas, taken with a stolen watch, is whipped and ordered to pay his accuser ten shillings, though Mansfield had beaten him bloody in the taking and answers for none of it. The council had ordered the same combination against slaves through the previous year, whipping with a payment charged to or from the owner, and applying it to a free foreign seaman places him nearer that footing than to an Englishman's. Giles Smith's punishment matches the offence to the man's trade rather than to any scale of penalty. He profits from ships watering at Lemon Valley because their crews bring arrack to his house, so

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			barring him from going aboard for a season cuts the connection at its source. Wilkes Smith had been dismissed on an apology for the same kind of talk on 27 June 1732, which prompted Governor Pyke's weighing of six waters against a Bristol standard on 8 August, and the council now treats the island's reputation for water as a matter it will defend by removing the man's access to the customers.
392	388	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 11th Febyry 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Acct for Janry last, the Storekeeper also presented an Acct of Store Goods Sold & delivered in the Months of Novr & Decr last all which were Severally Examined & Approved & are as following [The column headers are lost above the visible portion of the page; only the row labels and figures survive.] Remg 1: Janry 1701: 47, 128, 43, 28, 90, 46, 7, 389, 98, 31, 25, 4, 158, 14, 20, 7, 43, 1, 85, 56, 120, 25, 6, 6, 8, 14 Increased in ditto: 4, 4, 1, 1, 20 47, 128, 43, 28, 90, 50, 7, 393, 98, 31, 25, 4, 158, 14, 20, 7, 43, 2, 86, 56, 140, 25, 6, 6, 8, 14 Killed for Shippg &c: 11, 3, 14, 28, 3, 4, 7, 4, 4, 8, 60, 4 36, 125, 29, 28, 90, 50, 7, 365, 95, 27, 25, 4, 151, 14, 20, 7, 39, 2, 82, 48, 80, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Dead in ditto: 2, 2 Remg 31 Janry 1701: 36, 125, 29, 28, 90, 50, 7, 365, 95, 27, 25, 4, 151, 14, 18, 7, 39, 2, 80, 48, 80, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Yams Expended at the Severall Plantations 23800th Ditto delivered the Blacks 24200 Totall 48000th	At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 February 1735 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The previous consultation was read and approved. The Governor, the gunner and the steward each delivered their monthly accounts for January. The storekeeper also presented an account of store goods sold and delivered in the months of November and December last, all of which were severally examined and approved. They follow. Remaining 1 January 1735: bullocks 47, cows 128, heifers 43, steers 28, yearlings 90, calves 46, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 389, ewes 98, wethers 31, lambs 25, rams 4, sheep in all 158, sows 14, shoats 20, barrows 7, pigs 43, boars 1, hogs in all 85, turkeys 56, fowls 120, ducks 25, geese 6, horses 6, mares 8, horses and mares in all 14 Increased in January: calves 4, neat cattle in all 4, pigs 1, hogs in all 1, turkeys 20 Killed for shipping and the table: bullocks 11, cows 3, heifers 14, neat cattle in all 28, ewes 3, wethers 4, sheep in all 7, barrows 4, hogs in all 4, turkeys 8, fowls 60, ducks 4 Dead in January: sows 2, hogs in all 2 Remaining 31 January 1735: bullocks 36, cows 125, heifers 29, steers 28, yearlings 90, calves 50, bulls 7, neat cattle in all 365, ewes 95, wethers 27, lambs 25, rams 4, sheep in all 151, sows 14, shoats 18, barrows 7, pigs 39, boars 2, hogs in all 80, turkeys 48, fowls 80, ducks 21, geese 6, horses 6, mares 8, horses and mares in all 14 Yams expended at the several plantations, 23,800 lb Yams delivered the blacks, 24,200 lb Total, 48,000 lb The heading row of this account is blank, and the identity of each column has been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Interpretations Twenty-eight head went to the shipping and the table in January, the heaviest disposal recorded in this run and more than the twenty of June 1734. Four ships lay in the road from 11 January and sailed for England on 28 January, and the council had told every commander in December that it had cattle enough and they might salt what they pleased. Fourteen heifers among the twenty-eight cuts into the breeding stock more deeply than any earlier sale. The herd closed at 365, down from 389 at the month's opening and from 525 at the end of December 1733. The fall across thirteen months runs to 160 head, and the causes compound: drought stopping the calving from January 1734, the throat swellings that killed four or five beasts in December, and now the heaviest single month of slaughter in the record. Four calves born in January are the first increase since August. Sheep fell to 151 and hogs to 80, both classes drawn on for the ships. The flock had stood at 192 in April 1734 and the hogs at 91 when the Company's year closed, so every kind of stock is now declining together. Only the horses hold at 14, the two increases of 1734 having come by breeding rather than purchase. The yam issue stayed near 48,000 lb with the two shares almost equal, and the plantations' portion

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			feeds the hogs and poultry as the September account made explicit. Sixty fowls and eight turkeys went to the table in January against a hatch of twenty turkeys, so the poultry that had recovered so strongly through the autumn is being drawn down again now that ships are calling.
393	389	Gunners Stores Expended in January 1701 Vizt Guns Fired, D Culvg, Sakers, Minion, Falcons, Powder 1701 Janry 4: Muster Day: Powder 13th 11: Double Allarm: Guns Fired 6, Minion 6, Powder 18 do: Arrived Prince Augustus, Mary Princess Louisa & Royall Guardian: Guns Fired 45, D Culvg 5, Sakers 4, Minion 5, Falcons 31, Powder 97 21: Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns Fired 4, Minion 2, Falcons 2, Powder 8 28: Prince Augustus, Mary Princess Louisa & Royall Guardian Sailed: Guns Fired 36, Minion 4, Falcons 32, Powder 44 Expençe of the Guard: Powder 13 Guns Fired 91, D Culvg 5, Sakers 4, Minion 17, Falcons 65, Powder 193 Musquet Balles 6th Beds 3 Cartridge Paper 3 Quire Match 30th Expençe of the Table in Janry 1701 Vizt 515 Beef 6, 8, 9 30 Butter 1, 10 7 Sheep 8, 10 4 Pigs 1, 10 60 Fowles 4, 10 8 Turkeys 2, 6 4 Ducks 6 18 Gall Sherry 6, 19, 6 10 Gall Port 3, 17, 6 66 Gan Arrack 13, 4 6 Bottles Ayle 19, 6 3: 3: Flour 4, 13, 9 1: 2: 4 Sugar 2, 18, 9 3: Bread 1 4 Bushells Salt 2 2 Pepper 58, 4, 9 9 Gan Arrack usd the Blacks £1: 16 8½ Gan ditto usd the Guards 1: 14 £3: 10 Collection of Store Goods Sold & Delivered in the Months of Novr & Decr 1701 2 Anchors wt 51 3 113, 12, 4½ 1 Anchor Stock 3, 17, 6 Cs 2: 22 Bread 80, 16, 10½ 18 Flour 22, 10	Gunners stores expended in January 1735. 4 January, muster day: powder 13 lb 11 January, double alarm: guns fired 6, minions 6, powder 18 lb 11 January, salute on the arrival of the Prince Augustus, Mary, Princess Louisa and Royal Guardian: guns fired 45, demi-culverins 5, sakers 4, minions 5, falcons 31, powder 97 lb 21 January, alarm for a ship that passed by: guns fired 4, minions 2, falcons 2, powder 8 lb 28 January, salute on the departure of the Prince Augustus, Mary, Princess Louisa and Royal Guardian: guns fired 36, minions 4, falcons 32, powder 44 lb Expense of the guard: powder 13 lb Total: guns fired 91, demi-culverins 5, sakers 4, minions 17, falcons 65, powder 193 lb Musket balls, 6 lb Beds, 3 Cartridge paper, 3 quires Match, 30 lb The heading row of this account is set out in the margin, and reads guns fired, demi-culverins, sakers, minion, falcons and powder. Expense of the table in January 1735. 515 lb of beef, £6 8s 9d 30 lb of butter, £1 10s 0d 7 sheep, £8 15s 0d 4 pigs, £1 0s 0d 60 fowls, £4 10s 0d 8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 4 ducks, £0 6s 0d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 19s 6d 10 gallons of port, £3 17s 6d 66 gallons of arrack, £13 4s 0d 6 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 13s 9d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 4 lb of sugar, £2 0s 0d 3 hundredweight of bread, £0 18s 9d 4 bushels of salt, £1 0s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d Total, £58 4s 9d 9 gallons of arrack to the blacks, £1 16s 0d 8.5 gallons of arrack to the guards, £1 14s 0d Total, £3 10s 0d Collection of store goods sold and delivered in the months of November and December 1734. 2 anchors weighing 51 hundredweight 3 quarters, £113 12s 4.5d 1 anchor stock, £3 17s 0d 62 hundredweight 2 quarters 22 lb of bread, £80 16s 10.5d 18 hundredweight of flour, £22 10s 0d 113 bushels of salt, £28 5s 2d 2 barrels of ditto salt, £8 7s 0d 49 hundredweight 21 lb of cordage, £20 12s 0d 185 lb of twine, £9 17s 6d 79 lb of shoe thread, £377 12s 9.5d Interpretations Falcons again carry the ceremonial burden, 31 fired on the arrival of four ships and 32 on their departure. A falcon threw a ball of two or three pounds, so a forty-five gun salute cost 97 lb of powder where the heavier classes would have consumed several times that. Governor Pyke had told the council on 8 October 1734 that every grain of powder ought to be saved, and the practice has held through every salute since.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		113 Bushells Salt 28, 5 2 Bushells do 2 40 31 Cordage 98, 7, 0 180 Twine 20, 10 79 Shoe Thread 9, 17, 6 377, 12, 9¼	Beds appear among the expended stores, and in gunnery a bed is the timber block on which a gun's breech rests, the quoin being driven between the two to set elevation. Three of them going in a month of heavy saluting matches the six quoins expended in October 1734, both being the parts that take the shock of repeated firing and split under it. Beef on the table reached 515 lb, the heaviest month in the whole run, and 28 head of cattle went to the shipping and the table in the same period. Four Indiamen lay in the road for seventeen days, their commanders, supercargoes and passengers of note dining ashore, and the reference records that pattern in every year: the table bill swells with the anchorage and falls the moment the bay empties. Two anchors at £113 12s 4.5d dominate the storekeeper's collection for November and December, and the crane broke on 17 January lifting an anchor into the long boat of the <i>Royal Guardian</i>. Captain Williamson had asked for an anchor of 24 hundredweight on 18 December and was offered the island's largest at 25 hundredweight 2 quarters 20 lb, so these sales are the ground tackle supplied to the ships that wintered at Mocharine and reached the island in December.
394	390	Brought over 377, 12, 9¼ 852 Ells Ship Canvas 49, 14 844 Bolts Duck 35, 7, 5½ 13½ Bar Pitch 16, 0, 4 8½ do Tar 13, 8, 1½ 54 2: 14 Rosin 7, 5½ 3 D: Turpentine 6, 6 1122 White Lead 2, 16 61 Yellow Oaker 1, 10, 6 4 Verdigrease 13 138 Barrels Lamblack 1, 14, 6 63 Brimstone 1, 11, 6 178 Bushells Coales 26, 14 207 3: Rice 129, 16, 10½ 63: Paddy 22, 1, 1½ 1713 Gan Arrack 51, 2, 9 Ironmongerywares Sorted 19, 14, 9 Turneryware Sorted 9, 6, 9 773, 14, 4 Charges Generall Vizt 20 Soap 1, 1, 8 172 Candles 17, 4 1 Seay 4, 6 1 Scrup 4, 8 2 Mopps 4 2 Frying Pans	Collection of store goods sold and delivered in November and December 1734, brought over £377 12s 9.5d. 852 ells of thin canvas, £49 14s 0d 844 ells of Baltic duck, £35 7s 5.5d 13.5 barrels of pitch, £16 0s 0d 8.5 barrels of tar, £13 8s 1.5d 51 hundredweight 2 quarters 14 lb of rosin, £6 6s 0d 3 hundredweight 2 quarters of turpentine, £2 16s 0d 112 hundredweight of white lead, £1 10s 6d 61 lb of yellow ochre, £0 13s 0d 4 lb of verdigris, £1 14s 6d 138 barrels of lampblack, £1 11s 6d 63 lb of brimstone, £26 4s 0d 178 bushels of coals, £129 16s 10.5d 207 hundredweight 3 quarters of rice, £22 1s 1.5d 63 hundredweight of paddy, £51 2s 9d 171.5 gallons of arrack, £19 4s 9d Ironmongery ware sorted, £9 6s 9d Turnery ware sorted, £773 14s 4d Charges general. 20 lb of soap, £1 1s 8d 172 candles, £0 4s 6d 1 tray, £0 4s 8d 1 trough, £0 1s 0d 2 mops, £0 16s 0d 2 frying pans, £1 5s 0d 6 holdfasts, £0 2s 0d 6 pairs of garnets, £0 5s 3d 3 lb of tea, £23 12s 8d 24 cups, £0 2s 4d 4 cases of knives, number 6, £0 6s 9d 1 case of knives, number 5, £0 3s 4d 2 pruning knives, £2 10s 0d 2 pieces of silk stuff, £1 7s 0d 34 pieces of sennet, £1 8s 0d 43 pieces of galloon, £0 12s 6d 12 lb of indigo, £0 2s 6d 3 pieces of taffety, £1 16s 8d 3 pieces of dosuties, £0 1s 6d 4 pieces of ditto, £0 9s 0d 3 quilts, £1 16s 8d 1 blanket, £0 1s 6d 2 blankets, £0 1s 9d 1.5 lb of brown thread, £0 9s 0d 1 oz of thread, £1 0s 0d 1 lb of starch, £39 15s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		16 6 Helves 2 6 pr Garnets 1, 5 3 Tea Potts 5, 4 24 Cups 4, 5, 3 4 Cases Knives No 6 12, 8 1 ditto 5 23, 1, 8 2 Pruning Knives 2, 4 2 gd Sillsberg 6, 9 34 gd Sinnet 3, 4 43 gd Gallcoon 4 1½ Indico 7, 8 3 gd Tapes 12, 6 3 gd Dyestees 2, 6 4 gd do 1, 16, 8 3 Ruttee 1, 6 1 Blanket 1, 6 2 do 2 1½ Brown Thread 16, 8 1 Oz Thread 1, 6 1 Starch 9 1 Chamber Pott 17 2 Funnells 9 4 Tea 1 39, 15 Blacks Vizt 31 doz Hooks 1, 1, 0 44 Lines 2, 4 52 Rice 26, 2, 4 4 Knives 28, 13, 6 Fortification Vizt 20 Nailes 15, 8 1 Oar 5, 3 231 Ells Vitory 13, 2, 6 3 Twine 6, 6 3 Bar Tar 3, 7, 6 9 Gan Linseed Oyle 3, 3 14 White Lead 7 2: Cordage 1, 4, 8 21 Lead	1 chamber pot 2 funnels 4 lb of tea Blacks. 31 dozen of hooks, £1 1s 10d 44 lines, £1 9s 4d 52 hundredweight of rice, £26 2s 4d 4 knives, £28 13s 6d Fortification. 20 lb of nails, £0 15s 8d 1 axe, £0 5s 3d 231 ells of victory, £13 9s 6d 3 lb of twine, £0 6s 6d 3 barrels of tar, £3 7s 6d 9 gallons of linseed oil, £3 3s 0d 14 lb of white lead, £1 4s 8d 2 quarters of cordage, £22 19s 1d 21 lb of lead, £863 1s 11d Interpretations An ell is a cloth measure of about forty-five inches, and Baltic duck a heavy plain linen shipped from the northern ports for sailcloth and working garments. Canvas and duck at nearly 1,700 ells between them, with pitch, tar, rosin, turpentine and cordage alongside, are the materials of ship repair rather than of any island use. Four Indiamen wintered at Mocharine and reached St Helena in December after losing their passage, and every commander's letter of 18 and 19 December asked for exactly these stores. Verdigris is the green corrosion product of copper, ground as a pigment and used in paint for ironwork and ships' bottoms, and brimstone burned in a hold fumigated against vermin. Neither has any domestic application, and both appear here in the same consignment as the white lead, yellow ochre and lampblack that made the preservative paints. The whole section is a chandler's account, the island's warehouse serving the trade it existed to supply. Sennet is plaited cordage of the sort used for chafing gear and small lashings aboard ship, and taffety a plain woven silk from the Bengal trade. Dosuties are coarse Indian cottons sold by the piece. The mixture in the general charges is characteristic of the island's warehouse, where ships' stores, household goods, cloth for making up and small luxuries lay in the same building and were charged against the same account. Victory is a strong dark tobacco, and 231 ells of it entered against the fortification is the largest line in that section after the cordage. Tobacco served as an allowance to men at heavy labour in the same way arrack did, the August 1734 account having charged 15 gallons of arrack, 15 lb of sugar and 28 lb of bread to the works. The Rupert's gang had eight men dangerously ill in December and the Turk's Cap battery still wanted three boat loads of stone.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		22, 19, 1 863, 1, 11	
395	391	Brought over 865, 1, 11 Garrison Vizt 38 Yards Bunting 2, 10, 8 4 Coloured Thread 1 12 Tea 3 5 Gall Rape Oyle 1, 9, 6 2 Quarts Snuff do 6, 6 1 Lamp 1, 6 1 Frying Pan 6 7, 7, 8 Plantation Vizt 42 Nailes 11, 10 2: 2: Cordage 1 6 Helves 7 5 Rice 2, 14 22 Paddy 7 12, 2, 10 Diett Expences Vizt 169 Gall Arrack 33, 8 3: 14 Sugar 4, 1, 3 1 Gall Vinegar 2, 6 4 Pepper 4 3: 2: Flour 4, 13, 6 14 Gan Port 5, 8, 6 40 Gall Sherry 15, 10 4 Bushells Salt 2, 2, 3 13 Bottles Ayle 70, 17, 9 955, 10, 2 Collection of Goods Sold & Delivered in the Month of January 1701 Vizt 22½ Nuns Thread 24, 4, 4 180½ Galloond do Brown 33, 15, 3 138 White & Brown 40, 12, 10 98, 12, 5 1 Mast 18 1 Iron 1, 8 37 Fanckers 34, 18 Ironware Sorted as p Collection Book 21, 18, 11 177, 4, 4 Charges Generall Vizt 10 Soap 10, 10	Garrison, brought over £865 1s 11d. 38 yards of bunting, £2 10s 8d 4 lb of coloured thread, £0 0s 1d 12 lb of tea, £3 0s 0d 5 gallons of rape oil, £1 2s 6d 2 quarts of ditto rape oil, £0 6s 6d 1 lamp, £0 1s 6d 1 frying pan, £0 6s 6d Total for the garrison, £7 7s 8d Plantation. 42 lb of nails, £0 11s 10d 2 hundredweight 2 quarters of cordage, £1 0s 0d 6 sieves, £0 7s 0d 5 hundredweight of rice, £2 10s 0d 22 hundredweight of paddy, £7 14s 0d Total for the plantation, £12 2s 10d Diet expenses. 167 gallons of arrack, £33 8s 0d 3 hundredweight 14 lb of sugar, £4 1s 3d 1 gallon of vinegar, £0 2s 6d 4 lb of pepper, £0 4s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters of flour, £2 1s 3d 14 gallons of port, £5 8s 6d 40 gallons of sherry, £15 10s 0d 4 bushels of salt, £1 0s 0d 13 bottles of oil, £2 2s 3d Total for diet expenses, £70 17s 9d Grand total, £955 10s 2d Collection of goods sold and delivered in the month of January 1735. 224 lb of nuns thread, £24 4s 4d 180.5 yards of galloon de moore, £33 15s 3d 138 yards of whited brown, £40 12s 10d 1 mast, £98 12s 5d 1 spar, £18 0s 0d 27 lb of tanklers, £1 8s 0d Tinware sorted as per collection book, £34 18s 0d Total, £21 18s 11d Total of the collection, £177 4s 4d Charges general. 10 lb of soap, £0 10s 10d 48 candles, £4 16s 0d 4 lb of starch, £0 5s 0d 2 mops, £0 4s 0d 2 lb of sail thread, £0 3s 6d 1 copper sauce pan and cover, £0 18s 0d 12 lb of indigo, £0 4s 0d 1 brush, £0 1s 6d 7 shod shovels, £0 7s 0d 2 lb of tea, £0 10s 0d Total for charges general, £7 17s 10d Blacks. 18 lines, £0 13s 0d 12 dozen of hooks, £0 6s 6d 5 hundredweight 2 quarters of rice, £2 17s 6d Total for the blacks, £3 17s 0d Garrison. 21 lb of tea, £5 0s 0d 6.5 gallons of rape oil, £1 9s 3d 6 yards of bunting, £0 7s 3d 42 yards of thin canvas, £0 3s 4d 8 hundredweight of cordage, £0 1s 6d 6 lb of flints, £7 11s 4d Total for the garrison, £7 11s 4d Plantation. 1 hundredweight of cordage, £0 10s 6d 1 lamp, £0 1s 6d 2 quarts of rape oil, £0 2s 3d 11 hundredweight of paddy, £3 16s 0d Total for the plantation, £4 10s 9d Grand total, £201 14s 3d Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		48 Candles 4, 16 1 Starch 5 2 Mopps 4 2 Sailthread 3, 6 1 Copper Sauce Pan & Cover 18 12 India 4 1 Brush 1, 6 7 Shod Shovels 7 2 Tea 10 7, 17, 10 Blacks Vizt 18 Lines 13 12 doz Hooks 6, 6 50 3 Rice 2, 17, 6 3, 17 Garrison Vizt 24 Tea 5, 0 6½ Gall Rape Oyle 1, 9, 3 6 Yards Bunting 2, 3 42 Yards Ship Canvas 3, 4 8 Cordage 1, 6 4 Sheet 7, 11, 4 Plantation Vizt 1 Cordage 10 1 Lamp 1, 6 2 Quarts Rape Oyle 2, 3 11 Paddy 3, 14 4, 10, 9 204, 14, 3	A mast at £98 12s 5d and a spar at £18 0s 0d are the largest single items in the January collection, and no timber of that size grew on the island. The four Indiamen that lay in the road from 11 to 28 January had wintered at Mocharine after losing their passage, so a vessel needing to replace a spar had reached the last place before the Atlantic where the Company held such stores. The crane itself broke on 17 January and the council listed oak beams up to 44 feet that must come from England, which shows the island buying and selling the same scarce commodity. Whited brown is unbleached linen that has been partly whitened, and galloon de moore a braid of the better sort used for trimming coats and livery. Nuns thread is a fine white sewing thread from the continental convents that produced it, and its appearance at 224 lb marks the quantity in which the storekeeper supplied materials for making up clothing rather than finished garments. Flints charged to the garrison at 6 lb are the first such issue in these accounts. The annual inventory of 30 September 1734 carried 5,000 of them standing untouched, as 17,000 had in 1729, so the garrison had not needed a fresh supply in years. Powder consumption reached 193 lb in January against 42 lb in November, four ships having been saluted in and out, and the musket balls and flints move together. Arrack at 167 gallons is much the heaviest line in the diet expenses and more than double the table's own 66 gallons for the month. The spirit went to the guards on public occasions and to the slaves through the island's summer, and the same account for the previous quarter had carried 199 gallons. The council issued 9 gallons to the blacks and 8.5 to the guards in January as separate charges beyond this figure.
396	392	Brought over 201, 14, 3 Diet Expenses Vizt 83½ Gall Arrack 16, 14 1: 2: 4 Sugar 1, 18, 6 2 Pepper 2 3 Bread 18, 9 3: 3: Flour 4, 13, 9 10 Gan Port 3, 17, 6 18 Gall Sherry 6, 19, 6 4 Bushells Salt 1 6 Bottles Ayle 19, 6 37, 3, 6 238, 17, 9	Diet expenses, brought over £201 14s 3d. 83.5 gallons of arrack, £16 14s 0d 1 hundredweight 2 quarters 4 lb of sugar, £1 18s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 3 hundredweight of bread, £0 18s 9d 3 hundredweight 3 quarters of flour, £4 13s 9d 10 gallons of port, £3 17s 6d 18 gallons of sherry, £6 19s 6d 4 bushels of salt, £1 0s 0d 6 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d Total for diet expenses, £37 3s 6d Grand total, £238 17s 9d The petition of John Knipe was presented and read. He asked leave to assign seven acres of leasehold land to Samuel Barret, his youngest brother, having refused to proceed with the same, with whom he had agreed for £25 0s 0d. Knipe was told that his father was considerably indebted to the Company, having himself been indebted to his father for many things bought at the outcry. If he would pay this money towards discharging his father's debt he should have leave to assign as he desired, and Mr

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The Petition of John Snipe was presented & read praying leave to Assign Seven Acres of Leasehold Land to Sam: Bauet & his Sonny Brother having refused to proceed with the same, & with whom he had agreed for £25, & the Petr was told that his father was considerably Indebted to the Honble Company, the Comps Indebted to his father for many things bought at the Outcry, & he would pay this Money towards the discharging his fathers Debt he should have leave to Assign as he had desired, & Mr Beale & Jon: Stephanson in whose hands the major part of this Money lay, at the request of the Petr had Snipe, & with their own Consent were made Debtors to the Honble Company the former in the Sum of £27, & the later in the Sum of £14, & the Lease was Ordered to be Assigned to Sam: Bauet who hath been lately Married & intends to Settle here A young black Horse of the Honble Comps being grown big enough for the Saddle the Governour Ordered him to be taken up & broke, & he was thereupon bringing him home, he raised himself up right, & fell with such force upon a Sharp Stile in a Furze Hedge that it went through the flat Bone of his Shoulder & penetrated into his Heart & killed him upon the Spot At a Consultation held on Tuesday 25 February 1701 at the Castle Present, Isaac Bph Esqr Govr John Alexander absent John Goodwin Dick Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The following Petition was this day presented & read vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Bph Esqr Governour of St Helena The humble Petition of John Hodgkinson eldest Son of Capt George Hodgkinson decd Sheweth, That upon the Death of your Petitioners Mother his Father Mary now the Widow of Gabl Torrell, & at that time the Widow of John Bommes That your Petitioners said father died Possessed in his own Right of a considerable Estate in Lands & otherwise in which he disposed of by Will, but your Petr although his eldest Son through the Contrivance & Influence of the said Mary Torrell who attended your Peters father in the time of his last Sickness by her Care & at other Persons & specially at the very time when he was making his Will, yet your Petr was thereby cut off & excluded from great part of what your Petr apprehends was	Wrangham and Mr Stephenson, in whose hands the major part of his money lay, at the request of Knipe and with their own consent made debtors to the Company, the former in the sum of £17 0s 0d and the latter in the sum of £8 0s 0d. The leasehold was ordered to be assigned to Samuel Barret, who has lately married and intends to settle here. A young black horse belonging to the Company, being grown big enough for the saddle, was ordered by the Governor to be taken up. Being on a bank in a home enclosure, he raised himself upright and fell with such force upon a sharp stile in a gorse hedge that it went through the shell bone of his shoulder, penetrated into his heart and killed him on the spot. At a consultation held on Tuesday 25 February 1735 at the castle. Present: Governor Pyke, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. John Alexander was absent. The previous consultation was read and approved. The following petition was presented and read, addressed to the worshipful Isaac Pyke, Governor of St Helena. The humble petition of John Hodgkinson, eldest son of Captain George Hodgkinson, deceased. Hodgkinson set out that upon the death of his father, his mother Mary, now the widow of Gabriel Powell and at that time the widow of John Bowman, took possession of the estate. He set out that his father died possessed in his own right of a considerable estate in lands and otherwise, in which he disposed of by will, but that although he was the eldest son, through the contrivance and continuance of Mary Powell, who deluded his father in the time of his last sickness by her tears and other earnest speeches at the very moment he was making his will, he was thereby cut off and excluded from a great part of what he apprehends was... Interpretations Assigning a lease in discharge of a father's debt to the Company shows the council using a land transfer as security for a sum it could not otherwise recover. John Knipe senior died in 1733 leaving a whole estate of £199 13s 6d against debts of £106 1s 8d, the Company being the largest creditor at £52 12s 10d, so nothing remained of the personal estate to divide. The leasehold is the only asset left, and the council permits the sale on condition that the price passes directly to the Company through two men who already hold the money. An outcry is a public auction, and buying at one is how goods from a deceased estate reached the inhabitants. Grace Coulson's estate was sold and the account registered on 23 January 1728, and Benjamin Flagg's household goods went to auction on muster day in April 1729 expressly because the assembly would be largest. Debts contracted at such sales were owed to the estate rather than to any seller, which is how the son came to owe his own father. John Hodgkinson's petition reopens an estate the council had already divided. Four complaints were tried at the court of judicature on 24 February 1730 against Mary Powell and Charles Steward, brought by John Goodwin as executor of Thomas Hodgkinson, by John Cary and Samuel Crawford in right of their wives, and by Joshua Johnson, and the jury settled shares among the two sets of children. George Hodgkinson's will of 27 February 1710 left the whole estate to his wife for life charged with raising the four children, and the eldest son named in that will was Thomas, who died about twelve months before his youngest sister married. The allegation that a wife worked upon a dying man while he made his will is the standard ground

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			for challenging a testament, and the council had applied the Statute of Frauds to exactly such a claim in the Mesa estate affair of 1731. Joseph Bates alleged a spoken bequest and the council tested it against the statute's requirements of three witnesses present together, an estate under thirty pounds and an express request to bear witness. A written will made under influence is harder to unpick, since the instrument stands until a court sets it aside, and no court on the island had power to reopen a division made under a jury's verdict.
397	393	was his Birthright to the great Prejudice of Your Petr & his Family That Your Petitioners Sister Anne late Wife of James Crasford died about three Years ago at Bombay in Child Bed of a dead Child That at the time of her Marriage She was in Possession of about Thirty Acres of Freehold Land lying in this Island now held by Richard Goodwin as Attorney of the said Crasford & for his Benefit That Your Petr hath Several Children & among them two Sons the eldest of which George, Your Petr is informed is heir at Law to Your Petr's said Sister She having died without Issue & not having in her Lifetime by any Deed or Writing sold or Conveyed the same to any Person whatsoever Your Petr therefore humbly prays that he may immediately be put into Possession of the said parcell of Land in trust for his said Son who is the next lawfull heir to Your Petr's said Sister And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray 25th Feby 1734 John Hodgkinson Ordered That Notice of this Petition be given to Richd Goodwin that he do Answer thereto, if he thinks fit, on Tuesday next Nathaniel Grosvenor who lately Run from the Ship Mary having in the Night time & at other Unseasonable hours frequented the Company of lewd Women particularly Eleanor the Daughter of Vulcan Wall, to prevent it for the future the Govr Ordered him upon Guard & appointed him in turn to do Centinells Duty in every Guard. At a Consultation held on Tuesday ye 4th March 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The last Consultation was read & approved The following Petition was presented Vizt To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Richard Goodwin Attorney of James Crasford Sheweth That by Vertue of Letters of Attorney Your Petr is in Possession of about thirty Acres of Freehold Land which he holds in trust	The petition set out that the estate was his by birthright, and that his exclusion from it had left him in serious difficulty. His sister Anne, the late wife of James Crafford, had died in childbed about three years earlier at Bombay. At the time of her marriage she held about thirty acres of freehold land on the island, now in the hands of Richard Goodwin as attorney to Crafford and held for his benefit. Crafford had several children by her, the eldest of them George, and the petitioner claimed to be heir at law to his sister, she having died without issue and having made no deed or written conveyance of the land to any person in her lifetime. John Hodgkinson asked to be put in possession of the land at once, to hold in trust for his son, whom he named as the next lawful heir to his sister. Dated 25 February 1734, signed John Hodgkinson. The council directed that Richard Goodwin be given notice of the petition, so that he might answer it on the following Tuesday if he chose. Nathaniel Crossoner, who had lately deserted the ship <i>Mary</i>, kept company at night and at other unseasonable hours with women of loose character, one of them Eleanor, daughter of Alison Watts. To stop it, Governor Pyke ordered him onto the guard and appointed him to take his turn at every sentinel's duty. Also a consultation held on Tuesday 4 March 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. Richard Goodwin, acting as attorney to James Crafford, presented a petition of his own. He held about thirty acres of freehold land under a letter of attorney, in trust for Crafford's benefit, the land having come to Crafford through his marriage with Anne, eldest daughter of George Hodgkinson. Goodwin argued that the land was not entailed. He had been informed that on the previous Sunday John Hodgkinson, eldest son of Mr Hodgkinson of the island, had [...] Interpretations An entailed estate descends by a fixed line of inheritance settled when the arrangement is made, and cannot be sold, given away or bequeathed outside that line. The whole quarrel turns on the point. If the thirty acres were entailed, Anne Crafford held only a life interest and the land passed on her death to the next heir of her father's blood, which is what John Hodgkinson claimed for his son. If she held it absolutely, it fell to her husband on the marriage and Crafford's attorney holds it lawfully. Goodwin's answer of 4 March 1735 denies the entail outright rather than disputing any fact about the death or the descent.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		for the benefit of the said Crasford which came to him upon his Marriage with Anne the eldest Daughter of Geo Hodgkinson decd & Yor Petr humbly apprehends that the said Land is not an Estate Entailed That Your Petr hath been acquainted that on Tuesday last John Hodgkinson of this Island eldest Son of the said Mr	The two petitions rest on incompatible readings of the same descent. John Hodgkinson claimed as heir at law to a sister who died without issue, yet the manuscript records that Crafford had several children by her, the eldest named George. A sister survived by children is not a woman dead without issue, so either the children were reckoned outside the line that could inherit island land, or the phrase carries a narrower sense than it appears to. Goodwin's petition sidesteps the difficulty entirely by attacking the entail instead. A letter of attorney allowed an absent owner to be represented on the island by a man empowered to hold, manage and defend his property. Richard Goodwin acts under such an instrument for James Crafford, who is abroad, and the arrangement had already drawn the council's attention: the survey of James Crafford's ground on 28 March 1734 found the fences down and his cattle mingled with those of Beale and Powell, and Richard Goodwin answered for the estate on that occasion in the same capacity. The device kept property in the island's economy while its owner was overseas, but it left no principal to be summoned, which is why the council could reach only the attorney. Anne Crafford appears in the consolidated reference as Anne Crawford, eldest daughter of George Hodgkinson, married on the island in December 1729 to a passenger of the <i>Morice</i>, whose share of her father's estate was confirmed to her by the jury at the court of judicature of 24 February 1730. The thirty acres now in dispute are therefore a portion of the same Hodgkinson estate that produced four separate complaints in February 1730, and the petitioner is her brother, who had asked the council on 25 February 1735 to set aside his father's will on the ground that Mary Powell had worked upon the dying man as it was drawn. Desertion from a Company ship carried a standing penalty of three months' hard labour on the island without wages, and a man who left at St Helena forfeited everything earned on the voyage, since Company wages fell due only on a safe return to England. Nathaniel Crossoner drew no such sentence. Putting him on the guard turned a deserter into a member of the garrison, which supplied a man to the establishment when the council could get labour by no other means, the advertisement of 11 June 1734 for six slaves at ninepence a day having drawn not one tender. Speculations The council could have dealt with Crossoner as it dealt with every other runaway seaman, by a term at the fortifications, and his disorder gave ample warrant for it. The Governor answered the night wandering instead with continuous duty, requiring him to stand every sentinel's turn in his rotation. The remedy was fitted to the specific complaint rather than to the offence of desertion, since a man on guard through the night cannot keep company in the valley, and it removed the opportunity rather than adding a penalty. It also placed him among men subject to military discipline, where any further lapse would be a soldier's offence rather than a civil one.
398	394	Hodgkinson died by a Petition that day presented to Your Worship & Council Claimed the said Land in right & behalf of his eldest Son George alladging that his said Sister Wife of the said James Crasford died in Child Bed sometime ago of a dead Child at Bombay & did not in her lifetime by any Deed or	Hodgkinson had by petition that day claimed the land for his eldest son George, arguing that Anne, wife of James Crafford, died in childbed at Bombay some years earlier, that she left no deed or writing conveying the land to anyone, and that his son stood next heir to the property. He asked to be put in possession at once, to hold in trust for that son. Richard Goodwin set out that he did not consider himself sufficiently empowered to defend any suit at law in Crafford's name. He asked that all further

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Writing sell or Convey the same to any Person whatsoever & that by Vertue of her decease as aforesaid his said Son was next heir at Law to the Premises & praying that he might be put into immediate possession thereof in trust for his said Son That Your Petitioner doth not think himself Sufficiently empowered to try by any Suit at Law in whom the said Right is & therefore prays that all farther Proceedings in this case may cease till Your Petr hath first informed his Constituent Richard Crasford with the Claim & Pretentions of the said Hodgkinson in behalf of his Son And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray 4th March 1734 Richd Goodwin Eleanor the Daughter of Sutton Hack being a Single Woman hath been lately within the Month of July last delivered of a Male Bastard Child called Thomas & being Examined by whom the said Child was begot Sayth That Thomas Leech a Soldier of this Garrison was the Father thereof & she Sayth that at the time of her Labour it being known that she was not Married she did during the time of her Labour affirm that the said Thomas Leech was the true Father thereof & the said Eleanor Hack doth now upon her Oath affirm that the said Leech hath had the carnal knowledge of her body divers times but she cannot remember how often, & to the truth hereof she hath hereunto set her hand Eleanor Hacke Taken before me this 4th day March 1734 Isa: Pyke Then Gave in as follows Sutton Hacke is a Man of very bad Morals & worse Parents & of great Promoter of Lewdness by his evil Example the Manners of his Children are so depraved that his three Daughters are all Whores two of them have had Bastards this last Year when Capt Hunt was here in the Marlborough Thos Leech offered to Marry this Woman & the Captains & Gentlemn offered to buy a Neate house & four Acres of Land now Possessed by Serjt Clanson & to give them a Slave & Some Household furniture amounting in all to more than the Value of £50 - but this Eleanor then refused to be Married unless the Governour would allow her to have a house in the Fort & Duty to Entertain Strangers or People of the Ships & told her Sister Lawrey lately kept a very disorderly bawdy house the Governour would not admit of it & tho they were not Married but she hath permitted Leech often to ly with her & they have also Entertained divers other disorderly young Men as lately one Simon Gastling who Run away from Capt Sutcliffe	steps be stopped until he had informed his principal of the claim Hodgkinson was pressing on his son's behalf. Dated 4 March 1735, signed Richard Goodwin. Eleanor, daughter of Sutton Marsh, an unmarried woman, gave birth in July of the previous year to a male child named Thomas. Examined as to the father, she stated on oath that Thomas Leech, a soldier of the garrison, had fathered the boy. She swore that at the time of her labour it was known she was unmarried, and that Leech was the father throughout her pregnancy. She further affirmed on oath that Leech had known her carnally several times, though she could not say how often, and she set her hand to the statement. Taken before Governor Pyke on 4 March 1735, signed Eleanor Marsh. The evidence given was as follows. Sutton Marsh was a man of very bad morals who set a poor example to his neighbours and encouraged loose behaviour, and his children bore the same reputation. All three of his daughters were unmarried and two of them had borne bastard children. When Captain Hunt was on the island the previous year, Leech offered to marry Eleanor, and the captain and gentlemen of the ship <i>Marlborough</i> offered to buy her a small house and four acres of land then held by Sergeant Glanvon, together with a black slave and household furniture, amounting in all to more than the value of £50 0s 0d. Eleanor refused to marry unless Governor Pyke would allow her a house in the fort valley, where she might take in strangers and people off the ships, her sister Lawrence having lately kept just such a disorderly house. The Governor would not permit it. Although they never married, she had allowed Leech to lie with her since. The household had also taken in various other disorderly young men, lately Simon Gastling, who deserted Captain Nutchivor, and the previous week another named Nathaniel Crossoner, who admitted deserting the ship <i>Mary</i> and had been out at unseasonable hours at night. To check these practices, the council ordered Eleanor Marsh publicly whipped with twenty lashes, and directed that her father be warned that if any more of his daughters bore bastard children he would be dealt with severely for harbouring such people. Interpretations Richard Goodwin's answer refuses the contest rather than joining it. An attorney acts only within the powers his letter grants him, and a letter drawn for holding, managing and letting land does not by itself authorise its holder to defend a title suit, where an adverse judgment would bind the absent owner permanently. Goodwin therefore asked for a stay until Crafford at Bombay could be told what was claimed. The practical consequence was delay measured in the sailing seasons, since a letter to Bombay and an answer back could not be had inside a year, and the land stayed in Goodwin's hands throughout. A bastardy examination was taken on oath expressly to fix financial liability, not to punish. The parish bore the cost of maintaining a fatherless child, so the mother was required to name the father under oath and the named man could then be charged with the child's upkeep or compelled to marry her. The council's practice was already established: on 18 October 1726 the widow Martha Bodly swore the father of her child was a soldier, and Governor Smith seized the man's cattle and a slave to protect the parish from the expense. Here the named father is again a soldier of the garrison, whose pay ran

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& last Week an other named Nath: Grosvenor who as he himself confeseth Runaway from the Ship Mary purely on this Womans Acct Wherefore to put some Stop to these lewd Practices the said Eleanor was Ordered to be publickly whipt with twenty Lashes, & notice to be given to her Father that if any more of his Daughters have Bastards some course will be taken with him for harbouring such disorderly People	through the Company's own books and could be stopped at source. The offer made when the <i>Marlborough</i> lay in the road amounts to a settlement bought by strangers to save a soldier's honour and the parish an expense. Captain Hunt and his gentlemen proposed to purchase a house, four acres, a slave and furniture worth more than £50 0s 0d, and hand the whole to Eleanor Marsh as the price of a marriage. Set against island values that sum is substantial: Richard Beale's 11 acres in Sandy Bay were valued at £57 15s 0d on 9 November 1730, and Captain Goodwin sold seven and a half acres of leasehold to the Company for £75 0s 0d on 31 December 1733. She refused it for a house in the valley. The refusal turns on the economics of the fort valley rather than on any preference for one man over another. Taking in strangers and ships' people during the shipping season was the readiest cash trade available to a woman without land, since the anchorage filled four or five times a year and sailors paid in coin. The jury of 2 July 1733 had presented those very houses as the resort of people who lived by theft and by receiving stolen goods from slaves, and the council acted on the presentment within a fortnight by ordering the wife of James Peet out of the valley. A licence to keep such a house was worth more to Eleanor Marsh than a freehold in the country, which is precisely why the Governor withheld it. Sutton Marsh had come before the council before. On 25 July 1733 he admitted saying that four jurors had tried to seduce his daughter Rebecca Seale, and was committed for further prosecution, then discharged on 31 July after undertaking to make her live on the west side of the island. The warning now given about his remaining daughters returns to the same household after eighteen months and shifts the pressure from the daughters to the father, whose liability arises from harbouring them rather than from anything he is alleged to have done. Nathaniel Crossoner appears here in a light the earlier entry does not supply. The night wandering that drew the Governor's order to stand every sentinel's turn was traced to this household, which had also sheltered Simon Gastling after his desertion. The order putting Crossoner on the guard was therefore aimed at a specific address, not at a general disorder, and the two entries record one investigation rather than two. Speculations The council had two people before it and punished only one. Thomas Leech had fathered a child on an unmarried woman, refused nothing, and remained a soldier of the garrison drawing pay the Company could have stopped, which was the ordinary route to making a father answer for a bastard child. No order at all was made against him. The twenty lashes fell on Eleanor Marsh, and the warning fell on her father. The reasoning appears in the evidence itself: Leech had offered marriage and been refused, so the council read the refusal as the cause of the whole business and treated the woman who declined a settlement worth more than £50 0s 0d as the party who had chosen the disorder. The punishment was aimed at the house rather than at the paternity, which is why the sanction against Sutton Marsh was framed around harbouring rather than around any child.
399	395	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 11th March 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander Duke Crispe	At a consultation held on Tuesday 11 March 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander Duke Crisp

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		The last Consultation was read & Approved Sarah a Slave Girl belonging to the Widow Guentree made Complaint that her old Mistress about Thursday of last Week bid her throw away some Tiffwater which stood in a Jarr, but this Complainant not having what her Mistress said, her old Mistress made her drink a great deal of that Tiffwater, & that afterwards her Mistress bid her wash the Dirty Cloaths & as she was washing them she happened to spill some of the Cotes in which she wrung the Cloths some Water upon the Earthen Floor in the Milk House, & that this young Mistress Sarah made her lap near a quarter of a Pint of the said Water & disposed with her tongue & that after this she was tied up to a Chair Stole & was kept there about a Week & in this Condition wanting to make Water she made Water into a Vessell & in that her said Mistress happening to see it made her drink it all up immediatly which she believes was a Sneaker full. Being asked how she came to appear thus naked say'd that her young Mistress Stript her Stark naked as ever she was born & that after she was thus Stript naked her old Mistress ashamed thereof in the Kitchen where all the Men & Slaves did come, & that her young Mistress beat her very much with her hand & that after that she left her Mistress in order to come and Complain of these ill Usage. she met young Mr Johnson upon the Road who seeing her in this uncomely Condition was ashamed to carry her home but bid her to Mrs Powell's who gave her a Petticoat to hide her Nakedness, but as soon as she got home her young Mistress forced her to throw the Petticoat away & it now lies in the Yard, & farther Sayth that her young Mistress is much the most Cruel of the two & that by one or other of them she is daily beat & ill treated & in such manner that she is not able to live with them Upon this Complaint the Governr issued the following Warrant These are to Charge & Command you to take into Your Custody & immediatly bring before me the Body of Sarah Guentree Widow to Answer for divers Shamefull Inhumanities & Cruelties Exercised by her over her Mother's Slaves, but particularly for her barbarous & Unchristian like Behaviour to Sarah a Slave Girl And whereas she has been divers times heretofore Summoned before me for such licentious & wicked behaviour & hath not appeared, under Pretence that she had not shoes fit to come in though at some of those times she hath gone out several dayes together to Dancing Matches You are therefore to take no farther notice of any such Pretence but bring her as you find either with Shoes or	The previous consultation was read over and approved. Sarah, a slave girl belonging to the widow Greentree, came before the council with a complaint against the household. About the middle of the previous week her elder mistress told her to draw off some pot water standing in a jar. Not understanding what was meant, she was made to drink a great quantity of it. Her mistress then set her to washing dirty clothes. While she was at that work she happened to spill some water from one of the pots onto the earthen floor of the milk house. Her younger mistress, Sarah Greentree, made her lap up close to a quarter of a pint of the water off the ground with her tongue. She was afterwards tied up to a chair stool and kept there about a week. Wanting to relieve herself in that condition, she made water into a pigginn. Her elder mistress came in, found it and made her drink it at once, the girl believing it to be about a small cupful. Asked how she came to appear naked, she stated that her younger mistress stripped her as bare as she was born. Once stripped, her elder mistress shamed her by keeping her in the kitchen where the men slaves came, and her younger mistress beat her severely with her hand. She afterwards got past her mistresses in order to come and complain of the treatment, and young Mr Johnson found her on the road. Seeing the state she was in, he was ashamed to carry her home and took her instead to Mrs Powell, who gave her a petticoat to cover herself. As soon as she reached home her young mistress forced her to throw the petticoat away, and she now lies in the yard. She further stated that her younger mistress is much the crueller of the two, that she beats her daily and treats her so badly that she cannot live with them. Governor Pyke issued a warrant on the complaint. It commanded the marshal to take Sarah Greentree, spinster, into custody and bring her before him at once, to answer for shameful inhumanity and cruelty practised on her mother's slaves generally and on the slave girl Sarah in particular, behaviour the warrant described as barbarous and wholly unchristian. It recorded that she had been summoned several times before on charges of licentious and wicked conduct and had never appeared, always claiming she had nothing fit to come in, though on some of those occasions she had gone out for several days together to dancing matches. The marshal was directed to take no notice of any such excuse and to bring her as he found her, with shoes or without, since the warrant was his authority and he was not to fail at his peril. Given under the Governor's hand and seal on 11 March 1735, signed Isaac Pyke, Governor, and addressed to Simon Whaley, marshal. The elder Mrs Greentree and her daughter denied that the girl had been tied up as she said, but admitted she was stripped naked. After the girl was sent out and ordered to be brought in again in the same state, she came in wearing next to nothing. She appeared very shameful to look at, having only a piece of a dirty handkerchief about her middle, not sufficient [...] Marginal notes to the passage record which parts of the account the household admitted. The elder Mrs Greentree confessed the drinking of the pot water and, separately, the making of the girl drink her own urine. She and her daughter denied the tying up to the stool. The stripping and what followed were confessed. Interpretations Slave testimony was inadmissible against a free defendant throughout this record, which is what makes the marginal admissions decisive. The council

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		without them & for so doing this is Your Warrant of which you are not to fail at your Peril Given under my hand & Seale this 11 day of March 1734 Isa: Pyke, Governr To Simon Whaly, Marshall Old Mistress Guentree & her Daughter said that though she was Whipt & Stript yet she was Cloathed but she Affirmed she was Stript naked; after this the Girle was sent out & was ordred to be brought in again in the same Pickle she came here with was seen accordingly & appeared a very shamefull & immodest Sight she having only a piece of a dirty Handkerchief about her Middle not	had no means of convicting the Greentrees on Sarah's word alone, so the case rests entirely on what mother and daughter conceded when the complaint was put to them. They admitted the forced drinking of the pot water, the forced drinking of urine and the stripping, and denied only the tying to the stool. Producing the girl in the state described, and having her brought in again in the same condition, supplied the council with physical evidence that required no oath at all. Governor Pyke's warrant reaches a free woman by a route the ordinary law did not offer him. It charges not any single act but a course of conduct towards her mother's slaves, and it names the failure to attend earlier summonses as an aggravation in itself. The instruction to bring her with shoes or without answers her standing excuse that she had nothing fit to wear, and the closing words putting the marshal at peril removed his discretion to accept it again. Simon Whaley thereby carried an order he could not soften. The Greentree household had been before the council repeatedly on this ground. Martha, a slave woman of the same widow, was taken on 20 November 1733 and described being beaten daily with a stick, a firebrand or a pair of tongs, and John Greentree gave a written promise to the Governor on 13 November 1733 to treat her kindly, which failed within five weeks. Martha ran a second time and was taken on 18 December 1733 after being beaten with a large stick by the elder mistress on her younger mistress Sarah Greentree's countermanded orders. This Sarah, examined on 8 January 1734, described shackles on both legs, being stripped naked and beaten for what she believed was two hours. She is the same girl, and this is her third appearance. The council had stated the governing rule on 18 December 1733: a slave driven away by an owner's cruelty ought not to be punished where no other fault is alleged. The rule protected the slave from the whip but reached the owner only through the recovery fee. Here the council goes further and proceeds against the owner's daughter directly, which had not been done in any earlier case in this record. The place of the girl's flight matters as much as the flight itself. Young Mr Johnson would not take her home in the state she was in, and carried her to Mrs Powell, who supplied a petticoat. The intervention of two households outside the Greentrees turned a private matter into one the council could not ignore, and the young mistress's insistence that the petticoat be thrown away, leaving the girl lying in the yard, made the point publicly rather than concealing it. A piggin is a small wooden pail with one stave left long to serve as a handle, used about a dairy or kitchen for carrying and measuring liquids. A milk house is the cool outbuilding where milk was set in shallow pans for the cream to rise, its floor of beaten earth to hold the temperature down. Both fix the scene in the working part of the household, where a girl of the establishment would be at her ordinary tasks. Speculations The obvious course was to take the girl into the Company's hands and be done with it, exactly as the council had done on 22 August 1732 when George Knight and his wife beat the Company's girl Blackman so badly that she was taken back into Company work. That remedy was available, it required no summons and no warrant, and it would have removed Sarah from the household within the day. Governor Pyke instead left her where she was and sent the marshal for the daughter. Removing the girl would have relieved one victim and left the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			widow Greentree's remaining slaves exactly where they were, and the warrant says so directly by charging cruelty to her mother's slaves as a class before it names Sarah at all. The choice cost the girl another night in the yard and bought the possibility of reaching the household itself.
400	396	Sufficient to hide her Nakedness & for these Instances of barbarous Cruelties the said Sarah Guentree was committed to the Custody of the Marshall till farther Order & the old Woman herself was strictly charged to treat her Slaves with more humanity for the future the Girls being of an old Handkerchief being Nathaniel Grosvenor was accused to the Governour by Mr Ryder for saying that Eleanor the Daughter of Sutton Hack who was Whipt last Week for being a Strumpet & having been lately delivered of a bastard Child he believed to be though she had a Bastard as modest & virtuous as any Woman at St Helena, for which he was Reprimanded by the Govr for making Comparisons reflecting up on modest People, whereas this a year before had been turned out of the Valley for living at Cheening a disorderly house & Entertaining lewd & vicious People therein He was also Charged for saying that to prevent her being whipt he would be willing tolly this hard & Neck & Heeles to Sun her each day Wherefore since he has been so much Seduced by that Wench who Entertained him at all times & particularly on Sundays when he went instead of going to Church pretending that he was used to go to Meetings & he not approve of going to Church but since his Meeting appeared to be only a Bawdy House he shall not be longer left to his own Choice but he alledged whilst he was here to go to the same Meeting the Govr gave to & since he is so desirous to bear some Punishment in favour of this Wench he was Ordered to be tied Neck & Heeles in the Guard an hour an hour, & if he likes it & continues in the same Mind the Governour will make a Bargain with him & to have this Wench one Lash for every two hours he will be tied Neck & Heeles & if she shall hereafter deserve Punishment. & he having said he would come out in the next Kingship to Marry this Wench & that he will give the Governour £700 - Sterling to grant him a Licence to do so the Governour advised him to bring the Money & if he could take it he would & would by no means haggle with & Chap that made so fair an Offer The Governour Capt Goodwin, the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Account for the Month past which were severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expence of the Table in February 1734 vizt 200 Beef	The covering was not enough to hide her nakedness. For these acts of barbarous cruelty Sarah Greentree was committed to the marshal's custody until further order, and the elder woman was strictly charged to treat her slaves with more humanity in future, the girl being of an unusual and pitiable disposition. Sarah Ryder brought a complaint against Nathaniel Crossoner before Governor Pyke. She reported him as saying that Eleanor Marsh, whipped the previous week for immorality after bearing a child out of wedlock, was in his estimation the equal of any woman on the island, whatever the child implied about her. The Governor rebuked him for defending someone of that character. He noted at the same time that Ryder herself had been removed from the valley twelve months earlier for running a lodging house that drew in idle and vicious people. A second charge followed. Crossoner had declared that he would gladly suffer a hundred lashes himself if it spared Eleanor Marsh her whipping. The Governor observed that the woman had drawn him in completely, receiving him at her house at any hour and above all on Sundays, when he stayed away from church and claimed to attend gatherings whose form of worship he could not accept, though her house served no religious purpose whatever. Crossoner answered that nothing had stopped him attending a service of the same kind while he lodged there. The Governor then took the offer at face value. He told Crossoner he might be tied to the whipping post that hour and receive his hundred lashes, and that if the experience suited him a standing arrangement could be made, the woman's company purchased at a hundred lashes for every two hours and repeated as often as he wished. Crossoner replied that he meant to leave with her by the next ship and marry her, and offered £7 0s 0d for a licence. The Governor told him to produce the money, saying he would take it if he could, unless some better proposal came forward. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward presented their accounts for the past month, which were examined and passed. Expenses of the table in February 1735 200 lb of beef, £2 10s 0d 6 sheep, £7 10s 0d 4 hogs, £0 16s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 50 fowls, £4 13s 0d 28 days of greens, £1 8s 0d 56 bowls of milk, £13 8s 8d 60 gallons of arrack, £12 15s 0d 31 gallons of Cape wine, £6 4s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 19s 6d 6 bottles of oil, £4 7s 6d 3 quarters 2 lb of flour, £2 5s 6d 1 quarter 12 lb of sugar, [...] Total, £34 19s 8d Interpretations Sarah Greentree was held rather than sentenced, and the record shows neither fine nor whipping nor fixed term. The council could not convict a free person on a slave's evidence, and the admissions noted in the margin the previous day amounted to confession rather than proof taken in proper form. Detention reached the daughter while the separate charge reached the mother, without either being brought to trial. That charge repeats in substance the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		2 10 6 Sheep 1 10 4 Pigs 16 2 Turkeys 10 60 Fowles 4 10 28 Days Greens 1 8 56 Bottles Milk 1 3 8 60 Gals Arrack 12 15 31 Gals Cape Wine 6 4 2 Gals Vinegar 6 Bottles Oyle 19 6 3^s 2 Flower 4 7 6 1 2 12 Sugar 2 5 6 34 19 8 Margin Notes: Confessed by old Mrs Guentree Denied but testified to by three Slaves at least Confessed by old Mrs Guentree Confessed + To after this a[...] must was not Petticoat added upon its follows in first & doing was the Note being	written undertaking John Greentree gave the Governor on 13 November 1733, which collapsed inside five weeks. Sarah Ryder's own record cut against her accusation, and the council put the point on paper. Her removal from the valley a year earlier concerned a house of precisely the kind she now attributed to the Marsh family, which places the two women in the same trade and the complaint within a rivalry. The jury of 2 July 1733 had presented the valley's unlicensed lodging houses as a group, and the council responded by ordering the wife of James Peet out within a fortnight. Ryder's expulsion belongs to that campaign. The Governor demolished Crossoner's gesture by granting it. Corporal punishment marked the offender in public and could not be transferred, so an offer to absorb another person's whipping carried no legal weight, and accepting it exposed the emptiness more effectively than any refusal. The exchange also reveals what marriage cost on the island: the fee table of 20 May 1731 fixed a licence at 10s 0d, so £7 0s 0d ran to fourteen times the published charge and represented a purchase rather than a fee. Crossoner had already come before the council twice, first as a deserter from the <i>Mary</i> set to sentinel duty for wandering at night, then as one of the disorderly men named in evidence against Eleanor Marsh. All three entries trace back to a single household and a single enquiry. Sailing with her at the next opportunity would have taken both off the island, which was the resolution the council generally preferred for people it judged unfit to stay. February's table bill of £34 19s 8d falls well short of January's £58 4s 9d, when four ships lay in the road for seventeen days and beef reached 515 lb. Just 200 lb appears here, less than half, the drop following the departure of the <i>Prince Augustus</i>, <i>Princess Louisa</i>, <i>Mary</i> and <i>Royal Guardian</i> on 28 January 1735. Sheep at £7 10s 0d and milk at £13 8s 8d now outweigh beef in the reckoning, which suits a herd reduced from 525 head at the close of December 1733 to 365 by 31 January 1735 through three failed seasons of rain. Cape wine reached the island from the vineyards at the Cape of Good Hope, five weeks to the south east and the nearest wine country, which made it the least expensive table wine available. Arrack was the eastern spirit distilled from palm sap, rice or sugar, carried in half leaguers from Batavia and issued to guards and slaves as well as poured at the fort table. Sixty gallons against thirty-one of wine reflects that double function as ration and as drink.
401	397	[The column headings sit above the top edge of the image and are not present.] Remg 1st February 1734: 36, 125, 29, 28, 90, 50, 7, 365, 95, 27, 20, 4, 151, 14, 18, 7, 39, 2, 80, 48, 80, 21, 6, 6, 8, 14 Increased in ditto: 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 7, 0, 17, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 70, 0, 0, 0, 1, 1 36, 125, 29, 28, 90, 57, 7, 372, 95, 27, 20, 4, 151, 14, 18, 7, 39, 2, 80, 48, 150, 21, 6, 6, 9, 15 Killed in ditto, the horse by a Fall: 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 1, 2, 4, 0, 0, 6, 0, 0, 0, 4, 0, 4, 2, 60, 0, 0, 1, 0, 1 36, 125, 28, 28, 90, 57, 7, 371, 93, 23, 20, 4, 145, 14, 18, 7, 35, 2, 76, 46, 90, 21, 6, 5, 9, 14 Sold 1 Horse Colt: 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 1 Remg 28th Febry: 36, 125, 28, 28, 90, 57, 7, 371, 93, 23, 20, 4, 145, 14, 18, 7, 35, 2, 76, 46, 90, 21, 6, 4, 9, 13 Yams Expended at the several Plantations 17100lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 28200	Expenses of the table in February 1735 200 lb of beef, £2 10s 0d 6 sheep, £7 10s 0d 4 hogs, £0 16s 0d 2 turkeys, £0 10s 0d 50 fowls, £4 13s 0d 28 days of greens, £1 8s 0d 56 bowls of milk, £13 8s 8d 60 gallons of arrack, £12 15s 0d 31 gallons of Cape wine, £6 4s 0d 2 gallons of vinegar, £0 19s 6d 6 bottles of oil, £4 7s 6d 3 quarters 2 lb of flour, £2 5s 6d 1 quarter 12 lb of sugar, £2 5s 6d Total, £34 19s 8d The column headings were left blank on the leaf, and the identities of quantity, commodity and sterling value have been carried down from the earlier table accounts of the same series.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Totall 45300lb	The covering was not enough to hide her nakedness. For these acts of barbarous cruelty Sarah Greentree was committed to the marshal's custody until further order, and the elder woman was strictly charged to treat her slaves with more humanity in future, the girl being of an unusual and pitiable disposition. Sarah Ryder brought a complaint against Nathaniel Crossoner before Governor Pyke. She reported him as saying that Eleanor Marsh, whipped the previous week for immorality after bearing a child out of wedlock, was in his estimation the equal of any woman on the island, whatever the child implied about her. The Governor rebuked him for defending someone of that character. He noted at the same time that Ryder herself had been removed from the valley twelve months earlier for running a lodging house that drew in idle and vicious people. A second charge followed. Crossoner had declared that he would gladly suffer a hundred lashes himself if it spared Eleanor Marsh her whipping. The Governor observed that the woman had drawn him in completely, receiving him at her house at any hour and above all on Sundays, when he stayed away from church and claimed to attend gatherings whose form of worship he could not accept, though her house served no religious purpose whatever. Crossoner answered that nothing had stopped him attending a service of the same kind while he lodged there. The Governor then took the offer at face value. He told Crossoner he might be tied to the whipping post that hour and receive his hundred lashes, and that if the experience suited him a standing arrangement could be made, the woman's company purchased at a hundred lashes for every two hours and repeated as often as he wished. Crossoner replied that he meant to leave with her by the next ship and marry her, and offered £7 0s 0d for a licence. The Governor told him to produce the money, saying he would take it if he could, unless some better proposal came forward. The Governor, Captain Goodwin, the gunner and the steward presented their accounts for the past month, which were examined and passed. Interpretations Sarah Greentree was held rather than sentenced, and the record shows neither fine nor whipping nor fixed term. The council could not convict a free person on a slave's evidence, and the admissions noted in the margin the previous day amounted to confession rather than proof taken in proper form. Detention reached the daughter while the separate charge reached the mother, without either being brought to trial. That charge repeats in substance the written undertaking John Greentree gave the Governor on 13 November 1733, which collapsed inside five weeks. Sarah Ryder's own record cut against her accusation, and the council put the point on paper. Her removal from the valley a year earlier concerned a house of precisely the kind she now attributed to the Marsh family, which places the two women in the same trade and the complaint within a rivalry. The jury of 2 July 1733 had presented the valley's unlicensed lodging houses as a group, and the council responded by ordering the wife of James Peet out within a fortnight. Ryder's expulsion belongs to that campaign. The Governor demolished Crossoner's gesture by granting it. Corporal punishment marked the offender in public and could not be transferred, so an offer to absorb another person's whipping carried no legal weight, and accepting it exposed the emptiness more effectively than any refusal. The exchange also reveals what marriage cost on the island: the fee table of 20 May 1731 fixed a licence at

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			10s 0d, so £7 0s 0d ran to fourteen times the published charge and represented a purchase rather than a fee. Crossoner had already come before the council twice, first as a deserter from the <i>Mary</i> set to sentinel duty for wandering at night, then as one of the disorderly men named in evidence against Eleanor Marsh. All three entries trace back to a single household and a single enquiry. Sailing with her at the next opportunity would have taken both off the island, which was the resolution the council generally preferred for people it judged unfit to stay. February's table bill of £34 19s 8d falls well short of January's £58 4s 9d, when four ships lay in the road for seventeen days and beef reached 515 lb. Just 200 lb appears here, less than half, the drop following the departure of the <i>Prince Augustus</i>, <i>Princess Louisa</i>, <i>Mary</i> and <i>Royal Guardian</i> on 28 January 1735. Sheep at £7 10s 0d and milk at £13 8s 8d now outweigh beef in the reckoning, which suits a herd reduced from 525 head at the close of December 1733 to 365 by 31 January 1735 through three failed seasons of rain. Cape wine reached the island from the vineyards at the Cape of Good Hope, five weeks to the south east and the nearest wine country, which made it the least expensive table wine available. Arrack was the eastern spirit distilled from palm sap, rice or sugar, carried in half leaguers from Batavia and issued to guards and slaves as well as poured at the fort table. Sixty gallons against thirty-one of wine reflects that double function as ration and as drink.
402	398	Gunners Stores Expended in Febry vizt 1734 vizt Weight, Minion, Powder 1734 Febry 1st Muster Day: Weight 0, Minion 0, Powder 12lb 28th An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Weight 4, Minion 4, Powder 12 Expence of the Guard: Weight 0, Minion 0, Powder 13 Musquet Balls for ditto 6d Cartridge Paper 2 Quire: Weight 4, Minion 4, Powder 37 Match 12d being that she had to cover her Privities when she was Chained up among the Stock & which was not farther denied by old Mrs Guentree who then affirmed that as she had broken none of the Girles Bones she had Power to use her own Slaves as she thought fit, to which the Governour Replyed that every Slave had as much Right to competent food & decent Rayment as any Owner of such Slave had to their Labour & that his Slave should not be obliged either to drink her own Piss or lap up dirty Water from the Ground nor be kept Chained up continually, nor be forced to go without Cloathing for a piece of a dirty Handkerchief was not enough to cover those Parts which Modesty requies should be concealed. the old Woman farther said that all her Daughter had done was by her Order whereupon she was told that she deserved to be committed too but it was hoped that the Punishment	Gunner's stores expended in February 1735 1 February, muster day: 0 guns fired, 0 minions, 12 lb of powder 28 February, an alarm for a ship that passed by: 4 guns fired, 4 minions, 19 lb of powder Expense of the guard: 0 guns fired, 0 minions, 13 lb of powder Musket balls for the guard, 6 lb Cartridge paper, 2 quires Match, 12 lb Total: 4 guns fired, 4 minions, 37 lb of powder The girl had nothing but the scrap of handkerchief to cover herself while she was chained up among the men slaves, a detail the elder Mrs Greentree did not deny. She maintained that since no bones had been broken she was entitled to handle her own slaves as she saw fit. Governor Pyke answered that every slave had as much right to fair and decent treatment as any owner had to that slave's labour. No slave was to be made to drink her own urine or to lap dirty water off the ground, nor kept chained day after day, nor left without clothing beyond a filthy rag too small to cover what modesty demanded be hidden. The elder woman then said that whatever had been done was her daughter's doing. The council replied that she deserved committal herself, and expressed the hope that punishing one of them would end the practice. Should it not, and should further cases arise, the offenders would be prosecuted and punished for brutality of a kind that could no longer be tolerated. At a consultation held on Tuesday 18 March 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. The <i>Ljell</i>, commanded by Captain Small, reached the island on the evening of the 11th from Bencoolen, and her captain received the standing instructions to heave in on any alarm early the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of one would Cure them of this vile Cruell Usage, if it did not & it might happen that more of them would be Practised against & Punished, for such Brutish Inhumanity, which by no means was to be longer suffered or Endured At a Consultation held on Tuesday 18th March 1734 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 15th instant in the Evening the Lyell Capt Snook arrived here from Bencoolen & the next Morning early we delivered the Captain the usual Instructions to heave in upon Allarms The Supply from thence consists wholly in Arrack vizt Arrack 40 Casks qty 3 pr 2 Gals 10 pr 160 Gals 406.4.70 Charges Dollars 406.4.70 The following Petition was presented & read vizt Margin Notes: from 395	following morning. Her supply for the island consisted of arrack alone. Supply from the Lyell Arrack, 4 casks of 40 gallons each, 160 gallons at 3 dollars per gallon, 480 dollars 0 gomes 0 [...] Charges, 6 dollars 4 gomes 70 [...] Total, 486 dollars 4 gomes 70 [...] A petition was then presented and read. Interpretations The elder Mrs Greentree's defence rested on the proposition that an owner's authority over a slave was limited only by permanent physical injury, so that anything short of a broken bone lay within her discretion. The Governor's answer set a different measure entirely, tying the owner's right to labour to a corresponding duty of decent maintenance, and naming four specific practices as beyond any owner's power: forced drinking of urine, lapping water from the floor, continuous chaining and the withholding of clothing. Stating the limits as a list rather than as a general principle gave the council something it could apply to the next case without needing a conviction in this one. Deflecting the blame onto her daughter gained the elder woman nothing, since the council answered that she was equally liable to committal. The point matters because Sarah Greentree was already in the marshal's hands, and holding both women would have left the household without anyone to manage it. The warning that repetition would bring prosecution shifts the threat from the present case, which rested on confession rather than admissible evidence, to a future one in which the council implied it would find a way to proceed. The February gunner's account shows an anchorage standing empty. The 37 lb of powder is the lowest monthly figure since the 18 lb of November 1733, and the whole expenditure covers a muster day, the guard's routine allowance and a single alarm for a ship that did not call. That silence follows the departure of the four Indiamen on 28 January 1735 and matches the fall in the table account for the same month. Minions were the lighter class of gun in the island's ordnance, throwing a ball of a few pounds, and the guns fired at an alarm were chosen from the smaller pieces to spare powder. The practice ran through the whole autumn of 1734, when salutes were made up chiefly of falcons for the same reason, and Governor Pyke had substituted a general dinner for the customary coronation salute on 8 October 1734 on the grounds that every grain of powder should be saved with a war expected. The <i>Lyell's</i> cargo priced in dollars rather than rupees marks her as coming from Bencoolen rather than from Bengal, the Sumatran settlement reckoning in Spanish dollars with subsidiary units. Her arrival on 11 March 1735 ended a run of six weeks in which no vessel had touched the island, and she brought arrack and nothing else, no rice, sugar or paddy, at a moment when the council had told three homeward commanders on 19 December 1734 that three failed seasons of rain had left the island with no grain to spare.
403	399	To the Worshipfull Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr & Council The humble Petition of Sarah Greentree Sheweth That Your Petrs Mother is very ancient, & often Infirm & for this Reason, by her Orders, she hath been obliged to look after the Management of her Affairs in the time of her sickness	Sarah Greentree petitioned Governor Pyke and the council for her release. She set out that her mother was very old and frequently unwell, and that for that reason she had been left to run the household during her mother's illnesses on her mother's own instructions. She expressed regret that the Governor was so displeased with her conduct. She noted that she had already spent a full week in confinement for what had happened. She stated that she had no wish to

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& is heartily sorry Your Worship is so highly offended with her Behaviour That Your Petr hath suffered a whole Weeks Confinement for what hath already happened That Your Petr is so averse from doing any thing wilfully to displease Your Worship or any bodyelse, that Your Petitioner to avoid Cruelty, & the very appearance of it, is determined for the future, not to Punish, or give Direction for the Punishment of any of her Mothers Slaves upon any Account whatsoever Your Petr therefore humbly prays that she may be discharged from her Confinement And Your Petr as in duty bound shall ever pray 18th March 1734 Sarah Greentree The Petitioner was called in & told that if any two Persons would be bound for the Performance of what she promised in her Petition she should be set at Liberty, to the Answered that her Brothers Ryder & Greentree would Engage for her & they being called in & asked whether they would do so or not & Answered they were willing to do so & Signed the following Writing vizt We the Undersigned do hereby Engage as far as we are able that our Sister shall not any more, upon any Occasion whatsoever Whip or Punish any of her Mothers Slaves Tho: Greentree Sam: Ryder Upon this Security she was dismiss	defy the Governor or anyone else, and that to avoid cruelty and even the appearance of it she had resolved never again to punish any of her mother's slaves or to order any punishment for them on any grounds whatever. On that footing she asked to be discharged. Dated 18 March 1735, signed Sarah Greentree. The petitioner was brought in and told that she would be freed if two people would stand surety for her keeping the promise. She named her brothers Ryder and Greentree as willing to act. Both were called in and asked whether they would do so, and both agreed and signed the undertaking that follows. The two men bound themselves, so far as lay within their power, that their sister would never again whip or punish any of her mother's slaves on any occasion whatever. Signed Thomas Greentree and Samuel Ryder. She was released on that security. Interpretations The sureties bind the wrong party, and the wording admits it. Two brothers undertook only so far as lay within their power that their sister would not repeat the conduct, which makes them answerable for something they could not directly control. The council had no means of convicting a free woman on slave evidence, so it could not impose a sentence with conditions attached. Binding third parties instead converted the problem into a private obligation the council could enforce against men of substance, and gave the household itself an interest in restraining her. Sarah Greentree's defence relocates responsibility rather than denying the acts. She pleaded that her mother's age and illness had left her running the household on her mother's own authority, which mirrors the elder woman's answer of the previous week that whatever had been done was her daughter's doing. Each woman named the other, and the council, having heard both, took security from the brothers rather than deciding between them. Confinement for a week without trial or sentence was itself the punishment, and the petition treats it as such. The council had committed her to the marshal on 11 March 1735 with no term fixed and no charge tried, and her release came on an undertaking rather than on any finding. The whole proceeding therefore ran on detention and promise, the same combination used against John Long over years of complaints when the testimony of blacks left no route to conviction. The undertaking covers punishment of any kind on any occasion, which removes from her the ordinary disciplinary authority an owner's household exercised over its slaves. Nothing in it protects the slaves from the elder Mrs Greentree, who remained free to act as she chose, subject only to the warning given the previous week. The remedy therefore reached the person the evidence identified as the crueller of the two, whom the girl Sarah had named as beating her daily, and left the rest of the household untouched. Speculations The council could have kept her in custody until she had been tried, since she had been summoned repeatedly before and had never appeared, and the warrant of 11 March 1735 had complained of exactly that pattern of evasion. Releasing her a week later on a promise gave up the one hold the council had actually secured over a woman it had never before managed to bring in. The answer lies in the surety it took in exchange: two brothers of standing became personally liable, so the council traded a prisoner it could not convict for a continuing claim against men

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			it could reach. Detention would have ended when it ended, while the bond ran on indefinitely.
404	400	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 26th March 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday a Danish Ship called the Sleswig of about 900 Ton 150 & 36 Guns arrived here directly from China & having Examined his Commission wee suffered them to come in & Refresh John Sola Soldier made Complaint upon Oath that Martin one of the Companies Fishermen every Night he came from fishing carried in the Dusk of the Evening great Quantities of fish of the best sort as Jack & Bream & Cavally to the House of George Knight Soldier who keeps a Punch House in the Fort Valley & who encouraged him so to do, giving him Arrack for the said fish & that this Trade has been thus carried on ever since he has Sola has been upon the Island which is about nine Months Knight & his Wife were summoned & Examined about the Matter with which they were accused & both of them denied the fact but the Evidence being positive & upon Oath it was Ordered that the said Knight should no longer be suffered to keep a Punch House & notice was given him thereof accordingly Joseph Bates was charged by Tho: Scott junr & Sam: Browning for saying that they had broke open his house & Stolen his Goods, & produced Tho: Richardson vizt & Wm Stanley Soldier to prove the same but they each of them declaring that they could not be positive in the Matter the said Bates was discharged John Torras Sen: Petitioned for a new Lease of ten Acres of Land his old one being Expired, & Prayed also that three parcells of Land containing together about twenty two Acres the Lease of which were these more than half Expired might be Surrendred & that two new Leases one for ten Acres & the other for the said three parcells of Land might be granted him he allegding that each of the said parcells of Land was duely fenced & Planted with Wood Messrs George & John Burling were appointed to view the said Land & if upon their Report it should appear that what was alledged was true the Petr was told his Request should be granted	At a consultation held on Wednesday 26 March 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. A Danish ship called the <i>Sleswig</i>, of about 900 tons, 150 men and 36 guns, arrived the previous day directly from China. Her commission was examined and she was admitted to the road. John Sola, a soldier, complained on oath about the conduct of Martin, one of the Company's fishermen. Every night Martin came up from fishing at dusk and carried a considerable quantity of the best fish, together with jacks, bream and cavally, to the house of George Knight, a soldier who kept a punch house in the fort valley. Knight encouraged him to do so by giving him arrack in exchange. The trade had run continuously since Sola arrived on the island roughly nine months earlier. Knight and his wife were summoned and questioned about the matter. Both denied it, but the evidence given on oath satisfied the council, and Knight was forbidden to keep a punch house any longer. Notice of the order was served on him. Joseph Bates faced a charge brought by Thomas Scott junior and Samuel Browning, who alleged that he had broken into his own house and stolen goods from it. He called Elizabeth Richardson and Mrs Stanley, a soldier's wife, to prove the same, but both of them denied it and stated that they could not be positive in the matter. Bates was accordingly discharged. John Norris petitioned for a fresh lease of ten acres, his existing one having expired. He asked at the same time to surrender three parcels amounting to about twenty-two acres, more than half of the lease still being unexpired. He sought two new leases, one for the ten acres and the other for the three parcels, arguing that each of the parcels was properly fenced and planted with wood. Messrs George and John Durling were appointed to inspect the land. The petitioner was told that his request would be granted if their report bore out what he had claimed. Interpretations The fish trade Sola described was theft from the Company's own establishment. Governor Byfield had replaced the slaves' meat ration with fish on 1 March 1727 and set eleven men constantly in the boats, so the catch was the provision on which the whole slave establishment fed. Martin was diverting the best of it nightly into the retail trade of the valley, and taking payment in arrack rather than money, which left no cash trail and gave the fisherman a commodity he could consume or pass on unrecorded. The loss fell on the establishment's diet at a moment when three failed rainy seasons had already cut the yam crop and pushed the council onto imported rice. Withdrawing Knight's punch house licence was the only sanction that reached him, since both he and his wife denied everything on oath and no conviction was available. The same instrument had been used against Thomas Clough on 16 April 1734, when the threat of losing his liquor licence forced him to sell an ill-treated slave, and the licensing power gave the council leverage over a man's livelihood where the criminal law gave it nothing. Knight had come before the council before, having

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			been found on 22 August 1732 with his wife Sarah to have beaten the Company's girl Blackman so severely that she was taken back into Company work, and his house was where five sailors rioted on 21 January 1735. The Bates charge collapsed on his own witnesses. He produced Elizabeth Richardson and Mrs Stanley to support the accusation, and both declined to state anything positively, which left nothing before the council at all. The pattern is familiar in his record: he swore to a long schedule of goods stolen from his house on 4 February 1735 and asked for a search warrant, and he had been fined forty days' extraordinary work on 19 November 1734 after denying a signature that proved to be his own. Norris's petition tests the lease reform the council adopted on 26 July 1732, under which no lease is renewed until the surveyors certify the ground duly fenced and planted with a fair proportion of thriving wood. He surrendered twenty-two acres with more than half the term still to run and asked for fresh leases on both parcels, which places him at the council's mercy on the fencing question for land he could otherwise have held without inspection. Sending George and John Durling to view before anything was granted follows the reform exactly. Jacks and cavally are fast-swimming fish of the carangid family taken in the waters around the island, and bream a deeper-bodied inshore fish. All three were staple catches of the Company's boats. A punch house was a licensed retail establishment selling spirits by the bowl, punch being arrack mixed with water, sugar and citrus, and the licence carried a charge of 40s introduced by Governor Byfield on 18 April 1727 with a forfeit of £10 0s 0d for unlicensed selling.
405	401	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 1st April 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Jno Alexander absent John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On Saturday last the Lyell & the Danish Ship sailed for Europe This day wee Executed a Lease of thirty two Acres of Land lying in Sandy Bay to Roland Rogers who desired we might have given him leave to Assign the same to Gabriel Harper of this Island Soldier Messrs Crispe & Burling Report that according to the Order of Tuesday last that they have viewed the several parcells of Land for which John Notrate that day desired new Leases & find that each parcell is duely fenced & Planted with its full Proportion of Wood Ordered that Leases be prepared accordingly The Governour the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for March last which were severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expence of the Table in March 1734 vizt 283lb Beef 3 10 9 7 Sheep 8 15 48 Fowles 3 12 6 Turkeys 1 10 6 Ducks	At a consultation held on Tuesday 1 April 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Goodwin Duke Crisp John Alexander absent The previous consultation was read over and approved. The <i>Lyell</i> and the Danish ship sailed for Europe on the previous Saturday. A lease of thirty-two acres in Sandy Bay was executed to Reland Segan and Martha, his wife, who were then given leave to assign it to Gabriel Harper, a soldier of the island. Messrs Crisp and Durling reported that they had inspected the several parcels of land for which John Norris had applied for new leases on the previous Tuesday, as the council had directed. They found each parcel properly fenced and planted with its full share of wood. The council ordered the leases drawn accordingly. The Governor, the gunner and the steward delivered their monthly accounts for March, which were examined separately and approved. Expenses of the table in March 1735 283 lb of beef, £3 10s 9d 7 sheep, £8 15s 0d 48 fowls, £3 12s 0d 6 turkeys, £1 10s 0d 6 ducks, £0 9s 0d 65 gallons of arrack, £13 0s 0d 45 gallons of wine, £9 0s 0d 6 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d 360 lb of flour, £4 10s 0d 160 lb of sugar, £2 0s 0d 38 lb of butter, £1 18s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 62 bowls of milk, £1 0s 8d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		9 65 Galls Arrack 13 45 Galls Wine 9 6 Bottles Oyle 19 6 360lb Flour 4 10 160 Sugar 2 38lb Butter 1 18 2 Pepper 2 62 Bottles Milk 1 8 31 Days Greens 1 11 51 17 11	31 days of greens, £1 11s 0d Total, £51 17s 11d Interpretations The lease to Reland Segan and his wife was executed and assigned in a single sitting, which collapses two transactions the council normally kept apart. Under the reform of 26 July 1732 no lease passes until the ground has been viewed, so the survey requirement was satisfied by the grant itself, and the immediate transfer to Gabriel Harper meant the Company took a soldier as its tenant without any fresh inspection. Naming the wife alongside the husband on the lease matters for the same reason it mattered in John Young's will on 21 May 1734: island custom gave a widow half the real estate for life among lands purchased during the marriage, so a joint holding secured her interest without depending on any testamentary clause. Norris obtained precisely what the lease reform was designed to make difficult. He had surrendered twenty-two acres with more than half the term unexpired and asked for two fresh leases, which put land he already held at risk of resumption if the surveyors found it neglected. The report of Crisp and Durling that every parcel stood fenced and planted with its full share of wood is the certificate the resolutions of 26 July 1732 demanded, and the leases followed within a week of the petition. March's table bill of £51 17s 11d runs nearly £17 above February's £34 19s 8d, and the rise falls almost entirely on drink and on the staples bought in bulk. Arrack rose to 65 gallons and wine to 45, against 60 and 31 the month before, while flour at 360 lb, sugar at 160 lb and butter at 38 lb enter the account as substantial lines where February carried only small quantities of flour and sugar. The <i>Ljvell</i> had reached the island from Bencoolen on 11 March 1735 with a cargo of arrack alone, and the Danish <i>Sleswig</i> came in from China on 25 March, so the fort was entertaining commanders ashore for the first time since the four Indiamen left on 28 January 1735. Beef recovered to 283 lb from 200 lb, but the herd's condition still shows in the account. Sheep rose to seven from six and now cost £8 15s 0d against beef at £3 10s 9d, so mutton carried more than twice the value of beef on the table, which fits a cattle stock reduced from 525 head at the close of December 1733 to 365 by 31 January 1735 and still falling under a drought running three seasons.
406	402	Neat Cattle, Sheep, Hogs, Poultry, Horses Remg 1st March 1734: Neat Cattle 36, Neat Cattle 125, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 90, Neat Cattle 57, Neat Cattle 7, Sheep 371, Sheep 93, Sheep 23, Sheep 25, Hogs 4, Hogs 145, Hogs 14, Hogs 18, Hogs 7, Hogs 35, Hogs 2, Poultry 76, Poultry 46, Poultry 90, Poultry 21, Poultry 6, Horses 4, Horses 9, Horses 13 Increased in ditto: Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 1, Neat Cattle 0, Sheep 1, Sheep 0, Sheep 0, Sheep 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 10, Hogs 0, Poultry 10, Poultry 0, Poultry 30, Poultry 0, Poultry 0, Horses 0, Horses 0, Horses 0, Horses 0 Neat Cattle 36, Neat Cattle 125, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 90, Neat Cattle 58, Neat Cattle 7, Sheep 372, Sheep 93, Sheep 23, Sheep 25, Hogs 4, Hogs 145, Hogs 14, Hogs 18, Hogs 7, Hogs 45, Hogs 2, Poultry 86, Poultry 46, Poultry 120, Poultry 21, Poultry 6, Horses 4, Horses 9, Horses 13 Dead: Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Sheep 0, Sheep 0, Sheep 4, Sheep 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 4, Hogs 2, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0,	The stock account for March 1735 carries the four class headings of neat cattle, sheep, hogs, poultry and horses, but leaves the individual column headings blank beneath them. The identities of the separate classes have been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Remaining 1 March 1735, neat cattle: 36 bullocks, 125 cows, 28 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 57 calves, 7 bulls, total 371 neat cattle Remaining 1 March 1735, sheep: 93 ewes, 23 wethers, 25 lambs, 4 rams, total 145 sheep Remaining 1 March 1735, hogs: 14 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 35 pigs, 2 boars, total 76 hogs Remaining 1 March 1735, poultry: 46 turkeys, 90 fowls, 21 ducks, 6 geese Remaining 1 March 1735, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Increased in March, neat cattle: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 1 calf, 0 bulls, total 1 neat cattle Increased in March, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep Increased in March, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 10 pigs, 0 boars, total 10 hogs

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Poultry 2, Poultry 0, Poultry 0, Poultry 0, Poultry 0, Horses 0, Horses 0, Horses 0 Neat Cattle 36, Neat Cattle 125, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 90, Neat Cattle 58, Neat Cattle 7, Sheep 372, Sheep 93, Sheep 19, Sheep 25, Hogs 4, Hogs 141, Hogs 12, Hogs 18, Hogs 7, Hogs 45, Hogs 2, Poultry 84, Poultry 46, Poultry 120, Poultry 21, Poultry 6, Horses 4, Horses 9, Horses 13 Killed & Sold: Neat Cattle 2, Neat Cattle 5, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Neat Cattle 0, Sheep 7, Sheep 0, Sheep 7, Sheep 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 7, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Hogs 0, Poultry 0, Poultry 6, Poultry 48, Poultry 6, Poultry 0, Horses 0, Horses 0, Horses 0 Remg 31 March: Neat Cattle 34, Neat Cattle 120, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 28, Neat Cattle 90, Neat Cattle 58, Neat Cattle 7, Sheep 365, Sheep 93, Sheep 12, Sheep 25, Hogs 4, Hogs 134, Hogs 12, Hogs 18, Hogs 7, Hogs 45, Hogs 2, Poultry 84, Poultry 40, Poultry 72, Poultry 15, Poultry 6, Horses 4, Horses 9, Horses 13 Yams Expended at the several Plantations 14000lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 29500 Total 43500lb	Increased in March, poultry: 0 turkeys, 30 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese Increased in March, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Balance after increase, neat cattle: 36 bullocks, 125 cows, 28 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 58 calves, 7 bulls, total 372 neat cattle Balance after increase, sheep: 93 ewes, 23 wethers, 25 lambs, 4 rams, total 145 sheep Balance after increase, hogs: 14 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 86 hogs Balance after increase, poultry: 46 turkeys, 120 fowls, 21 ducks, 6 geese Balance after increase, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Dead in March, neat cattle: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 0 neat cattle Dead in March, sheep: 0 ewes, 4 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 4 sheep Dead in March, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Dead in March, poultry: 0 turkeys, 2 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese Dead in March, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Balance after deaths, neat cattle: 36 bullocks, 125 cows, 28 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 58 calves, 7 bulls, total 372 neat cattle Balance after deaths, sheep: 93 ewes, 19 wethers, 25 lambs, 4 rams, total 141 sheep Balance after deaths, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Balance after deaths, poultry: 46 turkeys, 120 fowls, 21 ducks, 6 geese Balance after deaths, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Killed and sold in March, neat cattle: 2 bullocks, 5 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 7 neat cattle Killed and sold in March, sheep: 7 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 7 sheep Killed and sold in March, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Killed and sold in March, poultry: 6 turkeys, 48 fowls, 6 ducks, 0 geese Killed and sold in March, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Remaining 31 March 1735, neat cattle: 34 bullocks, 120 cows, 28 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 58 calves, 7 bulls, total 365 neat cattle Remaining 31 March 1735, sheep: 93 ewes, 19 wethers, 25 lambs, 4 rams, total 134 sheep Remaining 31 March 1735, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Remaining 31 March 1735, poultry: 40 turkeys, 72 fowls, 15 ducks, 6 geese Remaining 31 March 1735, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 14,000 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 29,500 lb Total yams, 43,500 lb Interpretations One calf across a whole month is the sharpest single figure in the return. Calving had already collapsed to nothing in October, November and December 1734 as the drought held, and a herd of 125 cows producing a single calf in March confirms that the recovery hoped for after the rains broke in June 1734 never came. Cows under sustained nutritional stress cease to conceive, so the failure runs a year behind the weather and will keep the herd falling through the next season whatever the rainfall does.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			The herd stands at 365 head on 31 March 1735, the same figure it reached on 31 January, and the intervening months show why it has stopped falling rather than recovered. Seven head killed and sold in March is a modest disposal against the 28 of January, and no beast at all is entered as dead, which breaks a run in which dry weather and rockfalls had been carrying off animals monthly since January 1734. The herd has reached a floor by the exhaustion of what could be sold rather than by any improvement in the pasture. Poultry moves faster than any other class and shows the fort table at work directly. Thirty fowls hatched during the month and 48 were killed, with six turkeys and six ducks besides, which matches the 48 fowls, six turkeys and six ducks entered against the table account for March 1735. The stock and the table are recording the same birds from opposite ends, and the flock fell from 90 fowls to 72 in consequence. Four wethers dead against no loss among ewes, lambs or rams points to the class rather than to the flock. Wethers are castrated males kept for meat rather than breeding, so they carry no reproductive value and are the animals an owner allows to fall away first when grazing is short. The seven ewes killed and sold in the same month is the harder figure, since breeding females went to the table while the drought held, and the flock closed at 134 against 145 at the month's opening. Yams at 43,500 lb sit close to the 43,700 lb of October 1734 and well below the 51,900 lb of December, and the split between the plantations and the slaves has reversed from the pattern of the previous winter. Only 14,000 lb went to the plantations against 29,500 lb issued to the slaves, where June 1734 had sent the larger share to the ground. The winter planting season on the island runs from about May to September, so March falls at the end of the growing period, when the crop is being eaten rather than set.
407	403	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 8th April 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Jno Alexander absent John Goodwin being Sick Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Capt Goodwin the upper Church Warden Reports that at a Vestry held yesterday the Inhabitants had nominated the following Persons for Parish Officers for the year ensuing East Division West Division Wm Seale Senr Capt Goodwin Church Wardens Jno Burling Capt Alexander Surveyours vizt East Division West Division South Division John Hayes Sal: Burling Jno Higham Jas: Desfountain Rich: Goodwin Jas: Bates Of these wee appointed vizt Captain Goodwin John Burling for Church Wardens Surveyours vizt Jas: Desfountain Et Division Rich: Goodwin Overseers of the Highways for the Wt Jas: Bates South Jno: Higham was excused upon his Petition which Setforth that he was not able to Serve as Overseer of the Highways being often Sickly, & having only one Slave it	At a consultation held on Tuesday 8 April 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Goodwin Duke Crisp John Alexander absent, being sick The previous consultation was read over and approved. Captain Goodwin, the senior churchwarden, reported that the inhabitants had met in vestry the previous day and put forward the following names for parish office in the coming year. Nominations for churchwarden East division: William Seale senior East division: John Durling West division: Captain Goodwin West division: Captain Alexander Nominations for surveyor of the highways East division: John Hayes East division: James Defontaine West division: Solomon Durling West division: Richard Goodwin South division: John Higham South division: James Bates The council made its selections from those names. Appointed churchwardens Captain Goodwin John Durling Appointed overseers of the highways East division: James Defontaine West division: Richard Goodwin South division: James Bates

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		would be extreemly prejudicial to the Petr who Maintains his Father who otherwise must be kept by the Parish as his Sister & Seven of her Children already are & that he himself was also very poor The Governour Reports that the Poultry belonging to the Company & to the Inhabitants have been lately Seized in all parts of the Island with a Strange Distemper that kills Multitudes of them, their head first begin to Swell, soon after they become blind & then are presently taken with a Giddiness of which they die	John Higham was released from the office on his own petition. He stated that frequent ill health left him unfit to serve as overseer of the highways, and that holding only one slave made the duty a serious hardship. He supported his father, who would otherwise fall on the parish, as his sister and seven of her children already had, and he described himself as very poor. Governor Pyke reported an unfamiliar disease running through the poultry of the island, affecting the Company's birds and those of the inhabitants alike and killing them in great numbers. The head swells first, blindness follows shortly after, and the birds are then seized with a giddiness that carries them off. Interpretations The vestry nominated and the council chose, which divides the parish appointment between the inhabitants and the government rather than leaving it to either. Two names came forward for each place and the council took one, so the inhabitants controlled the field of candidates while the council controlled the outcome. The arrangement gave men of the council itself parish office, Captain Goodwin serving again as churchwarden after holding the post from 16 April 1734, and it made the highways and the poor relief the responsibility of the same small circle that sat in consultation. Higham's excuse turns on labour rather than on health, and the council accepted it on that footing. An overseer of the highways was expected to supply and direct work on the roads, which on St Helena meant slave labour, so a man holding one slave could not perform the office without ruining his own ground. His plea that his sister and seven of her children were already maintained by the parish gives the measure of what the office threatened: a household that failed became a parish charge, and excusing him was cheaper than adding another family to the roll. The poultry disease matters more than its place in the record suggests. Fowls had become the fort's principal fresh meat as the herd collapsed, the table account for March 1735 carrying 48 fowls, six turkeys and six ducks, and the stock return for the same month shows 30 fowls hatched against 48 killed. A disease killing birds in multitudes across the whole island removes the one class of stock that had been reproducing fast enough to keep pace with consumption, at a moment when three failed rainy seasons had already reduced the cattle from 525 head at the end of December 1733 to 365. The symptoms described, swelling of the head followed by blindness and then a fatal loss of balance, answer a systemic infection of poultry rather than any nutritional failure. Nothing on the island could treat it, and the council had no means of isolating birds kept loose about every household, so the report is an entry made for the Company's information rather than a prelude to any remedy.
408	404	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 15th April 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander absent John Goodwin being Sick Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governour Reports that a boy of the Compys called Robin died last Week & that the following Wenches were then delivered of Children vizt Sarah of a Girle called Betty Maria of Fanney Mary of Doll	At a consultation held on Tuesday 15 April 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Goodwin Duke Crisp John Alexander absent, being sick The previous consultation was read over and approved. Governor Pyke reported the death the previous week of a boy of the Company's establishment named Robin, and the births of five children to women of the same establishment. Births reported 15 April 1735 Sarah, delivered of a girl named Betty

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Mercey of a boy named Jacob Betty of Charles Ordered that the said Children be Intered in the Books At a Consultation held on Fryday 25th April 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander absent John Goodwin being Sick Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Messrs Goodwin & Crispe Report that they have finished one Sett of fair Books which were brought in & delivered to the Governour that he may peruse the same before they are sent to England	Maria, delivered of a girl named Fanny Mary, delivered of a girl named Doll Mercy, delivered of a boy named Jacob Betty, delivered of a boy named Charles The council ordered the children entered in the books. At a consultation held on Friday 25 April 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Goodwin Duke Crisp John Alexander absent, being sick The previous consultation was read over and approved. Messrs Goodwin and Crisp reported that they had completed one set of fair books. These were brought in and handed to the Governor so that he might read them through before they went to England. Interpretations Entering the five children in the books was an accounting act, not a record of baptism. Company slaves were carried on the establishment as property with a book value, and a child born into it entered the ledger from birth, which is why the council made a formal order about names it had just heard read out. The muster of 31 March 1729 shows the practice at work, listing every man, woman, boy and girl by name, age, employment and a rating that ran from very good to good for nothing, the rating serving as a valuation. Five births against one death in a single week is a sharp reversal of the establishment's usual demographic direction. The muster of 30 September 1730 counted 210 people where March 1728 had counted 219, and John Durling's return of 27 February 1733 gave 180 in all, a fall of nearly a fifth in under three years. The establishment had never reproduced itself and depended on purchase, so a cluster of births mattered to an island that had been told to send slaves to Bencoolen and had answered that none could be spared. A fair book is the formal ledger copied out from the working accounts kept through the year, and the Company required a clean set sent home for audit in London. The Governor reading them before dispatch is the last check available on the island, since nothing could be corrected once the packet sailed. The practice runs through the whole record: the audit of the books for the year ending 30 September 1729 was finished across daily consultations from 19 to 24 November 1729, the inventory found to agree, and the whole ordered fairly copied.
409	405	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 29th April 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 24th instant the Drake arrived from Bengale & as soon as the Captain was come on Shoar wee gave him the usual Instructions to heave in upon Allarms as wee had before given to the Captains of the Grafton & Harrison The Supply she brought from that Place is as follows vizt Arrack 2 half Leg qty 140 Galls 80 Batta 10 pr Cent 8 88	At a consultation held on Tuesday 29 April 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. The <i>Drake</i> arrived from Bengal on the 24th of the month. As soon as her captain came ashore he received the standing instructions to heave in on any alarm, the same the council had already given to the captains of the <i>Grafton</i> and <i>Harrison</i>. Her supply for the island stood as follows. Supply brought by the Drake from Bengal Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 140 gallons at 60 rupees per gallon, 80 rupees Arrack, batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, making 88 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of 18 maunds 2 seers at 6 rupees, 90 rupees

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Sugar 10 Bags qty 1lb 2: 5lb 90 Batta 10 pr Cent 9 99 Rice 34 Bags qty 49:3.13 64 12 6 Batta 10 pr Cent 6 7 9 71 4 3 Wax Candles 2 Chests qty 2:2:19 140 Blue Devatees 30: & 2 pr 75 pr 253 Charges Merchandize 22 14 6 Rupees 674 4 9 At a Consultation held on Tuesday 6th May 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Jno Alexander absent being John Goodwin Sick Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Governr & Steward delivered each their Acct for the Month past & the Gunner having been ill delivered also his Account for the Months of March & April each of which was severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vitz Margin Notes: Sevg Price vitz 6d pr Gall 6d pr lb Rice for Comp[...] 2r pr lb 8/6 pr Ps	Sugar, batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, making 99 rupees Rice for the Company's use, 34 bags of 49 maunds 3 seers, 64 rupees 12 annas 6 pies Rice, batta at 10 per cent, 6 rupees 7 annas 9 pies, making 71 rupees 4 annas 3 pies Wax candles, 2 chests of 2 maunds 2 seers 19 [...] at 2 rupees, 140 rupees Blue devatees, 30 pieces at 2 rupees 75 pies, 253 rupees Charges merchandise, 22 rupees 14 annas 6 pies Total, 674 rupees 4 annas 9 pies At a consultation held on Tuesday 6 May 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Goodwin Duke Crisp John Alexander absent, being sick The previous consultation was read over and approved. The Governor and the steward delivered their accounts for the past month. The gunner, having been ill, delivered his for both March and April. Each was examined separately and approved as follows. Interpretations Blue devatees were plain blue cotton cloths woven in Bengal for the export trade, sold by the piece and priced here at more than a third of the whole invoice. Their appearance marks a shift in what the Bengal agents were sending: the supplies of December 1734 carried 45 pieces of blue gurrachs to the <i>Bedford</i> at 61 rupees 8 annas the corge, and the <i>Duke of Lorraine</i> and <i>Britannia</i> brought made-up shirts and stockings in June 1734. Cloth of this kind went through the storekeeper to the inhabitants rather than to the Company's own use, and it had become the largest single line in an island consignment. Batta at 10 per cent falls on every line of the invoice and is the exchange allowance added when accounts crossed between rupee standards of different weight or fineness. The charge is uniform here, so the whole cargo was reckoned in one currency and converted once, and the practice runs through every Bengal consignment in this record. Two half leaguers of arrack at 140 gallons is half the usual quantity. The <i>Salisbury</i> brought 291 gallons in April 1733 and the <i>Walpole</i> 279 in May, four half leaguers being the standard specification for an island supply. The <i>Drake</i> also carries no paddy and no candles beyond the two chests, which places her cargo well short of what the establishment expected in a season when three failed rains had left the council telling homeward commanders on 19 December 1734 that it could spare no grain whatever. Rice for the Company's use is entered as a separate heading from the sugar and arrack, marking it as provision for the slave establishment rather than goods for retail. Imported rice had carried the balance of the establishment's diet through the whole drought, the storekeeper charging 60 hundredweight to the blacks in October 1734 at £30 0s 0d against nine hundredweight across the previous three months, so 34 bags represents a modest addition to a supply the island could not do without. The <i>Grafton</i> and <i>Harrison</i> had already been given the standing alarm orders before the <i>Drake</i> came in, which places three ships in the road in late April 1735 after a season of near silence. The anchorage had stood empty from 28 January until the <i>Ljell</i> reached the island on 11 March, and the arrival of a homeward fleet explains the recovery in the table

Bl. Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			account for March and the seven head of cattle killed and sold in the same month.
410	406	[The column headings sit above the top edge of the image and are not present.] Remg 1st Aprl: 34, 120, 28, 28, 90, 58, 7, 365, 93, 12, 25, 4, 134, 12, 18, 7, 45, 2, 84, 40, 72, 15, 6, 4, 9, 13 Increased in do: 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 8, 0, 8, 0, 0, 4, 0, 4, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 90, 8, 0, 0, 0, 0 34, 120, 28, 28, 90, 66, 7, 373, 93, 12, 29, 4, 138, 12, 18, 7, 45, 2, 84, 40, 162, 23, 6, 4, 9, 13 Sold to Ships: 13, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 14, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0 21, 120, 27, 28, 90, 66, 7, 359, 93, 12, 29, 4, 138, 12, 18, 7, 45, 2, 84, 40, 162, 23, 6, 4, 9, 13 Killed in ditto: 0, 0, 1, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 5, 0, 0, 5, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 8, 76, 3, 0, 0, 0, 0 21, 120, 26, 28, 90, 66, 7, 358, 93, 7, 29, 4, 133, 12, 18, 7, 45, 2, 84, 32, 86, 20, 6, 4, 9, 13 Dead in ditto: 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 1, 0, 2, 0, 3, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0 Remg 30th Aprl: 21, 120, 26, 28, 90, 66, 7, 358, 92, 7, 27, 4, 130, 12, 18, 7, 45, 2, 84, 32, 86, 20, 6, 4, 9, 13 Yams Expended at the several Plantations 10900lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 20300 Totall 31200lb	The stock account for April 1735 carries no headings on the leaf. The class identities have been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Remaining 1 April 1735, neat cattle: 34 bullocks, 120 cows, 28 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 58 calves, 7 bulls, total 365 neat cattle Remaining 1 April 1735, sheep: 93 ewes, 19 wethers, 25 lambs, 4 rams, total 134 sheep Remaining 1 April 1735, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Remaining 1 April 1735, poultry: 40 turkeys, 72 fowls, 15 ducks, 6 geese Remaining 1 April 1735, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Increased in April, neat cattle: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 8 calves, 0 bulls, total 8 neat cattle Increased in April, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 4 lambs, 0 rams, total 4 sheep Increased in April, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Increased in April, poultry: 0 turkeys, 90 fowls, 8 ducks, 0 geese Increased in April, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Balance after increase, neat cattle: 34 bullocks, 120 cows, 28 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 66 calves, 7 bulls, total 373 neat cattle Balance after increase, sheep: 93 ewes, 19 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, total 138 sheep Balance after increase, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Balance after increase, poultry: 40 turkeys, 162 fowls, 23 ducks, 6 geese Balance after increase, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Sold to ships in April, neat cattle: 13 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 14 neat cattle Sold to ships in April, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep Sold to ships in April, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Sold to ships in April, poultry: 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese Sold to ships in April, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Balance after sales, neat cattle: 21 bullocks, 120 cows, 27 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 66 calves, 7 bulls, total 359 neat cattle Balance after sales, sheep: 93 ewes, 19 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, total 138 sheep Balance after sales, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Balance after sales, poultry: 40 turkeys, 162 fowls, 23 ducks, 6 geese Balance after sales, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Killed in April, neat cattle: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 1 heifer, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 1 neat cattle Killed in April, sheep: 0 ewes, 5 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 5 sheep Killed in April, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Killed in April, poultry: 8 turkeys, 76 fowls, 3 ducks, 0 geese Killed in April, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Balance after killings, neat cattle: 21 bullocks, 120 cows, 26 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 66 calves, 7 bulls, total 358 neat cattle Balance after killings, sheep: 93 ewes, 7 wethers, 29 lambs, 4 rams, total 133 sheep Balance after killings, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Balance after killings, poultry: 32 turkeys, 86 fowls, 20 ducks, 6 geese Balance after killings, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Dead in April, neat cattle: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 0 neat cattle Dead in April, sheep: 1 ewe, 0 wethers, 2 lambs, 0 rams, total 3 sheep Dead in April, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Dead in April, poultry: 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese Dead in April, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Remaining 30 April 1735, neat cattle: 21 bullocks, 120 cows, 26 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 66 calves, 7 bulls, total 358 neat cattle Remaining 30 April 1735, sheep: 92 ewes, 7 wethers, 27 lambs, 4 rams, total 130 sheep Remaining 30 April 1735, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Remaining 30 April 1735, poultry: 32 turkeys, 86 fowls, 20 ducks, 6 geese Remaining 30 April 1735, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 10,900 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 20,300 lb Total yams, 31,200 lb Interpretations Eight calves in April against one in March is the first sign of recovery in the herd since the drought stopped calving from January 1734. The rains that broke about the middle of June 1734 produced only three calves in that month and one in August, with nothing at all in October, November or December, so a cluster of eight marks cows coming back into condition after more than a year. The herd still closed lower than it opened, at 358 against 365, because the <i>Grafton</i>, <i>Harrison</i> and <i>Drake</i> took 14 head between them. Thirteen bullocks went to the shipping and none were killed for the table, which reduced that class from 34 head to 21. Bullocks are the animals raised expressly for sale to Indiamen, so a fleet arriving after two months of an empty anchorage draws on them alone, and the Company's beef trade had always followed the road exactly. The heifer killed for the fort is the only beast taken for the island's own use in the whole month. Wethers fell from 19 to 7 across April, five killed and twelve already gone in March, while the ewe flock stood almost untouched. Castrated males carry no breeding value and are the class an establishment consumes first when it wishes to preserve its capacity to reproduce, and the pattern here shows the council eating the expendable animals while holding 92 ewes and four rams intact. Poultry recovered sharply, 90 fowls hatched and eight ducklings against 76 fowls and eight turkeys killed, which lifted the flock from 72 birds to 86. The recovery came in the same month the Governor reported an unfamiliar disease killing birds in great numbers across the island on 8 April 1735, yet not one bird is entered as dead in this return. The stock account and the report do not agree, and the

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Company's own flock appears to have escaped what was carrying off the inhabitants' birds. Yams at 31,200 lb are the lowest monthly issue since 23,500 lb in September 1734, and the fall of more than 12,000 lb on March reflects the season rather than any shortage. April opens the island's winter planting period, so the crop goes into the ground instead of onto the table, and the plantations' own share dropped to 10,900 lb from 14,000 lb the month before. Imported rice carried the difference, the <i>Drake</i> having landed 34 bags for the Company's use on 24 April 1735.
411	407	Gunners Stores Expended in March 1734/5 1734/5 Guns fired, Shott, Sakers, Minion, Falcon, Powder Mar 1st Muster Day: Guns fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 12 10 An Allarm: Guns fired 2, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Lyell arrived: Guns fired 4, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 8, Powder 11 25 An Allarm: Guns fired 2, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Fired at Bankers to bring the Ship to: Guns fired 2, Shott 2, Sakers 2, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 8 do Arrived a Danish Ship each the Sleswig: Guns fired 9, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 8, Powder 11 29th Lyell & Danish Ship Sailed: Guns fired 18, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 2, Falcon 16, Powder 22 Expencc of the Guard: Guns fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 13 Musquet Balls for ditto 6d Cartridge Paper 2 Quire Falchion 2 Match 13d Guns fired 46, Shott 2, Sakers 2, Minion 12, Falcon 32, Powder 101 Gunners Stores Expended in April 1735 vizt 1735 April 1st Muster Day: Guns fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 12 13 Double Allarm: Guns fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 8, Falcon 0, Powder 18 10 Arrived the Grafton & Harrison: Guns fired 36, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 32, Powder 40 21 An Allarm: Guns fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 0, Powder 12 do Fired at Bankers to bring the Ship to: Guns fired 1, Shott 1, Sakers 1, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 4 24 Drake Arrived: Guns fired 9, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcon 8, Powder 11 27 Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 32, Powder 40 30 Grafton Harrison & Drake sailed: Guns fired 36, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcon 32, Powder 40 Expencc of the Guard: Guns fired 0, Shott 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcon 0, Powder 13 Musquet Balls 9d Spunge Staves & broke 3 Flash sponges 3 Musselines 1 Spunge Sticks 3 Cartridge Paper 4 Quire Match 30d Guns fired 46, Shott 1, Sakers 1, Minion 25, Falcon 72, Powder 170 Expencc of the Table in April 1735 vizt 316lb Beef 3 10 5 Sheep 6 5 76 Fowles	Gunner's stores expended in March 1735 1 March, muster day: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 10 March, an alarm: 1 gun fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 11 March, the Lyell arrived: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 25 March, an alarm: 3 guns fired, 2 shot, 2 sakers, 1 minion, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 25 March, fired at Banks's to bring the ship to: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 4 lb of powder 25 March, arrival of a Danish ship, saluting the Sleswig: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 29 March, the Lyell and the Danish ship sailed: 13 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 2 minions, 16 falcons, 22 lb of powder Expense of the guard: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 13 lb of powder Musket balls for the guard, 6 lb Cartridge paper, 3 quires Falchions, 2 Match, 13 lb Total: 16 guns fired, 2 shot, 2 sakers, 12 minions, 32 falcons, 101 lb of powder Gunner's stores expended in April 1735 1 April, muster day: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 13 April, a double alarm: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 18 lb of powder 14 April, the arrival of the Grafton and Harrison: 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 6 minions, 32 falcons, 40 lb of powder 21 April, an alarm: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 19 lb of powder 21 April, fired at Banks's to bring the ship to: 1 gun fired, 1 shot, 1 saker, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 4 lb of powder 24 April, the Drake arrived: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 27 April, an alarm for a ship that passed by: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 30 April, the Grafton, Harrison and Drake sailed: 36 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 32 falcons, 44 lb of powder Expense of the guard: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 13 lb of powder Musket balls for the guard, 9 lb Sponge staves, 3 Flint stones, broken, 6 Sheepskins, 2 Sponge heads, 4 Cartridge paper, 4 quires Match, 30 lb Total: 46 guns fired, 1 shot, 1 saker, 23 minions, 72 falcons, 170 lb of powder Expenses of the table in April 1735 316 lb of beef, £3 10s 0d 5 sheep, £6 5s 0d 76 fowls, £5 14s 0d

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		5 14 8 Turkeys 2 3 Ducks 4 6 10 Gals Port 2 6 53 Gals Cape Wine 10 12 63 Gals Arrack 12 12 6 Bottles Oyle 19 6 2q Flour 2 10 150 Sugar 1 17 6 112 Suffuet 1 8 2 Pepper 1 13 58lb Butter 1 10 60 Bottles Milk 30 Days Greens 42 9 Mr Corns this day presented the following Paper or Petition vizt To the Worshipfull the Governour & Councill of the Island St Helena Gentlemen Having a great desire of going to my native	8 turkeys, £2 0s 0d 3 ducks, £0 4s 6d 10 gallons of port, £3 6s 0d 53 gallons of Cape wine, £10 12s 0d 63 gallons of arrack, £12 12s 0d 6 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d 248 lb of flour, £3 2s 0d 150 lb of sugar, £1 17s 6d 112 lb of biscuit, £1 8s 0d 2 lb of pepper, £0 2s 0d 38 lb of butter, £1 18s 0d 60 bowls of milk, £1 0s 0d 30 days of greens, £1 10s 0d Total, £52 0s 0d Mr Crisp presented a petition addressed to Governor Pyke and the council, in which the writer set out a strong wish to return to his own country. Interpretations The two gunner's accounts measure the return of shipping precisely. March expended 101 lb of powder against 37 lb in February, and April rose again to 170 lb, the heaviest since the 193 lb of January 1735. The pattern of alarm followed by salute recurs at almost every arrival, since the flagstaff could not identify a sail before she closed the road, and each unidentified ship therefore cost powder twice. Live firing appears twice in these accounts, once on 25 March and again on 21 April, both entered as shot from Banks's to bring a ship to. Banks's is the battery on the headland above which King William's Fort stands, and a round fired across an approaching vessel's bow was the standing means of compelling her to identify herself before entering the road. The saker expended on 21 April is the class of gun used for the purpose, heavier than a minion and able to carry the distance. Salutes were made up chiefly of falcons throughout, 32 of them for the arrival of the <i>Grafton</i> and <i>Harrison</i> and 32 again for the departure of the three ships on 30 April. Falcons are the smallest pieces in the island's ordnance, and the practice of firing ceremonial rounds from them rather than from the heavy guns saved powder deliberately. Governor Pyke had substituted a general dinner for the customary coronation salute on 8 October 1734 for the same reason, holding that every grain should be saved with a war expected. April's table bill of £52 0s 0d sits almost level with March's £51 17s 11d, but the composition shifted with the fleet in the road. Beef rose to 316 lb from 283 lb, fowls to 76 from 48 and turkeys to eight from six, while port enters the account for the first time in this run at ten gallons and Cape wine climbs to 53 gallons from 45. Biscuit at 112 lb appears where the earlier months carried none, which is ship's bread baked for commanders victualling for the passage home. The 30 lb of match expended in April against 13 lb in March reflects guard duty rather than firing. A length of slow match had to burn continuously at every post through every watch whether or not a gun was discharged, which made it the heaviest consumable in the annual inventories, running to 222.5 lb across the year to 30 September 1734.
412	408	Country as not having my health, & the Chaplainship not answering my Expectation, I beg leave of Your Worships, You Gentlemen of Council that I may depart for England by the next convenient Ship. In granting which Request You will extreamly oblige May 6th 1735 Your Respectfull	The chaplain John Coney asked leave to return to England by the first convenient ship. He set out that his health had suffered on the island and that the chaplaincy had not answered what he had expected of it. Dated 6 May 1735, signed John Coney, chaplain. The council granted the request. At a consultation held on Wednesday 7 May 1735 at the castle.

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		& obedient Chaplain John Coney Granted At a Consultation held on Wednesday 7th May 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday in the Evening the Duke of Cumberland arrived here from England with Fifty Recruits, John Elledge being drowned in the Voyage, & this Morning wee sent the Captain the following Letter vizt Wee desire You will send on Shoar with all the Expedition You possibly can all such Goods & Merchandize as are on board Your Ship Consigned to Us from the Honble Compy & if you want any Assistance wee will help You. Wee are &c Wee also Ordered the Storekeeper or his Assistant to attend at the Waterside & receive the Goods when landed & to lodge in the Assistance Office every Evening an Account of the Ships Working, & of the number of Bostoes daily delivered & what Surfs or other Accidents may happen to hinder their Working to the End it may appear that as due Care hath been taken on our part to despatch her within the time limited by Charter Party The Petition of John Johnson was presented and read Setting forth that he lately received a kind Invitation from his Couzen Thos Moynston at Tellicherry desiring him to come to him it being in his Power to do better for such there than the Petitioner can propose to do for himself here, & praying leave to take Passage for India on board the Cumberland now in the Road, & his Father having desired the same thing in behalf of his Son, his Petition was granted accordingly Margin Notes: No	Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. The <i>Duke of Cumberland</i> arrived from England on the previous evening carrying fifty recruits. John Cludge drowned during the passage. The council wrote to her captain the following morning. The letter asked him to land all goods and merchandise aboard consigned to the island from the Court of Directors, and to send them ashore as quickly as he could manage, the council offering whatever help he needed. The storekeeper or his assistant was directed to attend at the waterside, receive the goods as they landed, and lodge an account each evening in the secretary's office recording the ship's progress, the number of boats delivered daily, and any surf or other accident that held the unloading up. The purpose was to establish, when the discharge closed, that the island had done everything possible to clear her within the period the charter party allowed. John Johnson petitioned for leave to sail for India aboard the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i>, then lying in the road. He had lately received an invitation from his cousin, Mr Moynston at Tellicherry, who wished him to come out and thought he could do more for him there than the petitioner could hope to achieve on the island. His father supported the application on his behalf, and the council granted it. Interpretations Coney's departure leaves the island without a clergyman, and the office had already proved difficult to fill acceptably. His predecessor George White had led what the council described in July 1732 as a scandalous and immoral life, and Governor Pyke had no power to remove a chaplain appointed in London and no means of replacing him from the shipping. The vestry told the council on 9 January 1733 that it would rebuild the country chapel at its own charge if assured of an able, honest, sober and learned man in holy orders, since those lately sent had done more harm by their behaviour than a good man could do good by preaching. The chapel roof then fell in entirely on the night of 2 December 1734. The daily waterside record answers a contractual rather than an administrative need. A charter party fixed the number of days allowed for discharge, and demurrage fell due to the ship's owners for every day beyond it, so the council needed evidence that any delay arose from surf rather than from slackness ashore. Mr Crisp had kept exactly such a record during the <i>Anne and Mary's</i> discharge from 8 March 1728, the <i>Cadogan's</i> from 3 March 1729 and the <i>Ljell's</i> from 25 April 1734, and the practice had become standard for every ship arriving direct from England with a consigned cargo. Fifty recruits landing at once is a substantial addition to a garrison the council had struggled to man, and it arrives at the moment the fortification works stood short of labour. The advertisement of 11 June 1734 for six slaves at ninepence a day drew not a single tender, and through the autumn the council had been supplying the Rupert's works by sentencing runaways and thieves to terms there. A draft of this size also raises the establishment's food demand at a time when three failed rainy seasons had left the island dependent on imported rice. Johnson's petition ties into a dispute already before the council. Thomas Moynston is the nephew to whom John Johnson of Tellicherry devised all he held on St Helena, a will Sarah Johnson challenged

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			on 30 October 1733 as void for want of the three or four witnesses the statute requires for a disposal of land. Francis Wrangham and John Bagley acted as Moynston's attorneys on the island, and the matter still awaited word from India when the council last heard it. A young man leaving to join that cousin at Tellicherry moves towards the party holding the disputed devise.
413	409	At a Consultation held on Wednesday 14th May 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved Yesterday Evening the Duke of Dorset, George and Mountague arrived here directly from India & brought Us the following Supply vizt Invoice of Duke of Dorset vizt Arrack 2 half Lgr qty 150 Galls 80 Batta 10 pr Cent 8 88 Sugar 10 Bags qty 12: 2: 9lb 90 Batta 10 pr Cent 9 99 Rice 42 Bags qty 61: 3: 11lb 84 Batta 10 pr Cent 8 6 6 92 6 6 Wax Candles 1 Chest qty 1: 1: 10lb 70 Doosellees 60 Ps 150 Stockings & Shirts vizt 100 pr Stockings 62 8 167 Shirts 137 2 6 199 10 6 Charges Merchandize 39 12 738 13 Invoice of George vizt Arrack 2 half Lgr qty 160 Galls 80 Batta 10 pr Cent 8 88 Rice 25 Bags qty 36: 2: 9 50 Batta 10 pr Cent 5 55 Paddy 30 Bags qty 30lb 22 15 6 Wax Candles 1 Chest qty 1: 1: 10lb 70 Doosellees 60 Ps 150 Sugar 10 Bags qty 11: 2: 0lb 99 Charges Merchandize 34 15 9 519 15 3 Invoice of Mountague Arrack 2 half Lgr qty 155 Galls 80	At a consultation held on Wednesday 14 May 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. The <i>Duke of Dorset</i>, <i>George</i> and <i>Mountague</i> arrived on the previous evening directly from India, bringing the following supplies for the island. Invoice of the Duke of Dorset Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 150 gallons, 80 rupees Arrack, batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, making 88 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of 12 maunds 2 seers, 90 rupees Sugar, batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, making 99 rupees Rice, 42 bags of 61 maunds 3 seers 11 [...], 84 rupees Rice, batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees 6 annas 6 pies, making 92 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Wax candles, 1 chest of 1 maund 1 seer 10 [...], 70 rupees Doosooties, 60 pieces, 150 rupees Stockings, 100 pairs, 62 rupees 8 annas Shirts, 167, 137 rupees 2 annas 6 pies, the two lines making 199 rupees 10 annas 6 pies Charges merchandise, 39 rupees 12 annas Total, 738 rupees 13 annas Invoice of the George Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 160 gallons, 80 rupees Arrack, batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, making 88 rupees Rice, 25 bags of 36 maunds 2 seers 9 [...], 50 rupees Rice, batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees, making 55 rupees Paddy, 30 bags of 30 maunds, 22 rupees 15 annas 6 pies Wax candles, 1 chest of 1 maund 1 seer 10 [...], 70 rupees Doosooties, 60 pieces, 150 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of 11 maunds 2 seers, 90 rupees Sugar, batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, making 99 rupees Charges merchandise, 34 rupees 15 annas 9 pies Total, 519 rupees 15 annas 3 pies Invoice of the Mountague Arrack, 2 half leaguers of 155 gallons, 80 rupees Arrack, batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, making 88 rupees Rice, 27 bags of 39 maunds 2 seers 11 [...], 54 rupees Rice, batta at 10 per cent, 5 rupees 6 annas 6 pies, making 59 rupees 6 annas 6 pies Paddy, 30 bags of 30 maunds, 22 rupees 15 annas 6 pies Sugar, 10 bags of 14 maunds 2 seers 19 [...], 90 rupees Sugar, batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, making 99 rupees Wax candles, 1 chest of 1 maund 1 seer 10 [...], 70 rupees Stockings, 100 pairs, 62 rupees 8 annas

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Batta 10 pr Cent 8 88 Rice 27 Bags qty 39: 2: 11 54 Batta 10 pr Cent 5 6 6 59 6 6 Paddy 30 Bags qty 30lb 22 15 6 Sugar 10 Bags qty 11: 2: 19 90 Batta 10 pr Cent 9 99 Wax Candles 1 Chest qty 1: 1: 10 70 Stockings & Shirts vizt 100 pr Stockings 62 8 167 Shirts 137 2 6 199 10 6 Charges Merchandize 34 5 6 Rups 573 6 -	Shirts, 167, 137 rupees 2 annas 6 pies, the two lines making 199 rupees 10 annas 6 pies Charges merchandise, 34 rupees 5 annas 6 pies Total, 573 rupees 6 annas 0 pies Interpretations Doosooties were plain coarse cotton cloths woven in Bengal and sold by the piece for the export trade, standing here at 150 rupees on two of the three invoices and forming the largest single line in each. Their appearance completes a run of Bengal textiles reaching the island in quantity: blue gurrachs came in the <i>Bedford</i> in December 1734, blue devatees in the <i>Drake</i> on 24 April 1735, and made-up shirts and stockings in the <i>Duke of Lorraine</i> and <i>Britannia</i> in June 1734. Cloth of this grade passed through the storekeeper to the inhabitants rather than into the Company's own use. The three cargoes were assembled to a common specification, which confirms that the Bengal agents made up each island consignment from a standing list. Every ship carries two half leaguers of arrack at exactly 80 rupees, ten bags of sugar at 90 rupees and one chest of wax candles at 70 rupees, with batta at 10 per cent falling on each line of grain, spirit and sugar. The <i>Cumberland</i> and <i>Derby</i> had brought identical supplies of 489 rupees 9 annas 6 pies apiece on 10 January 1733 on the same principle. Paddy appears in two of the three invoices and marks feed rather than food. Rice still in the husk cost less than milled grain and went to the hogs and poultry, so 30 bags in each of the <i>George</i> and <i>Mountague</i> answers an establishment whose fowls had become its principal fresh meat as the herd fell from 525 head at the end of December 1733 to 358 by 30 April 1735. Three ships arriving together on 13 May 1735, following the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i> from England a week earlier and the <i>Grafton</i>, <i>Harrison</i> and <i>Drake</i> through late April, mark the homeward season at its height after an anchorage that stood empty from 28 January to 11 March. The rice and paddy landed across these cargoes matter more than usual, since the council had told three homeward commanders on 19 December 1734 that three failed seasons had left it with no grain whatever to spare.
414	410	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 20th May 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved The Ten Working days allowed for Unlading the Cargo of the Duke of Cumberland being expired on Saturday Night & many of the Goods not delivered, Wee yesterday Morning gave Captn Prowd the following Protest vizt Whereas by one Charter Party of a Freightment made the 25 day of Sept 1734 between John Crowe & John Ball of London Merchants, Part Owners of the Ship Duke of Cumberland of the one Part, & the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies of the other Part, it is therein Declared Covenanted & Agreed that the said Ship should Discharge & put on Shoar all such Goods and Merchandize as should be Consigned to the Governour & Council	At a consultation held on Tuesday 20 May 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. The ten days allowed for unloading the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i> ran out on Saturday night with much of her cargo still aboard. The council issued a formal protest against her captain the following morning. The protest recited a charter party dated 25 September 1734 between John Crowe and John Batt of London, merchants and part owners of the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i>, on one side, and the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies on the other. Under that agreement the ship was to discharge and land every article consigned to the Governor and council of St Helena within ten days of her arrival. The council recorded that it had supplied all the help it could towards unloading her in that time, as the Company had directed, but that a great part of the consigned cargo remained on board once the ten days expired. The Governor and council therefore protested, on the Company's behalf, against the captain, the ship and her owners. They declared that the cargo had not been landed within the appointed period despite

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		of the Island St Helena within ten Working days next after the Ships Arrival there & wee according to the Honble Companies Directions to Us have given You all the Assistance wee could to Unlade Your Ship within the time limited as aforesaid, but the said ten days being now expired & great part of the Cargo Consigned to Us demaining on board & not yet delivered Wee therefore the Underwritten the Governour & Council of this Island do hereby for & on the behalf of the said United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies Protest against You Captn Boyd Prowd & do Say that as You have not delivered the Cargo Consigned to Us within the time appointed notwithstanding You have had all the Assistance wee could give You, all the Loss & Damage which has or shall thereby arise in west fall & occasioned to the Part Owners of Your Ship the Duke of Cumberland St Helena Isa: Pyke 19th May 1735 Jno Alexander Jno Goodwin D: Crispe In Answer to this he sent Us the following Letter vizt Gentlemen This day I received a Protest from You for not delivering the Cargo from on board the Duke of Cumberland in the Ten Days mentioned in my Charter Party You are not Unsensible of the great Difficulties I have had to deliver that part of the Cargo which You have already received on Shoar, the great Surf which has run for some dayes hindred our Landing any Goods & being obliged by Your Order to Land the Guns at Ruperts Valley is certainly a very great hindrance, the Stages took Us up two dayes to fix them & you find that it is with the greatest Difficulty that Wee can Land four Guns in one day, & then You very well know that	every assistance the island could give, and that any loss or damage arising from the delay must fall on the part owners. Dated at St Helena, 19 May 1735, signed Isaac Pyke, John Alexander, John Goodwin and Duke Crisp. The captain answered by letter the same day. He acknowledged receiving the protest for failing to clear the cargo within the ten days his charter party allowed. He pointed out that the council knew perfectly well what the landing had cost him. Heavy surf had run for several days and stopped any goods coming ashore. The council's own order to land the guns at Rupert's Valley had held him up badly. Setting up the stages had taken two days by itself, and even then four guns a day was the most that could be managed on land, as the council was well aware. Interpretations The protest shifts liability rather than compelling anything. The council had no power to force a commander to discharge faster, so it recorded the failure formally before witnesses and placed the loss on the owners, which put the matter before the Court of Directors in London as the only body able to enforce a charter party. The same instrument had been used against Captain Peacham of the <i>Prince Frederick</i> on 10 December 1729 when he sailed alone in defiance of the convoy orders, and endorsed on the <i>Prince William's</i> bill of lading in 1728 over spoiled sugar and rice. Demurrage is what stands behind the ten-day clause. The charter party fixed the period allowed for discharge, and compensation fell due to the owners for every day beyond it, so each side had a financial interest in fixing responsibility for the delay. The council's direction on 7 May 1735 that the storekeeper attend the waterside daily and lodge an evening account of boats delivered and of any surf was the evidence-gathering step that made this protest possible, and Mr Crisp had kept exactly such records during the discharges of the <i>Anne and Mary</i> in 1728, the <i>Cadogan</i> in 1729 and the <i>Lyell</i> in 1734. The guns landed at Rupert's Valley are the ordnance the island had been waiting for since the fortification scheme of July 1734. The gunner's survey of 2 July 1734 called for 76 guns across eight positions with 10 more in store, and the annual inventory of 30 September 1734 recorded the ordnance unchanged for a seventh consecutive year at 128 pieces, not a gun having arrived. Landing them at Rupert's rather than at the crane in James Valley put them where the works were, but it took the ship's boats to an open beach with no crane at all. Stages were temporary timber platforms built out over the rocks to receive heavy goods where no landing place existed. Four guns a day represents the limit of what could be handled by hand tackle onto such a structure, and a demi-culverin of the weight the gunner specified for Banks's ran to 30 or 32 hundredweight. The captain's point is that the council itself created the delay it now complains of. Speculations The council could have taken the guns at the crane in James Valley, where the Company's own crane and its established landing had handled every heavy consignment for years, and carried them overland to Rupert's afterwards. It ordered them landed at Rupert's Valley instead, which cost two days in building stages and limited the work to four guns a day. The reason lies in the ass path and the long boat: the boat had twice failed to land lime at Sandy Bay through surf in July 1734, was lost there on 19 September 1734, and the path from the castle to

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Rupert's had already killed the Company's chief fisherman on 20 July 1734 and another man carrying a keg. Moving guns of thirty hundredweight over that ground was not possible, so the council accepted a slow landing at the point of use rather than a fast one it could never carry inland, and then protested against the commander for the delay its own choice had caused.
415	411	such a Cargo as we brought here, is impossible to be delivered in the Charter Party time, therefore I hope You will represent it to the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies the above Difficulties with a great many others by which I hope & do believe the Company will not make any Dispute in paying my Owners the Demorage for the days I am obliged to lay here longer than the Charter Party time, I am To the Worshipfull Gentlemen, Isaac Pyke Esqr the Council at St Helena Your most humble Servt Ben: Prowd At a Consultation held on Tuesday 27th May 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On the 22d wee delivered Capt Prowd our Letters for India, the number of Boats & Rafts daily 1735 delivered are as follows vizt May 7th 1 Longboat with Goods Landed at the Crane 8 1 ditto & 1 Raft at the Breed 9th 3 ditto & 1 Raft Ditto 10 2 ditto & 4 Rafts ditto 12th 4 ditto 13th 3 ditto 14 3 ditto & 1 Raft ditto 15 3 Rafts 16 3 Rafts at the Beach & 1 at Ruperts 17 1 ditto & 1 at Ruperts 19 2 ditto & 1 at Ruperts 20th 2 ditto 21 1 ditto 22 1 ditto On the 23d instant the Heathcote & Wilmington arrived from Bombay but last from the Cape the Supply they brought Us is as follows vizt Invoice of Wilmington 27 Bags Rice qty 54 Carol 97 - 80 31 Bags Paddy 37 - 80 1/2 Lgr Goa Arrack qty 240 Gals 100 - Charges Merchandize 59 - 1 - 31 293 2 91	Captain Braund closed his answer by arguing that a cargo of the size he had brought could not possibly be discharged within the period the charter party allowed. He asked the council to lay these difficulties, and many others besides, before the Court of Directors of the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the East Indies. He expressed confidence that the Company would raise no objection to paying his owners demurrage for the days he was held beyond the contracted time. Addressed to Governor Pyke and the council at St Helena, signed Ben Braund. At a consultation held on Tuesday 27 May 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. The council handed Captain Braund its letters for India on 22 May. The daily record of boats and rafts delivered stood as follows. Boats and rafts delivered from the Duke of Cumberland, 1735 7 May, 1 longboat with goods landed at the crane 8 May, 1 longboat and 1 raft landed at the beach 9 May, 3 longboats and 1 raft landed at the beach 10 May, 2 longboats and 4 rafts landed at the beach 12 May, 4 longboats 13 May, 3 longboats 14 May, 3 longboats and 1 raft landed at the beach 15 May, 3 rafts 16 May, 3 rafts at the beach and 1 at Rupert's 17 May, 1 raft and 1 at Rupert's 18 May, 2 rafts and 1 at Rupert's 20 May, 2 rafts 21 May, 1 raft 22 May, 1 raft The <i>Heathcote</i> and <i>Wilmington</i> arrived on the 22nd of the month from Bombay, last from the Cape. Their supply for the island stood as follows. Invoice of the Wilmington Rice, 27 bags of 54 farah, 80 rupees Paddy, 31 bags, 80 rupees Goa arrack, 1 and a half leaguers of 240 gallons, 100 rupees Charges merchandise, 59 rupees 1 anna 31 pies Total, 293 rupees 2 annas 91 pies Interpretations Braund's answer concedes the delay and disputes only who pays for it. He asked that the difficulties be reported to London and stated plainly that he expected demurrage for the extra days, which turns the council's protest of 19 May 1735 into the opening move of a claim rather than a bar to one. Both documents were destined for the same Court of Directors, and each side was building the record it wanted read there. The daily boat record is the evidence the whole dispute rests on, and it tells against the council in one respect and for it in another. Fourteen days of landings appear against the ten the charter party allowed, but two of those days show nothing delivered at all, and the entries shift from longboats

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			to rafts from 15 May onward. Rafts carried the heavy items that no boat could take, which is where the guns for Rupert's went, and three separate days record deliveries at Rupert's as well as at the beach. A farah is a measure of grain capacity used at Mocha and on the Arabian side of the trade, and its appearance places the <i>Wilmington's</i> lading on the western route rather than in Bengal. The same marker had identified the <i>Newcastle's</i> cargo in December 1734 and those of the <i>Mary</i> and <i>Royal Guardian</i> in January 1735, all of which carried rice by the farah with paddy and Goa arrack and no Bengal sugar at all. Goa arrack came from the Portuguese settlement on the Malabar coast and was reckoned separately from the Batavia spirit that came through Bengal. The <i>Wilmington's</i> cargo answers the island's most pressing want. Rice and paddy make up the whole of it apart from the arrack, and the council had told three homeward commanders on 19 December 1734 that three failed rainy seasons had left it with no grain to spare and the ground yielding potatoes only in very small quantities. Imported rice had been carrying the establishment's diet since the storekeeper charged 60 hundredweight to the blacks in October 1734 at £30 0s 0d.
416	412	Invoice of Heathcote 27 Bags Rice qty 54 Carah 97 - 80 32 Bags Paddy qty 2 Marah 14 Carah 38 1 60 1/2 Legar Goa Arrack qty 240 Gals 100 - Charges Merchandize 59 2 31 295 - 71 At a Consultation held on Wednesday 28th May 1735 Present Governour Pitt Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr Governour Cowan John Goodwin Duke Crispe Two Spanish Gentlemen Passengers on board the Heathcote & acquainted with Don John de Mesa y Apunto the Spaniard who died here about three Years ago having desired that his Son who has been here ever since might be delivered over to them that they might carry him to his Relations in Spain Wee upon this desired Governour Pitt & Governour Cowan to favour Us with their Opinion what was proper for Us to do in this Affair & they told Us they thought it reasonable the boy should be delivered to them they engaging at their own Charge to deliver him to the Honble Company upon their Arrival in London & not to carry him farther without their leave and Consent & they being also present when this Consultation was held wee spoke upon what terms they might have him & they readily promised to perform what was required & accordingly gave Us the Receipt of which the following is a Copy vizt Received of Isaac Pyke Esqr Governour & Council of the	Invoice of the Heathcote Rice, 27 bags of 54 farah, 80 rupees Paddy, 32 bags of 2 maunds 14 farah, 38 rupees 1 anna 60 pies Goa arrack, 1 and a half leaguers of 240 gallons, 100 rupees Charges merchandise, 59 rupees 2 annas 31 pies Total, 295 rupees 0 annas 71 pies At a consultation held on Wednesday 28 May 1735. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Goodwin Duke Crisp Governor Pitt Governor Cowan Two Spanish gentlemen travelling as passengers aboard the <i>Heathcote</i> knew of Don John de Mesa y Aniento, the Spaniard who died on the island about three years earlier. They asked that his son, who had remained at St Helena ever since, be handed over to them so that they might take him to his relations in Spain. The council asked Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan for their view of the proper course. Both considered it reasonable that the boy go with them, provided the two Spaniards bound themselves to deliver him to the Company on reaching London and not to take him further without the Company's leave and agreement. Being present at the consultation, they were asked what terms they would accept. They agreed readily to whatever the council required and gave a receipt in the following form. The receipt acknowledged that the Governor and council of St Helena had delivered one boy named Emanuel, son of a Spanish gentleman called Don John de Mesa y Aniento, who died on the island about three years earlier. The signatory promised to deliver the boy at his own expense to the Court of Directors of the English East India Company on the <i>Heathcote's</i> arrival in the Thames, and undertook not to send or carry him to Spain or anywhere else without first obtaining the Company's permission. Dated at St Helena, 28 May 1735, signed Pedro Zacarias Villamael. The council ordered the papers belonging to the Spaniard sent to the Company in the packet. Interpretations

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		Island St Helena one Boy called Emanuel Son of a Spanish Gentleman named Don John de Mesa y Apunto who about three Years since died at this Place, which boy wee hereby promise & Engage at our own Charge & Expence to deliver to the Honble the Court of Directors of the English East Indian Company upon the Arrival of the Ship <i>Heathcote</i> in the River of Thames, & not to carry send or convey him into Spain or elsewhere without first obtaining their leave so to do St Helena 28th May 1735 Pedro Zacarias Villamael Ordered that the Papers belonging to the Spaniard be transmitted to the Honble Company in Our Packet	The boy is the surviving interest in an estate the council has been unable to settle since 1731. Don John de Mesa y Aniento landed sick from a French ship on 27 January 1731, lodged at Joseph Bates's house and died of a dropsy on 10 February 1731, leaving a woman reputed his wife and three children at Manila, three brothers and this son on the island. Captain Slower and Mr Bonnell valued his effects at not less than £2,000 0s 0d, and the council found on 3 May 1731 that he died intestate and that Bates had prevented a proper will being made. The surgeon John Brown deposed that the dying man had urged provision for his child, and the whole case turned on a bequest nobody could prove. Handing the boy to the Company rather than to the Spaniards keeps him within reach of the estate. Bates was found on 28 August 1733 to owe £246 19s 2.5d to the estate rather than to be its creditor, paid £25 0s 0d on 11 June 1734 and a second £25 0s 0d on 31 October 1734, and the council resolved on 10 June 1734 to send the remaining gold and valuables home in a box marked with the Spaniard's name so they would be ready when the lawful heirs appeared. Emanuel travelling to London on the same terms puts claimant and property in the same jurisdiction. The receipt binds only the man who signed it and only as far as London. Villamael undertook to deliver the boy at his own charge and not to carry him to Spain without leave, which converts a private removal into a custody arrangement the Company can enforce in its own courts. No such instrument could have reached him once he sailed for Spain, and the council had no means of pursuing anyone beyond the shipping. Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan sat with the council as passengers of standing rather than as members, and their opinion was sought because the question touched a foreign subject and a foreign inheritance. The practice runs through the record: three ship's commanders sat with the council on 20 May 1731 when it ruled that the chaplain George White must pay Anne Lane's passage home, and Captain Jenkins of the <i>Harrington</i> signed the council's opinion on the Coles land on 12 February 1734. Farah, paddy and Goa arrack together fix the <i>Heathcote's</i> lading on the western route from Bombay rather than in Bengal, exactly as with the <i>Wilmington</i> that came in with her on 22 May 1735. Neither ship carries Bengal sugar, and grain makes up the bulk of both cargoes, which suits an island that had told homeward commanders on 19 December 1734 that three failed rainy seasons had left it nothing to spare.
417	413	At a Consultation held on Tuesday 3 June 1735 at the Castle Present Isaac Pyke Esqr Govr John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crispe The last Consultation was read & Approved On Saturday last the Mountague, George, Heathcote, Wilmington & Duke of Dorset Sailed for England, & on the 1st instant the Hertford arrived from Bengal, & this Morning the Duke of Cumberland left Us in her way to Bencoolen the Supply brought by the Hertford is as follows vizt 2 half Legr Batavia Arrack qty 160 Gals 80 - Batta 10 pr Cent 8 - 88 -	At a consultation held on Tuesday 3 June 1735 at the castle. Present: Isaac Pyke, Governor John Alexander John Goodwin Duke Crisp The previous consultation was read over and approved. The <i>Mountague</i>, <i>George</i>, <i>Heathcote</i>, <i>Wilmington</i> and <i>Duke of Dorset</i> sailed for England on the previous Saturday. The <i>Hertford</i> arrived from Bengal on the 1st of the month, and the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i> left that morning on her way to Bencoolen. The <i>Hertford</i> brought the following supply. Invoice of the Hertford Batavia arrack, 2 half leaguers of 160 gallons, 80 rupees Arrack, batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees, making 88 rupees Sugar, 10 bags of 12 maunds 2 seers 19 [...], 90 rupees

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		10 Bags Sugr qty 12: 2: 19 90 - Batta 10 pr Cent 9 - 99 - 44 Bags Rice qty 63: 2: 4lb 83 13 - Batta 10 pr Cent 8 6 92 3 2 Chests Wax Candles qty 2: 2: 19 140 - Charges Merchandize 37 2 3 Rupd 456 5 3 The Governour the Gunner & Steward delivered each their Monthly Account for June last which were severally Examined & Approved & are as follows vizt Expende of the Table in May 1735 vizt 730lb Beef 9 2 6 10 Sheep 12 10 18 Turkeys 4 10 84 Fowles 6 6 2 Lambs 1 4 10 Ducks 15 76 Galls Arrack 15 4 28 Galls Port 10 1 6 14 Galls Sherry 5 8 6 3 Galls Cape 12 6 Bottles Oyle 19 6 2lb Pepper 4 2:1 Powder 6 3 5P:1 Flour 6 11 3 3 Bushells Salt 15 74 9 6 536lb Beef given the Soldiers at their Arrival 17 6 6	Sugar, batta at 10 per cent, 9 rupees, making 99 rupees Rice, 44 bags of 62 maunds 2 seers 4 [...], 83 rupees 13 annas 0 pies Rice, batta at 10 per cent, 8 rupees 6 annas 0 pies, making 92 rupees 3 annas 0 pies Wax candles, 2 chests of 2 maunds 2 seers 19 [...], 140 rupees Charges merchandise, 37 rupees 2 annas 3 pies Total, 456 rupees 5 annas 3 pies The Governor, the gunner and the steward delivered their monthly accounts for May, which were examined separately and approved. Expenses of the table in May 1735 1,730 lb of beef, £9 2s 6d 10 sheep, £12 10s 0d 18 turkeys, £4 10s 0d 84 fowls, £6 6s 0d 2 lambs, £1 4s 0d 10 ducks, £0 15s 0d 176 gallons of arrack, £15 4s 0d 28 gallons of port, £10 1s 6d 14 gallons of sherry, £5 8s 6d 3 gallons of Cape wine, £0 12s 0d 6 bottles of oil, £0 19s 6d 2 lb of pepper, £0 4s 0d 2 quarters 1 lb of biscuit, £0 6s 3d 5 quarters 1 lb of flour, £6 11s 3d 3 bushels of salt, £0 15s 0d Total, £74 9s 6d 536 lb of beef given to the soldiers on their arrival, £17 6s 6d Interpretations May's table bill of £74 9s 6d is the heaviest figure since the £77 9s 3.5d of June 1734, and the cause sits in the anchorage. Five Indiamen lay in the road together and sailed on 1 June, with the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i> discharging through the whole month and the <i>Hertford</i> arriving on the 1st. Beef at 1,730 lb runs more than five times April's 316 lb, and arrack at 176 gallons nearly three times the 63 gallons of the month before, both figures measuring commanders and supercargoes entertained ashore rather than any change in the household. The 536 lb of beef issued to the soldiers on landing is entered separately from the table account and charged at £17 6s 6d. Fifty recruits came ashore from the <i>Duke of Cumberland</i> on 6 May 1735, and a fresh meat issue on arrival was the practical answer to men off a passage of several months on salt provisions. Setting the charge outside the ordinary table expense keeps the garrison's cost distinct from the Governor's household in the books the Company audits. Port and sherry appear together at 28 and 14 gallons where Cape wine falls to three, reversing the proportion that had held since February. Cape wine was the cheap table wine from the vineyards five weeks to the south east, drunk when nothing better was in store, and the European wines came out in quantity only when there was company worth serving them to. Salt entering the account at three bushels marks preservation rather than seasoning. The island had no means of keeping fresh meat, and a month in which ten sheep and more than 1,700 lb of beef passed through the kitchen produced quantities that had to be salted down for the weeks after the fleet sailed. The <i>Hertford's</i> cargo returns to the Bengal specification the western ships had broken. She carries Batavia arrack, Bengal sugar, rice by the maund and two chests of wax candles with batta at 10 per cent on each line, where the <i>Heathcote</i> and <i>Wilmington</i> had brought grain by the farah with Goa

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			arrack and no sugar at all. Two chests of candles rather than one distinguishes her from the <i>Duke of Dorset, George</i> and <i>Mountague</i> of 14 May 1735, which each carried a single chest.
418	414	[The column headings sit above the top edge of the image and are not present.] Remg 1 May: 21, 120, 26, 28, 90, 66, 7, 358, 92, 7, 27, 4, 130, 12, 18, 7, 45, 2, 84, 32, 86, 20, 6, 4, 9, 13 Increased in ditto: 0, 0, 0, 0, 4, 0, 4, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 6, 0, 6, 8, 0, 5, 0, 0, 0, 0 21, 120, 26, 28, 90, 70, 7, 362, 92, 7, 27, 4, 130, 12, 18, 7, 51, 2, 90, 40, 86, 25, 6, 4, 9, 13 Sold to Ships: 4, 8, 21, 0, 0, 0, 0, 33, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0 Killed for the Table & 12 Lambs died: 17, 112, 5, 28, 90, 70, 7, 329, 92, 7, 27, 4, 130, 12, 18, 7, 51, 2, 90, 40, 86, 25, 6, 4, 9, 13 4, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 0, 4, 3, 5, 16, 0, 24, 0, 4, 0, 0, 0, 4, 18, 84, 10, 0, 0, 0, 0 Remg 31 May 1735: 13, 112, 5, 28, 90, 70, 7, 320, 89, 2, 11, 4, 106, 12, 14, 7, 51, 2, 86, 22, 2, 15, 6, 4, 9, 13 Yams Expended at the several Plantations 15700lb Ditto delivered the Blacks 21500 Totall 37200lb	The stock account for May 1735 carries no headings on the leaf. The class identities have been carried down from the earlier returns of the same series. Remaining 1 May 1735, neat cattle: 21 bullocks, 120 cows, 26 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 66 calves, 7 bulls, total 358 neat cattle Remaining 1 May 1735, sheep: 92 ewes, 7 wethers, 27 lambs, 4 rams, total 130 sheep Remaining 1 May 1735, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 45 pigs, 2 boars, total 84 hogs Remaining 1 May 1735, poultry: 32 turkeys, 86 fowls, 20 ducks, 6 geese Remaining 1 May 1735, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Increased in May, neat cattle: 0 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 4 calves, 0 bulls, total 4 neat cattle Increased in May, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep Increased in May, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 6 pigs, 0 boars, total 6 hogs Increased in May, poultry: 8 turkeys, 0 fowls, 5 ducks, 0 geese Increased in May, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Balance after increase, neat cattle: 21 bullocks, 120 cows, 26 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 70 calves, 7 bulls, total 362 neat cattle Balance after increase, sheep: 92 ewes, 7 wethers, 27 lambs, 4 rams, total 130 sheep Balance after increase, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 51 pigs, 2 boars, total 90 hogs Balance after increase, poultry: 40 turkeys, 86 fowls, 25 ducks, 6 geese Balance after increase, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Sold to ships in May, neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 8 cows, 21 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 33 neat cattle Sold to ships in May, sheep: 0 ewes, 0 wethers, 0 lambs, 0 rams, total 0 sheep Sold to ships in May, hogs: 0 sows, 0 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 0 hogs Sold to ships in May, poultry: 0 turkeys, 0 fowls, 0 ducks, 0 geese Sold to ships in May, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Balance after sales, neat cattle: 17 bullocks, 112 cows, 5 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 70 calves, 7 bulls, total 329 neat cattle Balance after sales, sheep: 92 ewes, 7 wethers, 27 lambs, 4 rams, total 130 sheep Balance after sales, hogs: 12 sows, 18 shoats, 7 barrows, 51 pigs, 2 boars, total 90 hogs Balance after sales, poultry: 40 turkeys, 86 fowls, 25 ducks, 6 geese Balance after sales, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Killed for the table in May, with 12 lambs dead, neat cattle: 4 bullocks, 0 cows, 0 heifers, 0 steers, 0 yearlings, 0 calves, 0 bulls, total 4 neat cattle Killed for the table in May, with 12 lambs dead, sheep: 3 ewes, 5 wethers, 16 lambs, 0 rams, total 24 sheep Killed for the table in May, with 12 lambs dead, hogs: 0 sows, 4 shoats, 0 barrows, 0 pigs, 0 boars, total 4 hogs Killed for the table in May, with 12 lambs dead, poultry: 18 turkeys, 84 fowls, 10 ducks, 0 geese

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			Killed for the table in May, with 12 lambs dead, horses: 0 horses, 0 mares, total 0 horses and mares Remaining 31 May 1735, neat cattle: 13 bullocks, 112 cows, 5 heifers, 28 steers, 90 yearlings, 70 calves, 7 bulls, total 320 neat cattle Remaining 31 May 1735, sheep: 89 ewes, 2 wethers, 11 lambs, 4 rams, total 106 sheep Remaining 31 May 1735, hogs: 12 sows, 14 shoats, 7 barrows, 51 pigs, 2 boars, total 86 hogs Remaining 31 May 1735, poultry: 22 turkeys, 2 fowls, 15 ducks, 6 geese Remaining 31 May 1735, horses: 4 horses, 9 mares, total 13 horses and mares Yams expended at the several plantations, 15,700 lb Yams delivered to the blacks, 21,500 lb Total yams, 37,200 lb Interpretations Thirty-three head sold to shipping is the heaviest disposal since the 28 of January 1735, and its composition marks a herd running out of the animals it can spare. Twenty-one heifers went aboard against four bullocks, which cut that class from 26 head to five, where April's sale of 14 head had drawn 13 bullocks and a single heifer. Heifers are young females not yet bred, so selling them in quantity spends the herd's future breeding capacity to meet the demand of five Indiamen victualling for the passage home. Poultry collapsed almost to nothing. Eighty-four fowls were killed against none hatched, leaving two birds where the flock had stood at 86 on 1 May, and turkeys fell from 40 to 22 with ducks from 25 to 15. The table account for the same month carries 84 fowls, 18 turkeys and 10 ducks, so the two records agree exactly. Governor Pyke had reported an unfamiliar disease killing poultry across the island on 8 April 1735, and a flock that hatched 90 fowls in April produced not one bird in May. The loss of 12 lambs sits in the same entry as the animals killed for the table, which obscures how much of the sheep flock went to the kitchen and how much simply died. Sixteen lambs are entered against the line and 12 of them are named as dead, so four went to the table with three ewes and five wethers. The flock closed at 106 against 130, and the wether class stands at two, effectively exhausted after running at 19 head as recently as 1 April. Four calves born against 33 head sold shows why the herd continues to fall despite the return of calving. April's eight calves and May's four are the first real breeding since the drought stopped conception from January 1734, but the rate cannot match the shipping season's demand, and the herd stood at 320 head on 31 May against 365 three months earlier and 525 at the close of December 1733. Yams rose to 37,200 lb from 31,200 lb in April, the plantations taking 15,700 lb of it against 10,900 lb the month before. May opens the island's winter planting period, so the larger share going to the ground rather than to the establishment marks the new crop being set. The blacks' issue fell slightly to 21,500 lb, imported rice carrying the difference from the cargoes landed by the <i>Wilmington</i>, <i>Heathcote</i> and <i>Hertford</i> through the same weeks.
419	415	Gunners Stores Expended in May 1735 vizt 1735 Guns fired, Shot, Dlg, Sakers, Minion, Falcons, Powder May 3d Muster Day: Guns fired 0, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 13 6 An Allarm: Guns fired 4, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12	Gunner's stores expended in May 1735 3 May, muster day: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 13 lb of powder 6 May, an alarm: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
		do Arrived the Cumberland from England: Guns fired 9, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 1, Falcons 8, Powder 11 do An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns fired 4, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 8 An Allarm for a Ship that past by: Guns fired 4, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 19 12 Double Allarm: Guns fired 6, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 6, Falcons 0, Powder 18 13 Dorset, Mountague & George Arrived: Guns fired 27, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 3, Falcons 24, Powder 33 do To Salute Govr Pitt at his Landing: Guns fired 21, Shot 0, Dlg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcons 15, Powder 40 24 Double Allarm: Guns fired 6, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 6, Falcons 0, Powder 18 do An Allarm at Bankers: Guns fired 2, Shot 2, Dlg 0, Sakers 2, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 8 do Fired at Bankers to bring the Ship to: Guns fired 2, Shot 2, Dlg 0, Sakers 2, Minion 0, Falcons 0, Powder 8 do Heathcote & Wilmington: Guns fired 18, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 2, Falcons 16, Powder 22 do To Salute Govr Cowan at his Landing: Guns fired 21, Shot 0, Dlg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcons 15, Powder 41 29 King Charles Restoration: Guns fired 21, Shot 0, Dlg 1, Sakers 4, Minion 1, Falcons 15, Powder 41 30 An Allarm for a Ship that past: Guns fired 4, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcons 0, Powder 12 31 To Salute Govr Pitt & Cowan at going off: Guns fired 42, Shot 0, Dlg 13, Sakers 9, Minion 1, Falcons 19, Powder 140 George, Heathcote, Mountague, Dorset, & Wilmington: Guns fired 45, Shot 0, Dlg 0, Sakers 0, Minion 4, Falcons 41, Powder 55 Expence of the Guard Musquet Balls 9d Handspikes 6 Spunge Staves 4 Torches 3 Cartridge Paper 3 Quire Match 24 Guns fired 236, Shot 4, Dlg 16, Sakers 25, Minion 49, Falcons 153, Powder 520	6 May, the arrival of the Duke of Cumberland from England: 9 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 1 minion, 8 falcons, 11 lb of powder 6 May, an alarm for a ship that passed by: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 12 lb of powder 8 May, an alarm for a ship that passed by: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 19 lb of powder 12 May, a double alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 6 minions, 0 falcons, 18 lb of powder 13 May, the arrival of the Duke of Dorset, Mountague and George: 27 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 3 minions, 24 falcons, 33 lb of powder 13 May, to salute Governor Pitt on his landing: 21 guns fired, 0 shot, 1 demi-culverin, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 15 falcons, 40 lb of powder 24 May, a double alarm: 6 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 6 minions, 0 falcons, 18 lb of powder 24 May, an alarm at Banks's: 2 guns fired, 2 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 2 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 8 lb of powder 24 May, fired at Banks's to bring the ship to: 2 guns fired, 2 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 2 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, 8 lb of powder 24 May, the arrival of the Heathcote and Wilmington: 18 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 2 minions, 16 falcons, 22 lb of powder 24 May, to salute Governor Cowan on his landing: 21 guns fired, 0 shot, 1 demi-culverin, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 15 falcons, 41 lb of powder 29 May, the anniversary of King Charles's restoration: 21 guns fired, 0 shot, 1 demi-culverin, 4 sakers, 1 minion, 15 falcons, 41 lb of powder 30 May, an alarm for a ship that passed: 4 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 0 falcons, 19 lb of powder 31 May, to salute Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan on going off: 42 guns fired, 0 shot, 13 demi-culverins, 9 sakers, 1 minion, 19 falcons, 149 lb of powder 31 May, the departure of the George, Heathcote, Mountague, Duke of Dorset and Wilmington: 45 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 4 minions, 41 falcons, 58 lb of powder Expense of the guard: 0 guns fired, 0 shot, 0 demi-culverins, 0 sakers, 0 minions, 0 falcons, [...] lb of powder Musket balls for the guard, 9 lb Handspikes, 6 Sponge staves, 4 Forelocks, 3 Cartridge paper, 3 quires Match, 24 lb Total: 236 guns fired, 4 shot, 16 demi-culverins, 25 sakers, 42 minions, 153 falcons, 526 lb of powder Interpretations The 526 lb of powder is by a wide margin the heaviest month in this record, exceeding the 419 lb of May 1729 and the 325 lb of May 1731, both of which fell in the same season for the same reason. Nine Indiamen passed through the road across four weeks, each arrival preceded by an alarm because the flagstaff could not identify a sail before she closed, and the two departure salutes on 31 May alone consumed 207 lb between them. Saluting the two passing governors cost more than saluting the ships that carried them. Governor Pitt and Governor Cowan each drew 21 guns on landing at 40 and 41 lb, and their joint departure took 149 lb across 42 guns, where the five Indiamen sailing the same day cost 58 lb for 45 guns. The difference lies

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			in the classes of gun fired: the compliment to the two men drew demi-culverins and sakers from the heavy batteries, while ship salutes were made up almost entirely of falcons, the smallest pieces on the island. Governor Pyke had substituted a general dinner for the customary coronation salute on 8 October 1734, holding that every grain of powder should be saved with a war apprehended and no ship in the road. That reasoning did not survive the arrival of two governors of the Company's other settlements, both of whom sat with the council on 28 May 1735 to advise on the Spanish boy Emanuel. The saving applied when nobody was watching. Live firing appears twice on 24 May, four rounds in all from Banks's to bring an approaching ship to. Sakers were the class used, heavier than the minions fired in alarm and able to carry across the anchorage approach. The practice runs through the whole run, the same battery having fired live on 25 March and 21 April 1735 for the same purpose. Handspikes, sponge staves and forelocks are the consumable furniture of a gun crew. A handspike is the timber lever used to traverse and elevate a carriage, a sponge stave the shaft carrying the sheepskin head that damps the bore between rounds, and a forelock the flat iron wedge securing a pin against working loose under recoil. Six handspikes and four sponge staves in a single month measure the wear of firing 236 guns, against three sponge staves across the whole of April.
420	416	Memorandum 31 January 1734 Number of Officers & Effective men 134 Number of Planters 31 165 Number of blacks belong. to ye Garrison 75 Number of Do belong: to Planters 102 342	A memorandum dated 31 January 1734 set out the fighting strength of the island. Memorandum of 31 January 1734 Officers and effective men, 134 Planters, 31 Subtotal of officers, effective men and planters, 165 Black slaves belonging to the garrison, 75 Black slaves belonging to the planters, 102 Total, 342 Interpretations The memorandum counts men available for defence rather than population, which is why it separates the garrison from the planters and counts slaves under each. Every householder was required to bring his male slaves to their posts on a double alarm, and on a single alarm when Company ships lay in the road, an obligation set out on 9 May 1727 for which the owners drew head money. The 177 slaves in this return are therefore counted as combatants, not as property. The count places the slaves' contribution above the free one, 177 men against 165. That proportion explains the arrangement the twelve inhabitants proposed on 16 July 1734, assigning 300 or 400 wrought iron crows to the black men and the muskets, bayonets and swords chiefly to the whites. Arming the larger half of the force with levers rather than firearms preserved the ordering the island's law already drew, the testimony of blacks being inadmissible and every householder bound since 12 October 1730 to lock his slaves up at night. Thirty-one planters against 134 officers and effective men measures how small the free landholding population had become. The gunner's schedule of 2 July 1734 called for 76 guns across eight positions, and Colonel Gaultier's own table of 7 June 1734 put the defence of his seven proposed works at 115 men. Manning them from this establishment would have taken the entire garrison and left nothing for the castle. The date sits four months before the Company's engineer arrived and five before the vestry approved

BL Image No	Page No.	OCR Transcription	Modern Interpretation
			the inhabitants' own scheme on 21 July 1734. Reckoning the strength first and the works afterwards is the order the council actually followed, which is why the twelve inhabitants rested their plan on natural ground, lookout parties and rolled stone rather than on masonry that would have required a garrison the island did not have.
421	417	Book cover	
422	418	EAP 1364 St Helena Document Name and Date St Helena Records 1731–1735 Dimensions (height x width x depth) (cm) No. written pages: 416 No. blank pages: 2 Spine and cover: Good Condition Inside pages: Good Condition. Foxing present. Additional comments: Page 303 & 304 are blank. Time taken to photograph (hours): 5 hours	